ENTANGLEMENTS, INTERACTIONS, AND ECONOMIES IN THE EARLY MODERN WORLD

Irina Saladin

Jesuit Missionary Cartography of the Upper Amazon, 1689 to 1789

Amsterdam University Press

Amsterdam University Press

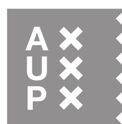
Jesuit Missionary Cartography of the Upper Amazon, 1689 to 1789

Amsterdam
University
Press

Entanglements, Interactions, and Economies in the Early Modern World

The books published in this series pursue particular historical themes that illuminate the interactive and interconnected dimensions of the early modern world, roughly periodized from 1400 to 1800. These studies either take a comparative approach to commensurate historical developments in various parts of the world or examine trans-regional patterns and forces that affected local societies. The series places emphasis on intellectual, cultural, religious, and economic analyses on topics such as migration streams and diasporas, empire-building and colonialism, epidemiological patterns and environmental changes, long-distance trade and commercial networking, and missionary programs and spiritual encounters. Authors working on these and related topics connect the global phenomena to local peoples in their nations, cities, villages, tribes, and families. Thus, this series explores the reciprocity between global processes and local affairs, which illustrate the unfolding human condition in specific historical moments.

Series editors
Charles H. Parker, Saint Louis University, USA
Ulrike Strasser, University of California San Diego, USA



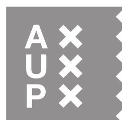
Amsterdam
University
Press

Jesuit Missionary Cartography of the Upper Amazon, 1689 to 1789

Irina Saladin

translated by Pamela E. Selwyn

Amsterdam University Press



Amsterdam
University
Press

The translation of this work was funded by Geisteswissenschaften International – Translation Funding for Work in the Humanities and Social Sciences from Germany, a joint initiative of the Fritz Thyssen Foundation, the German Federal Foreign Office, the collecting society VG WORT and the Börsenverein des Deutschen Buchhandels (German Publishers & Booksellers Association).
Originally published in German as Irina Saladin, Karten und Mission. *Die jesuitische Konstruktion des Amazonasraums im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert.* (Historische Wissensforschung, Bd. 12.) Tübingen, Mohr Siebeck 2020

Cover illustration: Samuel Fritz, *Mapa Geographica del Rio Maranon o Amazonas. Hecha por el P. Samuel Fritz de la Companía de Iesus. Missionero en este mismo Rio de Amazonas* (1691), Département des Cartes et plans, GE C-5037 (RES), BnF. Source gallica.bnf.fr/Bibliotheque nationale de France.

Cover design: Coördesign, Leiden
Lay-out: Crius Group, Hulshout

ISBN 978 94 6372 565 1
e-ISBN 978 90 4855 374 7
DOI 10.5117/9789463725651
NUR 685

© I. Saladin / Amsterdam University Press B.V., Amsterdam 2024

All rights reserved. Without limiting the rights under copyright reserved above, no part of this book may be reproduced, stored in or introduced into a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form or by any means (electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise) without the written permission of both the copyright owner and the author of the book.

Every effort has been made to obtain permission to use all copyrighted illustrations reproduced in this book. Nonetheless, whosoever believes to have rights to this material is advised to contact the publisher.

Amsterdam University Press

For Helena and Johannes

Amsterdam
University
Press

Amsterdam
University
Press

Table of Contents

List of Illustrations 11

Acknowledgments 19

1. **Introduction** 21

2. **Geography and the Society of Jesus: An Overview** 41
   Mission and the Production of Cartographic Knowledge 41
   The Functions of Maps in Mission Contexts 46
   Observing Nature for the Greater Glory of God 53
   Mathematics, Astronomy, and Maps in Jesuit Education 60
   Geographical Knowledge in the Jesuit Information System 64

3. **Maps and Mission in the Amazon** 69
   The Kingdom of the Amazons: Depictions of the Amazon in European Maps of the Sixteenth to Early Eighteenth Centuries 69
   Political Competition over the Amazon: Reports on Teixeira's Expedition and its Cartographic Reception 73
   The Amazon Region between Measurable Unit and *terra incognita* 80
   The Amazon as a Missionary Space 81
   The Maynas Mission of the Society of Jesus, 1638–1768 84
   Communication in the Contact Zone 95

4. **Appropriation and Politics** 107
   Mapping the Province of Omagua (1689) 107
   The Island Kingdom of the Omagua as a Topos in European Depictions of the Amazon 111
   Collecting Information 113
   Organizing Information 118
   Practices of Appropriation: The Omagua Province Becomes a Mission Space 120
   Maps as Political Argument: The *Mapa Geographica del rio Marañon ò Amazonas* (1691) 126
   Samuel Fritz's Journeys to Belém and Lima and the Genesis of his Map of the Amazon 129
   From Island Kingdom to Frontier Zone: Political Conflicts Around the Omagua Province and its Neighboring Territories 139

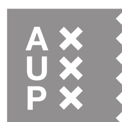
Amsterdam
University
Press

Power and Powerlessness: Cartographic Knowledge as Political Argument 144
From Manuscript to Publication: Samuel Fritz's *El gran Rio Marañon, o Amazonas* (1707) 155
Cartographic Decoration and Political Rhetoric 158
Christian Iconography and Political Borders 162
Mapping God's Action in the World: Jesuit Martyrs and their Cartographic Representation 167
The British Reception of Samuel Fritz's Map of the Amazon 174

5. **Experience and Geometry** 179
Maps and Routes 179
The Mission as Infrastructure Space: Magnin's Map of the Province of Quito (1740) 180
The Perspective of the Itinerant Missionary 184
The Knowledge of Indigenous Actors 191
The Cartographic View "from Above" 200

6. **Territoriality and the Space of Jesuit Identity** 209
The New World as a Jesuit Administrative Space: Brentano's *Provincia Quitensis Societatis IESU* (1751) 209
The Genesis and Printing of Carlos Brentano's Map 213
The Province of Quito Visits Rome: Brentano and his Map as Representatives of the Provincia Quitensis 217
Visualizing Centralized Rule and the Jesuit Global Presence 220
From Europe to the Marañón: Travel Routes as Symbols of Jesuit Identity 225
The Formation of a Territorial and Regional Self-Image of the Provincia Quitensis 229

7. **Ethnography and Apologetics** 243
The Representation of the Indigenous Population in Franz Xaver Veigl's Map and *Gründliche Nachrichten* (1785) 243
Many Places, Many Actors: The Production of Veigl's Map between Maynas and Nuremberg 246
The Marañón and its Population in Maps, Texts, and Images: The Interaction of Various Media in Veigl's *Gründliche Nachrichten* 256
The Geographical Interest of the Linguists: The Reception of Veigl's *Gründliche Nachrichten* in Comparative Philology 266



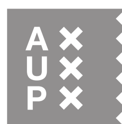
Amsterdam
University
Press

Apologetics Between the Lines: The Maps of Franz Xaver Veigl and Juan de Velasco as Reflected in the Suppression of the Jesuit Order 271

8. Summary and Conclusions 293

Bibliography and Sources 299

Index 333



Amsterdam
University
Press

Amsterdam
University
Press

List of Illustrations

Fig. 1 World map in Heinrich Scherer's atlas (1703).
Heinrich Scherer, "Repraesentatio totivs orbis terraqvei cvivs partes, qvae umbra carent, fide catholica imbvtae svnt, reliqvae omnes invmbratae religionis catholicae expertes svnt," in his *Geographia Hierarchica Sive Status Ecclesiastici Romano-Catholici Per Orbem Universum Distributi Succincta Descriptio Historico-Geographica*, Munich 1703, Gh 520.4-2, UB Tübingen. Reproduced with permission from the Universitätsbibliothek Tübingen. 47

Fig. 2 Depiction of Orellana's battle with the Amazons in Sebastian Cabot's world map (1544).
Sebastian Cabot, world map (1544), Département des Cartes et plans, GE AA-582 (RES), BnF. Source gallica.bnf.fr/Bibliothèque nationale de France. 72

Fig. 3 Map to accompany the *Relación del descubrimiento del río de las Amazonas*.
Amazonas (*Río*) *Hidrografía* [*Map for the Relación del descubrimiento del río de las Amazonas y San Francisco del Quito y declaración del mapa donde está pintado*] (ca. 1639), MSS/5859(H. 32), BNE. Property of the Biblioteca Nacional de España. 75

Fig. 4 Map of the Amazon by Nicolas Sanson d'Abbeville (1680).
Nicolas Sanson d'Abbeville, "Le Cours De La Riviere Des Amazones. Dreßé sur la Relation du R.P. Christoph.^{le} d'Acugna. Par le Sr Sanson d'Abbeville, Geographe ord.^{re} du Roy. Avec Privilege 1680," in: Christophle d'Acuña, *Relation de la riviere des Amazones tradvite Par feu Mr de Gomberville de l'Academie Françoise. Sur l'Original Espagnol du P. Christophle d'Acuña Jesuite. Avec une Dissertation sur la Riviere des Amazones pour servir de Preface*, Paris 1682, Département des Cartes et plans, GE D-13901, BnF. Source gallica.bnf.fr/Bibliothèque nationale de France. 78

Fig. 5 Negative of Samuel Fritz's *Tabula Geographica Missionis Omaguae Societatis Iesu* (1689).
Samuel Fritz, *Tabula Geographica Missionis Omaguae Societatis Iesu* (1689), Hist. Soc. 150, II, ARSI. © Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu. 110

AUP Amsterdam University Press

Fig. 6 Samuel Fritz's *Mapa Geographica del rio Marañon ò Amazonas* (1691).
Samuel Fritz, *Mapa Geographica del Rio Marañon ò Amazonas. Hecha por el P. Samuel Fritz de la Compañía de Iesus. Missionero en este mismo Rio de Amazonas* (1691), Département des Cartes et plans, GE C-5037 (RES), BnF. Source gallica.bnf.fr/Bibliothèque nationale de France. 127

Fig. 7 Samuel Fritz's *Tabula Geographica del Rio Marañon o Amazonas* (1690).
Samuel Fritz, *Tabula Geographica del Rio Marañon o Amazonas* (1690), Département des Cartes et plans, GE DD-2987 (9544-9547), BnF. Source gallica.bnf.fr/Bibliothèque nationale de France. 133

Fig. 8 Detail from Charles Marie de la Condamine's *Carte du cours du Maragnon*.
Source gallica.bnf.fr/Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des Cartes et plans, GE D-14072. 139

Fig. 9 Depiction of the river of gold Río Iquiari west of the Río Negro in Samuel Fritz's *Mapa Geographica* of 1691.
Samuel Fritz, *Mapa Geographica del Rio Marañon ò Amazonas. Hecha por el P. Samuel Fritz de la Compañía de Iesus. Missionero en este mismo Rio de Amazonas* (1691), Département des Cartes et plans, GE C-5037 (RES), BnF. Source gallica.bnf.fr/Bibliothèque nationale de France. 152

Fig. 10 Detail of the *Mapa Geographica* of 1691 with numerous villages in the mission territory between the Río Napo and the Río Japurá (Yupura).
Samuel Fritz, *Mapa Geographica del Rio Marañon ò Amazonas. Hecha por el P. Samuel Fritz de la Compañía de Iesus. Missionero en este mismo Rio de Amazonas* (1691), Département des Cartes et plans, GE C-5037 (RES), BnF. Source gallica.bnf.fr/Bibliothèque nationale de France. 152

Fig. 11 Samuel Fritz's *El gran Rio Marañon, o Amazonas* (1707).
Samuel Fritz, *El gran Rio Marañon, o Amazonas* (1707), GED-7855, BnF. Source gallica.bnf.fr/Bibliothèque nationale de France. 156

Fig. 12 Royal coats of arms and group of figures on Samuel Fritz's Amazon map (1707).

