

SCIENCE IN THE JUNGLE: MISSIONARY CARTOGRAPHIC AND GEOGRAPHIC
PRODUCTION OF EARLY MODERN WESTERN AMAZONIA

By

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A DISSERTATION PRESENTED TO THE GRADUATE SCHOOL
OF THE UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT
OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA

2015

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To Mamá, Tita, and Andréa for being the best human beings I have ever met, and to anyone who is brave enough to read more than three hundred pages about Jesuit and Franciscan maps of Amazonia

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I thank my parents, Weenci and Florinda, for their love and support since I decided to attend graduate school back in August 2007, and for not charging me for rent and food every time I went back home to do research. I appreciate those little moments when my parents and siblings helped me forget that I was working on a dissertation, moments that are actually very necessary when you work on a dissertation. I thank Andréa Ferreira for being with me most of my years in graduate school, for making Gainesville a place that I actually liked—only because she was there—and for reading, reviewing, and commenting on every chapter of this dissertation. She made this dissertation a product that English-speaking readers can actually read and understand. More important, her love, joy, and patience have made me a much better person, even though she is the only one who can notice it.

I thank Mark Thurner, my advisor and dissertation committee chair, for having relied on my candidacy when I applied to Florida, for his support during my time in graduate school, for having accepted my change of dissertation topic when I decided to study Franciscans and Jesuit maps instead of Chilean and Peruvian history textbooks, and for what I learned in his Postcolonial seminars. I thank Ida Altman for accepting with such a short notice acting as co-chair for my dissertation defense and for what I learned about Colonial Spanish America and Atlantic history. I thank Juliana Barr, Betty Smocovitis, and Philip Williams for accepting to participate in my dissertation committee and for what I learned, in and outside of the classroom, about borderlands history, history of science, and Latin American studies. I thank Jeffrey Needell and María Portuondo for being responsive to my requests for recommendations and for what I learned about the history of Brazil and the history of science in the Spanish Empire. I

particularly thank Professor Portuondo for introducing me to the field of history of cartography and for helping me shape my early ideas about this dissertation when it was still a very rough short paper written for one of her classes while she was still in Florida. In Gainesville I also met a wonderful group of Latin Americanist students—Bill Fischer, Diana Reigelsperger, Rob Taber, David Home, Erin Zavitz, Lauren MacDonald, Chris Woolley, and Andréa Ferreira—whose friendship I appreciate and whose qualities as historians challenged me to be a better scholar as well.

The research for this dissertation took me to different places in the Americas and Europe. I thank my advisor Mark Thurner for introducing me to Eduardo Kingman and Mercedes Prieto, professors at the Facultad Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales (FLACSO) in Ecuador, who helped me find my way to conduct research in Quito. Archivists and librarians in this city were particularly friendly and helpful. In particular I want to thank Honorio Granja and Betty Salazar, at the archive of the Ministry of Culture of Ecuador, Soledad Castro at the archive of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ecuador, and Maria del Carmen Elizalde at the general archive of the Universidad Central of Ecuador. I also want to thank Patricio Velarde, who became a close research companion during my time at the National Archive of Ecuador and the archive of the Archbishopric of Quito. I thank María Carmen Ulcuango and Leonor Perilla for being so attentive with me during the time I spent at their homes in Quito and Bogotá, respectively. In Lima I would like to thank José de la Puente Brunke, director of the Riva-Agüero Institute, for being responsive to my requests for recommendation letters that allowed me conduct research at the always-bureaucratic archives of Lima. I thank Joan Manuel Morales, at the Archive of Limits of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Perú,

and Father Félix Sáiz, at the Convent of Descalzos in El Rímac, for being accommodating and interested in my research. Without their advice, I would have not travelled to London to investigate the Franciscan cartographic collection held at the British Library. In the Convent of Descalzos I was grateful to briefly meet Father Julián Heras who, alongside Fr. Sáiz, has been the most important historian of the Franciscan Order in Peru during the last five decades. Most important, I want to thank my paternal grandmother, Josefina Vidal, for introducing me to the receptionist at this convent, who introduced me to Father Percy Barrientos, who, in turn, granted me full access to the old library of the Convent of Descalzos.

During the last seven years I delivered papers, that later became dissertation chapters, at different workshops and conferences in South America, North America, and Europe. Chapter 2 was presented at the 2014 Philadelphia Area Center for History of Science Introductory Symposium. Chapter 3 was delivered at one of the 2015 sessions of the Early Modern History Workshop at Princeton University. Diverse sections of Chapter 4 were first discussed in 2013 at the 9th Jornadas Internacionales de Historia de las Monarquías Ibéricas at the Instituto Riva-Agüero in Lima, Perú; in 2014 at the 2nd Symposium of the International Society for the History of the Map in the National Library of France, Paris; and in 2015 at the 46th Annual Meeting of the Association for Spanish and Portuguese Historical Studies at Johns Hopkins University. In addition, a shorter version of Chapter 4 has appeared in volume 44, issue 1, year 2015, pages 117-138 of the *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Études Andines*. Different parts of Chapter 5, the first to be written, were first presented in 2008 at the 17th Colloquium on Hispanic and Luso-Brazilian Literatures and Linguistics at University of Texas-Austin; in 2009 at the 4th

Interdisciplinary Colloquium in Spanish/Latin American Linguistics, Literatures, and Cultures at the University of Florida and at the 8th Annual Graduate Student Conference organized by the State University of New York at Stony Brook in New York City; in 2010 at the 76th Annual Meeting of the Southern Historical Association in Charlotte, NC; in 2011 at the 24th International Conference on the History of Cartography at the National Library of Russia, Moscow; and in 2012 at the Atlantic Geographies Institute organized by the University of Miami, FL. Although I really cannot remember specific names, I appreciate every comment and suggestion that I received during my presentations or afterwards that helped me convert this project into a better final product. Chapter 6 is making its formal debut in this dissertation.

The research of this dissertation was kindly funded by a Samuel Proctor Fellowship and other forms of graduate assistantship from the Department of History at the University of Florida, a Dissertation Development Proposal Fellowship granted by the Social Science Research Council with funds provided by the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation, a research grant from the Program for Cultural Cooperation between Spain's Ministry of Culture and United States Universities, a Mendel Fellowship from Lilly Library at Indiana University, a Dissertation Fieldwork Grant awarded by the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research, a Beca Andina de Apoyo a la Investigación from the Instituto Francés de Estudios Andinos, an International Dissertation Research Fellowship granted by the Social Science Research Council with funds provided by the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation, a Harley-Delmas Research Fellowship in the History of Cartography, and a Jeannette D. Black Memorial Fellowship granted by the John Carter Brown Library. The writing of this dissertation was kindly

funded by a teaching assistantship from the University of Florida and a Dissertation Writing Fellowship granted by the Philadelphia Area Center for History of Science (now Consortium for History of Science, Technology, and Medicine).

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ACC	Archivo Central del Cauca
ACMREP	Archivo Central del Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores del Perú
ACO	Archivo del Convento de Ocopa
AGI	Archivo General de Indias
AGNC	Archivo General de la Nación, Colombia
AHJ	Archivo Histórico Javeriano
ALMREP	Archivo de Límites del Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores del Perú
AMREE	Archivo Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores Ecuador
AMCE	Archivo Ministerio de Cultura de Ecuador
ARSI/AHJ	Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu Collection, Archivo Histórico Javeriano
ASJQ	Archivo Sociedad de Jesús Quito
BCDL	Biblioteca del Convento de los Descalzos Lima
BCO	Biblioteca del Convento de Ocopa
BL	British Library
BMCE/FCH	Biblioteca del Ministerio de Cultura de Ecuador, Fondo Ciencias Humanas
BNF	Bibliothèque Nationale de France
BNP	Biblioteca Nacional del Perú
BNRJ	Biblioteca Nacional de Rio de Janeiro
Carp.	Carpeta
Doc.	Documento
Ed.	Edited by

Leg.	Legajo
LL	Lilly Library
LOC	Library of Congress
O.F.M.	Ordo Fratrum Minorum
O.P.	Ordo Praedicatorum
O.S.A.	Ordo Sancti Augustini
S.I.	Societas Iesu
UARM/CVU	Universidad Antonio Ruiz de Montoya, Colección Vargas Ugarte

Abstract of Dissertation Presented to the Graduate School
of the University of Florida in Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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August 2015

Chair: Mark Thurner

Cochair: Ida Altman

Major: History

This dissertation examines and compares Jesuit and Franciscan cartographies and geographies of Western Amazonia during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. My argument is that the geographic and cartographic conceptualization of early modern Amazonia did not consist of a straightforward process of knowledge production. Instead, varying contexts and interests of Franciscans and Jesuits in their relationships with other missionaries, with Spanish officials, and with Amazonian natives made the process of cartographic and geographic production of this region more complex and subtle than previously thought. The overall goal of this dissertation is to detach concepts of space and region from their traditional univocality and, rather, underline their different and, at times, conflicting meanings.

The making of early maps and geographical accounts of Western Amazonia responded to two separate actors—missionaries of the Jesuit Province of Quito sent to the Upper Amazonas basin and those of the Franciscan Province of Peru sent to the Ucayali region. To properly explain the importance of these differing contexts for the cartographic and geographic constructions of Western Amazonia, the present study

concentrates on three factors—missionaries, natives, and networks—that made this process possible.

This dissertation underlines the primal multivocality of the name “Amazonas” during the gradual formation of Jesuit and Franciscan visions of this region and argues that their cartographic procedures, which do not fit in the traditional standards of professionalism and amateurism, reinforced this state of ambiguity. This study adds another layer of complexity by arguing that in the Ucayali, the Franciscan cartographic production relied on the knowledge of local Conibo Indians. Lastly, this dissertation traces the missionary networks that permitted the transmission and reception of the Jesuit and Franciscan geo-cartographic works of Amazonia. It argues that, whereas Jesuits and officials in Quito were not able to match their visions of Amazonian, in Peru late-eighteenth-century bureaucrats were able to build upon the century-old Franciscan project of an autonomous Amazonian province. This dissertation thus contributes to the history of cartography and geography by focusing on the uncertain instruments, native lore, and differing views that characterized the cartographic and geographic configuration of early modern Western Amazonia.

CHAPTER 1 PROLOGUE

Maps as Fetishes and the Origins of this Dissertation

In volume one of *Capital*, Karl Marx explained the rise of a new rationale that made consumption a naturalized aspect of bourgeois life. The main characteristic of this new materialistic consciousness was the fetishism of commodities, which Marx explained with the following words:

Could commodities themselves speak, they would say: Our use-value may be a thing that interest men. It is not part of us as objects. What, however, does belong to us as objects, is our value. Our natural intercourse as commodities proves it. In the eyes of each other we are nothing but exchange-values.¹

Marx thus metaphorically explained the commoditization of products, that is, the abstraction of the use-value and forms of human labor that made goods possible, and the enthroning of the exchange-value as “the only form in which the value of commodities can manifest itself or be expressed.”² This representation of commodities or products as self-sufficient beings is what Marx called “fetishism”.³ As a result, the bourgeoisie did not question the origin of products, and held these objects as necessities imposed by nature, in which “the process of production has the mastery over man, instead of being controlled by him.”⁴

This dissertation is far from a Marxist evaluation of the conditions of the structures of production in early modern Amazonia. Nevertheless, it is, in a very particular manner, an examination of the production and consumption of a specific yet

¹ Karl Marx, *Capital*, vol. 1 (Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1961), p. 83.

² *Ibid.*, p. 38.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 72.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 81.

unusual type of commodity—maps, and their accompanying geographical accounts, of the tropical heartland of South America—that have endured a similar process of fetishization. A consequence of this fetishism of maps and geographical treatises has been the conceptualization of Amazonia as a place with very definite and univocal characteristics—its exchange-value. The name “Amazonas” has been at times associated with rigid hydrographic and geographic concepts and, at others, with nationalistic perceptions of the incorporation of the region into the spatial notion of national territories in South America. In this dissertation I argue, instead, that Amazonia cannot be reduced to a single and fixed concept—a fetish—because, once we dig beyond its exchange-value, we will be able to unearth its multifaceted nature and conceptual ambiguity. In this respect, the objective of this study is to illuminate the early modern heterogeneous conditions of cartographic and geographic production and consumption concealed behind the present-day homogeneous conceptualization of Amazonia.

The origins of my interest in this project are inextricably associated with the long-lasting diplomatic and geo-political conflict over issues of sovereignty in the Western Amazonian region now shared by the Republics of Ecuador and Peru, historically known as Maynas. From the early nineteenth century until the last military confrontation in 1995, the Peruvian and Ecuadorian states have contested dominion over the Maynas region. The boundary and national question regarding Western Amazonia has consequently sparked substantial scholarly interest, particularly from a geo-political and diplomatic standpoint.⁵ My interest was not necessarily to address and dispute the

⁵ See, among others, Enrique Ayala, *Ecuador-Perú: Historia del conflicto y de la paz* (Quito: Planeta, 1999); Adrián Bonilla, “Fuerza, conflicto y negociación: Proceso político de la relación entre Ecuador y

previously established diplomatic history. Instead, I sought to focus on more subjective or cultural aspects that might have informed the spatial imagination of the nation among Ecuadorians and Peruvians. And maps were an unexplored clue to understand this problem.

When looking at some of the early maps that Jesuit missionaries from Quito, in particular, made of Western Amazonia, I noticed there was a resemblance between their mapped territory and the region in conflict between Peru and Ecuador in contemporary times. I also noted that some Jesuit and Franciscan reports from colonial times were transcribed in the first attempts, during the early twentieth century, to collect, systematize, and publish a series of documents that became the foundations of the diplomatic allegations prepared by representatives of both nations to justify their ownership of Western Amazonia.⁶ Thus, missionaries were somehow already inserted

Perú,” in *Hacia una nueva visión de la frontera y de las relaciones fronterizas*, ed. Rubén Silie and Carlos Segura (Santo Domingo: FLACSO, 2002), pp. 161-186 and “The Ecuador-Peru Dispute: The Limits and Prospects for Negotiation and Conflict,” in *Security Cooperation in the Western Hemisphere: Resolving the Ecuador-Peru Conflict*, ed. Gabriel Marcella and Richard Downes (Coral Gables: North-South Center Press, 1999), pp. 67-89; Percy Cayo, *Perú y Ecuador: antecedentes de un largo conflicto* (Lima: Universidad del Pacífico, Centro de Investigación, 1995); Félix Denegri, *Perú y Ecuador: apuntes para la historia de una frontera* (Lima: Bolsa de Valores de Lima, Instituto Riva-Agüero, Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, 1996); Monica Herz and Joao Pontes Nogueira, *Ecuador vs. Peru: Peace Amid Rivalry* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2002); Marco Restrepo, “El problema de frontera en la construcción del espacio amazónico,” in *Amazonia: escenarios y conflictos*, ed. Lucy Ruiz (Quito: CEDIME, 1993), pp. 147-166; Ronald Bruce St. John, “The Ecuador-Peru Dispute: A Reconsideration,” in *The Americas: World Boundaries*, ed. Pascal Girot, vol. 4 (London: Routledge, 1994), pp. 113-132 and *The Foreign Policy of Peru* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1992).

⁶ Segundo Álvarez Arteta, *La cuestión de límites entre las repúblicas del Ecuador y Perú: apuntes y documentos* (Sevilla: Escuela tipográfica y librería salesianas, 1901); Mariano Cornejo and Felipe de Osma, *Documentos anexos á la Memoria del Perú presentados á S. M. el real árbitro*, 7 vols. (Madrid: Imprenta de los hijos de M. G. Hernández, 1905-1906); Felipe de Osma, *Según las relaciones de los Jesuitas, ¿hasta dónde son navegables los afluentes septentrionales del Marañón?* (Lima: Imprenta de los hijos de M. G. Hernández, [1908]); José Pardo y Barreda, *Documentos anexos al Alegato del Perú presentados á S. M. el real árbitro*, 3 vols. (Madrid: Imprenta de los hijos de M. G. Hernández, 1905); Enrique Vacas Galindo, O.P., *Colección de documentos sobre límites ecuatoriano-peruanos*, 3 vols. (Quito: Tipografía de la Escuela de Artes y Oficios por R. Jaramillo, 1902-1903). Although not related to the Peruvian-Ecuadorian impasse, transcription of colonial missionary documents of Western Amazonia also appeared in Víctor Maúrtua, *Juicio de límites entre el Perú y Bolivia. Contestación al alegato de*

into the larger narrative of territorial formation from a nationalist perspective. Yet, I wondered how, in 1640, a person could have defended the national condition of a territory when there were still no nations or nation-states, as we understand them today. Then I realized that my own view of those early Jesuit maps fell into the same category—the map had become a national fetish for me as well. That is, just like diplomats had retroactively labeled the role of Amazonian friars as proto-national, I was also looking at those maps anachronistically since those missionary cartographers could not have foreseen the diplomatic and military problems that the Peruvian and Ecuadorian governments would later experience.

Yet, Jesuits and Franciscans were sent to Amazonia and mapped the territory that was to be later disputed by those two South American republics. Thus, although any cause-and-effect relation was out of the question, I still believed that it was important to revise the history of missionary cartography of the tropical heartland of South America and to examine how influential the maps were in the forging of national spaces, particularly in Ecuador and Peru. I sought to go beyond the “exchange-value” of such maps and study their primal conditions of production and distribution and, only then, how they might have paved the way for the final configuration of Amazonia as a national place. To examine the distribution, I had to trace the different networks that permitted the transmission of missionary Amazonian knowledge and the resulting debates taking place about this knowledge—that is, how locals saw, discussed, and comprehended those early images of Amazonia. In matters of production, I noticed that the actual methods and tools used by missionaries to map Amazonia have not been

Bolivia, 8 vols. (Buenos Aires: Compañía Sud Americana de Billetes de Banco, 1907), especially in vols. 5 and 6.

sufficiently studied. These missionaries were coming to a new territory populated by many indigenous societies. As a result, it became important to study the extent to which the relationships between natives and friars shaped the making of cartographic and geographic knowledge—a topic that, in the case of Western Amazonia, has not been properly examined either.⁷

Historiographical Discussion

This dissertation addresses the conceptual configuration of Western Amazonia through an analysis of the production, circulation, and reception of missionary maps and reports that permitted the systematization of geographical and cartographical knowledge about this region. I examine a period, approximately the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, when friars from the Jesuit Province of Quito and from the Franciscan Province of Peru were sent to missionize and colonize the tropical heartland of Spanish South America.⁸ This region became an important area of inquiry and evangelization for members of these religious orders since the 1640s. The location of

⁷ I remember some of the first comments that I received on these issues—that is, “does your interpretation of maps come from what you see or from the people who actually looked at those maps in the 1700s?” and “where are the Indians in this project?”—which really helped me frame the different questions that I address in this dissertation. I first received these comments, if I am not wrong, from the “Spaces of Inquiry” group, directed by professors Bill Leslie and Carla Yanni, which was part of the 2010 Social Sciences Research Council-Dissertation Proposal Development Fellowship, and from the members of my dissertation committee at Florida when I defended my dissertation prospectus. Many thanks to them.

⁸ For general history surveys of early modern Amazonia, in which both Jesuit and Franciscan missionaries played an important role in the colonization and evangelization of this region, see Waldemar Espinoza, *Amazonía del Perú: Historia de la Gobernación y Comandancia General de Maynas (Hoy Regiones de Loreto, San Martín, Ucayali y Provincia de Condorcanqui): Del siglo XV a la primera mitad del siglo XIX* (Lima: Fondo Editorial del Congreso del Perú, Banco Central de Reserva del Perú, Promperú, 2007) and Fernando Santos-Granero, *Etnohistoria de la Alta Amazonia: siglo XV-XVIII* (Quito: Abya-yala, MLAL, 1992). For general histories of the Franciscan presence in Amazonia see Julián Heras, O.F.M., *Aporte de los Franciscanos a la Evangelización del Perú* (Lima: Provincia Misionera de San Francisco Solano, 1992) and Antonine Tibesar, O.F.M., *Franciscan Beginnings in Colonial Peru* (Washington: Academy of American Franciscan History, 1953). For general histories of the Jesuit presence in Amazonia see Wilfredo Ardito Vega, *Las reducciones jesuitas de Maynas: Una experiencia misional en la amazonía peruana* (Lima: CAAAP, 1993) and José Jouanen, S.I., *Historia de la Compañía de Jesús en la Antigua Provincia de Quito*, 2 vols. (Quito: Editorial Ecuatoriana, 1941-1943).

the friars' main target was fundamental for their evangelizing work, that is, the "nations"—as friars called indigenous societies—or "ethnic" groups—as anthropologists and other social scientists labeled them in modern times—played a pivotal role in the mapping and knowledge-making process. More important, it was necessary to map native towns and multiple rivers running throughout the Western Amazonian basin since these were the required routes that made the missionary enterprise possible. Amazonian territories and societies thus became situated phenomena, in other words, a conglomerate of regions and social groups whose cultural, political, and spatial boundaries were presumed to be clearly demarcated. This dissertation addresses the process of spatial configuration and underscores that, although clearly demarcated, there were multiple, contemporaneous, and conflicting images of Amazonia. The existence of these competing images, in turn, would have specific consequences for the colonial and postcolonial systematization of the spatial knowledge of Western Amazonia.

My dissertation follows a trend in the history of science scholarship dealing with the role missionaries played as producers of scientific theories and practices, the connections with native learnings, and the repercussions of this knowledge in a period of European global expansion. The presence of these missionary scientists was particularly relevant for the collection, classification, and circulation of knowledge about the peripheries of the European Empires, or about places where they still planned to impose some form of control, such as in the British and American islands in the Pacific Ocean, twentieth-century Africa, late-Ming and early-Qing China, and South America

under Spanish rule.⁹ My research also builds upon the path established by historians of cartography and geography who underscored the complexity associated with processes of spatial configuration. They emphasized the instrumentality and power of maps and geographical accounts to create spatial imaginaries and guide policies of territorial occupation.¹⁰ I argue that a similar and unexplored process took place in Western Amazonia, where missionaries were at the forefront of a multifaceted process of scientific production that engendered a series of cartographic and geographic products that provided different pictures of Amazonia in early modern times.

I decided to focus on the Jesuits of Quito and the Franciscans of Peru since these were arguably the most competent missionary organizations dedicated to the mapping and mapmaking of Western Amazonia. The availability of sources from these orders also made the research and writing of this dissertation feasible. There is already a considerable scholarship dealing directly or tangentially with the Amazonian

⁹ Miguel de Asúa, *Science in the Vanished Arcadia: Knowledge of Nature in the Jesuit Missions of Paraguay and Rio de la Plata* (Leiden: Brill, 2014); Benjamin Elman, *On Their Own Terms: Science in China, 1550-1900* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2005); Margaret R. Ewalt, *Peripheral Wonders: Nature, Knowledge, and Enlightenment in the Eighteenth-Century Orinoco* (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 2008); Patrick Harries and David Maxwell, eds., *The Spiritual in the Secular: Missionaries and Knowledge about Africa* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2012); Roy MacLeod and Philip Rehbock, eds., *Darwin's Laboratory: Evolutionary Theory and Natural History in the Pacific* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1994), especially the essays by Janet Browne, Niel Gunson, and Sarah Sohmer; Luis Millones and Domingo Ledezma, eds., *El saber de los jesuitas, historias naturales y el Nuevo Mundo* (Madrid: Iberoamericana; Frankfurt am Main: Vervuert, 2005); Andrés Prieto, *Missionary Scientists: Jesuit Science in Spanish South America, 1570-1810* (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 2011); Sujit Sivasundaram, *Nature and the Godly Empire: Science and Evangelical Mission in the Pacific, 1795-1850* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

¹⁰ See, among others, Graham D. Burnett, *Masters of All They Surveyed: Exploration, Geography, and a British El Dorado* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2000); Raymond Craib, *Cartographic Mexico: A History of State Fixations and Fugitive Landscapes* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2004); Matthew Edney, *Mapping an Empire: The Geographical Construction of British India, 1765-1843* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1997); J. Brian Harley, *The New Nature of Maps: Essays in the History of Cartography*, ed. Paul Laxton (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001); Heidi Scott, *Contested Territory: Mapping Peru in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2009); Thongchai Winichakul, *Siam Mapped: A History of the Geo-Body of a Nation* (Honolulu, HI: University of Hawai'i Press, 1994).

cartographic and geographic production by Jesuits missionaries from Quito,¹¹ with the friars of the Franciscan province of Peru,¹² and on the allegorical meanings of the cartographic productions of both orders as well.¹³ In most cases, the historiographical concentration has been on one of the two orders, underestimating the importance of the connections between both cartographic traditions, and consequently paving the way for the study of Jesuit and Franciscan mappings of Amazonia along national and even nationalistic viewpoints. This position, which converts the Jesuits into proto-

¹¹ André Ferrand de Almeida, "Samuel Fritz and the Mapping of the Amazon," *Imago Mundi* 55 (2003), pp. 113-119 and "Samuel Fritz Revisited: The Maps of the Amazon and their Circulation in Europe," in *La cartografía europea tra Primo Rinascimento e fine dell'Illuminismo*, ed. Diogo Ramada Curto, Angelo Cattaneo, and André Ferrand de Almeida (Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 2003), pp. 133-153; Miguel Barquero, S.I., *Algunos trabajos de los misioneros jesuitas en la cartografía colonial española* (Barcelona: J. Horta, 1914); Ernesto Capello, "Cartógrafos y clérigos: Misiones geodésicas y religiosas en el conocimiento geográfico del Ecuador (siglos XVII-XX)," *Araucaria* 12:24 (2010), pp. 150-175; Camila Dias, "Jesuit Maps and Political Discourse: The Amazon River of Father Samuel Fritz," *The Americas* 69:1 (2012), pp. 95-116; Protasio Langer, "Cartas geográficas edificantes: O imaginário da conversão dos povos indígenas nos mapas dos jesuítas Heinrich Scherer e Samuel Fritz," in *Conversão dos cativos: Povos indígenas e missão jesuítica*, ed. Paulo Suess et al. (São Bernardo do Campo: Nhanduti, 2009), pp. 79-90; Carlos Larrea, *Cartografía ecuatoriana de los siglos XVI, XVII y XVIII* (Quito: Corporación de Estudios y Publicaciones, 1977) and *La Real Audiencia de Quito y su territorio* (Quito: Casa de la Cultura Ecuatoriana, 1963); Octavio Latorre, *Los mapas del Amazonas y el desarrollo de la cartografía ecuatoriana en el siglo XVIII* (Guayaquil: Museos del Banco Central del Ecuador, 1988); Iván Lucero S.I., "La cartografía de la antigua provincia de Quito de la Compañía de Jesús" (S.T.L. thesis, Weston Jesuit School of Theology, 2004); Neil Safier, *Measuring the New World: Enlightenment Science and South America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008), especially chapter 2.

¹² Rudolph Arbesmann, O.S.A., "The Contribution of the Franciscan College of Ocopa in Peru to the Geographical Exploration of South America," *The Americas* 1:4 (1945), pp. 393-417; Alan K. Craig, "Franciscan Exploration in the Central Montaña of Peru," in *Actas y memorias del XXXIX Congreso Internacional de Americanistas*, vol. 4 (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 1972), pp. 127-144; Mariano Cuesta, "Aportación franciscana a la geografía de América," *Archivo Íbero-Americano* 46 (1986), pp. 535-576, "Descubrimientos geográficos durante el s. XVIII: Acción franciscana en la ampliación de fronteras," *Archivo Íbero-Americano* 52 (1992), pp. 293-342, and "Pervivencia de modelos de exploración territorial tras la independencia de América del Sur," *Archivo Íbero-Americano* 57 (1997), pp. 471-514; Valverde de Ica, "La geografía del oriente peruano y los misioneros franciscanos: 1619-1913," *Boletín de la Sociedad Geográfica de Lima* 37-38 (1921), pp. 9-36; Alberto Gridilla, O.F.M., "Aportación de los Misioneros Franciscanos Descalzos al progreso de la Geografía del Perú," 2nd ed., in Alberto Gridilla, O.F.M., *Un año en el Putumayo. Resumen de un diario* (Lima: Colección Descalzos, 1943), pp. 63-90; Julián Heras, O.F.M., "Los Franciscanos de Ocopa y la cartografía regional del centro," *Boletín de Lima* 6 (1980), pp. 45-56 and *Aporte de los Franciscanos*, pp. 303-27; Mariselle Meléndez, "The Cultural Production of Space in Colonial Latin America: From Visualizing Difference to the Circulation of Knowledge," in *The Spatial Turn: Interdisciplinary Perspectives*, ed. Barney Warf and Santa Arias (London: Routledge, 2009), pp. 173-191.

¹³ Dias, Langer, Meléndez.

Ecuadoreans and the Franciscans into proto-Peruvians as colonizers and defenders of Amazonian possessions, mainly derives from the interpretation of missionary goals as part of larger Spanish Imperial geopolitical interests in the region.¹⁴ These schisms, along missionary and national lines, overlook the vital fact that the beginning of the conceptual and cartographic formation of Amazonia responds to the elaboration of parallel but distinct Jesuit and Franciscan visions of this region.

I do not attempt to entirely refute the geopolitical aspect of the missionary cartographic and geographic production of Amazonia. My intention is to make that aspect more of a side effect rather than the ultimate target. The most appropriate means to avoid this pitfall is to address Amazonia as a transnational space. This decision derives not from a mere historiographical standpoint but from the fact that the configuration of Western Amazonia as an object of inquiry involved simultaneous cartographic practices of the Jesuits of Quito and the Franciscans of Peru, breaking

¹⁴ On the Jesuit side see Constantino Bayle, S.I., "Las Misiones, defensa de las fronteras. Mainas," *Missionalia Hispanica* 8:24 (1951), p. 418; Jean-Paul Deler, *Ecuador: Del espacio al Estado nacional*, 2nd ed., trans. Federico Yépez et al. (Quito: Universidad Andina Simón Bolívar, IFEA, Corporación Editora Nacional, 2007), pp. 83-84; Lucero, pp. 42, 158; Larrea, *Cartografía ecuatoriana*, p. 33; Latorre, chapter 4; John L. Phelan, *The Kingdom of Quito in the Seventeenth Century: Bureaucratic Politics in the Spanish Empire* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1967), p. 42; Fernando Rosas, *Del Río de la Plata al Amazonas: El Perú y el Brasil en la época de la dominación ibérica* (Lima: Universidad Ricardo Palma-Editorial Universitaria, 2008), especially chapters 8 and 9; Jorge Villalba, S.I., "Documentos, memoriales, cartas y mapas del P. Samuel Fritz, SJ. misionero del Amazonas 1689-1709," *Revista del Instituto de historia eclesiástica ecuatoriana* 12 (1992), p. 57. On the Franciscan side see Gridilla, p. 89; Heras, *Aporte de los Franciscanos*, p. 272; Cuesta, "Descubrimientos geográficos durante el s. XVIII," p. 329. This concentration on the geopolitical role of the missionaries led to the anachronistic but simultaneous "Peruvianization" and "Ecuadorianization" of the Jesuits in Amazonia. Compare Luis Hernán Ramírez, "Samuel Fritz (1654-1725) defensor de la peruanidad en el territorio amazónico," *Alma Mater* 13-14 (1997), pp. 29-33 and Espinoza, p. 222, who describes Jesuits as defenders of the Peruvian Amazonia, and, on the other side, Jorge Villalba, S.I., "Las misiones jesuíticas en el Amazonas," in *Historia de la iglesia católica en el Ecuador*, ed. Jorge Salvador Lara, vol. 2 (Quito: Conferencia Episcopal Ecuatoriana, Academia Nacional de Historia, Abya-Yala, 2001), p. 771, for whom the very same Jesuits rather protected Ecuador's Amazonia.

apart modern and artificial nation-state boundaries.¹⁵ In this respect, I follow the example of Neil Safier and Ernesto Capello, who successfully traced the complex origins and circulation of Jesuit cartography in colonial Quito and in independent Ecuador. They emphasized issues of creolization and cultural appropriation stemming from diverse and conflicting actors instead of traditional nationalistic and organic perspectives in the making of Jesuit maps.¹⁶ In addition, I am interested in underscoring the variety of factors involved in the cartographic practice of Amazonian missionaries, which makes an exclusively geopolitical or nationalist interpretation of this process simply pointless.¹⁷ I focus on two other unexplored but important elements that made the cartographic configuration of Western Amazonia possible: the role of native societies, and the geographical theories and observational instruments that permitted missionaries to map this region.

Dissertation Outline

This dissertation addresses the crafting of two parallel but different visions of Amazonia. These visions stemmed from the distinctive ways Jesuits and Franciscans produced and circulated their own cartographic works of Western Amazonia. The

¹⁵ This transnational framework was used, for instance, to study the struggles between Spanish Jesuits and Portuguese Carmelites along the middle Amazon River in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries as well as the Jesuit evangelizing experiences in early modern Quito and Brazil. For the former see David Sweet, "A Rich Realm of Nature Destroyed: The Middle Amazon Valley, 1640-1750," 2 vols. (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Wisconsin, 1974). For the latter see Peter Downes, "Jesuitas en la Amazonía: Experiencias de Brasil y Quito," in *La misión y los jesuitas en la América española, 1566-1767: Cambios y permanencias*, ed. José Hernández and Rodrigo Moreno (Sevilla: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 2005), pp. 151-186.

¹⁶ Safier, Capello.

¹⁷ In this regard I follow Anne Godlewska who used the term "divided loyalties" to explain the array and complexity of interests involved in the Jesuit cartographic production since these friars came to be accountable, in different contexts, to the Pope, the Superior Father, local bishops, local governments, military agents, scientific academies in Europe, and "to each other." See her "Commentary: The Fascination of Jesuit Cartography," in *Jesuit Encounters in the New World: Jesuit Chroniclers, Geographers, Educators and Missionaries in the Americas, 1549-1767*, ed. Joseph Gagliano and Charles E. Ronan, S.I. (Rome: Institutum Historicum S.I., 1997), p. 108.

primordial impossibility of mapping and naming “the” Amazonas constitutes the basic and recurrent plot of this dissertation. To explain the multifaceted nature of the conceptual configuration of Western Amazonia, I address missionary cartography as a threefold process. These three factors are: missionaries (who codified the human and geographical landscape of Amazonia through the production of maps, travel accounts, and natural histories), natives (since the process of knowledge production of Western Amazonia depended precisely upon the relationships missionaries established with indigenous societies), and networks (that permitted the transference of scientific knowledge from tropical/missionary areas to urban/secular spaces). Following these three main axes, the body of my dissertation is divided into five chapters addressing different topics that, altogether, constitute the foundation of my argument about the conceptual ambiguity of Western Amazonia. Chapters 2 and 3 deal with divergent geographic theories and ambiguous cartographic instruments that Franciscans and Jesuits used to map Amazonia. Chapter 4 delves into the multiple interests and actors—natives, soldiers, and friars—that took part in the missionary mapping expeditions into Amazonia. Chapters 5 and 6 examine the networks that transmitted the varying visions of Amazonia circulating, chronologically and synchronically, throughout the Jesuit province of Quito and the Franciscan province of Peru.

Scholars often undertook the task of delineating a genealogy of missionary mapmakers, indicating in detail the spatial or geographical regions they mapped, the dates when these maps or plans were made, published, or reproduced, their exact dimensions, and their political and allegorical meanings. Yet, the very act of mapping, the reasons for Jesuit and Franciscan friars to explore and map, and the processes by

which these maps were made—which relates to the academic formation and intellectual universe of these missionary cartographers—have all been understudied.¹⁸ This problem persists because missionary maps have been traditionally taken for granted. That is, the exchange-value—the pristine and wild Amazonas basin—obscured the original conditions of the region where these maps were produced, the multiple pictorial views of Amazonia, and the repercussions of the competing Amazonian images in the forging of national spaces in South America. Following this introductory section, then, Chapters 2 and 3 deal with the intellectual framework and mechanical instruments that allowed missionaries to conceptualize and map Western Amazonia.

Chapter 2 focuses on the missionaries' foundational narratives of the discovery of the Amazonas and the ambiguous naming process of the river. I start by examining the different accounts of the discovery of the Amazonas River during the sixteenth century. Then I look at how the first Jesuits and Franciscans, who travelled through Amazonia and wrote reports about their tropical wanderings in the mid-seventeenth century, absorbed and applied those early Amazonian theories into their own works. In Chapter 2 study the conceptual ambiguity of Amazonia and how it led to the configuration of two different but parallel visions of Amazonia by Jesuits and Franciscans. I argue that this conceptual ambiguity is the most symptomatic characteristic of Amazonia. Chapter 3 analyzes the techniques, methods, instruments, and observations that allowed Jesuits of Quito and Franciscans of Peru to perform cartographic activities in their spare time in Western Amazonia. I begin by decoding the

¹⁸ In general, despite the knowledge we have about Jesuit cartographic works, “[w]e know curiously little about their intellectual formation.” See David Buisseret, “Jesuit Cartography in Central and South America,” in *Jesuit Encounters in the New World: Jesuit Chroniclers, Geographers, Educators and Missionaries in the Americas, 1549-1767*, ed. Joseph Gagliano and Charles E. Ronan, S.I. (Rome: Institutum Historicum S.I., 1997), p. 114.

1707 map of Samuel Fritz—arguably the most famous Jesuit cartographer of Amazonia—to find the different processes involved in the making of this map. Then I discuss the instrumental aspects and pragmatic aims of both Jesuit and Franciscan cartographies of the tropical lowlands of South America.¹⁹ I argue that the cartographic praxis of Amazonian missionaries does not fit into traditional standards of professionalization or amateurism; it lies somewhere between the two. This ambiguous scientific position, in turn, nourished the varying mappings of Western Amazonia.

Books on cosmography, geography, and natural history mostly held at conventual libraries in Quito and Peru were the most important sources for Chapters 2 and 3. Jesuit and Franciscan friars were not the only authors of these works. Some of them were written a few decades after Columbus' arrival in Hispaniola, a century before Franciscans and Jesuits were sent to missionize the tropical South American forests. Therefore, the missionary Amazonian knowledge production built upon a larger, older, and equally complex scholarly tradition. The study of these works consulted and authored by Jesuits and Franciscans let me recreate an approximate version of the early modern intellectual milieu that nourished those missionaries sent to evangelize Amazonian societies and map the region. The books consulted by Franciscan cartographers are still preserved at the libraries of the Seraphic convents of Descalzos, in Lima, and Santa Rosa de Ocopa in central Peru. Jesuits, on the other hand, were exposed to a series of scientific texts that are now held at diverse repositories in Ecuador, including the library of the Ministry of Culture, the National Library, and the library of the Central University of Quito. Most of these were once under a single roof, at

¹⁹ Whereas the analysis of the instrumental aspect of the Jesuit Amazonian cartography is technically nonexistent, for the Franciscan case there are a few works that indirectly dealt with this topic. See in particular Heras, "Los Franciscanos de Ocopa," pp. 45-56 and *Aporte de los Franciscanos*, pp. 303-27.

the old library of the Jesuit College of Quito. In Chapter 3 I also use missionaries' reports and correspondence to find traces of the instrumental process that led to the cartographic works of Amazonia.

Chapter 4 focuses on the contribution of Western Amazonian natives to the production of missionary cartographic and geographic knowledge about this region. In particular, I study the late-1680s Franciscan expedition to the town of Conibos in the Ucayali River—a Southern tributary of the Amazonas. I argue that mapping and mapmaking of this area heavily depended upon the relationships friars and their accompanying soldiers established with ethnic leaders of local Conibo societies. I do not know of any other work that addresses the indigenous contribution to the making and practice of Franciscan scientific activities.²⁰ In the case of Jesuit science, the literature has already started to focus on this topic. The scholarship has progressed from looking at missionary colleges as centers of scientific production to emphasizing the appropriation of indigenous knowledge by friars.²¹ In the case of missionary cartography, there are studies stressing that these maps were not merely a reflection of the friars' viewpoints. Instead, the emphasis is put on the fact that the cartographic

²⁰ In general, there is a clear imbalance between studies focused on Jesuit science and those of the other religious orders. For the literature in English on the Franciscan case, I was only able to find a couple of chapters addressing some late medieval contributions from members of this order to the development of the first humanistic and early modern scientific inquiries. See Marcia L. Colish, *Medieval Foundations of the Western Intellectual Tradition: 400-1400* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), especially chapter 24, pp. 319-325 and Gerald J. Galgan, "Some Medieval Franciscan Signposts on the Road to Modern Science," in *In Search of a Community: Essays in Memory of Werner Stark, 1909-1985*, ed. Eileen Leonard, Hermann Strasser, and Kenneth Westhues (New York: Fordham University Press, 1993), pp. 173-192. The only survey study of Franciscan science that I could find is John M. Lenhart, "Science in the Franciscan Order: A Historical Sketch," *Franciscan Studies* 1 (1924), pp. 5-44. Thus, one of the objectives of this dissertation is to amend this historiographical imbalance by comparing both Jesuit and Franciscan cartographic and geographic activities.

²¹ On the former see Steven J. Harris, "Mapping Jesuit Science: The Role of Travel in the Geography of Knowledge," in *The Jesuits: Cultures, Sciences, and the Arts, 1540-1773*, ed. John W. O'Malley, S.I. et al. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999), pp. 212-240. On the latter, Prieto.

practice taking place in colonial British, Spanish, and Portuguese America rested upon an exchange of information between European newcomers and experienced natives.²²

As a result, it is possible to find “indigenous traits” in some of the early Western maps of the Americas. Other studies also demonstrate, for example, how Guarani Indians were able to appropriate the Jesuit cartographic language in their own land claims.²³

In the case of Western Amazonia, however, there is no study of the indigenous participation in the missionary cartography. The literature on this topic and my own research show, in all likelihood, that no indigenous maps were used by missionaries. Neil Whitehead taught us that “in discussing the incorporation of native spatial ideas into European maps, it is important to appreciate that geographical information may be transmitted in many ways other than graphic representation, such as gestures, words, songs, and so on.”²⁴ In the case of the Franciscan mapping of the Ucayali, I did not find proper spatial records of any kind expressly produced by Conibo natives of the Ucayali. However, I found that whereas friars’ records of the expedition to the town of Conibos tended to neglect the indigenous participation in the process, documents prepared by soldiers taking part on the same expedition clearly acknowledged the contribution of

²² Juliana Barr, “Geographies of Power: Mapping Indian Borders in the ‘Borderlands’ of the Early Southwest,” *The William and Mary Quarterly* 68:1 (2011): pp. 5-46; Godlewska, pp. 99-111; Glória Kok, “Vestígios indígenas na cartografia do sertão da América portuguesa,” *Anais do Museu Paulista* 17:2 (2009): pp. 91-109; John Rennie Short, *Cartographic Encounters: Indigenous Peoples and the Exploration of the New World* (London: Reaktion Books, 2009).

²³ Artur H. F. Barcelos, “A cartografia indígena no Rio da Prata colonial,” in *O Brasil no Sul: cruzando fronteiras entre o regional e o nacional*. X Encontro Estadual de História, ANPUH-RS (Santa Maria: Universidade Federal de Santa Maria, Centro Universitário Franciscano, 2010) (http://www.eeh2010.anpuh-rs.org.br/resources/anais/9/1279585458_ARQUIVO_trabalho_Artur_Barcelos.pdf), accessed May 30, 2015; Norberto Levinton, “La micro-región: espacio y tiempo en la cartografía producida por la interacción jesuítico-guaraní,” *Anuario de Estudios Americanos* 67:2 (2010): pp. 577-604.

²⁴ Neil L. Whitehead, “Indigenous Cartography in Lowland South America and the Caribbean,” in *The History of Cartography*, Vol. 2, Book 3, ed. David Woodward and G. Malcolm Lewis (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), p. 322.

Conibo leaders to the friars' and soldiers' geographical and cartographic knowledge of the Ucayali. That is, through military and Franciscan maps and reports it is still possible to examine traces that indicate indigenous participation in the mapping of Western Amazonia. In relation to sources, Chapter 4 basically relies on copies of the missionary and military accounts and maps of the 1680s Ucayali expedition held at the Archive of Limites of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Peru, the archive of the Convent of Ocopa in Peru, and the map library of the National Library of France.

Chapters 5 and 6 examine the different networks that allowed the circulation of multiple visions of Amazonia that Jesuits of Quito and Franciscans of Peru developed and transmitted throughout the territories of the Audiencia of Quito and the Viceroyalty of Peru during the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Missions established in Western Amazonia were connected to the cities of Quito and Lima where friars from both religious orders engaged in academic and scientific activities.²⁵ These circuits permitted the development of particular spatial conceptualizations of Amazonia within local Jesuit and Franciscan communities. At the same time, those early images of Amazonia were at the disposition of several actors, mainly viceregal and metropolitan officials. These actors, in turn, impacted the way in which missionaries and civilians imagined and proposed their Amazonian projects of evangelization, colonization, and exploitation in Quito and Peru. In this respect, the most important aspect of Chapters 5 and 6, in heuristic terms, is not to examine the underlying meanings of the missionary

²⁵ Arbesmann; Julián Heras, O.F.M., "Los franciscanos en la Universidad de San Marcos," *Revista Teológica Limense* 35:1 (2001), pp. 5-20; Ekkehart Keeding, *Surge la nación: La ilustración en la Audiencia de Quito: 1725-1812*, (Quito: Banco Central del Ecuador, 2005); María Antonieta Vásquez, *Luz a través de los muros: Biografía de un edificio quiteño* (Quito: FONSAL, 2005).

Amazonian maps but to study how other actors read and interpreted them and the subsequent debates these maps provoked.

Chapter 5 examines the gradual formation of a cartographic and geographic vision of Amazonia uniquely linked to the Jesuit community of Quito. This vision focused on the delineation and demarcation of the borderlines of the Jesuit missionary territory, mostly as a result of the constant encounters with the Portuguese along the middle Amazonas River, and the incorporation of such space into the larger jurisdiction of Quito. There was, however, a simultaneous civil-bureaucrat conceptualization of the spatial jurisdiction of Quito that, despite relying on Jesuit cartographies as sources of information, was imagined as a borderless region and underestimated Amazonia as a valuable component of the larger jurisdiction. My aim is to prove that in those very moments, when metropolitan authorities were discussing the Amazonian controversy with the Portuguese, Jesuit Amazonian visual representations and geopolitical interests were consulted but disregarded in the end. Chapter 5 builds upon manuscript and printed reports and correspondence where the contents of Jesuit maps were discussed. I also use inventories of library holdings from diverse Jesuit colleges to show the dissemination of missionary maps and travel accounts depicting Amazonia around the cities of the Audiencia of Quito and beyond. These documents mostly come from the archive of the Jesuit province Quito at the Aurelio Espinosa Polit Library in Ecuador.

Unlike the clear missionary-bureaucratic divide in eighteenth-century Quito, Chapter 6 explains the situation in Peru, where Franciscan and civilian interests and projects coincided in matters of autonomy and accessibility ascribed to Western Amazonia. The Franciscan vision of Amazonia in Peru built upon the Ucayali River as

the main axis. The Ucayali was to permit the circulation of peoples and goods through an independent and internal tropical province. The importance of tracing the genealogy of this missionary project back to the last decades of the seventeenth century is that it preceded in about a century what is traditionally presumed to be “modern” or “enlightened” projects of occupation and exploitation of Amazonia, which only surfaced during the late eighteenth century. Likewise, it nurtured the renowned Royal Decree of 1802 that established an autonomous bishopric in the Western Amazonian province of Maynas and transferred its jurisdiction from the Viceroyalty of New Granada to the Viceroyalty of Peru.²⁶ I argue that any geopolitical or modernist vision of late-eighteenth-century Amazonia that does not consider the earlier development of the Franciscan vision of this region simply became pointless. Chapter 6 is based on primary and printed reports by members of the Franciscan community in Peru that demonstrate their particular vision of Amazonia. These materials are mostly held at the Archive of Limits at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Lima and the archives and libraries of the Convents of Ocopa and Descalzos in Peru.

A larger but subjacent question that I address in Chapters 5 and 6 is the actual extent of the mechanics of nation making in Western Amazonia, that is, the incorporation of this region into the spatial imagination of the nation around Quito and Lima, centers of the future Republics of Ecuador and Peru. Territorial boundaries became an important issue among the new-born South American nations and part of what Sarah Radcliffe called “process of spatial formation of the state” that heavily relied

²⁶ On the contents of this decree, which became the foremost point of legal contention in regard to the dominion over Western Amazonia between the Republics of Ecuador and Peru, see Ada Arrieta, Juan Bákula, and Hugo Pereyra, *Real Cédula: reintegración de Maynas al Perú, 15 de Julio de 1802* (Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, Instituto Riva-Agüero, 1996).

on “geographical tools and knowledges, and on imaginative geographies and images.”²⁷ In a similar manner, Carlos Parodi pointed out that those images delineating spatial boundaries were not “mere marks on the ground” but “monuments to spirit of the nation,” and that, for that very same reason, boundaries “impose themselves on the ground and on the consciousness.”²⁸ This process of imagining national spaces, however, has not been fully elucidated since state boundary theorists in South America “do not deal with the question of how colonial jurisdictions are transformed into national territories.”²⁹ In the case of Western Amazonia, missionary cartographies and geographies might constitute a very possible and reliable solution to the convoluted processes of nation making and borderline formation.³⁰ And, as seen above, both Jesuits of Quito and Franciscans of Peru have already been inserted into nationalist narratives as founding fathers of Peru’s and Ecuador’s Amazonia, respectively. Yet, the big question is: which Amazonia, early modern borderlines, and colonial jurisdictions are we talking about if, as my dissertation explains, there were multiple and conflicting spatial definitions of this region? And these distinctions occurred not only between Jesuits and Franciscans or Quiteños and Limeños, but more important, within each missionary organization and colonial jurisdiction as well.

²⁷ Sarah Radcliffe, “Imagining the State as Space: Territoriality and the Formation of the State in Ecuador,” in *States of Imagination: Ethnographic Explorations of the Postcolonial State*, ed. Thomas Blom Hansen and Finn Stepputat (Durham: Duke University Press, 2001), p. 124.

²⁸ Carlos A. Parodi, *The Politics of South American Boundaries* (Westport: Praeger, 2002), p. 29.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 63.

³⁰ See Cuesta, “Pervivencia de modelos de exploración territorial,” p. 472, n. 2, where he stated that the repercussion of missionary geographic and cartographic activities on the configuration of Latin American national boundaries deserved a more detail analysis.

To address this question, I focus on the original conceptual indeterminacy of Amazonia as a cartographic and geographic object of inquiry and the consequential crafting of competing visions of Amazonia as a way to provide a more nuanced but accurate idea of the complex process of nation making in this region. My dissertation goes against organicist views of Western Amazonia that assumed its national condition since times immemorial, which, in turn, translated into fetishistic and anachronistic (mis)understandings of Jesuit and Franciscan cartographic productions. I am not denying the development of the concept of nation in early modern Amazonia either. What I criticize is the simplistic ascription of such condition to Jesuit and Franciscan cartographic and geographic visions of Western Amazonia. As Elías Palti noted, the fact that “there was not yet a concept of nationality” during the wars of independence in Spanish America “does not mean that there did not exist a certain sense of nation [...] Otherwise, the idea of independence would have been totally unconceivable.”³¹

In the case of the incorporation of Amazonia into the national imagination of the nation, I argue that Jesuits and Franciscans were indeed providing certain foundations for how early modern Quiteños and Limeños learned to spatially imagine the tropical heartland of South America. Yet, my argument is that those foundations were not univocal but multifaceted and conflicting and, as a result, it is impossible to establish a straightforward or linear causal relation between missionary cartographies and the national imagination of Amazonia. In this I follow Benedict Anderson’s notion of “nationness” as the outcome of “largely unselfconscious processes” that “once ‘there,’ [...] become formal models to be imitated, and, where expedient, consciously exploited

³¹ Elías Palti, *La nación como problema. Los historiadores y la cuestión nacional* (Buenos Aires: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2002), p. 133.

in a Machiavellian spirit.”³² My dissertation notes that missionary maps functioned as “unselfconscious” tools to imagine Western Amazonia in multiple ways. However, the conscious “Machiavellian” exploitation of those maps—their fetishization, I might say—did not occur in the early modern era but later on, during independent times—a period that surpasses the extension of this dissertation but deserves its proper study as well.³³

³² Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, revised edition (London: Verso, 2006), p. 45.

³³ I believe that this fetishization of missionary maps of Amazonia in modern times is part, in turn, of the larger process of accumulation and formation of national archives interested in supporting a particular perspective in regard to the history of the limits of the nation whose origins were forcefully and retroactively located in early modern times. This story of national-archival formation, that moves beyond the institutional and celebratory aspect and focuses on the different mechanisms that determined the selection and conservation of specific documentary materials, deserves a proper examination as well.

CHAPTER 2 MISSIONARY FOUNDATIONAL NARRATIVES AND THE AMBIGUOUS NAMING OF AMAZONIA

What is Amazonia? Or, more properly, “Amazonas”? A priori, this might seem like an absolutely irrelevant issue. Or, an interesting exercise in the art of etymology at best. However, the theoretical framework of this dissertation and, above all, of the material and cultural production of those missionaries who evangelized the area, sailed its waters, and reported about it, revolves around the answer to this question. To make sense of the name “Amazonas,” to decode it and ascribe it, constitutes the root of all the inquiries, resolutions, explorations, and, simply, the basis of the very idea of knowing or thinking about the space located between the Spanish centers along the Andes and the Portuguese outposts along the Atlantic shoreline. In early modern times, this process of thinking or knowing rested upon the works of agents of the Iberian empires sent to the region with the goal of expanding their presence and profiting from the resources found in the tropical heartland of South America. Among these agents, missionaries excelled in their interest, knowledge, and written production about Amazonia and its indigenous societies. And among the missionaries, members of the Order of Saint Francis and of the Society of Jesus were particularly skillful.

This is a study of missionary cartography, a study that starts by asking the obvious questions of “how” and “why” in regard to missionary mapping and mapmaking activities. The process of naming is the foundation to these two types of endeavors. Although this might seem simple truism, it is rather not the case when discussing the Franciscan and Jesuit cartographies of Western Amazonia because, as we saw in Chapter 1, the intellectual formation of these missionary cartographers of Amazonia is an understudied topic. In response to this matter, Chapter 2 concentrates on the corpus

of scientific discoveries and theories that early modern missionaries learned, developed, and applied in their geographic works of Western Amazonia—the examination of their actual cartographic productions will start to be discussed in Chapter 3. These geographic and hydrological discoveries and theories constitute the basis of the process of naming the region. The naming process consisted of a way of mapping that engendered a certain way of organizing the information, which, in turn, made the knowledge and possession of Amazonia possible. By analyzing this naming process, I seek to trace the convoluted and never linear history of Amazonia as a concept. The development of particular spatial characteristics ascribed to the Amazon such as length, location, and headwaters - which are inexorably associated with its ambiguous naming - is the focus of the following pages. I argue that the ambiguity concocted in early modern times persists today, and constitutes the most symptomatic characteristic of Amazonia.

Chapter 2 deals with the disposition of the early “table of knowledge” of Amazonia. Naming represents the pillar of the process of knowledge production. Michel Foucault noted that the concept of nature after the Renaissance was “posited only through the grid of denominations” and that this grid “presents it to our knowledge and renders it visible only when wholly spanned by language.” As a result, Foucault’s “Classical” naturalist was “the man concerned with the structure of the visible world and its denomination according to characters. Not with life.”¹ This nomenclatorial ordering of things in which nature and language were intrinsically intertwined constitutes the framework that will help me explain the complexity of the interpretation of nature in the New World by early modern geographers and explorers, in particular those exploring

¹ Michel Foucault, *The Order of Things: An Archaeology of the Human Sciences* (New York: Vintage Books, 1994), pp. 160-161.

Amazonia. Geography in the early imperial Spanish world was understood as an enterprise of possession by naming. In the words of Martín Fernández de Enciso, whose 1519 “Suma de Geographia” is considered the earliest geographic work written in Spanish and the first to include the Americas—or what was then known of it—as part of the total description of the world,² the notion of geography related precisely to naming and possessing the unknown:

Una de las cosas mas agradable a los varones de nobles coraçones y progenies es oyr leer o hablar de las cosas del universo llamado mundo: en especial de aquellas de que no tienen ni alcançan noticia por ser muy apartadas de donde ellos estan [...] esto visto pudiesse mejor deliberar vuestra alteza lo que al servicio de dios y de vuestra alteza conviniesse para hazer descubrir y ganar las tierras que por las gentes que no son cristianos estan ocupadas porque nuestra santa fe catholica fuesse mas acrecentada.³

The purpose of geography is then to make unknown parts of the world hearable, readable, and speakable—that is, to name them. Interestingly, the unknown world was a gentile world as well, and once named and known, it was ready to be incorporated into the Christian world. As Antonello Gerbi noted, Enciso’s work is “an inventory of everything belonging to Charles [the First], de facto and the jure, and the detailed program of his forthcoming conquests and annexations. It is a guidebook and

² Antonello Gerbi, *Nature in the New World: From Christopher Columbus to Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo*, trans. Jeremy Moyle (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1985, 2010), pp. 76-91; Armando Melón y Ruiz, “El primer manual español de geografía,” *Anales. Universidad de Murcia* 19 (1961), pp. 5-18.

³ “Something that men of noble hearts and lineages enjoy is to hear, read, or talk about the things of the universe called world: especially those things that they cannot know due to their remoteness [...] thus, Your Highness could deliberate what is more convenient for the service of god and himself to start discovering and conquering the lands occupied by peoples who are not Christians, which would increase our holy Catholic faith.” Martín Fernández de Enciso. *Suma de geographia q[ue] trata de todas las partidas y provincias del mundo: en especial de las indias. Y trata largamente del arte de marear: juntamente con la esfera en romance: con el regimiento del sol y del norte: nuevamente hecha* (Seville: Jacobo Cronberge, 1519), ff. 2r-2v.

memorandum on worldwide expansion.”⁴ Geography then involved a naming-organizing of the things of the world in order to possess them.

In the specific case of the naming-knowing of rivers, Wyman Herendeen noted that the process derived from a long-lasting tradition going back to ancient times. Classical Circum-Mediterranean cosmogonies “associated waters of the great rivers with first creative causes.” Rivers such as the Nile, the Tigris, the Euphrates, the Jordan, among others, came to be considered divine and viewed as the origin of everything. Knowing the rivers implied not only reaching new concepts or notions about something—“rivers”—but, most important, the very possibility of knowing. “Consequently,” Herendeen states, “enmeshed in the language of rivers is the language of thought,” that is, “the pursuit of knowledge.”⁵ This quest for knowing implied in the study of rivers, however, is far from simple. A river defies straightforward notions of space and time due to its “continually changing” nature. The paradox, however, is that the river, as a concept, “forces us to work toward ordering concepts, and yet it defies them.” That is, at the same time, a river is “mutable yet constant, gaining meaning by virtue of human ability to make something of it.”⁶ The center of the discussion on rivers must consist of the very possibility of utterance of “the” river, that is, a study of the crafting of its varying yet stable significances and signifiers. I now propose to trace this challenging and convoluted early utterance of the riverine name “Amazonas.”

⁴ Gerbi, p. 79.

⁵ Wyman H. Herendeen, “The Rethoric of Rivers: The River and the Pursuit of Knowledge,” *Studies in Philology* 78:2 (1981), pp. 109-110.

⁶ Wyman H. Herendeen, *From Landscape to Literature: The River and the Myth of Geography* (Pittsburg: Duquesne University Press, 1986), pp. 3, 6.

The present analysis of the always-changing notions and names of Amazonia is built upon a close examination of sources connected to early modern conflicting elaboration of Amazonian geography. This knowledge can be found in books about geography, cosmography, and natural history that had been published since the early sixteenth century and that missionaries consulted in the libraries of the Franciscan and Jesuit communities in South America—particularly in what is now Ecuador and Peru, since friars from the provinces of Quito and Peru were generally sent to evangelize those tropical regions. It can also be studied in the missionary writings or accounts of their explorations along the Amazon basin that appeared around the middle of the seventeenth century. Missionary texts, I argue, reflect the knowledge provided by those earlier scholars and, most important, present a series of characteristics that led to different yet parallel mindsets on the missionary conceptualization of Amazonia. In particular, this is going to translate into the formation of a Jesuit and a Franciscan vision of Amazonia, with variations within each tradition as well. The result of this riverine multiplicity is the impossibility of naming “the” Amazon. From these two types of sources, library books and missionary accounts, I can access the understudied world of missionaries’ geographic and potamological theory and, most important, trace the process of construction of Amazonia as an object of inquiry, or its conceptual development and naming indeterminacy.

The Ambiguous Naming and Dimensions of the Amazon... in Present Times

This is not an etymological study, as I mentioned above. I am not interested in recovering the ultimate origin of the name “Amazonas” or the reason why early modern European explorers chose that name. First of all, I propose that the word “Amazonas” is not univocal but rather multivocal since it has been ascribed to different fluvial entities.

Second, this has not been the only word used to define the body of water that we now know as Amazon. “Amazonas” must be understood as the result of diverse and, at times, overlapping processes of nomenclatorial ascription. Mark Anderson, in his study of the representation of Amazonia in Early Republican Brazil, noted that this tropical region defied “disciplined knowledge,” that is, its “semiotic complexity resisted the assignment of meaning from without, impeding the superposition of nationalist geographical and cultural symbolism over local signage.”⁷ I argue that Amazonia among early modern Spanish missionaries was approached and studied in a similar manner since there was a similar semiotic complexity that did not permit a univocal definition of the river. Yet, this did not deter Franciscans and Jesuits’ objective of naming, knowing, and debating about the nature of this river.

Chapter 2, then, does not deal with a “history” of the word “Amazonas” and the story of the “growing perfection” of knowledge about this name/river, but rather a Foucauldian “archaeology” of “Amazonas” and the study of the “conditions of possibility” of that knowledge.⁸ Indeed, notions of the process of naming “Amazonas” paradoxically provided these conditions. In this respect, what is relevant is to study not “why” but “how” those early explorers and missionaries came to name this river in these particular manners, which imply to trace the changing toponymy of the Amazon. My first objective is to move beyond the simple retelling of the already traditional story about the mythical female warriors that Francisco de Orellana’s crew allegedly ran into and fought during

⁷ Mark D. Anderson, “Treacherous waters: Shipwrecked Landscapes and the Possibilities of Nationalistic Emplacement in Brazilian Representations of the Amazon,” *Troubled Waters: Rivers in Latin American Imagination*, ed. Elizabeth M. Pettinaroli and Ana María Mutis, *Hispanic Issues On Line* 12 (Spring 2013), pp. 111, 114. (http://hispanicissues.umn.edu/assets/doc/06_ANDERSON.pdf), accessed May 30, 2015.

⁸ Foucault, p. xxii.

their incursion along the Amazonas River in 1542. According to John Hemming, “[t]he name Amazon stuck” because of a series of factors including the written testimony of the supposed presence of these women by the early Spanish explorers of this river, the appeal of classical legends among early modern Spaniards, and the lure of “a New World brimming with unknown marvels.” As a result, “[t]he world’s largest river is called after the legendary tribe of sexually liberated women.”⁹

There are several factors to discuss from these lines. On the one hand, it is certain that Amazonia has been considered a traditional site of amusement closely linked to the “marvels” and “legends” surrounding early modern European incursion in the New World, and that these appealing stories guided the early explorations of that region.¹⁰ This has filled Amazonia with an aura of fantasy, which has paved the way for the portrayal of this region as a paradigmatic site of utopia—an early modern Paradise and source of the mythical riches of El Dorado.¹¹ Similarly, as Hemming and other have noted, “the name of the Amazon stuck,” a name that bears and reproduces those

⁹ John Hemming, *Tree of Rivers: The Story of the Amazon* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2008), pp. 32-33. On the myth of the “Amazonas,” its development during Ancient and Medieval times as well as its particularities among the early modern narratives of exploration of Amazonia, see Kathleen N. March and Kristina M. Passman, “The Amazon Myth and Latin America,” in *The Classical Tradition and the Americas*, ed. Wolfgang Haase and Meyer Reinhold, vol. 1, part 1: *European Images of the Americas and the Classical Tradition* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1993), pp. 285-338; Ana Pizarro, *Amazonía: El río tiene voces: Imaginario y modernización* (Santiago: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2009), pp. 63-70.

¹⁰ Mariano Cuesta, “Imagen cartográfica de Sudamérica: Estructura y factor hidrográfico,” *Trocadero* 24 (2012), p. 149.

¹¹ Roberto Pineda, “El Río de la Mar Dulce. Imaginarios sobre la Amazonia: Los dilemas entre un paraíso y un infierno verde,” in *Amazonia Colombiana: Imaginarios y realidades* (Bogotá: Instituto Amazónico de Investigaciones, Universidad Nacional de Colombia, 2011), pp. 77-83; Pizarro, pp. 70-75. A more detailed analysis of the myth of El Dorado can be found in Jean-Pierre Sánchez, “‘El Dorado’ and the Myth of the Golden Fleece,” in *The Classical Tradition and the Americas*, ed. Wolfgang Haase and Meyer Reinhold, vol. 1, part 1: *European Images of the Americas and the Classical Tradition* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1993), pp. 339-378. For a more contemporary look at the persistence of the edenic view of Amazonia see Candace Slater, “Amazonia as Edenic Narrative,” in *Uncommon Ground: Rethinking the Human Place in Nature*, ed. William Cronon (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1995), pp. 114-131.

memories of mystical female warriors and exuberant resources.¹² This, however, is an oversimplification. I argue that the name “Amazon,” or more properly “Amazonas,” did not originally stick and neither did its alleged utopian characteristics. Foucault and Reinhart Koselleck have defined utopias in similar terms, as “nowhere” but “untroubled” regions that “afford consolation,” that open possibilities of reaching chimerical “countries where life is easy.” These are, then, beautiful and pleasing “other worlds.”¹³ As a result, “utopias permit fables and discourse: they run with the very grain of language.”¹⁴ The naming process of Amazon has gone through a different direction, one that resembles not a utopia but, instead, one of Foucault’s “heterotopias,” which:

are disturbing, probably because they secretly undermine language, because they make it impossible to name this *and* that [...] [they] desiccate speech, stop words in their tracks, contest that very possibility of grammar at its source; they dissolve our myths and sterilize the lyricism of our sentences.¹⁵

This description of the process of naming/knowing Amazonia is what I seek to trace here. As explained by Elizabeth Pettinoreli and Ana María Mutis, “the representation of the New World through the rhetoric of Edenic landscapes [...] was also countered from the beginning by another, more troubled, discourse marked by controversy and disquiet that challenged idealized, restrictive, and closed visions of the world.”¹⁶ I propose, then,

¹² Ana Pizarro similarly argues that, although since the early sixteenth century the river received several and diverse names, “[t]erminó llamándose simplemente ‘Amazonas.’” [“simply ended up receiving the name of ‘Amazonas’”]. See Pizarro, p. 34.

¹³ Foucault, p. xviii; Reinhart Koselleck, *The Practice of Conceptual History: Timing History, Spacing Concepts*, trans. Todd Samuel Presner et al. (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2002), p. 86.

¹⁴ Foucault, p. xviii.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ Elizabeth M. Pettinaroli and Ana María Mutis, “Introduction,” *Troubled Waters: Rivers in Latin American Imagination*, ed. Elizabeth M. Pettinaroli and Ana María Mutis, *Hispanic Issues On Line* 12 (Spring 2013), p. 2. Ana Pizarro has similarly argued that, from the time of its European discovery, Amazonia was discursively constructed in a synchronic fashion as both “un espacio paradisiaco e infernal, caótico,

that “Amazonas” was part of this controversial and disquieting process. It was not a traditional utopian or edenic site but rather a conflicting place-name from the early modern times, a place-name that avoids the possibility of univocal utterance.

A consequence of this indeterminacy is that the name “Amazonas” is still not widely used nowadays. Imperial and, later, national boundaries in South America paved the way for the formation of distinct linguistic and educational programs that influenced the ways we refer to this river today. In Spanish-speaking Peru, the convention is that “Amazonas” is the name of the river running from the confluence of the Marañón and Ucayali Rivers, in Northeastern Peru, all the way down to the point where it flows into the Atlantic Ocean. In Portuguese-speaking Brazil, this large river is nominally broken into two different but conjoined entities. From the border with Peru until the confluence with the Negro River, around the city of Manaus, this river is called “Solimões.”¹⁷ The easternmost portion of this river, from the confluence with the Negro to its estuary in the Atlantic, is called “Amazonas.” Thus, two scenarios appear. It is plausible to argue in support of either the peaceful cohabiting existence of multiple names for just one fluvial entity, or the actual presence of different riverine entities with consequent distinct names. Current potamological terminology holds that “the principal source stream *usually* commands the same name as the river at its mouth.” That being the case, it is

poblado por criaturas extrañas, objeto privilegiado de los demoniaco.” [“a paradisiacal and infernal space, inhabited by strange creatures, privileged object of the diabolical”]. See Pizarro, 81. Roberto Pineda, instead, pointed out that Amazonia also presented distinct discursive conceptualizations, although in a diachronic manner, starting with the early modern “Paradise,” then moving to its rationalization during the eighteenth century, and its “demonization” only during modern times. See Pineda, “El Río de la Mar Dulce,” pp. 77-91. In Chapter 2, I follow Pettinaroli, Mutis, and Pizarro’s interpretations of the multifaceted and simultaneously conflicting conceptualizations of Amazonia.

¹⁷ The reason of the Solimões name may be related to an old province named Zuliman or Soliman that, according to early modern accounts, occupied the middle Amazonian region. See “Relacion del descubrimiento del Rio de las Amazonas, oy Rio de San Francisco del Quito, y declaracion del mapa en donde esta pintado.” ARSI/AHJ, N.R. et Quit. 15, f. 279.

nothing abnormal to have the “principal source stream”—the Solimões—, named differently than “the river as its mouth”—“Amazonas.”¹⁸ Depending on what side of the South American continent you live in, there will be different certainties on the naming of the Amazon—the Peruvian “Amazonas,” the Brazilian “Amazonas,” and the “Solimões,” which is only Brazilian. Can we talk about “the” Amazon or about how the Amazon name is still in use? Definitely not.

This issue of having different but coexistent names of the Amazonas is linked to diverse notions of the physical dimensions of the river and its length, in particular. That is, different names correspond to different longitudinal sections of the river. This dimensional consideration brings another important element of Amazonian fluvial uncertainty, which is its headwater or furthestmost source. In this respect, Gaston Bachelard stated that:

Despite its thousand faces, the river takes on a single destiny; its sources take both the responsibility and the credit for the river's entire course. The strength comes from the source. The imagination barely takes tributaries into consideration. It wants geography to be the history of a king. The dreamer who sees a river flow by calls up the legendary origin of the river, the far-off source.¹⁹

The “far-off source,” also known as the headwaters, constitutes the crown of the river, its ultimate reason of being, and the condition that makes the knowledge of rivers possible. As a result, it is an integral part of all riverine knowledge to define its ultimate origins. The problem is that, in the case of the Amazon River, its “real” origin remains unsolved thus far. It is an issue that still haunts contemporary scientists and explorers.

¹⁸ James Contos and Nicholas Tripcevic, “Correct placement of the most distant source of the Amazon River in the Mantaro River drainage,” *Area* 46:1 (2014), p. 27. My emphasis. Although the authors were referring basically to the distinction between the “Marañón” as principal source of the Amazon, I believe this definition also applies to the distinction Brazilians made between the “Solimões” and the “Amazonas.”

¹⁹ Gaston Bachelard, *Water and Dreams: An Essay on the Imagination of Matter*, trans. Edith R. Farrell (Dallas: The Pegasus Foundation, 1983), pp. 151-152.

In 1971, an expedition led by Loren McIntyre and sponsored by the National Geographic verified that the peak Mismi, in the highlands of the department of Arequipa, Southern Peru, constituted the source of the Apurimac River and the furthestmost headwaters of the Amazonas. In 2000, a second National Geographic expedition, led this time by Andrew Johnston, confirmed McIntyre's theory. In 1996, an exploration led by Jacel Palkiewicz indicated that the ultimate origin of the Amazonas was also located in the Apurimac River basin—in the department of Arequipa, but in a different site, the peak Quehuisha. The Geographic Society of Lima endorsed Palkiewicz's findings. More recently, in 2004, explorers James Contos and Nicholas Tripcevich argued that the most distant source of the Amazonas is not located in the Apurimac River drainage but rather in the Rumi Cruz Mountain Range, that is, in the Mantaro River basin. This site, located near the boundaries between the departments of Lima and Cerro de Pasco, in Central Peru, constitutes the furthestmost headwaters of the Amazonas River.²⁰ As we can see, during the last decades, many findings have been presented in relation to the ultimate headwaters of the Amazon. These scientists and explorers consider that the reason behind the diversity of theories is a very straightforward issue of scientific method. That is, the "current internationally accepted definition" that they use to identify

²⁰ See Gabriela Machuca, "Confirmado: manantial arequipeño Apacheta da origen al río Amazonas," *El Comercio*, December 1, 2010 (<http://elcomercio.pe/peru/lima/confirmado-manantial-arequipeno-apacheta-da-origen-al-rio-amazonas-noticia-677548>), accessed May 30, 2015; Roberto Ochoa, "La nacimiento del Amazonas está en el río Mantaro," *La República*, March 8, 2014 (<http://www.larepublica.pe/08-03-2014/la-nacimiento-del-amazonas-esta-en-el-rio-mantaro>), accessed May 30, 2015; Jane J. Lee, "Where Does the Amazon River Begin? Five different tributaries have been designated as the source of the Amazon River through the centuries. A new study argues for yet another," *National Geographic*, February 13, 2014 (<http://news.nationalgeographic.com/news/2014/02/140213-amazon-river-length-source-maps-science/>), accessed May 30, 2015; Contos and Tripcevich, pp. 27-39.

what the ultimate source of a river is.²¹ The most recent explorers, Contos and Tripceвич, proposed that we must differentiate between the “principal source,” the “most distant source,” and the “most distant source of uninterrupted flow” of the Amazon. For them, these correspond to the Marañón, Mantaro, and Apurímac Rivers, respectively.²² In this respect, Contos and Tripceвич are trying to give some order to an otherwise multifaceted mapping of the Amazon and its origins. But we cannot forget that this is just one notion among many others. And, besides differences in supposedly scientific approaches or explanations, it is plausible that these various theories present either institutional or national biases, such as the ones sponsored by National Geographic or the Geographical Society of Lima, or having American, Polish, and Peruvians as head explorers. Thus, a center-versus-periphery issue may be at the core of the current debate over the true origins of the Amazon.

In any case, the heterotopical discourse about Amazonia taking place nowadays is only the result of a long history of a diffuse and tortuous process of knowledge making that dates back to the time of the first European explorations and incursions in the tropical lowlands of South America, and the rivers running through them, since the sixteenth century. These founding narratives were similarly characterized by their portrayal of the ambiguous naming, length, and headwaters of the Amazon. Early modern missionaries played a vital role accompanying those incursions and composing these narratives of Amazonia. Franciscans and Jesuits, in particular, were sent to evangelize and explore new spaces and peoples inhabiting the dense South American

²¹ Lee (<http://news.nationalgeographic.com/news/2014/02/140213-amazon-river-length-source-maps-science/>), accessed May 30, 2015.

²² Contos and Tripceвич, 28, 38.

jungles. As a result, they became crucial participants in the argumentation over the intricate naming of the Amazon and its construction as an object of scientific inquiry. Yet, the missionary potamology of Amazonia was not born in a vacuum. These friars were part of a larger debate group including explorers, chronicles, historians, and geographers who were perplexed because of the array of different and at times dissonant information on this river. In their attempts to fix this issue, they provided even more theories and facts when discussing the nature of the Amazon River. This early modern confusion and profusion of names for Amazonia and its conditions of knowledge, in particular the one produced within missionary circles, is the focus of the next sections.

The First Missionary Explorers and Their Early Naming Amazonian Projects

In the genealogy of missionary explorers and chroniclers of what we now know as Amazonia, the names that always come to the forefront are Cristóbal de Acuña, on the Jesuit side, and Domingo de Brieva, José Maldonado, and Laureano de la Cruz on the Franciscan one. These friars occupy a predominant position due to the popular and detailed accounts of their journeys along the Amazon River between 1637 and 1650. Acuña's "Nuevo Descubrimiento del Gran Río de las Amazonas," published in 1641, became "the best known of all the descriptions of the travels and discoveries of the Amazon."²³ Its popularity made it a bestseller of its time and it would be translated into French and English before the end of the seventeenth century.²⁴ As a result, Acuña's

²³ Iván Lucero, S.I., "La cartografía de la antigua provincia de Quito de la Compañía de Jesús" (S.T.L. thesis, Weston Jesuit School of Theology, 2004), p. 38.

²⁴ By the early eighteenth century, there would be Dutch and German translations as well. See Ignacio Arellano, José M. Díez Borque, and Gonzalo Santoja, "Nota textual a esta edición," in Cristóbal de Acuña, *Nuevo Descubrimiento del Gran río de las Amazonas*, 1641, ed. Ignacio Arellano, José M. Díez Borque, and Gonzalo Santoja (Madrid: Iberoamericana; Frankfurt am Main: Veuvvert, 2009), p. 43.

account became a foundational piece in the construction of potamological and geographical knowledge of Amazonia. More important, this report became not only a canonical work in the Jesuit corpus of Amazonian treatises but also among Franciscan authors who studied or wrote about this region. Laureano de la Cruz's "Nuevo Descubrimiento del Río de Marañón, llamado de las Amazonas" was written in 1652 but was never published in his lifetime.²⁵ De la Cruz's report was based not only on his own experience navigating the Amazonas in the late 1640s but also on Acuña and, above all, previous reports and chronicles by other Seraphic friars. Some examples include Joseph Maldonado's "Relación del descubrimiento del río de las Amazonas, por otro nombre del Marañón" (1641) and the chapters on the discovery of the Amazon in Diego de Córdova Salinas' "Coronica de la Religiosissima Provincia de los Doze Apostoles del Perú" (1651). These three accounts were based on the reports provided by the most knowledgeable Franciscan missionary of Amazonia, Domingo de Brieva, who had navigated the river in its entirety three times between 1636 and 1639.²⁶

The aforementioned reports did not include maps of the Amazonas River—although they might be associated with contemporary maps that used the information provided by these missionary reports.²⁷ These accounts, however, became important transmitters of "new" geographical and potamological knowledge of Amazonia. I say

²⁵ Laureano de la Cruz' Amazonian account was included in a larger chronicle titled "Descripción de la América Austral o reinos del Perú [...]," whose authorship has been traditionally attributed to De la Cruz himself. However, according to Julián Heras, De la Cruz was only the author of the section on the Franciscan discovery of the Amazon. The rest of the manuscript, in which De la Cruz's account was included, should remain anonymous. See Laureano de la Cruz, O.F.M., *Descripción de la América Austral o reinos del Perú con particular noticia de lo hecho por los Franciscanos en la evangelización de aquel país*, 1652?, ed. Julián Heras, O.F.M. (Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, Instituto Riva-Agüero, Banco Central de Reserva del Perú, 1999), p. vii.