Amsterdam University Press

Samuel Fritz, *El gran Rio Marañon, o Amazonas* (1707), GED-7855, BnF. Source gallica.bnf.fr/Bibliothèque nationale de France. 159

Fig. 13 Group of figures on Nicolaes Visscher's map *Novissima et Accuratissima totius Americae Descriptio* (ca. 1660). Nicolaes Visscher, *Novissima et Accuratissima totius Americae Descriptio* (ca. 1660). Library of Congress, Geography and Map Division, G3290 1660.V5. 160

Fig. 14 Detail from Samuel Fritz's Amazon map (1707). Samuel Fritz, *El gran Rio Marañon, o Amazonas* (1707), GED-7855, BnF. Source gallica.bnf.fr/Bibliothèque nationale de France. 161

Fig. 15 Detail from Nicolaes Visscher's map (ca. 1660). Nicolaes Visscher, *Novissima et Accuratissima totius Americae Descriptio* (ca. 1660). Library of Congress, Geography and Map Division, G3290 1660.V5. 162

Fig. 16 Detail from the Amazon map by Samuel Fritz (1707) with Christogram and rays of light. Samuel Fritz, *El gran Rio Marañon, o Amazonas* (1707), GED-7855, BnF. Source gallica.bnf.fr/Bibliothèque nationale de France. 163

Fig. 17 Detail from Samuel Fritz's map of the Amazon (1707). The author has marked the overland routes from Quito to the rivers of the Amazon Basin. Samuel Fritz, *El gran Rio Marañon, o Amazonas* (1707), GED-7855, BnF. Source gallica.bnf.fr/Bibliothèque nationale de France. 165

Fig. 18 Christogram with rays of light on Samuel Fritz's Amazon map (1707). The rays only extend to the west [borderline added by the author for better clarity]. Samuel Fritz, *El gran Rio Marañon, o Amazonas* (1707), GED-7855, BnF. Source gallica.bnf.fr/Bibliothèque nationale de France. 166

Fig. 19 Martyrs' crosses on Samuel Fritz's Amazon map (1707) [highlighting added by the author]. Samuel Fritz, *El gran Rio Marañon, o Amazonas* (1707), GED-7855, BnF. Source gallica.bnf.fr/Bibliothèque nationale de France. 168

Fig. 20 English version and first European publication of Samuel Fritz's Amazon map in Edward Cooke's travel account of 1712.

AUP
Amsterdam
University
Press

Samuel Fritz, "The Great River Marañon or of ye Amazons," in Edward Cooke, *A Voyage to the South Sea, and Round the World, Perform'd in the Years 1708, 1709, 1710, and 1711. Containing a Journal of all memorable Transactions during the said Voyage*, vol. 1, London 1712. (c) British Library Board (General Reference Collection 981.d.1.; 303.d.14.; 303.d.15.; G.15799.; G.15800.). 175

Fig. 21 English version of Samuel Fritz's Amazon map in the *Atlas Geographus* of 1717.
Samuel Fritz, "The Great River Marañon or of the Amazons," in John Nutt, *Atlas Geographus, or, a compleat System of Geography,* (*Ancient and Modern*) *for America*, vol. 5, London 1717, GMM/35 V.5, BNE. Property of the Biblioteca Nacional de España. 177

Fig. 22 Map of the Provincia de Quito by Jean Magnin (1740).
Jean Magnin, *Provincia de Quito Con sus Missiones de Succumbios de Religiosos de S. Francisco, y de Maynas de Padres de la Compania de Jesus a las orillas del grã Rio Maranon delineada por el P. Juan Magnin de la misma comp.[a] Missionero en dichas Missiones Año 1740* (1740). Facsimile, property of the Mapoteca de límites. 2015 © Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores y movilidad humana del Ecuador. 183

Fig. 23 Carlos Brentano's map of the *Provincia Quitensis Societatis IESU in America* (1751).
Carlos Brentano, *Provincia Quitensis Societatis IESU in America, Cum Tribus eidem finitimis; nempe: Peruana, Novi Regni Granatensis, et Maragnonensi Lusitanorum, Provinciis Topographicè exhibita; Nec non A.R.P. Ignatio Vicecomiti In Comitiis Generalibus A. 1751. in Praepositum Generalem ejusdem Societatis electo APP. Carolo Brentano, et Nicolao de la Torre, praefatae Provinciae Quitensis Procuratoribus humillimè dicata, postquam iisdem Comitiis ipsi interfuissent* (1751), Grandi formati, Cassetto 1, no. 33, ARSI. © Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu. 211

Fig. 24 Revised second edition of Carlos Brentano's map (1751).
Carlos Brentano, *Provincia Quitensis Societatis IESU in America, Cum Tribus eidem finitimis; nempe: Peruana, Novi Regni Granatensis, et Maragnonensi Lusitanorum, Provinciis Topographicè exhibita; Nec non A.R.P. Ignatio*

A U P Amsterdam University Press

Vicecomiti In Comitiis Generalibus A. 1751. in Praepositum Generalem ejusdem Societatis electo APP. Carolo Brentano, et Nicolao de la Torre, praefatae Provinciae Quitensis Procuratoribus humillimè dicata, postquam iisdem Comitiis ipsi interfuissent, 2nd ed. (1751). (c) British Library Board (Cartographic Items ADD.MS.15740.(III.)). 216

Fig. 25 *Arbre géographique* (1760s).
Arbre géographique contenant les établissements des Jésuites par toute la terre et le nombre des sujets qui composent cette société, RESERVE QB-201 (171)-FT 5 [Hennin, 9128, BnF. Source gallica.bnf.fr/Bibliothèque nationale de France. 223

Fig. 26 Detail from Carlos Brentano's map (1751) showing the travel routes from Cartagena de Indias to Quito and from Quito to the mission on the Marañón [highlighted by the author].
Carlos Brentano, *Provincia Quitensis Societatis IESU in America, Cum Tribus eidem finitimis; nempe: Peruana, Novi Regni Granatensis, et Maragnonensi Lusitanorum, Provinciis Topographicè exhibita; Nec non A.R.P. Ignatio Vicecomiti In Comitiis Generalibus A. 1751. in Praepositum Generalem ejusdem Societatis electo APP. Carolo Brentano, et Nicolao de la Torre, praefatae Provinciae Quitensis Procuratoribus humillimè dicata, postquam iisdem Comitiis ipsi interfuissent* (1751), Grandi formati, Cassetto 1, no. 33, ARSI. © Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu. 226

Fig. 27 Map of the Jesuit province of Peru (between 1609 and 1619).
Map of the Jesuit Province of Peru (between 1609 and 1619), Hist. Soc. 150, I, map 18, ARSI. © Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu. 231

Fig. 28 Border of the Provincia Quitensis on Carlos Brentano's map (1751) [highlighted by the author].
Carlos Brentano, *Provincia Quitensis Societatis IESU in America, Cum Tribus eidem finitimis; nempe: Peruana, Novi Regni Granatensis, et Maragnonensi Lusitanorum, Provinciis Topographicè exhibita; Nec non A.R.P. Ignatio Vicecomiti In Comitiis Generalibus A. 1751. in Praepositum Generalem ejusdem Societatis electo APP. Carolo Brentano, et Nicolao de la Torre, praefatae Provinciae Quitensis Procuratoribus humillimè dicata, postquam iisdem*

Amsterdam University Press

Comitiis ipsi interfuissent (1751), Grandi formati, Cassetto 1, no. 33, ARSI. © Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu. 234

Fig. 29 Thesis sheet by Juan de Narváez (1718).
Juan de Narváez, "De Statv Innocentiae," in Iván Lucero, *La cartografía jesuita de la Provincia de Quito* (*S. XVII–XVIII*), Quito 2015. Access was kindly provided by P. Iván Lucero S.J., Director of the Centro Cultural Biblioteca Ecuatoriana Aurelio Espinosa Pólit. Original in the Colegio del Salvador, Buenos Aires. 239

Fig. 30 Detail from the thesis sheet by Juan de Narváez (1718) showing the borders of the Jesuit province of Quito (depicted as a dotted line).
Juan de Narváez, "De Statv Innocentiae," in Iván Lucero, *La cartografía jesuita de la Provincia de Quito* (*S. XVII–XVIII*), Quito 2015. Access was kindly provided by P. Iván Lucero S.J., Director of the Centro Cultural Biblioteca Ecuatoriana Aurelio Espinosa Pólit. Original in the Colegio del Salvador, Buenos Aires. 241

Fig. 31 *Maragnonii sive Amazonum Fluminis Terrarum in Orbe Maximi, quoad Hispanicae Potestati subest, cursus* [...] by Franz Xaver Veigl (1785).
Franz Xaver Veigl, "Maragnonii sive Amazonum Fluminis Terrarum in Orbe Maximi, quoad Hispanicae Potestati subest, cursus cum Fluviis et Regionibus finitimis utilitati publicae probatissimis e Documentis accuratius novissime descriptus a quodam per eas provincias olim S.I. Missionario: delineatus a Petro Parcar. 1780. Curante C.T. de Murr. 1785," in his "Gründliche Nachrichten über die Verfassung der Landschaft von Maynas, in Süd-Amerika, bis zum Jahre 1768," in Christoph Gottlieb von Murr, ed., *Reisen einiger Missionarien der Gesellschaft Jesu in Amerika. Aus ihren eigenen Aufsätzen herausgegeben* [...]. *Mit einer Landkarte und Kupfern*, Nuremberg 1785, III cd 401 [8], IAI. Reproduced with permission from the library of the Ibero-Amerikanisches Institut PK, Berlin. 245

Fig. 32 Illustration from the first book of Veigl's *Gründliche Nachrichten* (1785).
Landscape images of Maynas, in Franz Xaver Veigl, "Gründliche Nachrichten über die Verfassung der Landschaft von Maynas, in Süd-Amerika, bis zum

Amsterdam University Press

Jahre 1768," in Christoph Gottlieb von Murr, ed., *Reisen einiger Missionarien der Gesellschaft Jesu in Amerika. Aus ihren eigenen Aufsätzen herausgegeben* [...]. *Mit einer Landkarte und Kupfern*, Nuremberg 1785, III cd 401 [8], IAI. Reproduced with permission from the library of the Ibero-Amerikanisches Institut PK, Berlin. 258

Fig. 33 Illustration to the second book of Veigl's *Gründliche Nachrichten* (1785).
Landscape images of Maynas in Franz Xaver Veigl, "Gründliche Nachrichten über die Verfassung der Landschaft von Maynas, in Süd-Amerika, bis zum Jahre 1768," in Christoph Gottlieb von Murr, ed., *Reisen einiger Missionarien der Gesellschaft Jesu in Amerika. Aus ihren eigenen Aufsätzen herausgegeben* [...]. *Mit einer Landkarte und Kupfern*, Nuremberg 1785, III cd 401 [8], IAI. Reproduced with permission from the library of the Ibero-Amerikanisches Institut PK, Berlin. 258

Fig. 34 Detail from Franz Xaver Veigl's map (1785) showing the Río Ucayali.
Franz Xaver Veigl, "Maragnonii sive Amazonum Fluminis Terrarum in Orbe Maximi, quoad Hispanicae Potestati subest, cursus cum Fluviis et Regionibus finitimis utilitati publicae probatissimis e Documentis accuratius novissime descriptus a quodam per eas provincias olim S.I. Missionario: delineatus a Petro Parcar. 1780. Curante C.T. de Murr. 1785," in his "Gründliche Nachrichten über die Verfassung der Landschaft von Maynas, in Süd-Amerika, bis zum Jahre 1768," in Christoph Gottlieb von Murr, ed., *Reisen einiger Missionarien der Gesellschaft Jesu in Amerika. Aus ihren eigenen Aufsätzen herausgegeben* [...]. *Mit einer Landkarte und Kupfern*, Nuremberg 1785, III cd 401 [8], IAI. Reproduced with permission from the library of the Ibero-Amerikanisches Institut PK, Berlin. 274

Fig. 35 Map by Franx Xaver Veigl (1785) with highlighted borderlines [highlighting added by the author].
Franz Xaver Veigl, "Maragnonii sive Amazonum Fluminis Terrarum in Orbe Maximi, quoad Hispanicae Potestati subest, cursus cum Fluviis et Regionibus finitimis utilitati publicae probatissimis e Documentis accuratius novissime descriptus a quodam per eas provincias olim

Amsterdam University Press

S.I. Missionario: delineatus a Petro Parcar. 1780. Curante C.T. de Murr. 1785," in his "Gründliche Nachrichten über die Verfassung der Landschaft von Maynas, in Süd-Amerika, bis zum Jahre 1768," in Christoph Gottlieb von Murr, ed., *Reisen einiger Missionarien der Gesellschaft Jesu in Amerika. Aus ihren eigenen Aufsätzen herausgegeben* [...]. *Mit einer Landkarte und Kupfern*, Nuremberg 1785, III cd 401 [8], IAI. Reproduced with permission from the library of the Ibero-Amerikanisches Institut PK, Berlin. 277

Fig. 36 Juan de Velasco's *Carta General del Quito proprio* (1789). Juan de Velasco, "Carta General del Quito proprio: De sus Provincias Orientales adjuntas; y de las Misiones, y Reducciones del Marañon, Napo, Pastaza, Guallaga, y Ucayale, Delineada, segun las mexores Cartas modernas, por el Presb.º D. Juan de Velasco. Año de 1789, Para servir à su Historia del Reino de Quito (1789)," in his *Historia del Reino de Quito en la America Meridional*, 1789, vol. 3, Manuscritos, 9-4604, RAH. © Reproducción, Real Academia de la Historia. 284

Amsterdam University Press

Acknowledgments

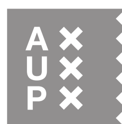
This book is a translation of my German monograph *Karten und Mission. Die jesuitische Konstruktion des Amazonasraums in 17. und 18. Jahrhundert*, which was published by Mohr Siebeck in Tübingen in 2020. I could not have written this book without the support of a number of people, whom I would like to thank here.

First and foremost, I owe a great debt of gratitude to Prof. Renate Dürr, who first awakened my particular interest in the early modern period, and to Prof. Andreas Holzem, whose theological perspective on my topic offered a wealth of inspiration. Next, I would like to thank Dr. Pamela Selwyn for her translation of the German manuscript and constructive collaboration throughout the process. The English version of this book was made possible by a generous translation prize from Geisteswissenschaften International, funded by the Börsenverein des Deutschen Buchhandels, the German Foreign Office, the Fritz Thyssen Foundation, and the Wissenschaftsfonds of VG WORT. For financial and scholarly support during my research I am also grateful to Prof. Annette Gerok-Reiter and Prof. Volker Leppin. The inexhaustible specialist knowledge and encouraging words of Dr. Fabian Fechner were also of inestimable assistance at every phase of the project. Editorial revision by my assistant Jan-Lukas Löwen of the University of Koblenz was essential to producing the manuscript in its final form.

Many thanks to the DAAD for financing a research trip to the archives in Madrid and to the director of the German Historical Institute in Rome, Prof. Martin Baumeister, for enabling me to consult documents in the *Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu* on two occasions. During my research stay in Quito, I benefited greatly from the assistance of Dr. Galaxis Borja González of the Universidad Andina Simón Bolívar. I would like to express my gratitude here to Prof. Ulrike Strasser and Prof. Charles Parker for accepting my monograph for the series *Entanglements, Interactions, and Economies in the Early Modern World*. Much appreciation to Erika Gaffney of Amsterdam University Press for the successful collaboration.

None of this would have been possible without the unconditional support of my family, especially my parents Rosemarie and Wolfgang Pawlowsky and my husband Philipp Saladin. This book is dedicated to my children Helena and Johannes.

Koblenz, August 2023 — Irina Saladin



Amsterdam
University
Press

Amsterdam
University
Press

1. Introduction

In a letter of July 19, 1776, the president of the Real Audiencia de Quito, Don José Diguja (1767–1778), offered the king of Spain a detailed account of the most recent Portuguese activities on the Río Marañón. He expressed concern that the Portuguese had founded a new village in the immediate vicinity of the Spanish missions near the border, had stationed armed troops there, and—in search of turtles, cocoa, and above all slaves—were advancing ever farther into Spanish territory. Diguja's warning was clear: If the Portuguese advance was not halted by securing the border militarily, they would continue to establish further settlements and thus one day gain control over the entire river. Ultimately, they could even penetrate as far as the mines of Chota in Peru and build up a lucrative trade there.[1] In order to illustrate the complex situation to the decision makers in Spain, the president enclosed a map of the region with his report.[2] This map was actually already twenty-five years old at the time, but it was equipped with a code of colors and numbers to help illustrate the political and military status quo on the Marañón: All stretches of the river currently navigated by the Portuguese appeared in yellow, the Spanish sections in green. Different colored numbers were also used to indicate the current Portuguese and Spanish missions and outposts as well as the aforementioned mines of Chota. The color and number code meant that the map corresponded perfectly to Diguja's account and reinforced its "plausibility … transmedially."[3]

1 José Diguja, *Carta del presidente de Quito, José Diguja, al Rey sobre el establecimiento de los portugueses en el río Marañón, cerca de Loreto en las misiones de Maynas, providencias para contenerlos y otros documentos relacionados con el mismo asunto*, ESTADO, 3410, Exp. 9, AHN, fol. 1v–4r.

2 Carlos Brentano, *Provincia Quitensis Societatis IESU in America, Cum Tribus eidem finitimis; nempe: Peruana, Novi Regni Granatensis, et Maragnonensi Lusitanorum, Provinciis Topographicè exhibita; Nec non A.R.P. Ignatio Vicecomiti In Comitiis Generalibus A. 1751. in Praepositum Generalem ejusdem Societatis electo APP. Carolo Brentano, et Nicolao de la Torre, praefatae Provinciae Quitensis Procuratoribus humillimè dicata, postquam iisdem Comitiis ipsi interfuissent*, ES.28079.AHN/1.1.44.40.1.23// ESTADO, MPD.84, AHN. Henceforth referred to as Brentano, *Provincia Quitensis* 5.

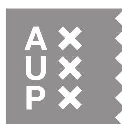
3 Peter Haslinger, *Nation und Territorium im tschechischen politischen Diskurs 1880–1938* (Munich, 2010), 16.