²⁶ See De la Cruz, p. 331.

²⁷ More on these maps in Chapter 3.

“new” because through these descriptions, Jesuit and Franciscan friars were rewriting the history and geography of the Amazon. By the middle of the seventeenth century, there was a renewal of Amazonian studies led by missionaries who had the required first-hand experiences to sustain their affirmations. This “new” knowledge rested upon a considerable academic or scholarly dialogue with previous authorities that, in turn, allowed missionaries to craft their own works. Considerable attention has been paid to the geographic and ethnographic descriptions by these early missionary Amazonian reports, as well as to the discursive pattern that characterized them.²⁸ Nevertheless, the process that surrounded the crafting of potamological knowledge in the cases of Acuña, Maldonado, and De la Cruz has not received the same interest. My objective is to trace not necessarily what they said about the Amazon but how they came to write what they wrote about the Amazon, that is, their ambiguous naming/knowing of “Amazonas.” To understand this process of knowledge making, I need to focus on the theoretical aspects of the geography and potamology of Amazonia that surrounded the work of these Jesuit and Franciscan authors. These accounts were the result of recent events associated with both Castilian and Portuguese explorations of the South American

²⁸ Saravasti de Araujo Bacellar, “Surrounding Amazonia: The 1637-1639 Teixeira Expedition, Knowledge and Representation” (MA Thesis, University of Texas at Austin, 2012); Hugo Burgos, *La Crónica Prohibida: Cristóbal de Acuña en el Amazonas* (Quito: FONSAL, 2005); Mariano Cuesta, “Aportación franciscana a la geografía de América,” *Archivo Íbero-Americano* 46 (1986), pp. 535-576 and “Los exploradores franciscanos, Domingo de Briera [sic] y Laureano de la Cruz,” *Archivo Íbero-Americano* 50 (1990), pp. 1139-1177; Maria Cristina Bohn Martins, “Fronteiras imperiais: A Amazônia colonial e as fontes jesuíticas,” *Revista Territórios e Fronteiras* 1:1 (2008), pp. 190-208 and “Descobrir e redescobrir o grande rio das Amazonas. As *Relaciones* de Carvajal (1542), Alonso de Rojas (1639) e Christóbal de Acuña (1641),” *Revista de História* 156 (2007), pp. 31-57; Auricléa Oliveira das Neves, *A Amazônia na visão dos viajantes dos séculos XVI e XVII: Percurso o discurso* (Manaus: Valer, 2011), pp. 115-147; Juliana de Castro Pedro, “Embates pela memória: narrativas de descoberta nos escritos coloniais da Amazônia Ibérica” (MA Thesis, Pontifícia Universidade Católica de São Paulo, 2006); Fernando Torres Londoño, “Visiones jesuíticas del Amazonas en la colonia: de la misión como dominio espiritual a la exploración de las riquezas del río vistas como tesoro,” *Anuario Colombiano de Historia Social y de la Cultura* 39:1 (2012), pp. 183-213.

tropical heartland as well as a Jesuit-Franciscan conflict over the missionization in those regions. Although these events are well known,²⁹ for the sake of this argument, I will briefly introduce a few things to provide the background of the potamological endeavors of Fathers Acuña, Maldonado, and De la Cruz.

Acuña became, in a sense, a fortuitous member of an expedition organized by the Governor of São Luis do Maranhão and Grão Pará, Jacome Raimundo de Noronha, under the guidance of the experienced Portuguese Captain Pedro Teixeira. The expedition's objective was to explore a route connecting the Portuguese outposts in the Atlantic with the Spanish centers upriver, toward the west. It was organized in response to previous conflicts between the Portuguese and the French, the Dutch, and the English settlers and traders around the mouth of the Amazon River in the first decades of the seventeenth century and, more directly, due to a recent group of Spanish explorers that had come all the way down from Quito to São Luis do Maranhão in February 1637. This latter group included six Spanish soldiers and two Franciscan lay brothers from Quito, Domingo de Brieva and Andrés de Toledo. Later that year, Governor Noronha sent Captain Teixeira to explore the riverine course up to Quito as a means of finding a route to get to Peru using the information provided by the Spanish travelers. They took Brother Brieva as one of their guides—according to contemporary Franciscan sources, Brieva was the “Columbus and pilot” of Teixeira’s exploratory

²⁹ Besides the works from the previous note, see Jaime Cortezão, “O significado da expedição de Pedro Teixeira á luz de novos documentos,” in Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro, *IV Congresso de História Nacional, 21-28 Abril de 1949. Anais*, vol. 3 (Rio de Janeiro: Departamento de Imprensa Nacional, 1950), pp. 169-204; Marcos Jiménez de la Espada, ed., *Viaje del Capitán Pedro Texeira aguas arriba del Río de las Amazonas: 1638-1639* (Madrid: Imprenta de Fortanet, 1889); Lucero, pp. 24-41; Lucinda Saragoça, *Da “Feliz Lusitânia” aos confins da Amazônia: 1615-62* (Lisbon: Cosmos, Câmara Municipal de Santarém, 2000), pp. 71-79.

group.³⁰ The expedition arrived in Quito in July 1638 and stayed in this city for about eight months before departing back to São Luis. During the stay of the expedition in Quito, local authorities decided to send two representatives as part of Captain Teixeira's crew to register the state of the lands and rivers along the route, its precise course and resources, and then travel to Spain and give this information to the King.

After receiving news from the Portuguese Captain and his companions about "la grande inmensidad de tierra que confinan por una vanda y otra de todos estos rios navegables, y de la infinidad y gran numero de yndios que ai en las dichas tierras," local Quiteño authorities decided it was necessary to include ecclesiastical agents in the expedition to evangelize those natives that meant "un grandioso aumento y acrecentamiento a Vuestra Real Persona y a Vuestros Reynos."³¹ The Viceregal Attorney, Melchor Suarez de Poago noticed that it would benefit the mission to appoint two members of the Society of Jesus due to the previous contacts of Jesuits with Amazonian natives.³² More important, he asked Francisco de Fuentes, Vice Provincial Father of the Jesuits of Quito, to choose:

dos personas religiosas y sacerdotes que fueren mas a proposito, y de mayor satisfaccion, y de los mas experimentados, y de ciencia, y suficiencia bastante para que puedan ir y vaian al dicho ministerio [...] para que assi mismo los tales religiosos puedan mirar con cuidado la disposicion de toda la tierra, y de la navegacion de los rios por donde han de vajar, y el estado en que está lo que

³⁰ José Maldonado, O.F.M., *Relación del descubrimiento del Río de las Amazonas, llamado Marañón, hecho por medio de los religiosos de la Provincia de San Francisco de Quito*, ed. Raúl Reyes y Reyes, 1641 (Quito: Biblioteca Amazonas, 1942), p. 19; Diego de Córdova Salinas, O.F.M., *Crónica Franciscana de las Provincias del Perú*, ed. Lino G. Canedo, 1651 (Washington, DC: Academy of American Franciscan History, 1957), p. 272.

³¹ "the great immensity of lands on both shores of these navigable rivers, and the infinity and great number of Indians inhabiting such lands [...] a great improvement and augmentation of Your Royal Highness and your kingdoms." Provisión Real para los Padres Cristóbal de Acuña y Andrés de Artieda enviados al descubrimiento del Amazonas. Quito, January 22, 1639. ASJQ, leg. 3, doc. 186, f. 2.

³² *Ibid.*, f. 3.

está descubierto y de lo que se puede descubrir, y que lo hagan con toda atención, y cuidado para poder informar de todo ello con claridad, distincion, y verdad a Vuestra Real Persona.³³

The appointment of “two men of science” who were able to comprehend and transmit to Royal authorities the “disposition of all the land and the navigation of the rivers they would sail downstream and the state of all what is already and could be discovered” became an imperative of the mission assigned to the Society of Jesus. Sending peoples with knowledge of what was already discovered clearly denotes the importance of having a background on earlier debates, theories, and descriptions of those tropical and fluvial regions. Yet, “what could be discovered” related unequivocally to the relevance of having knowledge produced by explorers with first-hand experience on those matters.

More important, in this order there was no mention of the “Amazon” or “Amazonas.” The “land/tierra” and the “rivers/rios” to be found and documented during the journey constituted two open-ended questions of geographical matter to be resolved by the soon-to-be appointed Jesuit explorers. Father Fuentes finally chose Cristóbal de Acuña and Andrés de Artieda as Acuña’s assistant. They considered that Acuña, who was then director of the Jesuit College of Cuenca, was particularly prepared for this mission since he was a “persona de las partes, de religion, letras, pulpito, prudencia, y las demas calidades que son notorias, y pide semejante empresa, por aver corrido casi todas las Provincias del Piru, Quito, y Lima, Chile, Tucuman, y Paraguai, con todas

³³ “two religious persons and priests who are the most suitable, desirable, and among the more experienced and with enough scientific knowledge so that they can go and fulfill the mandate [...] and observe carefully the disposition of all the land, and the navigation of the rivers that they would sail downstream, and the state of what is already and yet to be discovered, and carry out this with all the attention and caution so that they can inform with clarity, distinction, and truth to Your Royal Highness.” Ibid.

las costas del Brazil, Rio de la Plata, y la del Para.”³⁴ Artieda, then professor of Theology at the Jesuit College of Quito, was described as a “persona de las partes, y talentos de letras, pulpito, y religion, que es notorio, practico en las provincias del nuevo Reyno de Granada y Quito.”³⁵ Besides their personal qualities in the religious sphere, Acuña and Artieda shared a scholarly dedication and, more important, the experience of traveling around different territories—which made them suitable for accompanying Teixeira in his journey back to São Luis do Maranhão. In January 22, 1639 the two Jesuits were officially appointed as members of the expedition. Father Acuña, in particular, had to pay extreme attention to a series of still-to-be-named entities such as “provinces,” “rivers,” and “places” located on the way to Pará. He was ordered to have:

particular cuydado de descrevir con la mayor claridad que os fuere possible la distancia de leguas, provincias, poblaciones de yndios, rios, y parajes particulares, que ay desde la primera envarcacion hasta la dicha ciudad y puerto del Para [...] confio, y como en negocio tan importante al servicio de Dios nuestro señor y nuestro bien, y conversion de tantas almas como se tiene noticia ay en las dichas provincias nuevamente descubiertas.³⁶

On the one hand, the name and place of the crew’s destination were known—Pará. The transit, that is, provinces, rivers, and lands in between, remained unnamed. The paradox, however, is that despite those provinces being “discovered yet another time,” it was still not possible to define and name them. This might sound contradictory, but it is

³⁴ “man of the surroundings, religious, educated, a preacher, cautious, and other notorious qualifications, and he asks being assigned to such enterprise because he had travelled all the provinces of Peru, Quito, Lima, Chile, Tucuman, and Paraguay, including the coasts of Brazil, Rio de la Plata, and Pará.” *Ibid.*, f. 6.

³⁵ “man of the surroundings, educated, a preacher, and religious, who has a notorious knowledge of the provinces of the New Kingdom of Granada and Quito.” *Ibid.*

³⁶ “particular attention when describing, with the most clarity possible, the distances in leagues, provinces, Indian towns, rivers, and specific places located between the point of departure [of the expedition] and the city and port of Pará [...] I trust such an important mission in the service of god our lord and our own benefit, and the conversion of so many souls inhabiting the aforementioned provinces discovered yet another time.” *Ibid.*, f. 7.

only an early manifestation of the heterotopical nature of Amazonia and its naming uneasiness. Those lands and rivers had already been explored and sailed, as we will see. Yet, this did not detract from Acuña's task to resolve this Amazonian uneasiness and to see, name, and report those tropical lands and rivers and, thus, to incorporate them "again" into the scientific corpus of knowledge of the New World.

In a similar way, and facing the recent official appointment of the two Jesuits to accompany Captain Teixeira's expedition, Franciscan authorities of Quito decided to send Brother Brieva as their representative in the expedition led by the Portuguese Captain. In March 1st, 1639, the Seraphic Provincial Father of Quito, Cristóbal Saguer, ordered Brieva to join the expedition and then travel to Spain to provide "informes con gran legalidad y fidelidad de todos los ríos, navegaciones y tierras que con tanto trabajo a descubierto" to both Franciscan and Crown authorities at the metropolis.³⁷ In this regard, Acuña's and Brieva's main duty was to observe the distances of miles, lands, populations, rivers, from the point of departure to the mouth of the Amazonas in Pará with "legality and fidelity." Alongside observing came describing, and with it, naming and knowing. This constitutes the scientific-potamological component of their missions. This objective was included within the larger service these friars were supposed to accomplish to the Spanish Crown by evangelizing the indigenous inhabitants of the allegedly "once more discovered" Amazonian lands, as indicated in Acuña's instructions. Evangelization and "rediscovery," a "re-naming" of those lands and rivers, were just two sides of the same project in Acuña's and Brieva's Amazonian experience.

³⁷ "reports, with great legality and fidelity, of all the rivers, routes, and lands that so painfully have been discovered." De la Cruz, p. 333.

Those lands were “once more discovered” because by 1639, when Father Acuña sailed the river he called “de las Amazonas” as one of Teixeira’s crew members, this river was far from unknown or strange in Western eyes. Both Spanish and Portuguese had sailed its waters and recognized its surroundings since the first half of the sixteenth century. Two Spanish expeditions, led by Gonzalo Pizarro and Francisco de Orellana, and by Pedro de Ursúa and Lope de Aguirre navigated the Amazon in 1541 and 1560, respectively. Among the Portuguese, the mid-sixteenth century letter by Captain Diogo Nunes as well as reports by Manuel de Sousa d’Eça (1614), André Pereira (1616), and Luis Aranha de Vasconcelos (1622) had provided information on Amazonia before the Teixeira expedition.³⁸ These incursions, and the consequent reports and graphic descriptions, provided a basis that permitted subsequent explorers and authors to depict and discuss the geographic and ethnographic knowledge of tropical lowlands of South America. The pursuit of knowledge inexorably accompanied by the imprint of accuracy left authors unsatisfied with the state of information available and, thus, sought to improve or renew it. There was plenty space for correcting previous authorities, in particular when dealing with the description of lands and rivers belonging to a continent that had been recently incorporated into the Western history/concept of the world. And, more important, this never-ending search for knowledge and scientific debate is what came to constitute the foundations of the multifaceted naming of Amazonia.

The “Erroneous” Geographic Sources of Cristobal de Acuña’s “Rio de las Amazonas”

Father Acuña and Brother Brieva were ordered to observe, map, and transmit the knowledge of the populations, territories, and course of the river running from Quito to

³⁸ Lucero, pp. 26, 28; Darcy Ribeiro and Carlos de Araujo Moreira Neto, *A fundação do Brasil: Testemunhos 1500-1700* (Petrópolis: Vozes, 1992), pp. 304-306; Saragoça, pp. 15-19.

Para. This gave them a position of authority, that is, a position to confront or appropriate previous assertions on the nature of lands and rivers connecting both centers. This, in turn, made them pioneers among the missionary explorers of this region. To fulfill their mission, they had to study over a century's worth of literature on the geographical and cosmographical knowledge that would be the basis of their own Amazonian reports.

Brieva never wrote an account of his own. When he arrived in Spain, he was sick.

However, the Franciscan Commissary of Indies, José Maldonado, wrote a report based on Brieva's writings and information, and presented it to Royal authorities in 1641.³⁹

That same year, Acuña printed and published his "Nuevo Descubrimiento del Gran Río de las Amazonas." Different parts of these accounts were meant to correct and build upon previous geographic understanding of Amazonia. In his printed account, Acuña started by focusing purposely on a critique of previous scholars for misnaming the

Amazon River:

Casi con las primeras vistas de aquella parte de la America, que oy tiene nombre de Perù, Nacieron en nuestra España, aunque por confusas noticias, encendidos desseos de el descubrimiento de el gran Rio de las Amazonas, llamado por error comun, entre los poco vistos en la Geographia, Rio de el Marañon. [...] (q[ue] desde entonces [the 1541 Francisco de Orellana expedition], tomò tambien el nombre de Orellana).⁴⁰

³⁹ Maldonado, p. 3-4; De la Cruz, p. 336.

⁴⁰ "Almost with the first look at such part of America that is now named Peru, there were in Spain, although instigated by confusing news, strong desires to discover the great River of the Amazons, named, due to a common mistake among the poorly trained in geography, River of the Marañon [...] (that since then [the 1541 Francisco de Orellana expedition] received the name of Orellana as well)." Cristóbal de Acuña, S.I., *Nuevo Descubrimiento del Gran Rio de las Amazonas por el padre Chrstoval [sic] de Acuña, religioso de la Comañia de Iesus, y calificador de la Suprema General Inquisicion. Al qual fue, y se hizo por orden de Su Magestad, el año de 1639. Por la Provincia de Quito en los Reynos del Perú. Al Excelentissimo Señor Conde Duque de Olivares* (Madrid: Imprenta del Reyno, 1641), ff. 1r-1v.

The Jesuit author noticed that this wealth of names stemmed from the confusing news, given by explorers and scholars with a “poor training in geography,” on the discovery of this river.

Although Father Acuña did not blame anyone in particular for the misnaming of his “gran Rio de las Amazonas,” it is plausible to assume that one of these early “poor” geographers of Amazonia was Martin Fernandez de Enciso, who published his “Suma de Geographia” in 1519. Although I was not able to find records of this book among the holdings in the Jesuit libraries of the provinces of Quito and New Granada,⁴¹ its importance lies in the fact that it was “the first book on America printed in Spanish.”⁴² Within this geographic description of the New World, Enciso included the primeval name of a river that would later become the current Brazilian “Amazonas.” At that time, the Spanish had only established permanent outposts in the Caribbean and Tierra Firme, whereas the campaign for Mexico was just about to start. In the particular case of Amazonia, the only portion that was relatively known was its estuary, since the Northern Brazilian coast had already been navigated and mapped by Portuguese and Spanish sailors in the early 1500s. There were no permanent European settlements in that area at that point, but descriptions and reports made by those pilots provided the information Enciso needed to include that region in his geographic work. His description of the area surrounding the mouth of the current Brazilian “Amazonas” River is the following:

y digo que desde el cabo de sancto agostin [near present-day Pernambuco, Brazil] fasta al rio maranon ay trezientas leguas. Esta maranon al Oeste en siete grados

⁴¹ In this case, “province” does not refer to viceregal political jurisdictions but to the administrative units of the Jesuit Order in South America. During the time of Acuña, Quito was subordinated to the Jesuit Province of New Granada.

⁴² Gerbi, p. 76.

y medio. Es grande rio que tiene mas de quinze leguas de ancho. Y a ocho leguas dentro de la tierra tienes muchas islas. [...] Desde este rio Maranon fasta a el rio que dicen la Mar Dulce ay veynte y cinco leguas. Este rio tiene sesenta leguas de ancho en la boca y trae tanta agua que entra mas de veynte leguas en la mar que nose buelve con la salada [,] entra veinte y cinco leguas en la tierra esta anchura y despues se aparta en dos partes, la una va al sueste, y la otra al Sudueste. [...] Ay desde este rio [Mar Dulce] a Paria [a peninsula located in Venezuela, in front of Trinidad and Tobago] dozientas y cincuenta leguas [...] Y esta en vi [six] grados y medio.⁴³

Enciso's information seems anything but confusing. His description of the Northeastern coast of South America was clear and concise. In 1519, there was not "Amazonas"—not yet, at least. For him, there were two large rivers between the Cape of Saint Augustine near Pernambuco, Brazil, and Venezuela's Paria Peninsula: the Marañon and Mar Dulce Rivers. The problem for subsequent authors, such as Father Acuña, was the appearance of new names for these two rivers as the knowledge of Amazonia and the Northeastern shoreline of South America developed.

The reason behind Mar Dulce's naming can be found in the geographic and cartographic transmission of its most peculiar characteristic, which attracted the attention of the first pilots sailing those waters. Vicente Yañez Pinzón is considered the first European who saw the estuary of the Amazonas in 1500 and, perplexed by its large dimensions, named it "Santa Maria de la Mar Dulce" since it was large as an ocean yet it carried fresh waters.⁴⁴ Yet, the 1501 contract between Pinzón and the Kings of Castile

⁴³ "And I say that from the cape of Saint Augustine [near present-day Pernambuco, Brazil] to the Marañon River there are 300 leagues. The [estuary of the] Marañon is 7.5 degrees West. It is a great river, more than 15 leagues width. It contains several islands 8 leagues inland [...] From this Marañon River to the river called Mar Dulce [Sweet Sea] there are 25 leagues. This river is 60 leagues width at its estuary and has so much water that it continues discharging its waters for more than 20 leagues without mixing up with the salty waters of the ocean. This great river goes 25 leagues inland until it divides into two parts, one going to the southeast and the other to the southwest [...] There are from the Mar Dulce River to Paria [a peninsula located in Venezuela, in front of Trinidad and Tobago] 250 leagues [...] This [Mar Dulce] is 6.5 degrees [West]." Enciso, ff. 67v-68r.

⁴⁴ Roberto Pineda, "El río Amazonas: un gigante indomado. Una mirada hacia su historia contemporánea (1500-2010)," *Boletín Cultural y Bibliográfico. Biblioteca Luis Ángel Arango* 47: 84 (2013), p. 42.

and Aragon mentioned that, first, there was a “Rio Grande,” and only after Pinzón’s interceded it took on the name “Mar Dulce.”⁴⁵ A few years later, this peculiarity appeared again in one of the earliest maps of the New World titled “Tabula Terre Nova” that was included in the 1513 Strasbourg edition of Ptolemy’s “Geographia” and whose authorship has been attributed to Martin Waldseemüller (Figure A-1). It shows the contours of what was then known as the Americas, in particular coastal places such as capes and rivers along the northern and northeastern shoreline of South America. One of these rivers is named “Rio Grande” and on the sea off this river there is a Latin inscription that reads “hoc mare est de dulci aqua”—or “this is a sea of sweet water” (Figure A-2).⁴⁶ As seen above, Enciso had mentioned that the Rio Dulce flowed into the ocean so vehemently that its waters would continue discharging for over twenty leagues without mixing up with the salty waters of the sea.⁴⁷ This was not just another river. Thanks to this peculiar characteristic and the larger dimensions of its mouth, this river became known for producing a sea of sweet waters off its estuary. As a result, the Latin inscription, the transmission of its contents to subsequent readers of this map in Ptolemy’s work, and the news dispersed by the first Spanish pilots sent to the New

⁴⁵ “Capitulación de Vicente Yáñez,” in *Colección de los tratados, convenciones, capitulaciones, armisticios, y otros actos diplomáticos y políticos celebrados desde la independencia hasta el día, precedida de una introducción que comprende la época colonial*, ed. Ricardo Aranda, vol. 1 (Lima: Imprenta del Estado, 1890), pp. 18-19.

⁴⁶ My translation. See Oswald A. W. Dilke and Margaret S. Dilke, “The Adjustment of Ptolemaic Atlases to Feature the New World,” in *The Classical Tradition and the Americas*, ed. Wolfgang Haase and Meyer Reinhold, vol. 1, part 1: *European Images of the Americas and the Classical Tradition* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1993), pp. 126-127, who translated the Latin inscription as “this sea is fresh water”; Octavio Latorre, *Los tesoros cartográficos de la Biblioteca Jijón y Caamaño. Catálogo Provisional* (Quito: Banco Central del Ecuador, 1999), map 001, inv. 7092. Denis Cosgrove also names Waldseemüller as the author of this map. See his “Images of Renaissance Cosmography, 1450-1650,” in *The History of Cartography*, vol. 3, part 1, ed. David Woodward (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2007), p. 76.

⁴⁷ Enciso, f. 67v.

World likely paved the way for this nominal transformation. The first “Rio Grande”—that still appeared in Waldsmüller’s map—was converted into Yañez’s “Mar Dulce,” which was further developed and became normative in Enciso’s geographic treatise.

At this point we can attempt to match those early, ever-changing names with the names of their current watercourses or estuaries. This attempt at identifying what is unidentifiable might sound useless but it will help me better explain the profusion and confusion of names throughout the Amazonian fluvial landscape. In this exercise, I am just following the early example set by the American Spaniard polymath Antonio de León Pinelo who, in his 1656 “El Paraíso en el Nuevo Mundo,” proceeded to clarify the diverse names given to the diverse Amazonian rivers since the sixteenth century.⁴⁸ Following León Pinelo’s opinion as well as current potamological conventions, Enciso’s “Marañon” should certainly correspond to present-day Mearim River, whose mouth is located by the city of São Luis do Maranhão.⁴⁹ Closer to it, Mar Dulce River should match the present-day Brazilian “Amazonas” River. According to Enciso, its estuary was much larger than that of the Marañon. His description of the amount of water that this river brought when it flowed into the Atlantic Ocean matches current depictions of the “Amazonas.” Likewise, Enciso wrote that after about 25 miles upriver, the course of the Mar Dulce divides in two branches—one of these branches should correspond to the main course of the Amazon River, and the second one may correspond to either the

⁴⁸ Antonio de León Pinelo, *El Paraíso en el Nuevo Mundo: Comentario apologético, historia natural y peregrina de las Indias Occidentales, islas de Tierra Firme del Mar Occeano*, 1656 (Lima: Comité del IV Centenario del Descubrimiento del Amazonas, 1943), vol. 2, pp. 432-454.

⁴⁹ León Pinelo called it the “Portuguese Marañon.” He enumerated a series of rivers that might correspond to this river. One of this is a “Miarin” River, which more or less resembles the current name of the Mearim River near the city of São Luis. However, due to these several options, he stated that it should be better to name it the “Marañon de Portugal.” See León Pinelo, vol. 2, pp. 446-454. On the contrary, Melón y Ruiz pointed out that Enciso’s Marañon should correspond to the Pará River, that is, the southern branch of the mouth of the Amazon River. See Melón y Ruiz, p. 17.

Tocantins or the Xingu River. Yet, missing in Enciso's work is the other large river between Pernambuco and the Paria Peninsula, namely, the Orinoco, whose estuary apparently was not noticed in his work. Subsequent authors and geographers would further complicate the picture by incorporating new names and rivers—one of them the current Orinoco River—in the descriptions of the Northeastern coastline of South America.

Fifty-six years after Enciso, a Spanish translation of Peter Apian's "Cosmographia" was published in Antwerp, and copies of it reached the Americas. We know there was a reproduction of Apian's work in the library of the Jesuit College of Ibarra, present-day Ecuador.⁵⁰ Thus it might have been available for the Jesuit missionary community that was being prepared to be sent to Amazonia. Besides the cosmographic knowledge and surveying techniques for which Apian's work became renowned during the sixteenth century,⁵¹ this Spanish translation included as addenda two selections of the description of the New World from the "General History of Indias" by Francisco López de Gómara (1553) and from the "Cosmography and Geography" by Jeronymo Girava (1570). These descriptions are relevant for the information they provided about the naming of the Amazonian rivers, which brought even more confusion by the second half of the sixteenth century. According to Gómara:

Del Anegado, que cae a ocho grados, ay cinquenta leguas al rio Dulce, que esta en seys grados.

De rio Dulce al rio de Orellana, que tambien dizen rio de las Amazonas, ay ciento y diez leguas. Assi que cuentan ochocientas leguas de costa desde

⁵⁰ Testimonio del secuestro del colegio de Ibarra. Ibarra, August 24, 1767. ASJQ, leg. 29, doc. 1570, f. 79r.

⁵¹ See Cosgrove, "Images of Renaissance Cosmography," pp. 55-98; Uta Lindgren, "Land Surveys, Instruments, and Practitioners in the Renaissance," in *The History of Cartography*, vol. 3, part 1, ed. David Woodward (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2007), pp. 477-508.

Nombre de Dios al rio de Orellana. El qual entra en la mar, segun dizen, por cinquenta leguas de boca, que tiene debaxo de la Equinocial. Donde, por caer en tal parte, y ser tan grande como dizen, hazemos parada. Y otra tal haremos del al Cabo de San Augustin.

Del rio de Orellana ponen cient [sic] leguas al rio Marañon. El qual tiene quinze de boca, y esta en quatro grados de la Equinocial al Sur.⁵²

The “River of the Amazonas” was born in the days of Gomara, although linked to the “Orellana” name. However, these new names of rivers flowing into the Northeastern shore of South America noted by Gomara brought no resolutions and made the situation even more problematic. I have explained above that Enciso’s “Mar Dulce” River matches current descriptions of the Brazilian “Amazonas.” Nevertheless, Gómara clearly stated that the “Dulce” and the “Orellana or Amazonas” were two different rivers. If one considers the noticed distance of about “a hundred and ten” Spanish leagues that separated the Dulce River from the Amazonas, Gomara’s “Dulce” should correspond to the Orinoco River.⁵³ Despite this, it is important to emphasize that in Gomara’s description the “Amazonas or Orellana” River has appeared as a proper name, that is, as an independent object of inquiry. As a result, we are witnessing the beginnings of its incorporation into the state of geographic knowledge of the New World. It must be remembered that Gómara wrote his description about a decade after the Francisco de Orellana expedition had navigated the Amazonas River in 1541. This means that

⁵² “From Anegado, which is at 8 degrees [West], there are 50 leagues to the Dulce River, located at 6 degrees. / From the Dulce River to the Orellana River, also named River of the Amazons, there are 110 leagues. In sum, there are 800 leagues along the coast from Nombre de Dios to the Orellana River. It is said that the estuary of this river is 50 leagues width, located just under the Equator. We will stop there, due to its location and its said enormity. We will make another stop at Cape Saint Augustine. / There are 100 leagues from the Orellana to the Marañon River, whose estuary is 15 leagues width and is 4 degrees South.” Peter Apian, *La cosmographia de Pedro Apiano, corregida y añadida por Gemma Frisio, medico y mathematico* (Antwerp: Juan Bellero al Aguila de Oro, 1575), f. 71v.

⁵³ By the time of León Pinelo, it had become a norm that the third large river in the Northeastern coast of South America was the Orinoco. However, he noted that this river was frequently confused with the Marañon, mostly by Spanish authors. León Pinelo, vol. 2, pp. 432-446.

Gomara's fluvial nomenclature, unlike Enciso's, relied not only in the information provided by earlier coastal sailors who had basically noticed the estuaries and last sections of those rivers. The Orellana expedition inaugurated the knowledge of the interior of the South American tropical lowlands and its riverine courses. Recent news had then allowed Gomara to provide a different, more complete picture of that region, including the female warriors or "Amazonas" that Captain Orellana supposedly observed in his journey along the Amazonas.⁵⁴ This, in turn, paved the way for the naming of this river after the Spanish Captain and those female warriors. The only point on which Enciso and Gomara agreed was in their depiction of the Marañón as an independent river, with a distinct course, different from the Orellana-Amazonas and the Dulce Rivers—although this is not the "Marañón" River that would be included in subsequent Spanish accounts of the region, as we will see.

Jeronymo Girava, almost two decades after Gómara, provided a similar description of the Amazonian region. He was the first to notice that there was problem with the name of the Amazon River. Girava pointed out that the Andes Mountains gave birth to three of the largest rivers of the New World, namely, the Rio de la Plata, the Marañón, and the Orellana. Regarding the last two, he stated that:

el Marañón, y el del Orellana, de los quales no esta aun averiguado si este postrero es el mesmo, que el Marañón. [...] El otro rio, que llaman Marañón, piensan algunos sea el mesmo, que el que dizen de Orellana: pero no esta aun averiguado, y mas antes se tiene por cierto que sean diferentes, y assi lo muestran en las bocas. Porque el rio Marañón tiene de boca quinze leguas: y el Orellana mas de cinquenta. [...] Cae la boca deste rio á tres Grados de la Equinoctial: y del al de Orellana cuentan cien leguas. El rio Orellana se nombro assi de Francisco Orella [sic: Orellana], el qual fue el primero Español que lo

⁵⁴ On the Orellana expedition see Mariano Cuesta, "Imagen cartográfica de Sudamérica," pp. 149-150 and "La BNE, centro de referencia americanista: Un caso," in *Encuentro Internacional de Hispanistas con motivo del tricentenario de la Biblioteca Nacional de España: Actas*, ed. Carlos Alvar (Madrid: Biblioteca Nacional de España, Fundación Telefónica, 2012), pp. 99-100; Hemming, pp. 27-34.

navego: aunque los Pinçones lo descubrieron el año de M. D. [1500]. Pero Orella lo anduvo quarenta y tres años despues, y lo navego todo. En las Islas deste rio se dezia que avian visto Mugerres que peleavan, las quales llamavan Amazonas. Pero es burla, porque nunca las ovo, ni las ay. Pero no obstante esto, llaman á este rio de las Amazonas. El qual no solamente es el mayor de toda la India, mas aun de todo el Mundo. Algunos lo llaman Mar dulce, por la grandeza del. Tiene de boca cinquenta y mas leguas, y corre siempre por debaxo la Equinoctial mill y quinientas leguas, y mas: aunque del lugar donde nace, hasta el Mar, no ay mas de seyscientas: porque lo de mas se pierde en las bueltas grandes, que haze.⁵⁵

It is interesting to note the paradox in Girava's description of the Amazonian rivers. He was at that precise moment when, as a man of science, he had to decide whether to follow the geographic conventions of his time or adopt a new point of view. On the one hand, following the tradition established by previous authorities such as Enciso and Gómara, Girava accepted the distinction between the Marañón and the Orellana-Amazonas River. He did this by emphasizing the different dimensions and latitudinal positions of the rivers' estuaries. On the other hand, unlike previous authors, Girava recognized that during his time there was an issue of confusion related to these two rivers—that is, that the Marañón and Orellana-Amazonas Rivers were in actuality the same. He even complicated matters further by arguing that the Orellana-Amazonas was also called "Mar Dulce," which brings us back to Enciso's earlier formulation since Gomara had already established that those were two different fluvial entities. In any

⁵⁵ "The Marañón and the Orellana, which is still not known if the latter and the former are the same [...] The other river, named Marañón, is thought to be the same that is named Orellana. But this is still not certain, and it is mostly believed that they are two different rivers, which is demonstrated by their estuaries. Because the Marañón's estuary is 15 leagues width, and the Orellana's more than 50 [...] The Marañón's estuary is located at 3 degrees South, and the Orellana's is 100 leagues away. The Orellana was named after Francisco Orellana, who was the first Spaniard that navigated it; although the Pinzon brothers discovered it in the year of 1500. But Orellana sailed it 43 years later and navigated the entire river. The islands contained in this river were thought to be inhabited by warrior women, who were called Amazons. But this is false because they never existed and will never exist. Notwithstanding, this river is called of the Amazons. This is not only the largest river in Indies but in the world. Some authors name it Mar Dulce, due to its vastness. Its estuary is more than 50 leagues width, and runs always below the Equator for more than 1500 leagues; although from its headwaters to the ocean there are no more than 600 leagues, because the most is lost in the many and large curves that this river has." Apian, f. 80v.

case, Girava's interest was not just to propose a new classification of the Amazonian potamological landscape but, instead, to pose the contradictory axiom guiding the entire knowledge of Amazonia. He pointed out that this issue still needed further investigation and he seemed disposed to accept the traditional vision of the Marañon and the Orellana-Amazonas as two different rivers. At least, he noticed the dilemma in relation to the proper naming of the Amazonian rivers. It was just the proposal of this issue what made Girava an important point of reference for Acuña and subsequent explorers and scholars of the geography and cartography of this region and its rivers.

About two decades before Father Acuña joined Captain Texeira's expedition to the Amazon, a doctor, philosopher, and translator, Jerónimo de Huerta, published and translated into Spanish the "Natural History" by Pliny the Elder.⁵⁶ There were copies of Pliny's work in the colonial libraries of the Jesuit Colleges of Popayán and Loja, in present-day Colombia and Ecuador, respectively.⁵⁷ This Spanish edition included supplementary sections written by Huerta himself and focused mainly on different aspects of the natural history of the New World. One of these sections was centered on the Amazonian region. In this occasion, Huerta followed the path established by Girava, and came to the conclusion that the Marañon and the Orellana-Amazonas were the same river:

Luego se entra en el golfo de Paria; el qual haze la isla de la Trinidad [...] y a la parte de Levante [...] en aquel golfo, donde encontrandonse la corriente del Oceano con la de un caudaloso rio llamado Mar dulce, combaten las aguas de

⁵⁶ On the importance of Pliny's "Natural History" for the development of geographic knowledge in early modern Spain see Agustín Hernando, "La creación del saber geográfico de España en los siglos XVI y XVII," *Ería* 51 (2000), pp. 10-11.

⁵⁷ Testimonio de los autos obrados en la expulsión de los Jesuitas. Popayán, 1767. ASJQ, leg. 28, doc. 1562, f. 40r; and Testimonio del secuestro de Loja. Loja, September 1, 1767. ASJQ, leg. 30, doc. 1577, f. 36r.

suerte, que es peligrosa la entrada [...] Desde allí corre la ribera hasta el río Marañón, el qual se tiene por cierto ser el mayor del universo, que por averle descubierto Francisco de Orellana, año de 1553 [sic: 1541] le dieron también su nombre. Atraviesa dos mil y ochocientas millas de tierra. Aunque con sus tortuosas bueltas haze mucho más larga su corriente. Tiene de ancho quando entra en el mar más de setenta leguas debaxo de la Equinoccial. Gomara en su historia general de las Indias llama a este río de Orellana, Río de las Amazonas, y al río Marañón le pone cien leguas más adelante en quatro grad[os] de la Equinoccial al Sur, y dize que tiene 15 leguas de boca en la entrada del mar.⁵⁸

In his description, Huerta restated that the Mar Dulce and the Orellana-Amazonas were two different rivers. As a result, it is clear that by 1624, when Huerta published his translation of Pliny, the Mar Dulce name denoted an independent entity and corresponded to present-day Orinoco River, located eastward of the Paria Peninsula. Moving further East, Huerta located the Marañón River and noted, like Girava, that this river was named Orellana and Amazonas. This implies that there was no room for further discussion or need of more research, as Girava had stated. According to Huerta, the Marañón, Amazonas, and Orellana happened to be three different names assigned to the same river, “the largest of the Universe.” To underline his assertion, Huerta even cited Gomara as an example of the mistake previously committed by geographers and scholars when assuming that the Marañón and the Amazonas were two different rivers.

Based on Acuña’s account, and on his interest in finding a proper name for the river he navigated and wrote about, we can argue that he was aware of the geographic

⁵⁸ “Then, it comes the gulf of Paria, off Trinidad Island [...] and to the east [...] in said gulf, where we see the encounter of the currents of the ocean with an mighty river named Mar Dulce, the battle of these waters makes it dangerous to go into this river [...] From there, the coastline continues until the Marañón River, believed to be the largest of the universe, and because Francisco de Orellana discovered it in 1553 [1541] it was named after him. It is 2800 leagues long. Although its many curves make its course longer. When it empties into the ocean, it is more than 70 leagues width, below the Equator. In Gomara’s “General History of Indies,” the Orellana is named River of the Amazons, and Gomara places the Marañón River 100 leagues further east, 4 degrees South, and says that its estuary is 15 leagues width.” Pliny the Elder, *Historia natural de Cayo Plinio Segundo. Traducida por el licenciado Geronimo de Huerta, medico y familiar del Santo Oficio de la Inquisicion. Y ampliada por el mismo, con escolios y anotaciones, en que aclara lo oscuro y dudoso, y añade lo no sabido hasta estos tiempos* (Madrid: Luis Sánchez, 1624), pp. 238-239.

and potamological debate regarding the nature and naming of the Amazonas River in the decades that preceded him. The title Father Acuña chose for his 1641 printed account, “Nuevo Descubrimiento del Gran Río de las Amazonas,” indicates that the Jesuit author had already made a decision, to wit, that the definite name of the Marañon-Orellana-Amazonas River must be the one that referenced the mythical warrior women Captain Orellana had allegedly found in the region, the Amazons. Yet, I must state that I could not find any information that expressly connected these authors with Father Acuña. He did not mention any of them in his 1641 published work or in his attributed 1639 manuscript version. Acuña, however, did emphasize that the reason for the misnaming of the Amazonas resulted from the poor quality of previous works and scholars dealing with this region’s geography. As a result, it was necessary to, at least, trace those geographic works and the Jesuit repositories where they were located to demonstrate the location and circulation of those authors. Another objective was to analyze the state of the Amazonian geographic knowledge at the service of Acuña when he sailed this river and put his first-hand observations into words.

The Early Franciscan Debate on Amazonia

On the Franciscan side, I was not able to find records of their library holdings like the ones I found for the Jesuit Order, records that were made principally during their expulsion from the Spanish Empire in 1767. Unlike the Jesuits, however, the Franciscan Order did not have to undergo such a dramatic experience and could preserve their old libraries. Sadly, I was not allowed to conduct research at the library and archive of the Franciscan Convent of Quito. It would have allowed me to compare the Franciscan geographic knowledge with that of the Jesuits from the same region, especially during the time when these Franciscans were more involved in the missionization of Amazonia

until the first half of the seventeenth century. Later on, their presence would be less evident, and their peers from the Peruvian Province would become more avid participants.⁵⁹ In Peru, I did receive permission to study the holdings in the libraries of the Franciscan convents of Descalzos and Ocopa, and although they do not hold copies of the books discussed thus far—Enciso, Apian, or Pliny—they do preserve other early modern geographic works dealing with Amazonia. Franciscan Amazonian chroniclers, however, did mention Apian—or Girava cited in Apian—as well as other previous authorities as their sources. One of these authorities was Acuña. It might be true, as Mariano Costa noted, that Franciscan authors such as Maldonado and De la Cruz did not purposely write historical or apologetic works. The information provided was less rich and clear yet more reliable and objective.⁶⁰ However, their works were apologetic due to the articulation of their geographic construction of Amazonia in response to what Acuña had written, or overlooked, in relation to the Seraphic involvement in the missionary explorations of the region. In particular, the Franciscan participation in the debate on the proper naming of the Amazon indicates their desire to create potamological knowledge in reaction to that of Acuña and other contemporary works describing the region and its rivers. The Franciscan renaming of the Amazon would also be inscribed under the imprint of the recent split of the Crowns of Castile and Portugal in 1640.

Although the title of Father José Maldonado's 1641 account—"Relación del descubrimiento del Río de las Amazonas, llamado Marañón"—resembles Acuña's, the

⁵⁹ Oswaldo Celi Jaramillo, O.F.M., *Misión franciscana en la alta y baja Amazonia durante la colonia y la república del Ecuador* (Quito: Casa de la Cultura Ecuatoriana, 1998), p. 51.

⁶⁰ Cuesta, "Los exploradores franciscanos," p. 1150.

implications of his naming of the river were different. Maldonado noted that those names of “Amazonas” and “Marañon” had not only become “old” but “erased” from memory as well.⁶¹ Although he was reminding the reader of the names that had been established in the Jesuit account, Maldonado’s major objective was to propose a renaming of the Amazon in honor of his religious community, “Rio de San Francisco de Quito.” This new Franciscan name, however, was troublesome since it was closely associated with the orders of Portuguese authorities, which had approved and encouraged Franciscan involvement in the exploration of the river before 1640. In particular, Maldonado mentioned the figure of Governor Noronha of the city of São Luis de Maranhão, who had welcomed the 1636 Spanish expedition. This expedition included the two Seraphic brothers, Brieua and Toledo. It had also approved Brieua’s incorporation into Captain Teixeira’s expedition to Quito. Maldonado unequivocally stated that Governor Noronha, in a letter sent to Royal authorities in Spain and Quito, ordered that the proper name of the Amazon be “Río de San Francisco de Quito” since “los hijos del seráfico Francisco lo habían descubierto para perpetua memoria.”⁶² Father Córdova Salinas in his 1651 chronicle of the Franciscan Province of Peru, whose section on the discovery of the Amazon consists on reiterations of Maldonado and Acuña’s reports, similarly noted that “el rio de las Amazonas se llama hoy rio de San Francisco” due to the documentation presented by Governor Noronha.⁶³ In any event, by 1640 the marriage of the Spanish and Portuguese Crowns had ended. As a result,

⁶¹ Maldonado, p. 5.

⁶² “the sons of Saint Francis discovered it for his perpetual memory.” Ibid., p. 20.

⁶³ “the river of the Amazons is now called river of Saint Francis.” Córdova Salinas, pp. 260, 267, n. 3, 272.

Noronha was no longer a subject of Castile but a potential enemy. Indeed, the association of the Portuguese governor with the Franciscan renaming of the river became an issue that needed to be addressed.

A third chronicler of the Franciscan “discovery” of the Amazonas, Father Laureano de la Cruz, would attempt to solve this problem by preventing Noronha’s involvement in the renaming process, though without overlooking the preeminence of his religious order in the exploration of the river. This work had a more complex nature and, thus, provided a more scholarly discussion on the Franciscan process of renaming of the Amazonas. In the introductory paragraph to the geographic description of South America, the author of this chronicle, traditionally credited to De la Cruz, cited several times Jerónimo Girava, “cuya Descripción está al fin de la Cosmographía de [Pedro] Apiano.” He also cited Antonio de Herrera’s “Descripción de las Indias Occidentales” (1601) and the chronicle of the Franciscan Province of Peru by Cordova Salinas (1651).⁶⁴ On the knowledge of the Amazonas, the anonymous author indicated that their two main sources were Joanne de Laet’s “Novus Orbis seu Descriptionis Indiae Occidentalis” (1633), Herrera’s “Descripción,” and Laureano de la Cruz, “Nuevo descubrimiento del Río de Marañón, llamado de las Amazonas” (1652).⁶⁵ An old copy of Laet’s “Novus Orbis” is still located among the holdings of the Franciscan library of the Convent of Descalzos, in Lima.⁶⁶ This place would become—along with the Convent of

⁶⁴ “whose Description is at the end of [Pedro] Apiano’s Cosmographia.” De la Cruz, pp. 4-5.

⁶⁵ Ibid., pp. 74, 76, 77.

⁶⁶ A-72, BCDL. In page i, it is said that this book “Pertenece á la Libreria de la Santa Recoleccion de Nuestro Señor Padre San Francisco de esta ciudad de Lima.” Meanwhile, in the “Ad Lectores” page, in what should correspond to page 708, it is said: “Pertenece al uso del Venerable Padre Lector Jubilar Doctor Gregorio de la Peña.”

Ocopa—the center of spiritual and academic training of some of the Seraphic friars sent to missionize Western Amazonia. Following Laet’s description,⁶⁷ the anonymous author mentioned that the proper name of the Amazonas River was either “rio de San Joan de las Amazonas” or “de Orellana,” and that it was called “Pará” in the local native language.⁶⁸ In Laureano de la Cruz’s “Nuevo Descubrimiento,” inserted in the anonymous manuscript, there is more information presented about the naming of the river.

De la Cruz proposed a triple nomenclature of the Amazonas. He started by describing the Eastern slopes of the mountains in the provinces of Quito and Popayán as the origin of:

muchos caudalosos ríos, principalmente el grande río de Napo, que es el mayor de todos los que por aquellas partes se an descubierto, el qual corre y haçe su curso con los demás que entran en él del Poniente haçia donde tiene su origen a el oriente, por un lado de la línea equinocçial, apartándose muy poco de ella haçia la vanda de el sur, hasta entrar en el mar oçéano.⁶⁹

Later on, De la Cruz stated that the “gran río de Napo, llamado por otro nombre de el Marañón, y éste es el río tan nombrado, y el que como dijimos tiene su origen y prinçipio en las cordilleras çercanas a la çiudad de Quito.”⁷⁰ The Napo River thus became paired up with the Marañón. Yet, since the Marañón-Napo was “discovered” by Franciscan friars, De la Cruz pointed out that this river “oy se intitula San Françisco de

⁶⁷ Joanne de Laet, *Novus Orbis seu Descriptionis Indiae Occidentalis. Libri XVIII* (Lugd. Batav. [Leiden]: Apud Elzevirios, 1633), p. 630.

⁶⁸ De la Cruz, p. 76.

⁶⁹ “many mighty rivers, mainly the great Napo River, the largest of all the rivers discovered in those parts, which follows the same course as its tributaries coming from the West, and runs slightly South of the Equator, until it empties into the ocean.” *Ibid.*, p. 299.

⁷⁰ “great Napo River, also named Marañón, and this is the so famous river, and which has its headwaters and origins in the mountains surrounding the city of Quito.” *Ibid.*, p. 305.

el Quito.”⁷¹ In a subsequent note, the Seraphic chronicler seemed even more confused since he noticed that:

A la vanda de el sur 80 leguas más avajo de el Curaray desemboca un gran río en el nuestro de San Françisco, que tendrá una legua de boca, llámanle los naturales Paranaguaso, que quiere deçir río grande. Este es el Marañón, que vaja de el Perú, y por eso se llama nuestro río de Napo de el Marañón, y después que nuestros frayles lo descubrieron y navegaron se llama de San Françisco del Quito.⁷²

If we follow this description, the Marañón or Paranaguaso flows into the “southern bank” of the Napo-San Francisco, that is, it runs northward. The Napo runs eastward, at least according to current potamological conventions. As a result, the Marañón and the Napo cannot be the same river since the former flows into the latter coming from a different directions and, consequently, different headwaters.⁷³ I argue that this conclusion, which might sound illogical if we follow current geographic knowledge of the region, was nonetheless very logical for De la Cruz’s naming project of Amazonia. He provided a narrative that intertwined and matched those three names making the Napo-Marañón-San Francisco just one river, for his objective was not to examine but, first and foremost, to name. And, following Foucault, this naming process was “based, not upon what one sees, but upon elements that have already been introduced into discourse by structure.”⁷⁴ Those names were already at De la Cruz’s disposition to organize his own table of fluvial knowledge of Amazonia. As a result, rather than asserting the “real”

⁷¹ “it is now named San Francisco of Quito.” Ibid., p. 332.

⁷² “In its southern bank, 80 leagues after the Curaray, a large river joins the San Francisco, one league width at its mouth, and the natives call it Paranaguaso, which means ‘large river.’ This is the Marañón, running downstream from Peru, and as a result our Napo River is called Marañón, and after our friars discovered and sailed it, it is called San Francisco of Quito River.” Ibid., p. 350.

⁷³ Current hydrographic conventions indicate that the Napo River is a northern affluent of the Amazon River, running through Eastern Ecuador and Northeastern Peru.

⁷⁴ Foucault, p. 139.

dimensions of this river, his objective was to provide a new name that allowed for the sanctification of this river, “the largest of those lands,” and its discovery under the guidance of Saint Francis.

To emphasize even further the Franciscan version of the “real” Amazonian nomenclature, De la Cruz needed to undermine the Jesuit version provided by Acuña.⁷⁵ The Jesuit author had noted that the Amazonas and the Marañón were one and the same, but the river should only be named “Amazonas.” De la Cruz’s triple naming was built in opposition to Acuña’s, because he believed the name “Amazonas” was an unacceptable name for his San Francisco-Napo-Marañón River. De la Cruz stated that the Portuguese from the city of São Luis de Maranhão named this river “Amaçonas” after the alleged presence of the mythical warrior women inhabiting the Cundurises River, a small river that flew into the main “Rio de San Francisco” about three hundred miles from its estuary. This situation created confusion and, as a result, the “Amazonas” name came to distinguish not only this small river but the entire course of the larger river.⁷⁶ To resolve this issue, De la Cruz implied that the Cundurises should be the “real” Amazonas River, whereas to the main channel “Amaçonas”—as Acuña did—was simply a misunderstanding that needed to be amended.⁷⁷ Furthermore, De la Cruz

⁷⁵ This emphasis De la Cruz put on the role the Seraphic Order played in the exploration and naming of the Amazon was also aimed at responding a 1645 report written by the Provincial Father of the Jesuit Province of Quito, Rodrigo Barnuevo, who had indicated that Franciscans merely were in charge of the conclusion of the discovery of the Amazon. Instead, the Jesuits played a much more difficult and honorable role during the beginnings of this enterprise. See Rodrigo Barnuevo, S.I., *Relación apologética, así del antiguo como nuevo descubrimiento del río de las Amazonas hecho por los religiosos de la Compañía de Jesús de Quito*, 1643, ed. Raúl Reyes y Reyes (Quito: Biblioteca Amazonas, 1942), pp. 22, 26.

⁷⁶ This corresponds to the Cunuris River in Acuña’s account. See Acuña, *Nuevo Descubrimiento del Gran Río de las Amazonas por el padre Chrstoval [sic] de Acuña*, f. 37r.

⁷⁷ De la Cruz, pp. 321, 369.

removed Governor Noronha from the renaming of his San Francisco-Napo-Marañon River. He did note the Portuguese official's involvement in organizing expeditions to recognize the course of this river and its surrounding lands, but not his participation in the renaming of the river after Saint Francis. This was surely so to avoid suspicions of having the origin of the name linked to a potential enemy of the Spanish Crown.

Portuguese documents produced right after the arrival of the two Franciscan lay brothers from Quito, Brieva and Toledo, indicated that Noronha did not name this river "San Francisco of Quito." In a report from May 23, 1637 to King Philip IV, Noronha only mentioned "rio das Amazonas" as the river recently navigated by the two Franciscans from Quito.⁷⁸ This report accompanied a map—that will be discussed in Chapter 3—that, in turn, included a note describing "[e]ste rio cuya figura aqui vaj começa pelas terras do Peru junto a cidade de Quitto aonde se chama São Francisco de Quitto e corre ate entrar no mar na provincia e governo do Maranhão na Cappitania do Pará aonde tem por nome o Rio das Amazonas."⁷⁹ For the Governor of Maranhão, then, the river had a double name depending on the site of enunciation, which was "Amazonas" around its Portuguese-speaking estuary and "San Francisco" throughout its Spanish-speaking headwaters. The fact that in De la Cruz's account Noronha was no longer involved in naming the Amazonas River after Saint Francis was likely the result of the Franciscan author's acceptance that previous chroniclers such as Maldonado and Córdova Salinas were wrong, or had been misinformed by Brieva, in regard to this

⁷⁸ "Relação dada por Jacome Raymundo de Noronha sobre cousas tocantes ao governo do Maranhão in Ribeiro and Neto, pp. 332-335.

⁷⁹ This river, whose map is attached, originates in the lands of Peru next to the city of Quito where it is called San Francisco de Quito River, and runs westwards until emptying its water into the ocean in the province and government of Maranhão in the Captaincy of Pará, where it is named River of Amazons." Transcribed in Pedro, pp. 67-68.

issue. That is, at least for Portuguese officials, the name of the river was “Amazonas” not “San Francisco.” It was then only a concern of the Seraphic community of the Province of Quito to name this river after their founding patron. In any case, Father De la Cruz sought to normalize the name “San Francisco de Quito” by removing Governor Noronha’s involvement and by contesting both the Portuguese official and the Spanish Jesuit use of the name “Amazonas.”

The “Queen Mother” Fluvial Trope and the “Real” Headwaters of the Amazonas

A theme linked to the proper nomenclature of the Amazonas was the establishment of the “real” origins of the river, that is, “its sources [which] take both the responsibility and the credit for the river’s entire course. The strength comes from the source.”⁸⁰ This implies that the entire process of imagining and naming a river is also reduced to finding its absolute dimensions and, as a result, its ultimate headwaters. Most of the geographers discussed thus far wrote their treatises based on the information provided mostly by Portuguese and Spanish pilots who had explored the Atlantic coastline of South America since the early sixteenth century. In 1639, however, the Jesuit Acuña had joined a select group of explorers that navigated the Amazonas from the Eastern flanks of the Andes—this list included the names of Orellana, Aguirre, and, most recently, the Franciscans Brieva and Toledo. The Jesuit author was situated in a position to argue about both the proper name and the dimensions and sources of the river. He first noticed that the headwater of his “Amazonas” had been “so far, forever hidden” and that “each country wanted to be named mother of that son.” In particular, Acuña mentioned that Lima or “la ciudad de los Reyes [...] se gloria de que las Cordilleras de Guanuco de los Cavalleros, a distancia de setenta leguas de su sitio, dan

⁸⁰ Bachelard, pp. 151-152.

cuna, y cortan los primeros pañales de una laguna, que allí està, a este afamado Rio [Amazonas].” He also stated that the Kingdom of New Granada wanted to “aumentar su credito, prohijando a las vertientes del Mocò, el primer nacimiento deste Rio [Amazonas], que en su origen llaman los naturales, el gran Caquetà.”⁸¹ It is worth noting that the Jesuit author personified spatial circumscriptions of South America—Lima and New Granada—to sustain that these administrative units claimed that the sources of the Amazonas were located in their soils. “Cities” like Lima and “kingdoms” like New Granada demanded the honor of being named the progenitor of this river. No individuals made such demands. The making of these geopolitical affiliations was based on the description of the headwaters of the Amazonas by Acuña. This might be, then, a common manner of reasoning geographical and potamological phenomena or an archetypical figure of fluvial discourse.

The Jesuit author, however, immediately denied the claims made by Lima and New Granada and instead argued that the progenitor of the Amazonas was solely and categorically the city of San Francisco of Quito:

Por otras muchas partes, quiere el Peru, alçarse con el principio, y nacimiento deste gran Rio, celebrandoles, festejandole, como a Rey de los demas. Pero de oy en adelante, no lo permitirá la ciudad de San Francisco de el Quito, pues a ocho leguas de su assiento, tiene encerrado este tesoro, a las faldas de la Cordillera, que divide la juridicion del Gobierno de los Quixos, al pie de dos cerros, llamado el uno, Guamanà, y el otro Pulcã [...] Destas dos lagunas, que caen veinte minutos debaxo de la linea Equinocial a la vanda del Sur, tiene su principio el gran Rio de las Amazonas.⁸²

⁸¹ “the city of the Kings [...] swells with pride that the mountains of [the city of] Guanuco of the Knights, 70 leagues away, gives birth, in a lake that is located there, to this renowned [Amazonas] River [...] increase its importance, giving to the mountains of Mocoa the place of the origins of this [Amazonas] River, which natives called Caqueta in its headwaters.” Acuña, *Nuevo Descubrimiento del Gran Rio de las Amazonas por el padre Chrstoval [sic] de Acuña*, ff. 8r-8v.

⁸² “In many different parts, Peru wants to declare herself as the origin and headwaters of this great river, celebrating and proclaiming it as king of all rivers. Nevertheless, from now on, the city of San Francisco of

In this respect, although the progenitor of the Amazonas was Quito, Acuña did not deny that the river originated in a lake near Guanuco, in central Peru,⁸³ or that the Caqueta River, draining from New Granada, at some point joined the Amazon. He only stated that those were not the “true” sources of the Amazonas since they were only secondary tributaries. That honor only corresponded to two lakes that surround the city of Quito. I may argue that Acuña became a sort of forerunner of Quiteño or, even more problematic, Ecuadorian proto-national rights over the Amazonas.⁸⁴ Acuña’s own grandnephew, Josef Pardo de Figueroa y Acuña, noted about a century later that “[e]l Padre Acuña le dá origen [to the Marañon or Amazonas River] en Quito, y pudo ser por hazer honor á la ciudad de donde salia, ó por hazersele á si.”⁸⁵ For the grandnephew, Acuña’s appraisal of Quito as the ultimate headwaters of the Amazonas River was a selfish decision, because he was merely honoring the point of departure of the

Quito will change this since, just 8 leagues away, it has enclosed a treasure, in the slopes of the mountains that divides the jurisdiction of the government of Quixos; at the base of the hills, there are [two lakes] called Guamana and Pulca [...] these two lakes, located 20 minutes South of the equator, give birth to the great River of the Amazons.” *Ibid.*, f. 8v.

⁸³ What Peruvians currently named the Marañon River, which runs northward from central Peru. Then, it turns right and, at the confluence with the Ucayali River, which runs parallel to the Marañon, it gives birth to the Amazonas.

⁸⁴ In one of the most recent interpretations in this regard, an Ecuadorian scholar included Acuña in his genealogy of individuals and facts supporting the historical rights of Ecuador to the Amazon basin. In particular, he pointed out that in his 1641 report to the King “Acuña insistía en los derechos de España y más particularmente de Quito en todo el Amazonas.” See Octavio Latorre, “¿Fue Ecuador País Amazónico?,” *Boletín de la Academia Nacional de Historia* 85:177 (2006), p. 382. More recently, the proto-national aims of the early modern cartographers from the Jesuit Province of Quito and the identification of this cartographic tradition with the control over Amazonia have been noted in Carlos Espinosa and Elisa Sevilla, “Un diálogo científico tripartito: la Misión Geodésica, los jesuitas, y los criollos,” in *Ecuador y Francia: Diálogos científicos y políticos, 1735-2013*, ed. Carlos Espinosa and Georges Lomné (Quito: FLACSO Sede Ecuador, Embajada de Francia en Ecuador, Instituto Francés de Estudios Andinos, 2013), pp. 56-57, 65.

⁸⁵ “Father Acuña places the origin [of the Marañon or Amazonas River] in Quito and he did it to honor this city or himself.” Josef Pardo de Figueroa y Acuña, Marquis of Valleumbroso, to Charles-Marie de la Condamine, Cuzco, March 12, 1742. BL, Add MS 20793, f. 334r.

expedition in which he had participated.⁸⁶ In any case, not only did Acuña name Quito the origin of the “largest river of the world.” He also praised this city as the head of one of the most abundant and fertile provinces in South America:

Està la ciudad de San Francisco de el Quito, que es una de las mas famosas de toda la America, edificada sobre montes, en la mas alta Cordillera, que corre por todo aquel nuevo Orbe, aun no medio grado a la vanda del Sur, de la linea Equinocial, Cabeça de una Provincia, la mas fertil, mas abundante, mas regalada, y de mejores temples que otra ninguna del Perù, y que en multitud de naturales, policia, buena enseñanza, y Christiandad dellos, a todas se aventaja.⁸⁷

This seems to ratify that Acuña was indeed a “Creole patriot” whose love for Quito was overwhelming and was paving the way for the construction of geopolitical bonds with Quito as a place of proto-national pride.⁸⁸ Nevertheless, after a careful reading of the previous authorities whose treatises Acuña might have used to write his own 1641 account, it becomes clear that those references to Quito were already in use, even by those unfamiliar with the city, during the middle of the sixteenth century. The 1541 Francisco de Orellana expedition, that navigated the Amazonas River departing from Quito, had become normalized in geographic and historic treatises of the New World a

⁸⁶ Pardo de Figueroa actually criticized this assertion of his granduncle and pointed out that the real headwaters of the river were located in Guanuco, central Peru, and its proper name was “Marañón,” following the information provided by the Jesuit Samuel Fritz—that we will examine in more detail in Chapter 3. See *ibid.*, ff. 326v, 328v.

⁸⁷ “The city of San Francisco of Quito, one of the most famous in America, is built atop the hills, in the highest mountains, that run throughout that world, [Quito is located] just half degree South the equator, head of a province, the most fertile, abundant, rich, and of better climates than any other in Peru, and that, in terms of the number of natives, order, education, and Christianity, it is better than any other.” Acuña, *Nuevo Descubrimiento del Gran Rio de las Amazonas por el padre Chrstoval [sic] de Acuña*, f. 3r.

⁸⁸ On the formation of Creole identities and epistemologies linked to national or patriotic elements, see David Brading, *The First America: The Spanish Monarchy, Creole Patriots, and the Liberal State: 1492-1867* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991); Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra, *How to Write the History of the New World: Histories, Epistemologies, and Identities in the Eighteenth-Century Atlantic World* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001); Ekkehart Keeding, *Surge la nación: La ilustración en la Audiencia de Quito, 1725-1812*, trans. Mónica Thiel and Gunda Wierhake (Quito: Banco Central del Ecuador, 2005).

couple of decades after its conclusion.⁸⁹ The point of departure of the expedition automatically became the logical location of the ultimate source of this river and of the notion that Quito was the origin of the Amazonas about a century before Acuña's time. On the other hand, these very same geographers with no relation to Quito had already praised this city as the origin of Orellana's Amazonian journey, and as a site of geographic and topographic excellence. In particular, Jerónimo Girava had named Quito "la tierra mas fertil de todas las del Peru" almost sixty years before Acuña's statement.⁹⁰ Girava noted as well that "very large rivers" such as the Rio de la Plata, Marañon, and Orellana came to flow into the "Northern Sea" or Atlantic Ocean from the "Andes Mountains."⁹¹ More precisely, the Marañon—although Girava was confused about the Marañon and Orellana rivers being the same—was located toward the East of the province of Cañares, located right next to Quito.⁹² Quito had thus become the standard site of origin of Girava's Marañon River, which became later Acuña's Amazonas River. And this city and its surroundings were already described as a rich province decades before Acuña's "Nuevo Descubrimiento."

Franciscan chroniclers of Amazonia such as Maldonado, Córdova Salinas, and De la Cruz agreed with Acuña in his consideration of Quito as the origin of the Amazonas—for them, San Francisco River. They also sustained that some authors considered Cuzco or Guanuco, in Peru, as possible ultimate sources. However, they all accepted, even the Limeño-born Córdova Salinas, that the origin of the Amazonas-San

⁸⁹ See, for instance, Apian, f. 80v; Pliny, p. 238.

⁹⁰ "the most fertile land in Peru." Apian, f. 78r.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, f. 80r.

⁹² *Ibid.*, f. 78r.

Francisco “es en las sierras del gobierno de los Quijos [near Quito] y esto es lo más cierto.”⁹³ On the one hand, this implied the final resolution of Jesuit and Franciscan authors in favor of Quito would rest upon issues of scientific inquiry. They were thus following the standard convention of the geographic community, including both explorers and authorities, by the middle of the seventeenth century. On the other hand, truth relied on tropes as much as on questioning. Herendeen noted, for instance, that in the writings of early modern topographical poets, following a path established by the biblical texts, the “river is at once physical reality and its mythical archetype, and it represents the poet’s own desire to bring them together in his verse.”⁹⁴ I argue that in the case of early missionary narratives of Amazonia, the archetype and the object, that is, the trope and the questioning, also constituted two inseparable sides of the conceptualization the fluvial discourses. This archetype is represented by a motherly figure that had to be, unavoidably, the ultimate source. In this case, it was the Amazonas-San Francisco River.

Bachelard reminds us that the thinking and imagining of rivers are part of a rhetorical apparatus that brings an important set of variables, highlighting its call for unity of all the elements around it. For him, the relevance of rivers is having a “single destiny” despite its multifaceted nature. To think of a river, then, is to think of the history of a king, in a genealogical fashion. As a result, in rivers everything is connected to the ultimate source.⁹⁵ This genealogical thought forged those geopolitical bonds between

⁹³ “is in the mountains of the government of Quixos [near Quito] and this is the most accurate.” Córdova Salinas, p. 261. See also Maldonado, p. 5-6; De la Cruz, pp. 297, 305.

⁹⁴ Herendeen, “The Rhetoric of Rivers,” p. 125.

⁹⁵ Bachelard, pp. 15-16, 151-152.

rivers and provinces, provinces that were not merely “scientific” headwaters but, simultaneously, ultimate “royal motherly” figures of those rivers. Quito and its enshrinement as “Queen Mother” of the Amazonas-San Francisco result from exploratory voyages and scientific debates as well as from the riverine tropes that circulated during the 1600s. It is important to note that, in the construction of the fluvial genealogy of the Amazonas, Quito appeared as the origin of this river about a century before the Jesuit presence in the Amazonian basin. And this genealogy was formulated by individuals with no direct connection to Quito, that is, it was born as a non-patriotic discourse of knowledge. Thus, in the cases of Acuña and the Franciscan Amazonian authors, their statements supporting Quito as one of the richest places in the New World and the ultimate origin of the Amazonas-San Francisco River did not denote the calculated construction of a protonational discourse of fluvial and spatial possession—although it paved the way for such. Rather, Quito as the “Queen Mother” of the Amazonas-San Francisco must be understood as the regular outcome of a non-patriotic scientific discourse of potamological knowledge—a fluvial discourse requiring a genealogical organizing framework, the royal-mother trope, as its indispensable condition.

The Endogenous and Exogenous Construction of Missionary Fluvial Traditions

Up to this point, the primal “Mar Dulce” River of Enciso had experienced a series of nomenclatorial transformations, both sequentially and simultaneously, that included the Orellana, Amazonas, Marañón, and even San Francisco de Quito River. The changing of the names was part of a larger riverine discourse that paved the way for multiple spatial definitions of its dimensions and ultimate sources. By the mid-seventeenth century, Western Amazonia had become a battlefield between Jesuit and

Franciscan missionary narratives of discovery and exploration. These narratives had an important repercussion. Following the arrival of reports from both sides, the King of Spain decided, in February 24, 1642, that both orders had to be in charge of the “pacificacion, reducion [sic] y poblacion de dicho rio de las Amazonas” in a manner that “no se embaracen ni encuentren los religiosos de San Francisco con los de la Compañia de Jesus sino que unos y otros puedan obrar en la conversion y doctrina de los yndios.”⁹⁶ Franciscans and Jesuits had to share missionary spaces along the “Amazonas”—which meant that the Jesuit name of the river had triumphed in metropolitan circles only a year after Acuña had his “Nuevo Descubrimiento” printed and published in the capital of the Spanish Empire. A few decades later, diverse factors had made the Jesuit Order more suitable to continue their missionary incursions in the Amazonian basin. As a result, the Royal Audiencia of Quito made a lasting decision in the late 1680s:

por esta Real Audiencia se les consignaron las Misiones del Rio Napo y del gran Rio de San Francisco del Quito, a los Reverendos Padres de la esclarecida Compañia de Jesus, igualmente fervorosos en la propagación de Nuestra Santa Fee Catholica, entre los infieles de aquella comarca: dexando assi fundados los referidos Pueblos, se trasladaron los Religiosos de mi serafica Orden a traficar y recorrer las Provincias y Rios de su primer descubrimiento [Sucumbíos] donde se aplicaron de nuevo, con tal fervor, a reducir sus moradores, que ya el año de noventa y tres en las riberas del rio Putumayo, consiguieron tener fundados los siguientes pueblos [...] Aviendo desde ese tiempo tomado possession dichos Religiosos de las Misiones del Gran Caqueta y Moroa [sic: Mocoa].⁹⁷

⁹⁶ “pacification, evangelization, and peopling of such River of the Amazons [...] the fathers of Saint Francis and of the Society of Jesus do not interfere with one another but that they each can work in the conversion and evangelization of natives separately.” Royal Decree. Madrid, February 24, 1642. Copy. AMCE, ADQ.9.1.9.III(63), SG.13.64, f. 32r.

⁹⁷ “this Royal Audiencia assigned the missions of the Napo River and the great River of San Francisco of Quito to the righteous fathers of the enlightened Society of Jesus, fervent promoters of the propagation of our holy Catholic faith among the heathens in those missions. Leaving those missions under Jesuit tutelage, the fathers of the Seraphic Order moved to the provinces and rivers of their first discovery [Sucumbios] where they proceeded again to fervently evangelize its inhabitants, and by 1693 in the banks

Napo and Amazonas for the Jesuits, and Sucumbíos, Putumayo, Mocoa, and Caquetá for the Franciscans—the areas of missionization had been demarcated, leading to the physical removal of Franciscan missionaries of Quito from the jurisdiction along the course of the Amazonas-San Francisco River.

However, as this document indicated, the memory of their “Gran Rio de San Francisco del Quito” would remain alive, though mainly within Seraphic missionary circles. Father Lope de San Antonio, General Procurator of the Franciscan missionaries of Quito, noted in a report included in a 1750 document describing the Seraphic missions under his jurisdiction that they had friars in two “distinct but large” provinces, Sucumbios and Mocoa. These provinces were “confines de el Gran Rio de San Francisco de el Quito vulgarmente llamado Marañon, y Amazonas.”⁹⁸ Similarly, Franciscans from the Province of Lima had sustained that “lo principal de este monarca de los rios, no es Napo, como lo siente el Padre Acuña, sino el grande Apurimac Marañon, y lo confiessan los mas historiadores de las Indias” with its sources near Cuzco. As a result, they concluded that this should be “nuestro gran rio Marañon Apurimac, y verdadero rio de San Francisco por haverlo descubierto sus hijos.”⁹⁹ That

of the Putumayo River they had founded the following towns [...] having since that time taken possession those [Franciscan] fathers of the missions of the great Caqueta and Mocoa [Rivers].” Bartholome de Alacano, O.F.M., “Informe del Padre Provincial de San Francisco de Quito sobre las Misiones de su Religion.” Quito, 1739. Copy. AMCE, ADQ.9.7.41, SG.13.42, doc.2, ff. 27-28. There is a slightly different transcription of this document in Carlos A. Vivanco, ed., “Informes de las Misiones de los Padres Franciscanos en el Oriente,” *Boletín de la Academia Nacional de Historia* 21:57 (1941), pp. 91-92.

⁹⁸ “next to the great River of San Francisco of Quito, colloquially called Marañon and Amazonas.” ACC, Colonia, Misiones, Sig 8946 (Col-E I-11ms), f. 1v.

⁹⁹ “the main portion of this king of the rivers is not the Napo, as father Acuña believes, but the great Apurimac Marañon, as noted by most historians of Indies [...] our great Marañon Apurimac River, and accurately named River of San Francisco since his sons discovered it.” Domingo Álvarez de Toledo, O.F.M., “Memorial en que se haze relacion de todos los autos y por puntos se recopilan todas las declaraciones de los testigos,” Lima, 1692. ALMREP, LEB-11-47, caja 94, ff. 321v, 330r.

is, Franciscans from the Province of Lima maintained the nomenclatural convention established earlier by their Quiteño peers, such as De la Cruz and Maldonado, that this river should be named after their actual discoverers, the “sons” of Saint Francis. They simultaneously provided a distinct site of origin into the fluvial discursive repertoire of Amazonia which was to be located around Cuzco. Limeño Franciscans thus conceived a different Queen Mother of their San Francisco River, now linked to the headwaters of the Apurimac River, draining from Southern Peru. And, as they said, this was deliberately proposed in opposition to what “Father Acuña believes.”

In regard to the Jesuit community, now in charge of the larger missions along their “Amazonas,” Acuña and his “Nuevo Descubrimiento” became important points of reference for subsequent scholars and missionaries with an interest in that part of the South American tropical lowlands. Father Artieda, Acuña’s companion in the 1639 Teixeira return expedition to Pará and São Luis of Maranhão, is known for having brought back a copy of Acuña’s printed account to Quito in 1643.¹⁰⁰ His account circulated not so much in its original 1641 Spanish edition but mostly as a re-edited version that was included in “El Marañon, y Amazonas” by the Jesuit Manuel Rodriguez and published in 1684.¹⁰¹ Rodríguez praised Acuña’s account as “el directorio de los Misioneros, y la aguja de navegar por los rios que demarco su cuydado.”¹⁰² However, Acuña’s report had become a rarity; as a result, Rodriguez decided to include it into his

¹⁰⁰ Manuel Rodríguez, S.I., *El Marañon, y Amazonas. Historia de los descubrimientos, entradas, y reduccion de naciones, trabajos malogrados de algunos conquistadores, y dichosos de otros, assi temporales como espirituales, en las dilatadas montañas, y mayores rios de la America* (Madrid: Imprenta de Antonio Gonçales de Reyes, 1684), p. 151.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 102-141.

¹⁰² “the handbook of the missionaries and the compass to navigate the rivers that he carefully demarcated.” *Ibid.*, p. 143.

own work.¹⁰³ This did not mean that the debate on Amazonia was over. Indeed, Acuña's account became a discussion piece that propelled further academic and scientific disputes on the nature of this river, particularly, within the Jesuit community in charge of missionizing the larger part of Western Amazonia. This is exemplified by the case of Samuel Fritz, the Bohemian-born Jesuit missionary that was sent to the Province of Quito during the 1680s to evangelize indigenous societies of the middle Amazonas River or, approximately, the current Brazilian "Solimões."

Fritz produced several reports and, more important, maps of the lands and societies that were the target of his missionary efforts—which I will discuss in greater detail in Chapters 3 and 5. These writings and maps would continue the path paved by Acuña toward the constitution of Amazonia as an object of scientific inquiry. Nonetheless, an important difference arises because, instead of following Acuña's definition of the "Amazonas," Fritz proposed a different name—"Marañón"—and different headwaters—Lake Lauricocha in Central Peru—for this river.¹⁰⁴ Even decades later, the Jesuit community continued to praise Fritz's maps for finding the "first and true origin" of the Amazonas-Marañón River.¹⁰⁵ Including both the cases of Fritz and the Limeño Franciscans, there were manifest differences between the potamological knowledge proposed by members of each religious order. There was a clear distinction between the "Napo-San Francisco" and the "Amazonas-Marañón" fluvial worlds and the construction of each in opposition to the other. At the same time, it must be stressed

¹⁰³ Ibid., pp. [xxiii], 95.

¹⁰⁴ See Figure 3-1. See also Samuel Fritz, S.I., *Journal of the Travels and Labours of Father Samuel Fritz in the River of the Amazons between 1686 and 1723*, trans. and ed. George Edmunson (London: Hakluyt Society, 1922), pp. 148-149.

¹⁰⁵ Juan de Velasco, S.I., *Historia del reino de Quito en la América meridional*, vol. 1, *Historia natural*, 1789 (Quito: Casa de la cultura ecuatoriana, 1978), p. 73.

that there was a never-easy endogenous dialectic elaboration within each missionary fluvial tradition. The notion of the San Francisco River was the result of a dialogue between Quiteño and Limeño Seraphic authors. Likewise, a debate between Acuña and Fritz served as the basis for the construction of the Amazonas-Marañón riverine knowledge.