Saladin, I., *Jesuit Missionary Cartography of the Upper Amazon, 1689 to 1789*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2024
DOI 10.5117/9789463725651_CH01
Amsterdam University Press

The map, however, was by no means originally produced for the strategic planning of military border security. Printed in Rome in 1751 to mark the election of a new general of the Jesuit order (see chap. 6, fig. 24), it was based on drawings by a Jesuit from Quito named Carlos Brentano (1694–1753) who traveled to the general curia of the Society of Jesus in Rome as a representative of his province. When Diguja sent the map to Spain in 1776, the Jesuits had long since disappeared from the Real Audiencia de Quito. Nearly ten years had passed since their expulsion from all of Spanish America on orders from Charles III.[4] But among the available maps, the authorities in Quito clearly deemed Father Brentano's to be best suited to highlighting the serious situation on the Marañón, mainly because of the map's detailed depiction of the areas bordering those parts of the country claimed by the Portuguese. It was no coincidence that a Jesuit map should have this emphasis since the Jesuits maintained the so-called Maynas mission in the border region on the Marañón between 1638 and 1768. Jesuit missionaries were usually the only Europeans to stay longer periods in this region, which was considered remote at the time, and to establish close contacts with the local population and travel, explore, and describe the area in the context of their missionary activities. By the late seventeenth century, they were also producing maps that portrayed the complex river system and the settlement areas of countless ethnic groups. Some of these maps, like Brentano's, were printed, while others existed only in manuscript form. Some were intended solely for use within the order, while others targeted the secular authorities or a learned public.[5]

At first glance, the map by the Jesuit Brentano and the account by President Diguja appear perfectly coordinated. In fact, however, they can also be read as texts that describe two different things. Diguja's report deals with political territories and a scenario that threatened the possessions of the Real Audiencia de Quito. Brentano's map, in contrast, depicts a space of Jesuit administration and identity, the Provincia Quitensis, whose settlements and external border he highlighted in red. The map displays numerous elements of a geography of the Jesuit order. These include the order's mission villages, the routes by which fathers arrived in the province of Quito from Europe, and the sites of alleged Jesuit martyrdom. A legend contains information on the subjects taught at Jesuit colleges and universities, and

4 J. Baptista, "Expulsión de Hispanoamérica y Filipinas (1767–1770)," in *Diccionario histórico de la Compañía de Jesús*, ed. Charles Edwards O'Neill, vol. 2 (Rome and Madrid, 2001), 1353–59.
5 A fundamental work is Iván Lucero, *La cartografía jesuita de la Provincia de Quito* (*S. XVII–XVIII*) (Quito, 2015).



Amsterdam
University
Press

the title cartouche features a Christogram as a symbol of the Society of Jesus and a portrait of the superior of the order, Ignazio Visconti, to whom the map was dedicated. Only a few changes were necessary, however, to adapt the map to the needs of the Real Audiencia. Information deemed irrelevant for its purposes could simply be ignored. The scope for interpreting and using the map was accordingly broad and open.

Mirela Altic views Jesuit cartography as a kind of intermediate phase in the history of the colonial or imperial cartography of the Americas.[6] It was especially influential in a period between the initial focus on the coasts and the emergence of official regional maps of the interior, which were produced as part of extended expeditions and systematic surveys during the age of Enlightenment. In certain regions, well into the eighteenth century, Jesuit maps remained the only records upon which geographers, learned travelers, and colonial authorities could rely.

This study is dedicated to Jesuit maps of the Marañón or upper Amazon and the province of Quito produced between 1689 and 1789 in Maynas, Quito, and various European cities. Proceeding from the observation that Jesuit cartography decisively shaped the knowledge about this region in particular that circulated in Spanish America and Europe into the second half of the eighteenth century,[7] the study pursues the following questions: What did it mean for the cartographic representation of knowledge about the (upper) Amazon that the region was long explored, described, and mapped primarily in missionary contexts and for missionary purposes? What connections existed between religion and empiricism or the emergence of premodern sciences? How was the production of knowledge integrated into processes of appropriating spaces and constructing territories? How did mission and colonial expansion work together? What exactly did the connections between knowledge production and cultural contact look like? Finally, what role did local conditions on the Amazon play in knowledge production, and how was knowledge about the Amazon received in Europe?

The connections between Jesuit and colonial cartography were close. Mission was, after all, also a means of implementing colonial rule in remote regions in the continent's interior. Jesuit cartography consequently followed the interests not just of the Society of Jesus, but also of the state and

6 Mirela [Slukan] Altic, *Encounters in the New World: Jesuit Cartography of the Americas* (Chicago and London, 2022), 31.

7 Altic refers in particular to the influence of Jesuit maps on the famous 1779 map of the *Audiencia* of Quito by Francisco Requena. Requena mapped the Amazon region as a member of the Spanish-Portuguese boundary commission following the 1777 Treaty of San Ildefonso. [Slukan] Altic, *Encounters*, 239–40.

AUP Amsterdam University Press

the colonial authorities. The Jesuits followed general, and in some cases specifically military, cartographic conventions. For that reason, Jesuit cartography has often been regarded as an integral component of colonial cartography. However, this overlooks the fact that some characteristics of content and design were specific to Jesuit (or missionary) mapmaking. The cartographers' missionary aims significantly influenced the content and design of their work. Jesuit maps often contained information derived from the specific requirements of the missions that were neglected or ignored in other contexts (this applied, for instance, to the mapping of indigenous territories).[8] This is not to imply that Jesuit cartography was a uniform project with uniform objectives or functions. The opposite was the case.

Robert Batchelor begins his overview of the historiography of Jesuit Cartography by noting that "Jesuit cartography, a vast and lively area of historical scholarship, does not as yet have a proper history."[9] Some scholars, he writes, doubt whether a comprehensive history of Jesuit cartography is even possible, given the diversity of local forms.[10] In fact, even the term Jesuit cartography is rather problematic,[11] suggesting as it does a uniformity or shared orientation of Jesuit cartographic practices that never existed. It also gives the impression that Jesuit cartography represented its own "genre" fundamentally different from other forms of mapmaking. In 1991 John Brian Harley already rightly pointed out that we cannot speak of a specific Jesuit style or technique of mapmaking that fundamentally set Jesuit maps apart from those made by other actors.[12] What did characterize them was their "religious motivation and the aspects of persuasion to which they were harnessed."[13] In this sense, typical, recurring elements did emerge in Jesuit maps, for example the localization of martyrdoms. But the presence of a thematic orientation did not fundamentally differentiate Jesuit maps from those of other producers, who simply set other thematic emphases. The focus on missionary aims

8 [Slukan] Altic, *Encounters*, 31, 34; Anne Marie Claire Godlewska, "Commentary: The Fascination of Jesuit Cartography," in *Jesuit Encounters in the New World: Jesuit Chronicles, Geographers and Missionaries in the Americas, 1549–1767*, ed. Joseph A. Gagliano and Charles E. Ronan (Rome, 1997), 99–111, 106.

9 Robert Batchelor, "Historiography of Jesuit Cartography," *Jesuit Historiography Online*, unpag., accessed August 31, 2019, https://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/jesuit-historiography-online/historiography-of-jesuit-cartography-COM_212546.

10 Batchelor, "Historiography."

11 For a general critique of the ideal of cartography, see Matthew Edney, *Cartography: The Ideal and its History* (Chicago and London, 2019).

12 John Brian Harley, "The Map as Mission: Jesuit Cartography as an Art of Persuasion," in *Jesuit Art in North American Collections*, ed. Jane ten Brink Goldsmith et al. (Milwaukee, 1991), 29.

13 Harley, "The Map as Mission," 29.

Amsterdam
University
Press

did not lead to a less "objective," because less "universal," representation of geographical spaces when compared to the work of European geographers, for example.[14] The varied nature of Jesuit cartography requires us to examine individual cartographic works within the specific local context in which they were created. Mirela Altic points out not just that there were great differences between Jesuit works produced in the different Spanish, Portuguese, and French territories, but also that local conditions within these territories greatly impacted the character of the works.[15] One of the central approaches of the present study is therefore to devote adequate space to contextualizing and interpreting individual maps. Instead of an overview, the works will be examined within their specific contexts of production and reception, without, however, losing sight of the overarching connections and discourses.

Recent scholarship on Jesuit maps no longer regards the production of cartographic knowledge solely as the achievement of individual, outstanding Jesuit protagonists. Authors instead emphasize the interactions between knowledge production and overlapping groups of actors, institutions, and interests.[16] The research on Jesuit maps began with, and has thus far focused on, works about China.[17] In recent years, many publications have appeared in this area, for example on the works of Matteo Ricci and the so-called Kangxi atlas. While scholars at first believed that the Jesuits introduced European knowledge into China, more recent studies stress the cooperative nature of cartography in China, demonstrating processes of transcultural exchange and translation between European missionaries and Chinese scholars in knowledge production.[18]

14 This impression arises when Asúa, for example, distinguishes Jesuit maps as "tools of evangelization" from maps by French geographers, "which complied with the highest academic and esthetic standards." Miguel de Asúa, *Science in the Vanished Arcadia: Knowledge of Nature in the Jesuit Missions of Paraguay and Río de la Plata* (Leiden and Boston, 2014), 192.

15 [Slukan] Altic, *Encounters*, 34.

16 Batchelor, "Historiography."

17 Robert Batchelor, "Introduction: Jesuit Cartography," *Journal of Jesuit Studies* 6 (2019): 1–13, 3.

18 Mario Cams, *Companions in Geography: East-West Collaboration in the Mapping of Qing China (c. 1685–1735)* (Leiden and Boston, 2017); Qiong Zhang, *Making the New World Their Own: Chinese Encounters with Jesuit Science in the Age of Discovery* (Leiden, 2015); Angelo Cattaneo, "World Cartography in the Jesuit Mission in China: Cosmography, Theology, Pedagogy," in *Education for New Times: Revisiting Pedagogical Models in the Jesuit Tradition*, ed. Artur K. Wardega (Macao, 2014), 71–85; Hui-Hung Chen, "The Human Body as a Universe: Understanding Heaven by Visualization and Sensibility in Jesuit Cartography in China," *Catholic Historical Review* 93/3 (2007): 517–52; Richard J. Smith, *Mapping China and Managing the World: Culture, Cartography and Cosmology in Late Imperial Times* (London and New York, 2013); Roderich Ptak, "Maritime Southeast Asia in the World Map of Ferdinand Verbiest and its Korean Version," *Nanyang-xuebao: Journal of South Seas Society* 56 (2002): 122–48; Davor Antonucci, "Dibujando el mapa de Tartaria.