Conclusion

In Chapter 2 I have traced the never-ending and always-changing definitions of what the “Amazon(s)” River(s) was/were for early modern geographers, cosmographers, historians, and, above all, for the early Franciscan and Jesuit missionary communities in South America. The dispute over the proper name and the location of the ultimate headwaters of this river, that is, the Queen Mother archetype, became the guiding force behind the early missionary endeavors in knowing, apprehending, and classifying Amazonia. Discussions on what Amazonia was or, more properly, was going to be, started a few years after Columbus’ arrival in the New World with the naming of the “Mar Dulce” River. More debates would later appear, particularly after the 1541 navigation of this river by the Orellana expedition. The greatest concern with earlier authorities is that their accounts were mostly narratives of Amazonia based on second-hand information. During the first half of the seventeenth century, members of the Franciscan and Jesuit communities that were set to evangelize the tropical lowlands of South America started to compare those earlier texts produced mainly in Europe with their own explorations and first-hand experiences in Amazonia. These Amazonian friars were then taking part, and even leading, “a larger shift that was tipping the balance of authority away from classical models and toward the eyewitness

accounts of humble local officials.” There was a sort of scientific turn led by the scientists serving the Habsburg Crown in the Indies since the sixteenth century that “prized direct experience and observation over the rusty opinions of ancient authorities.”¹⁰⁶

Experience gave these missionaries the right to assume positions of scholarly authority in Amazonian matters.¹⁰⁷ It paved the way for the formulation of even more theories in regard to the nature of Amazonia because each experience produced different visions and narratives that, when matching the trope of the motherly riverine figure, produced multiple yet unique notions of the river. There is nothing here resembling a unilinear history of scientific progress. Each context, situation, or space produced a distinct scientific outcome. And the result of this is the inherent ambiguity of Amazonia. This indeterminacy is but a normal aspect of any process of knowledge making, and is related to both the site and the rhetoric of scientific construction. In regard to the former, David N. Livingstone has argued against the “appearance of universality that science enjoys” as “some transcendent entity that bears no trace of the parochial or contingent.” Instead, he has reminded us of the importance of “place” or

¹⁰⁶ Barbara Mundy, *The Mapping of New Spain: Indigenous Cartography and the Maps of the Relaciones Geográficas* (Chicago, IL: Chicago University Press, 1996), pp. 17, 16.

¹⁰⁷ On the importance of the notion of “experience,” formulated by early modern Portuguese navigators, for the forging of a “geographic revolution” or the appearance of new “worldviews” during the era of European expansion in the Renaissance, see Francisco Contente Domigues, “Science and Technology in Portuguese Navigation: The Idea of Experience in the Sixteenth Century,” trans. Neil Safier, in *Portuguese Oceanic Expansion: 1400-1800*, ed. Francisco Bethencourt and Diogo Ramada Curto (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), pp. 460-479. On the contrary, Felipe Fernández-Armesto has argued that there is not causal relation between exploration and the rise of science in early modern Europe since most explorers “had little interest in or knowledge of science—even of the sciences of astronomy, navigation, and surveying and the related technologies, which seem to have been most relevant to their activities.” See his “Maps and Exploration in the Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Centuries,” in *The History of Cartography*, vol. 3, part 1, ed. David Woodward (Chicago, IL: Chicago University Press, 2007), p. 746.

context as the axis upon which scientific knowledge is constructed.¹⁰⁸ In respect to the role that rhetoric plays in the making of science, Bruno Latour has pointed out that scientific activity is not the result of “reason” and “expert opinion,” but rather, the consequence of passionate controversies. Science is at the site of contention, which forces contenders to move beyond their inner circle to reach “further resources coming from different places and times” in support of their arguments. As a result, the multifaceted rhetoric of science plays an important role in understanding these debates and, more important, that it is through controversy “that they become scientific and technical.”¹⁰⁹

The controversial construction of Amazonian knowledge is the common route that missionary authors, under the imprint of the fluvial Queen Mother trope, had to master so that “their” Mar Dulce-Orellana-Amazonas-San Francisco-Marañón could become a fact—disputable and improvable, but still a fact. The aporia of this knowing-naming process is that it has given room to questionable certainties that have reproduced themselves one after the other. Amazonia has simultaneously had multiple meanings that in turn constituted discrepant entities. Diverse sites of missionary scientific utterance created different potamological narratives of Amazonia. The resulting debates between dissimilar missionary traditions and among members of the same religious order, did not discourage and instead fueled the ascription and classification of Amazonia as an object of knowledge. Ambiguous names and multiple headwaters came to characterize the heterotopian discourse that has surrounded the

¹⁰⁸ David N. Livingstone, *Putting Science in its Place: Geographies of Scientific Knowledge* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003), pp. 14, 13.

¹⁰⁹ Bruno Latour, *Science in Action: How to Follow Scientist and Engineers through Society* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1987), p. 30.

process of knowledge making on the body of water we now call “Amazonas” River. The fact that this is still an issue today is symptomatic of the complex process of fluvial knowledge production that dates back to the founding narratives of explorations in the tropical South American lowlands since the early sixteenth century. From those early times, missionaries were appointed to collaborate in the reconnaissance and evangelization of those new spaces and societies and, as a result, they came to take a vital role in the construction of these primeval accounts. Besides the legacy of the ambiguous naming of the Amazonas, the contesting fluvial founding narratives and the Queen Mother archetype discussed thus far considerably influenced the similarly complicated foundational graphic delineation of this river. In Chapter 3 I will discuss the missionary cartographic practice of early modern Amazonia in further detail.

CHAPTER 3 MISSIONARY INSTRUMENTS, TECHNIQUES, AND THE CARTOGRAPHIC CONSTRUCTION OF AMAZONIA

The cartographic construction of early modern Western Amazonia followed a similar adventurous and intricate route as its narrative and conceptualizing counterpart explained in Chapter 2. Amazonia would pass through a complex process of formation of multiple and parallel cartographic visions. After all, naming and mapping are part of the same cognitive process. As Barbara Mundy noted in regard to the normative power of naming in maps, “once given a name, an otherwise undistinguished space becomes a place. Naming is at the heart of mapping, since with a name, a place can be singled out and then represented on and with the map.”¹ Naming, then, allows for the transformation of an abstract space into a definite place. Once named and defined, the foundations have been established and the scenery is ready for the process of graphic delineation. The mapping of Amazonia constituted the other side of its naming process, and it resulted from a long debate about the “real” nature of the river as well. However, similar to Chapter 2 where I analyzed the discursive origins of the name “Amazonas,” here I seek to examine the instrumental foundations and performances that made the missionary mapping of Amazonia possible. By this I mean to study the very tools and techniques that missionaries used or put in practice to carry out their cartographic endeavors while in Amazonia—or how they were able to transplant the multivocal name “Amazonas” into a map.

It must be noted that we are not dealing with a group of experts or “cartographers” in the proper sense of the word. Steven Harris has reminded us that,

¹ Barbara Mundy, *The Mapping of New Spain: Indigenous Cartography and the Maps of the Relaciones Geográficas*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996), p. 138.

when referring to the scientific praxis within the Jesuit community, their explorers and authors “were [not] naturalists or geographers by training or profession, [and] none travelled or worked as naturalists or geographers per se [...] The knowledge of the natural world they produced was knowledge that arose in the course of their work, their ‘profession,’ as Jesuits.”² That is, although not properly formed as scientists, they came to carry out those duties as a result of the nature of their missionary work. In the case of Western Amazonia, friars were at the forefront of a group of agents sent by the Iberian Crowns to explore, evangelize, occupy, and gain possession of that region. As a result of these activities, and in order to perform them in a satisfactory manner, it became necessary to obtain an accurate knowledge of the lands and rivers to which they were sent. Members of the Society of Jesus have consequently been praised as the cartographers par excellence of Amazonia. As David Buisseret pointed out:

At first there had been little prospect that the countryside would be closely mapped, following the failure of Philip II’s venture of the 1570s. But then came the arrival of the Jesuits, toward the end of that century. Trained in mathematics and cartography at many of their colleges, which began to dot Catholic Europe, they brought their skills even to the most remote missions. This was true not only in the Spanish world, in places such as northern Mexico, the Orinoco River Valley, and the region of Paraguay, but also in French Canada and Portuguese Brazil. Their work, which came about as an almost accidental meeting of their skills and unexpected opportunities, meant that many regions were better known in their manuscript maps than they would be until the twentieth century, with its great advance in cartographic techniques.³

On the one hand, Jesuits became important cartographers of the South American countryside, including Amazonia, without a doubt and they did receive a basic

² Steven J. Harris, “Mapping Jesuit Science: The Role of Travel in the Geography of Knowledge,” in *The Jesuits: Cultures, Sciences, and the Arts, 1540-1773*, ed. John W. O’Malley, S.I. et al. (Toronto: University of Toronto, 1999), p. 214.

³ David Buisseret, “Spanish Colonial Cartography, 1450-1700,” in *The History of Cartography*, vol. 3, part 1, ed. David Woodward (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2007), p. 1171.

knowledge of cartography as part of their curricular formation. The details of the cartographic formation of these friars, however, are a topic not yet fully explained and that I will study in the following pages.

More important, what I found problematic is not only the preeminence ascribed to the role played by members of the Society in the mapping of South America but, above all, that they were performing their cartographic skills as a result of a proper professional or academic training.⁴ First of all, members of the Order of Saint Francis were, as we will see in Chapters 3, 4, and 6, as or even more prepared in the cartographic arts than the Jesuits. As a result, their mappings of Western Amazonia were equally impressive.⁵ Yet, I argue that both Jesuit and Franciscan cartographic crafts in Amazonia were more the result of pragmatic experiences than a consequence of their academic formation. By this I do not mean to underestimate missionary cartography as a type of “second-order” science but, instead, to highlight that its performance as a scientific discipline in Western Amazonia did not follow traditional academic or professional lines. There was nothing resembling a formal office or position of cartographer among missionaries in Amazonia such as the ones that existed at metropolitan and viceregal levels in the Spanish Empire.⁶ That is, there was neither a

⁴ For a critique of the allegedly preeminent role played by the Jesuit Order in the mapping of eighteenth-century Brazil see Marcio Roberto Alves dos Santos, “Os relatos de reconhecimento de Quaresma Delgado,” *Varia Historia* 24:40 (2008), pp. 691-693.

⁵ See Chapter 1, note 12.

⁶ Cartography was one of the main duties of the official cosmographer both in the metropolis and in the New World. On the office of the Royal Cosmographer of Indies in sixteenth-century Spain see María Portuondo, *Secret Science: Spanish Cosmography and the New World* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009) and Antonio Sánchez, *La espada, la cruz y el Padrón: Soberanía, fe, y representación cartográfica en el mundo ibérico bajo la Monarquía Hispánica, 1503-1598* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 2013). On the office of the Chief Cosmographer of the Viceroyalty of Peru, who simultaneously held the chair in mathematics at the University of San Marcos in Lima, see Joan Manuel Morales and Marco Antonio Morales, *La Ilustración en Lima: Vida y obra del doctor Cosme*

body of professionals specialized in cartography among these friars nor a treatise on missionary mapping techniques that was inherited and passed through generations of Amazonian friars. Cartography was not a proper discipline—which makes it more complicated to trace the missionaries’ instrumental means that allowed them to map and to make maps. They did map Western Amazonia and we now have those maps, mostly in a manuscript form, to show the application of their cartographic knowledge. In addition, their reports, correspondence, and some of the books on cosmography and geography held in the conventual Jesuit and Franciscan libraries provide information on the instruments they acquired and the techniques with which they performed their cartographic craft. They did practice science despite not being proper “scientists.”

In regard to the praxis of science in an tropical missionary setting, Juan Magnin, a Jesuit friar and cartographer of the Maynas missions in Western Amazonia, stated in the opening of his 1747 “Cartesius Reformatus” that:

Acepta, pues, benévolo este trabajo, fruto de los sudores de América, recogido en el Pongo de Borja, en la tribu de los Maynas, al calor de su tórrida zona. Así ha fructificado el descanso que se hace indispensable en medio del trabajo diario que soportamos entre los salvajes de esta celebérrima Misión de la Compañía de Jesús de la Provincia de Quito; es necesario, en efecto, alternar de cuando en cuando la labor de catequización y enseñanza de la fe cristiana, con estas pequeñas distracciones, para evitar que el espíritu, presa del fastidio y la melancolía a que le llevaría el concentrarse en una sola preocupación, se anule por completo.⁷

Bueno y Alegre, 1711-1798 (Lima: CEPREDIM-Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos, 2010); Jorge Ortiz, “Los cosmógrafos mayores del Perú en el siglo XVII,” *Boletín del Instituto Riva-Agüero* 24 (1997), pp. 369-389.

⁷ “Please accept this work, the result of my efforts in America, made at the gorge [of the Marañon River] of [the city of] Borja, in the tribe of the Maynas [Indians], under the heat of this torrid zone. This is the fruitful result of our spare time that becomes indispensable in the middle of the daily work that we endure among the savages of this famous mission of the Society of Jesus of the Province of Quito. It is necessary, in fact, to alternate every once in a while our evangelizing and indoctrinating work with these little distractions because our spirit would vanish completely due to the boredom and melancholy resulting from the concentration in just one matter.” Juan Magnin, S.I., “Milliet en armonía con Descartes o Descartes reformado,” 1747, trans. Federico Yépez [CD ROM], in *Juan Magnin: Descartes reformado: El*

In these lines Magnin transmitted the notion that he indeed had the spare time to engage in what he called “little distractions” in the middle of all the “daily work we endure among the savages.” This small hobby was to write a 525-page treatise about trying to come to terms with Rene Descartes’ philosophical works and the critique of Cartesianism in Charles François Millet Dechaules’ 1674 “Cursus seu Mundus Mathematicus.”⁸ A few years earlier, Magnin had taken on another small hobby: the making of a 1740 map of the Jesuit Province of Quito with its Amazonian missions—discussed in Chapter 5. The fact that scientific praxis was not part of an everyday routine but the result of occasional performances certainly implies amateurism. And Magnin himself considered his philosophical work just that, a hobby.

An amateur work, however, can be inserted into the world of science as part of a “serious leisure” activity, that is, as “the systematic pursuit of an amateur, hobbyist, or volunteer activity that is sufficiently substantial and interesting for the participant to find a career there in the acquisition and expression of its special skills and knowledge.”⁹ The literature dealing with amateurship and science has either recognized the contribution of amateurs and their changing status within the process of scientific production or underlined science as the outcome of the collaboration between amateurs

nacimiento de la ciencia moderna en la Audiencia de Quito, ed. Sofía Luzuriaga (Quito: FONSAL, 2009), p. 4.

⁸ See Keeding, *Surge la nación*, p. 117; Carlos Paladines, “Estudio introductorio: El precursor de la filosofía moderna en la audiencia de Quito,” in *Juan Magnin: Descartes reformado: El nacimiento de la ciencia moderna en la Audiencia de Quito*, ed. Sofía Luzuriaga (Quito: FONSAL, 2009), pp. 7-65.

⁹ Robert A. Stebbins, *Amateurs, Professionals, and Serious Leisure* (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1992), p. 3.

and professionals.¹⁰ But amateurs in general have been viewed as a separated group that somehow can be distinguished from that of the professionals. In the case of the missionary cartographers of Amazonia the situation is different because, as I argue, we are dealing with amateurs-professionals, simultaneously. To pursue these scientific activities was part of their “serious leisure” undertaking or “little distractions.” Indeed, during early modern times, no one could perform these mapping activities better than they due to their first-hand experience with the lands and rivers that would become the object of their maps. In the following pages, I will trace the techniques, methods, and instruments as well as the practices and experiences that allowed these mapping friars to perform their cartographic activities in their spare time in Western Amazonia. I will start by decoding the 1707 map of Samuel Fritz—arguably the most famous Jesuit cartographer of Amazonia—to find the different technicalities and processes involved in the making of this map. Then I will discuss the instrumental aspects and pragmatic aims of both Jesuit and Franciscan cartographies of the tropical lowlands of South America.

Samuel Fritz and the Early Modern Cartographic Debates about Amazonia

In the historiography of the missionary cartographers of Amazonia a name that usually comes to mind is that of the Jesuit friar Samuel Fritz, born in Bohemia and a missionary in different parts of Western Amazonia between 1686 and 1725. He is better known for authoring a famous map of the Amazonas in 1707. Although this was not his

¹⁰ Samuel Alberti, “Amateurs and Professionals in One County: Biology and Natural History in Late Victorian Yorkshire,” *Journal of the History of Biology* 34:1 (2001), pp. 115-147; Adrian Desmond, “Redefining the X Axis: ‘Professionals,’ ‘Amateurs,’ and the Making of Mid-Victorian Biology: A Progress Report,” *Journal of the History of Biology* 34:1 (2001), pp. 3-50; John Lankford, “Amateurs versus Professionals: The Controversy over Telescope Size in Late Victorian Science,” *Isis* 72:1 (1981), pp. 11-28; Morgan Meyer, “On the Boundaries and Partial Connections between Amateurs and Professionals,” *Museum and Society* 6:1 (2008), pp. 38-53; Anne Secord, “Science in the Pub: Artisan Botanists in Early Nineteenth-Century Lancashire,” *History of Science* 32 (1994), pp. 269-315; Brian Taylor, “Amateurs, Professionals, and the Knowledge of Archaeology,” *The British Journal of Sociology* 46:3 (1995), pp. 499-508.

only map—he had made at least three previous manuscript versions¹¹—, it was the first time that Fritz had his map engraved, which permitted its circulation beyond Jesuit networks. Like Acuña’s account, reproduced in Rodríguez’s 1684 “El Marañón, y Amazonas,” that had arguably become the most popular written description of the Amazonas in his time, the map of the Bohemian Jesuit would experience a similar fate but in the realm of graphic descriptions of the river. More important, Acuña’s description was originally written at a time where both Jesuit and Franciscan missionaries were just starting to expand their evangelizing presence around Western Amazonia. As a result, his account as well as the missionary geographic knowledge of the region were inherently linked to the nature of the entire Amazonian basin—as we have seen, the naming and ultimate headwaters of the river was at the center of the debate for both Franciscan and Jesuit authors up to the middle of the seventeenth century.

By the time Fritz crafted his map, in the second half of that century, two things had happened that changed the Amazonian scenery. First, the separation of the Crowns of Spain and Portugal in 1640 had made the Amazon basin a shared but highly disputed place. As a result, it became complicated to maintain any projection of Amazonia as a unity. Second, Jesuit missionaries from the Province of Quito generally had a firmer presence in Western Amazonia—particularly along the current Napo, Lower Marañón, Peruvian “Amazonas,” and Solimões Rivers. Franciscan friars from the Province of Peru had also started to establish missions in that region, particularly around the basins of the Huallaga and Ucayali Rivers, southern tributaries of the Amazonas, in present-day Eastern Peru. So, in the late-seventeenth and early-

¹¹ On the previous maps of Fritz see André Ferrand de Almeida, “Samuel Fritz and the Mapping of the Amazon,” *Imago Mundi* 55 (2003), pp. 113-119. These maps will be also briefly discussed in Chapter 5.

eighteenth centuries, when Fritz and other missionary cartographers explored and sailed the tropical lands and rivers of South America and made maps of those regions, their spatial projection of the Amazon basin was inherently circumscribed not to the entire river but mostly focused on its Western portion—the site that had become the main theater of their evangelizing activities.

My interest in Fritz's 1707 map relates not so much to its political and religious agenda or its circulation in European circles.¹² Instead, I study technical and theoretical aspects of his mapmaking and mapping, that is, the methods and instruments used to craft his map as well as the geo-cartographic debates on the Amazonas that preceded and surrounded his mapmaking efforts.¹³ After arriving in Quito in 1685, Fritz was sent to the Amazonian forest where he took charge of the Omagua missions, located along the middle Amazonas River or Solimões, between the Napo and Negro Rivers.¹⁴ This location made Fritz aware of the Lusitanian presence along the Amazonas, with which he would have more than one encounter. One of these encounters took place in Belém, the site of the Portuguese Jesuit College of Pará, near the estuary of the Amazonas, where he resided approximately between 1689 and 1691. This moment was particularly

¹² Almeida, "Samuel Fritz and the Mapping of the Amazon" and "Samuel Fritz Revisited: The Maps of the Amazon and their Circulation in Europe," in *La cartografía europea tra Primo Rinascimento e fine dell'Illuminismo*, ed. Diogo Ramada Curto, Angelo Cattaneo, and André Ferrand Almeida (Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 2003), pp. 133-153; Camila Dias, "Jesuit Maps and Political Discourse: The Amazon River of Father Samuel Fritz," *The Americas* 69:1 (2012), pp. 95-116; Protasio Langer, "Cartas geográficas edificantes: O imaginário da conversão dos povos indígenas nos mapas dos jesuítas Heinrich Scherer e Samuel Fritz," in *Conversão dos cativos: Povos indígenas e missão jesuítica*, edited by Paulo Suess et al. (São Bernardo do Campo: Nhanduti, 2009), pp. 79-90; Octavio Latorre, *Los mapas del Amazonas y el desarrollo de la cartografía ecuatoriana en el siglo XVIII* (Guayaquil: Museos del Banco Central del Ecuador, 1988), pp. 37-47; Iván Lucero S.I., "La cartografía de la antigua provincia de Quito de la Compañía de Jesús" (S.T.L. thesis, Weston Jesuit School of Theology, 2004), pp. 42-88.

¹³ Some parts of this discussion on Fritz have developed from my MA paper.

¹⁴ Pablo Maroni, S.I., *Noticias auténticas del famoso río Marañón y misión apostólica de la Compañía de Jesús de la provincia de Quito en los dilatados bosques de dicho río, escribías por los años de 1738 un misionero de la misma compañía*, ed. Jean Pierre Chaumeil (Iquitos: IIAP, CETA, 1988), pp. 304, 309.

relevant since it allowed Fritz to navigate the entire length of the Amazonas twice¹⁵—as Brieva, Acuña, and De la Cruz had done fifty years before. In 1704 Fritz was appointed Superior Father of all the Western Amazonian missions under the jurisdiction of the Jesuit Province of Quito.¹⁶ Thanks to this new position he was allowed some privileges such as having his map of the Amazonas engraved in Quito in 1707.¹⁷

This map (Figure 3-1) was designed not only as a map of this river but also of the Jesuit missionary space, as its title suggests: “El gran rio Marañon o Amazonas con la mission de la Compañia de Iesus geograficamente delineado por el Padre Samuel Fritz misionero continuo en este rio.”¹⁸ An attached note was included in the lower right corner of the map, which provided some data about the river. This information is relevant because one of the objectives of this map was to criticize previous assertions about the nature of the river. The beginning of the note states that:

Este famoso rio, el mayor en lo descubierto, que llaman ya de Amazonas, ya de Orellana, es el propio Marañon; nombre que le dan los mejores cosmografos desde su origen, y todas sus provincias superiores. Nace de la laguna Lauricocha cerca de la ciudad de Guánuco en el Reyno del Perú.¹⁹

¹⁵ See Samuel Fritz, S.I., “Compendio de la baxada por el rio Amazonas, que hizo desde su mission el P. Samuel Fritz, misionero de la Corona de Castilla en el rio Marañon, o Amazonas, el año de 1689, hasta á la ciudad de Gran-Pará; y de las cosa que pasaron con el,” n.p., n.d. ASJQ, leg. 5, doc. 506 [505], ff. 1r-2v; João Felipe Bettendorf, S.I., “Chronica da missão dos padres da Companhia de Jesus no estado do Maranhão,” 1698, *Revista do Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro* 72:1 (1909), pp. 416-417.

¹⁶ Maroni, p. 366.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 353. See also Samuel Fritz, S.I., *Journal of the Travels and Labours of Father Samuel Fritz in the River of the Amazons between 1686 and 1723*, trans. and ed. George Edmunson (London: Hakluyt Society, 1922), p. 115.

¹⁸ “Great Maranon or Amazonas River with the mission of the Society of Jesus geographically delineated by father Samuel Fritz long-time missionary in this river.”

¹⁹ “This famous River, the greatest that has been discovered, that bears the name sometimes of Amazons, sometimes of Orellana, is properly the Marañon, a name that the majority of cosmographers give to it from its sources and all the provinces of its upper course. It springs from the lake Lauricocha close to the city of Guánuco of the kingdom of Peru.” Translation, slightly modified by me, from Fritz, *Journal*, pp. 148-149.

The fact that Fritz pointed out the excess of names ascribed to this river as well as its ultimate origins indicates that the long and intricate geographic debate, starting in the times of Enciso was not over yet. For the Bohemian Jesuit the resolution of the scientific dilemma concerning the headwaters and the proper name of the Amazonas was inevitably related to its cartographic construction. I have already explained the symptomatic ambiguity of the “Amazonas” by tracing the plethora of names designated to this river since the first treatises and reports on the New World by early modern geographers and missionaries—Amazonas, Marañón, Orellana, San Francisco, and Solimões. This profusion of names was not only the source of a geographic-potamological debate but it also had a cartographic consequence. Since the sixteenth century, cartographers had been keen on delineating the Amazonas and a second river—sometimes the Marañón, others the Orellana—as two different rivers running in a somehow parallel way to the Atlantic Ocean. This was the case with Abraham Ortelius’s map of the New World from 1587 (Figure A-3) and the first edition of the 1657 map of South America by Nicolas Sanson d’Abbeville, Royal geographer and the first official cartographer of France.²⁰ In 1707, Fritz sought to eliminate the confusion of names in Amazonia by emphasizing that both rivers, the Amazonas and the Marañón, were actually the same river and that, in any case, the latter should be its proper name.

Fritz’s written and graphic affirmation of “Marañón” as the proper name of the Amazonas and the lake Lauricocha, near the city of Guánuco in present-day central Peru, as its ultimate source was the result of two centuries of geographic debates on

²⁰ Latorre, 33; Lucero, 22-23; Neil Safier, “Writing the Andes, Reading the Amazon: Voyages of Exploration and the Itineraries of Scientific Knowledge in the Eighteenth Century” (Ph. D. diss., Johns Hopkins University, 2003), 139, n. 7.

the nature and description of this river. His affirmation, moreover, was likely aimed at Acuña, who had also noted that the Amazonas and the Marañón were the same river but that its proper name should be the former and its headwaters located near the city of Quito. Fritz did not mention Acuña as the specific target, but it might have been possible for the Bohemian Jesuit to access his colleague's report. There were copies of Father Rodríguez's 1684 "El Marañón, y Amazonas," which included Acuña's 1641 account, in the libraries of the Jesuit colleges of Riobamba, Popayán, Buga, Ibarra, and at the College of San Luis in Quito.²¹ In 1685, before being sent to the Amazonian missions, Fritz spent the month of June in Popayán, late July and August in Ibarra, and between late August and mid September in Quito, from where he sent letters to an anonymous Jesuit father of the Province of Bohemia in Praga.²² Later, in 1707, Fritz was back in Quito to ask the Jesuit Provincial Father Luis de Andrade for more missionaries and resources for his missions and to have his map finally engraved.²³ In any case, due to his presence in these cities, Fritz might have been exposed to these repositories containing the Acuña-in-Rodríguez account. Likewise, the presence of "El

²¹ Catálogo de los libros de la biblioteca de Riobamba. Riobamba, 1756. ASJQ, leg. 17, doc. 1360, f. 81; Testimonio de los autos obrados en la expulsión de los Jesuitas. Popayán, 1767. ASJQ, leg. 28, doc. 1562, f. 42r; Testimonio, de los autos obrados en la expulsión de los Jesuitas. Buga, 1767. ASJQ, leg. 28, doc. 1563, f. 10r; Testimonio del secuestro del colegio de Ibarra. Ibarra, August 24, 1767. ASJQ, leg. 29, doc. 1570, f. 78v; Catálogo de los libros de la biblioteca del colegio de San Luis. Quito, May 1, 1753. ASJQ, leg. 17, doc. 1362, f. 31.

²² Samuel Fritz, S.I., "Primera carta del reverendo Padre Samuel Fritz, misionero de la Compañía de Jesús de la Provincia de Bohemia, a un sacerdote no nombrado en Praga" and "Segunda carta del P. Samuel Fritz, misionero de la Compañía de Jesús a un Padre no nombrado de la mencionada Compañía de Praga en Bohemia," in *Las Misiones de Mainas de la Antigua Provincia de Quito de la Compañía de Jesús a través de las Cartas de los Misioneros alemanes que en ellas se consagraron a su civilización y evangelización: 1685-1757*, ed. Julián Bravo, S.I. (Quito: Biblioteca Ecuatoriana Aurelio Espinosa Pólit, 2007), pp. 65-69.

²³ Maroni, p. 353; Fritz, *Journal*, p. 115.

Marañón, y Amazonas” in these libraries indicates that the wide circulation of his work had reached Quito and New Granada.

It is less probable that Fritz had known cartographic descriptions of the Amazonas through that work since neither Acuña’s nor Rodríguez’s accounts included maps.²⁴ There were, however, two contemporaneous manuscript maps of the Amazonas that resembled what Acuña had described in his report. A manuscript dealing with Teixeira’s 1638 expedition to Quito and usually credited to either Alonso de Rojas²⁵—then director of the Jesuit College of Quito—or Acuña himself²⁶ has the following title: “Relacion del descubrimiento del Rio de las Amazonas, oy Rio de San Francisco de Quito, y declaracion del mapa en donde esta pintado.”²⁷ The authorship of this map remains unresolved. In June 23rd 1639, Martín de Saavedra y Guzmán,

²⁴ I had access to a copy of Acuña’s 1641 “Nuevo Descubrimiento” at LL in Bloomington, Indiana, which included a map of Amazonia in its last page. Yet, this was a later addition. This map belongs in fact to a 1700 geographic treatise by Sebastián Fernández de Medrano, to which I had access at the BL. Medrano was the Director of the Royal Military Academy of the Army in the Spanish Netherlands. He included in the last page of his work a map titled “Carta geographica de una nueva Descripcion, del gran Rio y Imperio de las Amazonas Americanas” and delineated by “his student,” Joseph de Mendoza Sandoval. See Medrano’s *Breve Tratado de Geographia dividido en tres partes, Que la una contiene la Descripcion del Rio y Imperio de las Amazonas Americanas, con su Carta Geographica: La otra lo que poseen Franceses y Ingleses, etc. en el nuevo Mundo, y de la forma que se introducen en el: Y la tercera del Estado presente del Imperio del Gran Mogor y Reyno de Siam, y que saca á la luz, debajo de la proteccion del Exmo. Señor Conde de Fuensalida, El General de Batalla Don Sebastian Fernandez de Medrano, Director de la Academia Real y Militar del Exercito de los Payses-Baxos* (Brussels: En Casa de Lamberto Marchant, Mercader de Libros, 1700), p. [83]. I was not able to find more information about the mapmaker but this map looks extremely similar to Abbeville’s 1657 map of the Amazon. The 1682 French and 1698 English editions of Acuña’s account also included maps of the Amazonas, although none of them was Acuña’s. See Bacellar, p. 12, n.26.

²⁵ Jiménez de la Espada, pp. 55-56.

²⁶ Burgos, pp. 123-124.

²⁷ “Account of the discovery of the great River of the Amazons, now River of San Francisco of Quito, and declaration of the map on which it is painted.” This manuscript version has been recently transcribed, including a facsimil copy of it, in Burgos, pp. 127-166. An older transcription appeared in Jiménez de la Espada, pp. 70-95. I had access to two archival versions of this document. One is an electronic copy of the original manuscript held in Bogotá, Colombia at the ARSI/AHJ, N.R. et Quit. 15, ff. 274-279. The second one is a manuscript copy of the original held at the Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid in the AMCE in Quito, JJC.00273c, doc. 3, ff. 1-44.

president of the Audiencia of New Granada, submitted the manuscript and map recently received from Quito to the president of the Council of Indies, García Mendez y Haro.²⁸ Antonio León Pinelo was then member of the Council and witnessed the arrival of such documents and of Acuña in Madrid as well. He pointed out that Rojas had written “una Relacion que llegó a mis manos aunque no el Mapa que con ella venia.” Later, León Pinelo noted that Acuña “dio impresa una mui breve [his “Memorial”] y despues sacó a luz otra larga [his “Nuevo Descubrimiento] dandola con Plantas del Rio echas de mano, de que me baldré para su Descripción.”²⁹ From this confusing news, it seems that both Rojas and Acuña made a map of the Amazonas. However, only one map has survived and it accompanies the anonymous manuscript and not Acuña’s printed account.³⁰

This map (Figure A-4) portrays the Amazonas following a straightforward North-South direction, with the city of Quito at the top of the map as the origin of this river, whereas its estuary is located at the bottom. This long map almost exclusively focuses on the course of the river and its tributaries. The objective was to graphically represent the route followed by the Teixeira expedition along the Amazonas that had connected the city of Quito with the cities of Pará and São Luis around the mouth of the river. This map and the manuscript, although supposedly of Jesuit authorship, heavily relied on information provided by the Franciscan brother Brieua and Captain Teixeira’s pilot

²⁸ Martín García y Saavedra to García Mendez y Haro, Santa Fe, June 23, 1639. AMCE, JJC.00273c, doc. 3, f. 2.

²⁹ “an account that was handed to me, although without the attached map [...] had a very brief account [his “Memorial”] printed and then another longer account [his “Nuevo Descubrimiento”], and this included the hand-made plans of the river, which I will use for its description.” León Pinelo, vol. 2, pp. 459-460. See also Jiménez de la Espada, pp. 6, 55.

³⁰ Latorre similarly noted that, despite testimonies indicating that Acuña elaborated a map of the river, this map was unfortunately lost. See Latorre, pp. 31, 35, 1n.

Bento de Acosta.³¹ Jiménez de la Espada even argued that this map was a copy of one made by pilot Acosta since Laureano de la Cruz had noticed that after the arrival of the Teixeira expedition in Quito, local authorities asked the Portuguese pilot to make a map of the Amazonas River.³² I agree with this assertion particularly because this map resembles a portolan chart, an utilitarian map used by sailors and pilots since late medieval times to keep record of the routes and estimated distances between sites visited in previous journeys. In sum, it was a cartography “subordinated to the navigation.”³³ And the map provides this type of information—very detailed data on the number of leagues at different points of the river as a means to calculate the distance navigated from the mouth to the headwaters in Quito, as well as the names of the provinces” situated on both banks of the Amazonas. Everything indicates that this was a map made by a pilot, but I have not been able to find any chart specifically made by Teixeira’s pilot.

There are, however, records of one map made immediately after the arrival of Brieua in São Luis de Maranhão, in May 22, 1637. That is, before Teixeira arrived in Quito. This map (Figure A-5) similarly focuses solely on the course of the river, although following a Western-Eastern direction, with Quito to the left of the map as the origin of the river and Pará in its mouth to the right. Thus, instead of being subordinated to the navigation, this map seems to have been the result of astronomical observations or, at least, it followed the conventional mapping projections of meridians and latitudes found

³¹ Burgos, *La crónica prohibida*, pp. 137, 140, 149, 151, 152, 160, 163, 164.

³² Jiménez de la Espada, p. 57; De la Cruz, p. 328.

³³ Sánchez, *La espada, la cruz y el Padrón*, pp. 49-53, 79.

in early modern geographical and cosmographical treatises³⁴—which were discussed by missionaries, as we have seen. This map attempted to portray the route that the Spanish Franciscan expedition followed to reach the mouth of the Amazonas. It also delineated the entire length of this river in the northern portion of South America and it was included in a report sent to Spain by the governor of São Luis.³⁵ As result, because of the mapping projections and the context, it seems plausible to name Brieva as the author of this map. In general, these two maps likely constitute the two earliest missionary graphic descriptions of the Amazonas that included participation of friars from Spanish America. The 1637 “geographic” map was the direct result of the information Franciscans provided to local Portuguese authorities. The “portolan” from 1639 was labeled a “Jesuit” despite relying on Franciscan and, mostly, Portuguese data. This information, in turn, helped Acuña describe the Amazonian basin in his printed account. Even though there is no clear indication that he, or Rodriguez, made a map of the Amazonas as part of their accounts, it is evident that the Jesuit Spanish geographic and cartographic knowledge of Amazonia from 1639 and 1641 came to depend on the information previously collected and organized by Spanish Franciscans and Portuguese pilots.³⁶

³⁴ Ibid., 79-88; John P. Snyder, “Map Projections in the Renaissance,” in *The History of Cartography*, vol. 3, part 1, ed. David Woodward (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2007), pp. 365-381.

³⁵ “Relação dada por Jacome Raymundo de Noronha sobre cousas tocantes ao governo do Maranhão” in Darcy Ribeiro and Carlos A. Moreira Neto, *A fundação do Brasil: Testemunhos 1500-1700* (Petrópolis: Vozes, 1992), p. 334.

³⁶ The writing and mapping of Amazonia during the 1630s-40s must be analyzed within a context circumscribed by the imprint of the incipient geopolitical rivalry between the Crowns of Spain and Portugal for their domains in South America and, likewise, the Jesuit-Franciscan dispute for the missionization of Amazonia. See Jiménez de la Espada; Burgos; Martins, “Descobrir e redescobrir”; Bacellar; Pedro; and Torres Londoño.

What is interesting about these two maps is the fact that they represented the Amazonas River as just one continuous flow of water coming from the surroundings of Quito. Fritz, on the other hand, indicated that the river should be named Marañón and its sources located near Guánuco denoted that there was a second branch—a southern tributary—that deserved to be studied and portrayed in a map as the “real” first constituent of the Amazonas. In this regard, besides reediting Acuña’s report, Rodríguez had proposed his own divergent version on the nature of the river that would impact Fritz’s reasoning. Rodríguez noted that the Marañón and Amazonas consisted of two different channels that joined their waters to form just one river. The Amazonas, originated near Quito, was the “northern” branch that was navigated and described by Acuña and Captain Teixeira. The Marañón was not part of Acuña’s account and consisted of a “southern” branch that originated around Cuzco, where it was called Apurimac River. This branch was only navigated and known to Spanish explorers, according to Rodríguez.³⁷ At the same time, Franciscan missionaries sent from Lima had also documented the areas surrounding Guánuco as a possible source of the Marañón.³⁸ Fritz’s geo-cartographic amendment was then not his “discovery” but rather

³⁷ Manuel Rodríguez, S.I., *El Marañón, y Amazonas. Historia de los descubrimientos, entradas, y reduccion de naciones, trabajos malogrados de algunos conquistadores, y dichosos de otros, assi temporales como espirituales, en las dilatadas montañas, y mayores rios de la America* (Madrid: Imprenta de Antonio Gonçales de Reyes, 1684), pp. 143-147. If we follow current potamological nomenclature, the Apurimac is an affluent of the Ucayali River. The Marañón instead runs parallel to the Ucayali and closer to the Andes Mountains. About twenty years before the publication of Rodríguez’s work, Leon Pinelo had first proposed this separation between the Marañón and Amazonas as having two different origins and two distinct groups of explorers navigating their waters. See León Pinelo, vol. 2, pp. 471-72, 476, 480.

³⁸ In a 1675 letter to father Gaspar Vivas, rector of the Jesuit College of Quito, father Juan Lorenzo Lucero, missionary in Santiago de la Laguna—head of the Jesuit missions in Western Amazonia—mentioned that there was an easier way to get to Lima from the Upper Huallaga River. As he was told by Franciscan missionaries from that region, this path traversed the province of Guamalies and the Sierra of Bombon, where Lauricocha—“laguna muy poderosa por la máquina de aguas que en ella descansan ó se rebalsan, es venerada por madre del gran rio Marañón”—was located. See Maroni, p. 108.

the unearthing of previous Jesuit and Franciscan scholarly debates and expeditions around this region. The fact that Fritz cartographically underlined and engraved this issue made his map of Amazonia more ubiquitous and persuaded subsequent Jesuit scholars to grant this “discovery” to Fritz.

For the Bohemian Jesuit, it was important to revise previous cartographies of the Amazonas with Quito as its point of origin. He also sought to amend what is now known as the “Brazil-as-an-island” maps. A peculiar characteristic of some of the early modern maps of South America was the presence of a large lake located in the middle of the continent that served as a point of connection between the Amazonas River, coming from the north, and the River Plate, coming from the south. As a result, whereas Portuguese Brazil came to be cartographically represented as a *de facto* island surrounded by those two rivers and the Atlantic Ocean,³⁹ the Amazonas and the River Plate came to resemble the borderline dividing the Iberian Empires according to the 1494 Treaty of Tordesillas.⁴⁰ One of these was Johannes Janssonium’s map of South America from 1647 (Figure A-6). Earlier Spanish geographic authorities had exposed similar ideas as well. Antonio de Herrera had noted that the ultimate sources of the Rio de la Plata were located in a lake named Xarayes, and this was also the point of departure of several rivers including a larger branch running to the north that led some

³⁹ On the myth of the “Island of Brazil,” see Isa Adonias, *A cartografia de região Amazônica. Catálogo descritivo (1500-1961)*, vol. 1 (Rio de Janeiro: Conselho Nacional de Pesquisas. Instituto Nacional de Pesquisas da Amazônia, 1963), pp. 118-120; Demétrio Magnoli, *O Corpo da Pátria: Imaginação geográfica e política externa no Brasil, 1808-1912* (São Paulo: Editora da Universidade Estadual Paulista; Moderna, 1997), pp. 45-61.

⁴⁰ Magnoli, p. 52.

authors to believe “que este rio [de la Plata] se comunica con el de S. Juan de las Amazonas” through this lake Xarayes.⁴¹

When Portuguese authorities began to publicize this idea, it became a real concern for Fritz. First, a seventeenth-century Jesuit chronicler from Brazil, Simão de Vasconcellos, had mentioned that the Amazonas and the Rio de la Plata were like “two silver keys that lock up the land of Brazil” or “two giants who defend and demarcate [theline] between us and Castile.”⁴² Later on, and in direct relation to the Bohemian Jesuit, Antonio de Albuquerque, Governor of Pará, shared the Brazil-as-an-island notion and used it as part of his arguments to justify the Portuguese dominion over Amazonia in his discussions with Fritz.⁴³ This cartographic attempt to convert the Amazonas River into the natural borderline between Portugal and Castile in South America was one of the aspects Fritz considered when delineating his map of Amazonia. For him it was clear that his “Marañon” ran horizontally and not, as the Brazil-as-an-island maps used to portray it, vertically. This issue persisted until 1702, when Fritz prepared a report on the problems the Portuguese were causing in his missions. Against the Lusitanian arguments, Fritz noted that “the Marañon River, from its mouth westward, turns neither northward nor southward completely, instead it always runs following the equinoctial line

⁴¹ “that this river [de la Plata] is connected to the river of San Juan of the Amazons.” Antonio de Herrera, *Descripcion de las Indias Occidentales de Antonio de Herrera, Coronista Mayor de Su Magestad de las Indias y su Coronista de Castilla* (Madrid: En la Emplenta Real, 1601), p. 70. Copies of Herrera’s major work, *Historia General de los hechos de los castellanos en las Islas i tierra firme del mar oceano*, which included his *Descripcion*, were held at the library of the Jesuit University of San Gregorio in Quito. See “Testimonio del secuestro del colegio de San Luis y de la Universidad de San Gregorio,” Quito, August 20, 1767. ASJQ, leg. 25, doc. 1507 [1515], f. 347.

⁴² Simão de Vasconcellos, S.I., *Chronica da Companhia de Jesu do Estado do Brasil e do que obrarão seus filhos nesta parte do Novo Mundo* (Lisbon: Officina de Henrique Valente de Oliveria Impressor del Rey, 1663), p. 18; Magnoli, p. 47.

⁴³ Samuel Fritz, S.I., “Doy á Vuestra Magestad noticia dé los agravios que he recebido en esta mi Mission del Governador del Pará Antonio de Albuquerque, y por sus ordenes de los Portuguezes del Pará,” San Joaquin de Omaguas, August 24, 1702. ASJQ, leg. 8, doc. 713, f. 2v.

with only minor deviation, either northward or southward.”⁴⁴ Therefore, the delineation of the entire length of the Amazonas by Fritz had the double purpose of naming the river and amending European cartographic descriptions of Brazil as an island.⁴⁵

An Instrumental History of Jesuit Cartography of Western Amazonia

Thus far, the discussion has centered upon a series of factors and premises that surrounded Fritz’s cartographic production of Amazonia. In particular, previous geocartographic debates that allowed him to apprehend, process, and respond to different types of knowledge about this river. However, there were only a few instances in which Fritz and most missionary cartographers of Western Amazonia left records of the instrumental process that would lead to the production of their maps. And the reason for this is, as I mentioned above, that we are not dealing with “professional” cartographers. We do not have treatises or materials dealing specifically with the cartographic praxis by Amazonian friars among the material that survived. Yet, missionary sources do indicate, tangentially, the tools and methods they used to make their maps. For instance, in 1692, while visiting Lima, Fritz had handed an earlier

⁴⁴ Samuel Fritz, S.I., “Declaracion del Padre Samuel de la Compañía de Jesus misionero de la Corona de Castilla, en este rio Marañon ó Amazonas, sobre su Mission de Omaguas, Yurimauas, Açuare y Ybanomas tocante á la Corona de Castilla,” Pueblo de Ybanomas, June 4, 1702. ASJQ, leg. 8, doc. 705, f. 1r.

⁴⁵ By 1742, the Brazil-as-an-island cartographic issue was still present, at least according to Father Acuña’s grandnephew, Josef Pardo de Figueroa y Acuña. In this respect, he noted that “algunos Mapas le dán origen al Marañon, y al Rio de la Plata en el Lago de los Xarayes; y es cierto que el de la Plata tiene este origen, porque oy lo tienen averiguado los Padres Jesuitas del Paraguay, que tiene mission á las orillas de este lago, pero el Marañon está mui lejos de semejante principio, y lo mas que puede suceder, es, que de algun arroyo que salga de dicho Lago, se forme algun Rio, que vaya á desaguar al Marañon, mas á bajo de la mitad de su curso, y esto no es darle origen á este gran Rio.” [“In some maps, Lake of Xarayes is the origin of the Marañon and of the Plata Rivers, and it is true that this is the origin of the Rio de la Plata because the Jesuits of Paraguay, who have missions on the shores of that lake, have seen it. But this is not the origin of the Marañon, although it is possible that some small creek coming from that lake gives birth to a river that in turn joins the Marañon after the second half of its course; yet this cannot be the origin of a river.”] See Pardo de Figueroa to La Condamine, f. 334v. Underlined in the original.

manuscript copy of his map of the Marañón or Amazonas River to the Viceroy of Peru, the Count of Monclova. In that occasion, the Bohemian Jesuit affirmed that:

Para cuyo conocimiento mejor, y noticia universal deste gran rio Marañón o Amazonas hize esta mapa geographica, con no poco trabajo y sudor, cuya en la mayor parte de su carrera, hasta donde es navegable, le navegué. Y aunque hasta agora han salido tantas, sin perjuicio de nadie digo, que ninguna dellas ha sido con la accuracion devida, porque ó no vieron, ni tomaron las alturas deste gran rio, ó los sacaron de authores que con sus escritos los dejaron confusos.⁴⁶

These lines are important because they reveal the different mechanisms Fritz, and his contemporaries, used to build up his scientific authority in regard to the mapping of Amazonia—in particular, their experience and resulting accuracy.

It is noteworthy that Fritz mentioned precision as one of the most important characteristics of his map. Uta Lindgren, however, has reminded us that in early modern times “not all maps are suitable for an analysis of their exactness,” particularly in the case of world and continental maps. Lindgren argues that, despite the fact that there was a proper mathematical apparatus that sustained the praxis of astronomical observation and geometrical surveying, the lack of practical application was remarkable. As a result, in relation to early modern cartographic precision “[t]he most important point to be made is that the practice lagged far behind the theory,” and this situation would not change until the eighteenth century when “observational practice was to catch up

⁴⁶ “For better knowledge and general information concerning this great river Marañón or Amazon, I have made this geographical map with no little toil and exertion, having navigated it in greater part of its course as far as it is navigable. Although up to now so many maps have appeared, without prejudice to any one, I say that no one of them has been drawn with the proper accuracy, since they neither saw nor measured the latitudes of this great River, or they extracted them from authors, whose writings left them confused.” Samuel Fritz, S.I., “Memorial que presento el Padre Samuel al Excelentísimo Señor Virrey Conde de la Monclova con el mapa del rio Marañón ó Amazonas, en la Corte de Lima el año de 1692.” ASJQ, leg. 6, doc. 558, f. 1v. Translation, slightly modified by me, from Fritz, *Journal*, p. 58.

with the mathematical theory.”⁴⁷ Whereas I agree that to test the precision of early modern cartographies is often a waste of time, I believe that this diachronic distinction between early-modern-*proto-instrumental* and modern-*fully-instrumental* cartographies creates a rather problematic progressist vision that does not let us appreciate the real dimensions of the practice of early modern mapping and mapmaking. Fritz underlined the accuracy of his map and this requires an examination not so much of the exactness of his graphic description of Amazonia but of the instrumental process and context that allegedly led him to achieve a more accurate map.

The Bohemian Jesuit emphasized that his cartographic praxis did not rely on knowledge based merely on books or previous “confusing” authorities. He rather pointed out that he had personally navigated and taken certain astronomical and topographical observations during his journey along the Amazonas River. It is important to note that although in Fritz’s journal and reports there is not an actual description of any astronomical observation or “activities of this sort when he describes the two journeys in his diary,”⁴⁸ he did mention his own calculations of latitudes. For instance, in a report from 1721, Fritz pointed out that he had made his “delineación y relación” of the Amazonas River “muy ajustadamente porque lo navegue hasta donde es navegable desde Borja a Para, y desde Para a Borja [...] tomando todos los dias que hubo sol a mediodia su altura de donde se conoce su declinacion y altura.”⁴⁹ The problem is that Fritz failed to reveal the process by and instruments with which he did so. We know that

⁴⁷ Uta Lindgren, “Land Surveys, Instruments, and Practitioners in the Renaissance,” in *The History of Cartography*, vol. 3, part 1, ed. David Woodward (Chicago, IL: Chicago University Press, 2007), pp. 505, 508.

⁴⁸ de Almeida, “Samuel Fritz Revisited,” p. 148.

⁴⁹ Samuel Fritz, S.I., “Informe del Padre Samuel Fricz á cerca del Rio Marañon, o Amazonas,” Xeveros, March 23, 1721. AMREE, MRE, R, G.1.6.3.6, ff. 132-133.

Fritz could at least count on having a wooden semi-circle ruler to calculate the latitudes during his Amazonian expedition thanks to Charles-Marie de La Condamine—head of the 1736-1739 French geodetic expedition to Quito who met Jesuit friars in Quito and in Borja, capital of their missions in Western Amazonia. La Condamine first acknowledged that, before Fritz’s map, Amazonian cartography “had been based on pure abstraction, bearing little or no relation to information gathered by firsthand observation.”⁵⁰

Nevertheless, he disqualified the cartographic work of the Bohemian Jesuit because “without a pendulum and without a telescope, [Fritz] was unable to determine a single point of longitude. He had but a single wooden semicircle of three inches’ radius for the latitudes; furthermore, he was ill when he descended the river to Pará.”⁵¹ If we were to follow the information provided by the French explorer, who was quite interested in undermining Fritz’s cartographic authority to highlight his own, the Bohemian Jesuit could have used a semicircle to calculate the latitudes during his Amazonian excursion.⁵²

La Condamine’s allegation that Fritz’s was ill during his journey and that his astronomical observations were consequently imprecise and his map is problematic. As Neil Safier has demonstrated, the French explorer was basically copying information handed down to him by Josef Pardo de Figueroa, Father Acuña’s grandnephew, who hoped to impress La Condamine by presenting himself as a geographic authority of

⁵⁰ Neil Safier, *Measuring the New World: Enlightenment Science and South America* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2008), p. 77.

⁵¹ La Condamine quoted in *ibid.* See also Vicente D. Sierra, *Los jesuitas germanos en la conquista espiritual de Hispano-América, siglos XVII-XVIII* (Buenos Aires: Facultades de Filosofía y Teología, Institución Cultural Argentino-Germana, 1944), p. 310.

⁵² On La Condamine’s usufruct of Fritz’s work see Safier, *Measuring the New World*, chapter 2.

Amazonia.⁵³ One result of this conversation was the fact that both Pardo de Figueroa and La Condamine rhetorically tergiversated Fritz's account of his Amazonian journey and made it seem as if the Bohemian Jesuit was ill during both legs of his trip, that is, to and from Pará.⁵⁴ Fritz was indeed sick at the beginning, and this illness was the reason that made him navigate the entire Amazonas River to find a cure among the Portuguese at Pará in 1689.⁵⁵ Yet, he was no longer ill when he returned from Pará about two years later. He even came accompanied by a fleet composed of a sergeant, seven soldiers, one surgeon, and thirty-five Indians.⁵⁶ Fritz did not mention whether these personnel helped him with his astronomical observations or how these observations were made. However, he was very clear in sustaining his healthy disposition and, more important, that he executed these calculations during his returning trip from Pará. In a 1696 report sent to Father *Visitador* Diego Altamirano, the Bohemian Jesuit stated that he was attaching another manuscript copy of "el mapa de todo este rio de Amazonas, que hize tomando las alturas en esos soles ardientes, viniendo de abajo del Pará."⁵⁷ In these lines, Fritz reiterated that his map was the result of astronomical observations. More important, he pointed out the particular context in which he carried out these

⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 69.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*; Pardo de Figueroa to La Condamine, f. 325r.

⁵⁵ Fritz, "Compendio de la baxada por el rio Amazonas," f. 1v.

⁵⁶ Samuel Fritz, S.I., "Compendio de la buelta desde la ciudad de Gran-Pará de los Portuguezes, que hizo para la reducion de San Joachin de Omaguas, principio de su mission, el Padre Samuel Fritz misionero de la Corona de Castilla, de la Compañia de Jesus, en el rio Marañon ó Amazonas: el año de 1691," n.p., n.d. ASJQ, leg. 6, doc. 537, f. 1r.

⁵⁷ "the map of this River of the Amazons, which I made, calculating the latitudes under those scorching suns, on my way back from Pará." Samuel Fritz, S.I., to Father *Visitador* Diego Francisco Altamirano, Xeberos, August 20, 1696. ASJQ, leg. 7, doc. 623, f. 1r.

calculations during his healthy “way back from Pará”—something that La Condamine and Pardo de Figueroa attempted to bypass.

In addition to his wooden semicircle and healthy conditions that might have permitted him to carry out “accurate” measurements of the dimensions of the Amazonas River during his returning trip from Pará, it is also plausible that Fritz, as a member of the Jesuit community, was trained in astronomy, cartography, and the manufacture of instruments for that purpose. As Andrés Prieto has pointed out, since the foundation of the order in 1534, the “heavy involvement of the Jesuits in pedagogy forced them to systematize their relationship to culture and learning.”⁵⁸ This systematization came in the form of a standardized curriculum for Jesuit colleges around the world, to wit, the 1586 *Ratio Studiorum*. The *Ratio* organized Jesuit education in four fields: grammar, rhetoric, theology, and philosophy. According to Benjamin Elman, “philosophy courses were spread over three years and included logic, ethics, physics, and mathematics (which included astronomy).”⁵⁹ The principles of geography, in the words of Michael Coigneto in his introduction to Abraham Ortelius’ “Theatrum Orbis Terrarum,” derived from the ones of “la Geometria, y de la sciencia de los movimientos de los cuerpos çelestes.”⁶⁰ Furthermore, Apian had noted in his “Cosmographia” that geography “es como una forma, o figura, y imitacion de pintura de la tierra, y de sus principales partes

⁵⁸ Andrés I. Prieto, *Missionary Scientists: Jesuit Science in Spanish South America, 1570-1810* (Nashville, TN: Vanderbilt University Press, 2011), p. 3.

⁵⁹ Benjamin A. Elman, *On Their Own Terms: Science in China, 1550-1900* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2005), p. 88.

⁶⁰ “Geometry and the science of the movements of the celestial bodies.” Michael Coigneto, “Introduccion Mathematica,” in Abraham Ortelius, *Theatro d’el orbe de la tierra de Abraham Ortello. El qual antes el extremo dia de su vida por la postrera vez ha emendado, y con nuevas tablas y commentarios augmentado y esclarecido* (Antwerp: Libreria Plantiniana, 1612), p. [9r].

conocidas.”⁶¹ Geography, which derived from mathematics and astronomy, engendered cartography. To what extent cartography and geography mattered in the Jesuit intellectual formation is debatable.⁶² What we do know is that these disciplines were part of the early modern Jesuit educational formation. Indeed, when their missionaries were sent around the globe to found colleges, establish missions, and spread the gospel, they were carrying a cartographic knowledge that permitted them to chart those new places.

Beside their educational formation, Jesuits also learned about these disciplines through their library collections. Around 1682, a few years before the arrival of Fritz to South America, the library of the Jesuit College of Quito held fifty-three books on sciences such as mathematics, geometrics, and astronomy. In particular, it held four books on “mathematical instruments [...] two on the construction of the astrolabe [...] and other two on the manufacturing of sundials.”⁶³ Early geographic treatises, such as Enciso’s “Suma de Geographia,” also included information on astronomy, specifically the calculation of the altitude of the sun using instruments like the astrolabe and the

⁶¹ “is like a form, or shape, and imitation of the figure of the Earth, and of its most important and better known parts.” Apian, f. 1v.

⁶² On the one hand, it has been argued that the *ratio studiorum* “stressed the natural sciences, particularly cosmography and cartography” and that the Jesuits “were preeminently the order known for studies in the natural sciences.” See Buisseret, “Spanish Colonial Cartography,” p. 1148. In the particular case of geography and cartography, another scholar has pointed out that “geography was definitely part of the Jesuit upper school curriculum by the seventeenth century, just as it was in European universities more generally. However, despite the close relationship between travel and the Jesuits, there is no strong evidence that maps were an important part of that curriculum.” See Lesley B. Cormack, “Maps as Educational Tools in the Renaissance,” in *The History of Cartography*, vol. 3, part 1, ed. David Woodward (Chicago, IL: Chicago University Press, 2007), p. 630.

⁶³ Juan Navarro Loidi, “Los libros matemáticos y científicos de la biblioteca del colegio de los jesuitas de Quito (s. XVII-XVIII),” *Archives Internationales D’Histoire des Sciences* 52:148 (2002), pp. 200-201.

quadrant to determine one's position on the ground or sea.⁶⁴ Other treatises, more properly centered on astronomy, such as Joan Paulo Gallucio's 1616 "Theatro del Mundo y de el Tiempo," presented a series of devices throughout the text that were used as instruments to calculate different celestial phenomena. This text also provided specific directions on how to make your own astronomical instrument at home, which was certainly aimed at understanding astronomy not only in theory but also in practice (Figure A-7). Gallucio stated that mathematicians owned several instruments to carry out celestial observations such as "el Astrolabio, el Annulo, el Giovo, y otros." However, he also provided detailed instructions for non-practitioners that included the exhaustive disposition of parts to build these devices and how these tools should be placed to carry out particular astronomical calculations.⁶⁵ Gallucio's directions showed that theoretical dexterity was not required in the making of these instruments. Copies of Gallucio's "Theatro del Mundo" were held at the library of the Jesuit Colegio Máximo of Quito and also at the library of the Franciscan Convent of Santa Rosa in Ocopa. This means that they were available for those missionaries who would be later sent to evangelize Western Amazonia.⁶⁶ More important, there was also a copy of Gallucio's "Theatro" in Amazonia—specifically, in the archive and library of the town of La Laguna.⁶⁷

⁶⁴ Enciso, ff. 8r, 23r-23v.

⁶⁵ Ioan Paulo Gallucio, *Theatro del Mundo y de el Tiempo*, trans. and ed. Miguel Pérez (Granada: Sebastián Muñoz impressor, 1606), ff. 337v-338v.

⁶⁶ The Jesuit copy is now held at the National Library of Ecuador, although I had only access to a microform copy of it. The Franciscan copy remains in the BCO.

⁶⁷ "Inventario de los libros del archivo de el pueblo de la Laguna perteneciente a la mision." La Laguna, October 19, 1768. AMCE, JJC.00296c, f. 16.

Instructions such as those found in Gallucio's work might have prepared these friars to construct their own astronomical devices.

The members of the Society of Jesus were able to follow instructions like those present in Gallucio's work. As noted by Andrés Prieto, students of the Jesuit College in Rome attended lectures and "conducted mathematical research and manufactured astronomical instruments with which they made observations of the Roman skies" by the first decade of the seventeenth century. In South America, Jesuits at the provinces of Chiloe and Peru were similarly able to construct their own scientific instruments and to purchase them in local markets in the mid-seventeenth century.⁶⁸ In the case of Jesuit cartographers of Western Amazonia, Nicholas Schindler, a missionary among the Omaguas, Yameos and Pebas natives around the confluence of the Napo and Amazonas Rivers between the 1730 and 1744, was remembered for his disinterest in worldly things. In particular, it was noted that to make his Amazonian wanderings easier, he gave away his "most precious belongings," which were his books and mathematical instruments he had brought from Europe.⁶⁹ A few decades later, the Jesuit Juan de Velasco, who wrote a history and made a map of the province of Quito in 1789, had among his belongings, at the time of the Society's expulsion from Spanish America, a set of mathematical instruments as well as two globes:

⁶⁸ Prieto, *Missionary Scientists*, pp. 120, 128, 132.

⁶⁹ Juan Magnin, S.I., "Carta de edificacion del Padre Nicolas Schindler de la Compania de Jesus, Superior de las Misiones de Maynas," San Francisco de Borja, March 3, 1744. ARSI/AHJ, N. R. et Quit. 15-2, ff. 335v-336r. A transcription of this letter, although from a distinct German Jesuit source, can be found in Juan Magnin, S.I., "Carta del R. P. Joannes Magnin, S. J., misionero en Quito, a los demás misioneros de la Compañía de Jesús. Escrita en la ciudad de Quito, el 3 de marzo de 1744," in Bravo, *Las Misiones de Mainas*, pp. 299-300. Whereas the original does not indicate the source of those instruments, the German version does indicate that Schindler's mathematical tools were brought from Europe.

Primeramente un caxonsito embarnisado, con dos estuches, y otros ynstrumentos de Matematica=Un reloj dispertador=Quatro Laminitas de Christal [...] Yten dos globos [...] Yten veinte y siete cuerpos de libros de a folio, y en quarto de varios Autores de la esquela=Varias estampas en la pared, una estampa con su vidrierita.⁷⁰

The situation with Fritz is that, except for La Condamine's comment on his wooden semicircle, there are no records that indicate astronomical instruments under his possession or the process by which he performed his celestial observations and translated them into his map of the Amazonas. However, the context, the mathematical instruments owned by his missionary Amazonian peers, and their educational background suggests that Fritz executed astronomical observations with instruments that he carried with him during his Amazonian journey back from Pará. On the contrary, Fritz was a member of an organization with sufficient academic training in these astronomical and mathematical endeavors. Besides the theoretical formation, they were likewise prepared in pragmatical aspects of these disciplines, in particular, the manufacturing, possession, and use of instruments for celestial observations. The Bohemian Jesuit was well prepared, thanks to his wooden semicircle, to navigate the Amazonas "observando á cada paso sus alturas y midiendo del mejor modo que pudo su curso y rumbos diferentes que lleva."⁷¹

The existence of instruments, however, does not necessarily mean that there is "science" or at least an "accurate" praxis. In regard to land surveying techniques in early modern Europe, Lindgren has pointed out that:

⁷⁰ "First of all, a small varnished drawer with two cases and other mathematical instruments; an alarm clock; four little glass sheets [...] two globes [...] twenty-seven folio and quarter-size books from different authors of the school; several prints on the wall, one framed print." Testimonio de los autos obrados en la expulsión de los Jesuitas. Popayán, 1767. ASJQ, leg. 28, doc. 1562, f. 14r.

⁷¹ "calculating recurrently its latitudes and measuring the best he could its course and the different routes it follows." Maroni, p. 139.

Just as the extant maps from the period [...] cannot be used as primary sources to indicate the use of systematic surveys and triangulation, surviving surveying instruments are not reliable guides to the methods that might have been employed or the precision with which they might have been carried out. Many instruments were designed to demonstrate the ingenuity of their makers rather than to be of immediate utility, and thus they were often far too complicated for a surveyor to understand.⁷²

In the particular case of early modern explorations of Amazonia, Roberto Pineda noted that, unlike oceanic navigation, fluvial navigation did not depend on celestial observations and instruments. Yet, those astronomical activities were useful to keep record of the high-water seasons of rivers and to create a “calendar” to forecast the varying rhythms of the South American tropical landscape. They also helped missionary cartographers like Fritz measure the volume, depth, and current of the Amazonas River.⁷³ A contemporary testimony by Sebastián Fernández de Medrano indicates that, up to 1700, Amazonian maps presented “many doubts” not only because it was still uncharted territory but, above all, because latitudes and longitudes of Amazonia taken by European explorers were not reliable due to “la poca justificacion de sus instrumentos, ó observaciones ó por tomar el primer Meridiano ó circulo de longitud de diversos parages.”⁷⁴ We must keep in mind that the presence of astronomical instruments in early modern times, and in Amazonia in particular, is not an indication of the praxis of a “scientific” or “professional” cartography. The problem with this kind of progressist or teleological working framework is that it creates artificial perceptions of amateurism or proto-professionalism among early modern practitioners of science. It

⁷² Lindgren, p. 508.

⁷³ Pineda, “El río Amazonas: un gigante indomado,” p. 54.

⁷⁴ “the inaccuracy of their instruments and measurements, or for placing the first Meridian or longitudinal line at different places.” Medrano, *Breve Tratado de Geographia dividido en tres partes*, p. 6.

deprives us from understanding individuals such as Fritz, his working conditions, and the diverse array of possibilities that he had at his disposition to perform his cartographic works of Amazonia.

Moving beyond these issues about the calculation of latitudes and the use of appropriate instruments, Fritz's mapmaking also included other factors such as the drawing and delineation of the river and territories in the map. That Fritz was interested in painting is shown in the communication he had with Father Altamirano in 1696, in which he asked him to bring from Quito, among other things, "una botijuela de azeite de lino, ó otro que usan los pintores, para encarnar y pintar," as well as "un poco de adbayalde, otro poco de polvos azules, y media ó una libra de añil."⁷⁵ More important, Father Wenceslao Breyer, a contemporary missionary of Western Amazonia, pointed out that Fritz had a "horror of idleness." As a result, to keep himself occupied with "serious leisure" hobbies, Fritz learned:

varios oficios, de escultor, pintor, carpintero, albañil y arquitecto (sic), que nunca antes habia ejercitado, y esto con mucha perfección y aseo, como lo dan á entender varias obras de sus manos, especialmente pinturas y estatuas para las iglesias, que es lo mejor que tenga (sic) en este género la misión.⁷⁶

These paintings and sculptures certainly denote that Fritz was familiar with techniques involving drawing, delineating, and measuring. The importance of emphasizing Fritz's

⁷⁵ "a little bottle of linseed oil, or a similar product that painters use to incarnate and paint [...] a little bit of white lead, a little smalt, and half or one pound of indigo." Fritz to Father *Visitador* Altamirano, ff. 1r, 4r.

⁷⁶ "the varied employments of sculptor, painter, carpenter, mason and architect, so that though he had never before practised these arts, he attained to such perfection and neatness of execution, as various works of his hands clearly demonstrate, especially pictures and statues for the Churches, which are the best of this kind that the Mission possesses." Maroni, p. 368. Translation from Fritz, *Journal*, p. 134. A 1697 inventory of the church of San Joaquin of Omaguas, the mission-station under Fritz's command in the Solimões, indicates that it held paintings of Saint Joachim, Our Lady of Guadalupe, an Ecce Homo, Crucified Christ, Our Lady of Nieves, and sculptures of Our Lady of Rosario and the Immaculate Conception, among others. These might have been the result of the Jesuit's small hobbies in the Amazonas. See Juan de Santa Cruz, S.I. and Juan Lorenzo Lucero, S.I., "De las alhajas que hay en nuestras misiones," Cuenca, June 30, 1697. ASJQ, leg. 7, doc. 647, f. 3r.

expertise in these matters is that, in early modern times, when instruments were considered unreliable or not used at all, “geographic drawings and even paintings” became “preserved in the larger cartographic collections.” As noted by Lindgren, these drawings lacked “any geometrical basis” and “were produced during the early modern period as an *Augenschein* (a kind of eyewitness evidence) of a given space.” Even “maps” such as those appearing in Sebastian Münster’s “Cosmography” were “dispensed with geometrical fundamentals as well as arrangement in a grid system.”⁷⁷ Yet, this implies that drawing is another important factor to take into consideration when dealing with the study of early modern cartographic production, in this case, of the Amazonas by Fritz. Particularly because back then drawings were maps, that is, the disciplinary boundaries between what we might consider an instrumental-professional map and a mere drawing of regional or continental landscapes were unclear—and they are still unclear since precise measurements and coordinates must be at the end translated into lines, dots, and colors to make them part of a map.

Whereas this previous information helps us to situate the role that drawing or painting played in early modern cartography, it only resolves one of the many aspects we have been discussing in regard to Fritz’s mapping production of Amazonia, to wit, the delineation of his maps. This, in turn, relates to the “contours” of his mapping. The “contents,” on the other hand, are a different story because it requires us to consider another set of variables such as reasons related to Fritz’s exploration and the networks of knowledge that allowed him to receive and reproduce information about this region.

⁷⁷ Lindgren, p. 505.

Fritz spent about thirty eight years in Amazonia.⁷⁸ He navigated the entire Amazonas River twice and travelled to Quito and Lima occasionally. As a result of his travels, Fritz's maps also changed accordingly, including new information from diverse regions. The Omagua missions of Our Lady of Guadalupe and San Pablo, founded in 1693,⁷⁹ only appear in the 1707 engraved map. For this reason, George Edmundson noted that this map was not "a mere reduction of the map of 1691."⁸⁰ These explorations in fact cemented Fritz's Amazonian authority and made his map reliable, that is, "scientific" since the outcome had been substantiated in person. In the words of Father Acuña's nephew, the Bohemian Jesuit "ha sido el unico que ha navegado este Rio desde el Pará hasta su origen en Guanuco, y fué el que demostró ser este el verdadero [origen]." As a result, he advised La Condamine, before sailing the Amazonas on his way back to France in 1743, that "[d]esde el origen de la Laguna Yauricocha [sic], hasta la parte donde Vuestra Merced se embarcare, se puede valer de la Carta del Padre Fritz, que es la mas exacta que hasta aora se ha dado á luz."⁸¹

There were, however, some areas that might have not been sufficiently known by Fritz. In consequence, his cartographic authority also depended on exogenous factors that were beyond his travels and academic background. We have already explained the geocartographic debates in which Fritz and his maps of the Amazonas participated.

⁷⁸ Eighteen years as missionary in Omaguas, nine years as Superior Father of all the Maynas missions, and eleven years as missionary of Xeberos (from 1686 to 1725 in total). See Maroni, pp. 366-367.

⁷⁹ Fritz, *Journal*, p. 91.

⁸⁰ George Edmundson, "Appendix," in *ibid.*, p. 145.

⁸¹ "From the headwaters at Lake Yauricocha [sic], to the point where Your Grace is going to embark, you can use the map of Father Fritz, since this is the most accurate published thus far." Pardo de Figueroa to La Condamine, ff. 326v, 331v. Underlined in the original.

Whereas these debates allowed him to confront and provide his own cartographic voice in a dialogical manner, there were other factors that allowed him to incorporate personally uncharted territories into his cartographic world. These consisted of the networks that Fritz was able to establish with other Jesuit friars who had a superior expertise in the exploration and mapmaking of other regions throughout Amazonia. This is, for instance, the case of his connections with Jesuits serving in the Portuguese province of Maranhão. During his stay in Pará, Fritz obtained geographical and cartographic knowledge of the estuary of the Amazonas from his conversations with father Aloïs Conrad Pfeil, cartographer and astronomer at the Jesuit College of Pará.⁸² Before Fritz's arrival, Pfeil had produced a few maps of the Amazonas, especially one of the northern cape of its mouth, in the middle of a territorial dispute with the French of Cayenne.⁸³ Once in Pará, Lusitanian authorities used Pfeil's world map to contradict Fritz's arguments when they discussed the positions of Spanish and Portuguese territories along Amazonia.⁸⁴ These cartographic conversations taking place between two German Jesuits of different provinces were also replicated within Fritz's own Quiteño Jesuit community. In the case of Fritz's description of the Ucayali River, one of the southern tributaries of the Amazonas in Eastern Peru, it has been argued that the geographic information of this region came from data gathered by father Enrique

⁸² Bettendorf, p. 323.

⁸³ Ibid., p. 345; de Almeida, "Samuel Fritz," p. 119, n. 9; Serafim Leite, S. I., *História da Companhia de Jesus no Brasil*, vol. 4 (Rio de Janeiro: Instituto Nacional do Livro; Lisboa: Livraria Portugal, 1943), p. 285; Lucero, pp. 65-70.

⁸⁴ Samuel Fritz, S. I., to Provincial Father Sebastian Abbad, San Joaquin de Omaguas, October 15, 1709. ASJQ, leg. 8, doc. 805 [802], f. 2r.

Richter, local Jesuit missionary from the Province of Quito.⁸⁵ There are, however, no records of Richter's cartographic production. What we have are only indications by Father Velasco about a map of the Upper Ucayali that Richter made around 1696, but the current location of this map is unknown.⁸⁶ That same area was, on the contrary, being mapped and explored by Franciscans of the Province of Lima before the coming of Fritz and, as we will see, would continue to be the center of the Franciscan cartographic endeavors in Western Amazonia.

An Instrumental History of Franciscan Cartography of Western Amazonia

Franciscans of the Province of Peru had a preponderant participation in the cartography of the Western Amazon basin, primarily around the Ucayali and Huallaga basins, which became the axes of their missionary enterprise in early modern Western Amazonia. Particularly during the eighteenth century, the order of Saint Francis had engendered an important group of cartographers of Amazonia such as Joseph Amich, Pedro González de Agüeros, and Manuel Sobreviela, who produced a considerable number of maps of the region. In this respect Julián Heras stated that, whereas the first Franciscan maps were "simple and rudimentary sketches [...] since the missionaries were not professional cartographers," by the eighteenth century the panorama changed with the appearance of "the first maps with some scientific rigor."⁸⁷ Similar to the Jesuit case, it is difficult to understand, even during the supposedly more-professional eighteenth century, the intellectual and instrumental process by which these Seraphic

⁸⁵ Lucero, pp. 46-47, 76-78.

⁸⁶ Juan de Velasco, S.I., *Historia del Reino de Quito en la América Meridional*, vol. 1: *Historia Natural*, ed. Aurelio Espinosa Pólit, S.I. (Puebla: Editorial J.M. Cajica, 1961 [1789]), pp. 409-410.

⁸⁷ Julián Heras, O.F.M., "Los franciscanos de Ocopa y la cartografía regional del centro," *Boletín de Lima* 6 (1980), p. 45.

cartographers made their maps of Amazonia. Diverse cosmographic and geographic treatises were available at the libraries of the Convent of Descalzos in Lima and the Convent of Santa Rosa in Ocopa, where Franciscan missionaries who were sent to evangelize Amazonian natives were trained.⁸⁸ The main convent of the Franciscan Order in Lima also contained several geographic and scientific treatises among their library holdings.⁸⁹ In these works, friars were able to learn different astronomical techniques for the calculation of latitudinal and longitudinal coordinates of places and rivers and their subsequent translations into the form of a map. Yet, proper descriptions of mapmaking activities by those very Franciscan cartographers have remained historiographically elusive. By paying closer attention to their reports and correspondence, I will show small but significant evidence of this.

Similar to the Jesuits, there were specialists in charge of the cartographic activities in the Seraphic community. In 1765, the General Commissary of the Franciscans of Peru, Bernardo Peón y Valdez, assigned Father Joseph Amich the exploration of a route connecting the Pozuzu and Ucayali via the Pachitea River to learn, among other things, if Father Francisco Frances was still alive. Frances, along

⁸⁸ There were copies of Gallucio's 1606 "Theatro del Mundo y de el Tiempo," Pedro Manuel Cedillo's 1745 "Tratado de la Cosmographia y Nautica," Francisco Laso's 1711 "El Atlas Abreviado, o Compendiosa Geografia del Mundo Antigo, y Nuevo, segun esta oy dividido," and Francisco Giustiniani's 1739 "El Atlas Abraviado," in the library of Ocopa. Meanwhile, the library of Descalzos in Lima held copies of François Pétis de la Croix's 1717 "Geographie Universele," Geronimo Cortes' 1606 "Lunario perpetuo," Henrique Florez's 1747 "España Sagrada," Joannes de Laet's 1633 "Novus Orbis," the 1748 "Relación Histórica del Viaje a la América Meridional" and "Observaciones Astronómicas y Phisicas" by Jorge Juan and Antonio de Ulloa, and the 1753-1757 Spanish edition of the Jesuit "Cartas Edificantes."

⁸⁹ Among these we can mention the works of Abraham Ortelius, Nicolle de la Croix, Lorenzo Echard, Comte de Buffon, and Antonio de Alcedo. See Joan Manuel Morales, "Fray Manuel Sobreviela: representante de la Ilustración católica en el Perú a fines del siglo XVIII," in Manuel Sobreviela, O.F.M., *Diario de visita de fray Manuel Sobreviela a las misiones de los ríos Huallga y Marañón*, ed. Patricia Herrera, Claudio Martínez, and Joan Manuel Morales, vol. 2 (Lima: Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores del Perú, Archivo Histórico de Límites, 2010), pp. 6-10.

with his Franciscan comrade, Joseph Hernandez, had led an unsuccessful expedition to the Ucayali two years earlier. Frances never made it back. Exploring this route was also important since it would mean finding an easier way to connect the Convent of Ocopa, in the center of the Andes, with the missions of Manoa in the Ucayali. Peón y Valdez appointed Amich because he:

fue sugeto de mas que ordinaria inteligencia, en las matematicas, á quien se le proveyo de instrumentos vastantes, á levantar planos, y formar diseños competentes, con designacion de alturas y rumbos sobre que describir una carta especifica, y comprehensiva de aquellas tierras, que sirva de luz para dirigir las operaciones que aian de seguirse en lo subsesivo.⁹⁰

Thus, due to his “mathematical” background and that the projected outcome of the expedition was a map of the region, Amich was the ideal candidate to lead this exploratory and cartographic initiative. In the literature on Franciscan cartography, Amich occupies a prominent position as the man who brought a scientific or professional standard to their mapping and mapmaking activities between the late 1760s and early 1770s.⁹¹ He is also known for authoring a *Compendio histórico* or history of the Franciscan missions in eastern Peru, whose manuscript version was finished in 1771 but was only published in 1854.⁹² The process by which Amich

⁹⁰ “was a man of an extraordinary intelligence, in mathematics, to whom they provided with many instruments to make plans and delineate efficient designs, indicating the altitudes and directions to prepare a specific and comprehensive map of those lands, that will serve as a guide for subsequent expeditions.” Manuel de Amat, Viceroy of Peru, to the Council of Indies. Lima, August 20, 1765. ALMREP, LEA-11-79, caja 15, f. 44r.