Amsterdam University Press

For many years, the research on Jesuit maps of the Americas was overshadowed by that on cartography in Asia or rather China. Until quite recently, Guillermo Furlong's extensive 1936 overview of cartography in the Río de la Plata region remained a foundational work for scholars.[19] Ernest J. Burrus's 1967 work on Jesuit maps in New Spain was similarly significant.[20] José del Rey Fajardo and Iván Lucero have produced more recent surveys in this tradition, treating maps of the Orinoco region and the Jesuit province of Quito.[21] The accomplishment of all of these studies is doubtless their wide-ranging collection of cartographic sources on specific regions, their identification of authors and basic facts on the respective contexts from which the maps emerged. The analyses remain largely descriptive, however. In the 1990s, John Brian Harley and Anne Godlewska already revealed prospects for the historical classification and interpretation of Jesuit maps of the Americas. Harley, for instance, stressed the role of Jesuit maps in processes of territorial appropriation and integrated maps into a broader iconographic discourse.[22] Godlewska has also pointed to the influence on cartography of cultural contacts in the missions, the hierarchical information system within the order, and the close ties between Jesuits and other areas of secular and ecclesiastical power.[23]

Mirela Altic's extensive survey of Jesuit cartography in Spanish, Portuguese, and French America, which treats the subject from the beginnings of the Jesuit presence to the period after the expulsion and disbanding of the order in 1773, appeared only in 2022. Her study, which examines more than a hundred maps from the aforementioned territories, far surpasses previous discussions with regard to both the geographical focus and the interpretive achievements of her work. Altic's stated aim is "to find out what Jesuit cartography was, in which contexts it developed, what its most salient characteristics were, and what impact it had on the development of

Dos jesuitas al servicio del emperador Kangxi," in *Asia, Europa y el mediterráneo. Ciencia, tecnología y circulación del conocimiento*, ed. Lola Balaguer-Núñez, Luis Calvo, and Fr. Xavier Medina (Barcelona, 2013), 217–29; Gang Song and Paola Demattè, "Mapping an Acentric World: Ferdinand Verbiest's Kunyu Quantu," in *China on Paper: European and Chinese Works from the Late Sixteenth to the Early Nineteenth Century*, ed. Marcia Reed and Paola Demattè (Los Angeles, 2007), 71–87.

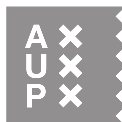
19 Guillermo Furlong, *Cartografía jesuítica del Río de la Plata*, 2 vols. (Buenos Aires, 1936).

20 Ernest J. Burrus, *La obra cartográfica de la Provincia Mexicana de la Compañía de Jesús*, 2 vols. (Madrid, 1967).

21 José del Rey Fajardo, *Los jesuitas en Venezuela*, vol. 5: *Las misiones germen de la nacionalidad* (Caracas and Bogotá, 2007), 837–68; Lucero, *Cartografía jesuita.*

22 Harley, "The Map as Mission," 28–30.

23 Godlewska, "Commentary," 106–9.


Amsterdam
University
Press

the history of cartography in general."[24] Her work offers valuable findings, especially with respect to the design (also the iconography), technical production, reception or dissemination, and the political and religious functions of these maps.

Miguel de Asúa, Artur Barcelos, Glória Kok, and Roberto Chauca Tapia also provide insights into the influence of indigenous actors on the production of maps in missionary contexts.[25] The studies are associated with an emerging general trend in work on maps in various regions of the world (North America, the Pacific, and Africa, alongside Asia). It is rooted in a growing awareness of the particular role played by processes of cultural translation in the production of cartographic knowledge.[26] In the meantime, the scholarship has distanced itself from the master narrative according

24 [Slukan] Altic, *Encounters*, 7.

25 Artur Barcelos, "El saber cartográfico indígena entre los Guaraníes de las misiones jesuíticas," in *Saberes de la conversión. Jesuitas, indígenas e imperios coloniales en las fronteras de la cristiandad*, ed. Guillermo Wilde (Buenos Aires, 2011), 191–204; Asúa, *Science in the Vanished Arcadia*, 204–10; Glória Kok, "Vestígios indígenas na cartografia do sertão da América portuguesa," *Anais do Museu Paulista* 17/2 (2009), accessed August 31, 2019, http://www.scielo.br/scielo.php?script=sci_arttext&pid=S0101-47142009000200007; Roberto Chauca Tapia, "Contribución indígena a la cartografía del Alto Ucayali a fines del siglo XVII," *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Études Andines* 44/1 (2015): 117–38, and "Sobre letrados chinos y bogas amazónicos. La participación indígena en la producción del conocimiento cartográfico y geográfico jesuita en Asia y América," *Revista de Historia y Geografía* 34 (2016): 19–41.

26 For an overview, see David Woodward and G. Malcolm Lewis (eds.), *The History of Cartography*, vol. 2.3: *Cartography in the Traditional African, American, Arctic, and Pacific Societies* (Chicago and London, 1998). On North America, see G. Malcolm Lewis, ed., *Cartographic Encounters: Perspectives on Native American Mapmaking and Map Use* (Chicago, 1998); John Rennie Short, *Cartographic Encounters: Indigenous Peoples and the Exploration of the New World* (London, 2009); Julianna Barr, "Geographies of Power: Mapping Indian Borders in the 'Borderlands' of the Early Southwest," *The William and Mary Quarterly* 68/1 (2011): 5–46; Barbara E. Mundy, *The Mapping of New Spain: Indigenous Cartography and the Maps of the Relaciones Geográficas* (Chicago, 1996); Alessandra Russo, *El realismo circular. Tierras, espacios y paisajes de la cartografía novohispana, siglos XVI y XVII* (Mexico City, 2005). On the Pacific, see Ulrike Strasser, "Die Kartierung der Palaosinseln. Geographische Imagination und Wissenstransfer zwischen europäischen Jesuiten und mikronesischen Insulanern um 1700," *Geschichte und Gesellschaft* 36/1 (2010): 197–230; Lars Eckstein, Helmut Peitsch, and Anja Schwarz, "Tupaias Karten, oder: Was ist Aufklärung in postkolonialer Perspektive?" *Das Achtzehnte Jahrhundert* 40/2 (2016): 175–90. On Africa, see Isabel Voigt, "Die Schneckenkarte. Mission, Kartographie und transkulturelle Wissensaushandlung in Ostafrika um 1850," *Cartographica Helvetica* 45–46 (2012): 27–38; Lindsay F. Braun, "Missionary Cartography in Colonial Africa: Cases from South Africa," in *History of Cartography: International Symposium of the ICA Commission 2010*, ed. Elri Liebenberg and Imre Josef Demhard (Heidelberg, 2012), 249–72. On critiques of the Eurocentric treatment of indigenous maps by some map scholars, see Barbara Belyea, "Amerindian Maps: The Explorer as Translator," *Journal of Historical Geography* 18 (1992): 267–77.

Amsterdam University Press

to which the Enlightenment was a European phenomenon "exported" to other regions of the world.[27] Sebastian Conrad, for example, speaks of the "globality of eighteenth-century Enlightenment," in the sense that Enlightenment should be regarded as a "product of, and a response to, global conjunctures" and the "work of many authors in different parts of the world."[28] Another focus of current research is the reception of Jesuit maps. Many Jesuit manuscripts reached Europe, where they were published by the order itself or by outsiders and used by renowned geographers as a basis for their own works.[29] Thus in recent years the first works have appeared that discuss the influence of Jesuit missionaries, their maps, and reports on French geographers.[30]

What we still lack, however, are strictly microhistorical studies in which Jesuit maps are taken seriously as texts—as texts that do not end at the map's physical edges but interact with other texts and are integrated into action.[31] It makes sense to apply interpretive approaches that have already been established for other Jesuit sources to Jesuit maps. Thus, the literature has long concentrated on the rhetorical and stylistic characteristics of Jesuit accounts,[32] while maps are frequently discussed solely as examples

27 Eckstein, Peitsch, and Schwarz, "Tupaias Karten"; Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra, *How to Write the History of the New World: Histories, Epistemologies, and Identities in the Eighteenth-Century Atlantic World* (Stanford, 2001).

28 Sebastian Conrad, "Enlightenment in Global History: A Historiographical Critique," *American Historical Review* 117/4 (2012): 999–1027, 1009.

29 Burrus, *La obra cartográfica*, 3; David Buisseret, "Spanish Colonial Cartography, 1450–1700," in *The History of Cartography*, vol. 3.1: *Cartography in the European Renaissance*, ed. David Woodward (Chicago and London, 2007), 1143–71, 1168.

30 Roberto M. Ribeiro and John W. O'Malley (eds.), *Jesuit Mapmaking in China: D'Anville's 'Nouvelle atlas de la Chine' (1737)* (Philadelphia, 2014); Mario Cams, "The China Maps of Jean-Baptiste Bourguignon d'Anville: Origins and Supporting Networks," *Imago Mundi* 66/1 (2014): 51–69; Nelson-Martin Dawson, *L'Atelier Delisle. L'Amérique du Nord sur la table à dessin* (Sillery, 2000); Neil Safier, *Measuring the New World: Enlightenment Science and South America* (Chicago and London, 2008); Jorge Pimentel Cintra and Júnia Ferreira Furtado, "Bourguignon D'Anville's *Carte de l'Amérique Méridionale*: A Comparative Amazonian Cartography in Perspective," *Revista Brasileira de História* 31/62 (2011): 277–319.

31 One exception in this regard is the very stimulating study by Camila Loureiro Dias on political discourses in Samuel Fritz's map of the Amazon. Camila Loureiro Dias, "Jesuit Maps and Political Discourse: The Amazon River of Father Samuel Fritz," *The Americas* 69/1 (2012): 95–116.

32 Marc André Bernier, Clorinda Donato, and Hans-Jürgen Lüsebrink, Introduction to *Jesuit Accounts of the Colonial Americas: Intercultural Transfers, Intellectual Disputes, and Textualities*, ed. Bernier, Donato, and Lüsebrink (Toronto, 2014), 4; Markus Friedrich and Alexander Schunka, Introduction to *Reporting Christian Missions in the Eighteenth Century: Communication, Culture of Knowledge and Regular Publication in a Cross-Confessional Perspective* (Wiesbaden, 2017), 13.

AUP Amsterdam University Press

of scientific achievements. The Jesuit maps studied here express many of the specific local qualities of cartographic knowledge production. On the Marañón, the means of transport and methods of making contact, for example, shaped the production of cartographic knowledge along with individual, personal areas of responsibility and territorial conflicts. When analyzing works of cartography, it therefore makes sense to follow the approaches of global microhistory as exemplified by the work of Tonio Andrade, Francesca Trivellato, John-Paul A. Ghobrial, Hans Medick, and Dagmar Freist.[33] The microhistorical perspective shifts the focus above all to the connections between missionary practices and the production of maps or the cartographic representation of the Amazon region. In so doing, the study follows a praxeological approach that has gained widespread favor in early modern studies or the history of science and knowledge over the past two decades and that is gaining increasing relevance in research on mapmaking as well.[34] As Rob Kitchin, Chris Perkins, and Martin Dodge put it, "Mapping can then be conceptualized as a suite of cultural practices involving action and affects. … Interpreting mapping then means considering the context in which mapping takes place; the way it is invoked as part of diverse practices to do work in the world."[35]

The missionary practices included communication between missionaries and indigenous people and the study of local customs and practices, the building of a mission infrastructure, and the targeted search for ethnic groups in the hinterland, which was associated with the appropriation and touring of previously unknown regions and their integration into the

33 Tonio Andrade, "A Chinese Farmer, Two African Boys, and a Warlord: Toward a Global Microhistory," *Journal of World History* 21/4 (2011): 573–91; Francesca Trivellato, "Is There a Future for Italian Microhistory in the Age of Global History?" *California Italian Studies* 2/1 (2011), accessed August 6, 2018, https://escholarship.org/uc/item/0z94n9hq; John-Paul A. Ghobrial, "The Secret Life of Elias of Babylon and the Uses of Global Microhistory," *Past and Present* 222 (2014): 51–93; Hans Medick, "Turning Global? Microhistory in Extension," *Historische Anthropologie* 24/2 (2016): 241–52; Dagmar Freist, "A Global Microhistory of the Early Modern Period: Social Sites and the Interconnectedness of Human Lives," *Quaderni storici* 155/2 (2017): 537–55.