⁹¹ Heras, “Los franciscanos de Ocopa y la cartografía regional del centro,” pp. 47-50.

⁹² Miguel de San Martin Cueto, Secretary of the Council of Indies, to Manuel de la Vega, O.F.M., General Commissary of Indies. Madrid, August 27, 1774. ALMREP, LEA-11-79, caja 15, f. 80r; Joseph Amich, O.F.M., *Compendio histórico de los trabajos, sudores, fatigas, y muertes que los ministros evangélicos de la seráfica religión han padecido por la conversión de las almas de los gentiles, en las montañas de los Andes, pertenecientes a las provincias del Perú* (Paris: Librería de Rosa y Bouret, 1854 [1771]).

performed his cartographic activities has, however, remained rather obscure. This might have been due to an unintentional absence of that kind of information in the sources.

Peón y Valdez, for instance, did not describe the type of instruments he had handed to Amich. We cannot know how he made his map from reading those lines. But Amich had pointed out that the cause of the failure of the Frances-Hernandez expedition was precisely their reliance on an inaccurate map of the region that those friars had found in the archive of the Convent of Ocopa, which gave them false impressions in terms of the distance and time required to navigate from the Pozuzu to the Ucayali River.⁹³ When describing earlier Franciscan explorations throughout eastern Peru, Amich observed that:

La falta de noticias geográficas y de astronomia que tenían los padres conversores, les hizo caer en muchos errores geográficos, poniendo unas distancias exorbitantes en los caminos de estas montañas, sin hacerse cargo de los rodeos que ocasionan los cerros, las subidas y bajadas, los desvíos de muchos arroyos, las revueltas de los ríos y otros muchos accidentes, que ocasionan muchas veces que un día no se adelanten dos leguas aunque se caminen mas de seis.⁹⁴

Instead, he was prepared to overcome this geo-astronomic deficit with the specific purpose of producing a proper map of the Pozuzu-Pachitea-Ucayali basin that could benefit his entire religious community. Amich stated that he was appointed to lead the new expedition because “entre los misioneros no havia quien tuviese luces en mathematicas, ni geografia, para poder hacer una mediana descripcion de los rios, que

⁹³ Joseph Amich, O.F.M., to Manuel de la Vega, O.F.M., General Commissary of Indies, Recoleccion de Nuestro Seráfico Padre San Francisco de Lima, January 13, 1774. ALMREP, LEA-11-79, caja 15, f. 50v; Amich, *Compendio histórico*, p. 234.

⁹⁴ “the lack of geographic and astronomical knowledge among the friars made them make many geographical mistakes, indicating such excessive distances in the routes through those jungles, without considering the many detours caused by the mountains, ups and downs, deviation of many streams, the curves of the rivers, and many other accidents that make us move in just one day no more than two leagues despite having walked more than six.” Amich, *Compendio histórico*, p. 176.

cruzan aquellas montañas,” and his main objective was “la descripción del río Puzuzu y sus adyacentes.”⁹⁵ Before his incorporation into the Franciscan Order in 1765, the Barcelona-born Amich had been a pilot of the Royal Spanish Navy force and was known for having participated in the design and reconstruction of the fortress of El Callao, a year after the port of Lima was devastated by an earthquake in 1746.⁹⁶ He thus came to the order of Saint Francis with the appropriate mathematical and astronomical background resulting from his earlier formation as a pilot and engineer. In the case of his cartographic production of Amazonia, the indications of Amich’s scientific procedures are less evident.

There are not explicit suggestions on how he concretely carried out his cartography of the Pozuzu-Pachitea-Ucayali route, but there are a few signs suggesting how he measured the terrain portrayed in his map. Peón y Valdez, in his report on the expedition that he organized to explore the route connecting these two rivers, noted that:

Para resguardo de los religiosos destinados á la expedición franqueó con generosidad veinte y cinco soldados el Virrey, y para delinear el derrotero, curso de ríos, demarcación de riveras, y demás que se estimase digno y diese materia á un mapa de aquellos países desconocidos, di el comando de la expedición al Padre Fray Josef Amich, sujeto facultativo, que le formó muy arreglado después de haber penetrado el Ucayali, y reconocido el curso del de Pozuzu, y de otros que entran en él. Con esta ocasión *tiró líneas* desde Tarma á Guanuco, de Guanuco a Caxamarquilla, a los Lamas y Misiones de Mainas hasta el

⁹⁵ “among the missionaries, no one else had enough knowledge of mathematics and geography to make an average description of the rivers crossing such jungles [...] the description of the Puzuzu River and its surroundings.” Amich to de la Vega, f. 51v.

⁹⁶ Enrique de Ravago, *Viajes y estudios en la historia de la geografía*, 2nd ed. (Lima: [private edition], 2003), pp. 226-227. For a complete transcription of documents from the General Archive of Indies related to the reconstruction of the fortress of Callao under Amich’s codirection see Darío Arrús, *El Callao en la época del coloniaje antes y después de la catástrofe de 1746* ([Callao]: Imprenta de “El Callao,” 1904), pp. 207-250.

Marañón. De suerte que nos dio un Mapa el mas instructivo de rios, montañas, y misiones.⁹⁷

That is, according to Peón y Valdez, Amich's map of the Pozuzu-Pachitea-Ucayali route was based on "tirar líneas," that is, triangulations or some form of geometrical surveying technique that the Franciscan friar carried out on the terrain to determine the distances between cities and rivers throughout Eastern Central Peru. Although Peón y Valdez did not mention how the Seraphic father proceeded to make those triangulations, we know from Amich's own words that in similar situations he used a compass and probably a quadrant to measure latitudes: "en los viajes que he ejecutado así en la sierra como en la montaña, en los cuales mediante la *observacion de la altura del polo*, y continua *atencion de los rumbos con la aguja*, corregía lo que la comun existimacion [sic] abultaba de distancias geográficas."⁹⁸ That is, during his wanderings in the Andes and in the Amazonian jungle, Amich brought with him some instrument—a quadrant or an astrolabe—to observe the altitude of the North Star and determine latitudes, and a compass to keep track of the precise distances covered during his explorations. These scientific and professional procedures of topographic measurements is what made

⁹⁷ "To protect the friars sent to the expedition, the Viceroy generously sent twenty five soldiers, and to delineate the route, course of the rivers, demarcation of the shorelines and others useful tasks, and to make a map of those unknown lands, I gave the command of the expedition to father Josef Amich, man of good abilities, who made this very correct map after having sailed the Ucayali and surveyed the course of the Puzuzu River and of other tributaries. In this occasion, he draw the lines from Tarma to Guanuco, from Guanuco to Caxamarquilla, to Lamas and the Maynas missions, until the Marañón River. Thus, he gave us the most illuminating map of all the rivers, jungles, and missions." Bernardo Peón y Valdez, O.F.M, General Commissary of the Franciscans of Peru, to the Council of Indies. Madrid, March 25, 1773. ALMREP, LEA-11-79, caja 15, f. 19r. My emphasis.

⁹⁸ "during my travels along the mountains as well as in the jungle, in which, by means of the observation of the altitude of the pole and by paying continuous attention to the directions with the compass, I corrected the geographical distances that had been exaggeratedly estimated." Amich, *Compendio histórico*, p. 177. My emphasis. See also a slightly modified version of this quote in Heras, "Los franciscanos de Ocopa y la cartografía regional del centro," p. 47.

Amich's map, in the words of Peón y Valdez, a "[m]apa verdadero, y no imaginario y apocrifo."⁹⁹

His cartography of the Ucayali basin resulted from his personal observations and scientific measurements. He also had to rely on secondary information handed to him in a particular occasion. His 1765 exploration of the Pozuzu-Pachitea-Ucayali route in actuality never reached its final destination. It ended in a point that Amich called "Puerto Desgraciado" or Disgraceful Port, the site where Father Frances had been seen for the last time two years earlier located before the confluence of the Pachitea into the waters of the Ucayali River. In 1767, after another conflict with local Setevo natives, Peón y Valdez organized a second incursion led by Father Manuel Gil. Amich did not take part in this incursion because "al mismo tiempo venia yo navegando por el rio de Guanuco [nowadays Huallaga River], desde las conversiones de Caxamarquilla para Cuchero," that is, the riverine basin located west of the Ucayali.¹⁰⁰ Gil's expedition did arrive at its final target, the Ucayali River, and a "pilotin" or young pilot had accompanied this excursion. There is no detailed information about this pilot, but Amich stated in his communication with the Franciscan General Commissary of Indies, Manuel de la Vega, that he had obtained the young pilot's "observaciones, desde el punto desgraciado hasta el Ucayale; con las quales, y las que yo hice en el rio de Guanuco forme la *Descripcion*, cuya copia se remite, con la qual se verifica ser cierta la comunicacion del rio Puzuzu, con el Ucayale, mediante el rio Pachitea."¹⁰¹ A

⁹⁹ "true, and not imaginary and fake, map." Peón y Valdez to the Council of Indies, f. 19r.

¹⁰⁰ "at the same time I was sailing the Guanuco River, from the missions of Caxamarquilla to Cuchero." Amich to de la Vega, f. 52v.

¹⁰¹ "observations, between the Disgraceful Port and the Ucayali; with which, and with my own observations of the Guanuco River, I made the *Description*, a copy of which I submit, with which it can be

cartographic problem to resolve is precisely what “Description” was Amich writing about and submitting to De la Vega in 1774 because there happened to be at least two versions of the document.

That same year, in a report of the Franciscan situation in the eastern frontier of the Viceroyalty of Peru, the Marquis of Valdelirios, member of the Council of Indies, noted that Amich had elaborated two maps: a small-scale map submitted to the Viceroy of Peru and a large-scale one sent to the Council of Indies. The best known cartographic work of Amich is his small-scale manuscript map titled: “Descripcion Geographica de las conversiones de Nuestro Superior Padre San Francisco, pertenecientes al Colegio de Propaganda Fide de Santa Rosa de Ocopa, y de los rios de Xauxa, Guanuco, Puzuzu, y Ucayale, que tributan sus aguas al Marañon. Corregida segun las nuevas observaciones hechas por el P. Pr. Apostolico Fr. Joseph Amich, este año de 1767” (Figure 3-2).¹⁰² This map covers a large area from the Pacific Ocean, in the west, to the point where the Ucayali joins the Marañon River, in the east. It basically includes all the major fluvial routes that might connect the center of Peru with the Portuguese possessions in the middle Amazonas River. About the large-scale map sent to the Council of Indies, I have not been able to find the original chart made by Amich. I did unwittingly find a copy of it in the archive of the Convent of Ocopa, Peru. This map bears the following title: “Descripcion Geografica de los Rios Guanuco, Puzuzu, Mayro, Pachitea, y Cucayali [sic]; y de los pueblos de misiones y fronterizos. Se manifiestan

verified the communication from the Pozuzu to the Ucayali, through the Pachitea River.” Amich to de la Vega, ff. 52v-53r. My emphasis.

¹⁰² “Geographical description of the missions of the our superior father San Francisco, which belong to the College of Propaganda Fide of Santa Rosa of Ocopa, and of the rivers of Xauxa, Guanuco, Puzuzu, and Ucayale, that empty their waters into the Marañon. Corrected according to the new observations made by the apostolic father Joseph Amich, this year of 1767.”

también las situaciones de los gentiles Conivos, Sipivos, Campas y Carapachos, según las demarcaciones del Padre Fray Josef Amich, piloto que fue de la Real Armada antes de ser religioso de San Francisco” (Figure A-8).¹⁰³ This is a large-scale map covering a reduced area—basically the connection from the Pozuzu to the Ucayali via the Pachitea River, on the right half of the map, as well as the Guanuco River basin on its left half. In spite of the title suggesting Amich authored this map, it was only an acknowledgement of the original author by the person who made this copy, his Franciscan comrade Pedro González de Agüeros.¹⁰⁴

Born in Avila, Spain, Agüeros came to Peru in 1768 and was sent to evangelize different parts of central Peru and southern Chile. In 1780 Agüeros was appointed as “Guardian” or head of the Convent of Ocopa and by 1784 was back in Spain as procurator of Ocopa in Madrid. Once there, he started to prepare a series of manuscripts on the missionary history of the Order of Saint Francis in South America.¹⁰⁵ His major work was a 1786 “Colección general” or compilation of the missionary expeditions by the Franciscans of Ocopa since 1709, which included seven maps of different parts evangelized by their friars.¹⁰⁶ One of these maps is the large-scale

¹⁰³ “Geographic description of the Guanuco, Puzuzu, Mayro, Pachitea, and Cucayali Rivers, and of the missions and frontier towns. It is also included the location of the Conivo, Sipivo, Campa, and Carapacho natives, according to the demarcations made by father Josef Amich, who was pilot of the Royal Navy force before becoming a member of the Franciscan order, 1786.”

¹⁰⁴ In the ACO, the records of this map indicate that it is undated and erroneously attributed to Amich.

¹⁰⁵ Heras, “Los Franciscanos de Ocopa y la cartografía regional del centro,” pp. 50-51 and Julián Heras, O.F.M., ed., “Expediciones de los misioneros franciscanos de Ocopa (1709-1786) por el P. Pedro González de Agüeros,” *Archivo Íbero-americano* 45 (1985), pp. 3-7.

¹⁰⁶ Pedro González de Agüeros, O.F.M., *Colección general de las expediciones practicadas por los religiosos misioneros del Orden de San Francisco del Colegio de Propaganda Fide de Santa Rosa de Santa María de Ocopa. Situado en el Reyno del Perú, arzobispado de Lima y provincia de Jauja, solicitando la conversión de gentiles; con descripción geográfica de la situación de aquel Colegio y sus misiones; y se expresan también los religiosos que han muerto a manos de los infieles por tan santa*

manuscript described above. The places depicted in the said map correspond precisely to the areas that had been personally explored in 1767 by Amich—the Guanuco basin—and by the young pilot of Father Gil’s expedition—the Pozuzu-Pachitea-Ucayali route. Thus, Amich must have made an original version of this map at some point between 1767, when the pilotin of the second expedition handed him the complementary information about the mapped region, and 1774, when he finally sent a copy of his map to the Council of Indies via Father de la Vega. It is worth noting that the author of this copy of the map to which I had access, perhaps the only version that has survived, is not Amich but Agüeros, and dated 1786.

If there was little but significant evidence about the use of cartographic instruments and techniques in the work of the Amich, it is rather obvious in the work of Agüeros. Like Amich’s *Compendio histórico*, Agüeros’ *Colección general* was never published during his lifetime. Unlike Amich, Agüeros did dedicate a special chapter of his work to his cartographic rationale: “Razón del modo con que he formado y reducido los siete mapas que acompañan a la colección general que tengo presentada a S. M. en su Real y Supremo Consejo de Indias.”¹⁰⁷ In this chapter Agüeros pointed out that whereas three of seven maps included in his *Colección general* were the result of his own work—“formado”¹⁰⁸—, the other four derived from someone else’s work—“reducido.”¹⁰⁹ That other person was Amich. In both cases, Agüeros argued that he had

obra, 1786, in Heras, “Expediciones de los misioneros franciscanos de Ocopa,” pp. 21-86. The seven maps are reproduced in pp. 105-111.

¹⁰⁷ “Rationale of the process by which I have made and compressed the seven maps attached to the general collection that I presented to Your Majesty at his Royal and Supreme Council of Indies.” *Ibid.*, pp. 83-86.

¹⁰⁸ Maps of the Provinces of Jauja, Chiloé, and Guanta.

used the “general rules of geography, delineating the respective parallel and perpendicular lines.” He then selected a specific site as his “central point” and, “given its latitudinal and longitudinal situation according to the general and particular maps” he had consulted, Agüeros proceeded to include the other sites and places depicted in his maps.¹¹⁰

Agüeros observed in his own cartographic works that these three maps were primarily the result of the “práctico conocimiento” acquired during his missionary wanderings¹¹¹—a pragmatic knowledge that was accompanied by the use of instruments as well:

Quando he caminado con este objeto de hazerme cargo de los terrenos, ríos y poblaciones, para este importante fin de formar los mapas he llevado a prevención la *aguja rumbada* y reflexionando desde donde caminaba, a vista de ella, formaba los apuntes de los rumbos en que me demoraban (respecto de mi objeto propuesto) los pueblos, cerros, cordilleras, etc. y así con toda seguridad asentaba sus colocaciones prácticamente, y del mismo modo el curso de los ríos y situación de las islas.¹¹²

He then turned this spatial data into the form of a map. To make maps, Agüeros proceeded to fix a center—the convent of Ocopa in the case of the map of Jauja; the city of Castro in the case of the map of Chiloe—and from there he positioned routes and surrounding towns, missions, rivers, or islands, as a means to keep a proper record of

¹⁰⁹ Maps of Tarma and Chanchamayo, Cajamarquilla, the Guanuco and Ucayali basins, and the islands of Tahiti.

¹¹⁰ Agüeros, *Colección general*, p. 86. See also Heras, “Los franciscanos de Ocopa y la cartografía regional del centro,” p. 51.

¹¹¹ “pragmatical knowledge.” Ibid. pp. 83-85.

¹¹² “When I have traveled with the purpose of taking control of lands, rivers, and peoples, to this important objective of making maps I have brought with me a compass, and considering the routes I was passing through, I used the compass and took notes of the distances between my designed starting point and the towns, hills, mountains, etc., and thus I placed their locations pragmatically with all confidence, and I did the same with the course of the rivers and the location of the islands.” Ibid., p. 86. My emphasis. Cited also in Heras, “Los franciscanos de Ocopa y la cartografía regional del centro,” p. 51.

the distances he had measured during his travels with his compass.¹¹³ It seems that, unlike Amich, Agüeros did not carry a quadrant or astrolabe to measure latitudes. He needed to extract the latitudinal scale from other cartographic authorities instead. Agüeros' sources were the works and maps by Cosme Bueno, Chief Cosmographer of the Viceroyalty of Peru, the pilot Francisco Machado and the cartographer Francisco Noriega, and Father Amich for his maps of Jauja, Chiloé, and Guanta, respectively.¹¹⁴ Not content with this, Agüeros even sent copies of his map of Chiloé to Fathers Josef Tortosa and Narciso Villar, former missionaries in that region, to confirm that his map showed what they had observed during their stay in that archipelago.¹¹⁵ This demonstrates the different elements involved in the construction of cartographic authority by Agüeros. Despite his first-hand observations and the use of an instrument, he realized some of the weaknesses of his work and had to rely on other authorities to complement the maps that were the result of his "own" creation.

In the case of his other four maps, Agüeros made it very clear that these derived from the work of Amich. He noted that his only function was to:

reducirlos [Amich's maps] al punto en que se hallan y observando con puntual cuidado las indispensables reglas para la exacta y legal reducción, asegurándome primero en la graduación para la segura colocación de los pueblos en sus correspondientes rumbos y respectivas distancias, atendiendo al mismo tiempo al origen y curso de los ríos, sin aumentar ni quitar cosa alguna de quanto contienen los del expresado facultativo y práctico religioso [Amich].¹¹⁶

¹¹³ Ibid., pp. 83-85. The map of Guanta contains two "centers," Ocopa and Guamanga, in the northern and southern part of the map, respectively.

¹¹⁴ Ibid., pp. 83-85.

¹¹⁵ Ibid., p. 85.

¹¹⁶ "compress [Amich's maps] to the given extent, and carefully considering the necessary rules for the exact and legal reduction, considering first the calibration for the secure placement of the towns in their corresponding locations and respective distances, paying attention at the same time to the origin and course of the rivers, without adding or removing anything from what is included in the maps of such intelligent, pragmatical, and religious man [Amich]." Ibid. p. 84.

Agüeros had access to those “necessary rules for the exact and legitimate reduction” of maps in many contemporary geographic treatises. One of these was Henrique Florez’s 1747 “España Sagrada”—a copy of which is still held at the library of the Franciscan convent of Descalzos in Lima. In its first volume, Florez included a “clave geographica” or “discurso practico previo sobre la utilidad de la geographia,” that is, a preface on the pragmatic use of geography. In this preface, Florez offered specific instructions on how to “reducir” or compress maps and pointed out that: “El que no haga más que reducir un mapa á otro, no tiene que hacer mas que atender á las medidas de latitud y longitud, que le ofrece el original que ha escogido.”¹¹⁷ This basic rule for compressing maps was aimed at making “small and manageable” maps from larger ones that due to their size “could not be handled with comfort.”¹¹⁸ The location of Amich’s larger maps upon which Agüeros carried out his cartographic compression or reduction is not known. The fact that Agüeros not only relied on but praised and acknowledged the work of his Franciscan predecessor complicates straightforward definitions of cartographic authorship and paves the way for the formation of a canon among Franciscan missionary cartographers of Western Amazonia.

¹¹⁷ “geographic key [...] introductory pragmatological discourse on the usefulness of geography [...] the person, whose solely work is to compress a map from another one, only has to follow the measures of latitude and longitude as in the original map.” Henrique Florez, O.S.A., *España sagrada: Theatro geographico-historico de la iglesia de España. Origen, divisiones, y terminos de todas sus provincias. Antigüedad, traslaciones, y estado antiguo y presente de sus sillas, en todos los dominios de España y Portugal. Con varias dissertaciones críticas, para ilustrar la historia eclesiastica de España*, vol. 1 (Madrid: Por Don Miguel Francisco Rodriguez, 1747), p. 83.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 75. This process of “reducción” or cartographic compression should not be confused with a similar term that was then used to describe a particular type of nautical maps, “cartas reducidas o de punto reducido,” that attempted to recreate the spherical surface of the Earth by maintaining the longitudinal but increasing the latitudinal scale as it was getting closer to the poles. See Tomás López, *Principios geográficos, aplicados al uso de los mapas*, vol. 2 (Madrid: Por Don Joaquín Ibarra impresor, 1783), pp. 173-182.

That Amich's maps had become a, if not the most, important cartographic point of reference for the Franciscan community by the 1780s is something that must be debated. The works by Agüeros are a clear example in this respect. Likewise, other cartographic works of the same decade denote the importance of Amich's work for his religious contemporaries. There is a copy of Amich's 1767 small-scale map and it can be found at the map library of the Servicio Geográfico del Ejército, Madrid, Spain.¹¹⁹ This copy presents only minor additions in the decoration of the map; the area depicted remains the same. It includes scenes of Franciscan martyrs occupying the entire top of the map¹²⁰ and an alternative title in its lower left corner: "Mapa de lo interior y menos conocido del Río del Perú, origen del caudalósísimo Marañón o Amazonas, i otros muchos que desaguan en este." It is attributed to Fathers Francisco Alvarez de Villanueva and Joseph Amich, and dated 1780. Its lower right corner retains the original title of the 1767 map, which attributes it solely to Amich, and the date is 1770.¹²¹ It seems as if this is a 1780-printed version of a 1770 copy of Amich's 1767 manuscript map. The 1770 version appears to have been prepared for the unsuccessful edition of Amich's *Compendio histórico* in 1771. The 1780 map seems to have been printed to accompany the similarly failed edition of Father Villanueva's 1781 *Relación histórica*, or historical account of the Franciscan missionary activities in Indies and their projections

¹¹⁹ Mariano Cuesta, "Descubrimientos geográficos durante el siglo XVIII. Acción franciscana en la ampliación de fronteras," *Archivo Ibero-americano* 52 (1992), pp. 302, n. 15; 303, n. 18.

¹²⁰ Reproduced in *ibid.*, p. 304.

¹²¹ "Map of the interior and less known part of the River of Peru, origin of the mighty Marañón or Amazonas River, and others that empty their waters in it." The 1780 Álvarez-Amich map is reproduced in *ibid.*, p. 301.

over the Amazonas River, while he worked as procurator of Ocopa in Madrid.¹²² Like Agüeros a few years later, Villanueva recurred to the cartographic work of Amich to garnish his report to King Charles III. Unlike Agüeros, Villanueva was not known for his cartographic activities. Other than appearing as one of the authors, there is no proper evidence about how he participated in the production of the 1780 map.

The fact that both Villanueva and Agüeros heavily relied on the work of Amich indicates the important status Amich had reached among members of his religious community. It denotes the gradual construction of a canonical cartographic order in which Amich certainly occupied a primordial position. He was being situated, in a sense, in the same position Fritz had come to occupy within the Jesuit community.

Furthermore, it provides interesting clues about the notion of authorship during the second half of the eighteenth century. Villanueva was surely not involved in any aspect of the production of the 1780 map. Nevertheless, his position of authority as representative of the Ocopa missionaries in Spain and the fact that his 1781 report signified a way to have Amich's original cartographic work published made his incorporation as coauthor of such map inevitable. Agüeros' cartographic credentials, on the other hand, cannot be easily disputed. In my opinion, Agüeros' reliance on Amich's works symbolizes the recognition of Amich's superior mapping and mapmaking knowledge. I must reiterate that Amich came to the Order of Saint Francis with a mathematical and scientific background as a pilot and engineer. As a result, Agüeros might have felt prone to rely on the work of someone whose work he considered of

¹²² Francisco Álvarez de Villanueva, O.F.M., *Relación histórica de todas las misiones de los P.P. Franciscanos en las Indias y proyecto para nuevas conversiones en las riberas del afamado Río Marañón*, 1781 (Madrid: Librería de Victoriano Suarez, 1892), 69 pp.; Heras, "Expediciones de los misioneros franciscanos de Ocopa," p. 16.

better quality and, thus, trustworthy. As we have seen, Agüeros had the necessary tools to produce his maps and he underlined his own experience in those provinces and the measurements he took. Yet, for both his “own” maps and his “reduced” maps, he had to resort to the instrumental and cartographic experience of previous authorities, the most important of which was Amich. Thus, Agüeros’ authorship was always mediated. This was how he conceived the process of construction of his cartographic works. Therefore, to speak of the map *of* Agüeros in the individual possessive sense of the term, is a mistake.

What complicates this picture is that the cartographic authority of Amich and the scientific and instrumental procedures he and Agüeros carried out to produce their maps was only a pattern observed within the Seraphic community. This solidifies the idea of witnessing the construction of a cartographic canon within Franciscan circles by the late eighteenth century. It is worth noting that this Franciscan cartographic canon seems to have been more Franciscan than cartographic in the sense that, outside of that circle, there was not a lot of interest and respect for the mapping work of Amich, Agüeros, and their religious comrades. For instance, after the reception of Amich’s maps in Madrid in 1774, the Marquis of Valdelirios, one of the members of the Council of Indies, pointed out that neither map was fully accurate, diminishing to a certain extent the cartographic credentials of Amich. About the 1767 small-scale map, the Marquis stated that “se puede congeturar que la provision de algunos lugares no tenga la mayor exactitud, porque su desvio los ha hecho menos conocidos, y frequentados de personas de inteligencia, á exepcion de los de la costa.”¹²³ In other words, unlike the

¹²³ “we can infer that the location of some places is not completely accurate because their remoteness have made them less known and frequented by knowledgeable people, except for those town in the

more continuously traversed coastal sites, the less frequented Amazonian rivers and routes might not be accurately described despite Amich's first-hand explorations and scientific observations in those regions. On the large-scale map, "reduced" later by Agüeros, Valdelirios noted that "este plano como lo expresa el Virrey no tenga por ahora toda la exactitud necesaria, sino hasta ciertos puntos." But he found it useful to use this map "para que siguiendo algun error que contenga, se averiguen otras verdades," similar to what had happened with the failed 1763 Frances-Hernandez expedition that led to the successful 1767 expedition to the Ucayali.¹²⁴ This map, though not being completely correct, might have still been useful thanks to the errors which could inspire future attempts to fix them.

Valdelirios did recognize Amich's cartographic knowledge although in a derisive manner when he noted that the Viceroy of Peru "promovió el que el unico misionero que considero de alguna instruccion en la materia formase la carta que remite."¹²⁵ Viceroy Manuel de Amat had in fact stated that:

para dar alguna idea de su verdadera configuracion [of the communication between the Pozuzu and Ucayali Rivers], que dista mucho [...] de lo que presentan los mapas generales; por cuia causa entre otras los *pobres religiosos destituidos de todo conocimiento geografico*, y sin la menor luz de rumbos, andubieron siempre errantes, y pasando á tierras de unos á otros lugares, creiendo muchas vezes que se alejavan de aquel de donde partian, siendo este no mas que puro efecto de la tuortosidad de los mismos rios que llegan á formar circulos [...] Y por eso promovi que el misionero Fray Josef de Amich [...] por considerarle de *alguna instruccion* en la materia, formase la carta que incluío como Vuestra Merced me lo ordena; la que en efecto adelanta *algun*

coast." Marquis of Valdelirios to the Council of Indies. Madrid, September 28, 1774. ALMREP, LEA-11-79, caja 15, f. 93v.

¹²⁴ "as the Viceroy pointed out, this map does not possess thus far the necessary accuracy, except for certain aspects [...] as a way to surpass the errors contained on it." Ibid., ff. 94r-94v.

¹²⁵ "appointed the only friar with certain knowledge of the subject to make the map that he sent." Ibid., f. 94r.

esclarecimiento, hasta ciertos puntos, y distancia [,] de las antiguas tinieblas, y en quanto á la sugeta materia, infaliviliza [sic] la union del rio Pozuzu con el Hucayali.¹²⁶

That is, Amich was considered among civilian authorities more an accident than a pattern in terms of the cartographic knowledge of his missionary comrades who were rather “dispossessed of any geographic erudition.” Despite showing the connection between the Pozuzu and Ucayali Rivers, the Viceroy still thought that Amich’s map could only provide “some clarification, until certain sites and distances, of the previous darkness.” The agreement between the Viceroy and the Marquis in their consideration of the Franciscan cartographic work represents a certain disdain exposed by civilian authorities toward the scientific work of religious individuals as if that work did not belong to their proper missionary sphere. In Valdelirios’ opinion, this was aimed at criticizing the final product, that is, the Franciscan’s manuscript maps. More important, this was a critique of the entire instrumental process of cartographic production carried out by Amich and, by extension, his Amazonian missionary peers. Their wanderings and first-hand observations through the tropical lowlands of South America were not sufficiently scientific for the Metropolitan official. Instead, these processes were full of speculations and imperfections and, as a consequence, their maps were technically useless. Valdelirios believed there was no reason to commend and endorse Amich’s cartographic works, even though Amich had “some instruction” in the subject. The other

¹²⁶ “To have some idea of its actual configuration, which is very different from what is presented in generic maps; and due to this problem, among other, the *poor friars dispossessed of any geographic erudition* and without knowledge of the distances, always wandered erratic when moving from one place to another, many times believing they were already far from where they had departed, and this is not more than the consequence of the tortuous course of the rivers that even come to form circles [...] And for this reason I appointed father Josef de Amich [...] considering him a man of *some instruction* in that subject, to make a map that I attach as Your Mercy ordered. This map in fact will provide *some clarification, until certain points and distances, of the previous darkness*, and in regard to the most important matter, this map proves the connection of the Pozuzu and the Hucayali Rivers.” Manuel de Amat, Viceroy of Peru, to the Council of Indies. Lima, January 13, 1774. ALMREP, LEA-11-79, caja 15, ff. 37v-38r. My emphasis.

possibility is that the Viceroy and the Marquis' condescending opinions stemmed from fear of the power Amich had earned through his cartographic knowledge of a region that was basically unknown to civil authorities.

About twenty years earlier, Valdelirios had participated in another cartographic debate. This time, the problem occurred with the Jesuit community who complained about the territory that was ceded to the Portuguese in South America as a result of the 1750 Treaty of Madrid. Valdelirios, who was the Royal commissioner in charge of the demarcation of the new boundary line, remembered in 1774 that the Procurator of Jesuit Province of Paraguay in Madrid, Carlos Gervasoni, had brought to the Court a printed map of such region "en que con falsas posiciones de tierras, y rios demostraba el engaño que padeció nuestra Corte."¹²⁷ That is, the Marquis had to engage in a cartographic battle with the Jesuits who were trying to persuade royal authorities to overturn a treaty that Valdelirios had supported and was about to execute. Back in 1752, the Marquis had noted the potential danger that the factual monopoly of cartographic and geographic knowledge of South America among members of the Jesuit community posed for the Royal dominion. He noted that civil authorities must refute "la polvareda que levantaran estos Padres con sus representaciones, y cartas, como por la bondad de Dios *tenemos tanta falta en España del conocimiento de la Geographia, y una quasi comun ignorancia de la de las Yndias*; se debe recelar hagan mucha imprecion en algunos espiritus."¹²⁸ Thus, just like the Jesuits in 1750 Paraguay,

¹²⁷ "in which with incorrect placements of lands and rivers demonstrated the deception that suffered our court." Valdelirios to the Council of Indies, f. 106r; Ph. Caraman and J. Baptista, "Tratado de límites, 1750," in *Diccionario histórico de la Compañía de Jesús*, vol. 1, ed. Ch. E. O'Neill and J. M. Domínguez (Madrid: Universidad Pontificia Comillas, 2001), p. 140.

¹²⁸ "the troubles that these friars provoked with their reports and letters, because since in Spain we are dispossessed of any geographical knowledge and ignore all about Indies, we must fear that [those Jesuit

Amich had the geographic and cartographic monopoly over the Pozuzu-Pachitea-Ucayali connection by the 1760s-1770s. The Franciscan friar was the person that had the instruments and methods to spatially represent the Spanish dominion over Western Amazonia, and his knowledge, first-hand experience, and opinion became a potential challenge for inexperienced but powerful voices in the metropolis that sought to set the rules in that matter.¹²⁹

Conclusion

Was the disregard Amat and Valdelirios felt for Amich's maps simply the result of an attempt to ridicule the geographic and cartographic knowledge of the Franciscan friar? The same can be asked of the opinions Pardo de Figueroa and La Condamine had over the absence of proper astronomical tools and observations in Fritz's cartography of the Amazonas. Was this a projection of the fear Fritz's knowledge posed for the cartographic authority of Acuña's grandnephew and the French explorer? I argue that these individuals believed they possessed the right over the monopoly of the spatial knowledge of Amazonia. As a result, their final outcome was to make the work of Amich and Fritz look amateurish by accentuating the lack of proper instrumentation and cartographic method. And civilian outsiders purposely criticized the cartographers' first-hand observations the most. This, in turn, gave the appearance of a secular-religious issue since what we have is the position of civilians who disregarded the scientific work

reports and maps] make a huge impression on some individuals." The Marquis of Valdelirios to Francisco de Arizmendi. Buenos Aires, April 30, 1752. ALMREP, LBA-2-4, caja 201, ff. 9v-10r. My emphasis.

¹²⁹ There was another instance in which Valdelirios tried to contradict Amich's knowledge of the region. In his 1774 report to Father de la Vega, Amich had noted, among other things, that it was impossible for any European power to invade the capital of the Viceroyalty of Peru via the Ucayali River due to the "difficult navigation," the many "indocile nations," and the general lack of knowledge of many of those rivers and territories. Valdelirios agreed with Amich. Yet, in his report the Marquis pointed out, that due to be "born in Brazil or in the government of Maranhão," the Portuguese might be the only ones capable of overcoming the natural barriers of Amazonia and, as a consequence, invading Peru. See Amich to de la Vega, ff. 54v-55r.

of members of the clergy. Yet, there was something else because members of the same religious missionary communities similarly considered their own cartographic productions at times inadequate. The Franciscan Agüeros had to rely on Amich and other authorities to complement his own cartographic works. He used Amich's existing works to produce those "reduced" maps of regions he had not personally visited or measured. He also had to resort to other authors due to the lack of latitudinal information and, as a consequence, astronomical tools for that particular purpose. Likewise, Fritz had to rely on the work of his Jesuit peers from the province of Maranhão and on the up until now lost map of the Ucayali by Enrique Richter to fill those places in his maps for which he had not obtained first-hand observations and measurements.¹³⁰ By resorting to these external sources, Agüeros and Fritz were, in a sense, acknowledging that their cartographic works were not complete in terms of method and scope and, as a result, agreeing with La Condamine and Valdelirios on the proto-professionalism of missionary cartographers.

Still, on certain occasions, at metropolitan or viceregal levels, officials had to rely on missionary maps to formulate their own visions and opinions on Western Amazonia. Attempts at amateurizing friars' knowledge and praxis were compensated by the very use of their cartographic works, which in turn made it valuable and professional. I argue, then, that both Jesuit and Franciscan cartographers of Amazonia were in a liminal position. Mostly out of necessity, due to their empirical knowledge, they had become the

¹³⁰ Bettendorf, pp. 323, 345; Almeida, "Samuel Fritz," p. 119, n. 9; Serafim Leite, S. I., *História da Companhia de Jesus no Brasil*, vol. 4 (Rio de Janeiro: Instituto Nacional do Livro; Lisboa: Livraria Portugália, 1943), p. 285; Lucero, pp. 46-47, 65-70, 76-78.

professional cartographers of the tropical lowlands of South America.¹³¹ Some of them had the necessary tools and techniques to properly execute scientific measurements of rivers and territories that were later translated in their maps. And although civilian outsiders and missionaries recognized the limits of their cartographic knowledge and de-professionalized their own work, Franciscans and Jesuits never departed from but belonged to both spheres, making their “small hobbies” look professional in certain contexts. It is thus complicated to define periods of scientific exactitude or professionalization in the case of the missionary cartography of Amazonia. Felipe Fernández-Armesto has pointed out that:

until the development, in the seventeenth century, of adequate techniques for mapping explorers’ findings, the story [of maps and explorations] is not a scientific but a human one: not of a perfect union, but of a turbulent relationship; not of exactitude, but of error; not of progress in knowledge—at least not smooth or continuous progress—but of the productivity of creative deceit.¹³²

In an earlier attempt of periodization, Alberto Gridilla holds that only starting in the late eighteenth century the Franciscan community was taking part of “the scientific spirit of such era,” leading several excursions through Amazonian rivers and roads “with geographic and scientific objectives.”¹³³ The cases of Amich, Agüeros, and Fritz, however, denote a more complex picture because since the late seventeenth century the story of missionary maps and explorations had scientific and geographic purposes.

¹³¹ In relation to role that empiricism and collaboration played in the formation of an “expert culture” in the early modern Spanish Empire see Antonio Barrera-Osorio, “Experts, Nature, and the Making of Atlantic Empiricism,” *Osiris* 25:1 (2010), pp. 129-148.

¹³² Felipe Fernández-Armesto, “Maps and Exploration in the Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Centuries,” in *The History of Cartography*, vol. 3, part 1, ed. David Woodward (Chicago, IL: Chicago University Press, 2007), p. 758.

¹³³ Alberto Gridilla, O.F.M., “Aportación de los Misioneros Franciscanos Descalzos al progreso de la Geografía del Perú,” 2nd ed., in Alberto Gridilla, O.F.M., *Un año en el Putumayo. Resumen de un diario* (Lima: Colección Descalzos, 1943), p. 72.

Despite the use of instruments and scientific methods, their works never ceased to be viewed as very “human” or the result of “creative deceit.”



Figure 3-1. Samuel Fritz, S.I., El Gran Rio Maraçon, o Amazonas con la Mission de la Compañia de Iesus, 1707. [Reprinted with permission from AMREE, Map Library.]



Figure 3-2. Joseph Amich, O.F.M., *Descripcion Geographica de las conversiones de Nuestro Superior Padre San Francisco, pertenecientes al Colegio de Propaganda Fide de Santa Rosa de Ocopa, y de los rios de Xauxa, Guanuco, Puzuzu, y Ucayale, que tributan sus aguas al Marañon [...]*, 1767. [Reprinted with permission from ALMREP, Map Library, VPE-064.] The red line approximately corresponds to the entire area covered in Figure A-8.

CHAPTER 4 INDIGENOUS PARTICIPATION IN THE FRANCISCAN MAPPING AND MAPMAKING OF WESTERN AMAZONIA¹

In Chapter 4, my objective is to underscore the often neglected participation of Amazonian natives in the production of Western Amazonia cartography by members of the Order of Saint Francis. Amazonian natives have remained anecdotal or decorative figures in the understanding and explanation of the cartographic endeavors that Franciscan missionaries carried out in the Western Amazon basin. It might seem obvious to note that a group of missionaries, accompanying soldiers, and other officials came to explore Amazonia as neophytes, apprentices of all the wonders and hardships involved in the navigation and exploration of this tropical region. Likewise, to state that Amazonian natives were the connoisseurs per excellence of the local landscapes, routes, and rivers seems evident. The concealment of Indians from the literature and historiography on missionary cartography, nevertheless, makes the objective of Chapter 4 relevant to the study of Franciscan mapping and mapmaking in early modern times and the history of Amazonia at large.

Chapter 4 studies the participation of Conibo natives in the seventeenth-century Franciscan exploration and cartography of the Upper Ucayali River, a southern tributary of the Amazonas River, in present-day eastern Peru. In the 1680s, Jesuits of the Province of Quito and Franciscans of the Province of Lima claimed to have possession over a town inhabited by Conibo natives and located near the confluence of the Ucayali and Pachitea Rivers. Both parties sent expeditions to recognize the disputed town. The

¹ Extracts from Chapter 4 have been published in "Contribución indígena a la cartografía del Alto Ucayali a fines del siglo XVII," *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Études Andines* 44:1 (2015): 117-138. This article, however, was prepared, submitted, and approved for publication before I conducted research at the Map Room of the BNF. There I found a group of new maps that, although do not change the main rationale of such article, do enrich and make my arguments and interpretations more varied and solid than those provided in my previous research.

dispute led to a lawsuit that engendered a set of documents between 1686 and 1694, and a copy of this set, made in 1754. The set included military and missionary reports of the expedition to Conibos² as well as manuscript maps and charts of the contested area. Despite their relevance as some of the earliest cartographic depictions of Western Amazonia—one of them, I argue, is the first ever made of the Ucayali River—, these maps have not been fully studied. My goal is to incorporate these maps into the scholarship on the cartography of colonial Amazonia, which usually focuses on printed materials. In Chapter 4 I also underline the role that Conibo natives played in the Franciscan exploration of the Upper Ucayali, and the collaborative nature of the cartography of early modern Western Amazonia. My research indicates that, whereas Franciscan missionary accounts tended to obliterate native agency in these processes, records provided by soldiers who accompanied those friars in their Amazonian wanderings clearly pointed toward the participation of Conibo in the mapping of the Ucayali basin during the 1680s.

To better situate the historical context and the comparative method I use to sustain my arguments about the Conibo involvement in the Franciscan cartography of the Ucayali, we must first explore the existing evidence. Sources for Chapter 4 mostly come from the Archive of Limits at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Peru and from the Map Room at the National Library of France. In 1694, the General Procurator and President of the Conversions of the Franciscan Province of the Twelve Apostles of Lima, Domingo Álvarez de Toledo, compiled a series of documents that members of his Order had been submitting to viceregal authorities of Lima since 1686. These letters and reports of Franciscan explorations resulted from the conflict with the Jesuits of

² Hereafter, Conibos refers to the name of the disputed town and Conibo to the ethnic group.

Quito over the Conibos mission in the Ucayali. These documents would eventually become part of a larger claim for Lima's official recognition and support of the Franciscan missionary activities in the central eastern lowlands of the Viceroyalty of Peru. By mid-twentieth century, this 1694 manuscript file was in the possession of the Peruvian Jesuit historian Rubén Vargas Ugarte, and he handed it over to the Franciscans of Ocopa in exchange for duplicate books of their library in 1958. The 1694 file is currently held at the archive of the Franciscan Convent of Santa Rosa of Ocopa, Peru.³

In 1754 Father Antonio de Oliver, "apostolic notary" of the Convent of Ocopa, made a manuscript copy of the 1694 file. The reasons behind this duplication are unknown. Two events were occurring at that point: the last waves of the revolt led by Juan Santos Atahualpa that seriously affected Franciscan and Spanish outposts in eastern-central Peru, and the attempts to demarcate the boundary between the Portuguese and Spanish Empires in South America as a result of the 1750 Treaty of Madrid. The spatial removal of Franciscan missions from central Peru and the push to demarcate boundaries with the Lusitanian neighbors might have led Franciscan authorities to duplicate relevant documents from their archive. Indeed, the 1694 file was particularly interesting for its inclusion of maps of Western Amazonia that had been presented as supporting evidence by the parties involved in the 1686 lawsuit for the Conibos mission. Yet, the original maps of the 1694 file were at some point detached from it and, after an unknown journey, arrived as five separate pieces at the Map Room

³ ACO, N° 75. In regard to the Vargas Ugarte-Franciscan exchange see the note left by Father Odorico Sáez in the index of such file and Julián Heras, O.F.M., "Marco geográfico," in Manuel Biedma O.F.M. et al., *La conquista franciscana del alto Ucayali*, ed. Julián Heras, O.F.M. and Antonino Tibesar, O.F.M. (Iquitos: IIAP, CETA, 1989 [1682]), p. 92.

of the National Library of France.⁴ The 1754 duplicate, now held at the Archive of Limits of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Peru, still includes copies of these maps. The version held in Peru, however, includes only three maps, which present a few but significant differences from the original 1694 maps.⁵ Both sets of maps, in France and Peru, remain anonymous and undated. One of the objectives of Chapter 4 is to provide the names of the authors and to properly date them.

Extracts of the reports and diaries of the exploration of the Upper Ucayali contained in the 1694 file and the 1754 duplicate have already been published.⁶ The three maps from the 1754 version have been published, but there is no major explanation or discussion of these maps.⁷ Therefore, a study connecting those expeditionary records with the accompanying maps is still needed. In Chapter 4, my goal is to provide a cartographic and ethnohistorical examination of these documents, including the unpublished five maps from the original 1694 file. Here, I carry out a comparative analysis of the 1694 and 1754 maps of Western Amazonia, focusing on the Ucayali basin, to demonstrate different cartographic discourses and native agency.

⁴ BNF, Map Room, GE.DD.2983, 13, 14, 15, 20, 23, and 24. Maps 23 and 24 are two halves of the same map.

⁵ ALMREP, LEB-11-47, caja 94. The three maps, VPE-015, VPE-016, and VPE-017, have been separated from the file and archived as individual pieces in the same repository.

⁶ See *Juicio de límites entre el Perú y Bolivia. Contestación al alegato de Bolivia*, vol. 6, ed. Víctor Maúrtua (Buenos Aires: Compañía Sud Americana de Billetes de Banco, 1907), pp. 305-356; Manuel Biedma, O.F.M., *La conquista franciscana del alto Ucayali*, ed. Carlos Milla Batres and Antonino Tibesar, O.F.M. (Lima: Milla Batres, 1981 [1682]), pp. 91-167; Biedma et al., *La conquista franciscana del alto Ucayali*, pp. 97-154, 171-230, 269-282; and Julián Heras, O.F.M., ed., "Informe del padre Manuel Biedma al Virrey del Perú, Marquez de la Palata. 1682 (I parte)," *Amazonía Peruana* 2:4 (1979), pp. 165-89, "Informe del padre Manuel Biedma al Virrey del Perú, Marquez de la Palata. 1682 (II parte)," *Amazonía Peruana* 3:5 (1980), pp. 143-75, and "Viaje del P. Antonio Vital. Crónica que narra la entrada del P. Vital a las zonas habitadas por los Cunibos y Campas en 1687," *Amazonía Peruana* 6:12 (1985), pp. 157-64.

⁷ These maps from the 1754 duplicate were published and included in a list of "notable and characteristic" Franciscan cartographic examples, with no further analysis, in Mariano Cuesta, "Pervivencia de modelos de exploración territorial tras la independencia de América del Sur," *Archivo Íbero-Americano* 57 (1997), pp. 498-506.

Moreover, I connect both sets of maps to the reports and diaries that constitute the main body of those files, to prove contrasting languages of acknowledgement and appropriation of Conibo agency in the exploration and mapping of the Upper Ucayali basin by Spanish Franciscan friars in the late seventeenth century.

Chapter 4 responds to the scholarship on the history of Franciscan cartography of Amazonia that has largely focused on the mid-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries, when the printing press allowed Franciscan maps to circulate more widely. This has led to the false labeling of Father Manuel Sobreviela, author of a printed 1791 map of the Huallaga and Ucayali River, as “el iniciador entre los franciscanos de Ocopa de la cartografía misional,” since earlier Franciscan maps from the 1686 Conibos controversy have been overlooked.⁸ More important, this scholarship has also overlooked indigenous participation in the missionary cartography of the Ucayali.⁹ Regarding the nature of maps, Michel de Certeau noted that “[t]he map, a totalizing stage on which elements of diverse origin are brought together to form a tableau of a ‘state’ of geographical knowledge, pushes away into its prehistory or into its posterity, as if into the wings, the operations of which it is the result or the necessary condition. It remains alone on the stage.”¹⁰ In Chapter 4, I bring back those operations that made the mapping of the Ucayali possible, wherein Amazonian natives were avid participants.

⁸ Julián Heras, O.F.M., “Los Franciscanos de Ocopa y la Cartografía Regional del Centro,” *Boletín de Lima* 6 (1980), p. 50. It seems that Sobreviela and the editors of “Mercurio Peruano,” the newspaper in which this map was published, justified their decision to print it on the fact that this was “the first map ever available of those remote areas of the viceroyalty.” See Mariselle Meléndez, “The Cultural Production of Space in Colonial Latin America: From Visualizing Difference to the Circulation of Knowledge,” in *The Spatial Turn: Interdisciplinary Perspectives*, ed. Barney Warf and Santa Arias (London: Routledge, 2009), p. 184. Sobreviela and his cartographic productions will be the part of the subject of Chapter 6.

⁹ See Chapter 1, note 12.

¹⁰ Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, trans. Steven Rendall (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), p. 121.

Scholars have noted that the 1686 Franciscan expedition to the Ucayali was convoyed by local Conibo and led by Felipe Cayampay, their *curaca* or ethnic leader.¹¹ Yet, there is no further analysis of this issue. Indigenous influence and participation in Franciscan cartography and exploration of the Ucayali remains to be studied.

In fact, there is not a single study of the Jesuit-Franciscan clash in the Upper Ucayali. Certain scholars mentioned the conflict when analyzing the institutional development of both orders in Western Amazonia and when studying the early missionary influence on local ethnic forms of social organization.¹² But they did not examine the cartographic component of this conflict. Other scholars have analyzed indigenous forms of territoriality in the Ucayali. Yet, these analyses concentrated on the complexity of pre- and post-conquest patterns of human settlement, their subsistence methods and demographic situation.¹³ Whereas the works aforementioned deal with distributive aspect of territoriality, Chapter 4 focuses on performative aspects of indigenous territoriality in the Ucayali. Some of these aspects are precisely to be found in those maps and expeditionary reports prepared by friars and soldiers who accompanied them.

¹¹ Waldemar Espinoza, *Amazonía del Perú: Historia de la Gobernación y Comandancia General de Maynas (Hoy Regiones de Loreto, San Martín, Ucayali y Provincia de Condorcanqui): Del siglo XV a la primera mitad del siglo XIX* (Lima: Fondo Editorial del Congreso del Perú, Banco Central de Reserva del Perú, Promperú, 2007), pp. 208-9; Heras, "Marco geográfico," pp. 86-88; Françoise Morin, "Los Shipibo-Conibo," in *Guía etnográfica de la alta Amazonía*, vol. 3, ed. Fernando Santos and Frederica Barclay (Panamá: STRI, Abya-yala, IFEA, 1998), p. 306; Antonio Raimondi, *El Perú*, vol. 2 (Lima: Imprenta del Estado, 1876), pp. 216-28; Antonino Tibesar, O.F.M., "Introducción: la conquista del Perú y su frontera oriental," in Biedma et al., pp. 42-43.

¹² Espinoza, pp. 207-212; Morin, pp. 292-320; Fernando Santos-Granero, *Etnohistoria de la alta Amazonía: siglo XV-XVIII* (Quito: Abya-yala, MLAL, 1992), pp. 125-178.

¹³ Warren DeBoer, "Buffer Zones in the Cultural Ecology of Aboriginal Amazonia: An Ethnohistorical Approach," *American Antiquity* 46:2 (1981), pp. 364-377; Donald Lathrap, "Aboriginal Occupation and Changes in River Channel on the Central Ucayali, Peru," *American Antiquity* 33:1 (1968), pp. 62-79; Morin, pp. 320-369; Thomas Myers, "Spanish Contacts and Social Change on the Ucayali River, Peru," *Ethnohistory* 21:2 (1974), pp. 135-157.

It is not my intention to present natives as makers and Franciscans as receivers of cartographic knowledge. I did not find any reference to maps either made or used by Conibo natives. My research rests upon cartographic materials produced by Franciscans and their military companions. Warren DeBoer warned us against the perils of historical records written by outsiders concerning this ethnic group, which tended to stress the superiority of the Conibo culture.¹⁴ This situation, however, changes when we focus on the natives' participation in the mapping of the Ucayali. Friars concealed and soldiers acknowledged the Conibo's contribution to the Franciscan expedition. By crossing references, it will be possible to find traces indicating the Conibo's involvement in the mapping of the Ucayali.¹⁵ My interest in giving Conibo natives their right place in the history of cartography is not related to a holistic focus on "Indians" as generic knowledge makers. I aim to differentiate particular individuals who became providers of the spatial knowledge that made Franciscan maps and exploratory voyages possible. In sum, I understand the development of the geo-spatial discourse of the Ucayali as a by-product of Spanish and indigenous performances and underline the collaborative nature of the cartography of early modern Western Amazonia.

¹⁴ Warren DeBoer, "Pillage and Production in the Amazon: A View through the Conibo of the Ucayali basin, Eastern Peru," *World Archaeology* 18:2 (1986), pp. 233, 238.

¹⁵ On the study of native mapping and mapmaking in the Americas see Juliana Barr, "Geographies of Power: Mapping Indian Borders in the 'Borderlands' of the Early Southwest," *The William and Mary Quarterly* 68:1 (2011), pp. 5-46, Barbara Mundy, *The Mapping of New Spain: Indigenous Cartography and the Maps of the Relaciones Geográficas* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1996); John Rennie Short, *Cartographic Encounters: Indigenous Peoples and the Exploration of the New World* (London: Reaktion Books, 2009); and Neil Whitehead, "Indigenous Cartography in Lowland South America and the Caribbean," in *The History of Cartography*, Vol. 2, Book 3, ed. David Woodward and G. Malcolm Lewis, pp. 301-326 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), among others.

The 1686 Jesuit-Franciscan Clash and the Mapmaking of the Ucayali

Jesuit missionaries of the Province of Quito had founded the center of their Western Amazonian missions at a site known as La Laguna, near the confluence of the Marañón and Huallaga Rivers, north of the Ucayali. From there, Father Juan Lorenzo Lucero, Superior of the Jesuit Missions, announced in 1682 that he had already established preliminary contact with many ethnic groups coming from the Ucayali area, in particular the Conibo.¹⁶ Father Manuel Biedma, on behalf of the Franciscan Province of the Twelve Apostles of Lima, also announced his incursion in the lands of the Ashaninka natives—or Campa, as they were called in contemporary sources—in 1673, located around the Urubamba, Apurimac, and Ene Rivers, south of the Ucayali. From this site, Franciscans had also received news about diverse Ucayali ethnic groups, including the Conibo.¹⁷ Situated between these two areas, the Upper Ucayali basin was home to different indigenous groups. Missionary sources reveal that the Conibo were “one of the more dominant societies that inhabit the margins” of the Ucayali and known to be “very skilled at navigation.”¹⁸ They were the group that controlled this area. In addition to the presence of native societies in the area, the Ucayali was then known as

¹⁶ Juan Lorenzo Lucero, S.I., “Copia de carta del Padre Juan Lorenzo Luçero, Superior de las Misiones de los Maynas, escrita al Padre Juan Martinez Rubio, Provincial de la Provincia del Nuevo Reyno y Quito,” Nueva Cartagena de Santiago de Xitipos y Santa Maria de Ucayalis, February 20, 1682. ARSI/AHJ, N.R et Quit 15, f. 81v.

¹⁷ Manuel Biedma, O.F.M., “Relación del Venerable Padre Fray Manuel de Biedma,” n.p., 1683. ALMREP, LEB-11-47, caja 94, ff. 225v-231v.

¹⁸ Joseph Amich, O.F.M., *Compendio histórico de los trabajos, sudores, fatigas, y muertes que los ministros evangélicos de la seráfica religión han padecido por la conversión de las almas de los gentiles, en las montañas de los Andes, pertenecientes a las provincias del Perú* (Paris: Librería de Rosa y Bouret, 1854 [1771]), p. 89; Pablo Maroni, S.I., *Noticias auténticas del famoso río Marañón y misión apostólica de la Compañía de Jesús de la provincia de Quito en los dilatados bosques de dicho río, escribiélas por los años de 1738 un misionero de la misma compañía*, ed. Jean Pierre Chaumeil (Iquitos: IIAP, CETA, 1988 [1738]), p. 111.

the gate to a hidden Inca kingdom named Enin, supposedly located in the eastern jungles of Cuzco. Jesuit and Franciscan sources from the 1680s noted that this highly populated and wealthy kingdom was a remote sovereign state ruled by Inca refugees from Cuzco.¹⁹ The possession of the Upper Ucayali might have given the friars' access to both material and human resources.²⁰

In any event, members of both religious orders soon realized that the evangelization of the Ucayali could initiate a confrontation between them. The Franciscans, who initiated the lawsuit, thought the solution was to ask viceregal authorities in Lima to intercede in this issue. On May 7th, 1686, the General Commissioner of the Franciscans in Lima, Felix de Como, asked the Viceroy of Peru, Melchor de Navarra y Rocaful, Duke of Palata, that:

en atencion de los inconvenientes que se puedan rezelar por diferentes entradas á las poblaciones de nuestra jurisdiccion con los Padres de la Compañía, se sirva señalarles el distrito de su conversion desde la gran Cocama, y sus contornos reducidos, todas las poblaciones rio abajo azia el Norte, que son innumerables, y a nuestra sagrada religion desde dicha Cocama rio arriba hasta los indios Campas, que son los que tiene convertidos en las montañas de Andamarca.²¹

¹⁹ Juan Lorenzo Lucero, S.I., "Relación del Padre Juan Lorenzo Lucero sobre los Jívaros y otras reducciones del Amazonas," Laguna, June 23, 1683. ASJQ, leg. 5, doc. 450, 18; Biedma, ff. 226r-227r, 257v-258r.

²⁰ Lucero later denied the existence of gold deposits in the entire territory of Maynas; although his report is centered on the supposed existence of gold deposits near Borja, in Jivaro territory. See Juan Lorenzo Lucero, S.I., "Información judicial pedida por el Padre Lorenzo Lucero sobre que no hay minas de oro en el territorio de las Misiones que tiene la Compañía," San Francisco de Borja, October 14, 1685. ASJQ, leg. 5, doc. 470.

²¹ "attending the inconveniences that might appear due to the many excursions into the towns under our jurisdiction, close to the Jesuits, please demarcate their area of evangelization from the Gran Cocama and all their surrounding missions, [to] all the towns downriver, toward the North, which are numerous, and to our sacred religion from that said Cocama upriver until the Campa Indians, who have been missionized in the jungles of Andamarca." Felix de Como, O.F.M., Report of the General Commissioner of the Order of Saint Francis in Lima, Lima, May 7, 1686. ALMREP, LEB-11-47, caja 94, ff. 3r-3v.

Yet, on May 14th, the Viceregal Attorney Juan Gonzales noted that their knowledge of missionary occupation in the Ucayali was “general but not adequate news.” As a result, the attorney recommended that:

se habrá de pedir informe á los corregidores de la comarca de Jaén, Cuenca, Chachapoyas, y Caxamarquilla, y de los demas que pareciere, para que le haga cerca de lo referido, y en particular el Señor Presidente de Quito, confiriendolo con *los superiores de la Compañía de Jesus, que remita su mapa y demarcacion, y la religion Seraphica haga lo mesmo por lo que le toca.*²²

This was the most appropriate means viceregal authorities found to obtain both parties’ point of view and to get the opinion of representatives of nearby towns on this issue.

On July 29th, the clerk of the *Cabildo* and the Royal Treasury of Quito, Lope Antonio de Urquia, presented an official response from the Jesuit party. It included a formal notice from the President of the Jesuit College of Quito, Juan Martínez Rubio, and a request to postpone the submission of their map and report since they were still waiting for the arrival of Father Juan Lorenzo Lucero, Superior of the Jesuit missions in Western Amazonia and priest of the town of San Francisco de Borja—administrative center of such missions. Martínez Rubio informed that Father Lucero was:

[un] misionero *mui practico de todas essas montañas, y sus rios por haverlo sido mas de 24 años, y superior varias vezes de dichas misiones, quien ha fundado los pueblos que estan a orillas del rio de Ucayale, y tiene pacificadas muchas de las naciones contenidas en dicho distrito [...] quien con mas pleno conocimiento podra informar y dar las noticias convenientes y necesarias para que se haga el mapa, y demarcacion, que manda Su Excelencia y traerá en su compañía otras personas practicas en dichas misiones, sus rios y poblaciones.*²³

²² “a report be submitted by the governors of the towns of Jaen, Cuenca, Chachapoyas, and Caxamarquilla, and anyone else to whom it might concern, and, in particular, the President [of the Audience] of Quito, conferred with *the Superiors of the Society of Jesus, have to submit his map and demarcation and, in turn, the Franciscan Order have to do the same.*” Juan Gonzales, Report of the Viceregal Attorney, Lima, May 14, 1686. ALMREP, LEB-11-47, caja 94, f. 4r. My emphasis.

²³ “*a very knowledgeable missionary of these mountains and their rivers* since he spent more than 24 years there, and was Superior of these missions many times, founded the towns located on the banks of the Ucayali River, and has pacified many of the nations gathered in that area [...] who, with a more

This quote illustrates that mapmaking was not just anyone's duty; rather, there was a demand for a specialist on the subject. The production and transmission of geo-spatial knowledge was restricted to a very few. Among the chosen ones, in the Jesuit side, was Lucero, whose knowledge and experience in the Ucayali made him the most suitable person to undertake the task of mapmaking and describing this region.²⁴ Yet, his opinion was interestingly not enough, as more "specialists" on the Ucayali were called upon to further support the Jesuit position. Who were these other "specialists"? Nothing else is said about them in this report. Yet, we can conclude that the processes of mapmaking and geographical exploration, although linked to individuals, must be rather understood as a collaborative enterprise.

The Vardales Map

On August 22nd, the *Corregidor* of Chachapoyas, Vicente de Bustillo y Navarro informed the Viceroy Duke of Palata that he could not fulfill the orders he received to report and map the area in conflict because Chachapoyas was not close to the Ucayali. Bustillo then delegated this task to the Governor of Lamas, Juan Lopez de Vardales y Herrera, who was closer to the site under scrutiny. In his report, Vardales described the missionary occupation along the Huallaga and the Ucayali Rivers. Whereas the

complete knowledge could inform and provide the necessary and convenient news to make the map and demarcation ordered by His Excellency, and *he could bring with him other people, specialists in those missions, their rivers and towns.*" Lope A. de Urquia, Report of the Clerk of the Cabildo and Royal Treasury of Quito, Quito, July 29, 1686. ALMREP, LEB-11-47, caja 94, ff. 6r-6v. My emphasis.

²⁴ Father Enrique Richter, who replaced Lucero as head of the Jesuit missions in the Ucayali, knew about Lucero and the reputation of his knowledge of the Ucayali even before being named his successor. See Enrique Richter, S.I., "Segunda carta del Padre Enrique Richter, de la Compañía de Jesús al reverendo Padre Provincial de la Compañía de Jesús de Bohemia, escrita la villa de San Miguel de Ibarra en América, el 16 de agosto de 1685" in *Las Misiones de Mainas de la Antigua Provincia de Quito de la Compañía de Jesús a través de las Cartas de los Misioneros alemanes que en ellas se consagraron a su civilización y evangelización, 1685-1757*, ed. Julián Bravo, S.I. (Quito: Biblioteca Ecuatoriana Aurelio Espinosa Pólit, 2007), pp. 51-55.

Huallaga was a space both orders shared—the southernmost portion belonging to the Franciscans—the Ucayali is technically described as a Jesuit dominion. Governor Vardales reported that Jesuits had been working in the Ucayali for over forty years, “començando las misiones desde la boca de este rio, ó desde donde desemboca al rio Marañon, hasta mui arriba de los Cambas y Pyros.”²⁵ He also pointed out that, nine months earlier, a Franciscan friar, who entered into a Campas or Cambas town from a port named Tarama, noticed the missions established beforehand by Jesuits in the Ucayali. The Franciscan declared that members of his religious Order should take charge of the evangelization of populations inhabiting the area from that point upriver. Yet, according to the Governor of Lamas, the Franciscan friar had misjudged the Jesuit presence in the Ucayali since “consta de los testigos de quienes me he informado, que de Cambas para arriba han subido los padres de la Compañía mas de quinze dias.”²⁶ Vardales was then defending the Jesuit dominion, or at least their early presence, along the Ucayali basin, while recognizing only a Franciscan outpost in the Upper Huallaga.

To complement his report Vardales included a map (Figure A-9) that similarly supported the Jesuit position. Corregidor Bustillo had asked him to conduct a meeting with local connoisseurs in the Franciscan missions around the Guallaga and in the Jesuit missions around the Marañon. Vardales stated that he had arranged that meeting and closely followed their recommendations, “sin quererme valer de mi experiencia en misiones de padres de la Compañía á que hecho muchas entradas, por haverme

²⁵ “occupying their missions from the mouth of this river, or where it joins the Marañon, upriver, beyond [the lands of] the Camba and the Pyro.” Juan Lopez de Vardales y Herrera, Governor of Lamas, to the Viceroy of Peru, Lamas, July 30, 1686. ALMREP, LEB-11-47, caja 94, f. 14r.

²⁶ “according to witnesses, fathers of the Society have already navigated from Cambas upriver more than fifteen days.” Ibid.

encargado su fomento Vuestra Excelencia.”²⁷ The map was also the result of Vardales’ consultation with a group of “mas de quinze testigos peritos y experimentados en dichas misiones.”²⁸ Although he did not mention who these people were, his declarations support the notion that the cartographic and geographic praxes in colonial Amazonia were based on a collaborative process. Additionally, Vardales knew this map was not professionally made; it was more of a sketch “aunque de pluma, y en la forma agreste propia de tierras tan remotas.” He also acknowledged that it needed to be improved by a pilot “porque acá no hay quien entienda de la materia.”²⁹ Despite these problems, Vardales promised the map would help solve the missionary issue.

This map shows in great detail the location of towns and missions along the Guallaga and Ucayali Rivers, as well as those along the Marañon, until the point where the first two rivers join the latter. The southernmost part of the Guallaga, marked by a river named Guánuco, is the only site where a Franciscan mission can be located—specifically “los Panataguas de Nuestro Padre San Francisco.” Similar to Vardales’ report, the Franciscan missionary presence along the Ucayali is missing in his map. Instead, Jesuits are all over the map, particularly around the contested Conibos mission (Figure A-10). On the eastern margin of the Upper Ucayali, where the Paro River is about to become Mano River, Vardales located a town of “Piros” natives and, next to it, indicated that “hasta aqui subieron los padres de la Compañia.” On its western margin, the Governor of Lamas located a “Los Cambas” town, right next to the “puerto de

²⁷ “without taking into account my own experience in the missions of the Society’s friars to which I have made many incursions since His Excellency gave me the order to promote them.” Ibid. f. 12v.

²⁸ “more than fifteen eyewitnesses, expert and familiar with those missions.” Ibid., f. 14r.

²⁹ “drawn with a pen and in a rough manner, proper of so remote lands [...] since there is no one that understands the subject here.” Ibid., ff. 12v, 14v.

Tarama,” where he noted that “ay de aqui hasta donde llegaron los padres de la Compañia quinze dias de camino rio arriba.”³⁰ The Conibos town is located on the eastern margin of the Ucayali, below the “Piros” and “Cambas” sites and within the area of Jesuit influence. Thus, for Vardales, any controversy around such mission was senseless. In the 1754 copy of this map (Figure 4-1), which might have been authored by Father Olivier himself—the copyist of the entire 1694 file—, Vardales’ written notes on the Jesuit locations along the Ucayali are missing.³¹ Regardless, this information was relevant to the Governor of Lamas’ support of the Jesuit community in the Conibos dispute, but not important enough for the Franciscan who would reproduce the map sixty years later.

The Soarez Map

On September 10th, Diego de Rivera, Governor of Jaen, informed that in his jurisdiction the most suitable person to report on the missionary presence in the Ucayali was Antonio García de Soarez, secular priest of Santiago de las Montañas. Four months earlier, after being appointed by the Bishop of Quito, Garcia had finished an official visit to “todas las reducciones de los padres de la Compañia sitiadas en los grandes rrios Marañon, Pastasa y Guallaga; y otros.” He had given a detailed account of the location of these missions, the names of their friars, and the number of natives who had been baptized since the foundation of each site.³² The Superior of Jesuit

³⁰ The location of the “Cambas” site and the port of Tarama does not coincide with what the Franciscan community presented in their map (Figure A-13), as we will see below.

³¹ These notes, however, might have been inserted *a posteriori*. See note 35.

³² “all the missions belonging to the Fathers of the Society [and] located in the great rivers Marañón, Pastasa, and Guallaga, and others.” Antonio Garcia de Soarez, “Testimonio autentico [...] del numero de almas que allo por los libros habian convertido y bautizado los nuestros en las Misiones del Marañon,”

missions, Father Lucero, confirmed the presence of Garcia throughout these rivers and territories.³³ In September, Soarez provided a second report in which he claims to have sent Governor Rivera:

un tosco mapa de lo que he handado; que como quando fui á los parajes no llevé instrumentos ni quando he venido á esta ciudad [Jaen] hallé ningunos, no se ha podido reducir nada á arte. Vuestra Excelencia suplirá con su gran comprehension mis muchos defectos.³⁴

Despite the lack of instruments and the difficulties involved in the process, the priest of Santiago de las Montañas presented his final product. Soarez's map (Figure A-11) shows the different towns and missions along the Marañon, the Guallaga, and other southern tributaries of the Amazonas as well as those located in its northern tributaries such as the Tigre, Pastaza, and Napo Rivers. The only Franciscan site included in the map borders the Napo River. The Franciscan presence south of the Amazonas is nonexistent. In the specific case of the Ucayali, the priest of Santiago de las Montañas did not delineate the entire course of the river in his map. It only showcases the river's lower section, where it joins the Amazonas. There is no mention of the disputed Conibos town either (Figure A-12).³⁵ Overall, the map solely illustrates the Jesuit

Nueva Cartagena de Santiago de Xitipos, May 30, 1686. ARSI/AHJ, N.R. et Quit 15, ff. 135v-140. Quote in f. 136.

³³ Lucero's certification is included in Diego de Rivera, Governor of Jaen, to the Viceroy of Peru, Jaen, September 10, 1686. ALMREP, LEB-11-47, caja 94, ff. 17r-17v.

³⁴ "a rough map about what I have explored, but since I did not bring any instrument during my exploration, and neither did I find any of them when I came to this city [Jaén], it has been impossible to make it look professional. His Excellency will improve with his great comprehension my many mistakes." Antonio Garcia de Soarez, Priest of Santiago de las Montañas, to the Viceroy of Peru, Jaen, September 10, 1686. ALMREP, LEB-11-47, caja 94, ff. 14v-15r.

³⁵ In the Soarez's map, the Ucayali receives three names: "Rio de Ucayali," "Rio de Conibos," and "Rio Paro." This "Rio de Conibos" is the only part in which the name, but not the place, of the mission under controversy is mentioned in this map. The "Conibos" and "Paro" names, however, seem to have been added by a second hand. In the Vardales' map (Figure A-9) there are also certain parts in which the involvement of a second hand that added information such as names of rivers and missions seems

presence throughout the Marañon and Guallaga basins. This was to be expected, since Soarez had visited those missions, under the jurisdiction of the Jesuits of Quito, for about a year, and left four months before the lawsuit was filed. There is no mention of him visiting Franciscan outposts. In the 1754 version of the map (Figure 4-2), there is an unnamed mission near the confluence of the Ucayali and Amazonas Rivers that likely corresponds to the Jesuit mission of Cocama. Further upriver, the 1754 map shows a second and last Ucayali mission, also unnamed, but it is noted that it belongs to Franciscan jurisdiction (Figure 4-3). Since that was the area in dispute, and the original 1686 map did not include this area, the 1754 Franciscan copyist might have felt the need to include something else, the unnamed mission, which might resemble the location that caused such map to be made. That town, although unidentified, had to be included under the jurisdiction of the Order of Saint Francis so as to show their presence in the conflicting region. Instead, for Soarez in 1686 the cartographic description of any part of the Ucayali region was an impossible task due to his lack of first-hand observations in such area.

In his September report, Soarez was a little more specific about the Conibos situation. He mentioned that, from the Cocamas mission, “[e]ste rio de Ucayale arriba

obvious. The Soarez’s map (Figure A-11), in its upper left corner, presents a two-column summary of the precise location and distances of the Jesuit and Franciscan Amazonian outposts as depicted in the Vardales and the Soarez’s maps and reports. In my opinion, neither of them wrote that information because of the handwriting and the added information—as the anonymous author of that two-column note realized, Soarez was not the priest of Moyobamba but Santiago de las Montañas; similarly, Vardales was not the “corregidor” but “gobernador” of Lamas. Because what is depicted in these maps match their reports, these maps can be clearly attributed to Vardales and Soarez. Yet, since these documents were preserved within a file compiled by the Franciscan General Procurator Álvarez de Toledo, it is very likely that the 1686 Vardales and Soarez’s maps and reports were at some point in the hands of Franciscan friars, who were also preparing their own cartographic version of the Conibos dispute. As we will see later, Álvarez asked the Chief Cartographer of the Viceroyalty of Peru, Juan Ramón Coninck, to make the final and official map of the Franciscans in their dispute over the Conibos mission. I argue that the second hand that included information in the Vardales and Soarez’s maps was Coninck’s. The chief cartographer used and annotated those previous maps to make his own.

veinte dias de navegacion está la ultima reducion de la Compañía á donde está el padre Enrique Richter de nacion Aleman; llamanse estos indios Conivos y Manamahovos, mas arriba treinta leguas poco mas ó menos estan las misiones de los religiosos franciscanos hasta las tierras de Andamarca.” As a result, due to the distance between members of both orders along the Ucayali, Soares claimed that they “tienen bien en que ocuparse muchissimos misioneros.”³⁶ Yet, in his report from May, before the beginning of the Jesuit-Franciscan lawsuit, Soares had very vaguely noted that “tambien se ha tenido notiçia del padre Enrique Richter, despachado a los indios cunibus, an lo rresevido siete pueblos de estos cunibus y manamabobos, estos pueblos se han dedicado a la santisima trinidad.”³⁷ This lack of information on distances and timing regarding the Ucayali, in turn, made the description of the Jesuit and Franciscan presence in that area less clear. It also coincided more properly with Soares’s actual interest and lack of knowledge of the town in conflict, which was reflected in his map.

The “Franciscan” Map

Five months later, in February 1687, representatives of the Franciscan Order, headed by General Commissioner Felix de Como, provided their allegations for the lawsuit on the demarcation of missionary territories along the Ucayali. Their objectives were to prove that Franciscans had established their mission among the Conibo first and to explain the reasons for leaving this area to Jesuit friars. The Franciscans argued

³⁶ “the last mission of the Society of Jesus is located navigating twenty days the Ucayali upriver, [which is] in charge of the German Father Enrique Richter; these Indians are called Conivo and Manamahovo; navigating further upriver, more or less thirty leagues, there are Franciscan missions until the lands of Andamarca. [...] there is plenty space for many missionaries to work.” Soares to the Viceroy of Peru, f. 15v.

³⁷ “[I] also had news about Father Enrique Richter, dispatched to the Conibo Indians; seven towns of these Conibo and Manamabobo have welcomed him; these towns have been dedicated to the Holy Trinity.” Soares, “Testimonio autentico,” f. 139v.

that two Seraphic brothers, Juan de Navarrete and Pedro Laureano, along with Captain Juan Alvarez, took possession of the town of Conibos in September of 1684. These men departed from Andamarca and entered the Perene River. Later, navigating upriver, they reached the Ucayali. Once they arrived in Conibos, they claimed to have taken possession of the town by building crosses and then promised local Indians they would return to evangelize the natives. Two or three months later, after hearing news of the arrival of Franciscan friars, Jesuits from the Cocamas mission became interested in establishing a mission among the Conibo as well. Indeed, they arrived in town and quickly built a church before departing. In September 1686, the Franciscans Manuel Biedma and Francisco de Huerta, alongside Captain Bartolome de Veraum and others, returned to Conibos but this time they found the Jesuit church—a clear message that this site was no longer theirs. In October they decided to leave Conibos to avoid a military conflict with members of the Society once they received news that Jesuits and their accompanying soldiers were planning to sail up the Ucayali River. This Jesuit expedition was not aimed at Conibos, but beyond. They wanted to occupy the region as far as the port of San Luis of Perene, and were in search of a group of Piro and Campa that had murdered the Jesuit brother Francisco Herrera a few months earlier.³⁸ In sum, the Franciscan position was that their members were the first to occupy the mission of Conibos, the Jesuit presence was an intrusion, and, as a result, all the Ucayali, from the Perene River to Conibos, actually belonged to the Seraphic Order.³⁹

³⁸ It was a group of thirteen Conibo natives who gave the news on the killing of Brother Herrera to the Jesuit community. See Enrique Richter, S.I., "El Padre Henrique Richter al Padre Joseph Antonio Renteria. Dale noticia de la muerte del Hermano Francisco Herrera a manos de Campas," Laguna, September 19, 1686. ARSI/AHJ, N.R et Quit 15, f. 114.

³⁹ ALMREP, LEB-11-47, caja 94, ff. 17v-29r.

This position was clearly expressed in the map presented by the Franciscans (Figure A-13). The map shows their possessions, which included the entire basin of the Upper Ucayali—or “Rio Gran de Paro, de las Amazonas, o Marañon,” as named it in their map—and some of its uppermost tributaries. To my knowledge, this is the earliest known map from either religious order that focuses exclusively on the Ucayali basin.⁴⁰ It delineates the Ucayali from the area around the confluence of the river and the “Rio Grande de Callisecas,”⁴¹ where the Conibos town under controversy was located, and continues upriver. It also includes its southern tributaries such as the Mano, Apurima, and Ene Rivers, but pays particular attention to the basin of the Perene Rivers, since this was the route that the Franciscan expedition took, leaving from the eastern slopes of the provinces of Tarma and Jauja. There is no delineation of the Marañon River, yet this map briefly includes the Upper Guanuco River⁴²—the center of the Franciscans missions of Cajamarquilla and Panataguas. This map, then, had the purpose of highlighting the missions established by members of the Order of Saint Francis. And, since the map was made to prove that the Upper Ucayali basin in its full extension was under Seraphic jurisdiction, there is no mention of the Jesuit presence in that part of Western Amazonia.

The 1754 version of this map (Figure 4-4) generally followed the same spatial description of the Upper Ucayali as shown in the 1687 map, with some minor

⁴⁰ According to Juan de Velasco, an eighteenth-century Jesuit chronicler, Father Enrique Richter, who became in charge of the Jesuit mission of Conibos in 1686, elaborated a map of the Ucayali River. The current location of this map is unknown. See Juan de Velasco, S.I., *Historia del Reino de Quito en la América Meridional*, ed. Aurelio Espinosa Pólit, S.I., vol. 1 (Puebla: Editorial J.M. Cajica, 1961 [1789]), pp. 409-410.

⁴¹ Present-day Pachitea River.

⁴² Present-day Huallaga River.

differences. In this case, the Franciscan copyist focused entirely on the Ucayali as the main axis of this map. The missions of Cajamarquilla and Panataguas as well as the Guanuco River basin that had appeared in the 1687 map were not included. The delineation of the confluence of the Ucayali and Callisecas Rivers in the north was also removed in the second version. The location of the mission of Conibos now occupies the top of the map. It seems that the 1754 copyist was exclusively interested in the cartographic description of the issue that was at stake in the 1680s lawsuit with the Jesuits of Quito, to wit, the possession of Conibos and the route connecting the mission and the Franciscan sites of departure in the headwaters of the Perene River basin. The Ucayali then became a cartographic Franciscan territory, with no indication of Jesuit presence in the region.

Another interesting aspect of the Franciscan map, in its 1687 and 1754 versions, is the presence of Ashaninka or, as they were called by the Franciscans, Campa natives everywhere in the left bank of the Upper Ucayali basin. Whereas in the Vardales' map the Campa are shown as occupying only one mission in the Upper Ucayali (Figure A-10), in the Franciscan map they are technically mapped everywhere. There are two explanations for this: either the Campa were actually a very large group that occupied different areas along the left bank of the Ucayali, or it was simply another rhetorical figure used by the mapmaker to denote the alleged extension of the Franciscan dominion over this region. It is also possible that the need to prove the precise area dividing Franciscan and Jesuit missionary areas caused the omnipresence of the Campa. Those who participated in the Franciscan expedition to Conibos had pointed out that one of the main interests in exploring and mapmaking this area was to

provide the exact location of the different places, towns, rivers, and nations that they discovered during the voyage to Conibos.⁴³ Nevertheless, it seems this was not a matter of graphic location but an attempt to prove the extension of the Franciscan dominion over the Ucayali. Since the Campa were evangelized by Franciscan friars, and they were depicted occupying the entire left bank of the Ucayali basin, this implied that the area should be under Seraphic jurisdiction. As a result, viceregal authorities would be forced to forbid the Jesuit presence in the Ucayali.

On the other hand, many witnesses confirmed the Campa's presence throughout the Western Ucayali basin. In a 1691 report on Captain Joseph de Amez's expedition from Acobamba to Quimiri and Cerro de la Sal, Cristoval de Cozar pointed out that "tambien nos noticiamos de que dicho Cerro para abaxo se siguen muchas familias y naciones diferentes; y que la primaria es de los Campas."⁴⁴ Since Quimiri and Cerro de la Sal are located around the Perene River, on the way to the Upper Ucayali, this implied that the overwhelming Campa presence in that area was known to local officials and travelers thanks to some local informants. Likewise, Captain Francisco Rojas de Guzman noted, in his 1691 report on the expedition to Conibos, that it was important for the Crown to establish a fortress near the port of San Luis of Perene to gain control over the many surrounding nations such as Campa and Piro.⁴⁵ He also mentioned that, during their return trip from San Miguel of Conibos, the expedition stopped at many

⁴³ ALMREP, LEB-11-47, caja 94, ff. 20v, 24v-25r, 26v, 28v, 29r.

⁴⁴ "we heard that from that Cerro [de la Sal] further down there are many families and different nations, and the most important are the Campa." Cristoval de Cozar, "Entrada que hizo el Capitan Joseph de Amez desde el pueblo de San Miguel del Acobamba al Cerro de la Sal," n.p [Tarma?], n.d. [1691?]. ALMREP, LEB-11-47, caja 94, ff. 77r-77v.

⁴⁵ Francisco Rojas de Guzman, "Declaracion diaria del capitan Francisco Rojas de Guzman," Lima, November 12, 1691. ALMREP, LEB-11-47, caja 94, f. 122v.

locations. Some of these were Campa sites around the Ererva and Chopcari Rivers, western tributaries of the Upper Ucayali, with fifteen and twelve inhabitants, respectively. At Chopcari, Campa natives “al Padre Presidente [Manuel Biedma] dieron mucha noticia de los principales que tenían en lo que había desde San Buenaventura [around the Ene and Perene Rivers] hasta esse paraje.” Biedma, in turn, told the Campa that “tratassen de irse juntando todos, que no era razón, que siendo todos de una nación, y parientes viviessen apartados unos de otros pudiendo estar como los Conibos, y las demás naciones que dexabamos atrás.”⁴⁶ In accordance with previous statements, Father Francisco de la Huerta, who also took part in the 1686 expedition, noted that the Campa were a “nación tan dilatada, que no se puede hazer juicio el círculo, que coge; porque en mi juicio son miles las leguas, que corre esta nación.”⁴⁷ Thus, the presence of Campa natives throughout the entire left bank of the Ucayali basin was a fact witnessed by the Franciscan expedition either in person or by hearsay, and this was reflected on their map.

We must now question the ways that missionary cartographers found to legitimize their mapping descriptions of the Campa. The Franciscan party depicted the elaboration of the third map to the best of their knowledge to make sure the location of the Campa and all the nations, rivers, and provinces were depicted on it. They did so by underlining the collaborative production of the Franciscan map. This, in turn,

⁴⁶ “abundantly informed the President Father [Manuel Biedma] about the locations they had from San Buenaventura [around the Ene and Perene Rivers] to this place. [...] they should try to get together, that there was no reason for them to live apart from each other since they all are relatives and part of one nation.” Ibid., f. 148r.

⁴⁷ “such an extensive nation that it is not possible to know their circumscription because, in my opinion, this nation occupies thousands of leagues.” Francisco de la Huerta, O.F.M., “Comienza la relación y noticias de la entrada que se hizo á los Conibos, desde la ciudad de Lima hasta San Luis de Perene,” Ciudad de León de Guánuco, December 18, 1691. ALMREP, LEB-11-47, caja 94, f. 187r.

complicates any straightforward attempts to define the map's authorship, since the documents do not name the author. On this, Captain Pedro Velasco, a member of the Franciscan expedition, noted that "en quanto á los parajes, rios, navegaciones, poblaciones, y sitios, que reconocieron *assi de vista, como por noticias de los indios*, respondió que todo lo que han visto, y sabido está demarcado en un mapa, *que hizieron los padres con gran cuidado y diligencia* que es á lo que se debe estar por la verdadera noticia de todo."⁴⁸ In his opinion, Franciscan friars were the material authors of this map, who presumably had the required techniques and tools to make such product.⁴⁹ He also pointed out that local natives were involved in this process, particularly in the accumulation and classification of the data regarding the geographic and human landscape of the Upper Ucayali basin. In sum, whereas friars were in charge of the actual process of making this map—or mapmaking—, natives were in charge of the "process of lending order to the world"—or mapping.⁵⁰

In a similar manner, Captain Francisco de la Fuente, procurator of the town of Andamarca and another member of the 1686 excursion to Conibos, pointed out that this map:

donde quedaban señalados, y declarados todos los parajes, rios, poblaciones, y naciones descubiertas en la ocasión de la entrada y salida [from Conibos], que

⁴⁸ "regarding the lands, rivers, navigations, towns, and sites that identified *by face as well as by the natives' news*, [Velasco] responded that all what they saw and knew is delineated in a *map, made by the friars with great care and diligence*, which is what we must take as the real report of everything." Pedro Velasco, Report of Captain Pedro Velasco, Convent of San Geronimo of Tunam, February 8, 1687. ALMREP, LEB-11-47, caja 94, f. 26v. My emphasis.

⁴⁹ In the set of documents discussed in Chapter 4, there is no indication of the cartographic tools, observational methods, and astronomical measurements that Franciscans friars might have used to make this map.

⁵⁰ On the conceptual differences between mapping and mapmaking see Denis Wood, "Maps and Mapmaking," *Cartographica* 30:1 (1993), pp. 1-9 and "The Fine Line between Mapping and Mapmaking," *Cartographica* 30:4 (1993), pp. 50-60. Quote in Wood, "Maps and Mapmaking," p. 2.

es quanto por vista y por noticias pudieron saber, según el corto tiempo que estuvieron en aquellos parajes, y *que dicho mapa se tuviese por fiel y verdadero por haverse hecho y reconocido de comun acuerdo de todos los que entraron conformandose á lo que vieron y supieron por noticias repetidas por diferentes personas, de aquellos indios principales, y demas gentes que se comunicaron.*⁵¹

Captain de la Fuente clearly underestimated the issue of cartographic authorship. Instead, he underscored that this map was the outcome of a multilateral conversation that took place between different actors, including native leaders. The collaborative effort in the making of this map also involved other members of the Franciscan crew such as Father Francisco Huerta and Captains Bartolome de Veraum, Juan Alvarez, and Francisco Rojas.⁵² As seen in Governor Vardales' case and his "quinze testigos peritos," these "indios principales" also played an important role in the Franciscan expedition to Conibos and its cartographic outcome. This interconnection and cooperation of different types of knowledge was a common factor in missionary cartography toward the end of the seventeenth century, providing a wide basis of support to an otherwise intricate cartographic praxis.

Indigenous Participation in the Mapping and Mapmaking of the Ucayali

Who were those "indios principales" that took part in the collaborative mapping and exploratory group of the Upper Ucayali? Natives have been remarkably absent in

⁵¹ "indicates all the places, rivers, towns, and nations discovered in the occasion of the arrival and departure [from Conibos], which is what they knew by sight and news during the short time spent in those regions, and that *such map should be considered as accurate and true since it was made and sanctioned by agreement of everyone who took part in the excursion, based on what they saw and knew from repeated news by different people, Indian leaders, and others whom they talked to.*" Francisco de la Fuente, Report of Captain Francisco de la Fuente, Convent of San Geronimo of Tunam, February 7, 1687. ALMREP, LEB-11-47, caja 94, f. 20v. My emphasis.

⁵² ALMREP, LEB-11-47, caja 94, ff. 19r, 24v-25r, 28v, 29r.

discussion of the cartographic production of colonial Amazonia.⁵³ Relevant sources discussed here indicate the intermingling essence of the cartographic production of the Ucayali. This, in turn, raises a question that has yet to be answered: what is the role natives played in the mapping and mapmaking of Amazonia? Records on the mapmaking of the Ucayali showed a collaborative pattern; yet, the participants in the cartographic production were not clearly or individually named. The situation changes when we stop focusing on the maps/mapmaking and start looking at the explorations/mapping that led to the reconnaissance of a territory where natives were often mentioned as part of the crew. Mapping and mapmaking are two factors involved in the same process, for the reconnaissance of a territory permits its graphic description in the form of a map. As a result of the involvement of Amazonian natives in the exploration aspect of this process their influence in the mapmaking aspect may be asserted, as we will see below.

The map made by the Franciscan party will help me illustrate this matter. Although I have not been able to find proof that this map was directly made by Ucayali natives, it resulted from their involvement in the mapping process. Both the natives' participation in the Franciscan exploration of this region and the context of the mapmaking production indicates so. When dealing with the study of the cartographic involvement of local Indians, the analysis must rest upon a meticulous reading of the records provided not by the natives, but by the military and missionary members of the Franciscan expeditionary group to the Upper Ucayali. Despite having participated in the same expedition, sailed the same rivers, visited the same towns, and contacted the

⁵³ For a work that intended to be historical but remained an ethnographic study of contemporary indigenous Amazonian cartography see Whitehead, pp. 301-326.

same peoples, friars' and soldiers' records respond to two different frameworks in their interpretation of indigenous participation in the mapping of this area. Military reports are especially prone to unveil and underline the participation of local Indians in the spatial construction and reconnaissance of the Ucayali basin. Missionary records, on the other hand, have a tendency to underestimate and conceal the natives' role in the mapping of this region.⁵⁴ By crossing data from both missionary and military actors, then, it is possible to trace a more balanced and complete picture of the indigenous participation in the exploration and cartographic delineation of the Upper Ucayali.

More detailed information on the 1686 exploration of the Upper Ucayali basin can be found in subsequent reports, written between 1691 and 1692, by Father Domingo Álvarez de Toledo, Procurator of the Franciscan Province of Peru, and Captains Bartolomé de Veraum and Francisco Rojas de Guzmán. These reports indicate the names of those native leaders who participated or provided information to the Franciscans and accompanying soldiers during their exploration of the Ucayali. These were the curaca of the Conibos, Saniguani, and other Conibo chieftains such as Cayampay, Sanampico, Pusinampay, and a Christian Indian from Quito named Lorenzo—or Bernardo, as he is called in other reports—, who had been raised by Jesuit friars.⁵⁵ In his 1691 report, Captain Bartolomé de Veraum included paragraphs about the 1686 expedition to the Ucayali, which he joined to protect the Franciscan friars in route to Conibos. After leaving Jauja and departing from the port of San Luis de Perené,

⁵⁴ For a similar distinction between a secular discourse of hierarchy that conceded attention to Indian particularities and a religious discourse of equality that denied otherness, see Tzvetan Todorov's analysis of the "Great Debate" between the humanist Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda and the Dominican Bartolomé de las Casas in his *The Conquest of America: The Question of the Other*, trans. Richard Howard (New York: Harper & Row, 1984), pp. 146-67.

⁵⁵ ALMREP, LEB-11-47, caja 94, ff. 70v-71r, 137v-138r, 141r, 154r, 279r-279v.

he mentioned that the expedition arrived in Buenaventura, “primer pueblo de los Andes de nación de los Campa,” on July 24th.⁵⁶ Later, on September 4th, the expedition arrived in San Miguel of Conibos and stayed there for 24 days.⁵⁷ Captain Veraum’s description of the territories, rivers, and nations inhabiting the Upper Ucayali is interesting since it provides several clues about indigenous participation in the mapping and mapmaking of the region. Following their departure from Buenaventura, Veraum noted that:

abaxo del encuentro destes dos rios [Perene and Ene], le entran otros dos [to the Ucayali] de menos aguas de la parte del oriente á la mano izquierda de la cordillera general nombrados Mazaroberi y Carozati, donde habitan algunos Andes gentiles de nacion Campas, y mas abaxo de Mazaroberi hai otro rio, que se nombra Cayapo por la parte de la mano derecha, y le habitan los Piros, y tiene su cazique curaca nombrado Mangoli. Mas abaxo del rio Cayapo hai otro rio grande [...] y es su nombre el famoso Taraba, y rio arriba en distancia de tres dias de camino, le habitan quatro naciones, que son Comavos, Robonaguas, Pichavos, y Soboivos, y tienen un curaca y cazique á quien le obedecen, que su nombre es Mano, y tienen onse pueblos en forma de republica, *que sabe por declaracion de una muger gentil de nacion de los Comavos [...] y á esta muger llevamos al pueblo grande de San Miguel de los Conibos, donde declaró por interprete de un indio christiano nombrado Lorenzo de la ciudad de Quito, que le hallamos casi buelto gentil en el dicho pueblo de los Conibos, y hablava y entendia en la materna de la muger de nacion de los Comavos [...] y la declaracion de la muger se confirmó ser cierta por un indio gentil, principal de los Conibos, que assi mismo se hallo presente en la declaracion de la india, por haver estado cautivo en estas tierras de los Comavos por tiempo de seis años según su verdad; y este indio por nombre propio Pusinampa.*⁵⁸

⁵⁶ “first town in the Andes of the Campa nation.” Bartolomé de Veraum, “Declaracion (o Diario) del capitán Bartholome de Veraum,” Tarma, June 30, 1691. ALMREP, LEB-11-47, caja 94, f. 70r.

⁵⁷ Ibid., f. 71r.

⁵⁸ “beyond the confluence of these two rivers [Perene and Ene], two minor rivers join [the Ucayali] from the west of the general mountain chain [the Andes], named Mazaroberi and Carozati, where a number of Campas, a pagan sub-group of Ande Indians, reside. After the Mazaroberi there is another river, joining from the east, the Cayapo, whose margins are inhabited by Piro Indians, who are governed by a curaca named Mangoni. South of the Cayapo there is another large river [...] and its name is the famous Taraba; and three days walking upriver there are four nations: the Comavos, Robonaguas, Pichavos, and Soboivos, and the curaca and cazique to whom they obey is named Mano, and they have eleven towns in the form of a republic, *all of which we know thanks to the declaration of a gentile woman from the Comavo nation [...] and we took this woman to the large town of San Miguel of Conibos, where she declared by way of a Christian native interpreter named Lorenzo, from the city of Quito, whom we found almost turning gentile in the aforementioned town of Conibos, and who talked and understood the native tongue of the woman of the Comavo nation [...] and the statement of the woman was confirmed to be true*

As seen in Captain Veraum's report, there are clear indications that San Miguel de Conibos became the site of geographic and cartographic data accumulation that contributed to the making of the Franciscan map, and also that natives from the larger Ucayali area participated in the production of this knowledge. The Comavo woman, Quiteño interpreter Lorenzo, and the Conibo chieftain Pusinampay all played a large role in the transmission and crafting of the spatial knowledge of the Upper Ucayali River. Thus, this region's geographic description and spatial configuration, especially in the area surrounding the Comavo societies, which the Franciscan expedition had never seen in person, was also the result of the information provided by the Comavo woman and transmitted through Conibo speakers, once they met in the town of San Miguel of Conibos.

Native informants would continue to appear in Captain Veraum's report as important actors in the knowledge making of the Upper Ucayali. After leaving the Taraba River, the expedition captured two Mochovo Indians at the mouth of the Ununi River. Veraum pointed out that the Mochovo nation "que le habitan á las faldas de la Cordillera general, que es tierra llana y amena, montaña real, y es numero crecido la destos mochovos, según fuimos informados por los Conibos nuestros amigos, y confederados, y los dexamos libres á los dos Mochovos."⁵⁹ Certainly, the expedition captured these two Mochovos in a particular place along the river. This place then becomes a point of reference when indicating the spatial position of this society in the

by a gentile Indian, authority among the Conibos, who was himself present during the declaration of the native woman, having been held captive in the lands of the Comavos for six years according to him, and this Indian's proper name [was] Pusinampa." Ibid., f. 70r. My emphasis.

⁵⁹ "occupy the flanks of the General Mountain, in an even and nice land, [a] royal jungle, and these Mochovos are numerous, according to what our friends and comrades, the Conibos, informed us, and [then] we freed the two Mochovos." Ibid., f. 70v. My emphasis.

map and report. The members of the expedition only seized two of the natives, and a proper visit to their community is never described. Despite having found the two Mochovos, Captain Veraum stated that “the Conibos” were the actual informants of the Mochovo location.

Later on, the expedition followed another of the Ucayali’s tributaries, the Comarinigua River. This time they visited an indigenous community, composed of five large houses, inhabited by close to 40 people, and their curaca was named Quicuruno—named Quibruno on another reports. In his “Compendio histórico,” Father Joseph Amich stated that Quicuruno was the head of a sub-group of Conibo natives who “por haber hecho alianza con los Campas, no los quisieron admitir en su pueblo sus paisanos los Conibos de San Miguel.”⁶⁰ This group ended up having to resettle in a different town. The Franciscan crew stayed at this site for two days, and “adquirimos nuevas noticias, *que nos las dio este Quicuruno* de las naciones de los Comavos del rio Taraba con las demas, que quedan referidas [Robonaguas, Pichavos, and Soboivos]; y assi mismo de los Mochovos de la Cordillera general.”⁶¹ Father Francisco de la Huerta, also a member of the expedition, ratified this information. He noted that a combined group of Campa and Conibo lived in the site at Comarinigua and that the crew spent a large part of the night with the natives, “*cogiendo algunas noticias* y en especial nos la dieron de los gentios que habitan en estos dos rios que son la nacion de los Soboybos

⁶⁰ “had made an alliance with the Campas [and, as a result] their fellow countrymen at San Miguel did not want them in their town.” Amich, *Compendio histórico*, pp. 108-9.

⁶¹ “acquired more news, *given to us by this Quicuruno*, about the Comavo nation of the Taraba River as well as the others listed above [Robonaguas, Pichavos and Soboivos]; and also about the Mochovos of the General Mountain.” Veraum, “Declaracion (o Diario),” f. 70v. My emphasis.

y Pichavos.⁶² The sought-after location of the Comavo, Mochovo, Soboybo, and Pichavo natives came also as a result of the information provided to the Franciscans by the Conibo curaca Quicuruno.

After founding the mission of San Joseph of Comarinigua at this site, the crew navigated about fifty or sixty leagues upriver until reaching the town of San Miguel of Conibos. Crew members stayed there for twenty-four days, and met curaca Saniguani and other local leaders such as Pusinampay and the interpreter Lorenzo. These meetings resulted in a better, more complete, picture of all the societies inhabiting the area along the Upper Ucayali River.⁶³ San Miguel of Conibos and San Joseph of Comarinigua were the only two sites that the 1686 expedition visited for a considerable period of time, the rest of their findings on the location of “nations,” rivers, and provinces along the Upper Ucayali basin came, in general, from the information provided by indigenous peoples inhabiting these two towns. Indeed, indigenous informants at San Miguel and San Joseph constituted the source and foundation of the Spanish Franciscan knowledge of the Ucayali basin. The importance of the Conibo participation was not only related to the type of information they provided *in situ*. Conibo natives also conveyed valuable knowledge when the Franciscan crew returned from San Miguel to the port of San Luis of Perené. These two moments made their participation fundamental for the reconnaissance of the Ucayali and the making of this region in cartographic terms.

⁶² “*getting some news* and, in particular, they gave us news about the peoples inhabiting these two rivers which are the nations of the Soboybos and the Pichavos.” De la Huerta, f. 195r. My emphasis.

⁶³ Veraum, “Declaracion (o Diario),” f. 71r.

Phelipe Cayampay and the Making of Captain Rojas' "Sketch" and "Journal"

To understand the entire process of cartographic construction of the Ucayali, we must examine the location or context in the production of geographic knowledge. If the towns of San Miguel and San Joseph became centers of data accumulation and organization, the rivers through which the Franciscan expedition navigated also became sites of knowledge making and Ucayali natives played an important role in this. Conibo Indians provided guidance to the Spanish crew since the beginning of the 1686 expedition, following the expeditionary departure from San Luis of Perené. Captain Francisco Rojas de Guzmán's 1691 report indicates that after the confluence of the Perené and Taraba Rivers—where, according to him, the Ucayali River properly starts—they ran into a group of Conibo natives navigating the river in ten large canoes. These Conibos would guide the Franciscan expedition and the Spaniards were invited to embark the canoes and continue their trip toward the final destination, the town of San Miguel.⁶⁴ On their way back to the port of San Luis of Perené, Captain Veraum stated Conibo curaca Saniguani, the local chieftains Cayampay, Sanampico and Pusinampay, and a group of 66 natives in 18 canoes convoyed the expeditionary group.⁶⁵ Among the Conibo leaders, Phelipe Cayampay played a key role as informant of the Franciscan crew. Captain Rojas described how, when they were about to leave San Miguel, he asked Cayampay "de irme enseñando todos los rios, nombres, y naciones para poder dar parte á mi Apo ['Superior']; por quanto á la ida havia ido ciego, y sin tener quien me lo diesse á entender." Cayampay's information was essential since

⁶⁴ Rojas, ff. 126v, 128r.

⁶⁵ Veraum, "Declaracion (o Diario)," f. 71v.

he was “tan versado, y experimentado de todos los parages en 60 años que tenia, y corrido todas essas tierras muchissimas vezes.”⁶⁶

Captain Rojas was carefully taking detailed notes of all the information Cayampay conveyed in the return trip from San Miguel. As a result, the Spaniard soldier made an “apuntamiento y quadernillo de todo lo que havia passado en dicho viage, que al presente sirve en esta declaracion [...] como tambien para el mapa que se está haziendo.”⁶⁷ These “sketch” and “journal,” directly based on Cayampay’s information, were later used to make the reports and the map of the Franciscan expeditionary group. Captain Rojas’ journal (Figure A-14, verso) includes step-by-step, detailed data about the distances in leagues between each tributary of the Ucayali, which he referred to as Gran Paro, from Conibos to San Luis of Perené.⁶⁸ The town of Conibos appears as the site of departure in the journal, and afterward, every site consists of the mouth of each tributary of the Ucayali, showing whether the tributary joined the Ucayali from the east or from the west and, if applicable, the names of the ethnic groups inhabiting those shores. The “sketch” (Figure A-14, recto) is a simple delineation of the length of the Ucayali River that includes the mouth of its eastern and western tributaries as well as the distances in leagues that the expedition spent every day in their journey. In the sketch, the Ucayali has twenty-four subdivisions, each one indicating the number of

⁶⁶ “to identify all the rivers, names, and nation so that I could report before my Apo [‘superior’], since on my way to Conibos I had come blinded and no one could explain me anything. [...] “so versed and experienced in all these lands throughout the 60 years of life he was, and having traveled those lands several times.” Rojas, f. 141r.

⁶⁷ “a sketch and a journal of all what had happened in such trip, which are currently used for this declaration [...] as well as for the map that is being made.” Ibid., f. 146v.

⁶⁸ The journal also includes the same detailed information on a second part of the trip, from Perené to San Buenaventura. Yet, Rojas indicated that whereas the journey up to Perené was navigable, the trip between this site and San Buenaventura was made on foot. The trip up to Perené was the one convoyed by Conibo natives.

leagues navigated in a day's worth, which corresponds to the precise number of days that the expedition took on their return trip from Conibos to Perené.⁶⁹ The route that Captain Rojas registered in both his journal and sketch was the one that the expedition accompanied by Conibo natives followed back to their site of departure. As a result, the information recorded in these documents corresponds to the data conveyed by Cayampay.

If Rojas relied entirely on the information Cayampay provided or on a combination of the Conibo lore and his personal observations is up for debate. What is no longer debatable is that the Spanish captain had recognized the fundamental role of the Conibo chieftain in the Spanish Franciscan accumulation and organization of the geographic and cartographic knowledge on the Upper Ucayali basin. During their return trip, the expedition sporadically stopped at various locations where the expeditionary members saw and made contact with peoples from different societies living by the tributaries of the Ucayali, such as the Ruanagua in the Coraguanigua River, the Pichobo and Soboybo around the Taguanigua River, the Campa around the Ererva and Chopcari Rivers, and the Mochovo in the Guanini River.⁷⁰ Yet, despite the contact with these specific indigenous groups, Captain Rojas believed that this was not an act of Spanish reconnaissance but an act of ratifying the information previously collected from Conibo sources. In this respect, Rojas pointed out that “[e]l día 21 [of October] determinamos todos de ocupar esse día en reconocer esse gentio [the Mochovo], é informarnos de todo (aunque ya lo teníamos entendido) por havernos lo dicho el

⁶⁹ Veraum, “Declaración (o Diario),” f. 71v. The sketch only provides information about the number of leagues spent in each day until the day 18.

⁷⁰ Rojas, ff. 147r-149v.

Caudillo [Cayampay] ser muy copiosissima la dicha nacion.”⁷¹ So, although having first-hand observations, Captain Rojas and other members of the Franciscan expedition highly appraised the information Conibo natives, and in particular curaca Phelipe Cayampay, had provided.

If Rojas recognized that he had used and benefited from the information on the Ucayali basin that Cayampay had conveyed to the Franciscan expeditionary group, how did the communication between the Spanish Captain and the Conibo leader take place? Spanish records of the expedition do not indicate the existence of maps or any sort of visual or material artifact made by the Cayampay to help the Spaniards. Thus, the transmission of spatial knowledge from the curaca to the captain happened by word of mouth. On the Conibo side, documents do not specify if Cayampay knew Spanish, but he was probably exposed to the language in his earlier contacts with Spanish missionaries and soldiers. On the Spanish side, the Franciscan crew included at least two translators. One of them was Captain Rojas, who in his own report noted that “tenia bien entendido nuestro Prelado [Father Manuel Biedma, head of the expedition], el valimiento y estimacion que aquellos indios hazian de este testigo [Captain Rojas] con quien de ordinario platicaban, por ser muy versado en la lengua general del Inga [Quechua], la qual entienden medianamente algunos de la nacion Coniba.”⁷² The second translator was Bernardo—or Lorenzo—, the Indian that Jesuit missionaries had brought from Quito, was left in San Miguel of Conibos, and who “tambien sabia la

⁷¹ “On [October] 21st we decided to spend that day surveying that nation [the Mochovos], and gathering information of everything (even though we already knew it) since we had been told by the chieftain [Cayampay] that this nation was very numerous.” *Ibid.*, f. 149r.

⁷² “Our Prelate [Father Biedma] clearly knew how those Indians valued and estimated this witness [Captain Rojas], with whom they usually talked since he was well versed in the general language of the Inca [Quechua], which some of the Conibo nation can understand moderately.” Rojas, f. 128v.

lengua general del Inga [Quechua] demas de aquella de las naciones.”⁷³ As a result, Bernardo knew both Quechua and the local Conibo language—which belongs to the larger Panoan linguistic family. Rojas acknowledged that Bernardo acted as translator in his conversation with Cayampay.⁷⁴ Therefore, I believe that the conversation took place not in Quechua but in Conibo.

The basis for the transmission of knowledge was set thanks to Bernardo’s brokerage. But what about Cayampay’s himself and the information he provided to the Franciscan crew? Once in Conibos, the expeditionary crew recognized a group of local leaders with whom relationship had to be established in order to safeguard their stay in that town and collect the required information. One of the native leaders was Cayampay. As mentioned above, the curaca was praised for his long experience navigating those rivers and, as result, became the most valuable source of information in the return trip from San Miguel. There was a particular anecdote that had an impact on the Franciscan crew and encouraged them to appoint Cayampay as their official and most prized guide. The curaca told Captain Rojas that, at the age of 12 or 14, his father:

le havia llebado en una canoa grande la qual tenia todavia, por el Gran Paro [Ucayali] abaxo hasta una cocha muy grande, que quiere dezir laguna grande, y en el havia visto una cassa de palo en medio de ella con mucha gente como nosotros con barbas, y tambien negros [...] y el caudillo nos dixo, que aquella cassa grande, que havia visto tenia muchos de esos paños, [...] por donde conocimos havia sido algun navio, que havia visto en la boca del Marañon, y preguntado en quanto tiempo havia llegado, respondio que en quatro lunas fué, y vino [...] las quatro lunas, como á tras queda dicho son messes.⁷⁵

⁷³ “also knew the general language of the Inca [Quechua] and that of those nations.” Domingo Álvarez de Toledo, O.F.M., “Memorial en que se haze relacion de todos los autos y por puntos se recopilan todas las declaraciones de los testigos,” Lima, 1692. ALMREP, LEB-11-47, caja 94, ff. 279r-279v. Quote in 279v.

⁷⁴ Rojas, f. 141r.

⁷⁵ “had took him in a large canoe, which he still possessed, through the Gran Paro [Ucayali] downriver until a very large *cocha*, that means big lake, and in the middle of the lake he saw a wooden house with a lot of people like us with beards, and black people as well [...] and the chieftain told us that the large

Trying to come to terms with Cayampay's story, Captain Rojas came to infer that the large house in the curaca's story was a European ship and the large lake was the Atlantic Ocean.

This conclusion, that Cayampay had participated in a transamazonian journey from the Ucayali to the estuary of the Amazonas River when he was a young teenager, was ratified by another member of the expedition, Captain Veraum. He claimed that:

assi mismo nos declaró el indio principal Cayampay de cómo los años passados havia corrido por el gran Paro [Ucayali] rio abaxo asta la isla Margarita del Mar del Norte [Atlantic Ocean] en una canoa grande, el y quatro indios parientes, y amigos suyos, y que tardó en este viaje de ida, estada, y buelta asta su pueblo de San Miguel de los Conibos seis lunas, que vienen á ser seis meses, y que el gran Paro se desembocaba en quatro bocas, ó braços en el Mar del Norte.⁷⁶

Unlike the metaphorical figures of the large house and large lake found in Rojas's report, Veraum provided straightforward, scholarly information about the Amazonas River that Cayampay and his crew had supposedly navigated. He described how the delta originated once this river—referring in both reports to the Amazonas as a continuation of the Ucayali or Gran Paro—emptied its waters into the Atlantic Ocean or Northern Sea. Veraum also mentioned that Cayampay's journey ended in Margarita Island. Although this is a false statement today since the island faces the mouth of the Orinoco River, back in the seventeenth century it was considered to be true. Antonio de

house he had seen had many of those cloths [...] so we inferred that it had been a ship which he had seen in the mouth of the Marañon, and when he was asked about the duration of such trip he answered that it lasted four moons roundtrip [...] the four moons, as said above, are [equivalent to] months." Ibid., ff. 137v-138r.

⁷⁶ "The native chieftain Cayampay likewise pointed out that some time ago he and four Indian relatives and close friends had sailed the Gran Paro downstream until Margarita Island in the Northern Sea [Atlantic Ocean] in a large canoe, and that this journey roundtrip from his town of San Miguel of Conibos lasted six moons, which is six months, and that the Gran Paro splits into four branches when it flows into the Northern Sea." Veraum, "Declaracion (o Diario)," f. 71r.

León Pinelo, in his 1656 “El Paraíso en el Nuevo Mundo,” noted that the Orinoco and Marañon Rivers were often mistaken for one another. As a result, late-sixteenth and early-seventeenth-century authors, such as Joseph de Acosta and Diego de Avalos, describing the dimensions of the Marañon, noted that this river flew into the ocean, in front of the Margarita Island.⁷⁷ Thus, Veraum’s transcription of Bernardo’s translation of information provided by Cayampay corresponded to the state of knowledge on the larger Amazonian basin in the seventeenth century.

It is impossible to prove that those were the exact words Cayampay said, even after the translation. Whether this transamazonian journey was a fabrication by the members of the Franciscan party or not, they were supposed to gain something from it. Indeed, even if they were pretending to have jurisdiction over the town ruled by Cayampay and others, the trip had no effective consequences on the outcome of the Franciscan-Jesuit lawsuit. There were no possession claims over the supposed Ucayali-Marañon route navigated by Cayampay when his journey was reported either. I therefore believe this was an instance of genuine acknowledgement and admiration for Cayampay’s navigational experience. Besides the variations in the lunar duration of the trip, Rojas’ and Veraum’s accounts present the same information about the means and route of the curaca’s expedition. As a result, Cayampay’s transamazonian journey constitutes one instance that made him the most valuable person for guiding the Franciscan crew back to San Luis of Perené, and, most important, for his contributions to the collection and classification of the spatial knowledge of the Ucayali basin.

⁷⁷ Antonio de León Pinelo, *El Paraíso en el Nuevo Mundo: Comentario apologético, historia natural y peregrina de las Indias Occidentales, islas de Tierra Firme del Mar Océano*, 1656 (Lima: Comité del IV Centenario del Descubrimiento del Amazonas, 1943), vol. 2, pp. 435-436.

The Conibo Concealment/Acknowledgement in Spanish Missionary/Military Reports and the Coninck Map

What did Cayampay's role and the context of the 1686 Franciscan expedition to the Upper Ucayali mean in the construction of geo-spatial knowledge about the region? These two factors implied that Conibo natives became the most important source of geographic knowledge for the Franciscan expeditionary group. The Conibo towns of San Joseph of Comarinigua and San Miguel of Conibos as well as the return trip to San Luis of Perene, convoyed by Conibo natives, became locations of geographic and scientific configuration that resulted in the map and reports made by members of the Franciscan expedition. Moreover, it was not the Conibo as a whole but specific Conibo individuals—including Pusinampay as interpreter of the Comavo woman, Quicuruno at San Joseph, and Phelipe Cayampay at San Miguel via Bernardo's translations—who played a bigger role as providers of knowledge processed and presented by the captains and friars who participated in the 1686 expedition. We then cannot simply assume that "Indians," in general, played an important role in this process. Like in the Spanish crew, there was a specialized group among the natives that friars and Spanish captains depended on to collect and organize the spatial and geographical information on the Ucayali basin. In fact, Spanish reports acknowledged the role these Conibo individuals played in the process of cartographic and geographic knowledge making.

Among these Spanish reports, as we have seen, it was mostly military officials—Captains Bartolomé de Veraum, Joseph de Amez, and Francisco Rojas de Guzmán—who recorded, in many cases by name, the participation of Conibo natives in the 1686 exploration of the Upper Ucayali. On the contrary, members of the Order of Saint Francis who participated in the expedition to Conibos, such as Fathers Francisco de la

Huerta and Antonio Vital, were prone to minimize, and even conceal the natives' involvement and collaboration in the process of cartographic production of the Ucayali basin. In this respect, Father Domingo Álvarez de Toledo, Procurator of the Franciscan Missions of Peru that presented a final summary of the Franciscan position in the lawsuit against the Jesuits of Quito for the mission of Conibos, acted in a similar manner. He synthesized the point of view of the Franciscan community with regard to indigenous participation when he declared that:

Y bien se parece este descubrimiento primero al que el suplicante dexa referido de los tres exploradores, que el Venerable Varon fray Manuel de Biedma inspirado del cielo embió desde la embarcacion de San Luis asta el Gran Paro, y nacion de los Conibos [...] Y aunque les dá el suplicante *el titulo de exploradores* á los tres referidos el hermano Pedro Laureano, Juan de Navarrete, y Juan Alvarez que embió el dicho Venerable Padre fray Manuel de Biedma, no es porque fueron los primeros sino porque *estos fueron los que traxeron las noticias ciertas*; que mucho antes mas de 60 años havian entrado ya otros en diversas vezes, á los quales les quitaron las vidas aquella naciones [...] que como no huvo quien traxesse las nuevas de ellos perdieron el titulo de exploradores, y solo se les da á estos.⁷⁸

Father Alvarez's statement indicates that the privilege of being named an explorer of the Ucayali corresponds exclusively to members of the Franciscan missionary community or, at least, those who survived the journey through the Amazonian jungles and rivers.

⁷⁸ "this discovery [of the Amazonas River] looks like the one the suppliant [Father Alvarez] pointed out about the three explorers that the Venerable man Father Manuel de Biedma, inspired by God, sent from the port of San Luis [of Perene] to the Gran Paro [Ucayali] and nation of the Conibos [...] And, although the suppliant gave the title of explorers to the three aforementioned Brothers Pedro Laureano, Juan de Navarrete, and Juan Alvarez sent by the Venerable Father Manuel de Biedma, it is not because they were the first ones but because they were the ones who brought true news. More than 60 years ago, others had explored [those lands] many times, who were killed by those nations [...] and since no one brought the news, they lost the title of explorers, and then only those are given that title." Álvarez, f. 267v. My emphasis.

Neither Cayampay nor Quicuruno, the guides and informants who gave the “true news,” deserved the title of explorers of the Ucayali.⁷⁹

Furthermore, Alvarez’s spatial assertions of the river had to rely not only on the reports provided by the crew members but also on a “more professional” map of the region made by Juan Ramon Coninck, Chief Cosmographer of the Viceroyalty of Peru.⁸⁰ In regard to the existence and use of this map, Álvarez noticed the logistic difficulties involved in the removal of the town of Conibos from Franciscan jurisdiction, and that this would separate this town from other Franciscan missions among the Calliseca or Cepibo which were situated downriver the Conibo. This was underscored “en el mapa que presenta con la solemnidad necesaria echo por el Cosmografo Mayor de este reino el doctor don Juan Ramon [Coninck].”⁸¹ Álvarez also pointed out that a group of native maroons called Maranocochas or Maranes inhabited the margins of the Canela and Simaponte Rivers, upstream the Taraba or Cuzco River, one of the southern tributaries of the Gran Paro or Ucayali. The location of these rivers appeared in “el mapa, que para mas claridad presenta el suplicante con este fecho por el Cosmografo Mayor de este reino doctor don Juan Ramon [Coninck], quien esta bien en esas

⁷⁹ Father Alvarez, when quoting Captain Francisco Rojas’s report, did acknowledge the experience of Felipe Cayampay and the interpreter Bernardo and the service they provided to the expeditionary group. See *ibid.*, ff. 279r-279v. But, again, this is Alvarez quoting Rojas’ words, not Alvarez’s own statement.

⁸⁰ On Coninck see Eduardo Dargent, “Juan Ramón Coninck: el cosmógrafo mayor,” in *Actas del primer simposio de historia marítima y naval iberoamericana*, ed. Jorge Ortiz (Lima: Dirección de Intereses Marítimos, Instituto de Estudios Históricos Marítimos del Perú, 1993), pp. 39-49; Jorge Ortiz, “Los cosmógrafos mayores del Perú en el siglo XVII,” *Boletín del Instituto Riva-Agüero* 24 (1997), pp. 369-389; and Verónica Sánchez, “Juan Ramón Coninck, un cosmógrafo del siglo XVII en el Perú” (Ph.L. thesis, Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos, 2005).

⁸¹ “in the map presented with all the required solemnity [and made] by the Chief Cosmographer of this Kingdom [of Peru], doctor don Juan Ramon [Coninck].” Álvarez, f. 265r.

materias por haverlas investigado bastamente.”⁸² Despite the fact that there was a map provided by his own peers, Father Álvarez needed to have a more scientific cartographic picture of the region in conflict, which was to be produced by the Chief Cosmographer. The location of this map is still unknown; all we know is what Álvarez described in his report. Luckily, I have found both Coninck’s map and a sketch he probably made beforehand.

The Chief Cosmographer’s map and sketch are part of the same collection that includes the other cartographic works discussed in Chapter 4. All these materials once belonged to the same file organized and archived by the Franciscans in the 1680s. Similar to the others, Coninck’s map and sketch do not include the name of the author. Yet, because this map is the only one that names and delineates those Canela and Simaponte Rivers that Álvarez mentioned when he described the Chief Cosmographer’s map in his report, I argue that this is his map. The sketch (Figure A-15, verso) located on the back of the map seems to be a first draft that Coninck made of the Franciscan map (Figure A-13). It traces, in a more basic manner, the same delineation of rivers and towns. The map (Figure A-15, recto) is Coninck’s own work based on that draft. It includes a few additions but, at the end, it is a cartographic paraphrasing of the Franciscan map. Both Coninck’s and the Franciscan map show in principle the same hydrographic basins, mainly the Gran Paro/Ucayali-Perene-Ene as well as a section of the Guanuco/ Huallaga. One difference is that whereas the mapmaker had drawn thick rivers to denote the volume of their waters and mountains portraying the rugged terrain

⁸² “the map, which for more clarity the supplicant presents with this [report and] made by the Chief Cosmographer of this Kingdom doctor don Juan Ramon [Coninck], who is well-versed in these materials for having investigated them sufficiently.” *Ibid.*, f. 277r.

in the Franciscan map, Coninck only outlined straight and simple lines to delineate the course of the rivers and only a minuscule section of his map denotes a mountainous region corresponding to the Cerro de la Sal. Another distinction is the demarcation of the Canela and Simaponte Rivers (Figure A-16), which only appeared in Coninck's map. But, technically, it is the same map, with a similar spatial disposition of rivers, nations, and towns. Unlike the other maps from 1686-7, the 1754 copyist did not make a duplicate of Coninck's. I do not know the reason for this. Perhaps this map had already been removed from the file by the time Father Oliver made the copy. Another possibility is that the 1754 copyist found it unnecessary to make yet another reproduction of this map since Coninck's was already a duplicate of the Franciscan map.

Coninck's map presents an additional characteristic that connects it to the previous maps: the handwriting. The style and form of the words Coninck used to write the names of rivers, peoples, and places on his map also appear in the notes and additions included in the maps by Vardales, Soarez, and the Franciscan crew. We should remember that the map by the Chief Cosmographer was very likely the result of a petition by Father Álvarez who, as Franciscan Procurator, collected and organized all the documents that his Order presented in the lawsuit for Conibos. Álvarez presented his report in 1692 and the Franciscan map, the last of the three, was elaborated in 1687. As a result, between those years, Coninck had access to the previous maps and made notes on them that would help him to delineate his own map.⁸³ And although those three maps were his key cartographic sources, it seems as if the Franciscan map

⁸³ See above note 35.

provided the most relevant information for the cartographic assignment that Father Álvarez had requested from the Chief Cosmographer.

The paradox circumscribing Coninck's map was precisely the process that led to its production and the meaning ascribed to it by the Franciscan Procurator. As I have shown, the scientific process carried out by the supposedly professional Chief Cosmographer was basically a duplication of a map that was the result of first-hand observations, measurements, and testimonies by the 1686 Conibo-led Franciscan-military expedition. Father Álvarez had requested and was interested in including Coninck's map in the Franciscan report because he surely had his doubts about the cartographic capabilities of his own peers and about the geo-spatial support provided by Conibo natives. So, the Franciscan Procurator needed to present a canonical authority to base his arguments against the Jesuits for the possession of the Conibos mission. By showing Coninck's map as cartographic proof to defend his religious Order, Álvarez might have inadvertently given room for the Conibo lore to appear in the form of a map made by the Chief Cosmographer. Yet, his intention was more likely to conceal the Conibo role in the making of the geographic knowledge of the Upper Ucayali, and to highlight the "scientific" nature of Coninck's map. And this is quite symptomatic of the Franciscan cartographic praxis during early modern times.

The 1687 Franciscan map includes—around the confluence of the Ucayali or "Rio Grande Paro, de las Amazonas o Marañon" and the "Callisecas," now Pachitea, River—annotations on the location of the "Conibos" settlements and the site of "Cayampay principal," "casique Saniguani," and the home of "Quiguruno casique" near the town of San Joseph (Figure A-17). Based on differences in the handwriting, I argue

that those generic “Conibos” inscriptions were written down by the anonymous author of the map. The sites of the three Conibo ethnic leaders were then added by a second and subsequent hand—very likely, Coninck’s. The implications of this difference are that though this map was the result of a heavy consultation and reliance on the hydrographic and geographic knowledge provided by Conibo individuals such as the ethnic leaders Cayampay and Quiguruno, the anonymous author and member of the 1686 Franciscan expedition displayed the “Conibos” as an identifiable but generic nation that inhabited the region. The Chief Cosmographer, instead, individualized Cayampay, Saniguani, and Quiguruno to acknowledge their role as leaders and, more important, providers of the spatial knowledge reflected in the map. Like the discrepancies in military and missionary reports of the expedition, the 1687-1692 cartographic works by secular authors showcased native participation in the Ucayali enterprise whereas missionary authors attempted to conceal it. This is also exemplified in Father Olivier’s duplicate of the map, made in 1754. In this copy, the “apostolic notary” of the Convent of Ocopa decided to introduce a cross to indicate the location of a generic “Conibos” town and, upriver, “el sitio del nuevo pueblo de San Joseph” (Figure 4-5).⁸⁴ Despite having the original map in his hands with notes likely included by Coninck, Father Olivier opted to cartographically eliminate references to the Conibo ethnic leaders that had participated in the Franciscan expedition to the Ucayali. This, in turn, ratifies the tendency to conceal native agency in Franciscan sources.

Conclusion

The concealment of both the indigenous participation and the collaborative nature of the early modern cartography of Western Amazonia are concretized in the

⁸⁴ “the site of the new town of San Joseph.”

original Franciscan map, the Álvarez report, and the Olivier duplicate. These Franciscan testimonies on the spatial characteristics of the Upper Ucayali gave none or limited reference to the Conibo involvement in the mapping and mapmaking production of such region. They tried to provide a more scientific or Conibo-less picture of the region by resorting to Coninck's map which, paradoxically, ended up being based on the Conibo-led Franciscan map. Despite the missionary concealment of indigenous participation, reports from their military companions indicated otherwise. We know that Conibo natives played an important role in the process of knowledge making on the Ucayali. But, did they have an actual influence on the negotiations between Franciscans and Jesuits for this region? On the resolution of the legal dispute, the Jesuit community never sent their own report or map, as the Franciscans had done.⁸⁵ As we have seen in Chapter 4, however, the reports and maps sent by the Governor of Lamas and the priest of Santiago de las Montañas supported the Jesuit party in the lawsuit. So, on April 24th 1687, the Viceroy of Peru, Duke of Palata, made the final decision and granted the mission of San Miguel or Santísima Trinidad of Conibos to the Jesuits of Quito.⁸⁶ This created an actual boundary between Jesuit and Franciscan missionary territories along the Ucayali. The decision was rather problematic since the entire case seems rather fictitious. As noted above, sources actually describe mostly incursions, at times

⁸⁵ Juan Gonzales, Report of the Viceregal Attorney, Lima, April 18, 1687. ALMREP, LEB-11-47, caja 94, f. 32v. As mentioned above in note 40, Father Richter, head of the Jesuit mission among the Conibos since 1686, made a map of the Ucayali whose current location is unknown. However, when the lawsuit between Jesuits and Franciscans started, Richter had just begun his missionary endeavors in the Ucayali. Thus, his map might have not been available for the lawsuit.

⁸⁶ Melchor de Navarra y Rocaful, Viceroy of Peru, et al., "Auto del Real Acuerdo," Lima, April 24, 1687. ALMREP, LEB-11-47, caja 94, f. 33r. For Antonino Tibesar, although Jesuits never sent their map for the final resolution, their superior rents persuaded viceregal authorities to grant the mission of San Miguel to them. See Tibesar, p. 75, n. 135. It seems that Tibesar never saw the file discussed here, which included the Jesuit-supportive maps and reports by the Governor of Lamas and the priest of Santiago de las Montañas.

temporary occupations, of the Upper Ucayali by members of both religious orders. All the maps included in the file of the Franciscan-Jesuit lawsuit were a projection rather than an actual verification of missionary settlements along the Ucayali.⁸⁷ In this respect, if the Viceroy of Lima granted that territory to one of the parties involved, that decision would not imply a certification or ratification of an existing residency but rather, a permission given to Jesuits friars to initiate an occupation of the Upper Ucayali—an occupation that at the end was never fulfilled.⁸⁸

The Conibo, on the other hand, had inhabited the margins and sailed the waters of the Ucayali River well before the coming of the friars. Their more complex social and military organization had made Conibo natives the famous warrior-sailors of the Ucayali at the time of the Jesuit-Franciscan clash over that region.⁸⁹ When it comes to the actual contact with this native society, Françoise Morin holds that a logistic problem that Franciscans faced was not realizing the Conibo had previously established contact with Jesuit missionaries.⁹⁰ On the Conibo side, it seems plausible to argue that having groups of strangers coming from the north—the Jesuits—and from the south—the

⁸⁷ On maps as models for imperial/state projects see J. Brian Harley, *The New Nature of Maps: Essays in the History of Cartography*, ed. Paul Laxton (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001), p. 57; Thongchai Winichakul quoted in Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1991), p. 173.

⁸⁸ Both Jesuit and Franciscan missionaries failed to occupy the Upper Ucayali. Fathers Richter and Biedma, heads of the Jesuit and Franciscan missionaries in the Upper Ucayali, were killed by natives in 1687 and 1695, respectively. Only Franciscans would regain certain control over this area at the turn of the nineteenth century. See Amich, *Compendio histórico*, pp. 120-122; Maroni, p. 112; Francisco Xavier Veigl, S.I., *Noticias detalladas sobre el estado de la Provincia de Maynas en América Meridional hasta el año de 1768*, trans. Federico Schwab (Iquitos: CETA, 2006), p. 144; Velasco, vol. 2, p. 770; Bartolomé de Veraum, “Nueva declaración del Capitán Bartholome de Veraum (y Acuña),” Lima, October 22, 1691. ALMREP, LEB-11-47, caja 94, f. 108r.

⁸⁹ Stefano Varese, *Salt of the Mountain: Campa Asháninka History and Resistance in the Peruvian Jungle*, trans. Susan Giersbach Rascón (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2002), pp. 68-69.

⁹⁰ Morin, p. 304.

Franciscans—became an important asset in terms of accessibility of resources supplied by these missionaries.⁹¹ When iron tools and other materials provided by one group of friars were not enough, it was time to move those missionaries away from San Miguel of Conibos and bring the other group of friars back. This happened in October of 1686, when Father Biedma and the Franciscan expeditionary group decided to leave the town of San Miguel. The expeditionary crew said that local Conibos believed Jesuit friars, headed by Richter, and their accompanying soldiers were coming from the Cocama mission to reestablish their possessions in the Ucayali and to punish those Indians who had killed Brother Francisco Herrera.⁹² But the Conibos were also the ones to give Father Richter news of the killing of Brother Herrera.⁹³ Natives were spreading the word that led to the constant migration of missionaries to the Ucayali basin. As a result, Conibo natives were converting the town of San Miguel into an actual frontier zone for members of both religious orders. If a final decision was made with regard to the line dividing Jesuit and Franciscan missionary territories along the Ucayali, it was also due to Conibo input.

The objective of Chapter 4 is to retrace this Conibo input. Yet, this does not mean that the mapping and mapmaking of the Upper Ucayali basin and the Jesuit-Franciscan conflict were exclusively the result of Conibo involvement. The arrival of the

⁹¹ On the resources, mainly iron tools, that Ucayali natives obtained from missionaries see Manuel Biedma, O.F.M., “Copia de la consulta,” San Miguel de Conibos, October 26, 1686. ALMREP, LEB-11-47, caja 94, f. 23r; Myers, pp. 149, 153-54; Enrique Richter, S.I., “Quinta carta del Padre Enrique Richter, misionero de la Compañía de Jesús en las Indias Occidentales al reverendo Padre Emmanuel de Boye, Provincial de la Compañía de Bohemia,” in Bravo, ed., *Las Misiones de Mainas de la Antigua Provincia de Quito*, p. 77. On the Conibo’s role as middlemen in the Ucayali River and their involvement in a captives-for-tools trade see DeBoer, “Pillage and Production in the Amazon,” pp. 240-41.

⁹² Pedro Álvarez, O.F.M., “Reporte del Padre Pedro Álvarez, religioso, lego y professo en esta prov. de Lima,” Convent of San Geronimo of Tunam, February 7th, 1687. ALMREP, LEB-11-47, caja 94, ff. 23v-24r.

⁹³ Richter, “El Padre Henrique Richter al Padre Joseph Antonio Renteria,” f. 114.

1686 Franciscan expedition in the Ucayali involved the superposition of exogenous and endogenous structures of power. Conibo participation in the cartographic construction of the Upper Ucayali then became an important component in the larger dispute carried out by Spanish imperial agents in Western Amazonia. In terms of understanding the process of scientific transmission and production, this infers that members of the Franciscan expedition were the final transmitters of the spatial knowledge of the Ucayali. That is, whereas Cayampay and other Conibo individuals provided the initial input, Spanish Franciscan friars and captains channeled that knowledge to make the reports and map included in the lawsuit against the Jesuits of Quito for possession of San Miguel or Santísima Trinidad of Conibos.

My intention has been to uncover the names and stories of Cayampay and Quicuruno, and other Conibo individuals as providers of the spatial knowledge employed by Spanish military officials and Franciscan friars in their 1686 expedition of the Upper Ucayali. Likewise, it is important to emphasize how the towns of San Miguel of Conibos and San Joseph of Comarinigua became centers of data accumulation and classification on local societies, rivers, and territories, for the Franciscan crew. The Conibo input can only be measured through the reports and maps that were the result of the new structures of power that Spaniards brought to Amazonia. The geo-spatial discourse of the Ucayali is the outcome of Spanish and Conibo performances. Indeed, the 1687 Franciscan map corroborates this notion.

With regard to the authorship of the maps by Vardales, Soarez, and Coninck, records clearly indicate that these individuals made maps. As a result of a correlation between what was described in their reports and in the untitled and anonymous maps, I

have been able to match and appoint such persons as the authors of those maps. The Franciscan map is a different case. Records simply do not name its author. Antonino Tibesar stated that its author might be Captain Francisco Rojas de Guzmán.⁹⁴ Yet, military records, including Rojas' own report, emphasize the collaborative nature of the map. This map was then the result of negotiations between multiple authors including friars, soldiers, and natives, but those reports do not single out an author. The only one who attempted to provide an answer was Captain Velasco. He noted that friars, in general, had made the map. But he also pointed out that the map resulted from personal observations of the crew and the news received from Conibo natives.⁹⁵ Nowadays, cartographical conventions hold that one map corresponds to one author. However, in the 1680s, when Rojas, Velasco, and the Franciscan crew sailed to Conibos, the collaborative nature of cartography seems to have been the norm. For this reason, I cannot affirm that Cayampay or Quicuruno were the authors of this map. But I have demonstrated how these specific Conibo individuals participated in the process that led to the elaboration of the 1687 map associated to the Franciscan-military expedition to the Ucayali. As contemporary sources suggested, the production of the "Franciscan" map came from the collaboration of multiple authors including Franciscan friars, Spanish captains, and Conibo caciques. Thus, although it might seem an anonymous map according to current cartographic conventions, that was not the case in late-seventeenth-century Western Amazonia.

⁹⁴ Tibesar, p. 74, n.135.

⁹⁵ Velasco, f. 26v.



Figure 4-1. Juan López de Vardales y Herrera, [Mapa de las Misiones Franciscanas y Jesuitas en el río Marañón], 1754. [Reprinted with permission from ALMREP, Map Library, VPE-015.]



Figure 4-2. Antonio García de Soarez, [Mapa de las Misiones Franciscanas y Jesuitas en los ríos Huallaga y Marañón], 1754. [Reprinted with permission from ALMREP, Map Library, VPE-016.]



Figure 4-3. Antonio García de Soarez, [Mapa de las Misiones Franciscanas y Jesuitas en los ríos Huallaga y Marañón], 1754. Detail. [Reprinted with permission from ALMREP, Map Library, VPE-016.]



Figure 4-4. Anonymous, [Mapa de las Misiones Franciscanas y Jesuitas en los ríos Tambo, Perené y Ene], 1754. [Reprinted with permission from ALMREP, Map Library, VPE-017.]



Figure 4-5. Anonymous, [Mapa de las Misiones Franciscanas y Jesuitas en los ríos Tambo, Perené y Ene], 1754. Detail. [Reprinted with permission from ALMREP, Map Library, VPE-017.]

CHAPTER 5 JESUIT CARTOGRAPHIC NETWORKS AND THE DIVERGENT MISSIONARY AND BUREAUCRATIC VISIONS OF AMAZONIA

Let us now turn our attention to the circulation and reception of the missionary cartographic configuration of Western Amazonia. My objective here is to retrace how this region came to be imagined in spatial terms and eventually incorporated into the contours of the territorial circumscriptions of Quito and Lima. This dissertation has focused on the cartographic artifacts and narratives of Western Amazonia produced by members of the Society of Jesus, who belonged to the Jesuit Province of Quito, and by Franciscans, who were part of the Province of Peru. As a result, the circuits of Amazonian cartographic information connected the region to the urban centers of Quito and Lima, respectively. Chapter 5 will examine the circulation of Amazonian spatial imaginaries from the tropical jungles to the city of Quito, that is, it will study the Jesuit circuits. I seek to demonstrate the gradual formation of a particular Jesuit cartographic and geographic vision of Amazonia during the eighteenth century. This vision resulted from the importance ascribed to the said region due to the evangelizing and political interests of the Society as well as the circulation of maps of the Amazonas within Quiteño Jesuit circles. Simultaneously, other personnel, usually bureaucrats in Quito and Madrid, had access to some of the aforementioned maps. In Chapter 5, I will show how the later “secular” agents received and criticized Jesuit maps and, as a result, how they conveyed a different view of Amazonia, where the tropical area was gradually devaluated and geographically detached from the circumscription of Quito.

On the circulation of knowledge among the Jesuits, Steven Harris has noted the extension of the system of long-distance networks that the Society established around the globe and the role that such circuits played in the production and circulation of

scientific knowledge within the Jesuit sphere and beyond. From its inception, the Society “made two decisive moves; one into education (specifically, the education of “externs” who were not members of the Society) and the other into the overseas missions.”¹ This provided the foundations for the organization of long-distance administrative networks with an interest in scientific activities and knowledge since “a certain amount of natural knowledge was required in order to run that network (geography, surveying, practical natural history, practical anthropology, medicine, and pharmacy).”² Jesuit scientific praxis and its transmission thus became an inextricable part of the Society’s evangelizing enterprise, that is, part of “the course of their work, their ‘profession,’ as Jesuits.”³

In Spanish South America there were certain characteristics that made the Jesuit scientific production different. Andrés Prieto noted, following Harris, that Jesuit friars studied the natural and human landscapes of that region “first for missionary rather than scientific interest.”⁴ Yet, instead of “diverting more resources and manpower to the schools and universities managed by the order” such as in Europe, Prieto argued that

¹ Steven J. Harris, “Confession-Building, Long-Distance Networks, and the Organization of Jesuit Science,” *Early Science and Medicine* 1:3 (1996), p. 289. Harris has also discussed the extension, operation, and importance of the Jesuit scientific networks in early modern times in his “Mapping Jesuit Science: The Role of Travel in the Geography of Knowledge,” in *The Jesuits: Cultures, Sciences, and the Arts, 1540-1773*, ed. John W. O’Malley, S.I. et al. (Toronto: University of Toronto, 1999), pp. 212-240 and “Jesuit Scientific Activity in the Overseas Missions, 1540-1773,” *Isis* 96:1 (2005), pp. 71-79.

² Harris, “Confession-Building,” p. 318.

³ Harris, “Mapping Jesuit Science,” p. 214.

⁴ Andrés I. Prieto, *Missionary Scientists: Jesuit Science in Spanish South America, 1570-1810* (Nashville, TN: Vanderbilt University Press, 2011), p. 6. In her study on the role of Jesuit friars as brokers in the transference of pharmaceutical knowledge between South America and Western Europe in early modern times, Sabine Anagnostou has similarly argued that the scientific interest of the members of the Society was grounded on their evangelizing mission. See her “Jesuit Missionaries in Spanish America and the Transfer of Medical-Pharmaceutical Knowledge,” *Archives Internationales D’Histoire des Sciences* 52:148 (2002), pp. 177, 197.

“in America the Jesuit focus was on the evangelization of native communities.”⁵ This meant that Jesuit science in the Americas did not aim to improve the Society’s reputation among ruling elites, and was instead tied to the explanation and modification of indigenous knowledge as part of their evangelizing enterprise.⁶ This engagement with local situations in the periphery is, for Prieto, a point that the long-distance network system explained by Harris neglects. For Prieto, Harris’ explanation of the Society’s scientific network reduces “the role of Jesuit missionaries overseas simply to that of furnishing the data needed by the Jesuit writers located [...] ‘in the provincial capitals of the Italian, French, and German assistencies.’”⁷ Prieto, instead, underscores the role played within the periphery of the Jesuit scientific global network, where friars used “the same experimental methods and mathematical calculations that their European colleagues were using at the time.”⁸

In Chapter 5 I use both Harris’ and Prieto’s systems to trace the Jesuit cartographic networks of Western Amazonia. By referring to Harris, I will give the necessary weight to the networks established by the Jesuit community in Spanish South America and their role in the production and transmission of the cartographic and geographic knowledge of Western Amazonia. By referring to Prieto, I will emphasize

⁵ Prieto, p. 4.

⁶ Ibid. This interest in indigenous scientific knowledge, medicinal and pharmaceutical in particular, as part of a larger system of exchange and circulation, is also explained in Anagnostou, pp. 182-195. A similar system of medical knowledge exchange between natives and Jesuits has also been explained in Allan Greer, “The Exchange of Medical Knowledge between Natives and Jesuits in New France,” in *El saber de los jesuitas, historias naturales y el Nuevo Mundo*, ed. Luis Millones Figueroa and Domingo Ledezma (Frankfurt am Main: Vervuert; Madrid: Iberoamericana, 2005), pp. 135-146.

⁷ Prieto, p. 134.

⁸ Ibid. Unlike Prieto, Harris seems to emphasize that overseas Jesuit missionaries rather than “creators” or “discussants” were more prepared to be “accumulators” or “providers” of native and/or peripheral knowledge due to particular characteristics of their organization that made them “especially adept at cross-cultural intimacy.” See Harris, “Jesuit Scientific Activity,” p. 76.

how the spatial and graphic descriptions of Amazonia came about *in situ* and, eventually, changed meanings through their circulation from the tropical forest to urban centers and according to the eyes of maps' beholders. Jesuit missionaries of Quito established their missions mostly among natives living by the Upper Amazonas, the Lower Marañón, and the Lower Napo Rivers. The missions were part of a network of knowledge that connected these villages to urban centers such as Quito, Riobamba, and Cuenca—places where Jesuits of the province of Quito had established educational and missionary colleges.⁹

By tracing these networks, I will assess how the Society helped reconfigure and circulate the knowledge about Western Amazonia in the Audiencia of Quito. Luis Carlos Arboleda and Diana Soto Arango noted that thanks to the 1736-1743 French-Spanish geodetic mission that came to measure one arch of the Equator and the shape of the Earth in Quito, the local elite “acquired a *vision of its territory* and of itself and a clearer idea about Quito’s place in Latin American geography.”¹⁰ I, on the other hand, will show that Jesuits were already providing a vision of Quito’s space, linked to Amazonia, before the arrival of the aforementioned mission. More important, I will demonstrate that there was not one but many “visions” of Quito’s territory by examining the different meanings ascribed to Jesuit maps during their circulatory lifespan, that is, their exchange-value.

⁹ On the scientific and educative enterprises and activities of the Jesuits of the Province of Quito, particularly in the city of Quito, see Luis Carlos Arboleda and Diana Soto Arango, “Moderns Scientific Thought in Santa Fe, Quito and Caracas, 1736-1803,” in *Science in Latin America: A History*, ed. Juan José Saldaña, trans. Bernabé Madrigal (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2006), pp. 93-122; especially pp. 98-106; Ekkehart Keeding, *Surge la nación: La ilustración en la Audiencia de Quito (1725-1812)*, trans. Mónica Thiel and Gunda Wierhake (Quito: Banco Central del Ecuador, 2005); José María Vargas, O.P., “La Compañía de Jesús y la educación,” in *Historia de la iglesia católica en el Ecuador*, ed. Jorge Salvador Lara, vol. 3 (Quito: Conferencia Episcopal Ecuatoriana, Academia Nacional de Historia, Abya-Yala, 2001), pp. 1375-1388; and María Antonieta Vásquez, *Luz a través de los muros: Biografía de un edificio quiteño* (Quito: FONSA, 2005).

¹⁰ Arboleda and Soto Arango, p. 101. My emphasis.

As Deborah Poole stated, “[o]nce unleashed in society, an image can acquire myriad interpretations or meanings according to the different codes and referents brought to it by its diverse viewers.”¹¹ In this respect, I propose that although missionaries had their own objectives when cartographically delineating Western Amazonia, “once unleashed” their maps came to acquire different and unexpected significances. The Quiteño Jesuits shared a certain cartographic and geographic vision of Amazonia, but their maps and reports provided the basis for the formation of a different secular-bureaucratic spatial conceptualization of the Amazon—one in which Quito and Amazonia came to be paradoxically detached.

By analyzing and comparing both visions, I will trace a long story that combined the eventual making of a geopolitical discourse in regard to the possession of Amazonia by the early modern Spanish and Portuguese Empires and how Jesuit maps helped, or not, to build such discourse in its Castilian variant.¹² It is in this geopolitical discussion that we can see major distinctions and debates between the Jesuit and the bureaucratic visions of Amazonia, and test the participation of the friars’ maps in this tropical boundary controversy. About the Luso-Spanish frontier problem, Tamar Herzog noted that “rather than unauthorized settlers penetrating territories belonging to Spain or Portugal [...] what mainly happened in the American interior was the gradual incursion of Europeans into areas whose ascription was uncertain, perhaps not yet debated, let alone decided.”¹³ Moreover, during their legal battles both sides came to protest

¹¹ Deborah Poole, *Vision, Race, and Modernity: A Visual Economy of the Andean Image World* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997), p. 18.

¹² See Chapter 1, note 14.

¹³ Tamar Herzog, *Frontiers of Possession: Spain and Portugal in Europe and the Americas* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2015), p. 42.

“against the presence of rivals in territories that they knew and admitted were (still) undecided.”¹⁴ Instead of focusing on traditional narratives of territorial encroachment, Herzog’s emphasis on the uncertainty of Luso-Spanish geopolitics better suits my own objective of studying Jesuit cartography as a device that came to embody and drive such state of indecision.

I seek to present a more nuanced version of the circulatory development of the Jesuit cartographic production of Western Amazonia that does not deny but makes the construction of geopolitical borderlines a contingent outcome rather than its *raison d’être*. Jesuit maps and reports of Amazonia became noted sources of information for Spanish imperial and viceregal officials. Yet, bureaucratic decisions in regard to the place of Amazonia in the Luso-Spanish boundary controversy ended up disregarding Jesuit interests.¹⁵ This provided the basis for imperial and viceregal officials to propose their own state of Amazonian affairs. The eighteenth century thus witnessed the gradual configuration of two different visions of Amazonia constructed around the jurisdiction of the Audiencia of Quito. This distinction rested upon the Jesuit networks to circulate their vision of Amazonia and its reception among secular and bureaucratic circles. I will trace the Jesuit cartographic and geographic circuits and address how their works rather than

¹⁴ Ibid., p. 40. Although centered on the time of the Habsburgs, Manuel Lucena similarly noted that the frontier policies of the Spanish Crown rested upon “a system of calculated ambiguities.” See his “La delimitación hispano-portuguesa y la frontera regional quiteña, 1777-1804,” *Procesos* 4 (1993), p. 22.

¹⁵ On the Portuguese side, authorities seemed to have relied more heavily on the cartographic and geographic production of their local Jesuit community. See Mirela Altic, “Missionary Cartography of the Amazon after the Treaty of Madrid (1750): The Jesuit Contribution to the Demarcation of Imperial Borderlines,” *Terrae Incognitae* 46:2 (2014), pp. 69-85. On the contrary, Marcio Roberto Alves dos Santos minimizes the allegedly preeminent role played by the Jesuit Order in the mapping of eighteenth-century Brazil in his “Os relatos de reconhecimento de Quaresma Delgado,” *Varia Historia* 24:40 (2008), pp. 691-693.

providing one view of “Amazonia” paved the way for the formulation of different “Amazonias.”

Samuel Fritz and the Jesuitization of the Map of the Amazonas¹⁶

Samuel Fritz comes back to our history because his cartographic works of Amazonia became canonical not only within Jesuit circles but beyond. Unlike most Jesuit cartographers, Fritz had his map of the Amazonas engraved in 1707. As a result, his cartographic production reached a wider circulation that included different sectors of the Quiteño society as well as many ranks of the Spanish viceregal and imperial administration.¹⁷ This allows us to recreate, in a genealogical manner, the development of the Amazonian cartographic vision of Fritz. I will elucidate the intricate and multivocal dissemination of the pictorial body of Fritz’s Amazonas and how it reached different contexts, and embodied diverse meanings in the meantime. The multivocality of the cartographic Amazonas came as a result of the juxtaposition of what the Bohemian Jesuit wanted to portray, describe, and explain, and how his work was received and interpreted within Jesuit and non-Jesuit circles. When Fritz arrived in South America in 1686, he was placed in charge of the Omagua missions, in the middle Amazonas River.¹⁸ As a result, he had to deal with the many ethnic groups inhabiting that region and with the Portuguese neighbors coming from Pará. From then on, encounters with

¹⁶ Parts of this section are based on my MA paper.

¹⁷ In regard to the circulation of Fritz’s map of the Amazonas, particularly within European circles, see Almeida, “Samuel Fritz Revisited,” pp. 133-153.

¹⁸ Pablo Maroni, S.I., *Noticias auténticas del famoso río Marañón y misión apostólica de la Compañía de Jesús de la provincia de Quito [...]*, 1738, ed. Jean Pierre Chaumeil (Iquitos: IIAP, CETA, 1988), pp. 304, 309.

Amazonian natives and Portuguese agents became the norm in Fritz's missionary life, as reflected in his cartographic work of Amazonia.

The first known records of the circulation of Fritz's Amazonian maps occurred during his two-year residence (1689-1691) in Belém, near the estuary of the Amazonas. This moment was particularly relevant since it allowed Fritz to navigate the entire length of the river for the first time and incorporate the Amazonian knowledge of the Jesuit cartographers at the College of Pará into his own work.¹⁹ The result of his Portuguese residence was a 1690 manuscript map titled "Tabula Geographica del Rio Marañón o Amazonas" (Figure A-18). Whereas a previous 1689 manuscript version had only showed the middle portion of this river, the 1690 map included the Amazonas in its entirety, from the territories of the Audiencias of Quito and Santa Fe to the mouth of the river in the Atlantic Ocean—a characteristic that would be constant in his cartographic works.²⁰ While imprisoned in Belém, Fritz showed a copy of his map to Antonio de Albuquerque, governor of Pará, and sent another copy to the Jesuit Procurator in

¹⁹ Andre Ferrand de Almeida, "Samuel Fritz and the Mapping of the Amazon," *Imago Mundi* 55 (2003), pp. 119, n. 9, and "Samuel Fritz Revisited: The Maps of the Amazon and their Circulation in Europe," in *La cartografía europea tra Primo Rinascimento e fine dell'Illuminismo*, ed. Diogo Ramada Curto, Angelo Cattaneo, and André Ferrand Almeida (Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 2003), pp. 149-150; João Felipe Bettendorf, S.I., "Chronica da missão dos padres da Companhia de Jesus no estado do Maranhão [1698]," *Revista do Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro* 72:1 (1909), pp. 323, 345, 416-417. <http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00024784> (accessed May 30, 2015); Samuel Fritz, S.I., "Compendio de la baxada por el rio Amazonas, que hizo desde su mission el P. Samuel Fritz, missionero de la Corona de Castilla en el rio Marañón, o Amazonas, el año de 1689, hasta á la ciudad de Gran-Pará; y de las cosa que pasaron con el," n.p., n.d. ASJQ, leg. 5, doc. 506 [505], ff. 1r-2v and letter to Provincial Father Sebastian Abbad. San Joaquin de Omaguas, October 15, 1709. ASJQ, leg. 8, doc. 805 [802], f. 2r; Serafim Leite, S.I., *História da Companhia de Jesus no Brasil*, vol. 4 (Rio de Janeiro: Instituto Nacional do Livro; Lisboa: Livraria Portuguesa, 1943), p. 285; Iván Lucero, S.I., "La cartografía de la antigua provincia de Quito de la Compañía de Jesús" (S.T.L. thesis, Weston Jesuit School of Theology, 2004), pp. 64-70; and Chapter 3.

²⁰ See Almeida, "Samuel Fritz and the Mapping of the Amazon," p. 114; Roberto Monteiro de Oliveira, "Os mapas de Samuel Fritz e o conflito Luso-espanhol na Amazônia colonial," *Boletim de pesquisa da CEDEAM* 4:6 (1985), p. 103.

Madrid.²¹ In these two cases, we do not know the reasons behind Fritz showing his map and how it was received. The Bohemian Jesuit sent another version of his map to Manuel Senmenat, ambassador of Castile in Lisbon. In this third case, Fritz pointed out that he sought to demonstrate to the ambassador that he had been missionizing within the boundaries of Spanish Amazonia and not, as his captors in Belém argued, in Lusitanian lands.²² Thus, the cartographic description of the entire Amazonas, which was the result of Fritz's first navigation of the river, was inscribed under the imprint of the Luso-Spanish controversy over the tropical heartland of South America.

After being released by a royal decree from Lisbon, Fritz departed Belém and arrived in the mission of San Joaquim of Omaguas in February of 1692.²³ He had an interview with the governor of the Spanish province of Maynas, Gerónimo Vaca, who recommended Fritz visit the Viceroy of Peru, Count of La Monclova, in Lima and ask for his support in the missionary activities and the frontier issues with the Portuguese.²⁴ Fritz arrived in Lima in July of 1692 and presented two reports to the Viceroy. In one report he asked for financial support for the Omagua missions.²⁵ In the other, Fritz warned the Viceroy about the Portuguese incursions in the eastern frontier of the viceroyalty. He pointed out that since the "discovery" of the Amazonas River by the

²¹ Almeida, "Samuel Fritz and the Mapping of the Amazon," p. 114; Lucero, pp. 66, 70-71.

²² Samuel Fritz, S.I., "Copia de una carta del Padre Samuel Fritz, de la Compañía de Jesus, al Embajador de España en Portugal [Manuel Senmenat], dándole cuenta de hallarse detenido en la Ciudad de Pára, procedente de las misiones españolas del Rio de las Amazonas: refiere su odisea hasta llegar allí y pide licencia para volver a su mision." Belém do Pará, March, 1691. AHJ, Primera Época-Colonia 1467-1767, ES1-EN3-CP16, f. 184.

²³ Maroni, pp. 319-320.

²⁴ Ibid., pp. 326-327; Fritz, "Compendio de la vuelta desde la ciudad de Gran-Pará," f. 2v.