34 Marian Füssel, "Praxeologische Perspektiven in der Frühneuzeitforschung," in *Praktiken der Frühen Neuzeit. Akteure, Handlungen, Artefakte*, ed. Arndt Brendecke (Cologne, Weimar, and Vienna, 2015), 21–33, 21–22; Lucas Haasis and Constantin Rieske, "Historische Praxeologie: Zur Einführung," in *Historische Praxeologie. Dimensionen vergangenen Handelns*, ed. Haasis and Rieske (Paderborn, 2015), 7–54, 19–20; Dagmar Freist, "Historische Praxeologie als Mikro-Historie," in *Praktiken der Frühen Neuzeit. Akteure, Handlungen, Artefakte*, ed. Arndt Brendecke (Cologne, Weimar, and Vienna, 2015), 62–77.

35 Rob Kitchin, Chris Perkins, and Martin Dodge, "Thinking about Maps," In *Rethinking Maps: New Frontiers in Cartographic Theory*, ed. Kitchin, Perkins, and Dodge (London and New York, 2011), 1–25, 17.

Amsterdam University Press

Jesuit and colonial system of rule. This practice also included depicting and disseminating missionary successes and obstacles for the purposes of promotion, apologetics, and edification, planning future missionary undertakings, and finally the legal or political defense of missionary claims.

The subjectivity and socially constructed nature of maps has become a commonplace among scholars.[36] There is broad consensus that maps can never be "neutral," since they are based on a conscious and unconscious selection of contents, shaped by the individual viewpoints and cultural concepts of their producers, and they are always produced in a specific societal context. Maps do not simply indicate spatial factors but always contain meanings that go beyond them.[37] For a long time, scholars assumed that cartography had evolved up to the present according to a paradigm of progress, in which maps produced ever more precise or "correct" reflections of reality. Maps deemed incompatible with modern cartographic ideals of mathematical precision, abstraction, and practical application were quickly dismissed as deficient.[38] Beginning in the late 1980s, critical cartography turned against a normative understanding of maps. The map historian John Brian Harley, whose theses continue to be highly influential today, notably advocated a definition of maps as a "social construction of the world expressed through the medium of cartography."[39] Inspired by Michel Foucault's discourse analysis and Jacques Derrida's concept of deconstruction, among other ideas, Harley inquired after the connections between knowledge and power and sought to deconstruct maps by reading them as cultural texts, teasing out their rhetoric and metaphors.[40] Moreover, he understood every map as engaging in the "art of persuasion,"[41] thus removing the distinction made by many geographers and map historians

36 Paul Laxton, ed., *The New Nature of Maps: Essays in the History of Cartography* (Baltimore and London, 2001); Denis Wood, *The Power of Maps* (New York and London, 1992); Denis Cosgrove, *Apollo's Eye: A Cartographic Genealogy of the Earth in the Western Imagination* (Baltimore, 2001); Ute Schneider, *Die Macht der Karten. Eine Geschichte der Kartographie vom Mittelalter bis heute*, 4th ed. (Darmstadt, 2018); Tanja Michalsky, Felicitas Schmieder, and Gisela Engel (eds.), *Aufsicht – Ansicht – Einsicht. Neue Perspektiven auf die Kartographie an der Schwelle zur Frühen Neuzeit* (Berlin, 2009); Christof Dipper and Ute Schneider (eds.), *Kartenwelten. Der Raum und seine Repräsentation in der Neuzeit* (Darmstadt, 2006).

37 Edney, *Cartography*, 19.

38 Ariane Koller, *Weltbilder und die Ästhetik der Geographie. Die Offizin Blaeu und die niederländische Kartographie der Frühen Neuzeit* (Affalterbach, 2014), 28–9.

39 John Brian Harley, "Text and Contexts in the Interpretation of Early Maps," in *The New Nature of Maps*), 33–49, 35.

40 John Brian Harley, "Deconstructing the Map," in *The New Nature of Maps*, 149–68, 159, 162–63, and "Text and Contexts," 36–7.

41 Harley, "Texts and Contexts," 37.

Amsterdam
University
Press

between propagandistic or openly manipulative maps and other, supposedly more "objective," "scientific," or "neutral" ones.[42] Harley's essays, especially "Deconstructing the Map," published in the journal *Cartographica* in 1989,[43] have long since become part of the canon of interdisciplinary map research.[44] Harley's collaboration with David Woodward on the *History of Cartography* project has also had a lasting impact on his importance for cartographic research.[45] Harley's analytical tools proved helpful for the present study. They include, for example, his observations on "silences" in maps,[46] on the interpretation of geometrical structural elements as part of cartographic rhetoric, or on the rhetorical function of cartographic decoration.[47]

Many aspects of Harley's cartographic philosophy have rightly been subjected to a thorough critique in the last two decades, however. Although his essay "Deconstructing the Map," in particular, continues to be cited frequently, many scholars use his approaches mainly as a "touchstone for critical cartographic approaches rather than a detailed conceptual or methodological guide."[48] Harley's statements on the power of maps, for example his strict distinction between internal and external power (the first refers to the production of maps itself, the latter, for instance, to the interests of patrons)[49] and his reduction of Foucault "to a theorist of social control, disciplinary power, and surveillance," have all attracted criticism.[50] Reuben Rose-Redwood also points to the problems that he believes arise from Harley's characterization of maps as "seemingly all-powerful 'authoritarian

42 Harley, "Deconstructing the Map," 163.

43 See the first publication of the essay, Harley, "Deconstructing the Map," *Cartographica* 26/2 (1989): 1–20.

44 A collection of his most important essays appeared in 2001 in Laxton, *The New Nature of Maps*.

45 John Brian Harley and David Woodward (eds.), *The History of Cartography*, vol. 1: *Cartography in Prehistoric, Ancient, and Medieval Europe and the Mediterranean* (Chicago and London, 1987), vol. 2.1: *Cartography in the Traditional Islamic and South Asian Societies* (Chicago and London, 1992), and vol. 2.2: *Cartography in the Traditional East and Southeast Asian Societies* (London and Chicago, 1992).

46 John Brian Harley, "Silences and Secrecy: The Hidden Agenda of Cartography in Early Modern Europe," in *The New Nature of Maps*, 83–107.

47 John Brian Harley, "Maps, Knowledge, and Power," in *The New Nature of Maps*, 51–81; and Ute Schneider, *Macht der Karten*.

48 Matthew Edney, "Cartography and its Discontents," *Cartographica* 50/1 (2015): 9–13, 10.

49 Reuben Rose-Redwood, "Introduction: The Limits to Deconstructing the Map," *Cartographica* 50/1 (2015): 1–8, 3–4.

50 Rose-Redwood, "Introduction," 4. For a fundamental critique of Harley's philosophy of maps, see John H. Andrews, "Introduction: Meaning, Knowledge, and Power in the Map Philosophy of J. B. Harley," in *The New Nature of Maps*, 1–32, 25–6.

Amsterdam University Press

images'."[51] One should take care "not to conflate the mappings of power with the powers of mapping"[52] and remember that this is always a fragile, contingent power, in need of continued production and reproduction. Harley's description of cartography as primarily an elite branch of knowledge, a "science of princes,"[53] which ignores the possible use and reception of maps by other actors, also seems problematic.[54] He generally regards maps as weapons deployed in wars and for defense in territorial conflicts, as means of legitimizing conquest and controlling the local population in colonial contexts.[55] Although no one contests that these aspects were important functions of maps, it is worth noting that, ultimately, Harley's interpretations usually served a clear objective, namely "unmasking" maps as representations of political, ecclesiastical, economic, and imperialist power. To be sure, Harley repeatedly points to the necessity of placing cartographic sources in a detailed historical context in order to interpret them adequately.[56] His own contextualizations, however, scarcely go beyond a universal political categorization of maps.[57]

There has been a good deal of reflection and debate among map scholars about the seemingly banal question of what a map actually is. According to the frequently cited definition provided in the *History of Cartography*, maps are "graphic representations that facilitate a spatial understanding of things, concepts, conditions, processes, or events in the human world."[58] This formulation represents the attempt to define maps as broadly as possible to avoid narrow, Eurocentric or western notions of what a map is or should be. But even the general reference to maps as "graphic representations" no longer appears tenable given the diversity of maps and mapping practices. Thus, of late anthropological studies have repeatedly stressed the importance of performative elements in indigenous mapping practices. Matthew Edney emphasizes the universal applicability of these observations, noting that "[p]erformative mapping practices pervade modern life as well; they are a function of humanity, not indigeneity."[59] What this means for the present

51 Rose-Redwood, "Introduction," 5.
52 Rose-Redwood, "Introduction," 5.
53 Harley, "Maps, Knowledge, and Power," 56.
54 Andrews, "Introduction"; Martin Dodge and Chris Perkins, "Reflecting on J. B. Harley's Influence and What he Missed in 'Deconstructing the Map'," *Cartographica* 50/1 (2015): 37–40, 38.
55 John Brian Harley, "Maps, Knowledge, and Power," in *The New Nature of Maps*, 51–81, 55–9.
56 Harley, "Text and Contexts."
57 Andrews, "Introduction," 29.
58 John Brian Harley and David Woodward, Preface to *The History of Cartography*, vol. 1, xvi.
59 Edney, *Cartography*, 40.

study is that maps by Jesuit missionaries cannot be regarded as works that stood for themselves alone. The maps were used in complex communicative situations. They were passed on, presented, and explained or discussed verbally. People pointed to them or ran their fingers along certain lines. Another argument against looking at cartographic sources in isolation is that maps worked in concert with other texts. According to Edney, it is therefore necessary to look beyond the material edges of maps:

> The paper's edge apparently closes off the map: the map is what is on the paper; beyond the edge is everything else. As map scholars have pursued sociocultural approaches, however, it has become impossible to sustain the commitment to the map's self-contained materiality. The words used on maps are the same as those used to write books and to make speeches; the decorative marginalia of maps recapitulate graphic motifs from art and science; the coordinate systems parallel analemmas and other mathematical imagery; the sign systems used for maps are applied to other discourses, as metaphors and satires. As the self-containedness of the individual map frays, so too does the generic category of the normative map and with it the singular concept of cartography.[60]

In particular, looking beyond the material edge means analyzing cartographic sources in close connection with the textual and pictorial sources that accompany them. Arguing against the widespread assumption that maps are self-explanatory or universally legible, Edney states that people always read maps intertextually, "according to other works they have previously consumed."[61] Jesuit maps were also sent along and presented with other texts, whether letters, legal or political declarations, tables, pictures, or more extensive works of history or ethnography. The same applies to the process of mapmaking. The mapmakers did not merely translate their experiences with the Amazon region into cartographic symbols but also processed certain discourses that we find in other sources as well.