²⁵ Samuel Fritz, S. I., "Memorial que presento el Padre Samuel al Excelentísimo Señor Virrey Conde de la Monclova en la Corte de Lima, pidiendo socorro para la mision, el año de 1692." ASJQ, leg. 6, doc. 559, ff. 1r-1v.

Jesuit Cristobal de Acuña in 1639, the Castilian Crown had done little to “either for taking and securing its possessions in this great [Amazonas] river or for subduing the nations inhabiting these lands and reducing them to our Holy Faith.”²⁶ This negligence had, in turn, permitted the advancement of the Portuguese possessions along the Amazonas and the Negro River, including threats of expansion all the way to the Napo River, that is, over Fritz’s Omagua missions. He then sought to demonstrate that the Portuguese possessions were illegal. Based on the 1492 Treaty of Tordesillas and the 1681 Treaty of Lisbon, Fritz sustained that only the region around the mouth of the Amazonas River, where the city of Belém was located, belonged to the Portuguese. Thus, all the Lusitanian possessions westward of Belém must be considered “null and void.”²⁷ He further affirmed that although the Audiencia of Quito permitted the Portuguese fleet led by Pedro Teixeira to take possession of a town during his trip from Quito to Belém in 1639, this possession was never confirmed by the King of Spain, Philip IV, because “before that notice of it reached the Catholic King, already in the early part of the year 1640 Portugal had separated itself from the Crown of Castile.”²⁸

Along with the second report, Fritz included a registration of the towns and natives that had been baptized in the missions under his tutelage and a manuscript map of such missions. This is, I believe, the 1691 map that Fritz made during his return

²⁶ Fritz, “Memorial que presentó el Padre Samuel al Excelentísimo Señor Virrey Conde de la Monclova con el mapa del río Marañón ó Amazonas,” f. 1r.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, ff. 2r-2v.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, f. 2v. See also Samuel Fritz, S.I., *Journal of the Travels and Labours of Father Samuel Fritz in the River of the Amazons between 1686 and 1723*, trans. and ed. George Edmunson (London: Hakluyt Society, 1922), pp. 67-68.

ourney from Belém to Omaguas.²⁹ The map, titled “Mapa geographica del río Marañón o Amazonas hecha por el P. Samuel Fritz de la Compañía de Jesús, Misionero en este mesmo Río de Amazonas, el año de 1691,” focused again on the entire length of the river (Figure A-19). A novelty included in this map was Fritz’s attempt to delineate the Jesuit missionary territory, though only the Omagua missions were demarcated—the space that was precisely under Fritz’s gaze. The early delineation of the boundaries of Quiteño Jesuit territory in the middle of the Amazonas in Fritz’s 1691 map responded to a double objective. It underscored the role played by the Society in the advancement over the eastern frontier of the Spanish Empire in South America while denoting the increasing presence of the Portuguese neighbors in such area. In his second report to the Viceroy, Fritz noted that all the documents he had brought to show the Limeño authorities represented:

Las conquistas, que á Vuestra Excelencia con el debido rendimiento en este memorial principalmente represento, son las de mi mission, desde el rio Napo començando por los Omaguas, hasta el rio Negro (hasta donde ya los Portuguezes han tomado dominio con perjuicio grande de la Corona de Castilla, sin lo que mas pretienden) [...] Y al presente tengo ya sugetas al evangelio de Christo, treinta y ocho aldeas de la provincia Omagua, la reducion de Nuestra Señora de las Nyeves de la nacion yurimaua, y dos aldeas de la nacion Aiquari [...] lo qual Vuestra Excelencia avrá visto en el mapa y matricula de los bautismos de mi mission.³⁰

²⁹ According to Lucero, the map that Fritz presented to Viceroy Monclova is not the 1691 map discussed in these paragraphs. Yet, he thinks both maps might have shared similar characteristics. See Lucero, p. 74.

³⁰ “The conquests, which I principally represent in this report to His Excellency with the due respect, are those of my mission from the Napo River starting around the Omaguas, until the Negro River (where the Portuguese have already taken possession with great injustice to the Crown of Castile, without what they most seek) [...] And in the present day I have already evangelized thirty-eight villages of the Omagua province [nation], the town of Our Lady of Nieves of the Yurimagua nation, and two villages of the Aiquari nation [...] which His Excellency would have looked in the map and list of the baptisms of my mission.” Samuel Fritz, S.I., “Memorial que presento el Padre Samuel al Excelentísimo Señor Virrey Conde de la Monclova con el mapa del río Marañón ó Amazonas, en la Corte de Lima el año de 1692.” ASJQ, leg. 6, doc. 558, f. 1r. See also Maroni, p. 329.

Following Benedict Anderson, the map and baptismal registration represented an early attempt by Fritz to itemize all his Omagua missions and natives to make them visible and, as a result, controllable.³¹ Fritz used these mechanisms of cartographic and inventorial control to underline the Portuguese threat over the Spanish dominion of Amazonia and to request monetary support from the authorities at Lima. With that support, the Jesuit noted there would be more men enrolled “para que me asistan entre aquellos barbaros en la propagacion de la santa fe, y dilatacion del imperio de su Magestad Catholica.”³² Religion, empire, and control were, then, at the core of the map Fritz presented to Viceroy Monclova.

With regard to the role that boundaries played in Fritz’s cartographic thought, documents indicate that he knew the only solution to solve the Amazonian controversy was to definitively demarcate the borderline dividing the Spanish and Portuguese territories in South America. He reported to the Viceroy of Peru that Spanish officials should act as they did “in the case of Buenos Ayres in the year of 1681 so that, in friendly terms, the borderline also be established and demarcated in this River of the Amazons before experiencing more and, probably, unsettled problems with the Portuguese.”³³ Nevertheless, this was a civilian task, not a Jesuit goal. The Superior General of the Society in Rome, Thyrso Gonzales, reproved Fritz’s trip to Lima to

³¹ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, 2nd and rev. ed. (London: Verso, 2006), pp. 163-185.

³² “to assist me among those barbarians in the propagation of the holy faith and the increase of the empire of His Catholic Majesty.” Fritz, “Memorial que presento el Padre Samuel al Excelentissimo Señor Virrey Conde de la Monclova,” f. 1v; Maroni, p. 330.

³³ Samuel Fritz, S.I., “Memorial que presento el Padre Samuel al Excelentissimo Señor Virrey Conde de la Monclova con el mapa del rio Marañon ó Amazonas, en la Corte de Lima el año de 1692.” ASJQ, leg. 6, doc. 558, f. 1v. The Buenos Aires case refers to the solution Spanish and Portuguese came about in relation to their conflict over the possession of the colony of Sacramento which, after the 1681 Treaty of Lisbon, came to be under Lusitanian control.

discuss the situation of the Portuguese in Amazonia with the Viceroy because “estas no son diferencias en que convenga que nosotros entremos.”³⁴ Fritz was aware that it was not his job to argue about the borderlines and possessions, as he himself had noted before. When discussing the Iberian controversy over the Amazon with Portuguese Captain Antonio de Miranda, who brought Fritz back from Pará in 1691, the Jesuit friar stated that “which caused me greater wonder was that he [Miranda] should make such-like statements in my presence, notwithstanding that my vocation was to die for the Faith, that is to say for the salvation and peace of these poor Indians, and not to argue about territories.”³⁵ Fritz also expressed this supposed separation between missionary and geopolitical goals in subsequent conversations with Lusitanian officers, where he argued that definition of the limits between the Iberian Crowns in Amazonia corresponded to metropolitan authorities instead.³⁶

In any case, the main recipient of Fritz’s maps and reports, Viceroy Count of Monclova, minimized the value of the cartographic work and Amazonia’s spatial depiction by the Bohemian Jesuit. Indeed, after his interview with Fritz in 1692, the Viceroy of Perú sent the following message to the King:

Aunque está muy satisfecho (el P. Fritz) de lo bien delineado de él [his 1691 map]; porque da a entender ha visto todo lo dibujado; le he insinuado no ser fácil registrarse distancias, que de una y otra parte del río describe, poniendo con

³⁴ “these are not debates in which it is of our interest to participate.” Thyrso Gonzalez, S.I., to Diego Francisco Altamirano, S.I. Rome, April 23, 1695. ASJQ, leg. 15, doc. 1342 [1338], f. 229.

³⁵ Fritz, *Journal*, p. 76. In the original manuscript report the reference to the “poor Indians” is not included. Yet, the idea on Fritz’s disinterest in territorial-diplomatic issues is clearly expressed. See Samuel Fritz, S.I., “Compendio de la buelta desde la ciudad de Gran-Pará de los Portuguezes, que hizo para la reducion de San Joachin de Omaguas, principio de su mision, el Padre Samuel Fritz misionero de la Corona de Castilla, de la Compañia de Jesus, en el rio Marañon ó Amazonas: el año de 1691.” n.p., n.d. ASJQ, leg. 6, doc. 537, f. 2v.

³⁶ Fritz, *Journal*, pp. 102, 113.

tanta especialidad los nombres de las naciones de indios. Y aunque ha procurado satisfacer mi duda, confieso que no lo ha conseguido y quedo inclinado a que *más es satisfacción propia que realidad* la mayor parte de lo pintado en el mapa.³⁷

In this respect, the Viceroy criticized Fritz's map because he could not accept the visual depiction that the Jesuit attempted to demonstrate—and this was probably one of the reasons why Fritz's map was not engraved in that occasion. The river, indigenous communities, and distances in the map were just the product of the imagination of its Jesuit author, and the Viceroy was likely looking for something more “real.”

Nevertheless, only two years later, in a set of instructions prepared for Father Juan Lucero to visit and investigate the conditions of the Jesuit missions in Western Amazonia, the *visitador* was asked to:

traer individual noticia de los libros que ay, de los pueblos que tenemos, de sus plantas, y distancias de las almas [Indians] que ay a nuestro cuidado, de los que se bautisaron aquel ultimo año, de los ynfieles adultos que se convirtieron: de las naciones que estan dispuestas a recibir a recibir el evangelio. Y si truxese algun mappa, principalmente uno, que tiene el padre Samuel [Fritz], conducirá mucho.³⁸

By 1696, at the end of his visit to the Amazonian missions, Lucero had been able to obtain a copy of the requested Fritz's map of the Amazonas—although it is not sure

³⁷ “Although father Fritz is very proud of the good delineation of it [its 1691 map] because he implies that he has seen everything he drew, I made a comment about how difficult is to register the distances of the river he describes and the names of the Indian nations he so carefully notes. And although he tried to clarify my doubt, I confess he could not do it and rather I believe that most of what is painted in the map *relates more to his own satisfaction than to reality*.” Letter from the Count of La Monclova to the King of Spain, September 14, 1692, quoted in Latorre, p. 39. My emphasis.

³⁸ “bring detailed news about the records we keep, about the towns in our possession, their ground plans, and the distances from the Indians [*almas*] under our care, of those who were baptized during last year, of pagan adults who were converted: the nations that are prepared to receive the Gospel. And if you bring a map, especially the one owned by father Samuel [Fritz], it would be quite helpful.” Diego Francisco Altamirano, S.I., “Instrucción para el padre Juan Luzero, visitador de Maynas.” Santa Fe, October 10, 1694. ASJQ, leg, 7., doc. 601, f. 5v.

which copy this was.³⁹ This situation illustrates the particular conditions of the making of knowledge and the circulation of this knowledge within Jesuit circles.

The location and numbering of peoples and towns, by means of censuses and maps, constituted part of the same mapping project whose objective was to classify and systematize the Amazonian societies and territories under Jesuit dominion. In general, to map the precise location of indigenous groups was crucial for the Jesuit evangelizing goals since it allowed them to record “the lands of the Christian natives and of those still to be converted.”⁴⁰ By means of these maps and census records, Jesuits were able to create a “totalizing classificatory grid” whose effect “was always to be able to say of anything that it was this, not that: it belonged here, not there. It was bounded, determinate, and therefore—in principle—countable.”⁴¹ Therefore, Fritz’s map along with baptismal records from the Omagua missions made it possible to categorize Amazonian societies not only as a series of entities that could be numbered and differentiated, but, above all, ones that could be knowable and conquerable. For the Viceroy, however, Fritz’s pictorial work was merely an illusion for he, unlike the Quiteño Jesuits, did not share the same cartographic vision. The Viceroy could only see in Fritz’s map a “metaphor” of the Amazonian basin but not a “reality.” For Quiteño Jesuits, on the other hand, this map had become a required tool of knowledge in their early

³⁹ Samuel Fritz, S.I., “Post Scriptum,” letter to Father *Visitador* Diego Francisco Altamirano. Santiago de la Laguna, October 2, 1696. ASJQ, leg. 7, doc. 623, f. 3v.

⁴⁰ Ernest J. Burrus, S.I., *La obra cartográfica de la Provincia Mexicana de la Compañía de Jesús (1567-1967)*, vol. 1 (Madrid: José Porrúa Turanzas, 1967), p. 2*. A brief statement on the connections between ethnography and geography as part of the Jesuit cartographic project can be also found in Guillermo Furlong, S.J., *Cartografía jesuítica del Río de la Plata*, vol. 1 (Buenos Aires: Talleres S. A. Casa Jacobo Peuser, 1936), p. 5.

⁴¹ Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, p. 184.

Amazonian missionary duties. Those borderlines, the delineation of the major river, and the mapping of natives became essential elements of the Amazonas that Jesuits were starting to recognize as their mission and, therefore, their territory.

Problems between Portuguese officials and Quiteño Jesuits persisted in the middle of the Amazonas through the last years of the seventeenth century.⁴²

Meanwhile, Fritz had positioned himself as one of the most experienced missionaries in Western Amazonia and was appointed Superior Father of all the Jesuit missions of Quito in 1704.⁴³ Thanks to this new position, he was allowed some privileges. Among them, Fritz was able to have his map of the Amazonas engraved in Quito in 1707, when he travelled to request the Provincial Father Luis de Andrade for more missionaries.⁴⁴

This map was designed not only to delineate the Amazonas but also to demarcate Jesuit missionary territory along this river, as its title says: “El gran rio Marañon o Amazonas con la mission de la Compañia de Iesus geograficamente delineado por el

⁴² See Samuel Fritz, S.I., “Carta que escrivio el padre Samuel al gobernador portuguez del Pará Antonio de Albuquerque el año de 1695, por los excessos que en las vandas de su mission, avian hecho unos portugueses.” Nuestra Señora de las Nieves de Yurimaguas, Abril 20, 1695. ASJQ, leg. 7, doc. 597, ff. 1r-1v. See also Fritz, *Journal*, 94 and “Copia del requerimiento que presento el padre Samuel al capitan portuguez Jose Antunez da Fonseca.” Nuestra Señora de las Nieves de Yurimaguas, Abril 20, 1697. AMCE, JJC.00029, f. 56r; and letter to the King of Portugal. San Joaquin de Omaguas, August 24, 1702. ASJQ, leg. 8, doc. 713, ff. 1v-2v. On the Portuguese side, they had already made a settlement plan of the Amazon. In 1693 they had assigned the southern bank of the Amazon River to the Jesuits while the northern bank was assigned, from east to west, to the Capuchins, the Mercedarians, and the Carmelites. The region from the Negro River westwards thus came to be under the control of the Carmelites. This was the territory that precisely belonged to Fritz’s Omaguas missions. Since then, encounters between Spanish Jesuits and Portuguese Carmelites became a common event. See Bettendorf, pp. 38-39, 543; David Graham Sweet, “A Rich Realm of Nature Destroyed: The Middle Amazon Valley, 1640-1750” (Ph. D. diss., University of Wisconsin, 1974), chapter 8.

⁴³ Maroni, p. 366.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 353. See also Fritz, *Journal*, p. 115. According to Almeida, “this was the first printed map of the Amazon drawn by someone that had sailed along the entire river.” See de Almeida, “Samuel Fritz Revisited,” p. 143.

Padre Samuel Fritz missionero continuo en este rio.”⁴⁵ The delineation of the Amazonas River had been an important factor of Fritz’s cartographic production. His 1707 engraved map continued, and even improved, a trend initiated in the previous 1692 manuscript map: the demarcation of the entire Jesuit missionary space in Western Amazonia became the focal point.

To emphasize the importance of the mapped location of the missionary territory, Fritz included two visual devices in his 1707 map: a shining Jesuit seal located at the center whose beams fall directly over the Jesuit Amazonian missions, and the delineation of borderlines denoting the contours of the missionary territory (Figure 5-1). With regard to the use of the Jesuit seal, the attraction of the viewer to the center of a map was counterintuitive because Fritz’s purpose was to present the entire length of the Amazonas as well as emphasize the missions of the Quiteño Jesuit along that river. Since these missions were located to the west, Fritz opted to highlight this region with beams from the central shining seal following down upon that area. This feature helped remove the eyes of the viewer from the center of the map and relocated them toward the eastern Jesuit missions.⁴⁶ In relation to the borderlines, back in 1691 Fritz had only delineated the perimeter of the Omagua missions. Sixteen years later, as Superior Father of all the Amazonian missions of the Jesuit Province of Quito, the Bohemian friar demarcated the contours of their entire Jesuit missionary territory in Western Amazonia.

⁴⁵ See Figure 3-1.

⁴⁶ On the typical attraction upon the center of a map see J. Brian Harley, “Maps, Knowledge, and Power,” in *The New Nature of Maps: Essays in the History of Cartography*, ed. Paul Laxton (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press), p. 66.

This double emphasis, by means of sunbeams and borderlines, on the extension of the Quiteño Jesuit space in Amazonia creates a line of argumentation that reinforces the connections between Fritz's 1707 map and what we now consider the defense of the Spanish rights in their dispute with the Portuguese over the tropical heartland of South America.⁴⁷ For instance, Camila Dias has recently argued that:

The 1707 engraving was to serve, therefore, as a tool of territorial expansion. More than a mediation or a purely ideological construction, it should be seen as a re-creation, in cartographic terms, of what for Samuel Fritz was the true "geographic reality." It should be seen as an instrument of intervention, the basis and condition for the orientation of the intended transformations in that territory.⁴⁸

Issues of territorial expansion and "geographical reality" are certainly factors to consider in Fritz's cartographic work. When he outlined the perimeter of the Amazonian Jesuit space in his 1707 map, he was not only providing the material contours of the Amazonian missions under control of the Jesuits of Quito, but also drawing up a line that would settle the Spanish-Portuguese dispute over Amazonia.⁴⁹ He stated in the note attached to his map that "The Portuguese possess towards the mouth [of the Amazonas] some settlements, and in the mouth of the Rio Negro a fortress."⁵⁰

⁴⁷ In addition to note 11, see also Almeida, "Samuel Fritz Revisited," p. 153; Lucero, p. 88; and Francisco Ullán de la Rosa, "Jesuitas, omaguas, yurimaguas y la guerra hispano-lusa por el Alto Amazonas. Para un posible guión alternativo de "La Misión," *Anales del Museo de América* 15 (2007), p. 185. For a more recent examination of the legal arguments that Jesuits used in their complaints against the Portuguese see Sebastián Gómez, "Contra un enemigo infernal: argumentos jesuíticos en defensa de la Amazonía hispánica: provincia de Maynas (1721-1739)," *Fronteras de la Historia* 17:1 (2012), pp. 167-194 and "Invasores portugueses y reacciones jesuíticas en la disputa por una frontera americana: Maynas, 1700-1711," in *El siglo XVIII americano: estudios de historia colonial*, ed. Ana Reyes, Juan Montoya, and Sebastián Gómez (Medellín: Universidad Nacional de Colombia-Sede Medellín, Facultad de Ciencias Humanas y Económicas, 2013), pp. 85-123.

⁴⁸ Camila Loureiro Dias, "Jesuit Maps and Political Discourse: The Amazon River of Father Samuel Fritz," *The Americas* 69:1 (2012), p. 111.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 97.

⁵⁰ Fritz, *Journal*, p. 149. Yet, despite this acknowledgement, Fritz's assertion diminishes the real scope of the Portuguese presence along the Amazon by 1707.

Nonetheless, there is another line of reasoning that deals with evangelizing goals and, more important, with the intended Jesuit viewers. As Protásio Langer has shown, the entire graphic repertoire surrounding Fritz's engraved 1707 map, that is, "o esmerado acabamento, as imagens alegóricas e o longo texto explicativo" denote that "esse mapa foi produzido para ser contemplado; seu valor ultrapassa seu mérito geográfico."⁵¹ Besides geopolitics, the religious thematic adorning Fritz's map also played an important role. Langer focuses on Philip V's coat of arms located on the upper left corner of the map. On the left side of the said coat there is an angel carrying a cross in one hand and, on the other, an "IHS" shield projecting the Jesuit sunbeams over an embattled demon carrying the idolatrous Andean religious symbols of the Sun, the Moon, and the Stars (Figure 5-2).⁵² This is just one of the "visual stimuli" that Fritz used to convey that the Jesuit evangelizing enterprise was part of a larger Royal program of extirpation of idolatries in South America and, ultimately, "um desdobramento local da luta global, cosmológica, do bem contra o mal" in Amazonia.⁵³

⁵¹ "its careful finishing, the allegorical images, and the long attached note [...] that map was made to be contemplated; its value surpasses its geographic merit." Protásio Langer, "Cartas geográficas edificantes: o imaginário da conversão dos povos indígenas nos mapas dos jesuítas Heinrich Scherer e Samuel Fritz," in *Conversão dos cativos: povos indígenas e missão jesuítica*, ed. Paulo Suess et al. (São Bernardo do Campo: Nhanduti Editora, 2009), p. 81.

⁵² In a recent study of the transmission and reception of the emblematic tradition in the Jesuit missions, and other ecclesiastical settings, of colonial Brazil, Renata Martins has pointed out that emblems such as the Sun, the Moon, and the Stars became important Ignatian and Marian symbols within local Jesuit communities. See Renata Maríia de Almeida Martins, "'La Compagnia sia, come un cielo': O sol, a lua e as estrelas dos livros de emblemas para a decoração das igrejas das missões jesuíticas na América Portuguesa, séculos XVII–XVIII," *Jahrbuch für Geschichte Lateinamerikas* 50:1 (2013), pp. 81-102. In the case of Fritz's map, however, I agree with Langer's interpretation of such symbols as representing the indigenous forces that the Jesuits were supposed to eradicate from Amazonia, especially since it is an allegedly Amazonian native who is carrying such symbols.

⁵³ "a local deployment of the global, cosmological, struggle between the good and the evil." Langer, pp. 82-84. Quote in p. 84.

Another important visual device in Fritz's map that Langer fails to discuss are the sunbeams falling over the entire space occupied by the Jesuit missionary territory in Amazonia. The renowned Jesuit geographer Heinrich Scherer had published in Munich, between 1702 and 1710, his "Atlas Novus," which intended to be a geographical compendium and treatise of the world. In this source, he included maps of several parts of the globe. A characteristic of some of these maps, in particular the ones of the entire world and North America, both from 1702, is that the areas where the Society of Jesus had been installed and thus incorporated into the Catholic world, "estão assinaladas com cores vivas e luminosas, simbolizando a irradiação do catolicismo." Instead, Protestant regions as well as "os territorios em que os nativos ainda não haviam sido conquistados [...] são representadas com cores foscas e sombrias." One of these dark and somber regions was Amazonia (Figure A-20).⁵⁴ In response to Scherer's world map, Fritz projected those sunbeams falling over the entire middle Amazonian region to declare that Amazonia was indeed a shining territory, successfully evangelized by his fellow Jesuits from Quito.⁵⁵

The evangelizing purpose of the sunbeams and of Fritz's cartography in general is not merely the result of Langer's or my own visual analysis but, more important, it was recorded in contemporary documents. In a 1709 letter, the Superior General of the Jesuits in Rome, Miguel Angel Tamburini, noticed that, along with a 1707 report from

⁵⁴ "are signaled with bright and luminous colors "symbolizing the irradiation of Catholicism [...] the territories where natives have not been conquered yet [...] are represented with mat and somber colors." Langer, 87 and, between pp. 80 and 81, figures 10-11.

⁵⁵ On the power of visual images in late-seventeenth-century Jesuit and Franciscan cosmographic works and their role in the configuration of a Catholic-Enlightened view of world from Europe see Denis Cosgrove, "Global Illumination and Enlightenment in the Geographies of Vincenzo Coronelli and Athanasius Kircher," in *Geography and Enlightenment*, ed. David N. Livingstone and Charles W. J. Withers (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999), pp. 33-66.

the Provincial Father of Quito, Luis de Andrade, he had also received “los mapas de las misiones del rio Marañón, que estimo me avia remitido essa Provincia [of Quito] *para que en brebe se vea lo que nuestros misioneros de ella se aplican a propagar nuestra santa fee, y alumbrar con la luz del evangelio a los que estan en las tinieblas de la idolatria.*”⁵⁶ Tamburini mentioned “los mapas,” which means that he had obtained two different versions or two copies of the same map on the Jesuit Amazonian missions. The Superior General did not notice the author of such maps either. I can attribute them to Fritz because of the timing and Tamburini’s “luminous” description of the maps, which corresponds to the visual tools Fritz’s had used in his 1707 work. This letter is important because the Superior General at Rome demonstrated what, for Jesuit eyes, was at stake in Fritz’s cartographic picture of Amazonia. More than geopolitics and imperial borderlines, the map of the Bohemian Jesuit had become an instrument to graphically illuminate the evangelizing presence and effort of the Society in the tropical heartland of South America.

Amazonia thus deserved to be as illuminated and enlightened as the other regions under the Jesuit global missionary gaze, that is, like the other regions shown in Scherer’s world maps. As Almeida noted, Fritz’s 1707 map “was intended to glorify the missionary effort of the Jesuit Province of Quito and its spiritual and territorial conquest of the Indian peoples of the Amazon.”⁵⁷ The presence of the borderlines of the Quiteño Jesuit space and the sunbeams falling from the Jesuit seal are relevant because this

⁵⁶ “the maps of the missions of the Marañón River, that I think that Province [of Quito] had sent them to me so that I could easily appreciate what our missionaries over there are doing to propagate our holy faith and illuminate with the light of the bible to those who are under the darkness of idolatry.” Miguel Angel Tamburini, S.I., to Luis de Andrade, S.I. Rome, December 1, 1709. ASJQ, leg. 15, doc. 1343 [1339], f. 50. My emphasis.

⁵⁷ Almeida, “Samuel Fritz Revisited,” p. 144.

double emphasis constitutes the clearest evidence that Fritz's 1707 work was of the Jesuit missions of the Province of Quito, and none other. Paradoxically, whereas Fritz sought to outline this missionary space in its zenith, the mapped territory was only a reminder of past glories. The Bohemian friar had recognized that Portuguese officials, along with Carmelite missionaries, had taken control of the middle Amazonas and of the Omaguas missions, by 1697.⁵⁸ In 1710 a military confrontation ratified the control obtained by the Lusitanians.⁵⁹ But, when Fritz delineated those missionary borderlines in his 1707 map, they corresponded to a missionary rather than a political entity. In sum, what came inside such cartographic circumscription was more Jesuit than Spanish.

The Circulatory Life of Fritz's Map of the Amazonas and its Geopolitical Consumption

Fritz's 1707 map was more "Jesuit" than "Amazonian" and "Spanish." It responded to a series of factors dealing with the process of evangelization in South America and the role of the Quiteño Jesuit community in such an enterprise. This does not deny that territorial or geopolitical issues were also at stake. Yet, these were of a different nature than what scholars have generally proposed. In the case of the demarcation of borderlines, by the early 1700s the Omagua missions, which once were under Fritz's gaze, had become divided between "those dependent on the Portuguese and those dependent on the Spaniards," precisely around the mouth of the Yavari River.⁶⁰ In this context of boundary formation, a version of the 1707 engraved map and

⁵⁸ Fritz, letter to Provincial Father Sebastian Abbad, f. 2r.

⁵⁹ Fritz, *Journal*, pp. 126-127. See also Espinoza, pp. 246-248.

⁶⁰ Sweet, pp. 418, 440. See also Fernando Rosas, *Del Río de la Plata al Amazonas: El Perú y el Brasil en la época de la dominación ibérica* (Lima: Universidad Ricardo Palma, Editorial Universitaria, 2008), p. 272. The Yavari is now the contemporary borderline between the Republics of Peru and Brazil.

a translation of one of Fritz's reports of the Amazonas were published in volume XII of the French edition of the collection of Jesuit edifying letters, *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses*, in 1717.⁶¹ Unlike the original, the French version did not include the borderlines and the sunbeams demarcating the entire Jesuit missionary space in Amazonia, a fact that, as we will see, was not well received in the metropolis (Figure A-21). As Almeida noted, in the 1717 map there are no references to the presence of the other European powers—the Portuguese, the Dutch, and the French—and religious orders—the Jesuits from Pará, the Franciscans from Quito and Lima—disputing the control of Amazonian peoples and space.⁶² There is no reference to Spanish imperial power either.

Two years after the French publication, the Jesuit Procurator in Madrid, Juan Francisco de Castañeda, requested that the Superior Father of the Jesuit Missions of Quito, Gregorio Bobadilla, submit a “relacion veridica” of these Amazonian missions to Spain. Castañeda pointed out that metropolitan officials considered that Fritz's French edition included “algunas cosas supuestas, y no ajustadas a la verdad.” In particular, they complained about “haverse entendido en esta corte, que Portugal, tiene tambien misiones en esse rio [Marañón], y confundirse las noticias.” In order to resolve the confusing news about Portuguese presence in the Amazonas, Bobadilla was asked to “divida Vuestra Reverendisima el Marañón, y explique qué partes pertenece â Portugal, y qué relixiones son las que missionan por la parte de Portugal.” Castañeda also asked Bobadilla to describe “la parte y el rio en que missionan los relixiosos de San

⁶¹ Almeida, “Samuel Fritz Revisited,” pp. 135-136.

⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 138.

Francisco.” The final intention of the Jesuit Procurator in receiving a new map from Bobadilla that included clearly defined missionary jurisdictions along the Amazonas was to make it clear to the Spanish Court that “ser los padres [Jesuits] de Quito los que principalmente tienen a su cargo lo principal del Marañón.”⁶³

Regarding the French 1717 map, Dias pointed out that it showed “the territorial expansion of the Society of Jesus missions as a fact already accomplished, the result of successful catechesis at the cost of martyrs’ lives.”⁶⁴ Similarly, for Almeida this map “was an ideological construction. It served a geopolitical purpose, the conquest of space for the Spanish and the Society of Jesus [...]. The scientific aspect of the map [...] served the same purpose.”⁶⁵ The problem with these types of arguments, which might be theoretically engaging and discursively sound, is that they do not rely on the most important aspect behind Fritz’s cartographic works: the viewers’ opinions and how the map came to be used. When the French editors erased the borderlines and sunbeams in Fritz’s map, the metropolitan authorities were the ones who complained about the lack of geopolitical purpose in the map, and not Fritz. The Jesuit Procurator in Madrid asked to restore the borderlines of Fritz’s original map to demonstrate that the largest part of the Amazonas was under the Society’s control and, as a result, out of Franciscan and Portuguese hold. Still, more than territorial occupation and expansion, Fritz’s

⁶³ “truthful account [...] some alleged and not accurate things [...] it was understood in this Court that Portugal also possesses missions in such river [Marañón], and the news became confusing [...] to divide the Marañón River and explain what part belongs to Portugal and what religious orders missionize in that area [...] the area and river in which the Franciscans evangelize [...] the Jesuits of Quito are in charge of the most important part of the Marañón.” Juan Francisco de Castañeda, S.I., “Del padre Juan Francisco de Castañeda, dándole cuenta de sus gestiones en la corte á favor de las misiones del Marañón, y pidiéndole informes de las mismas.” Madrid, August 28, 1719. ASJQ, leg. 9, doc. 868, ff. 1r-2r.

⁶⁴ Dias, p. 115.

⁶⁵ Almeida, “Samuel Fritz Revisited,” p. 153.

original map intended to celebrate the role of the Society in the allegedly successful evangelization of the local Amazonian societies.

A year after the publication of the French version of Fritz's map, the Jesuit community of Quito announced the defense of a dissertation in Theology by one of their peers, José Alvarez, which would take place on June 14, in the church of the Jesuit *Colegio Maximo*.⁶⁶ The public announcement consisted of an adorned sheet that included, on its top half, graphic allegories of the Prince of Asturias, Luis Felipe, and on its bottom half, different images of the cities where the Jesuit community of the Province of Quito was present.⁶⁷ In the middle of this bottom half, there is a map of the "Provincia Iesuitica Quitensis" that roughly resembles Fritz's 1707 map (Figure A-22). The announcement indicates that the author of the map, and chair of the dissertation defense as well, was Juan de Narvaez, "quien delineó la parte geográfica y la grabó en casi toda su integridad."⁶⁸ Narvaez had been the engraver of Fritz's 1707 map. On this occasion, he was appointed as the sole author of the map; yet, the similarities show how Narvaez was heavily influenced by Fritz's earlier work.⁶⁹

This new version of a Jesuit map of the Amazonas demonstrates that the image of this region had migrated within the local Quiteño Jesuit community. Interestingly, this map also lacked the borderlines and the shining "IHS" seal at its center. That is, it was similar to the French edition from a year earlier. Unlike the critical response that the

⁶⁶ Guillermo Furlong, S.I., "Un grabado quiteño de 1718," in *II Congreso Internacional de Historia de América reunido en Buenos Aires en los días 5 a 14 de julio de 1937*, vol. III (Buenos Aires: Academia Nacional de la Historia, 1938), pp. 455-456. See also Lucero, pp. 86-88.

⁶⁷ Furlong, p. 455.

⁶⁸ "who delineated the geographical part and engraved it in almost all its entirety." Ibid. P. 457.

⁶⁹ Carlos M. Larrea, *Cartografía ecuatoriana de los siglos XVI, XVII y XVIII* (Quito: Corporación de Estudios y Publicaciones, 1977), p. 38; Lucero, p. 88.

French version received in the metropolis, I do not know how the local population reacted to this map. The map was published within an announcement of a major event in the calendar of the Jesuit community in Quito. Thus, instead of creating a problem, the removal of missionary borderlines in Narvaez's 1718 map might have been aimed at enhancing the appeal among local viewership by showing the entire Amazonian basin under the jurisdiction of the Jesuit Province of Quito. This also implies that the borderlines and sunbeams in Fritz's 1707 map were very personal visual tools and, once his map was relocated into the hands of the French and Quiteño Jesuit communities a decade later, such graphic apparatus became meaningless and was discarded.

These two cases denote the circulation of Fritz's cartographic vision of Amazonia and how it eventually evolved into different scenarios. Another context in which his map was repeatedly used was the Iberian debates over Amazonia. Despite Almeida's opinion that Fritz's cartographic works "had virtually no impact on European cartography of the Amazon during the first half of the eighteenth century," these did have an important presence in the discussion of Spanish officials on the dispute with the Portuguese over the dominion along the river.⁷⁰ During the 1720s and 1730s, the controversy over Amazonia was still unresolved. Whereas civilian and Carmelite authorities at Pará claimed that Spanish missionaries were invading their Amazonian space located from the Napo River eastward, Jesuit friars and officials of the Audiencia of Quito complained about the Portuguese incursions beyond the Negro River.⁷¹ A

⁷⁰ Almeida, "Samuel Fritz Revisited," pp. 138-142. Quote in p. 141.

⁷¹ On the Portuguese version see Alexandro de Souza Freire, Governor of Pará, to Juan Baptista Julian, S.I., Superior Father of the Jesuit Missions of Quito. Belém do Pará, December 12, 1729. AMREE, MRE,

major moment of contention happened in 1731, when the Portuguese Sergeant Melchor Mendes de Moraes sailed upriver the Amazonas with plans to build a fortress in the confluence of the Amazonas and Napo Rivers. After his arrival, Moraes met Juan Bautista Julian, Superior Father of the Jesuit missions, and asked him to consent to his plan. Julian refused and presented the case to Quiteño authorities that, in turn, notified the Council of Indies.⁷²

Although this fortress was never more than a project, it signaled the state of affairs between the Iberian Empires in South America, where a boundary issue along the Amazon basin came to constitute the eternally unanswered question. In 1737 the Governor of Pará, João Abreu de Castello Branco, sent a communication to Jesuit authorities from Quito accusing their Amazonian missionaries of having “excedido os seos límites com offença dos deste Estado” and, as a result, “q’ tivessem o defeito de serem perigosos vizinhos.”⁷³ On the particulars of the boundary issue, the Governor pointed out that “[p]ara eu mostrar a Ylustrissimas Reverendissimas o lugar aonde

R, G.1.6.3.6, ff. 105-108. On the Spanish side see Dionisio de Alcedo y Herrera, President of the Audiencia of Quito, to the Council of Indies. Quito, February 12, 1733. AMREE, MRE, R, G.1.6.3.5, ff. 149-152.

⁷² Dionisio de Alcedo y Herrera, *Aviso historico, politico, geographico, con las noticias mas particulares del Peru, Tierra-Firme, Chile, y Nuevo Reyno de Granada, en la relacion de los sucessos de 205 años, por la Chronologia de los Adelantados, Presidentes, Gobernadores, y Virreyes de aquel Reyno Meridional, desde el año de 1535 hasta el de 1740. Y razon de todo lo obrado por los ingleses en aquellos Reynos por las Costas de los dos Mares del Norte, y del Sur, sin diferencia entre los tiempos de la Paz, y de la Guerra, desde el año de 1567 hasta el de 1739* (Madrid: Oficina de Diego Miguel de Peralta, [1740]), pp. 316-318. These documents indicated not the Napo but the Aguarico as the river on whose shoreline the Portuguese were planning to build their Amazonian fortress. Yet, according to present-day potamological conventions, such river corresponds to the Napo. The Aguarico is nowadays an affluent of the Napo.

⁷³ “crossed their borderlines, prejudicing those of this State [...] they have the fault of being dangerous neighbors.” João de Abreu de Castello Branco, “Copia da carta que o Sñr. João de Abreu de Castello Branco derigio ao Provincial da Comp^a denominada de Jezus da Provincia de Quito em reposta da q’ recebeo do m^o Provincial.” Belém do Pará, September 18, 1737. BNRJ, Sala de Manuscritos, 04.02.021 n°15, ff. 1r-1v.

conferiãõ os dominioz de Portugal e Castella no Rio das Amazonas, não hey de recorrer as linhas mentaes q' só existem na imaginaçao." Those imaginary lines belonged solely to the Spanish side since, according to him, "os limites do Estado do Pará, estao clara e distintamente estabelecidos por esta parte, e de os do Bispado de Quito estão duvidosos" even in the very Spanish sources that the Quiteño Jesuits used to defend their Amazonian missionary possessions.⁷⁴

Spanish officials, on the other hand, incorporated Fritz's map as one of their evidences to prove and paint such imaginary lines that could resolve their dispute with the Portuguese. From the early 1740s to the mid 1750s, authorities at the Council of Indies amassed a considerable group of documents with the intention of proving Castile's right to possess the Amazonas basin. This set of materials came to be known as the Gran Pará file. The Council's Attorney declared in a report from October 1741 that, by means of this documentation, Metropolitan officials had two main targets: "la recuperacion de los dilatadisimos territorios, y dominios que han usurpado los Portugueses á esta Corona" and to find a solution that "ataje las frecuentes invasiones que executan los Portugueses, y perjuicios que ocasionan á las misiones, que ai se conservan, y permanecen al cargo de los Padres de la Compañia."⁷⁵ From the beginning, however, the Council's Attorney found out that "el expediente está imperfecto, y sin aquellos necesarios documentos que segun enuncian los que se han

⁷⁴ "to demonstrate to Their Illustrious Reverences the place where the dominions of Portugal and Castilla meet in the River of the Amazonas, I will not follow the mental lines that only exist in the imagination [...] the limits of the State of Pará are clearly and distinctly established in this part, and those of the bishopric of Quito are doubtful." Ibid., ff, 2v, 5r.

⁷⁵ "the recovery of the very ample territories and dominions that the Portuguese have taken away from this Crown [...] intercepts the frequent invasions by the Portuguese, and the damages that these cause on the missions, located there and that remain in charge of the fathers of the Society." Report of the Attorney of the Council of Indies. Madrid, October 20, 1741. ALMREP, LEA-11-19, caja 13, ff. 18v-19r.

puesto, combenceran la irrefragable justicia, y pertenencia á esta Corona de los dilatadissimos territorios que en las riveras del Marañon ocupan los Portugueses.”⁷⁶ One of the documents in the “imperfect” Gran Pará file was a report from the Procurator of the Jesuit Province of Quito in Madrid, Tomás Nieto Polo. This document, in turn, included a report by Samuel Fritz and his 1707 map.⁷⁷

Although reports and documents from the Jesuit community of Quito were initially considered important due to the missionaries’ first-hand experience in this controversial area, they would rather become a liability in the Spaniards’ attempts to prove the “invasion” of the Amazonas by the Portuguese of Pará. In a second report from July 1742, the Council’s Attorney pointed out that: “se há de obserbar la equivocacion que se padece en algunos de los informes dados por los Padres de la Compañia, especialmente en el del Padre Polo, y en las notas puestas en el mapa, que ha presentado, del rio Marañon.”⁷⁸ He complained, in particular, about the Jesuit misconception that the city of Belém, as well as the entire area of the estuary of the Amazonas, belonged to the Portuguese. In the Attorney’s opinion, even if the line dividing the Iberian global empires established in the 1492 Treaty of Tordesillas was to be drawn:

desde el cabo de la ysla de San Antonio, que es la parte mas occidental de las de Cabo Verde; y lo mas que pueden pretender los Portugueses; [...] queda en

⁷⁶ “the file is imperfect and without those necessary documents that, according to what those included in it seem to argue, will convince the irrefutable justice and possession of this Crown over the very ample territories that the Portuguese occupy along the shorelines of the Marañon.” Ibid., f. 19r.

⁷⁷ Ibid., f. 20v.

⁷⁸ “it must be noted the misapprehension in some of the reports submitted by the fathers of the Society, especially in that of father Polo and in the notes included in the map, that he presented, of the Marañon River.” Report of the Attorney of the Council of Indies. Madrid, July 21, 1742. ALMREP, LEA-11-19, caja 13, f. 23r.

la demarcacion de los terminos pertenecientes a la Corona de Castilla, toda la boca del rio Marañon, y por consiguiente el territorio donde está fundada la colonia del Gran Pará; lo que no sucede en la dimension que se atribuye á los Portugueses en el mapa presentado por el Padre Polo.⁷⁹

In the Attorney's eyes, Polo's report and the map he had presented to the Council misrepresented the actual extent of the Portuguese Amazonian possessions. Polo was just following what Fritz had noticed five decades earlier. The Bohemian Jesuit's opinion on the Portuguese possession of Pará was based on factual observations and a legal understanding of the treaties signed between the Iberian powers since the late fifteenth century.⁸⁰ This was not a confrontation of perspectives between a Jesuit *de facto* versus a Council's *de jure*. It was a battle of legal principles that was happening within Spanish circles between Jesuit and metropolitan officials. This innovative interpretation of the Luso-Spanish possessions along the Amazonas was graphically represented in Fritz's 1707 map that Polo had handed to the authorities of the Council of Indies in 1742.

The Council's officials knew that the problem with the Portuguese involved both the Quiteño Jesuit missions in the middle Amazonas and those located in the frontiers of the Jesuit provinces of Peru and Paraguay. The participation of the different Jesuit communities was required to solve the circum-Amazonian conundrum, by establishing a barrier that would attempt to contain the Portuguese encroachment on Spanish South America. José de la Quintana, minister of the Council of Indies, requested reports from the Procurators of the Jesuit Provinces of Quito, Paraguay, and Perú—Tomás Nieto

⁷⁹ "from the cape of the island of San Antonio, which is the westernmost part of the Cape Verde, and the most that the Portuguese can pretend [...] it remains, inside the demarcation of the dominions belonging to the Crown of Castilla, the entire estuary of the Marañon River and, as a result, the territory where the colony of Gran Pará is located; which is not represented in the extent attributed to the Portuguese in the map submitted by father Polo." Ibid., ff. 25v-26r.

⁸⁰ See above note 41.

Polo, Juan Joseph Rico, and Pedro Ignacio Altamirano, respectively. In his report, Nieto included the 1707 map and an earlier account of the state of affairs with the Portuguese by Samuel Fritz.⁸¹ Polo used Fritz's information as a guide to illustrate the three best roads connecting Quito and the Jesuit missions in the Western Amazonas. The maintenance of these three paths—via Borja, Patate, and Archidona—would help counteract “la falta de alimentos, y demas providencias, que todas son escasas, en el Marañon.”⁸² The plan to improve the entire condition of the Quiteño Jesuit missions had the objective of restricting the Lusitanian presence in such region, particularly around the estuary of the Napo River. As Polo observed, those roads would provide the means to “hacer una ó mas poblaciones, que sirban de frontera, y plazas de armas para impedir el que los Portugueses suban mas arriba, porque ellos pretenden que su dominio sea hasta el medio del rio Napo en el rio Aguarico.”⁸³

Minister Quintana, in turn, used Fritz's 1707 map as well as the 1732 map of the Jesuit Province of Paraguay by Father Antonio Machoni and maps of South America from 1702 and 1720 by Guillaume Delisle and Jean Baptiste Nolin, respectively, to illustrate to the other members of the Council what was at stake in the controversy over the larger Amazonian basin.⁸⁴ Quintana used Fritz's map to highlight the conflict over the middle Amazonas, a territory that in theory was under Quiteño Jesuit jurisdiction but

⁸¹ Tomás Nieto Polo, S.I., to José de la Quintana, minister of the Council of Indies. Madrid, July 3, 1743. ALMREP, LEA-11-19, caja 13, f. 53v.

⁸² “the lack of food, and other supplies, that all are scarce in the Marañon.” Ibid., f. 55r.

⁸³ “to establish one or more towns, that can work as frontier and barrack squares to prevent the coming of the Portuguese upwards because they pretend their dominion to extend until the middle Napo River, in the Aguarico River.” Ibid., f. 54v.

⁸⁴ José de la Quintana, “Ynforme de Don Jose de la Quintana sobre el resultado de sus conferencias en ejecucion de la comision del Consejo.” Madrid, August 7, 1743. ALMREP, LEA-11-19, caja 13, ff. 33r, 46r.

that in praxis was difficult to connect with the rest of the Audiencia of Quito and, as result, was being occupied by Portuguese Carmelites.⁸⁵ He also used Fritz's map to note the possible routes that the Portuguese could take to invade the entire territory of the Viceroyalty of New Granada via the northern tributaries of the Amazonas, such as the Putumayo, Yupurá, and Negro Rivers.⁸⁶ In sum, Quintana pointed out that any plan to send an expedition from Quito to reestablish the Spanish presence in the middle Amazonas had to be postponed until "que se faciliten estos embarazos, ó se avilite su transportacion por los rios del Paraguay, de Ytenes, y la Madera."⁸⁷ In Quintana's opinion, the solution to recover the access to the middle Amazonas was not in the northern tributaries coming from Quito but in the southern affluents coming from Paraguay:

el terreno que media de unos á otros [Madeira-Amazonas] es aparente no siendo en tiempo de aguas, para el uso de las carretas teniendo como tienen los pueblos de los indios Chiquitos el ganado competente, y demas necesario a este tragin; pues la importancia de facilitar este camino, y poseer todo el rio de la Madera lo da bien á conocer, sobre lo que queda expuesto, la relacion que hizo de él, el Padre Acuña, de resulta del viaje executado con Pedro Tegeira, desde Quito al Pará el año de 1639, que la comprehende el citado Padre Manuel Rodriguez en su Ystoria al folio 132 y siguientes.⁸⁸

⁸⁵ Ibid., ff. 38v-40r, 41v-43v.

⁸⁶ Ibid., ff. 45r-47r.

⁸⁷ "the overcoming of those obstacles, or the enabling of the transportation through the Paraguay, Ytenes, and Madera Rivers." Ibid., f. 44r.

⁸⁸ "the territory located between them [Madeira-Amazonas] is appropriate, whenever is not rainy season, to the use of carts, especially since the towns of the Chiquito Indians have the required cattle and other supplies necessary for this journey; and the importance of enabling this road and possess all the Madera River is known, in relation to what is presented here, thanks to the report that father Acuña made as a result of his journey with Pedro Tegeira [Texeira] from Quito to Pará the year of 1639, that the aforementioned father Manuel Rodriguez included in this History in folio 132 and subsequents." Ibid., ff. 44r-44v.

For Quintana, then, the control of the Paraguay and Madeira Rivers had become the most important means to contain Lusitanian advancement and restore the Spanish lost terrain in the circum-Amazonian basin. Yet, by 1754 the Council had not made any resolution in regard to the “principal punto de internacion de Portugueses en los parajes citados.”⁸⁹

The story of Fritz’s 1707 map used in the Council of Indies debates to legitimize the Spanish rights over the Amazonas is indicative of the role Jesuit cartography played in the early formation of geopolitical discourse between the Iberian powers in South America. Fritz’s map had initially become a useful and necessary tool by Spanish officials to recognize the spatial state of affairs in Amazonia.⁹⁰ In the end, however, his map became an insignificant instrument for both the Council’s Attorney and Minister Quintana. For the Attorney, Fritz had wrongly mapped the Lusitanian possessions at Pará. For the Minister, the Jesuit had only provided circumstantial evidence, since the solution to the Amazonian controversy was not in Fritz’s mapped area but in the Paraguay and Madeira basins. Thus, rather than affirming that “la cartografía del gran

⁸⁹ “main point about the incursions of the Portuguese in the aforementioned territories.” *Ibid.*, f. 52v; “Extracto o resumen hecho para el Consejo sobre el ultimo estado del Expediente del Gran Pará. 1754.” ALMREP, LEA-11-19, caja 13, f. 67v. In 1750 Portuguese and Spanish representatives signed the Treaty of Madrid, which sanctioned the status quo of the region under controversy, that is, approved the occupation of the larger portion of the Amazonian basin by the Portuguese, beyond the line of Tordesillas, while the Rio de la Plata remained under Spanish control. This Treaty, however, was only a palliative solution since it only lasted until the 1761 Treaty of El Pardo, which annulled the 1750 one and paved the way for the continuation of the uncertain frontiers of the Iberian powers in South America. See Manuel Lucena, “Ciencia para la frontera: las expediciones españolas de límites, 1751-1804,” *Cuadernos Hispanoamericanos. Los Complementarios 2* (1988), pp. 158, 163.

⁹⁰ A 1748 list of the materials of the Gran Pará file included an anonymous “mapa impreso del rio Marañon ó Amazonas” next to a copy of the 1735 report of the visit to the Amazonian missions of the Jesuits of Quito by Father Andrés de Zárate. That anonymous map corresponds to Fritz’s 1707 map of the Amazonas. See “Yndice de consultas y otros documentos del expediente del Gran Pará.” [Madrid], December, 1748. AMREE, MRE, R, G.1.6.3.5, f. 367.

misionero es primeramente una cartografía política”⁹¹ because of the alleged intentions of the Jesuit author, it is more useful to sustain that Fritz’s cartography was indeed used and discussed in geopolitical debates. It was in that precise context that his Amazonian map became an irrelevant tool in a discussion that failed to arrive at a final resolution.⁹² The importance of Fritz’s map in the forging of the early geopolitical debate over Amazonia must be stressed as an uncertain instrument to resolve an uncertain problem with the Portuguese. The conversations and debates taking place at the Council of Indies illustrate that, whereas Fritz’s cartography had obvious connections with members of his religious community, those civilian outsiders continued to consider his work as a utilitarian but erratic source of spatial information and reasoning.

Divergent Amazonian Cartographies and the Making of the Jesuit-Bureaucratic Divide

If at the Council of Indies Fritz’s work had been utilized but underestimated, that was not the case among his Quiteño Jesuit peers, who still held his cartographic authority in high regard. In 1724, Francisco Xavier Zephyris, Jesuit missionary from Quito, sent a letter to his brother Thomas, priest in the town of Sankt Lorenz, present-day Austria, which was later published in the German edition of the Jesuit edifying letters. Along with his letter, Zephyris pointed out that he was sending “el mapa estampado de un grabado en cobre de esta provincia de Quito y de todas sus misiones,

⁹¹ “the cartography of the great missionary [Fritz] is primarily a political cartography.” Lucero, p. 49.

⁹² Fernando Rosas has noted, in relation to the Luso-Spanish dispute for Amazonia, that for the Crown of Castile the delimitation of their realms in South America was the result of not so much the appearance of an “unexpected Amazonian consciousness” as the need for neutralizing Indies as a focus of latent conflict with Portugal—probably allied with England—as part of a wider “European political strategy.” That is, Amazonia per se, just like Fritz’s map, remained a place of vacillation rather than a place of proactive geopolitical awareness. See Fernando Rosas, “Las fronteras de la fe y de las Coronas: jesuitas españoles y portugueses en el Amazonas (siglos XVII-XVIII),” in *Los Jesuitas y la modernidad en Iberoamérica: 1549-1773*, vol. 1, eds. Manuel Marzal and Luis Bacigalupo (Lima: Fondo Editorial de la Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, Instituto Francés de Estudios Andinos, Universidad del Pacífico, 2007), p. 380.

para que en el futuro, cuando yo escriba desde ellas, se entiendan mejor mis cartas.”⁹³

Although he did not mention the map’s author, Zephyris noted that it was a reproduction from a copperplate, which indicates that this was Fritz’s since his was the only map of the Jesuit Province engraved in this fashion in eighteenth-century Quito.⁹⁴ In this instance, Fritz’s cartographic work was used solely for informative or descriptive purposes, that is, for Thomas to have a better visual idea of names and places that Francisco Xavier had described in the letters from his South American mission.

After concluding his term as Superior Father of the Jesuit missions of Western Amazonia in 1731, Wilhelm D’Etre was residing in Cuenca. From there he sent a message, published in the same German edition of the Jesuit edifying letters, to his peer José Chambge, in which D’Etre mentioned a Portuguese invasion that had devastated a few Spanish towns along the Amazonas. This issue was soon to be resolved since the Portuguese King had already requested his governors give back the Spaniards their missions up to the Negro River. To make sure that Chambge could follow his description of Amazonian places and rivers, D’Etre suggested that “[s]u reverencia puede desprender el curso de este río del mapa del Marañón, que le mandé

⁹³ “the map copied from an copperplate engraving of this province of Quito and all its missions, so that in the future, whenever I write from there, my letters can be better understood.” Francisco Xavier Zephyris, S.I., “Primera carta del P. Francisco Xavier Zephyris, misionero de la Compañía de Jesús de la provincia austriaca, al Reverendo Padre y muy distinguido señor Thomas de Zephyris, canónigo del Cabildo imperial de Brixen y sacerdote de Sankt Lorenz, su señor hermano. Escrita en la capital de Quito, bajo la línea equinoccial en Sudamérica, el 13 de noviembre de 1724,” in *Las misiones de mainas de la antigua provincia de Quito de la Compañía de Jesús a través de las cartas de los misioneros alemanes que en ellas se consagraron a su civilización y evangelización, 1685-1757*, ed. Julián Bravo, S.I. (Quito: Biblioteca ecuatoriana Aurelio Espinosa Pólit, 2007), p. 166. Also quoted, although with a few differences, in Lucero, p. 83.

⁹⁴ Lucero, pp. 83-84.

hace años, y que está inscrito en el 12^o *Tome des lettres edifiantes & curieuses*.”⁹⁵ That map corresponds to the 1717 French version of Fritz’s 1707 map. In the same letter, D’Etre praised the works and virtues of Fritz, whom he had come to replace as missionary in the Amazonian town of Xeveros. He underlined Fritz’s artistic qualities by noting that most of the Jesuit Amazonian churches “resplandecen gracias a su pincel, que sería admirado aun en Europa.” D’Etre added that “[e]l mapa que mencioné arriba es una de las obras artísticas de sus manos.”⁹⁶ This was another instance where Fritz’s work was used for informative purposes. Despite mentioning the dispute with the Portuguese, in D’Etre’s case the reference to Fritz was related not to territorial defense but to spatial awareness of the Amazonian landscape.

D’Etre’s letter to Chambge was also published in volume 14 of the 1756 Spanish version of the Jesuit edifying letters, but the references to Fritz’s map in that letter were removed by the editor.⁹⁷ I do not know the reasons behind this decision, but the publication came after the 1750 Treaty of Madrid, which momentarily had put on hold any dispute between the Iberian powers over Amazonia. Since D’Etre references to

⁹⁵ “His Reverence can infer the course of this river from the map of the Marañon that I submitted to you years ago and that is included in the twelfth volume of the [Jesuits’] Edifying and Curious Letters.” Wilhelm De Tres [D’Etre], S.I., “Carta del R.P. Wilhelm De Tres, misionero de la Compañía de Jesús en el río de las Amazonas al Reverendo Padre José Chambge, sacerdote de la misma compañía. Escrita en Cuenca, Sudamérica, el 1 de junio de 1731,” in *Las misiones de mainas de la antigua provincia de Quito de la Compañía de Jesús a través de las cartas de los misioneros alemanes que en ellas se consagraron a su civilización y evangelización, 1685-1757*, ed. Julián Bravo, S.I. (Quito: Biblioteca ecuatoriana Aurelio Espinosa Pólit, 2007), p. 260.

⁹⁶ “shine thanks to his paintbrush, that would be admired even in Europe [...] the aforementioned map is one of the artistic works resulting from his hands.” *Ibid.*, p. 262.

⁹⁷ Wilhelm D’Etre, S.I., “Carta del Padre Guillelmo D’Etre, misionero de la Compañía de Jesus: al Padre du Chambge, de la misma Compañía. Cuenca, 1 de Junio de 1731,” in *Cartas edificantes, y curiosas, escritas de las misiones estrangeras, y de Levante por algunos misioneros de la Compañía de Jesus*, vol. 14, ed. and trans. Diego Davin, S.I. (Madrid: En la Imprenta de la Viuda de Manuel Fernandez, y del Supremo Consejo de la Inquisicion, 1756), pp. 43-65. See, in particular p. 61, where an entire paragraph on the legal battle with the Portuguese is missing, and p. 63.

Fritz's map were included in a section where he discussed the conflict with the Portuguese in the early 1730s, Spanish publishers might have considered the removal of any information affecting the new status quo necessary.⁹⁸ This edition also came after the 1740s Council of Indies debates, where, as seen above, metropolitan officials had used, discussed, and disregarded Fritz's 1707 map. The futility of Fritz's work was ratified with the publication in 1757 of his map in volume 16 of the Jesuit edifying letters in Spanish.⁹⁹ As its title indicates, this was not Fritz's but a Fritz-improved-by-La Condamine map: "Curso del rio Marañon por otro nombre Amazonas, por el Padre Samuel Fritz, misionero jesuita, corregido por el Señor Condamine de la Academia de las Ciencias" (Figure A-23). Thus, unlike the appraisal received by his Jesuit peers, Zephyris and D'Etire, the use and value of Fritz's cartographic work in 1750s Spain was directly tied to the improvements made by a proper scientist.¹⁰⁰

The gradual distinction in the way Amazonia was perceived by a local/Jesuit and a metropolitan/bureaucratic became more noticeable by the middle of the eighteenth century. In 1740, the Jesuit Juan Magnin, in charge of the town of San Francisco de

⁹⁸ In general, during the mid-1750s, Jesuit authorities sought not to disrupt the new status quo between the Iberian powers. For instance, the Superior General at Rome indicated to the Provincial Father of the Province of Quito that the Amazonian missionaries under his jurisdiction must restrain from any kind of unauthorized commerce with the Portuguese, including the proposed purchase of slaves from Pará. Without previous Royal permission, these transamazonian activities could disrupt the, by then, positive relationships between Spain and Portugal. See Ignacio Visconti, S.I., to Angel María Manca, S.I. Rome, December 18, 1754. ASJQ, leg. 15, doc. 1344 [1340], f. 322; and Luis Centurione, S.I., to Angel María Manca, S.I. Rome, August 11, 1756. ASJQ, leg. 15, doc. 1344 [1340], f. 342.

⁹⁹ A copy of the Spanish version of the Jesuit edifying letters was held at the library of the Jesuit College of San Luis in Quito. See Catálogo de los libros de la biblioteca del colegio de San Luis. Quito, 1767. ASJQ, leg. 17, doc. 1362, f. 32.

¹⁰⁰ On La Condamine's usufruct of Fritz's cartographic work see Neil Safier, *Measuring the New World: Enlightenment Science and South America* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2008), chapter 2.

Borja, sent a letter to the Provincial Father of Quito, Balthasar de Moncada.¹⁰¹ In the letter, Magnin stated he had just concluded a map “de toda la provincia de Quito, con sus misiones de Succumbios y Maynas, y no se extiende a otras provincias.”¹⁰²

Following Fritz’s cartographic emphasis on the delineation of the contours of the space occupied by his religious community and recognizing the Portuguese advancement over the middle Amazonas, Magnin drew a map of the Quiteño Jesuit missions where the entire Amazonas was no longer necessary (Figure 5-3).¹⁰³ It was, as its title indicates, a map of the “Provincia de Quito” and its merit was to focus on this area with more detail than Fritz did.¹⁰⁴ Because there was only a single copy of the map, Magnin could not send it to Moncada. Yet, he did submit a geographic account of the Jesuit Amazonian missions composed to accompany the map so that Moncada could be able to see “lo material destas misiones.”¹⁰⁵ In this 1740 description and a longer 1745 version, Magnin noted that his main sources of information were his own observations, original manuscripts from the Jesuit archive of Quito, and stories from other missionaries.¹⁰⁶ His

¹⁰¹ Born in Fribourg, Magnin arrived in Quito in 1725. In 1740 Magnin had just become the priest of Borja, the administrative capital of the province of Maynas, where the Quiteño Jesuit missions were located. See Julián G. Bravo, S.I., “Juan Magnin: misionero y cronista de la provincia y misiones de Mainas en el reino de Quito, 1740,” in Juan Magnin, S.I., *Descripción de la provincia y misiones de Mainas en el reino de Quito*, 1745, trans. Juan Espinosa Pólit, S.I. (Quito: Biblioteca Ecuatoriana “Aurelio Espinosa Pólit,” Sociedad Ecuatoriana de Investigaciones Históricas y Geográficas, 1998), pp. 48, 50.

¹⁰² “of the entire province of Quito, including its missions of Succumbios and Maynas, and does not include other provinces” Juan Magnin, S.I., to Balthasar de Moncada, S.I. San Francisco de Borja, October 26, 1740. UARM/CVU, vol. 20, doc. 65, f. 1r.

¹⁰³ Magnin, *Descripción de la provincia y misiones de Mainas en el reino de Quito*, p. 189.

¹⁰⁴ Segundo Moreno, “Entre quimeras y realidad: conocer y dominar las selvas amazónicas, 1735-1900,” in *Escenarios para una patria: paisajismo ecuatoriano, 1850-1930*, ed. Alexandra Kennedy-Troya (Quito: Museo de la Ciudad, 2008), p. 123.

¹⁰⁵ “these missions in physical terms.” Magnin to Moncada, f. 1r.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*; Magnin, *Descripción de la provincia y misiones de Mainas en el reino de Quito*, p. 123.

geo-cartographic knowledge of Amazonia rested equally in first-hand experiences and an accumulation of previous Jesuit works.¹⁰⁷ The closeness of Magnin to his object of inquiry and his dependence on the Jesuit canon were elements that only members of his religious order could share and understand.

A year before Magnin sent his map to Moncada, the Provincial Father had received a communication from Pedro Vicente Maldonado, who had been educated in the Jesuit College of San Luis and later became Mayor of his hometown, Riobamba, and governor of the province of Esmeraldas, in the Audiencia of Quito. Maldonado eventually became one of the most important collaborators of the French-Spanish geodetic mission that arrived in Quito in 1736.¹⁰⁸ In the letter, after noticing the constant failed attempts of Jesuits to obtain official support to stop Portuguese incursions, Maldonado offered to explore the Amazonas and, once and for all, demarcate “la raya de los dominios de Castilla y Portugal.”¹⁰⁹ To succeed in his mission, Maldonado noted he would require the assistance of the “mathematico extranjero” Charles de la Condamine, member of the geodetic expedition. The mathematician’s scientific credentials made him an ideal companion for the Amazonian expedition and for the making of a projected map of the Amazonas.¹¹⁰ This is, I argue, another instance that

¹⁰⁷ In his 1745 account, Magnin recalled the qualities of Fritz; yet he did not mention any cartographic or scientific contribution. See Magnin, *Descripción de la provincia y misiones de Mainas en el reino de Quito*, pp. 258-261.

¹⁰⁸ Nelson Gómez, *La misión geodésica y la cultura de Quito* (Quito: Ediguías, 1987), pp. 17, 23; Larrea, 47; Octavio Latorre, “La cartografía en la época de Maldonado,” in *Maldonado: conciencia geográfica y modernidad en el Ecuador*, ed. Franklin Cárdenas (Riobamba: Casa de la Cultura Ecuatoriana-Núcleo de Chimborazo, 2006), pp. 488-490.

¹⁰⁹ “the borderline of the dominions of Castilla and Portugal.” Pedro Vicente Maldonado to Balthasar de Moncada, S.I., Quito, April 22, 1739. AMCE, JJC.00007, f. 32v.

¹¹⁰ “foreigner mathematician.” *Ibid.*, f. 33r.

shows how, despite Maldonado's contacts with the Jesuit community of Quito, his plan was to provide a new and improved civilian vision of Amazonia. He noted that one of the reasons behind the rejection of the Jesuits' requests for support against the Portuguese was that officials distrusted the friars' descriptions of "las distancias y asperezas que median [in Amazonia] (las cuales se aumentan en la aprehension de los que no las practican)."¹¹¹ Paradoxically, Maldonado chose to rely on the mathematical contribution of a French newcomer instead of being assisted by experienced Amazonian missionaries.

In 1750, Maldonado's "Carta de la Provincia de Quito y de sus adjacentes" was published posthumously in Paris (Figure 5-4). This was not the projected map of his Amazonian expedition, and it was not even the territory of Quito "as Maldonado wished for it to be portrayed."¹¹² Although credited to Maldonado, the 1750 map of the Province of Quito was the result of a series of transatlantic incidents and multiple cartographic and engraving processes in which La Condamine was involved.¹¹³ Yet, this map was part of the same debate that began to separate civilian and Jesuit cartographies of the province of Quito. Unlike Magnin's map, Maldonado's did not include the delineation of the borderlines of Quito's jurisdiction.¹¹⁴ More important, despite contacts that both Maldonado and La Condamine had with Magnin in 1743 when the Jesuit handed a copy

¹¹¹ "the distances and obstacles throughout [Amazonia] (which become even bigger with the apprehension of those who have not experienced them." Ibid., f. 32v.

¹¹² Safier, p. 126. The projected map of the Amazonas was finally published by La Condamine and included in his *Relation abrégée d'un voyage fait dans l'intérieur de l'Amérique Méridionale* (Paris: Veuve Pissot, 1745).

¹¹³ Gómez, pp. 17, 23; Safier, chapter 4.

¹¹⁴ Latorre, p. 500.

of his map to the French explorer, the 1750 map did not incorporate the eastern portion of the Jesuit Amazonian missionary space that appeared in Magnin's map.¹¹⁵ The 1750 map did acknowledge the Jesuit cartographic contribution in its title and Magnin's in its body (Figure 5-4).¹¹⁶ This is symptomatic of the growing divide of Jesuit and civilian visions of Amazonia since, for bureaucratic cartographers, the Jesuit Amazonas had become just an added note. Despite mapping the same territory and naming their maps in a similar manner, Magnin's 1740 and Maldonado's 1750 maps differed in the importance ascribed to the Amazonas and the delineation of the space belonging to Quito's jurisdiction. The increasing cartographic divergence between Jesuits and civilians would acquire deeper repercussions by the time of the expulsion of the Society from the Spanish Empire in 1767.

In his 1766 "Plano geográfico, y hidrográfico del distrito de la Real Audiencia de Quito," Dionisio de Alsedo y Herrera, former President of the Audiencias of Quito and Tierra Firme, honored Samuel Fritz as "uno de los mas excelentes cosmographos que han ido a las Yndias."¹¹⁷ In his account, Alsedo recalled that in 1729, during his term in Quito, he had obtained from Tomás Nieto Polo, Procurator of the Jesuit Province of

¹¹⁵ Whereas Magnin had mapped the Amazonas/Marañon until its confluence with the Yavari River, a southern affluent, so as to include what he considered the total extension of the Quiteño Jesuit missionary space, the 1750 map delineated a shorter length of the Amazonas solely until its confluence with the Huallaga River, another southern tributary. In regard to the contacts between Magnin, La Condamine, and Maldonado see Gómez, p. 23; Keeding, pp. 117-119; Larrea, pp. 40-41; Latorre, p. 498; Moreno, pp. 123-124.

¹¹⁶ "El curso del Rio Morona, desde Macas para abaxo y el del Rio de St. Yago son sacados de un Mapa particular manuscrito del P. Juan Magnin jesuita misionero que fue en Maynas."

¹¹⁷ "one of the most excellent cosmographers that have been to Indies." Dionisio de Alsedo y Herrera, "Plano geográfico e hidrográfico del distrito de la Real Audiencia de Quito, y descripciones de las provincias, gobiernos, y corregimientos que se comprenden en su jurisdiccion, y las ciudades, villas, assientos, y pueblos que ocupan sus territorios [...]," Madrid, 1766. AMCE, JJC.00293c, f. 118v.

Quito, three copies of Fritz's map of the Amazonas and had kept a copy for himself.¹¹⁸

The Madrid-born ex President also mentioned the note that Fritz had included in his 1707 map to "quitar dudas, resolver disputas, y dar un claro conocimiento, verdadera noticia y puntual inteligencia del Marañon y Amazonas."¹¹⁹ Despite his appraisal of the Jesuit's work, Alsedo's cartographic and geographic view of Quito would follow a more bureaucratic line, as seen in the 1740s debates at the Council of Indies and in Maldonado-La Condamine's case. For Alsedo, the Jesuit map of Amazonia became a potentially useful yet ultimately irrelevant source of information.

In Alsedo's 1766 account, he included his own map titled: "Demonstración geográfica, y hidrográfica del distrito de la Real Audiencia de Quito," (Figure A-24). Interestingly, despite having access to Fritz's map and including a description of it in his own account of Quito, the map of the President presented an important characteristic that made it different from the Jesuit's 1707 map. Alsedo's did not include a line demarcating the entire contours of the Audience of Quito. He inserted Quito in middle of the map and allowed for the city to function as the point of reference for the viewer. Borderlines thus became unnecessary. More important, there was a major difference in the Amazonian spatial concern in the works of Alsedo and Fritz. Alsedo had a pessimistic view of Western Amazonia. He affirmed that in the region surrounding the Marañón or Amazonas River:

no tiene otros frutos que maíz, plátanos y minas de oro, sin trabajo ni labor, ni más pueblos que los de La Ciudad de Borja [,] Maynas y Xíbaros. Que

¹¹⁸ Alsedo handed the other two copies to Spain's State Minister José Patiño in 1732 and to Charles de la Condamine in 1736. See Alsedo, "Plano geográfico e hidrográfico," ff. 120v-121r; Lucero, p. 82.

¹¹⁹ "shed light on, resolve disputes, and provide a clear information, true report, and precise knowledge of the Marañon and Amazonas." Alsedo, "Plano geográfico e hidrográfico," f. 121v.

propenden mucho generalmente a la ociosidad y se mantienen de los que adquieren con facilidad de los otros pueblos de Jaén y Loja.¹²⁰

The local conditions of idleness were not his only concern. In comparison with Quito, the Amazonian basin was a poor region. Alsedo wrote that Spanish dominions in Indies, from Cartagena to Chile, consisted of mainly “empty and depopulated” areas. Except for the cities founded by Spaniards, “todo lo demás [is] inculto, eriazó y desierto, sin más adelantamiento que la población de tantas tierras y para la reducción de tantas legiones de gentilismo, y las misiones de los de la Compañía por el Perú en los Moxos y de los de Quito en las riberas del Napo y del Marañón.”¹²¹ That is, the Amazonian missions of the Jesuits of Quito, though considered important for the evangelization of local “gentile” populations, were included within the larger wastelands of Spanish South America.

Unlike his disregard for Amazonia, Alsedo had a completely different point of view when it came to the province of Quito. He pointed out that:

de todo lo conquistado y reducido, lo más poblado, más fértil y más rico es la provincia de Quito [...] Abundante en cuanto es necesario, a la conveniencia, regalo y conservación de la vida humana, llena de montes y ríos que son fecundos minerales y lavaderos de oro [...] y finalmente tan poblada como se ve en las descripciones de los partidos de su jurisdicción.¹²²

¹²⁰ “there are no fruits other than maize, bananas, and gold mines, with no function nor labor, and no towns other than the city of Borja, Maynas, and Xibaros. [Locals from these towns are] Generally prone to idleness and they maintain themselves from what they obtain with ease from the nearby towns of Jaén and Loja.” Dionisio de Alsedo y Herrera, *Descripción geográfica de la Real Audiencia de Quito* (Madrid: The Hispanic Society of America, 1915), p. 51.

¹²¹ “everywhere else [is] uncultivated, empty, and deserts, with no other improvement that the peopling of so many lands and the evangelization of large groups of pagans, and the missions along the shorelines of the Napo and Marañón.” *Ibid.*, p. 60.

¹²² “of all that has been conquered and evangelized, the most populated, most fertile, and richest is the province of Quito [...] Abundant in everything that is necessary to the convenience, beneficence, and conservation of the human life, full of mountains and rivers that are rich in minerals and gold-bearing sands [...] and finally as populated as seen in the descriptions of the divisions of its jurisdiction.” *Ibid.*

For Alsedo, Quito was the most populous, fertile, and prosperous region among the Spanish dominions in South America. It thus deserved its own map. He was following a path initiated, as we have seen, by Jerónimo Girava in his 1570 appraisal of Quito as the most abundant land in Peru.¹²³ Yet, the President of the Audience had removed Quito from its geo-spatial role as location of the ultimate headwaters of the Amazonas River. Detaching it from the tropical heartland of South America meant a simultaneous dismissal of the ultimate Jesuit cartographical objective in that region. For this reason, unlike his own Jesuit cartographic source, Alsedo was not concerned with Amazonia and the delimitation of the entire region occupied by the Society's missions.

On the contrary, a few years later, Quiteño Jesuits exiled in Europe continued depicting Amazonia as the quintessential land of abundance and enthroned it as the epicenter of the space occupied by the province of Quito. In 1773, the Valladolid-born Bernardo Recio, from his exile in Gerona, underlined that in the Amazonas one could find “todo género de pesca [...] y abundancia de caza en las campiñas vecinas.” In addition, the Amazonas was full of islands, trees, fruits, birds, and, more important, “diferentes naciones bárbaras.”¹²⁴ Recio was never sent to Amazonia, residing in Quito and Cuenca instead. Nonetheless, he received knowledge about Amazonia through multiple visual means, which included portraits of Amazonian friars such as Samuel Fritz and Heinrich Richter hanging from the walls of the lower cloister at the Jesuit

¹²³ See Chapter 2.

¹²⁴ “every kind of fish [...] and abundant game in the neighboring fields [...] many barbarian nations.” Bernardo Recio, S.I., *Compendiosa relación de la cristiandad de Quito*, 1773, ed. Carlos García Goldaraz, S.I. (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Instituto Santo Toribio de Mogrovejo, 1947), pp. 537-539.

College of Quito in the 1750s.¹²⁵ In a similar vein, the Tirolese Francisco Niclutsch recalled in 1781 that, despite the lack of “European” fruits and vegetables, Amazonian natives “no padecen por esto de escasez de alimentos, es más, su tierra caliente les proporciona mayor abundancia que las que nos proporciona a nosotros los europeos las zonas frías y templadas.”¹²⁶ Niclutsch had served as a missionary in the Napo River between the 1750s and 1760s, and during his exile in Munich he continued to remember the grandiosity of Amazonia, which made him conclude that “los indios selváticos no sólo no carecen de alimentos ni provisiones, sino que los tienen en abundancia.”¹²⁷

In cartographic terms, the work that exemplified the Jesuit vision of Amazonia the most was Juan de Velasco’s 1789 “Carta General del Quito Propio, de sus Provincias Orientales adjuntas, y de las Misiones y reducciones del Marañón, Napo, Pastaza, Guallaga y Ucayale” (Figure 5-5).¹²⁸ This map was part of a larger treatise he had written during his exile in Faenza—his 1789 “Historia del Reino de Quito en la América

¹²⁵ For Recio, these paintings constituted “una vista muy eficaz, que encendía en nuestros jóvenes deseos ardientes de seguir sus pisadas, participar de sus trabajos y tener parte en sus laureolas.” See Recio, p. 545.

¹²⁶ “thus do not endure food shortage; on the contrary, their warm lands provide them with even more abundance than what Europeans are provided in our cold and mild regions.” Francisco Niclutsch, S.I., *Noticias americanas de Quito y de los indios bravos del Marañón*, 1781, trans. and ed. María Susana Cipolletti and Matthias Abram (Quito: CICAME, Fundación Alejandro Labaka, 2012), p. 167.

¹²⁷ “the natives from the jungle do not lack food and supplies but rather have them in abundance.” *Ibid.*, p. 187.

¹²⁸ Born in Riobamba, Velasco joined the Society in 1744 and was educated in the Colegio Máximo of Quito and the University of San Gregorio. He finished his Jesuit days in South America teaching at the Colegio of Popayán. See Carmen-José Alejos Grau, “El método histórico en Juan de Velasco,” in *Los jesuitas y la modernidad en Iberoamérica*, vol. 2, eds. Manuel Marzal and Luis Bacigalupo (Lima: Fondo Editorial de la Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, Instituto Francés de Estudios Andinos, Universidad del Pacífico, 2007), p. 33; Celín Astudillo Espinosa, *Juan de Velasco: historiador, biólogo y naturalista: biografía* (Quito: Casa de la cultura ecuatoriana, 1978), pp. 59-96; José Avilés Mosquera, “El historiador Juan de Velasco y el oriente ecuatoriano,” 1941, *Memoria 2* (1991-1992), pp. 182-183.

meridional.” Velasco’s objective was to define Quito in historical and geographic terms by tracing its human and spatial genealogies. The former, from the ancient Quitus and Scyris to the Incas and Spaniards.¹²⁹ The latter, from the *Quito Propio* that included “solo hasta donde llegaron las conquistas de los Reyes de Quito e Incas del Perú,” to the *Quito Impropio* that encompassed the provinces “que fueron descubiertas y conquistadas por el mismo Belalcázar, y sus sucesores, como por extenderse a todas ellas la Real Audiencia de Quito.”¹³⁰ This permitted Velasco to provide a “patriotic” geography and genealogy that imagined the local polity of Quito “as the center of the world” in which “Scyris, Incas, and Creoles are ‘connected by place, not race’.”¹³¹

It is important to note that this was not a simple juxtaposition of indigenous and Creole elements. To appease the Creoles’s sense of alienation in the Americas, it was necessary to provide them with roots, or a genealogy, in that continent.¹³² The fact that Quito Impropio exists in Velasco’s map legitimized the presence and power of Creoles in Quito because they had improved Quito Propio through military and spiritual conquests. Between these two Quitos, there was not so much a convergence as there

¹²⁹ On the original inhabitants of Quito and the subsequent invasions by foreign “naciones” see Juan de Velasco, S.I. *Historia del Reino de Quito en la América Meridional*, 1789 (Quito: Casa de la cultura ecuatoriana, 1978), vol. 1: pp. 285-288; vol. 2: pp. 81, 88.

¹³⁰ “only the area of the conquests of the kings of Quito and the Incas of Peru [...] that [Sebastian] Belalcazar and his successors discovered and conquered, and that are included in the jurisdiction of the Royal Audiencia of Quito.” *Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 50.

¹³¹ Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra, “Iberian Colonial Science,” *Isis* 96:1 (2005), pp. 66, 70; Eileen Willingham, “Locating Utopia: Promise and Patria in Juan de Velasco’s *Historia del Reino de Quito*,” in *El saber de los jesuitas, historias naturales y el Nuevo Mundo*, eds. Luis Millones Figueroa and Domingo Ledezma (Frankfurt am Main: Vervuert; Madrid: Iberoamericana, 2005), p. 252. Willingham is quoting Anthony Pagden.

¹³² On the Creoles’ sense of displacement and disinheritance in the Americas see David Brading, *The First America: the Spanish Monarchy, Creole Patriots, and the Liberal State, 1492-1867* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), pp. 2, 293-296.

was an imposition of the Creole Impropio over the Indigenous Propio. In his writings, Velasco “had great respect for the Amerindian and white elites but very little for mixed-blood commoners.”¹³³ In this sense, there is no mestizaje in Velasco’s map. There is, instead, a superimposition of spaces. One of those “superimposed” places that belonged to Quito Impropio was Jesuit Amazonia—or “Province of Marañón”—which became a paradigmatic place in Velasco’s definition of Creole Quito.

Following the Quiteño Jesuit canon, Velasco awarded Amazonia a special place in his history and map.¹³⁴ Like Recio, Velasco was never sent to Amazonia. Yet, he received knowledge of that region thanks to the different circuits the Society had instituted through their establishments in Quito. Indeed, Velasco specifically noted that the sources for his 1789 map were the works of the “academicians” Pedro Vicente Maldonado and Charles de la Condamine, and the “missionaries” Samuel Fritz and Juan Magnin.¹³⁵ The intermingling of sources from civilian and Jesuit authors was evident in the work of Velasco, who, like his fellow Jesuit cartographers, sought to portray a vision of Amazonia that respected the space where the Society had evangelized for decades. At the same time, Amazonia was only a valid place to map insofar as it was included within the larger spatial expansion of Quito Impropio; that is, the space occupied by the Audiencia of Quito and the focus of the civilian-bureaucratic cartographic vision. By consulting the works of Fritz and Magnin, Velasco learned that

¹³³ Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra, *How to Write the History of the New World: Histories, Epistemologies, and Identities in the Eighteenth-century Atlantic World* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001), p. 252.

¹³⁴ José Jouanen, S.I., noted that Velasco “se extiende más en las noticias de las Misiones, en especial del Marañón [...] Esta parte de su obra, que se refiere a las Misiones orientales, es excelente.” See Jouanen, *Historia de la Compañía de Jesús en la antigua provincia de Quito, 1570-1767*, vol. 2 (Quito: Editorial Ecuatoriana, 1943), p. 672.

¹³⁵ Velasco, vol. 3, p. 20.

Jesuit Amazonia was the most significant part of Quito. As a result, in his 1789 map, Velasco delineated the borderlines of Quito's jurisdiction, which extended until the confluence of the Amazonas and Yavari Rivers—as Magnin had done before him. It was important to include Jesuit Amazonia, for Velasco's intention was to transmit a sense of historical and spatial belongingness and specificity for his fellow countrymen from Quito.¹³⁶ The Quito Propio of the Scyris and Incas was not enough. The Quito Impropio, forged by the Spaniards and Jesuits through the incorporation of Western Amazonia into the jurisdiction of the local Audiencia, was the element that made Quito unique and sustained Velasco's notion of Creole identity.

Mapping the Distribution of Jesuit Maps in the Province of Quito

After the expulsion of the Society in 1767, viceregal officials headed by the President of the local Audiencia, Joseph Diguja, proceeded to make inventory of the Jesuit possessions in Quito and found “dos globos” and “[v]arias estampas en la pared” in Velasco's room at the College of Popayán.¹³⁷ These might include the maps made by Fritz, Magnin, La Condamine, and Maldonado that Velasco used as sources for his 1789 map. Unfortunately, these inventories fail to name the authors and contents of the maps held at Jesuit repositories. These collections, however, provide some clues as to the types of cartographic materials and how they circulated among Quiteño Jesuits. For instance, in the office of the Jesuit Procurator at the Colegio Máximo in Quito, there

¹³⁶ Silvia Navia, “Las historias naturales de Francisco Javier Clavijero, Juan Ignacio de Molina y Juan de Velasco,” in *El saber de los jesuitas, historias naturales y el Nuevo Mundo*, eds. Luis Millones Figueroa and Domingo Ledezma (Frankfurt am Main: Vervuert; Madrid: Iberoamericana, 2005), pp. 242, 247-248.

¹³⁷ “two globes [...] several imprints on the wall.” Testimonio de los autos obrados en la expulsión de los Jesuitas, Popayán, 1767. ASJQ, leg. 28, doc. 1562, f. 14r.

were “diez mapas pequeños viejos” by 1767.¹³⁸ There were also fifteen maps in private rooms occupied by Jesuits in the same Colegio.¹³⁹ At the Colegio’s communal and personal libraries, officials found ten maps “de mas de vara en bastidores de las quatro partes del mundo.”¹⁴⁰ Considering that officials noted the disposition—“en bastidores”—and contents—“de las quatro partes del mundo”—of these maps, it implies that whereas the private rooms maps might have been for personal use, in the libraries maps were rather displayed, confirming the educational purposes of these cartographic works.¹⁴¹

Other Jesuit residences and colleges in the territory of the Audiencia of Quito held maps among their possessions as well. In the residence of Pasqual López at the College of Ibarra, officials found “una estampa y dos mapas.”¹⁴² In the office of Pedro Joseph Milanésio, rector of the College of Cuenca, they found “doze estampas y cinco mapas medianas todas de papel.”¹⁴³ In Cuenca, there were five additional maps in the office of the procurator Pablo Torrejón, and four maps in possession of the lay brother

¹³⁸ “ten old and small maps.” Testimonio del secuestro del colegio Máximo de Quito. Quito, 1767. ASJQ, leg. 25, doc. 1514 [1506], f. 140. As seen above, in that office Alsedo had obtained copies of Fritz’s 1707 map.

¹³⁹ Ibid., f. 132v.

¹⁴⁰ “of the four parts of the world of more than one yard [long?] on racks.” Ibid., f. 134v.

¹⁴¹ In regard to the Colegio’s library as a place for exhibition, about seventy years earlier the Superior General at Rome asked the Provincial Father of Quito “se ponga en la libreria o parte publica en alguna tablilla” a recent order that allowed “sick and hopeless” friars to return from their Amazonian missions with the sole permission of the Superior Father of the missions. That is, without previous communication to the Provincial Father in Quito. Thus, once exhibited in the library or another public space, this new order “será muy conveniente para que muchos se alienten a pasar a aquellas misiones, no considerando imposible el regreso en caso de necesidad.” See Thyrso Gonzalez, S.I., to Pedro Calderón, S.I. Rome, February 7, 1699. ASJQ, leg. 15, doc. 1342 [1338], f. 330.

¹⁴² “an imprint and two maps.” Testimonio del secuestro del colegio de Ibarra. Ibarra, 1767. ASJQ, leg. 29, doc 1570 [1557], f. 28r.

¹⁴³ “twelve imprints and five medium-sized maps all of them made of paper.” Testimonio del secuestro del colegio de Cuenca. Cuenca, 1767. ASJQ, leg. 30, doc. 1576 [1563], f. 19r.

Manuel Navarro.¹⁴⁴ Although unidentified, this demonstrates that maps were, indeed, part of the Jesuit cultural and material life throughout the province of Quito and it was important to own and preserve cartographic works. It is not clear if these were maps of the Amazonas. The Colegio Maximo of Quito also included an office for the Procurator of the Amazonian missions, which contained several objects belonging to friars that had been sent to that region. In this room, officials found “quatro mapas grandes viejos forrados en lienzo.”¹⁴⁵ This demonstrates that cartographic works of the Amazonian missions had indeed made their way to the capital city of the Audiencia, following the networks that Jesuits had created in that region.

In the very Amazonian missions, I have encountered little information on how Jesuit friars used maps. In a description of the simple cabin the late Nicholas Schindler occupied among the Omaguas, around the confluence of the Napo and Amazonas Rivers in the 1730s, Juan Magnin noted that Schindler:

[e]n su quarto no tenia arriba de un santo Christo, con una silla, y tal qual caxita de precisa necesidad. Y si tal qual vez permitia algun mayor asseo, *eran mapas, que colgaba mas para el provecho, que para el adorno.*¹⁴⁶

¹⁴⁴ Ibid., ff. 23v, 34v.

¹⁴⁵ “four large and old maps wrapped on canvas.” Testimonio del secuestro del colegio Máximo de Quito, f. 279.

¹⁴⁶ “in his room [Schindler] did not have more than a Saint Christ, a chair, and a little but essential chest. And if something else was allowed, these were maps, which he hung [on the walls] more for use than for ornament.” Juan Magnin, S.I., “Carta de edificacion del Padre Nicolas Schindler de la Compania de Jesus, Superior de las Misiones de Maynas,” San Francisco de Borja, March 3, 1744. ARSI/AHJ, N. R. et Quit. 15-2, ff. 335v-336r. My emphasis. A transcription of this passage, although from a distinct German Jesuit source, can be found in Juan Magnin, S.I., “Carta del R. P. Joannes Magnin, S. J., misionero en Quito, a los demás misioneros de la Compañía de Jesús. Escrita en la ciudad de Quito, el 3 de marzo de 1744,” in *Las misiones de mainas de la antigua provincia de Quito de la Compañía de Jesús a través de las cartas de los misioneros alemanes que en ellas se consagraron a su civilización y evangelización, 1685-1757*, ed. Julián Bravo, S.I. (Quito: Biblioteca ecuatoriana Aurelio Espinosa Pólit, 2007), p. 300. In this version, it was said that in Schindler’s cabin “no se veía ningún adorno o utensilio doméstico, excepto uno que otro mapa que le servía en sus viajes.”

Although Magnin emphasized the utilitarian purpose of Schindler's hanging maps, he noted a decorative element to cartographic works as well. If their purpose was only functional, the cartographic works hanging on the walls of Schindler's cabin should be maps of the Amazonas.¹⁴⁷ Yet, it is not clear if Schindler's collection included large geographical maps or many topographical charts of surrounding areas, or even if these resulted from his own cartographic skills or a collection of other Jesuits' works. This, in fact, is indicative of the pragmatic role that maps played in the everyday life of the Jesuits' wanderings throughout Western Amazonian rivers and roads.¹⁴⁸

Conclusion

In relation to the spatial organization of administrative units in the Spanish Empire, Nelson Gómez pointed out that:

¹⁴⁷ I have not found similar references of hanging maps in the rooms of other Jesuits in early modern Amazonia. However, it seems that this used to be a pattern among other members of the global Jesuit community interested in cartography or mapping activities. In the cases of the Italian Matteo Ricci and the German Johann Adam Schall von Bell, two of the Jesuits who were sent to China between the late sixteenth and mid seventeenth centuries and renowned for their cartographic and astronomical endeavors, their rooms and offices also had maps hanging on their walls. See Hui-Heng Chen, "The Human Body as a Universe: Understanding Heaven by Visualization and Sensibility in Jesuit Cartography in China," *The Catholic Historical Review* 93:3 (2007), p. 527; Laura Hostetler, *Qing Colonial Enterprise: Ethnography and Cartography in Early Modern China* (Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, 2001), p. 53; John D. Witek, S.I., "Understanding the Chinese: A Comparison of Matteo Ricci and the French Jesuit Mathematicians Sent by Louis XIV," in *East Meets West: The Jesuits in China, 1582-1773*, ed. Charles E. Ronan, S.I. and Bonnie B. C. Oh (Chicago: Loyola University Press, 1988), p. 70; and Cordell Yee, "Traditional Chinese Cartography and the Myth of Westernization," in *The History of Cartography*, vol. 2, book 2, ed. J. B. Harley and David Woodward (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1994), p. 171.

¹⁴⁸ In a different Jesuit setting, New Spain, missionary cartographers likewise used their maps for a combination of geographical and utilitarian reasons, although in relation to their evangelizing enterprise. Father Eusebio Kino, a well-known missionary and cartographer of Northwestern New Spain, used a world map to describe to Pima natives of San Xavier del Bac, present-day Arizona, "the lands, the rivers, and the seas over which we missionaries had come from afar to bring them the saving knowledge of our holy faith." He also "showed them on a the map of the world how Spaniards and the faith had come by sea to Vera Cruz, and reached Puebla, Mexico City, Guadalajara, Sinaloa, Sonora, and now Nuestra Señora de los Dolores del Cosari, their own homeland, the country of the Pimas, where there were already many baptized." See Ernest Burrus, S.I., *Kino and the Cartography of Northwestern New Spain* (Tucson, AZ: Arizona Pioneers' Historical Society, 1965), p. 13.

La Corona no dividía el Reino territorialmente sino que lo organizaba jurisdiccional, militar o espiritualmente. La vaguedad con que se tratan los linderos físicos de las provincias del Reino se explica porque los efectos no eran desmembraciones territoriales sino simplemente “arreglos” internos. Más importantes eran los centros poblados o ciudades principales, como elementos integrantes de las diferentes jurisdicciones.¹⁴⁹

Individuals such as Alsedo, Maldonado, and the members of the Council of Indies took part of this “civilian-bureaucratic” perspective of space characterized by its borderless configuration and, more important, by a growing detachment from Amazonia as an area of interest. Instead, for Fritz, Magnin, and Velasco the demarcation of borderlines of the Jesuit missionary space in Western Amazonia had become their most important cartographic target. The Jesuits participated in a series of networks connecting the different centers established by them in the territory of the Audiencia of Quito. The transmission and collection of cartographic works became an important element of these networks, as seen in the inventories of Jesuit holdings and in the participation of later authors such as Velasco and Magnin in the Jesuit cartographic canon initiated by Fritz. The bureaucrats in Quito and Madrid had access to Jesuit maps as well. A note of disregard not only for the final cartographic work, but more important, for the significance Jesuits ascribed to Amazonia always accompanied their references. For Alsedo and the officials at the Council of Indies, Fritz had become a potentially useful yet ultimately unutilized source for the spatial imagination of Amazonia. Instead, Jesuits like Zephyris, D’Etre, Magnin, and Velasco used and understood Fritz’s maps as tools of reconnaissance of the missionary space they had created in the South American

¹⁴⁹ “The Crown did not divide up the kingdom in mere territorial but in jurisdictional, military, or spiritual terms. The uncertainty with which they dealt with the physical borderlines of the provinces of the kingdom is explained by the fact the resulting effects were not territorial divisions but simply internal “arrangements.” Urban centers or main cities were more important as integrating elements of the different jurisdictions.” Nelson Gómez, “El manejo del espacio en la Real Audiencia de Quito: Siglos XVII y XVIII,” in Jean Paul Deler, Nelson Gómez, and Michel Portais, *El manejo del espacio en el Ecuador: Etapas claves* (Quito: Centro ecuatoriano de investigación geográfica, 1983), p. 104.

tropics. The different visions of Amazonia by Quiteño bureaucrats and Quiteño Jesuits paved the way for the radical distinction between their conceptualizations and performances of the Amazonian cartographic space

In both cases, bureaucratic and missionary, the geopolitical factor was present in the understanding and interpretation of cartographic works on the Amazonas. Yet, the role it played was rather secondary. In other words, the discussion of Jesuit maps of the Amazonas did not influence any boundary or bilateral political resolution that took place between the Spanish and Portuguese Empires during the eighteenth century. Jesuit networks paved the way for the elaboration of a spatial discourse that incorporated Amazonia as a vital constituent of the territory of the province of Quito. Instead, metropolitan and viceregal officials, even when participating of such networks, did not share such discourse and rather proceeded to build one in which Amazonia had become relegated and detached from Quito.¹⁵⁰ This is part of the larger diplomatic history between the Iberian powers, where the preceding Jesuit interests in Amazonia did not coincide with the geopolitical policies of the Spanish Empire.¹⁵¹ Thus, throughout the eighteenth century, in the Audiencia of Quito, there was a gradual but increasing formulation of two different visions of Amazonia. The Amazonia-within-Quito vision belonged to the Jesuit community. After the expulsion of the Society from the Spanish Empire, however, different versions of Amazonia would come into play. Members of the Franciscan province of Peru were avid participants in the enthronement of a new vision

¹⁵⁰ This bureaucratic or secular detachment of the Amazonas from Quito did not seem to be related to any type of animosity in regard to the missionary presence of Jesuits from Quito in the Amazonas. Although Jesuits became an object of controversy especially during the eighteenth century in regard to their doubtful loyalty to the Spanish monarchy, it was in the missions of Paraguay where this issue acquired greater importance. See Herzog, pp. 87-90.

¹⁵¹ Rosas, *Del Río de la Plata al Amazonas*, pp. 345-346.

of Amazonia that would have key consequences for the incorporation of the tropical heartlands of South America into the spatial imaginary of the nation by the turn of the century.



Figure 5-1. Samuel Fritz, S.I., El Gran Rio Marañón, o Amazonas con la Mission de la Compañia de Iesus, 1707. Detail. [Reprinted with permission from AMREE, Map Library.]



Figure 5-2. Samuel Fritz, S.I., El Gran Rio Marañon, o Amazonas con la Mission de la Compañia de Iesus, 1707. Detail. [Reprinted with permission from AMREE, Map Library.]

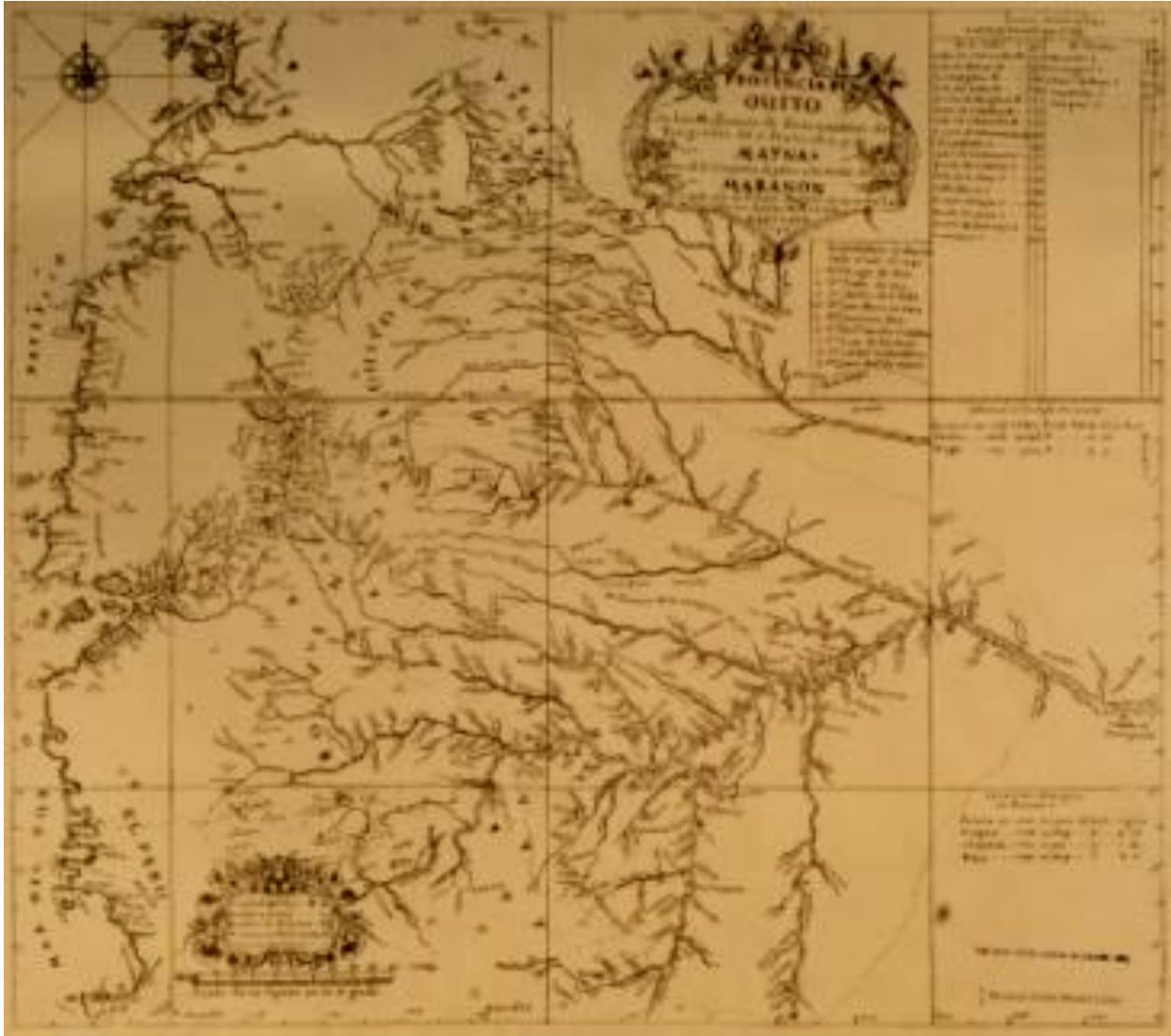


Figure 5-3. Juan Magnin, S.I., Provincia de Quito con sus Misiones de Succumbeos de Religiosos de San Francisco, y de Maynas de Padres de la Compañía de Jesus a las orillas del gran rio Marañon delineada por el Padre Juan Magnin de la misma Compañía, misionero en dichas misiones, 1740. [Reprinted with permission from AMREE, Map Library.]



Figure 5-4. Pedro Vicente Maldonado, Carta de la Provincia de Quito y de sus adjacentes. Obra posthuma de Don Pedro Maldonado, gentilhomme de la Camara de Su Magestad y Gobernador de la Provincia de Esmeraldas. Hecha sobre las observaciones astronomicas y geograficas de los academicos reales de las ciencias de Paris y de las guardias marinas de Cadiz y tambien de los RR. PP. Misioneros de Maynas, 1750. [Reprinted with permission from AMREE, Map Library.]



Figure 5-5. Juan de Velasco, S.I. Carta general de las provincias del Quito Propio, de las orientales adjuntas, y de las misiones del Marañon, Napo, Pastaza, Guallaga, y Ucayale. Delineada segun las mejores cartas modernas, y observaciones de los academicos, y misioneros, 1789. [Reprinted with permission from AMREE, Map Library.]

CHAPTER 6 FRANCISCAN CARTOGRAPHIC PRODUCTION AND THE MAKING OF THE AUTONOMOUS AND FLUVIAL PROVINCE OF AMAZONIA

A few months after the expulsion of the Society of Jesus from the Spanish Empire in 1767, the president of the Audiencia of Quito, Joseph Diguja, assigned the Jesuit missions in Western Amazonia, located in the province of Maynas, to the jurisdiction of the secular bishop of Quito, Pedro Ponce y Carrasco. Diguja and Ponce agreed to establish a biannual system to send secular priests and Franciscans from Quito to replace the expelled Jesuits. Issues of adaptation and preparation were common among the newcomers. The Quiteño Franciscans, for instance, were removed from the missions in 1774. Fifteen years later, Spanish officials reinstated these friars in their former tropical positions.¹ In general, the missions would remain under the control of the bishopric of Quito until 1802, when the province of Maynas was detached from the Audiencia of Quito—which was part of the Viceroyalty of New Granada—and incorporated into the Viceroyalty of Peru. As a result, Amazonian missions of Maynas were placed under the jurisdiction of Franciscan friars from Ocopa, Peru. This situation

¹ Oswaldo Celi Jaramillo, O.F.M., *Misión franciscana en la alta y baja Amazonia durante la colonia y la república del Ecuador* (Quito: Casa de la Cultura Ecuatoriana, 1998), p. 83; Francisco de Borja Medina, S.I., “Los Maynas después de la expulsión de los jesuitas,” in *Un reino en la frontera: las misiones jesuitas en la América colonial*, ed. Sandra Negro and Manuel M. Marzal, S.I. (Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, Fondo Editorial; Abya-Yala, 1999), pp. 445, 452-463; Waldemar Espinoza, *Amazonía del Perú: Historia de la Gobernación y Comandancia General de Maynas (Hoy Regiones de Loreto, San Martín, Ucayali y Provincia de Condorcanqui): Del siglo XV a la primera mitad del siglo XIX* (Lima: Fondo Editorial del Congreso del Perú, Banco Central de Reserva del Perú, PromPerú, 2007), pp. 318, 322, 345, 366; Francisco Miranda Rivadeneira, *Crisis en las misiones y mutilación territorial* (Quito: Banco Central del Ecuador, 1986), pp. 57-116; Juan de Dios Navas, “Nuestra patria y sus fronteras,” *Boletín de la Academia Nacional de Historia* 14: 40-41 (1936), pp. 88-100; María Elena Porras, *Gobernación y obispado de Mainas: siglos XVII y XVIII* (Quito: Abya-yala, Taller de estudios históricos, 1987), pp. 54-60. In regard to the expulsion of the Society from the territories of the Audiencia of Quito and the Viceroyalty of Peru see Federico González Suárez, *Historia General de la República del Ecuador*, vol. 5 (Quito: Imprenta del Clero, 1894), chapter 5, and Rubén Vargas Ugarte, S.I., *Historia de la Iglesia en el Perú*, vol. 4 (Burgos: Imprenta de Aldecoa, 1961), chapter 8. On the specific case of expulsion of Jesuits friars from their Western Amazonian missions see Arthur Cezar Ferreira Reis, “Os Últimos Missionários de Mainas,” *Revista do Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro* 247 (1960), pp. 86-95.

lasted until independence, when Simón Bolívar decided to convert the missionary college of Ocopa into a public school for children of the province of Jauja, central Peru, in 1824.²

Throughout these tumultuous times, Seraphic missionaries from Ocopa persevered in the making of cartographic and geographic works of Western Amazonia. In Chapter 6, I focus on the process of Franciscan knowledge production and circulation, often linked to the territory of the Viceroyalty of Peru, from the late eighteenth century to the independence movements in South America. I will trace the diverse networks that Franciscan cartographies of Amazonia used, and evaluate the connections and differences between the many Seraphic authors from Ocopa, the actions of the Jesuits of Quito, and the participation of civil-bureaucrats in the crafting of a multifaceted Amazonia. Indeed, the literature on missionary cartography of Amazonia has overlooked that the same Amazonian territory—the missions in the Province of Maynas—had been spatially delineated and portrayed in Quiteño Jesuit and Ocopeño Franciscan cartographies and geographies. These missionary works had originally belonged to different canons and responded to dissimilar contexts and situations. Later, distinct national and religious narratives deepened this schism and paved the way for the eventual separation of both historiographies. In late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth-century Western Amazonia, nonetheless, both Jesuit and Franciscan cartographic canons came together. It is thus necessary to combine them in the same

² “Decreto del Libertador ordenando que el colegio de misioneros de Ocopa quede convertido con todas sus rentas, pertenencias, etc. en un colegio de enseñanza pública para que en él se eduquen los hijos de aquellos que han sido víctimas de la libertad peruana en el valle de Jauja,” in *Documentos históricos del Perú*, ed. Manuel de Odriozola, vol. 6 (Lima: Imprenta del Estado, 1874), pp. 229-230; Félix Sáiz Díez, O.F.M., “Capítulo introductorio,” in Bernardino Izaguirre, O.F.M., *Historia de las misiones franciscanas y narración de los progresos de la geografía en el oriente de Perú*, ed. Félix Sáiz Díez, O.F.M., vol. 4, 2nd ed. (Lima: Provincia misionera de San Francisco Solano del Perú, 2003), p. 12.

interpretative unit and examine the connections, similarities, and differences among them as well as the repercussions of this cartographic entanglement in the forging of multiple national imaginaries of Amazonia.

South American knowledge production by Franciscans friars on Amazonia started long before the expulsion of the Jesuits. As seen in Chapters 2 and 4, there were Seraphic accounts made in Quito and Lima of their first incursions in the Amazonas River by 1640s. By 1680s, when Royal authorities assigned the Napo and Amazonas Rivers to the Jesuits of Quito, Franciscans from Peru started to produce more specific cartographic and geographic works about the Ucayali basin. From that moment onward, this became their main area of Amazonian expertise. By the late eighteenth century, however, different factors impacted the Ocopeño Franciscan cartographic production of the Amazonas, which made it more rapidly available to circuits within and beyond the missionary sphere. These friars established good connections with the erudite Limeño elite that ran the *Mercurio Peruano*, a 1791-1795 scientific and literary journal that published some of the Franciscans' Amazonian reports and maps.³ They likewise established closer ties with the new civilian authorities that came to govern the province of Maynas after the expulsion of the Jesuits. In particular, these friars became immediate aides of Francisco Requena, governor of Maynas and

³ Rudolph Arbesmann, O.S.A., "The Contribution of the Franciscan College of Ocopa in Peru to the Geographical Exploration of South America," *The Americas* 1:4 (1945), pp. 400-402; José de la Puente Brunke, "El Mercurio Peruano y la religión," *Anuario de historia de la iglesia* 17 (2008), p. 145; Pedro Favarón, "Entrando en la montaña: visión de la Amazonía en el Mercurio Peruano," *Tinkuy: Boletín de investigación y debate* 14 (2010), pp. 57-78; Mariselle Meléndez, "The Cultural Production of Space in Colonial Latin America: From Visualizing Difference to the Circulation of Knowledge," in *The Spatial Turn: Interdisciplinary Perspectives*, ed. Barney Warf and Santa Arias (London: Routledge, 2009), pp. 177-187; Víctor Peralta Ruiz, "La frontera Amazónica en el Perú del siglo XVIII: una representación desde la ilustración," *Illapa* 4 (2009), pp. 23-26.

head of the Fourth Commission of Limits between 1779 and 1793.⁴ Lastly, by the turn of the century, they were assigned the evangelization of the Western Amazonian territory that had been under Quiteño and Jesuit jurisdiction.

Similar to the circuits that Jesuits had established between the Amazonian missions and their urban centers in the Audiencia of Quito, Franciscans arranged a system of networks linking their tropical settings to their main convent at Ocopa, the printing establishments and intellectuals in Lima, and the major political authority in the Western Amazonian province of Maynas. This system permitted the circulation of Franciscan missionary knowledge of Amazonia across different strata and audiences. Unlike the Jesuits, the Franciscans did not have a systematized, long-distance network that, by means of “hundreds of letters, travel accounts, and natural histories on the overseas missions,” allowed for a constant transatlantic transmission and centralization of knowledge.⁵ I will show, however, that Franciscan knowledge did cross the Atlantic Ocean on several occasions and replaced the Jesuits’ as the main source of

⁴ This was one of the commissions established, on the Spanish side, to demarcate once again the line dividing the Iberian territories in South America as a result of the 1777 Preliminary Treaty of Limits of San Ildefonso. See Carlos Augusto Bastos, “A demarcação de limites sob o espectro da guerra: a Província de Maynas e a Capitania do Rio Negro no final do século XVIII,” *Trashumante: Revista Americana de História Social* 3 (2014), pp. 28-47; Eric Beerman, *Francisco Requena: La expedición de límites: Amazonia, 1779-1795* (Madrid: Compañía Literaria, 1996); José Luis del Río Sadornil, “Francisco Requena y Herrera: una figura clave en la demarcación de los límites hispano-lusos en la cuenca del Amazonas (s. XVIII),” *Revista Complutense de Historia de América* 29 (2003), pp. 51-75; Manuel Lucena, “Ciencia para la frontera: las expediciones españolas de límites, 1751-1804,” *Cuadernos hispanoamericanos. Los complementarios* 2 (1988), pp. 166-167, “Introducción,” in Francisco Requena et al., *Ilustrados y bárbaros: Diario de la exploración de límites al Amazonas (1782)*, ed. Manuel Lucena (Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 1991), pp. 19-35, and “La delimitación hispano-portuguesa y la frontera regional quiteña, 1777-1804,” *Procesos* 4 (1993), pp. 21-39; María del Carmen Martín Rubio, “Estudio preliminar,” in *Historia de Maynas: Un paraíso perdido en el Amazonas (descripción de Francisco Requena)*, ed. María del Carmen Martín Rubio (Madrid: Atlas, 1991), pp. 103-120; Simeia Maria de Souza Torres, “Dominios y fronteras en la Amazonia colonial: El Tratado de San Ildefonso (1777-1790),” *Fronteras de la Historia* 8 (2003), pp. 185-216.

⁵ Steven J. Harris, “Jesuit Scientific Activity in the Overseas Missions, 1540-1773,” *Isis* 96:1 (2005), p. 76.

Amazonian information. At a continental level, the circulation of their geographic and cartographic works was equally well extended thanks to an even stronger association with the political sphere than the Jesuits had established in Quito. These connections, alongside the availability and circulation of their cartographic and geographic works in printed form, have resulted in the portrayal, within Franciscan and Franciscanist historiographies, of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century as the “glorious” and “scientific” eras of their knowledge and missionary production.⁶

This portrayal is troublesome because it underestimates the preceding unprinted works of Western Amazonia by Franciscan cartographers in the seventeenth century as well as overestimates the professional quality of their geo-cartographic production.⁷ Even more problematic is the resulting argument that, similar to the Jesuits of Quito, the Franciscans of Ocopa became a preponderant force in the defense of the eastern frontiers of the Spanish Empire in South America. This, and the fact that Royal authorities transferred the missions of the province of Maynas to their jurisdiction by 1802, has converted the Ocopa Franciscans into key actors in the incorporation and eventual “Peruvianization” of Western Amazonian frontier by the time of independence.⁸ For instance, historian Mariano Cuesta holds there can be no doubt of Franciscan:

⁶ Arbesmann, p. 396; Mariano Cuesta Domingo, “Aportación franciscana a la geografía de América,” *Archivo Ibero-Americano*. 2^{da} Época 46 (1986), p. 550; Valverde de Ica, “La geografía del oriente peruano y los misioneros franciscanos: 1619-1913,” *Boletín de la Sociedad Geográfica de Lima* 37-38 (1921), p. 31; Alberto Gridilla, O.F.M., “Aportación de los Misioneros Franciscanos Descalzos al progreso de la Geografía del Perú.” 2da ed., in Alberto Gridilla, OFM. *Un año en el Putumayo. Resumen de un diario* (Lima: Colección Descalzos, 1943), p. 72; Julián Heras, O.F.M., “Los franciscanos de Ocopa y la cartografía regional del centro,” *Boletín de Lima* 6 (1980), p. 45 and *Aportes de los franciscanos a la evangelización del Perú* (Lima: Provincia misionera de San Francisco Solano, 1992), pp. 306-307.

⁷ Situations that I sought to discuss and amend in Chapters 4 and 3, respectively.

⁸ Cuesta, “Aportación franciscana,” pp. 540, 576, “Descubrimientos geográficos durante el siglo XVIII: acción franciscana en la ampliación de fronteras,” *Archivo Ibero-Americano*. 2^{da} Época 52 (1992), pp. 328-329, and “Pervivencia de modelos de exploración territorial tras la independencia de América del

aportación a la Geografía histórica, al conocimiento étnico del mundo suramericano; lo que es evidente, y una prueba del aserto anterior, es que sus relaciones, mapas y descripciones fueron muy aprovechadas por los gobiernos republicanos, como lo habían sido (en menor medida) para los virreinales.⁹

The problem is that scholars, who emphasize the linkage between Franciscan cartographies and explorations and the postcolonial processes of boundary formation, have failed to explain how those colonial and independent governments took advantage of the Seraphic works. In Chapter 6, I seek to examine this advantage by tracing different networks that allowed for the circulation of Franciscan geographic and cartographic works of Amazonia throughout the Viceroyalty of Peru and beyond. I will argue that unlike Quito, where there was a clear divide between Jesuit and bureaucratic visions of Amazonia, by the late eighteenth-century Franciscan and civilian spatial projects tended to match in terms of the autonomy and fluvial accessibility ascribed to the region. Yet, despite these largely congruent images, there was a distinct Franciscan vision of Amazonia, forged around the Ucayali River, whose origins dated back to the seventeenth century.

The Franciscan Concept of an Autonomous Amazonia by the Late Seventeenth Century (or a “New Venice”)

After the Audiencia of Lima granted the Conibos mission in the Ucayali River to the Jesuits of Quito on April 24th, 1687, representatives of the Franciscan province of Lima submitted a series of reports to secure and improve what had been left to them in Western Amazonia. A recurring and novel point that the authors of these reports made

Sur,” *Archivo Íbero-Americano. 2da Época* 57 (1997), pp. 472, 491, 507-508; Gridilla, p. 89; Heras, *Aportes de los franciscanos*, p. 272; Sáiz, “Capítulo introductorio,” pp. 23-25.

⁹ “contribution to the historical geography, to the ethnographic knowledge of the South American continent; which is evident, and a proof of my previous assertion is that their accounts, maps, and descriptions greatly benefited the independent republics, as they did (in a lesser extent) in the viceroyalties.” Cuesta, “Pervivencia de modelos,” p. 507.

was the plan to create a government or province that included the entire eastern frontier of the Spanish Empire in South America. Joseph de Rosas, a witness who, between 1680 and 1684, resided in the province of Tarma—the province from which a Franciscan expedition departed in their attempt to occupy the Conibos town in the Ucayali—noted that the main point of entrance to this region was the “Cerro de la Sal.” According to Rosas’ 1691 account, this site was well connected to ports and cities around the province of Tarma. Once at Cerro de la Sal, the communication with the rest of the jungle was easier since there were “ríos mas navegables, que pueden andar en ellos barcos de velas.”¹⁰ This was, however, just a first step because Rosas ultimately believed that:

que si se hiziera, y lograra, la conquista, y conversion, de los dichos indios infieles de todas las montañas asta passar á la Mar del Norte reducidos á la ley Evangelica tiene por cierto este testigo fuera otro nuevo mundo, en que se podian aun repartir muchas monarquias según el gentio que tiene en distancia tan dilatada.¹¹

Rosas’ plan consisted in underscoring the strategic and communicable quality of the region, that is, that Cerro de la Sal would become the port of entry to control the eastern frontiers of the province of Tarma and, more important, all the Amazonian territories and peoples until the Atlantic Ocean.

In 1691, Captain Bartolomé Veraum, who had participated in the 1686 Franciscan expedition to Conibos, noted in a similar manner that the eastern frontier of the Viceroyalty of Peru was a suitable place for Spanish colonization and

¹⁰ “rivers more capable of being travelled, on which sailboats can navigate.” Joseph de Rosas, “Declaracion de Don Joseph de Rosas,” Lima, September 3, 1691. ALMREP, LEB-11-47, caja 94, f. 87v.

¹¹ “if we make it and achieve the conquest and conversion of those heathen Indians that inhabit all the jungles up until the North Sea [Atlantic Ocean], and subject them to the evangelical law, this witness truly believes that this will become a different New World, in which the monarchies could parcel out the peoples who live in such ample space.” *Ibid.*, f. 87r.

evangelization. However, instead of indicating that the solution lay in the projected communication of the region, as Rosas had done, for Veraum there was a major governmental problem. He pointed out that the source of the officials' disinterest in the colonization in the eastern frontier of the provinces of Jauja and Tarma was the lack of an "administration of justice" in those jurisdictions.¹² As a solution, Veraum stated that:

le parece tuviera remedio este desorden si Su Magestad mandaba que se hiziesse provincia áparte concediendole todos los dichos pueblos fronterizos, quitandose los á las dichas dos provincias de Tarma y Xauja, y poniendo alli un gobernador o capitan á guerra con toda la jurisdicion real y con orden de que fundasse pueblos de españoles, y de la demas gente que alli se pudiesse agregar, assi de christianos como de gentiles.¹³

The site of this new government was to be established in the port of Quimiri that, thanks to its communication with the provinces of Tarma and Jauja as well as the city of Lima, was to permit the institution of a proper "administration of justice" in the frontier towns constituting this "new kingdom" for the Spanish Crown.¹⁴ Another participant in the expedition to Conibos, Captain Francisco de Rojas, made more specific comments on the contours of the proposed new eastern province. He noted that by creating this province:

se ganará todo aquel dilatado y poderoso reino asta confinar con las tierra del Brasil, que es su frontera; y para la parte de abaxo asta la gran Cocama [Jesuit

¹² Bartholome de Veraum, "Nueva declaración del Capitán Bartholome de Veraum (y Acuña)," Lima, October 22, 1691. ALMREP, LEB-11-47, caja 94, f. 112v.

¹³ "it seems this issue would be resolved if Your Majesty decrees the creation of a new province that includes all those frontier towns, detaching them from the provinces of Jauja and Tarma, and establishing there a Governor or military Captain, with royal jurisdiction and command to found towns for Spaniards and other peoples, Christian or heathen, who want to join them." Ibid., f. 113r.

¹⁴ Ibid., ff. 113r-114v. Quimiri had been assigned since 1642 to Franciscans, as part of their *curato* or priesthood of Huancabamba, but they could not fulfill this mandate. See Joseph Amich, O.F.M., *Compendio histórico de los trabajos, sudores, fatigas, y muertes que los ministros evangélicos de la seráfica religión han padecido por la conversión de las almas de los gentiles, en las montañas de los Andes, pertenecientes a las provincias del Perú* (Paris: Libreria de Rosa y Bouret, 1854 [1771]), pp. 67-71.

mission] en frente de Quito, y de allí á la Margarita [island?], y por la parte de arriba en frente del Cuzco, Carabaya, y Cochabamba, por donde se tiene noticia cierta está la poblacion y tierras del gran Paitití tan nombrado.¹⁵

This new province was expected to occupy and increase the eastern frontier of the Viceroyalty of Peru from the Marañon River in the North to the Madre de Dios River basin in the South under the guidance of, not religious, but civilian or military authority.

It is important to note that these early proposals for creating a new and independent jurisdiction in Western Amazonia were part of the Franciscan petition following the 1687 loss of the Conibos mission in the Ucayali to the Jesuits. Although Franciscan authorities from Peru did not properly discuss the creation of the new province, they did provide a new spatial conceptualization of Amazonia that initially coincided with that proposed by the soldiers and civilians. Yet, the Franciscan vision of Amazonia was even more encompassing and, in addition, contested the descriptions made by Jesuits and their Seraphic peers from the province of Quito. In his 1692 summary of all of the reports submitted by members of the Franciscan expedition to Conibos, the General Procurator of the Seraphic missions in Jauja and Tarma, Domingo Álvarez de Toledo, noted that the discovery of Amazonia was a uniquely Franciscan accomplishment. Álvares underscored the role of the Quiteño Seraphic lay brothers Brieua and Toledo in the exploration of the Amazonas between the years of 1635 and 1636, from “las juntas del gran rio Napo con el poderoso Marañon y gran Paro

¹⁵ “we will conquer all that ample and powerful kingdom until the borders of the land of Brazil, which is its frontier; and to the North until the great Cocama [Jesuit mission] in front of Quito, and from there to the Margarita [island?], and to the South in front of Cuzco, Carabaya, and Cochabamba, where we truly know the town and lands of the renowned great Paititi is located.” Francisco Rojas, “Declaración diaria del capitán Francisco Rojas de Guzman,” Lima, November 12, 1691. ALMREP, LEB-11-47, caja 94, ff. 157r-157v.

[Ucayali]” to the Atlantic Ocean.¹⁶ Still, he noted that Franciscans from Peru discovered the remaining and larger portion of Amazonia, in particular its southern bank and the eastern flanks of Peru. This discovery resulted from the 1686 expedition that “el Venerable Varon fray Manuel de Biedma inspirado del cielo embió desde la embarcacion de San Luis [of Perene] asta el Gran Paro [Ucayali], y nacion de los Conibos.”¹⁷ Thus, Álvarez’s emphasized that the discovery of Amazonia, from Quito and from Peru, responded exclusively to a Franciscan initiative.

The General Procurator also planned to provide a more complicated look at the location of Amazonian rivers and ethnic groups so that he could convince authorities that the Amazonas and the Ucayali—or Gran Paro—were the same river and that those native societies were within a reasonable distance from the Franciscan missionary territory. Álvarez, citing a 1682 manuscript report by the Franciscan Manuel Biedma and the 1684 “El Marañon y Amazonas” by the Jesuit Manuel Rodríguez, stated that the Omagua nation, “the best and largest of the [nations] we found in the Amazonas River,” lived along the Ucayali. Álvarez pointed out that the Omagua settlements extended beyond the Amazonas, “y lo va poblando todo [the Ucayali] muchas leguas, asta ponerse aquí en frente de nosotros, mirando al Cerro de la Sal, desde donde á dicha nacion hai solos doce dias de camino.”¹⁸ Thus, the Omagua “are close to us.”¹⁹ Other

¹⁶ “the confluence of the Napo of the great Napo River and the mighty Marañon and great Paro [Ucayali] River.” Domingo Álvarez de Toledo, O.F.M., “Memorial en que se haze relacion de todos los autos y por puntos se recopilan todas las declaraciones de los testigos,” Lima, 1692. ALMREP, LEB-11-47, caja 94, ff. 267r-267v. Quote in 267v.

¹⁷ “the venerable man father Manuel de Biedma, heavenly inspired, sent from the port of San Luis [of Perene] to the great Paro [Ucayali] and [land of] the Conibo nation.” Ibid., f. 267v.

¹⁸ “and they continue occupying [the Ucayali] for many leagues, until the point where they get in front of us, looking at the Cerro de la Sal, where that nation is only 12 days away.” Ibid., ff. 282v-283r.

Amazonian societies were in a similar geographical situation, like the Tupinambas, who had escaped from Portuguese control near Pernambuco and migrated to the Madeira River, and like the Curigueres, who were a group of giants inhabiting the Cuchiguara River—both rivers being Southern tributaries of the Amazonas. In both cases, Álvarez emphasized that those natives were living at the same latitude, close to the Cerro de la Sal, and consequently “vienen á caer las dichas naciones al nacimiento del sol en frente de esta Ciudad de los Reyes en el conmedio [sic] de aquel dilatado imperio.”²⁰ That is, Franciscans, having Lima and Cerro de la Sal as their centers of operations, were naturally predisposed to conquer and colonize the entire tropical heartland of South America.

On the proper nomenclature and dimensions of the Amazonas, Álvarez similarly attempted to give the Franciscan Order preeminence over the conceptualization and spatial disposition of this river to benefit their evangelizing enterprise. He started by noting that the Marañon, was the “monarca de todos los rios, que bañan este dilatado imperio, y canal maestra donde entran todos los demás.”²¹ At this point, he was simply following what earlier Jesuit and Franciscan chronicles of Amazonian exploration had indicated. The General Procurator slightly twisted the older narrative by adding that the ultimate source of the Marañon was not in Quito or Lima, but in Cuzco—city that properly deserves “the triumph” of giving birth to this river.²² Apurimac was the first

¹⁹ Ibid., f. 323v.

²⁰ “these nations came to reside where the Sun rises, facing the City of the Kings [Lima], in the middle of that ample empire.” Ibid., ff. 283r-285r, 294r. Quote in f. 294r.

²¹ “King of all the rivers that circulate throughout this ample empire, and master channel where all the other rivers empty their waters.” Ibid., f. 315v.

²² Ibid., ff. 315v-316r, 319v.

name that the river received at its headwaters. After the Vilcanota and Cocharcas Rivers joined it, the river's name changed to Vilcamayo. Later, after the Simaponte and Paucartambo emptied their waters into the Vilcamayo, the river was named Taraba. A few leagues downriver, the Taraba River received the waters of the Ene, which had the Perene River as its main affluent. The headwaters of the Perene were located near the aforementioned Cerro de la Sal. After the Ene joined the Taraba, the river received another name, Gran Paro, around the town of Conibos. Further downriver, after Conibos, the river's name changed to Ucayali. Ucayali is, lastly, the river coming from the South that emptied its waters in the "great Marañon Apurimac."²³

The location in Cuzco of the headwaters of the Marañon-Apurimac River responded not solely to issues of proto-Creolism, but also to measurable factors that permitted Álvarez to point out this as the ultimate source of the largest river in South America. In this aspect, his object of criticism was Acuña. According to the Franciscan procurator, the Jesuit Acuña had provided puzzling news by placing the headwaters of the river around Quito and, consequently, by making the Napo River part of the "master channel" that constituted his Amazonas River. In Álvarez's opinion, the Napo could never be considered part of the main course of the river because "á la vista del Marañon Apurimac parece un pigmeo junto a un gigante, y que desde su encuentro asta su origen aun no tiene el Napo 500 leguas [...] Y el de Apurimac desde su origen asta dicha junta, tiene mas de 900 leguas."²⁴ Thus, due to its most distant headwaters,

²³ Ibid., ff. 316v-319r, 320v.

²⁴ "in comparison to the Marañon Apurimac, [the Napo] looks like a pygmy next to a giant, and from its headwaters [to the Marañon] the Napo is not even 500 leagues [long] [...] Whereas the Apurimac, since its origins to the confluence [with the Marañon] is more than 900 leagues [long]." Ibid., f. 322v.

largest volume, and “antiquity,” the Apurimac preeminently deserved being the “master channel” of the Marañon River.²⁵

Besides despairing perceptions of length, the main fluvial issue to resolve was about naming and the consequential cartographic description of these bodies of water. Around the same time Álvarez’s report was made, the Franciscan Vincenzo Coronelli, arguably the most important cosmographer and cartographer of the Seraphic order in Europe, published his map of the Amazonas river titled “Corso del fiume dell Amazoni” in 1689 (Figure A-25).²⁶ Paradoxically, Coronelli delineated the fluvial landscape of the tropical heartland of South America following a Jesuit source. In 1684, Manuel Rodríguez had noted that whereas the Amazonas, which his peer Acuña had explored and described forty years earlier, ran from the highlands near Quito, the Marañon was an independent branch coming from Southern Peru.²⁷ Following this account, from his Venetian atelier, Coronelli delineated the Amazonas and the Marañon as two different rivers (Figure A-26). Instead, from Lima and using the first-hand observations by the 1686 Franciscan expedition to the Conibos mission, Álvarez sought to challenge the work of the arm-chair Seraphic cartographer and the Jesuit account simultaneously. It is important to note that the General Prosecutor did not deny the existence of the Napo River. He just noted that, unlike claims by authors such as Rodríguez and Coronelli, that

²⁵ Ibid., ff. 322v-323r.

²⁶ On Coronelli see Denis Cosgrove, “Global Illumination and Enlightenment in the Geographies of Vincenzo Coronelli and Athanasius Kircher,” in *Geography and Enlightenment*, ed. David N. Livingstone and Charles W. J. Withers (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999), pp. 34-50; John M. Lenhart, O.M.Cap., “Science in the Franciscan Order: A Historical Sketch,” *Franciscan Studies* 1 (1924), p. 29.

²⁷ Manuel Rodríguez, S.I., *El Marañon, y Amazonas. Historia de los descubrimientos, entradas, y reduccion de naciones, trabajos malogrados de algunos conquistadores, y dichosos de otros, assi temporales como espirituales, en las dilatadas montañas, y mayores rios de la America* (Madrid: Imprenta de Antonio Gonçales de Reyes, 1684), pp. 143-147.

river did not deserve to be aligned with the name Amazonas. Álvarez thus indicated that the Amazonas, Marañón, and Gran Paro, whose ultimate origins were in the Apurímac, were just different names for the same river, the “master channel.” And this was what members of the Franciscan crew showed in their 1687 map of the expedition to the Conibos mission (Figure A-27).

The importance of locating the “master channel” in the Apurímac River responded to political reasons as well. While describing it as the main watercourse that connected the entire Amazonian basin, Álvarez was implicitly proposing the Marañón Apurímac as the most important route to control that territory, that is, the new eastern frontier province. More important for this political purpose, the main route of the river was accessible from the city of Lima, the capital of the viceroyalty. Following the reports by Rosas and Veraum, the Franciscan procurator noted that the confluence of the Ene and Perene Rivers, being the former one of the main tributaries of the Marañón Apurímac, was the most suitable place for the establishment of a port. This site was ideal for it could receive sailboats and was located close to the Cerro de la Sal, no more than 80 leagues Apurímac, was the most suitable place for the establishment of a port. This site was ideal for it could receive sailboats and was located close to the Cerro de la Sal, no more than 80 leagues from Lima. As a result, “se puede conducir por el [Cerro de la Sal] a esta ciudad [Lima] lo que quisiere sin embarazo.”²⁸ This interconnection was only the first step in a larger plan that encompassed the entire eastern frontier of the Spanish Empire in South America. In the concluding arguments of his report,

²⁸ “we can carry through this [Cerro de la Sal] to that city [of Lima] whatever without interruption.” Álvarez, “Memorial,” f. 318v.

Álvarez underscored that the Marañon Apurimac was to serve as the continental axis of a network of large and navigable rivers:

pues desde junto al Reino [of New Granada], por el rio Negro, y desde junto á Quito por el rio Napo, y por los demás que quedan referidos, se puede subir en embarcaciones y baxar asta la canal que es dicho Apurimac Marañon, y por el arriba subirse asta enfrente de esta ciudad de Lima, y passar mas adelante enfrente de la del Cuzco. Y si atravesando dicha canal le entraren por las bocas de los que le entran por la banda del sur á mano derecha, puede llegarse á poner enfrente de todas las tierras de arriba, Carabaya, Laricaxe, Chuquiabo, Cochabamba, Chuquisaca, y Santa Cruz de la Sierra, conque *todo el reino es navegable como las calles de Venecia*.²⁹

Although the plan of the new and larger tropical Venice in the middle of South America remained just a project, it provided a glimpse of what was at stake in the Amazonian missionary project designed by the Franciscans of Peru.

First of all, the connection with central and southern Peru, and Lima in particular, became a necessary factor to support their tropical enterprises. After reading Álvarez's report, Mathias Lagunez, attorney of the Viceroyalty of Peru, noted that the conditions in the Jesuit missions of the province of Maynas did not improve due to the long distance and bad roads poorly connecting those missions to Quito. Instead, the attorney stated that the Franciscan plan to establish a center at the Cerro de la Sal was the perfect solution to increase Spanish control over that territory through shorter distances and better connections to the rest of the province of Tarma and Lima.³⁰ Second, though

²⁹ "since from the kingdom [of New Granada], through the Negro River, and from Quito through the Napo River, and through the other aforementioned rivers, boats can sail up and down to that said channel Apurimac Marañon, and through this [Apurimac Marañon] [boats] can sail upriver until the city of Lima, and even further upriver until the [city] of Cuzco. And if navigating this channel and entering into its tributaries coming from the South to its right hand, [boats] can reach most distant lands, Carabaya, Laricaxe, Chuquiabo, Cochabamba, Chuquisaca, and Santa Cruz de la Sierra; thus resulting that all this kingdom is navigable like the streets of Venice." Ibid., f. 330r. My emphasis.

³⁰ Mathias Lagunez, "Respuesta del Señor Fiscal," Lima, January 20, 1693. ALMREP, LEB-11-47, caja 94, ff. 334v-336r.

Rosas and Captains Veraum and Rojas proposed the creation of the eastern province under the leadership of a civilian or military ruler, viceregal authorities thought otherwise. They approved the foundation of the town of Quimiri, near Cerro de la Sal, under Franciscan tutelage. They also gave these friars the possibility of choosing three towns around Quimiri to create the autonomous eastern province.³¹ Although the implementing of this new Venice would have to wait until early nineteenth century to exist, it came to constitute an integral component of the Franciscan enterprise in Western Amazonia since it was first mentioned.

The State of Franciscan Amazonian Cartography by the Mid-Eighteenth Century (or the “Province of the Amazonas”)

In 1761 the Viceroy of Peru, Joseph Manso de Velasco, complained about the lack of a complete geographical and statistical description of the jurisdiction under his control. To fulfill two Royal decrees from 1741 and 1751, Manso had submitted a set of instructions to every governor and *corregidor* in the viceroyalty. They were asked to collect every piece of information about the geography, economy, hydrography, mineralogy, archaeology, history, and demography of their provinces and towns.³² By 1761, the work had yet to be concluded. Although most of the provincial governors had sent their reports, the Viceroy noted that the corregidores had either submitted deficient accounts of their towns or simply did not send anything due to the “falta de hombres

³¹ Viceroy Count of Monclova et al., “Auto del Real Acuerdo por voto consultivo,” Lima, April 23, 1693. ALMREP, LEB-11-47, caja 94, ff. 342r-342v.

³² Joseph Manso de Velasco, “Relacion que escribe el conde de Superunda, Virrey del Peru, de los principales sucesos de su gobierno [...],” in *Memorias de los virreyes que han gobernado el Perú, durante el tiempo del coloniaje español*, ed. Manuel Atanasio Fuentes, vol. 4 (Lima: Librería central de Felipe Bailly, 1859), p. 87.

háviles á quien encargarlas.”³³ Manso ratified that the lack of individuals qualified to make accurate maps and descriptions of the provinces was a common problem in both Indian and Spanish towns.³⁴ Despite these complications, the optimistic Viceroy stated that the geographical and statistical description of the entire territory under his jurisdiction was on its way, and the person in charge of concluding this major work was Cosme Bueno, Chair of Mathematics at the University of San Marcos in Lima and Chief Cosmographer of the Viceroyalty of Peru.³⁵

Bueno was not as optimistic as the Viceroy. Between 1764 and 1778, the Chief Cosmographer published a series of descriptions of the provinces and archbishoprics within the Peruvian viceroyalty. His sources were precisely those incomplete reports submitted by governors and corregidores as requested by viceroy Manso. In the 1764 introduction to the first number of these descriptions Bueno noted that, though he intended to complement such accounts to offer a complete description of the viceroyalty, the task was very difficult due to the vastness of the territory and the inaccuracy of the existing reports.³⁶ These hindrances, then, made Bueno’s cartographic plans rather challenging:

³³ “lack of skillful men who can be in charge of them.” Joseph Manso de Velasco, “Adicion a la instruccion que tengo formada de orden de S. M. para entregar al que me sucediese en el gobierno de estas provincias [...],” in Fuentes, *Memorias de los virreyes*, vol. 4, p. 304.

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ Cosme Bueno was not the Viceroy’s first choice. Bueno came to replace José Bernal, member of the Congregation of the Oratory of Saint Philip Neri, and Pedro Bravo de Castilla, official of the Audiencia of Lima, who were not able to fulfill the Viceroy’s order. See Manso, “Relacion que escribe el conde de Superunda,” 86 and “Adicion a la instruccion,” p. 303.

³⁶ Cosme Bueno, *El Conocimiento de los Tiempos, Ephemeride del Año de 1764, Bisiesto: En que van puestos los principales Aspectos de la Luna con los Astros, y los de ellos entre sí. [...] Vá al fin una Relacion, y Descripcion de las Provincias del Arzobispado de Lima* (Lima: impreso en la Oficina de la Calle de la Coca, 1764), p. [2r].

Mi deseo fuera dar Mapas particulares de cada Provincia, ó uno general, que las comprendiesse todas; pero esto [...] tiene una suma dificultad [...] Para hacer un Mapa exacto es menester una coleccion de observaciones astronomicas de la longitud y latitud de cada lugar. Con éllas se hace bien, y brevemente un Mapa [...] Y un Mapa hecho assi jamás tendrá necesidad de correccion. *¿Pero como se hará esto en un Reyno, donde hasta aquí no hay observaciones, á excepción de algunos lugares de sus costas, y aun de essas algunas bien dudosas?*³⁷

For Bueno, the lack of accurate cartographic descriptions of the administrative and ecclesiastical units of Peru resulted from the absence of extensive and recorded astronomical observations. He also complained about maps of America produced in Europe, specifically those of Nicolas Sanson, Robert de Vaugondy, and Jean Baptiste Bourguignon d'Anville, which presented astronomical deficiencies and did not include the borderlines of the provinces, bishoprics, and Audiencias of the Viceroyalty.³⁸ To resolve these issues and make an accurate map of Peru once and for all, Bueno proposed that the King of Spain should dispatch “algunos sugetos instruidos” to explore the provinces of Peru with proper instruments to make the necessary celestial observations. He also pointed out that these individuals should investigate “el origen y curso de los Ríos, y Cordilleras, como también, y principalmente, los límites de cada Provincia.”³⁹

³⁷ “My plan was to make specific maps of each province, or one general map that incorporated all the other; but this [...] is very difficult [...] To make an accurate map is necessary a collection of astronomical observations of the longitude and latitude of each place. With these, we can easily make a good map [...] And we will never have to correct a map made in such manner. Yet, *how are we going to do this in a kingdom where we do not have such observations, except for a few places in the coastline, but even some of them are very doubtful?*” Bueno, *El Conocimiento de los Tiempos*, pp. [2r-2v]. My emphasis.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. [3r].

³⁹ “some experienced individuals [...] the headwaters and course of the rivers and mountains, as well as, and more importantly, the borderlines of each province.” *Ibid.*, pp. [2v-3r].

On the one hand, Bueno was one of the major scientific figures of the Peruvian viceroyalty during the eighteenth century, well versed in mathematics, and astronomy. His opinion was that of a person with the required knowledge to criticize the poor state of the local and foreign cartographic production of the viceroyalty at the time.⁴⁰ On the other, his proposals to resolve the problem seemed unwittingly aimed at the local Franciscan community. The geographic and cartographic works of these friars included in the lawsuit against the Jesuits of Quito for the possession of the Conibos mission, and the subsequent reports that discussed the creation of the new eastern province, were presented at the Audiencia of Lima between 1687 and 1693.⁴¹ These Seraphic works dealt with the finding of the true and ultimate origin of the Amazonas or, for them, the Apurimac Marañon River. They also sought to define a new province within the Viceroyalty of Peru. These were examples of the tasks that Bueno had requested from the experienced individuals hired to make an accurate map of Peru. Yet, the very fact that the Chief Cosmographer was requesting once again the resolution of these astronomical, geographic, and cartographic assignments suggests that the Franciscan works had been forgotten by the time Bueno was put in charge of the matter.⁴²

⁴⁰ On Cosme Bueno and his scientific production in the Viceroyalty of Peru see D.W. Mcpheeters, "The Distinguished Peruvian Scholar Cosme Bueno 1711-1798," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 35:4 (1955), pp. 484-491; Joan Manuel Morales and Marco Antonio Morales, *La Ilustración en Lima: Vida y obra del doctor Cosme Bueno y Alegre, 1711-1798* (Lima: CEPREDIM-Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos, 2010).

⁴¹ ALMREP, LEB-11-47, caja 94, ff. 32v-33r, 342r-342v.

⁴² It is known that the journals and reports prepared by the members of the Franciscan expedition to Conibos were still held at the archive of Ocopa when Father Agüeros wrote his 1786 collection of travel accounts by Franciscans from Ocopa. He did not mention, however, if those were the original versions from 1686-1693 or the copy made in 1754. See Pedro González de Agüeros, O.F.M., *Colección general de las expediciones practicadas por los religiosos misioneros del Orden de San Francisco del Colegio de Propaganda Fide de Santa Rosa de Santa María de Ocopa. Situado en el Reyno del Perú, arzobispado de Lima y provincia de Jauja, solicitando la conversión de gentiles; con descripción geográfica de la situación de aquel Colegio y sus misiones; y se expresan también los religiosos que han muerto a manos*

The literature on Franciscan cartography and my own research indicate that there was a gap in their mapping production during the first half of the eighteenth century—which makes Bueno’s omission of their works understandable. This does not mean that they stopped exploring Western Amazonia but rather the opposite. Franciscans continued attempting to establish outposts throughout the Huallaga and Ucayali basins, but these experienced several setbacks. After losing Conibos to the Jesuits of Quito, the Franciscan Manuel Biedma led a new expedition to establish the mission of San Francisco Solano at the confluence of the Ucayali and Ene Rivers. Biedma and his companions, however, died in a confrontation with Piro natives in July of 1687.⁴³ In 1694, after receiving permission to create the new eastern province, a new expedition was formed with the goal of recovering the regions of Quimiri and Cerro de la Sal. The result of this expedition was also unsuccessful and the Franciscan lost their missionary presence in the Ucayali.⁴⁴ In the opinion of Father Amich, “[n]o se halla en el archivo de este colegio mas noticias de las conversiones del Cerro de la Sal ni Andes de Andamarca desde esta desgraciada expedicion [in 1694] hasta que el año de 1709 las suscitó el venerable padre fray Francisco de San José, primer comisario de misiones en este reino del Perú.”⁴⁵

de los infieles por tan santa obra, 1786, in Julián Heras, O.F.M., ed., “Expediciones de los misioneros franciscanos de Ocopa (1709-1786) por el P. Pedro González de Agüeros,” *Archivo Íbero-americano* 45 (1985), p. 26.

⁴³ Amich, pp. 121-122.

⁴⁴ In 1704 they would also lost their missions among the Panataguas, in the Huallaga basin. See *Ibid.*, pp. 125-126.

⁴⁵ “in the archive of this College [of Ocopa] there are no more news of the missions of Cerro de la Sal nor of the Ande [Indians] in Andamarca since that disgraceful expedition [in 1694] until the year of 1709 when the venerable father Francisco de San Jose, first commissary of missions in this kingdom of Peru, resurrect them.” *Ibid.*, 126. The Franciscan historian Félix Sáiz similarly noted that between 1688 and

Francisco de San José became an important factor in the reestablishment of activities by the Franciscans of Peru thanks, above all, to his participation in the foundation of the College of missionaries in Santa Rosa of Ocopa in 1725.⁴⁶ His main objective, as Commissary of Missions in Peru, was to start a training center that would prepare friars to evangelize the eastern frontier of the Viceroyalty. The location of Ocopa was ideal for it allowed the communication of the main cities in the provinces of Tarma, Jauja, and Huanuco, and the many Amazonian societies living around the Huallaga and Ucayali basins.⁴⁷ After the foundation of the College, Franciscan expeditions were revitalized, though with varying degrees of success and endurance.⁴⁸ The beginning of the rebellion of Juan Santos Atahualpa in 1742 would, however, bring a more enduring obstacle to Franciscan missionary activities. As Stefano Varese noted, Atahualpa became the leader of a multiethnic movement that included Ashaninka, Amuesha, Piro, Conibo, Shipibo, and Mochobo natives from the Huallaga and Ucayali basins who defended their territory from Spanish incursions, either military or missionary.⁴⁹ Although the rebel leader supposedly died between 1755 and 1756, the

1708 the frontier missions of the Franciscans of Peru endured a time of stagnation. See Izaguirre, vol. 1, p. 338, n.277.

⁴⁶ Agüeros, pp. 26-28; Amich, pp. 140-144. Franciscan friars started to reside in Ocopa only in 1734, and the convent became legally an “apostolic college of missions” in 1758. See Izaguirre, vol. 1, pp. 424, 427.

⁴⁷ Izaguirre, vol. 1, p. 426.

⁴⁸ Agüeros, pp. 27-29; Amich, pp. 140-178; Izaguirre, vol. 1, pp. 429-459.

⁴⁹ Stefano Varese, *Salt of the Mountain: Campa Asháninka History and Resistance in the Peruvian Jungle*, trans. Susan Giersbach Rascón (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2002), pp. 87-109. On Juan Santos Atahualpa see also, among others, Arturo de la Torre y López, “Juan Santos: ¿el invencible?,” *Histórica* 17:2 (1993), pp. 239-266 and *Juan Santos Atahualpa* (Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, Fondo Editorial, 2004); Alberto Flores, *Buscando un Inca: identidad y utopía en los Andes*, 4th ed. (Lima: Horizonte, 1994), pp. 83-96; Izaguirre, vol. 1, pp. 469-544; Daniel J. Santamaría, “La rebelión de Juan Santos Atahuallpa en la selva central peruana (1742-1756): ¿movimiento religioso o insurrección política?,” *Boletín Americanista* 57 (2007), pp. 233-256; Fernando Santos, “Anticolonialismo,

repercussions of this movement had a long-term effect, disrupting the system of missions and towns that Franciscan and Spanish authorities had established in the central Amazonian jungles of the viceroyalty of Peru.⁵⁰

The first half of the eighteenth century was indeed a problematic time for every kind of Franciscan missionary activity—including their cartographic production—in Eastern Peru. The rebellion of Atahualpa had just made the situation worse. As a result, Cosme Bueno's complaints about the poor state of the geographic and cartographic knowledge in the 1760s were likely valid. One possible contributing factor is that the Franciscan order, facing the insurgent movement in their missions, had to redirect their focus to revitalize their evangelizing targets and keep aside, at least momentarily, those forerunner cartographic works of the Ucayali from the late 1680s. Any interest in mapping and mapmaking had to be postponed for the most part of the eighteenth century. Another possible hindrance is that the Chief Cosmographer was simply unaware of the current state of cartographic and geographic works of the Franciscans of Peru, which expressed a bureaucratic-missionary divide in the Audiencia of Quito among Jesuits and civil authorities. Bueno belonged, in this respect, to a different line of cartographic and geographic rationale that did not partake in the works and circuits that allowed Franciscans to expose and share their knowledge.

mesianismo y utopía en la sublevación de Juan Santos Atahualpa, siglo XVIII," in *Opresión colonial y resistencia indígena en la alta Amazonía*, ed. Fernando Santos (Quito: FLACSO-Ecuador, Abya-Yala, CEDIME, 1992), pp. 103-132; Alonso Zarzar, "*Apo Capac Huayna, Jesús Sacramentado*": mito, utopía y milenarismo en el pensamiento de Juan Santos Atahualpa (Lima: Centro Amazónico de Antropología y Aplicación Práctica, 1989).

⁵⁰ Varese, pp. 96, 106-107; Pilar García Jordán, "Vías de penetración y métodos de conquista del territorio e indígenas amazónicos. Una lectura del informe Urrutia (1808) sobre el mejor acceso a la selva peruana, y una reflexión sobre su utilidad y vigencia en 1847," *Boletín Americanista* 47 (1997), p. 131.

In 1750 the Seraphic Commissary of Missions, Joseph de San Antonio, submitted a report to Royal authorities expressing the harsh conditions Franciscans were experiencing in their Cerro de La Sal missions in Eastern Tarma and Jauja. San Antonio pointed out that problems such as shortage of money and of missionaries had deteriorated “señaladamente desde el levantamiento del rebelde *Atagualpa*.”⁵¹ With renewed support from the Crown, San Antonio argued that the Seraphic missions could flourish once again. To provide the spatial picture of what Spanish authorities were losing in Eastern Peru as a result of Atahualpa’s rebellion, San Antonio described the province, which he named “of the Amazonas,” in words that were reminiscent of Álvarez’s 1692 report:

aquella Provincia grande, porque se considera su circunferencia de tres á quatro mil leguas, atravesandola el celebrado *Rio de las Amazonas*, que corre ochocientas leguas, desembocando de la linea equinocial en el *Mar del Norte*, por cuya boca (que se estiende por mas de treinta leguas) pueden entrar Navios de alto bordo hasta el centro, y corazon de aquel nuevo medio Mundo Meridional, rica por hallarse en ella el conjunto de Minas, Animales, y Vegetables con mayor abundancia, y especialidad, que en las Provincias que la rodean, que son, por la parte del Oriente, el *Brasil*; por el Poniente, el *Reyno del Perú*; por el Norte, el *nuevo Reyno de Granada*, y por el Sur, el *Reyno de Chile*, y *Provincia del Paraguay* [...] y desgraciada por no haver entrado en ella hasta aora la luz del Evangelio, siendo Catholica las demás de su circunferencia [...] parecia se podria esperar la conversion de las innumerables almas, y Naciones, que comprehende dicha Provincia de *las Amazonas*.⁵²

⁵¹ “principally since the uprising of the rebel *Atagualpa*.” Joseph de San Antonio, O.F.M., Report to the King Fernando VI, n.p., n.d. in *Este libro es para el Rey Nuestro Señor Don Fernando VI que Dios guarde, Madrid, y Noviembre 11, de 1750*. ACO, Libro 61, f. 4r. His emphasis. Part of this report is transcribed in Izaguirre, vol. 1, pp. 507-518.

⁵² “that large province, because it has a circumference of 3 or 4 thousand leagues, is crossed by the famous *River of the Amazons*, which runs 8 hundred leagues, emptying its waters by the Equator in the *North Sea* [Atlantic Ocean], and through its estuary (more than 30 leagues width) large ships can sail until the center and heart of that new inner Southern World, which is rich due to the collection of minerals, animals, and vegetables that grow more abundantly and specially in that province than in the other surrounding provinces, which are *Brazil* in the East, the *Kingdom of Peru* in the West, the *new Kingdom of Granada* in the North, and the *Kingdom of Chile* and *Province of Paraguay* in the South [...] and disgraceful province because it has not yet received the light of the Bible, being Catholic the other surrounding provinces [...] it seems we can expect the conversion of the innumerable souls and nations composing that Province of *the Amazons*.” Ibid., ff. 2r-2v. His emphasis.

The autonomous and large province whose riverine internal networks resembled Venice in Álvarez's report had become the "Province of Amazonas" in San Antonio's words.

The spatial description is technically the same and both reports were written in a context of endangerment for the Franciscans—first, after the loss of Conibos to the Jesuits of Quito and, fifty years later, after the loss of Cerro de la Sal to Atahualpa's followers.

In both cases a map was presented to configure the territory discussed in the reports presented to viceregal and metropolitan officials. The map accompanying San Antonio's account was, however, entirely different than the one prepared by the members of the 1686 Franciscan expedition to Conibos. The Commissary of Missions noted that he had attached to his report a "Map of the Towns," which was a sort of geo-numerical document that included the location of the twenty-nine missions under Franciscan jurisdiction in Eastern Peru, the distances between them, the number of families and inhabitants in each town, and the name of their respective missionaries (Figure A-28). The distribution of the information in the map is unique because of its grid design in which each quadrate corresponds to one town and is illustrated with a Franciscan figure either in an evangelizing or martyred pose. The "Map of the Towns" provided the same spatial information, combined with census data, in a manner that a traditional geographic or topographic map could not convey. It is not clear who the author of this map-census was, but San Antonio stated that it was a 1750 version of a copy made in 1746 of the original map, possibly from 1736, and held at the office of the "supreme government" in Lima.⁵³ More important, the Commissary of Missions pointed out that most of the towns included in this map had been lost since Atahualpa's rebellion in 1742. This also served as San Antonio's reminder to metropolitan authorities

⁵³ Ibid., f. 7r.

that, whereas friars were losing “many souls” in Eastern Peru, the Crown was missing the opportunity to conquer a “nuevo Imperio, con otros tantos Vassallos, y muchas Tierras muy ricas, y muy fertiles, y abundantes por naturaleza.”⁵⁴

Although not mentioned by Cosme Bueno, the unconventionality of the 1750 “Map of the Towns” corresponded, in a certain extent, to the reasons for his critique of the state of cartographic and geographic production in Peru. This was not a map that traced rivers, mountains, or delineated the borderlines of the provinces and bishoprics of the Viceroyalty by the middle of the eighteenth century. Bueno did not mention either the map produced by the expedition to Conibos in 1687 or the one made by his predecessor in the office of Chief Cosmographer of Peru, Juan Ramon Coninck—which provided a more conventional topographic viewpoint.⁵⁵ In this regard, I argue that Bueno rather did not have access to the Franciscan cartographic and geographic works. These were enclosed within missionary circles and only left their niche when Franciscan officials had to present an appeal to viceregal or metropolitan authorities in times of trouble for the missionary enterprise, such as the Jesuit victory in 1686-1687 and the Atahualpa uprising starting in 1742.⁵⁶ More problematic, when they had to share

⁵⁴ “new empire, with many vassals and many lands, very rich, fertile, and naturally abundant.” *Ibid.*, f. 10r.

⁵⁵ See Figures A-13 and A-15. Bueno had references to some of Coninck’s geographic activities in the 1680s which included his ineffective organization of the defective geographical reports submitted by governors and corregidores in the time of the Viceroy Duke of Palata (1681-1689). But Bueno did not mention any of Coninck’s own cartographic works, such as his map of the Ucayali. See Bueno, *El Conocimiento de los Tiempos*, p. [2r].

⁵⁶ Viceroy Manso pointed out that his secretary had handed to Bueno all the documents and reports submitted by the governors and corregidores. Yet any of these materials included missionary accounts. See Manso, “Adicion a la instruccion,” pp. 303-304. Instead, an 1817 inventory of the archive of Ocopa indicates that a copy of the “[m]apa del estado de nuestras conversiones, año 1736, en que están grabados los misioneros que murieron por la fe hasta dicho año,” which is the aforementioned “map of the towns,” was still in possession of the Ocopeño Franciscans by then. See “Indices de los papeles que hay en el archivo de este Colegio de Ocopa [...],” [Ocopa], 1817. ACO, Libro 107, p. 41.

information, the Amazonian knowledge provided by Seraphic authorities was admitted in a unique manner into bureaucratic circles. For instance, Viceroy Manso underlined the difficult transit and harsh climatic conditions of the jungles, the barbaric life of the natives, and the inefficiency of the Spanish army to control those territories.⁵⁷ As some scholars have noted, in contrast to Portuguese officials, Manso's words were symptomatic of the condition of negligence among Spanish authorities with regard to control over the Amazonian basin.⁵⁸ I argue, however, that his words were written above all to contrast Franciscan descriptions of Amazonia.