Map scholars have long sought to locate the overarching principles or characteristics of maps. More recently, however, they have increasingly stopped regarding "'mapping' as a unified corpus with a clear agenda (power and rule)."[62] According to Zur Shalev, they have come to realize "that individual

60 Edney, *Cartography*, 37.

61 Edney, *Cartography*, 40.

62 Zur Shalev, *Sacred Words and Worlds: Geography, Religion, and Scholarship, 1550–1700* (Leiden and Boston, 2012), 16. Edney, "Cartography and its Discontents," 11–12.

Amsterdam University Press

maps, just like books, have specific arguments, and that dialogues and debates run through as well as between them."[63] This applies to the present study as well. Instead of understanding Jesuit maps of the Amazon region or even Jesuit maps more generally as a specific cartographic genre with a uniform orientation, the individual works will be examined against the background of their specific conditions of production, integration into media, and their presentation, circulation, and use—that is, in connection with the individual discourses that determined how they were interpreted.[64] One aim of the study is to show the great diversity of cartographic representations and readings that prevailed in the context of even a limited geographical space and the missionary and Jesuit settings. This diversity only emerges when we engage in the abovementioned microhistorical examination of the maps.[65]

The understanding of maps as texts, which has been well established in the literature for some time now, is fundamental to this study. The focus will be on the narratives, rhetorical strategies, and arguments of Jesuit maps, which scholars have largely ignored thus far in comparison to other forms of Jesuit texts. John Brian Harley already viewed maps as cultural texts, although he did not search for close analogies between language and maps as some other scholars did into the early 1990s.[66] In the words of Robert Stockhammer, the advantage of comparing maps and texts consists "not so much in such formal semiotic considerations but rather in the fact that it allows us to emphasize the constructed quality of maps."[67] Stockhammer understands maps as systems of combined signs, in which signs from different systems such as "graticules, terrain lines, place names, pictures"[68] are brought together. Assuming that maps did not end at the physical margins of the map sheet, as previously explained, there are additional types of signs

63 Shalev, *Sacred Words*, 16; Edney, "Cartography and its Discontents," 12.

64 Edney, *Cartography*, 40–41.

65 Edney, *Cartography*, 45.

66 Erwin Raisz, *General Cartography*, 2nd ed. (New York, 1948); Arthur H. Robinson, *Elements of Cartography* (New York, 1953); C. G. Head, "The Map as Natural Language: A Paradigm for Understanding," *Cartographica* 21/1 (1984): 1–31. On the metaphorical understanding of maps as language, see John H. Andrews, "Map and Language: A Metaphor Extended," *Cartographica* 27/1 (1990): 1–19. For an overview of the paradigm of cartographic language, see Alexander J. Kent and Peter Vujakovic, "Cartographic Language: Towards a New Paradigm for Understanding Stylistic Diversity in Topographic Maps," *The Cartographic Journal* 48/1 (2011): 21–40.

67 Robert Stockhammer, *Kartierung der Erde. Macht und Lust in Karten und Literatur* (Munich, 2007), 53.

68 Stockhammer, *Kartierung*, 13.

Amsterdam
University
Press

that do not necessarily possess a graphic character but can also be verbal or performative.[69]

In order to read maps as texts, we must study and historically categorize the rhetorical functions of the different cartographic elements. Which elements were placed where, what went unmentioned, and what was emphasized or centered? How can we interpret colors, symbols, and decorations, and what role was accorded the written language, for example in place names, legends, lists, and tables? All of these elements must be read and interpreted intertextually. This requires us to consult additional sources surrounding the maps to recognize points of connection and references to certain discourses. It is worth noting here that maps did not simply illustrate or give visual form to other texts that accompanied them or for which they were produced. The texts also sometimes completed or contradicted each other. For example, some contents or contexts could only be represented in *one* medium or were deliberately only addressed in *one* medium. This applied in particular to politically controversial content, whose representation in a map could be especially risky.

Understanding maps as texts also means acknowledging their open and processual character. We should accordingly by no means understand maps as "mobile but immutable" objects[70] in the sense described by Bruno Latour, but as "always in the state of becoming,"[71] as formulated by Rob Kitchin, Chris Perkins, and Martin Dodge. The production process does not end with the completion of a manuscript or the printing of a map, Vincent Del Casino and Stephen Hanna note, but is in theory endless, since everyone who uses a map produces more maps through multiple interpretations.[72] According to Matthew Edney, interpretations of maps always depend on the context of production, circulation, and reception or the specific discourse, understood as a "regulated network of communication."[73] Only within a specific discourse can we observe a certain "semiotic stability."[74] As soon as maps are transferred to a different discursive context, however, the ways

69 Edney, *Cartography*, 41.

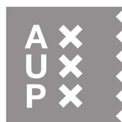
70 Bruno Latour, "Visualisation and Cognition: Drawing Things Together," in H. Kuklick, ed., *Knowledge and Society: Studies in the Sociology of Culture Past and Present* (East Hartford, 2012), 1–40, 7.

71 Kitchin, Perkins, and Dodge, "Thinking about Maps," 17.

72 Vincent J. Del Casino and Stephen P. Hanna, "Beyond the 'Binaries': A Methodological Intervention for Interrogating Maps as Representational Practices," *ACME: An International E-Journal for Critical Geographies* 4/1 (2005): 34–56, 40.

73 Edney, *Cartography*, 41.

74 Edney, *Cartography*, 43.



Amsterdam
University
Press

they are read also change. The example of Carlos Brentano's map, with which this work began, underlined precisely this processual character of maps.

With one exception, the Jesuit missionaries whose works will be studied here came from Europe and were active between 1686 and 1768 in the Jesuit province of Quito, where some of them spent many years on the Río Marañón or its tributaries. This mission territory was generally referred to as the Maynas mission, after the local ethnic group of the same name. The Jesuit ambition, however, was to proselytize a number of ethnic groups that spoke sometimes very different languages who lived along the shores and in the hinterlands of the territory's many rivers. Between 1638 and 1768, the Jesuits founded numerous reductions on the Marañón, Cahuapana, Huallaga, Ucayali, Pastaza, Napo, and Nanay rivers. As in other mission territories, the Jesuits in Maynas paid close attention to the local natural world and population, studying both the local customs and languages and the geography, flora, and fauna. In the course of the approximately 130-year existence of the Maynas mission, they reported on all this in countless letters and more extensive works, sometimes with the intention of publishing them.

The earliest surviving maps were made by the Jesuit Father Samuel Fritz (1654–1725). We know of three manuscripts by him from the years 1689, 1690, and 1691, and his map of the Amazon, which was engraved in Quito in 1707. It was largely based on a manuscript of 1691 and published in Europe in various versions and languages beginning in 1712. Father Fritz's map of the Amazon was the best-known cartographic work of all the Jesuits active in Maynas, not just in the eighteenth century, and has received the most attention from scholars.[75] In 1740, the Jesuit Father Jean Magnin (1701–1753) made a map of the province of Quito with many details of the Amazon river system. Another map of the Jesuit province of Quito was the work of Carlos Brentano mentioned above, printed in Rome in 1751. Brentano was not only a missionary on the Marañón but for a time also provincial and procurator of the Jesuit province of Quito. A fourth map of the mission on

75 Loureiro Dias, "Jesuit Maps and Political Discourse"; Chauca Tapia, "Letrados chinos y bogas amazónicos"; André Ferrand de Almeida, "Samuel Fritz and the Mapping of the Amazon," *Imago Mundi* 55 (2003): 113–19, and "Samuel Fritz Revisited: The Maps of the Amazon and their Circulation in Europe," in *La cartografia europea tra primo Rinascimento e fine dell'Illuminismo*, ed. Diogo Ramada Curto, Angelo Cattaneo, and André Ferrand de Almeida (Florence, 2003), 133–53; Josef Gicklhorn and Renée Gicklhorn, *Im Kampf um den Amazonenstrom. Das Forscherschicksal des P. S. Fritz* (Prague, Leipzig, and Berlin, 1943), 165–67; Dietmar Henze, *Enzyklopädie der Entdecker und Erforscher der Erde*, vol. 2 (reprint Graz and Darmstadt, 2011), 297; Jorge Villalba, "Documentos, Diarios, Memoriales, Cartas y Mapas del P. Samuel Fritz, S.J. Misionero del Amazonas 1689–1709," *Revista del Instituto de Historia Eclesiástica Ecuatoriana* 12 (1992): 55–94, 57.