Viceroy Manso acknowledged that the Eastern frontier of the Viceroyalty of Peru belonged to missionaries. He noted that they were the “only hope” to conquer those lands and attract the local natives. Manso concluded that “será mayor la conquista de un misionero que la que puede hacer un numeroso ejército; pero esta es obra de Dios y no de los hombres.”⁵⁹ That is, in his words there was no negligence, there was instead a reassignment of administrative duties in the Eastern frontier of the viceroyalty. These simply corresponded to religious, not civilian, agents. He even noted that the conversion of natives in those “remote regions” had somehow diverted the attention of the metropolis from the “dominions and riches” of “both Americas,”—Mexico and Peru—that had made Spain a great power.⁶⁰ He lastly pointed out that particular matters of government and administration in frontier territories are “un negocio tan distante de mi

⁵⁷ Manso, “Relacion que escribe el conde de Superunda,” p. 63.

⁵⁸ Cuesta, “Descubrimientos geográficos,” p. 295, n. 3; Lucena, “La delimitación hispano-portuguesa y la frontera regional quiteña,” p. 21.

⁵⁹ “the conquest by one missionary would be better than the conquest by a numerous army; but this is the task of God and not of men.” Manso, “Relacion que escribe el conde de Superunda,” p. 63.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 61.

conocimiento” that it was necessary to request reports from missionary officials to resolve matters.⁶¹ The divergence between San Antonio’s “Province of the Amazonas” and Viceroy Manso’s “marginalization” of the Eastern frontier as a proper missionary realm expressed and deepened a long history of performances and interests in the region that divided friars and bureaucrats in Amazonian affairs. This situation likewise created a schism between Franciscan and civilian cartographic productions that made Cosme Bueno unaware of the “Map of the Towns.” This, in turn, paved the way for the configuration of dissimilar narratives of Amazonian colonization and administration from religious and political authorities.

The Franciscan Proposal of an Amazonian Bishopric and their Larger Missionary Scope

Although the uprising led by Juan Santos Atahualpa had inflicted a serious wound to the Franciscan missionary enterprise in Eastern Peru, their evangelizing and scientific activities continued during the second half of the eighteenth century. Pilar García Jordán stated that in the Viceroyalty of Peru, the Crown, especially under the rule of Charles III (1759-1788), launched a program of “reconquest” of the central Amazonian region that was part of the Bourbon Reforms. This program, which came into effect after the end of the rebellion of Tupac Amaru II in 1781 and consisted of the implementation of roads and towns in the eastern lowlands of the viceroyalty, attracted the mutual participation of political and Franciscan authorities to a degree never before seen in Peru.⁶² Although I cannot call it a “reconquest,” since the Amazonian presence

⁶¹ “a topic that is not of my business.” Manso, “Adicion a la instruccion,” p. 297.

⁶² Pilar García Jordán, “La frustrada reconquista de la Amazonía andina (1742-1821),” in *Las raíces de la memoria: América Latina*, ed. Pilar García Jordán et al. (Barcelona: Universitat de Barcelona, 1996), pp. 438, 440, and “Vías de penetración y métodos de conquista,” pp. 131-133. See also Izaguirre, vol. 1, pp. 593-594; Isabel Povea Moreno, “Juan Bezares y la apertura de un camino en la montaña real:

of the Franciscans and the Spanish state was and would continued to be unstable, there was indeed a renewed interest in the colonization, evangelization, and exploitation of the tropical lowlands of central Peru.⁶³ This coincided with recurrent diplomatic developments between Portugal and Spain in regard to the establishment of the line dividing both Empires in the New World. For economic and geopolitical reasons the Spanish Crown became more interested in the missionary activities of the Franciscans of Peru,⁶⁴ who in turn had replaced the Jesuits of Quito as monopolists of Amazonian knowledge in Spanish South America after the expulsion of the Society in 1767. Yet, Franciscan and Royal interests did not necessarily coincide.

Due to the difficulties caused by Atahualpa in Eastern Jauja and Tarma, Seraphic authorities decided to redirect their evangelizing objectives to areas such as the mission of Manoa in Cajamarquilla, eastern part of the archbishopric of Trujillo,⁶⁵ which had been transferred to the jurisdiction of the College of Ocopa in 1752.⁶⁶ After several setbacks experienced by the Franciscan mission there, the Provincial Father Bernardo Peón y Valdez sent Joseph Amich to survey and map that territory, in addition to the nearby Pozuzu River and its connection to the Ucayali River in 1765.⁶⁷ After receiving

defensores y opositores. Estudio de un proyecto económico de finales de la centuria dieciochesca," *Temas Americanistas* 22 (2009), pp. 57-58.

⁶³ García Jordán noted that by the early nineteenth century there was already evidence of the failure of the Bourbon project in Amazonian territory. See her "La frustrada reconquista," p. 448, n. 88.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 431.

⁶⁵ Present-day North-Central Peru.

⁶⁶ Agüeros, pp. 39-55, Amich, pp. 207-208.

⁶⁷ Bernardo Peón y Valdez, O.F.M., "Copia de las Ynstrucciones que dio Nuestro Muy Reverendo Padre Comisario General Fray Bernardo de Peon y Valdes al Padre Fray Joseph Amich para la expedicion sobre los rios Pozuzu y Ucayali y Visitador General de las conversiones de Guanuco y Caxamarquilla,"

news from Amich, Peón y Valdez submitted a report to metropolitan authorities indicating the benefits that the communication between these two rivers could bring to his Order and the Crown in 1773. He noted that by controlling this route the Franciscans could protect the Viceroyalty from potential attacks of “European Nations” and reconquer “todo el zentro del Peru que hasta oy no reconoce á Dios ni á Su Magestad.”⁶⁸ To make these plans effective, the Provincial Father pointed out that it was necessary:

que se erija en Huanuco, que es la ciudad mas inmediata a Pozuzu una silla episcopal cuya jurisdiccion abraze toda la zeja de aquellas montañas, de Tarma a Caxamarquilla, y siga por los Lamas, y Misiones de Maynas, que fueron de los Jesuitas expatriados hasta el Marañon: pues aunque la distancia del Guanuco al Marañon es mucha, se navega con presteza, y facilidad por el rio de Guanuco [Huallaga].⁶⁹

The bishopric of Huanuco, then, planned to occupy the entire Western Amazonian territory of Peru, detaching the jurisdictions of Tarma and Huanuco from the archbishopric of Lima, alongside the region of the Maynas missions all the way to the Marañon River, which were part of the Viceroyalty of New Granada.⁷⁰ Peón y Valdez also warned that all decisions depended on the selection of the right bishop since these

Lima, May 11, 1765. ALMREP, LEA-11-79, Caja 15, ff. 9r-11r. On Amich, his exploration of the Pozuzu-Ucayali connection, and the resulting map see Chapter 3.

⁶⁸ “all the middle of Peru that thus far does not have any respect for God and His Majesty.” Bernardo Peón y Valdez, O.F.M. to the Council of Indies, Madrid, March 25, 1773. ALMREP, LEA-11-79, Caja 15, ff. 20r-20v.

⁶⁹ “to establish in Huanuco, which is the closest city to the Pozuzu [River], a bishopric see with a jurisdiction that includes the slopes of those mountains, from Tarma to Caxamarquilla, and continues to Lamas and the Maynas missions that were under control of the expelled Jesuit, until the Marañon; because, although it is a long distance from the Guanuco [River] to the Marañon, it can be navigated with promptness and ease through the River of Guanuco.” *Ibid.*, ff. 20v-21r. Quote in f. 21r.

⁷⁰ The selection of Huanuco as site of the new see responded in turn to contemporary proposals to move the main Franciscan College from Ocopa to Huanuco. This situation created a rift between Franciscan authorities in Peru. See Félix Sáiz Diez, O.F.M., “Capítulo introductorio: Las misiones de Ocopa en las últimas décadas del XVIII hasta los comienzos del siglo XIX,” in Izaguirre, vol. 3, pp. 4-5.

ecclesiastical authorities were renowned for their “indifference” toward the “frontier missions.”⁷¹

The Viceroy of Peru, Manuel de Amat, supported the establishment of the new bishopric as well, and the careful selection of the bishop and missionaries.⁷²

Metropolitan authorities, on the other hand, differed to a certain extent. In 1774 the Marquis of Valdelirios, member of the Council of Indies, declared that the creation of an Amazonian bishopric in Huanuco would be detrimental to the archbishopric of Lima. Instead, Valdelirios held that the new bishopric had to be established in Borja, capital of the province of Maynas, where there were already “misiones vivas” and whose creation was not to affect the nearby bishoprics of Quito and Trujillo. That Borja was located closer to these two jurisdictions and in a site where the Marañón River started to be navigable made it better suited to receive the new see—information that Valdelirios extracted, not from Amich’s maps included in Peón y Valdez’s report, but from “Monsieur de la Condamine.”⁷³ In the end, the Council opted to follow Marquis’s advice and supported the creation of the bishopric in Borja. It also recommended that the missionaries sent to this new jurisdiction “tengan, sobre las calidades principales de su ministerio, la de *alguna tintura de Geografía*.”⁷⁴ The paradox here is that Valdelirios’s opinion rested upon the spatial picture of Amazonia that belonged to Quiteño circles.

⁷¹ Peón y Valdez to the Council of Indies, f. 21v.

⁷² Manuel de Amat, Viceroy of Peru, to the Council of Indies, Lima, January 13, 1774. ALMREP, LEA-11-79, caja 15, f. 40v.

⁷³ “occupied missions.” Marquis of Valdelirios to the Council of Indies. Madrid, September 28, 1774. ALMREP, LEA-11-79, caja 15, ff. 113v-114v.

⁷⁴ “have, besides the main qualities for their ministry, *some knowledge of geography*.” Felipe de Arco et al., Final resolution of the Council of Indies, Madrid, March 16, 1778. ALMREP, LEA-11-79, caja 15, ff. 131r-131v. Quote in f. 131v. My emphasis.

As we have seen, the Jesuits were the main producers and transmitters of that Amazonian picture, and not French explorers. With the Society gone, the Franciscans of Ocopa were the only available missionaries with “some knowledge of geography” to evangelize and explore that region, and their vision of Amazonia differed from Valdelirios’s.

Although the foundation of the Amazonian bishopric would have to wait a couple of decades, the debate between Peón y Valdez and Valdelirios denoted the conflict between competing approaches to Amazonia by missionaries and metropolitan officials. The Crown still needed missionaries and their knowledge to control the region. Franciscans used their skills not to comply but instead to portray the larger and diversified missionary interests that the College of Ocopa had acquired since Atahualpa’s uprising. After the transference of the missions of Cajamarquilla to Ocopa’s jurisdiction, the General Commissary of the Order sent missionaries that were meant for Ocopa to the convent of Tarija in the province of Charcas, archbishopric of Chuquisaca, in 1754.⁷⁵ In 1756, Ocopeño Franciscans were sent to establish the College of Chillan in the bishopric of Concepcion and, since 1771, became in charge of the former-Jesuit missions in the island of Chiloe.⁷⁶ In 1772, the Viceroy of Lima appointed Amich to explore and map the islands of Tahiti and there was a second Franciscan expedition to the same Pacific islands between 1774 and 1775 led by the Gerónimo Clot and Narciso González.⁷⁷ In 1782, fathers from Ocopa established a new mission among the Ande

⁷⁵ Present-day Southern Bolivia.

⁷⁶ Present-day Southern Chile.

⁷⁷ Present-day French Polynesia.

Indians in the Apurimac and Mantaro basins, jurisdiction of the city of Huamanga, province of Huanta.⁷⁸ Forced to move beyond their traditional evangelizing settings in the Cerro de la Sal, Tarma, and Jauja that had been disturbed by Atahualpa, Franciscans expanded their missionary gaze during the second half of the eighteenth century.

In 1786, Pedro González de Agüeros, ex Father *Guardian* of Ocopa, illustrated these new territories in seven maps, “para dar mas claro conocimiento de ellos,” and included them in his “Colección General” of Franciscan expeditions.⁷⁹ A year later, while occupying the office of Procurator of the Franciscans of Ocopa in Madrid, Agüeros prepared three larger maps that synthesized his previous seven works. These included a map of the missions of the College of Ocopa in the archbishopric of Lima, a map of the Franciscan province of Charcas, and a map of the College of Chillan and island of Chiloe (Figures A-29, A-30, and A-31, respectively).⁸⁰ Leaving aside Tahiti, which never became a proper missionary station, in these three maps Agüeros sought to show the spatial dimensions of the new missionary territory of Ocopa in its full splendor. This new territory encompassed Charcas, Chillan, Chiloe, and the new towns in Chanchamayo, Huanuco, Trujillo, and Huamanga. In his eyes, the new missions were still unstable, and so he warned metropolitan officials that “mientras los superiores intendentes y los ilmos.

⁷⁸ Present-day South-central Peru. In regard to the multifaceted missionary enterprise of the Franciscans of Ocopa see Agüeros, pp. 39-55, 60-78; Amich, pp. 207-211, 274-275; Izaguirre, vol. 1, pp. 550-552.

⁷⁹ “to have a better knowledge of them.” Agüeros, p. 23. The seven maps—of Ocopa, Tarma, Cajamarquilla, the Huanuco-Pozuzu-Ucayali basin, Chiloe, Huamanga, and Tahiti—have been published in Agüeros, pp. 105-111. On Agüeros’s cartographic techniques and methods see Chapter 3.

⁸⁰ The map of Chillan and island of Chiloe is the only one that includes the year, 1787, and place of production, Madrid. The map of the archbishopric of Lima is the only one that does not have Agüeros’s signature. However, because of the handwriting, style, and colors used to paint them, I believe these three maps are his work and were very likely made in the same year in Madrid.

diocesanos no miren con amor y celo este interesante asunto y tan recomendado por S.M., nada adelantaran los misioneros.”⁸¹ At the end, Agüeros would only receive official support to publish one of his maps, that which depicted the island of Chiloe in 1791, which implies that the larger missionary scope of Ocopa did not match that of the Crown.⁸² In South America, nevertheless, Franciscan maps and travel accounts would have a major presence in local political and lettered circles.

The Franciscan Cartographic and Geographic Amazonia in the *Mercurio Peruano* (or a “New Tyre”)

The story of the publication and distribution of the geographic depictions and travel accounts by the Franciscans of Ocopa in the Limeño journal *Mercurio Peruano* (1791-1795) is well documented.⁸³ Less known is to what extent the journal helped

⁸¹ “if the superior intendants and illustrious bishops do not start to see with love and zeal this important issue, recommended by His Majesty, missionaries cannot make any progress.” He also noted that the current Father Guardian of Ocopa, Francisco Álvarez Villanueva, was altering the normal life of the College. But the main problem for the Franciscan missions was the obstacle presented by intendants and bishops. See Pedro González de Agüeros, O.F.M., to Antonio Porlier, Secretary of State, San Ildefonso, August 29, 1787, in Heras, “Expediciones de los misioneros franciscanos de Ocopa,” pp. 99-103. Quote in pp. 101-102.

⁸² Pedro González de Agüeros, O.F.M., *Descripcion historial de la provincia y archipiélago de Chiloe, en el reyno de Chile, y obispado de la Concepcion* ([Madrid]: Imprenta de Don Benito Cano, 1791), p. 319. On the 11,000 *reales de vellon* that Agüeros received from viceregal authorities to cover the publication of his *Descripcion* and map of Chiloe see Francisco Gil de Taboada, Viceroy of Peru, to Pedro Lerena, Secretary of Treasury, Lima, November 5, 1791. AGI, Lima 696, N. 103, f. 1r. (<http://pares.mcu.es/>), accessed May 30, 2015. Agüeros indicated he had made maps of other regions—of the coastline from Callao to Chiloe, of the ports of Valparaiso, Concepcion, and Valdivia, of the new missions of Ocopa when he was his *Guardian*, and of the bishopric of Chile. See Agüeros quoted in Heras, “Expediciones de los misioneros franciscanos de Ocopa,” pp. 12-13.

⁸³ For a very detailed recollection of the Franciscan travel accounts published in *Mercurio Peruano*, including also editions of some of these accounts in late-eighteenth-century Spain and translations into English, German, and French during the first decade of the nineteenth century, see Arbesmann, pp. 400-401; Víctor Peralta Ruiz, “La exportación de la Ilustración Peruana. De Alejandro Malaspina a José Ignacio Lecuanda, 1794-1799,” *Colonial Latin American Review* 24:1 (2015), pp. 37, 45-54. In regard to the geographic distribution of the journal, whose subscribers were located in different parts of the Spanish dominions in the New World as well as in North America and Europe, see Jean-Pierre Clément, *Índices del Mercurio Peruano, 1790-1795* (Lima: Biblioteca Nacional, Instituto Nacional de Cultura, 1979), pp. 33-35 and Rosa Zeta Quinde, *El pensamiento ilustrado en el Mercurio Peruano, 1791-1794* (Piura: Universidad de Piura, 2000), pp. 117-124.

provide a basis for the configuration of an Amazonian space in late-eighteenth-century Lima and the role of the Seraphic fathers in this process. *Mercurio* was the avenue that the *Sociedad de Amantes del País*, a social circle composed of the young cultured elite of Lima, created to communicate their intellectual debates and arguments.⁸⁴ The publication of this journal coincided with the renewed interest in the part of the Spanish Crown to investigate, determine, and exploit the resources contained in their American colonies.⁸⁵ This scientific environment paved the way for the formation of a narrative that made Franciscan works derivative of the dictates of the elite or of the Spanish Enlightenment in general. However, I argue that although Seraphic geographic and cartographic accounts published in the journal were part of the same conversations, their rationale preceded that of *Mercurio* and rested upon the Franciscan canon starting in the late seventeenth century.

José Rossi y Rubí, a member of the circle that published *Mercurio*, stated in the opening article of the journal that the natural history of Peru is so rich and extraordinary that European theories were not suitable parameters for understanding it. He mentioned the beauty of some of these natural sites, and emphasized the jungles of Chanchamayo, Huánuco, and Lamas. Yet, the humid and hot conditions as well as the mistrust of local native populations “contribuyen á que sean escasas las noticias que

⁸⁴ Clément, p. 10; De la Puente, p. 138.

⁸⁵ Around the 1780s-1790s, two Spanish scientific missions arrived and stayed in Peruvian territory: the 1778-1788 Royal Botanical Expedition to the Viceroyalty of Peru led by Hipólito Ruiz and José Antonio Pavón and the 1789-1794 trans-Pacific expedition led by Alejandro Malaspina. For a recent study that addresses the importance of the visual production of these and other contemporary scientific expeditions in late-eighteenth-century Spanish America see Daniela Bleichmar, *Visible Empire: Botanical Expeditions and Visual Culture in the Hispanic Enlightenment* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2012).

tenemos en esta linea.”⁸⁶ That wonderland corresponded to the Eastern flanks of the Viceroyalty of Peru that were being missionized by the Franciscans of Ocopa.

Therefore, their knowledge was required to overcome the lack of information about that territory, which led to the publication of different Franciscan Amazonian works, mainly travel accounts, in the pages of the Limeño journal. Of these publications, one became emblematic for its graphic description of the region, printing the 1791 “Plan del curso de los Rios Huallaga y Ucayali y de la pampa del Sacramento” by Father Manuel Sobreviela in volume 3, number 81, of the *Mercurio* (Figure 6-1)

Sobreviela, Guardian of the College of Ocopa between 1787 and 1793, indicated that he made this map, “the first ever printed in Peru,” to show the Franciscan missionaries under his command “los caminos por donde deben dirigirse á los Pueblos de las Misiones existentes en las Montañas de este Virreynato, y á los de innumerables Naciones bárbaras”⁸⁷ The routes delineated in the map were meant, according to Sobreviela, as a “guia á los moradores del Perú que quieran penetrar aquellas vastas regiones, para enriquecerse con las producciones de que abundan,” such as infinite vegetal, animal, and mineral products.⁸⁸ This interest in routes, transportation, exploitation, and commercialization shows Sobreviela’s participation in the larger debate, during the late eighteenth century, on the projects and reforms required to

⁸⁶ “made the news of these regions scarce.” Hesperióphylo [José Rossi y Rubí], “Idea General del Perú,” *Mercurio Peruano* 1:1 (1791), pp. 6-7. Quote in p. 7.

⁸⁷ “the routes they should follow to go to the missionary towns located in the jungles of this Viceroyalty and those of the numerous barbarian nations.” Manuel Sobreviela, O.F.M., “Varias noticias interesantes de las entradas que los Religiosos de mi Padre San Francisco han hecho á las Montañas del Perú, desde cada uno de los Partidos confinantes con la Cordillera de los Andes para mayor esclarecimiento del Mapa que se da á luz sobre el curso de los Rios *Huallaga y Ucayali*,” *Mercurio Peruano* 3:80 (1791), p. 92.

⁸⁸ “handbook for the inhabitants of Peru that want to penetrate those ample regions to benefit from their abundant resources.” *Ibid.*, p. 93.

improve the economic conditions of the Spanish Empire. The ideas of the Father Guardian of Ocopa, however, were grounded on previous descriptions of Amazonia by his peers. When recalling the sources for his map, Sobreviela pointed out that, to correct the mistakes present in European maps and to complement his own observations, he had examined “los Derroteros y Planos que desde el año de 631 han formado los Religiosos de mi orden, y se conservan en el archivo de mi Colegio” as well as the maps of South America by Charles de la Condamine and Jean Baptiste Bourguignon d'Anville.⁸⁹

The fact that Sobreviela's work rested upon the Franciscan canon, archived in his own College of Ocopa, is an important point that has been largely overlooked. Scholars of the *Mercurio Peruano* and of the Enlightenment in Spanish America have correctly argued that the journal served for the purpose of Creole and ruling elites that sought to convey a totalizing idea of Peru based upon a utilitarian and patriotic vision of its resources and geography.⁹⁰ In the case of Amazonia, this led to the transformation of the region from an inaccessible and wild space to a utopian place, full of economic and commercial potential as well as conquerable Indians, and a strategic location to contain the Portuguese from Brazil.⁹¹ What I found problematic in these assertions is that their explanation of Franciscan involvement is considered part of the larger enlightened

⁸⁹ “the plans and maps that the friars of my Order have made since the year of 1631 and are currently held at the archive of my College.” See Sobreviela, “Varias noticias interesantes,” p. 93.

⁹⁰ Víctor Peralta, “El virreinato peruano y los textos de José Ignacio de Lecuanda en una pintura ilustrada de 1799,” *Fronteras de la Historia* 18:1 (2013), pp. 45-68 and “La exportación de la Ilustración Peruana”; Margarita Rodríguez, *Criollismo y patria en la Lima Ilustrada, 1732-1795* (Buenos Aires, Miño y Dávila, 2006); Zeta Quinde.

⁹¹ Besides the works cited in the previous note, see Favaron; Meléndez; Peralta, “La frontera Amazónica en el Perú del siglo XVIII.”

debate, and not analyzed for its proper particularities. As a result, scholars have only understood Seraphic knowledge production as a byproduct of the Limeño learned elite. I argue, instead, that the Amazonian vision expressed in the *Mercurio* responded to long-term objectives of the Order of Saint Francis in Peru as well.

For instance, Hipólito Unanue, another member of *Mercurio*'s editorial board, praised Sobreviela's map because of his technical faculties, that is, he was impressed that someone in Peru had made the type of work "que parecia reservado á la Europa." And, despite being printed a few decades after Samuel Fritz's, the superior quality of Sobreviela's map made it "el primero que han producido las Americas."⁹² The high esteem that *Mercurio*'s editors expressed for the Franciscan cartographic work also translated into praise of the missionary's descriptions of Amazonia. While making his final comments about the exploration of the Marañon and Ucayali Rivers by Father Narciso Girbal, a contemporary of Sobreviela, Unanue stated that:

¿Y quien podrá calcular las utilidades que resultarian al estado si con la religion se introduxese el comercio y la navegacion de aquellos rios? [...] San Joaquín de los Omaguas, situado en la confluencia del Ucayali y Marañon, figuraria entonces *la antigua Tiro* á cuyos Puertos llegaban las naves y los frutos de todo el mundo. Por el rio de las Amasonas entrarian los de la América Septentrional, los de Europa y quantos á esta tributan el Africa, y el Asia. Por el Pastaza y Marañón enviaria Quito sus paños y estatuas. Por el Huallaga, y Mayro remitiría Lima el óleo delicioso que destilan las frondosas parras y olivas que hermocean las costas que baña el mar pacifico. Por el Apurímac, irian las pinturas y azucares del Cuzco y el oro de Carabaya. Por el Beni navegarían los lienzos de Moxos y todas las riquezas del Paititi. Opulento con sus ferias, San Joaquin de Omaguas, ya no desmentiria la idea que se tenia de el, quando se creyó capital del Imperio del Dorado.⁹³

⁹² "that seemed to be reserved to Europe [...] the first ever produced in the Americas." Aristio [Hipólito Unanue], "Nota de la Sociedad," *Mercurio Peruano* 3:80 (1791), p. 92. Also cited in De la Puente, p. 145.

⁹³ "And who can calculate the resulting benefits to the State if, along with religion, we can introduce commerce and navigation to those rivers? [...] San Joaquin of Omaguas, located in the confluence of the Ucayali and Marañon, would thus resemble *the ancient Tyre*, whose ports received ships and fruits from all over the world. The River of the Amazonas will transport ships and fruits from North America, Europe, and from its colonies in Africa and Asia. Through the Pastaza and Marañon, Quito would send its clothes

As scholar Pedro Favarón noted, the author of this text, and some of the other missionary accounts published in the *Mercurio*, was not Girbal or any of his Seraphic peers but Unanue himself. These published texts were then “an interpretation” by the editor of the friar’s reports that, in turn, created a “certain distance (with scientific pretensions) between the writing of the text and the experience of the Amazonian incursion.”⁹⁴ Favarón holds Unanue’s interpretation as a less scientific, more detached version of the friar’s observations. The *Mercurio* editor’s interpretation, however, was profoundly grounded in the traditional Franciscan vision of Amazonia that emphasized its autonomy and importance as the main center to connect and control the interior of Spanish South America. In sum, issues of navigation and commerce in the “new Tyre” were related to contemporary Enlightenment debates on economic progress and potential by the editors of *Mercurio* as well as to the Franciscan geographic and cartographic canon going back to San Antonio’s “Province of Amazonia” and Álvarez’s “new Venice.”

The Franciscan Vision of Amazonia in the Time of Francisco Requena and the Commission of Limits of the Marañon

Besides Unanue, another positive impression of Sobreviela’s 1791 map came from Francisco Requena, governor of the province of Maynas and head of the Fourth Commission of Limits designated to demarcate, on behalf of the Spanish side, the Luso-

and statues. Through the Huallaga and Mayro, Lima would dispatch the delicious oil dripping from the vines and olives that embellish the coastline of the Pacific Ocean. The Apurimac will carry paintings and sugar from Cuzco and gold from Carabaya. The Beni will transport canvases from Moxos and all the riches of Paititi. Opulent with its markets, San Joaquin of Omaguas would not disprove the idea that we had of it when it was believed that it was the capital of the Empire of El Dorado.” Aristio [Hipólito Unanue], “Concluye la peregrinacion por los rios Marañon y Ucayali á los pueblos de Manoa, hecha por el Padre Predicador Apostólico Fr. Narciso Girbal y Barceló en el año pasado de 1790,” *Mercurio Peruano* 3:77 (1791), pp. 65-66. My emphasis. Also cited in Favarón, 65-66 and, with certain changes, in Izaguirre, vol. 3, p. 16, n. 28.

⁹⁴ Favarón, p. 57.

Hispanic borderline between the Yavari and Negro Rivers after the 1777 Treaty of San Ildefonso. In a 1792 letter, Requena thanked Sobreviela for having sent him a “collection of the Mercurios” and especially the “map of the rivers and countries throughout which the missions of your College are spread.” Requena then added that:

La América después de tres siglos de conquista está bien escasa de cartas y mapas que la den a conocer, atrasada entre los hombres más sabios de ella la Geografía, y el Estado sin poder sacar ventajas y utilidades que ofrece por faltarle los conocimientos bien detallados de su situación, que le son necesarios [...] Pero ¿qué tropel de reflexiones y proyectos no me ha ofrecido la vista reflexiva de dicho mapa, sobre el modo de asegurar la conquista de las naciones que habitan el Ucayali, Pachitea, Paro y demás que a éstos tributan aguas; sobre la especie de embarcaciones que debían usarse por ellos; sobre el comercio de los frutos que dichos terrenos ofrecen; y en fin de todos los beneficios que la Religión y el Estado pueden prometer de una gran parte de este continente, hasta ahora poco conocida y bien despreciada.⁹⁵

This appreciation of Sobreviela’s 1791 map is particularly interesting since Requena was himself an explorer and cartographer of Western Amazonia.⁹⁶ It denotes his respect for the Franciscan’s work and for the potentiality of the region delineated in his map, and shows how Requena’s own working conditions were lacking in contrast to those of Sobreviela.

⁹⁵ “America, three centuries after the conquest, is short of charts and maps that make her known, geography is rudimentary among her most intelligent men, and the State cannot obtain benefits and profits due to the lack of very detailed knowledge of her situation, which is necessary [...] But, what a number of thoughts and projects I have had, after carefully looking at that map, about the means to ensure the conquest of the nations inhabiting the Ucayali, Pachitea, Paro and their tributaries; about the type of ships that should navigate those rivers, about the trade of goods that those territories offer, and in sum all the benefits that the religion and the State could obtain from a large extension of that continent, little known and very underappreciated thus far.” Francisco Requena to Manuel Sobreviela, O.F.M., Xeveros, July 2, 1792, quoted in Izaguirre, vol. 3, pp. 387-389.

⁹⁶ For a complete list of Requena’s cartographic works, from 1770 to 1796, see Enrique Muñoz Larrea, *La Ilustración al servicio de España: El teniente general ingeniero don Francisco Requena y Herrera, Orán 1743-Madrid 1824* (Quito: Academia Nacional de la Historia, 2004), p. 173. For a study on the eighteen maps and illustrations during Requena’s time as head of the Fourth Commission of Limits see Eric Beerman, “Pintor y cartógrafo en el Amazonas: Francisco Requena,” *Anales del Museo de América* 2 (1994), pp. 83-97.

Before being appointed Governor of Maynas and head of the Fourth Commission in 1779, Requena had worked as a military engineer and cartographer in his native Orán (Algeria), Panamá, and Guayaquil, where he participated in the elaboration of maps, the construction of fortresses, and the demarcation of the new bishopric of Cuenca, segregated from Quito.⁹⁷ Requena was to stay fifteen years (1780-1795) in Amazonia. Paradoxically, his main residence was located not in Spanish territory but in the Portuguese town of Tefé or Ega, near the confluence of the Amazonas and Yapurá Rivers, which would later become the headquarters of Luso-Hispanic Fourth Commissions of Limits. His time spent at Ega was rather trying. After his arrival, Requena realized that the Portuguese commission was better qualified. While the Lusitanians had ten specialists, after desertions in his crew Requena became the only scientist in his team and had to simultaneously perform several duties.⁹⁸ Moreover, the Governor of Maynas had been trained in physics and mathematics but not in astronomy, which forced Requena to rely on the data obtained by the Portuguese commissioners.⁹⁹

In addition, Requena's view of Amazonia did not match that of the ecclesiastical functionaries in Quito. On February 20, 1785, Requena submitted a "Descripción del Gobierno de Maynas" to Spanish authorities, in which he gave his opinion about the conditions of the Amazonian missions and the government of Maynas. This happened

⁹⁷ Beerman, *Francisco Requena: La expedición de límites*, pp. 13-14.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 28. See also Francisco Requena to José de Galvez, Ega, June 9, 1787. ALMREP, LTSG-78, caja 511, ff. 214v-215v. In this letter, Requena requested his demission from the Commission of Limits due to exhaustion. He complained that he had to fulfill more duties than the Portuguese Commissioner, Juan Pereira Caldas, in concrete those of astronomer and governor.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 30; Michele Cohen, "Diario del viaje al Yapurá por Francisco Requena, 1782," *Suplemento de Anuario de Estudios Americanos. Sección Historiografía y Bibliografía* 45:2 (1988), pp. 32, 46.

six months after the report composed by Manuel Mariano de Echevarría and Francisco de Aguilar, ex Superior Fathers of the secular priests replacing the Jesuits of Quito in Amazonia, was sent. In their report, Echevarría and Aguilar indicated that Requena had mostly focused on the duties of the commission of limits and, more important, defended the suitability of the secular priests sent to Maynas by the bishop of Quito.¹⁰⁰ Requena, on the other hand, noted that those priests lacked credentials, only accepted that position due financial issues, and suggested they be deprived of any type of temporal power.¹⁰¹ After comparing both reports, we can appreciate a different narrative explanation of Maynas. Echevarría and Aguilar provided a more fluid and optimistic view of Amazonia by enumerating the demographic and commercial information of each town of Maynas following the course of the Amazonas River, from San Francisco de Borja in the west to Nuestra Señora de Loreto of Ticunas in the east. Requena, instead, conveyed a totalizing and static as well as somber vision that above all sought to explain the present decline and future recovery of Maynas.

The scientific subordination to the Portuguese commission and the differing political views of Western Amazonia from that of the clergy in Quito made Sobreviela's 1791 map exceptionally attractive to Requena. Sobreviela, as Guardian of the College of Ocopa, had requested support from Requena and other officials from Maynas to reestablish the Franciscan missions in the Manoa River, a tributary of the Ucayali in 1790. The Governor granted this help and thus a Franciscan expedition led by Narciso

¹⁰⁰ Rodolfo Schuller, "Documentos para la historia de las Misiones de Maynas," *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia* 59:5 (1911), p. 374.

¹⁰¹ Francisco Requena, "Descripción del Gobierno de Maynas y misiones en el establecidas [...]," 1785, in *Relaciones histórico-geográficas de la Audiencia de Quito: siglos XVI-XIX*, vol. 2, ed. Pilar Ponce Leiva (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1992), pp. 664, 693.

Girbal was able to found a mission of Setebo and Conibo natives in Sarayacu, Upper Ucayali, in 1791.¹⁰² Requena, in turn, was interested in obtaining a copy of Girbal's travel report and of the map that Sobreviela had made of the Franciscan missions in Eastern Peru "para unir a los Mapas que yo tengo levantado" of Southeastern New Granada.¹⁰³ This plan would finally come to fruition in 1796 when, after returning to Spain, the Secretary of State Manuel Godoy asked Requena to present a map (Figure A-32) and a report enumerating his recommendations for the demarcation of the borderline dividing the Iberian imperial territories in South America.¹⁰⁴ In the report, Requena stated that:

El río Ucayali debe considerarse desde su unión al Marañón no como tributario con sus aguas, sino como *la rama principal y superior al mismo Marañón* por tener su origen mucho más distante [...] Esto hace inferir con cuanto motivo se debe procurar no lleguen los portugueses a aproximarse a dicho Ucayali como podrían acercarse si le quedaba libre la navegación del Javari, siendo fácil desde él atravesar el [río] Paro [...] y al mismo [río] Apurímac, ríos bastante caudalosos, que siendo subalternos del Ucayali reciben sus aguas de las más ricas posesiones del Perú. *El mapa demuestra bien lo que acaba de exponerse, debiendo los detalles de su curso y su ilustración a los últimos viajes hechos por el P. F. Narciso Girbal, misionero apostólico del colegio de Ocopa y a los mapas [sic] impresos en Lima por la Sociedad de Amantes del País.*¹⁰⁵

¹⁰² Paulo Alonso Carballo, O.F.M., "Mision del rio Ucayali. Ynforme que manifiesta sus progresos desde el año de 1791 en que se dió principio á su restauracion y el estado en que al presente se hallan con un mapa del verdadero curso de este rio segun las observaciones hechas en estos ultimos años," Reducción de Lima-Rosa, July 2, 1818. ALMREP, LEJ-1-11, Caja 162, f. 1r. For a complete historical and archaeological study of the mission of Sarayacu see Thomas P. Myers, *Sarayacu: Ethnohistorical and Archaeological Investigations of a Nineteenth-Century Franciscan Mission in the Peruvian Montaña* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska, 1990).

¹⁰³ "to complement the maps that I have already made." Francisco Requena to Manuel Sobreviela, O.F.M., Ega, October 20, 1790, in Hipólito Unanue, *Colección de los Mercurios referentes a las misiones de Caxamarquilla, peregrinacion de los PP. Sobreviela y Girbal para restaurar las de Manoa, la historia de los trages, supersticiones, y ejercicios de sus moradores [...]* ([Lima]: n.p., [1791]), p. [122].

¹⁰⁴ Del Río Sadornil, p. 69.

¹⁰⁵ "The Ucayali River should be considered from its confluence with the Marañón not a mere tributary but the master channel and even superior to the Marañón itself since its headwaters are located further away [...] As a result, it is necessary that the Portuguese should not come close to the Ucayali, especially if the navigation through the Yavari [River] remains open, being easy to access the Paro [River] from it [...] and even to the Apurímac [River], very mighty rivers that are tributaries of the Ucayali and whose headwaters

In these lines, Requena synthesized more than a century of Franciscan knowledge production of Western Amazonia. First, Ucayali's description as the "master channel even superior to the Marañon itself" builds upon the Seraphic Amazonian canon going back, at least, to the 1692 report by the general procurator of the order Domingo Álvarez de Toledo. Second, Requena asserted that sources for his 1796 map included Girbal's account and Sobreviela's map, both printed in the *Mercurio Peruano*.

One particular aspect of the Franciscan Amazonian knowledge that seemed to interest Requena was the course of the Yavari and Ucayali Rivers. The Spanish commissioners wrongly thought that these two rivers were connected and that this connection made this a potential route for a Portuguese incursion into Peru. Requena had complained about obstacles that the Portuguese placed on the Spanish commission to navigate and explore the Yavari. He warned metropolitan authorities, by 1787, of the Lusitanians' plans to move from the Yavari to the Ucayali, and from there to the center of the Peruvian Viceroyalty. Due to this pending threat, Requena was able to send two small expeditions to accompany Portuguese expeditions to the Yavari by June 1787.¹⁰⁶ At the same time, the fathers of Ocopa were trying to reestablish their missions in the Upper Ucayali River as their cartographic and geographic works were being published by the journal *Mercurio*. Thus, Franciscan friars became important agents

are located in the richest possessions of Peru. The [1796] map correctly illustrates what is being explained and the details of its course and delineation are based upon the last travels of Father Narciso Girbal, apostolic missionary of the College of Ocopa, and the maps [sic] printed in Lima by the Sociedad de Amantes del País." Requena quoted in Beerman, *Francisco Requena: La expedición de límites*, p. 58. My emphasis.

¹⁰⁶ Francisco Requena to [José de Galvez], Ega, June 6, 1787. ALMREP, LTSG-78, caja 511, ff. 214r-214v. About a month earlier, Joaquin de Rioja, Lieutenant Governor of the town of Omaguas, informed Requena that the communication between the Yavari and Ucayali Rivers did not exist. See Joaquin de Rioja to Francisco Requena, Omaguas, May 13, 1787. ALMREP, LTSG-67, caja 509, ff. 49r-50r. Yet, in June Requena decided to send a set of instructions, via Lieutenant Rioja, to Joan Ortis, a soldier in charge of one of those expeditions to find the alleged connection to the Yavari from the Ucayali. See Joachin de Rioja to Joan Ortis, Omaguas, June 14, 1787. ALMREP, LEA-4-66, caja 5, ff. 1r-1v.

able to inform about the region and, in 1793, Requena asked Girbal to explore the tributaries of the Ucayali and find whether there was a connection between this river and the Yavari.¹⁰⁷

The close relationship and seemingly matching interests between the Franciscans of Ocopa and Requena have paved the way for a historiographical portrayal of them as instigators of the 1802 Royal Decree that created the bishopric of Maynas, segregated its government from New Granada, and incorporated it into the Viceroyalty of Peru. Some scholars put emphasis on Requena as the mastermind behind the formulation and implementation of the 1802 decree.¹⁰⁸ Others, like Waldemar Espinoza, argued that Girbal and Sobrevela “convencieron a Requena de que todas las misiones que convergían al Amazonas, incluso de las comarcas de la dependencia de Quito” should be transferred to the jurisdiction of the Viceroyalty of Peru and evangelized by the Franciscan Colegio of Ocopa.¹⁰⁹ This has led to the idealization of the fathers of Ocopa and Requena as the architects of the Peruvian dominion over Amazonia.¹¹⁰ Instead, Enrique Muñoz Larrea has intelligently reminded us that Requena was not a “friend” of the Viceroyalty of Peru or “enemy” of the Audiencia of Quito but a functionary of the Spanish Empire and, as such, he did “lo que

¹⁰⁷ Espinoza, p. 350.

¹⁰⁸ See Miranda Rivadeneria, p. 125; Humberto Morey Alejo and Gabel Daniel Sotil García, *Panorama histórico de la Amazonía peruana: Una visión desde la Amazonía* (Iquitos: Municipalidad Provincial de Maynas, 2000), pp. 159-160; Navas, p. 92; Porras, p. 117; Rafael Saavedra Perea, *La autonomía de Maynas: Nueva visión de la historia amazónica* (Iquitos: Instituto de investigaciones educativas e históricas de la Amazonía peruana. 2006), pp. 96-97.

¹⁰⁹ “convinced Requena that all the missions surrounding the Amazonas, including the ones under the jurisdiction of Quito.” Espinoza, p. 348.

¹¹⁰ In addition to notes 8, 107, and 108 above, see Percy Cayo, *Perú y Ecuador: antecedentes de un largo conflicto* (Lima: Universidad del Pacífico, Centro de Investigación, 1995), pp. 41-45.

mejor le convenía a España.”¹¹¹ The same can be said of the fathers of Ocopa, whose vision of Amazonia as an independent province responded to proper missionary affairs going back to the seventeenth century. In addition, the 1802 creation of the bishopric of Maynas was not a unique phenomenon, but the result of similar programs of administrative division by which metropolitan officials sought a better grasp on its Spanish American dominions.¹¹²

At the time Sobreviela and Requena explored Spanish America, it was indeed an era of rapprochement between missionary and bureaucratic Amazonian interests. Yet this was not as simple as the Franciscans convincing the governor of Maynas to create and separate that diocese from Quito. The situation was far more complex and, based on the sources, at times, Requena followed his own projects and, at others, he was influenced by the Franciscan knowledge production of Amazonia. As a newly appointed member of the Council of Indias, Requena presented a 1799 report on the “regrettable situation” of the Maynas missions that was particularly important in the formulation and implementation of the 1802 Royal Decree.¹¹³ In this document, the former Governor proposed three measures to restore the alleged greatness of the Amazonian province: the establishment of an autonomous bishopric, the appointment of competent friars to

¹¹¹ “whatever benefited Spain the most.” Muñoz Larrea, p. 175.

¹¹² These include, among others, the creation of the diocese of Cuenca in 1779, Havana in 1787, Guayana in 1790, and Louisiana in 1793. See Raimundo de Posada, “Instrucción al Ministro de S.M. Serenísima el Rey de España ante la Corte de Roma [Antonio de Vargas y Laguna] para la erección del nuevo Obispado de Maynas,” Madrid, September 22, 1802. ALMREP, LEB-3-46, caja 89, f. 4; Miguel Díaz Cueva, “Erección de la diócesis de Cuenca,” in *Historia de la iglesia católica en el Ecuador*, ed. Jorge Salvador Lara, vol. 3 (Quito: Conferencia Episcopal Ecuatoriana, Academia Nacional de Historia, Abya-Yala, 2001), pp. 1742-1755; Porras, pp. 93-96.

¹¹³ Del Río Sadornil, p. 71; Royal Decree, Madrid, July 15, 1802 in “Expediente formado en virtud de Real Cedula de 15 de julio de 1802 en que S.M. ha resuelto se segregue del Vireynato de Santa Feé y Provincia de Quito, y se una á este Vireynato [de Perú] el Gobierno y Comandancia General de Maynas y Quijos,” [1807]. ALMREP, LEA-4-0, caja 3, ff. 2r-3r.

evangelize the region, and the subordination of the government of Maynas to the Peruvian Viceroyalty.¹¹⁴ In regard to the last point, Requena stated that the decadence of the Maynas region started with its segregation from Peru and its incorporation in the newly created Viceroyalty of New Granada—temporarily in 1717 and reinstated in 1739. And the situation in the region had deteriorated even further “desde la expulsión de los Jesuitas en 1766 [sic].”¹¹⁵ He noted that the Amazonian missions of Maynas were better connected to northeastern Peruvian fluvial ports at Jaén and Moyobamba, and from these ports to Lima, rather than to Quito or Bogota.¹¹⁶

Requena had already discussed the issues of communication between Quito and Amazonia when proposing the separation of the province of Maynas from Quito and its inclusion in the newly established bishopric of Cuenca in 1779.¹¹⁷ He saw Lima as a more adequate alternative in matters of communication with Maynas, and expressed his opinion as early as 1777—before he was appointed to lead the Commission of Limits and prior to the publication of the geo-cartographic works of the Franciscans of Ocopa.¹¹⁸ During his time in the Commission, Requena complained in his

¹¹⁴ Francisco Requena, “Lamentable estado de Mainas desde la supresión de los Jesuitas. Remedios que es necesario emplear,” Madrid, March 29, 1799, quoted in Izaguirre, vol. 3, p. 737.

¹¹⁵ “since the expulsion of the Jesuits in 1766 [sic].” Ibid., pp. 716, 720.

¹¹⁶ There was also a climatic match since Requena argued that peoples from warmer regions such as those in Peru were better fitted to travel to Maynas instead of those coming from colder places such as Quito and Santa Fe of Bogota in the Viceroyalty of New Granada. See *ibid.*, pp. 718-719.

¹¹⁷ Díaz Cueva, p. 1749; Porras, p. 96.

¹¹⁸ Instead of the traditional and difficult routes to the Marañón coming from Quito through the Napo and Pastaza Rivers, and the province of Loja, Requena had proposed as better alternatives the provinces of Guayaquil and Piura that could work as connecting points to dispatch supplies from Lima to Amazonia. See Francisco Requena, “Descripción de los varios caminos que dan paso desde la ciudad de Quito al Río del Marañón [...],” Quito, September 15, 1777, in *Documentos anexos á la memoria del Perú presentada á S. M. el Real Árbitro*, ed. Mariano H. Cornejo and Felipe de Osma, vol. 3 (Madrid: Imprenta de los hijos de M. G. Hernández, 1905), pp. 226-242.

correspondence to the President of Quito and the Viceroy of New Granada about the difficulties in communicating with Quito; difficulties that diminished his political power in the commission and in the government of that region.¹¹⁹ Later, in 1790, Requena proposed in his correspondence with Sobreviela that “podía estar mejor servido Maynas en lo espiritual, encomendando sus Misiones al mismo Colegio [of Ocopa] de V. R. y agregando su gobierno al Virreynato del Perú.”¹²⁰ It was thus Requena, and not the fathers of Ocopa, who thought and proposed the inclusion of Maynas in Peru since communication with Lima could be established with greater ease. This indicates that Requena’s Amazonian knowledge came from his own experience, and not necessarily from his relationship with the Franciscans. In fact, Sobreviela reported on the shorter distance connecting Lima and Laguna—center of the Maynas province in the Marañón—rather than Quito, as well. The information reflected in Sobreviela’s report, however, came not from a Franciscan source but from Juan Salinas, Requena’s Lieutenant at the Commission, and Mariano Salazar, priest of Yurimaguas—a former Jesuit mission located at the intersection of the Huallaga and Marañón Rivers.¹²¹

¹¹⁹ Francisco Requena to Juan Josef Villalengua, President of the Audiencia of Quito, Ega, January 7, 1786. ALMREP, LTSG-78, caja 511, f. 239r; Francisco Requena to Francisco Gil y Lemos, Viceroy of New Granada, Ega, April 12, 1790. ALMREP, LTSG-78, caja 511, ff. 225v-226r.

¹²⁰ “Maynas could be better served, in spiritual terms, if we entrust its missions to the same College [of Ocopa] of His Reverence and incorporate its government to the Viceroyalty of Peru.” Requena to Sobreviela in Unanue, *Colección de los Mercurios*, p. [122]. Similarly, in a 1795 statement, the former governor of the province of Tarma, who was interested in leading an expedition to certify a route connecting the Mayro and Ucayali Rivers, indicated that, “due to the necessity of sustaining in that region the rights of the Monarchy [...] the same Mr. Requena, official of renowned instruction, laudable zeal, and distinguished talents, proposed the union of the government of Maynas to that Viceroyalty [of Peru].” See Juan Joseph Avella Fuertes to Count of Campo de Alange, Lima, July 23, 1795. ALMREP, LEJ-1-7, caja 162, ff. 6r-6v.

¹²¹ Aristio [Hipólito Unanue], “Concluye la peregrinación por el río Huallaga hasta la laguna de la gran *Cocama*, hecha por el Padre Predicador Apostólico Fray Manuel Sobreviela en el año pasado de 1790,” *Mercurio Peruano* 2:61 (1791), p. 243; Manuel Sobreviela, O.F.M., “Entrada á la montaña desde Jauxa por Comas, y Andamarca,” *Mercurio Peruano* 3:81 (1791), pp. 117-118. It is important to remind that after reading the 1692 report by Domingo Álvarez de Toledo, general procurator of the Franciscans, as a result

There was a more patent Seraphic influence in the creation of the diocese in Maynas. Requena pointed out that his proposal to establish the new bishopric was anything but new. However, previous plans, including the 1773 report by the Franciscan Peón y Valdez, had wrongly designated the lands that were to compose the new jurisdiction.¹²² In 1799, Requena proposed that the extension of the new Amazonian bishopric should include, in general terms, the governments of Maynas, Quijos, and the missions in the Putumayo and Caquetá Rivers—northern tributaries of the Amazonas—as well as the parishes of Lamas, Moyobamba, and the missions in the Huallaga and Ucayali—southern Amazonian affluents. That is, it should expand over “por cuanto el país es navegable, y se trajina por aquellos grandes canales [...] este Obispado debe considerarse susceptible de recorrerse siempre embarcado y con muy pocos viajes de tierra.”¹²³ Requena also recommended “the conquest of the Ucayali River” as the most important measure to preserve the Maynas missions and all the Viceroyalty of Peru.¹²⁴ Besides Sobreviela’s map and Girbal’s accounts, the head Commissioner mentioned as one of his sources the 1781 “Relación histórica” by Francisco Álvarez de Villanueva, former Procurator and Commissary of Missions of the College of Ocopa.¹²⁵ Villanueva,

of the Conibos lawsuit, the Viceregal Attorney at Lima, Mathias Lagunez, argued in 1693 that the Amazonian territory was to be better served from Lima rather than Quito. See above note 30. Yet, it is not clear from Requena’s reports that he knew these documents.

¹²² Requena, “Lamentable estado de Mainas,” quoted in Izaguirre, vol. 3, pp. 732-733. In regard to Peón y Valdez’s 1773 proposal see above notes 68 and 69.

¹²³ “the land as long as it is navigable, and the transportation should take place through those large channels [...] this bishopric is supposed to be crossed by boat and with a few trips on the ground.” Requena, “Lamentable estado de Mainas,” quoted in Izaguirre, vol. 3, p. 734.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 712-713.

¹²⁵ De Posada, “Instrucción al Ministro de S.M. Serenísima el Rey de España ante la Corte de Roma,” f. 2.

following the Franciscan Amazonian canon, had proposed the creation of a Seraphic jurisdiction in the territory between the “civilized lands of Peru” and the Maynas missions and, more important, the possibility of extending the Spanish control all over the northern and southern tributaries of the Marañón, that is, from Guyana to Charcas.¹²⁶ Thus, the fluvial and autonomous eastern province, which had been the center of Franciscan Amazonian projects since the seventeenth century, was also present in Requena’s 1799 proposal and consequently in the 1802 Royal Decree.

Nevertheless, when metropolitan officials redacted the decree about the foundation of the diocese of Maynas, they only emphasized the importance of Requena’s reports as precursors of such decree but did not mention Franciscan sources that were the basis of the former Governor’s projects.¹²⁷ Requena may have been, though only in part, to blame for this omission since he was not always prone to endorse the Franciscan knowledge production of Amazonia. For instance, at the beginning of his tenure as head of the Commission of Limits, he required astronomical and mathematical instruments to fulfill his objective of demarcating the Luso-Spanish borderline. The former Governor of Maynas resorted to the cartographic works of the Franciscans of Ocopa to complete his own maps, yet he obtained the aforementioned instruments from Europe via Pará.¹²⁸ By 1798, when the labor of the Commission came to a stalemate and Requena had returned to Spain, he sought to keep the astronomical

¹²⁶ Francisco Álvarez de Villanueva, O.F.M., “Relación histórica de todas las misiones de los P.P. Franciscanos en las Indias y proyecto para nuevas conversiones en las riberas del afamado Río Marañón [...]” 1781, in *Colección de libros que tratan de América*, vol. 7 (Madrid: Librería de Victoriano Suarez, 1892), pp. 33-35, 42.

¹²⁷ “Expediente formado en virtud de Real Cedula de 15 de julio de 1802,” ff. 2r-3r.

¹²⁸ Count of Fernán-Núñez to Felipe de Arechua. Lisbon, April 24, 1783. ALMREP, LTSG-76, caja 511, ff. 9r-10r.

tools in a safe place, far from Maynas. Requena noted that Quito would have been a good destination, but the Quiteños had no need for such tools since the geographical knowledge of that region had already been improved. And this improvement came not from Jesuit cartography, but instead thanks to the “accurate maps” by La Condamine and the “Spanish and French academicians.” Instead, Peru was ideal because:

En Lima podran ser útiles para ilustrar el Reyno del Peru, *bien escaso en aquella basta extensión de dominios de observaciones celestes* que solo ellas aseguran las verdaderas posiciones de los lugares de nuestro globo [...] *Hay en aquella capital catedrático de mathematicas, ingenieros y oficiales de la Real Armada para encargarse de ellos, y poderlos manejar.*¹²⁹

Thus, not only had the former Governor underappreciated the missionary science in Quito but also the one that was being performed in Peru. This latter situation is even more problematic because, despite using the geo-cartographic works of the Franciscans from Peru, Requena did not consider their astronomical data or their ability to use the Commission’s instruments worthy enough. Similarly, although Requena had commended the Franciscan works published in the *Mercurio Peruano*, the copy of Sobreviela’s map that the Seraphic friar had sent to the Governor was not archived among the maps held in the secretary of the Commission in the town of Xeveros.¹³⁰

¹²⁹ “In Lima, [those instruments] are going to be useful to illustrate the kingdom of Peru, *whose ample dominions are in need of the celestial observations* that guarantee the true locations of the places around our globe [...] *In that capital, there are chair of mathematics, engineers, and officials of the Royal Army who can be in charge of and handle* [those instruments].” Francisco Requena, “Reflexiones sobre donde conviene se trasladen las cajas de instrumentos que se hallan en Mainas; camino que debe elegirse; y precauciones para su maior seguridad.” Madrid, August 10, 1798. ALMREP, LEA-11-296, caja 23, f. 1r. My emphasis.

¹³⁰ Francisco Requena, Felipe de Arechua, and Francisco Maria Requena, “Ynventario de todos los papeles existentes en el Archivo de esta Secretaria de Expedicion y Gobierno que está a cargo del Señor Governador Yngeniero en Gefe, Comandante General de la Provincia de Maynas, y Comissario Principal de la Cuarta Partida de Expedicion de Limites Don Francisco Requena y Herrera para hacer entrega de ellos al Señor Segundo Comissario Don Felipe de Arechua y Sarmiento,” Nuestra Señora de la Concepcion de Xeveros, July 31, 1794. BNP, Manuscritos, Sig. C1706, Cód. 2000003952, ff. 7r-8v.

Conclusion (or Amazonia in Sobreviela's Unsuccessful Atlas of South America)

Another element that Requena overlooked in his derogatory statement about the scientific production in the capital of the Viceroyalty of Peru was the "Descripcion historico-geografica, politica, eclesiastica y militar de la America Meridional" that Father Sobreviela was writing in Lima around 1796. Since his atlas remains unfinished and in manuscript form, the former Governor likely would not have known of its existence. Yet, the Franciscan's work constitutes an example of the distinct objectives of the Seraphic knowledge production of Amazonia in relation to that of the head Commissioner. Sobreviela planned to divide his "Descripcion" in eight parts that corresponded to the imperial administrative units of the South American continent: Santa Fe, Venezuela, the Dutch and French colonies, Peru, Chile, Buenos Aires, Brazil, and the "[t]ierras que posehen los Gentiles."¹³¹ He also included 25 maps, charts, and tables of South America and the different geographical units composing his atlas.¹³² In regard to the geographic descriptions, Sobreviela could only complete the first part that dealt with the description of the "kingdoms" of New Granada, Quito, and Tierra Firme in the Viceroyalty of Santa Fe. Next to the ambitious scope of his planned atlas, Requena's projects and the century-old Franciscan vision of Amazonia looked like mere cases of parochialism. Sadly, Sobreviela's ambition would also hurt his chances of having his "Descripcion" printed, or even concluded.

In the cartographic section of the "Descripcion," 21 of the 25 maps and charts belonged to different authors, some from Europe, others from different parts of South

¹³¹ "lands possessed by the heathen." Manuel Sobreviela, O.F.M., "Descripcion historico-geografica [,] politica [,] eclesiastica y militar de la America Meridional dividida en ocho partes [...]," Lima, 1796. BL, Manuscript Collection, Add MS 15.740, f. 1r.

¹³² Ibid., f. 2v.

America. This underscores the broadness of the sources and information acquired and consulted by the Franciscan to prepare his atlas. Out of the other four maps, three were made by Sobreviela himself and summarized the cartographic vision of the Eastern frontier of the Viceroyalty of Peru, that is, the longitudinal axis formed by the Huallaga and Ucayali Rivers.¹³³ In the relation to the picture of the entire length of the Amazonas River, Sobreviela resorted to the work of his Franciscan peer Joseph Amich and, more important, to a map by Carlos Brentano and Nicolás de la Torre, former Procurators of the Jesuit Province of Quito.¹³⁴ Unlike Requena, who had solely accredited the Spanish-French geodesic mission with the improvement of the geographic knowledge of Quito, Sobreviela pointed out that the map by Brentano and De la Torre was responsible for showing “in a larger extension and with fewer errors” the main towns and rivers of Santa Fe, Venezuela, Guyana, and the Marañón River.¹³⁵

The fact that Sobreviela used both Ocopeño Franciscan and Quiteño Jesuit maps as his main Amazonian cartographic sources was, to a certain extent, symptomatic of the divide taking place between missionaries and civilian-bureaucrats over their visions of Amazonia. Sobreviela had the opportunity to utilize some of Requena’s works, which were held at the archive of the College of Ocopa, but there is no indication that he used such civilian works in the making of his atlas.¹³⁶ These

¹³³ The 1788 “Plano General de la Yntendencia de Tarma,” the 1789 “Mapa de la Montañas y Fronteras del Reino del Peru,” and his 1791 map published in the *Mercurio Peruano*. See *ibid.*, ff. 39r, 49r, and 50r.

¹³⁴ Amich’s 1769 “Descripcion Geográfica del gran Rio de las Amázónas ó del Marañón con tódos los principales Ríos que le componen,” and Brentano and De la Torre’s 1751 “Provincia Quitensis Societatis Iesu in America.” See *ibid.*, ff. 32r, 36r.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*, f. 3v.

¹³⁶ “Indices de los papeles que hay en el archivo de este Colegio de Ocopa [...],” p. 41.

discrepancies, nonetheless, must not obscure the actual similarities between civilian and missionary Amazonian interests that were taking place in Peru. In 1803, José de Gorbéa, Lima's Viceregal Attorney, sought to appoint Sobreviela to make the "topographic map of the demarcation and limits of the new government and bishopric" of Maynas thanks to the knowledge of the region expressed in his map and Amazonian accounts published in the *Mercurio Peruano*.¹³⁷ Although Sobreviela would pass away that same year, this meant that, whereas in Madrid Requena had become member of the Council of Indies and main advisor of the plan to create the new diocese, in Lima Sobreviela was able to impose his Amazonian knowledge onto civil authorities as well. It can thus be argued that both Sobreviela and Requena equally helped to provide a late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth-century picture of Amazonia—a picture that closely resembled the "New Venice," "New Tyre," and "Province of Amazonas" that Franciscans had imagined a century back.

¹³⁷ "Expediente formado en virtud de Real Cedula de 15 de julio de 1802," ff. 6r-6v.



Figure 6-1. Manuel Sobreviela, O.F.M., Plan del curso de los Rios Huallaga y Ucayali y de la pampa del Sacramento, 1791. [Reprinted with permission from ALMREP, Map Library, VPE-098.]

CHAPTER 7 EPILOGUE

Missionary maps, both Jesuit and Franciscan, were conspicuously absent at the very moment of defining the spatial borderlines between the newly born Republics of Colombia—which included Quito until 1830—and Perú in the early 1820s. In an 1825 letter, Pedro Gual, Colombia's Secretary of State and Foreign Affairs, provided some instructions to Antonio José de Sucre, the victorious General of the battle of Ayacucho and appointed Colombian ambassador in Peru, in regard to the negotiations for a treaty of limits between both republics. On the knowledge of the borderlines of the "Presidencia" of Quito, the southernmost constituent of Colombia and consequently next to Peruvian territory, Gual advised Sucre to have:

á la vista los mapas de Quito por [Pedro] Maldonado, y de la América Meridional por [Aaron] Arrowsmith, publicado en Londres el 4 de Enero de 1811, conocido generalmente con el nombre de Colombia Prima. Vuestra Excelencia encontrará en este último los límites de ambos estados mucho mas exactos que en ningun otro, á excepcion de los de las misiones de Mainas de cuya agregacion al Peru en 1803 [sic: 1802], no tenia probablemente el autor noticia alguna.¹

As seen in Chapter 5, Maldonado's map of Quito did not include Western Amazonia. Meanwhile, though it appeared delineated in Arrowsmith's map, Gual noted that the delineation of this territory, the Maynas missions, did not coincide with the political developments following the 1802 Royal Decree that had transferred those missions to the Viceroyalty of Peru. Despite the misinformation regarding the Western Amazonian borderlines, Arrowsmith's map of South America was likely one of the most important

¹ "in front of your eyes the maps of Quito by [Pedro] Maldonado, and of South America by Arrowsmith, published in London on the 4th of January of 1811, generally known with the name of Colombia Prima. Your Excellency will find in the latter map the borderlines of both states have much more accuracy than in any other, except for those of the missions of Mainas whose aggregation to Peru in 1803 was not known by the author." Pedro Gual to Antonio José de Sucre, Bogotá, July 30, 1825. AGNC, Fondo Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores, Sección Diplomática y Consular, Legación en Lima, caja 412, carp. 424, f. 91v.

sources of cartographic information, for Peruvian authorities also referred to the work of the English cartographer. In 1823 Juan García del Río and Diego Paroissien, members of Peru's delegation in London, complained about the lack of "planos topográficos de los departamentos libres" that could demonstrate to British authorities the actual dimensions and characteristics of the Peruvian state.² To fix this problem, Del Río and Paroissien obtained and submitted to Peru, among other items, three copies of Arrowsmith's map of South America—one copy was sent to the office of the Executive, one to the Congress, and the third one to the National Library.³

Later in that same decade, when representatives from Colombia and Peru attempted to create a commission of limits to properly demarcate the borderline between the republics, negotiations from both sides omitted anything related to missionaries of Western Amazonia as well. This omission is relevant since the most important area of contention between both states was the province of Maynas. On the Peruvian side, José María de Pando, minister of Foreign Affairs, pointed out to the Colombian ambassador to Peru, Tomás Mosquera, that they should stop insisting in the reestablishment of borderlines between the Viceroyalties of Peru and New Granada to separate the new Republics of Peru and Colombia. Unlike the characteristic vagueness of "los límites de cada división militar ó civil" under Spanish rule, Pando's opinion was to "fijar la línea divisoria de una manera mas natural, exacta, y capaz de evitar

² "topographical maps of the freed departments." Juan García del Río and Diego Paroissien, to [Francisco Valdivieso], Secretary of State and Foreign Affairs of Peru, London, February 16, 1823. ACMREP, Correspondencia B.7.4.1, caja 4, carp. 2, cód. 5-17, ff. 39r-39v.

³ Juan García del Río and Diego Paroissien to [Francisco Valdivieso], Secretary of State and Foreign Affairs of Peru, London, February 20, 1823. ACMREP, Correspondencia B.7.4.1, caja 4, carp. 2, cód. 5-17, ff. 50r-50v.

competencias y disgustos.”⁴ He then proposed to his Colombian peers the use of a brand-new map made by Colonel Clemente Althaus, which “rectifica las equivocaciones de otros anteriores.”⁵ Interesting to note, Pando neglected to say that, besides civilian and military units, there were also ecclesiastical divisions in the viceroyalties that were delineated in missionary maps since the early eighteenth century. More important, Althaus’ map (Figure 7-1) did not outline the entire Peruvian-Colombian borderline and left the eastern Amazonian lowlands—the focus of Jesuit and Franciscan maps—undetermined and labeled as “Montañas poco conocidas” (Figure 7-2).⁶

Colombian authorities were, to a certain extent, equally dismissive of missionary cartographic works. Domingo Agustín Gómez and Francisco Eugenio Tamariz, both members of Colombia’s projected commission of limits, presented a list of items required for the demarcation of borderlines. This included astronomical instruments and almanacs to be purchased in Lima, an 1823 map of Colombia “que anda unida a una obra inglesa en dos tomos” as well as other cartographic items obtained in Guayaquil, three volumes of the “Diccionario Geográfico de América” by Antonio Alcedo, and “la carta de la Presidencia de Quito por Maldonado” borrowed from José Antonio Roca, Guayaquil’s treasurer.⁷ In a previous letter, Tamariz and Gómez had requested reports

⁴ “the limits of each military or civilian division [...] to fix the borderline in a more natural and accurate manner, so that we can avoid antagonisms and disapprovals.” José María de Pando to Tomás Cipriano Mosquera, Lima, February 5, 1830. AGNC, Fondo Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores, Sección Diplomática y Consular, Legación en Lima, caja 431, carp. 443, f. 98r.

⁵ “rectifies the mistakes made by the previous ones.” José María de Pando to Tomás Cipriano Mosquera, Lima, January 8, 1830. AGNC, Fondo Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores, Sección Diplomática y Consular, Legación en Lima, caja 431, carp. 443, f. 76r.

⁶ “Little known jungles.”

⁷ “which is attached to an English work in two volumes [...] Geographic Dictionary of America [...] the map of the Presidency of Quito by Maldonado.” Domingo Agustín Gómez, “Razon de los instrumentos y utencilios que se necesitan para la Comision de Límites.” Guayaquil, October 30, 1829. AGNC, Fondo

from authorities who resided in the province of Maynas—Miguel Bello, former collector of tithes in that region, and Manuel Plaza, former President of the Amazonian missions. They even knew that Father Plaza had already submitted “varias noticias y planos topográficos de aquel país” to Simón Bolívar and wanted a copy of them.⁸

I find it interesting that Bello’s and Plaza’s reports were not included in the official list of “professional” items requested by Tamariz and Gómez to perform the said demarcation. This is, once again, indicative of the larger schism between the work of individuals, mainly missionaries, with actual Amazonian experience, and those cartographically imagining the region from afar. Peruvian and Colombian authorities preferred to trust the official demarcation of their Amazonian borderlines to presumed scientific mappings of the region either by Arrowsmith, by Colonel Althaus, or by the then eighty-year-old map of Maldonado. Maldonado’s map, in fact, became one of the logos of the Ecuadorian nation once independent from Colombia in 1830. Two maps, one from 1835, “Carta derrotera de la República del Ecuador” by Alberto Salazza (Figure A-33), and the other approximately dated between 1830 and 1851, “Carta del Ecuador” by Nicolas Sanz García (Figure A-34), are copies or “improved versions” of Maldonado’s.⁹ The resilience of Maldonado’s map and its entronement as one the

Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores, Sección Diplomática y Consular, Legación de Colombia en Perú, caja 702, carp 1, f. 104r.

⁸ “many news and topographic maps of such country.” Domingo Agustín Gómez and Francisco Eugenio Tamariz to Tomás Cipriano Mosquera. Guayaquil, October 19, 1829. AGNC, Fondo Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores, Sección Diplomática y Consular, Legación de Colombia en Perú, caja 702, carp. 1, ff. 107r-107v. Quote in f. 107v.

⁹ Sanz García’s map is undated. The only reference to its author that I was able to find was in Manuel Gallegos Naranjo, *Parnaso ecuatoriano con apuntamientos biográficos de los poetas y versificadores de la república del Ecuador, desde el siglo XVII hasta el año de 1879* (Quito: Imprenta de Manuel V. Flor, 1879), p. 518, where it says that Sanz García was a lawyer, professor of literature and philosophy, geographer, and poet, born in Quito in 1816 and died in 1851. For this reason, his map should be dated between 1830, independence of Ecuador, and 1851.

earliest cartographic representations of the Ecuadorian republic denotes the persistence of a civilian-ecclesiastical divide dating back to the time of Jesuit dominance and the relegation of Amazonia as relevant to the spatial imagination of the nation. In Peru, the reliance in Althaus's map denotes a similar cartographic process that, despite the appropriation of the Franciscan vision of Amazonia by local officials in the late eighteenth century, finally dismissed both the authority of missionary works and the delineation of borderlines in Western Amazonia.

The exact moment when Jesuit and Franciscan maps of Amazonia returned to the forefront and became the basis for the Ecuadorian and Peruvian arguments used to support their rights over Western Amazonia is an important topic that unfortunately could not be explored in this dissertation. Nevertheless, it deserves its own examination because at that precise moment, not in colonial but in republican times, all missionary cartographic and geographic works were turned into nationalist fetishes. In this respect, I am writing this dissertation thanks to those individuals who materialized and ascribed a particular jingoist and geopolitical imprint into those missionary maps. As I mentioned in the prologue of my dissertation, at first I followed that same perspective, which could only see a predisposed Amazonian "issue" when looking at some of those early maps. To move beyond this viewpoint, I found not only interesting but also necessary to study the many factors involved in the cartographic and geographic knowledge production of Amazonia by early modern missionaries.

I started by delineating the genealogy of the term "Amazonas" in Chapter 2. The task seems simplistic but it allows us to face the original and symptomatic ambiguity of Amazonia as a spatial concept. This ambiguity calls into question any straightforward

understanding of the practice of science and, instead, underscores the eclectic nature of the geographic knowledge production of many “Amazonas” since the sixteenth century. Indeed, it paved the way for the initial formation of two different missionary visions of Amazonia as a result of two different contexts of production and enunciation of the riverine “Queen Mother” trope by members of the Franciscan and Jesuit community. Chapter 3 contributes to the history of technology and science with a close study of the actual instruments and procedures that Jesuits and Franciscans used to map the tropical heartland of South America. Furthermore, the balance between professionalism and amateurism as ascribed to the missionaries’ cartographic practice brings another layer of complexity to the spatial understanding of Amazonia and science in general. These various levels of competency, in the end, led to the knowledge that the Franciscan and Jesuits communities produced and transmitted.

Chapter 4 is a case study of the ethnohistory of cartography in early modern Amazonia. I demonstrate the participation of local Conibo natives in the mapping and mapmaking of the Ucayali basin by the Franciscan expeditionary group in the late seventeenth century. This constitutes a contribution to a particular techno-scientific aspect in the study of native Amazonian societies in early modern times as well as to the understanding of geographic and cartographic practices in non-western settings. Moreover, it explains the different aspects and interests involved in the process of Franciscan knowledge production in which natives played an important role. I would have liked to include a similar chapter examining the Jesuit knowledge production, but unfortunately I was not able to find the kind of cartographic and geographic evidence to properly support an argument in defense of native contributions.

Chapters 5 and 6 further scrutinize the multifaceted spatial conceptualizations of Amazonia. This demonstrates that there was not only a missionary divide but there were also more important distinctions between friars and civilian-bureaucrats in their particular visions, interests, and projects in Amazonia. This, in turn, complicates simplistic narratives of sixteenth-, seventeenth-, and eighteenth-century Amazonia. Whereas in eighteenth-century Quito the schism between Jesuits and officials in regard to the spatial imagination and importance ascribed to Amazonia was much more profound, in Peru Franciscans and civilians tended to agree about their Amazonian projects of evangelization, colonization, and exploitation. This had consequences for the subsequent incorporation of the newly created bishopric of Maynas into the Viceroyalty of Peru. But, at the same time, it brings about a series of questions in relation to the Amazonian space that was at stake during independence and how irrelevant missionary maps and geographies were in defining the Amazonian borderlines of the new republics of Peru, Colombia, and, later, Ecuador.

In sum, this dissertation opens new clues about the elaboration of concepts such as space and region in Western Amazonia. It focuses on Amazonia—the river and the basin—, its complicated process of cartographic and geographic configuration, and the vital role of Franciscan and Jesuit missionaries, Amazonian natives, and Spanish officials. It separates and analyzes the many components—theories, methods, instruments, native lore, circuits, networks, endogenous and exogenous debates—that constituted the multifarious missionary process of geographic and cartographic construction of Western Amazonia. The fetishization of maps obscured the conditions of production of Jesuit and Franciscan maps and geographies of Amazonia. As a result, it

has been my goal to present and examine the hidden components of such knowledge, that is, to dissect and break apart those cartographic fetishes. This dissertation was written to prove that a map of the Amazonas is not just a map of “the” river or, even worse, a map of “the” Amazonian territory. We must ask “which river?” or “which Amazonia?” since there were many versions of both. If, after reading this study, the reader looks at a missionary map of Western Amazonia and sees a Conibo curaca explaining the course of the Ucayali River to a Franciscan friar, or sees not one but multiple simultaneous yet conflicting visions of Amazonia, the objective of my dissertation will be fulfilled.



Figure 7-1. Clemente Althaus, Croquis de la Frontera del Norte del Perú, [1829?].
[Reprinted with permission from ALMREP, Map Library, PIU-006.]



Figure 7-2. Clemente Althaus, Croquis de la Frontera del Norte del Perú, [1829?].
[Reprinted with permission from ALMREP, Map Library, PIU-006.]

APPENDIX FIGURES

- A-1 [Martin Waldseemüller], Tabula Terre Nova, from the 1513 Strasbourg edition of Ptolemy's Geographia.
(<http://www.bl.uk/reshelp/images/americasoes/large14908.html>) (Accessed in July 5, 2015).
- A-2 [Martin Waldseemüller], Tabula Terre Nova, from the 1513 Strasbourg edition of Ptolemy's Geographia.
(<http://www.bl.uk/reshelp/images/americasoes/large14908.html>) (Accessed in July 5, 2015).
- A-3 Abraham Ortelius, *Americae Sive Novi Orbis Nova Descriptio*, 1587
(http://exploration.uoregon.edu/mapa_single_intro.lasso?&mapaid=americae) (Accessed July 5, 2015).
- A-4 Anonymous. Map attached to the 1639 "Relacion del descubrimiento del Rio de las Amazonas, oy Rio de San Francisco de Quito, y declaracion del mapa en donde esta pintado." In: Marcos Jiménez de la Espada, ed., *Viaje del Capitán Pedro Texeira aguas arriba del Río de las Amazonas: 1638-1639* (Madrid: Imprenta de Fortanet, 1889), p. 133.
- A-5 Anonymous. Map that accompanied the 1637 "Relação dada por Jacome Raymundo de Noronha sobre cousas tocantes ao governo do Maranhão." In: Saravasti de Araujo Bacellar, "Surrounding Amazonia: The 1637-1639 Teixeira Expedition, Knowledge and Representation" (MA Thesis, University of Texas at Austin, 2012), p. 27.
- A-6 Ioannem Ianssonium, *Americae pars Meridionale*, 1647. In: Ioannem Ianssonium, *Nouvel Atlas ou Theatre du Monde*, vol. 3 (Amsterdam: n.p., 1647), after p. IIIIV.
- A-7 Ioan Paulo Gallucio, "Instrumento astronomico para conocer las estrellas en el cielo" and "Instrumento de la linea meridiana," 1606. In: Ioan Paulo Gallucio, *Theatro del Mundo y de el Tiempo*, trans. and ed. Miguel Pérez (Granada: Sebastián Muñoz impressor, 1606), ff. 338r and 339r, respectively.
- A-8 Pedro González de Agüeros, O.F.M., *Descripcion Geografica de los Rios Guanuco, Puzuzu, Mayro, Pachitea, y Cucayali [sic]; y de los pueblos de misiones y fronterizos. Se manifiestan también las situaciones de los gentiles Conivos, Sipivos, Campas y Carapachos, según las demarcaciones del Padre Fray Josef Amich, piloto que fue de la Real Armada antes de ser religioso de San Francisco*, 1786. Source: ACO, Map Collection, Nro. 20.
- A-9 Juan López de Vardales y Herrera, [Confluent du Marañon et de l'Ucayali, cours des rios Guallaga, de Guannuco [Huallaga], et de leurs affluents de gauche jusqu'à la hauteur de Moyobamba rios del Pucara (?). de

- Guacabambä [Huayabamba] (Mayo)], 1686. Source: BNF, Map Room, GE.DD.2983, 20.
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- A-30 Pedro González de Agüeros, O.F.M., Mapa en que se manifiesta todo el territorio que comprehende la provincia de San Antonio de los Charcas, del Orden de Nuestro Padre San Francisco, situada en la America Meridional y Reyno del Perú, [1787]. Source: LL, Latin American Mss. Bolivia.
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BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Roberto Chauca Tapia was born and raised in the always cloudy city of Lima, Perú, where he earned a BA in History at the Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú in 2004. In 2007 he decided to pursue graduate studies in the United States and received a MA in Latin American History at the University of Florida in 2009. After several years of seminars, research, and writing, he defended his dissertation and earned a PhD in History at the University of Florida in the summer of 2015. He met his wife Andréa in Florida, which is by far his most important achievement ever. In his free time, he enjoys watching reruns of *Seinfeld*, the most valuable product that the United States has ever made.