Amsterdam University Press

the Marañón, which was printed in 1785 in Nuremberg, was prepared by Franz Xaver Veigl (1723–1798) at the time of the expulsion of the Jesuits from South America in the late 1760s. It is part of his account of nature and the population in Maynas. The Creole Juan de Velasco (1721–1792) also included a hand-drawn map in his *Historia del Reino de Quito* written in 1789 in exile in Italy, which was however never printed or published. We can also assume that the surviving maps represent only a fragment of the works produced by the missionaries to the Maynas in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Some sources contain hints of other maps now missing or lost. The missionary Heinrich Richter (1653–1695), who became known as a martyr, for instance, was said to have produced a map of the Río Ucayali, which Samuel Fritz adapted in his own work (see chap. 4). We know that the missionary Pablo Maroni (1695–1757) prepared a map of the Río Napo, which Charles Marie de la Condamine and Jean-Baptiste Bourguignon d'Anville (1697–1782) processed in their works (see chap. 5). Maps now lost presumably also formed part of reports and letters that the Jesuits sent to Europe.[76]

Since the mid-twentieth century, the maps that are the focus of this study have belonged to the traditional canon of sources for Ecuadorian national historiography. Scholars long concentrated on documenting the country's territorial claims to the Amazon by referring to the historical borders of the Real Audiencia de Quito, which was considered the predecessor to Ecuador.[77] Particular relevance was assigned to the Jesuit maps because the mission villages marked on them were located in a border region that was contested politically and at times subject to military conflict until the end of the twentieth century.[78] Following independence, both Ecuador and

76 A note in an account of the mission on the Río Aguarico points this out, stating "Algo suplira el Mapa, que aqui añado aunque no este echo con el asseo, que piden los Eruditos." *Relacion de los Aumentos de la mission de los Aguaricus este año de 1739*, Jesuitas, 251, 2, doc. 8, 233–248, AHN Madrid, p. 246. The map itself has been lost. No author is mentioned in the account. María Susana Cipolletti believes that it was by Pablo Maroni. María SusanaCipolletti, "Dos escritos inéditos del jesuita Pablo Maroni sobre el Noroeste amazónico (indígenas Encabellados, Tucano, 1739–40)," *Jahrbuch für Geschichte Lateinamerikas* 36/Sonderdruck (1999): 151–71, 157.
77 Carlos Manuel Larrea, *Cartografía ecuatoriana de los siglos XVI, XVII y XVIII* (Quito, 1977); Octavio Latorre, *Los mapas del Amazonas y el desarollo de la cartografía ecuatoriana en el siglo XVIII* (Guayaquil, 1988); Centro de Estudios Históricos del Ejército Ecuatoriano (eds.), *Atlas histórico y geográfico* (Quito 1992); Marcos Gándara Enríquez, "Palabras en el lanzamiento del libro 'Atlas histórico y Geográfico' de la cuenca Amazónica," *Memoria* 3–4 (1993–1996): 369–72.
78 Elisabeth Schumann-Braune, *Ecuador und die Erfindung des país amazónico. Strategien diskursiver Aneignung des Amazonastieflandes im Kontext des ecuadorianisch-peruanischen Grenzkonflikts* (Berlin, 2000), 13–22. See also Tamar Herzog, "The Meaning of Territory: Colonial Standards and Modern Questions in Ecuador," in *Globality and Multiple Modernities: Comparative*

Amsterdam University Press

Peru made claims to this inaccessible forest region rich in natural resources. Peru prevailed in the border war of 1941. Today, the contested region forms a large part of the Peruvian Departamento de Loreto. The mission villages are thus the focus of some atlases and maps on the history of the Real Audiencia de Quito and the later state of Ecuador. These include the *Atlas histórico-geográfico* published in 1942 by the Ecuadorian Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores.[79] The Jesuits were held up as key figures in an opening of the Amazon region organized from Quito and, at the same time, as defenders of the territorial interests of the Spanish Crown against Portuguese incursions in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.[80] As a consequence, many Ecuadorian historians regard the expulsion of the Jesuits in 1767/68 not just as the beginning of the decline of the missions but also as an obstacle to the political penetration of and implementation of rule in the Amazon region by the Real Audiencia de Quito.[81] These national narratives strongly influenced the discussions of the Jesuit maps treated here up to the end of the twentieth century and sometimes beyond.[82] Apart from territorial aspects, treatments of the Jesuit maps thus far have mainly revolved around their originality and precision. For example, even today the Amazon map by the Jesuit missionary Samuel Fritz is considered the beginning of a

North American and Latin American Perspectives, ed. Luis Roniger and Carlos H. Waisman (Brighton and Portland, 2002), 162–82; Sarah Radcliffe and Sallie Westwood, *Remaking the Nation: Place, Identity and Politics in Latin America* (London and New York, 1996); Sarah Radcliffe, "Frontiers and Popular Nationhood: Geographies of Identity in the 1995 Ecuador-Peru Border Dispute," *Political Geography* 17/3 (1997): 273–93.

79 Juan Morales y Eloy, *Ecuador. Atlas histórico-geográfico* (Quito, 1942), Tables 34–35, 47.

80 This is particularly true of the research on Samuel Fritz. See Jorge Villalba, "P. Samuel Fritz S.J.," in *Atlas histórico y geográfico*, ed. Centro de Estudios Históricos del Ejército Ecuatoriano (Quito, 1992), 5; Antonio Astrain, *Historia de la Compañía de Jesús*, vol. 6 (Madrid, 1920), 625; and Hernán Rodríguez Castelo, "El P. Samuel Fritz y su 'Diario'," in Samuel Fritz, *Diario*, ed. H. Rodríguez Castelo (Quito, 1997), 7–67. The depiction of Samuel Fritz as a "defensor de la peruanidad" is also instructive for the different interpretations of national history. See Luís Hernán Ramírez, "Samuel Fritz (1654–1725). Defensor de la Peruanidad en el territorio Amazónico," *Alma Mater* 13/14 (1997): 29–33.

81 José Jouanen, *Historia de la Compañia de Jesús en la antigua provincia de Quito, 1570–1774*, vol. 1 (Quito, 1941), 521. In the meantime, this has been refuted by various authors. See María Elena Porras, *Gobernación y obispado de Mainas. Siglos XVII y XVIII* (Quito, 1987), 53; and Jörg Stephan, *Jesuiten am Amazonas. Spanische Herrschaft und Mission in der Grenzprovinz Maynas 1619–1768* (Stuttgart, 2000). See also Porras's critique of the territorial history taught in Ecuadorian schools in the 1990s. María Elena Porras, "Nuevas Perspectivas sobre la Historia Territorial del Ecuador y crítica de los textos escolares de Historia de Límites," *Procesos 5* (1994): 117–23.

82 Larrea, *Cartografía ecuatoriana*; Latorre, *Los mapas del Amazonas*, and his "¿Fue Ecuador país amazónico?" *Boletín de la Academia Nacional de Historia* 85/177 (2006): 379–89.

Amsterdam University Press

"scientific" cartography of the Amazon region.[83] Only in recent years have a few studies taken up some of the newer research questions outlined here with regard to the reception of the maps and the influence of indigenous actors and political conflicts on the production of cartographic knowledge.[84]

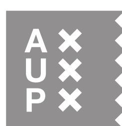
The present study consists of six main chapters. Chapter 2 provides a general account of geography and maps in the Society of Jesus, with a focus on the connections between religion, spirituality, and Jesuit education. Chapter 3 offers survey accounts of the mapping of the Amazon region before the Jesuits and the Jesuit mission in Maynas. The four subsequent chapters are oriented chronologically around the works of the Jesuit mapmakers introduced here. Each of these chapters focuses on individual cartographic works, which are used to discuss the questions previously presented. Chapter 4 explores the maps by Father Samuel Fritz as media of spatial appropriation. The manuscript of 1689 is used to show that the cartographic registration of indigenous settlement territories was part of a process of transformation initiated by the Jesuits whose aim was to reinterpret indigenous settlements as Christian mission villages. Similarly, Fritz's subsequent works are used to explore the deployment of cartographic knowledge in disputes around the drawing of borders in the Amazon as well as the influence of these local conflicts on the cartographic representation of the Amazon region. I pay particular attention here to the intersections of religious and political spatial concepts, which constitute one of the rhetorical centers of Samuel Fritz's cartographic works. I also seek to elucidate how, while local conflicts boosted knowledge production enormously and influenced the design of Samuel Fritz's maps, their reception in Lima as well as Europe changed the discourse and with it the interpretation and use of the maps. Chapter 5 focuses on Father Jean Magnin's map. Proceeding from this work, the chapter explores how missionary travel practices on the Marañón affected knowledge production. The intention is to show that the cartographic recording of the missionary space accompanied the establishment of a local mission infrastructure, which influenced the representation of hydrographic contents in particular. The missionaries mapped the territory from the viewpoint of traveling observers, whose itineraries in turn depended upon missionary practices. This chapter thus

83 Latorre, *Los mapas del Amazonas*, 46.

84 Ferrand de Almeida, "Samuel Fritz and the Mapping of the Amazon," and "Samuel Fritz Revisited"; Loureiro Dias, "Jesuit Maps and Political Discourse"; Roberto Chauca Tapia, "Contribución indígena a la cartografía del Alto Ucayali," "Letrados chinos y bogas amazónicos" and "Missionary Hydrography and the Invention of Early Modern Amazonia," *Colonial Latin American Review* 27/2 (2018): 203–25. See also [Slukan] Altic, *Encounters*, chapter 2.2.5.

Amsterdam University Press

studies why, where, how, and with whom the Jesuits traveled. The last question points to the central importance of indigenous people for the exploration of the Amazon. The choice of routes along which the Jesuits explored and registered the region was highly dependent on information from local actors. We will see that indigenous people decisively helped to guide the course of expeditions and with it also the production of knowledge. Chapter 6 is devoted to the emergence of a territorial understanding of the Jesuit province of Quito. Proceeding from the map by Father Carlos Brentano, the chapter begins by examining how the province of Quito presented itself to the Jesuit leadership in Rome and how the centralist notion of authority prevalent in the Society of Jesus was expressed in the cartographic representation. In a further step, the chapter will show that in the eighteenth century, an understanding also developed of the Jesuit province of Quito as a regional territorial unit or an abstract area, and that this was by no means self-evident given the widespread notion within the order of provinces as collections of scattered settlements. Chapter 7 begins with a discussion of the connections between ethnography and cartography in the works of the former missionary Franz Xaver Veigl. It explores which anthropological and religious concepts entered into the cartographic representation of the indigenous population and how ethnographic knowledge structured the construction of the missionary space in Veigl's map. It also pursues the question of why and how European linguists adopted the ethnographic contents of Veigl's map and the accompanying report. Finally, the chapter discusses the impact of the expulsion of the Jesuits from Spanish America and the disbanding of the order on the works that Franz Xaver Veigl and Juan de Velasco produced in Europe. It will analyze how these authors' maps took up and processed apologetic narratives or how these narratives came to be applied in the cartographic representation of the Amazon region.



Amsterdam
University
Press