

FABRICIO J. NAZZARI VICROSKI

BETWEEN THE CROSS AND THE SWORD

Evangelization and indigenous
enslavement in Spanish and
Portuguese America
in the 17th century

© 2021, FABRICIO J. NAZZARI VICROSKI
ALL RIGHTS RESERVED

PUBLISHER
ALEX ANTÔNIO VANIN

GRAPHIC PROJECT
ACERVUS

COVER IMAGE
FABRICIO J. NAZZARI VICROSKI

TRANSLATION
ANDREI ILTCH HEINSFELD

ORIGINALS SENT BY THE AUTHOR IN:
JANUARY 2021

APPROVAL BY THE EDITORIAL BOARD:
FEBRUARY 2021

THE IDEAS, IMAGES, FIGURES AND OTHER
INFORMATION PRESENTED IN THIS WORK ARE THE
SOLE RESPONSIBILITY OF THE AUTHOR

THE REVISION OF THE TEXTS WAS THE
RESPONSIBILITY OF THE AUTHOR

ACERVUS EDITORA

AV. ASPIRANTE JENNER, 1274 - LUCAS ARAÚJO

99074-360 - PASSO FUNDO

RIO GRANDE DO SUL - BRASIL

TEL.: +55 (54) 99686-9020

ACERVUSEDITORA@GMAIL.COM

ACERVUSEDITORA.COM.BR

EDITORIAL BOARD

ANCELMO SCHÖRNER (UNICENTRO)

EDUARDO KNACK (UFCG)

EDUARDO PITTHAN (UFS – PASSO FUNDO)

FEDERICA BERTAGNA (UNIVERSITÀ DI VERONA)

GIZELE KLEIDERMACHER (UNIVERSIDAD DE BUENOS AIRES)

HELION PÓVOA NETO (UFRJ)

HUMBERTO DA ROCHA (UFS – CAMPUS ERECHIM)

JOÃO CARLOS TEDESCO (UPF)

JOÃO VICENTE RIBAS (UPF)

ROBERTO GEORG UEBEL (ESPM)

VINÍCIUS BORGES FORTES (IMED)

AUTOUR'S CONTACT:

FABRICIOARQUEOLOGIA@HOTMAIL.COM

Cataloging in Publication - CIP

V641b Vicroski, Fabricio José Nazzari
Between the cross and the sword [electronic
resource] : evangelization and indigenous enslavement in
spanish and portuguese America in the 17th century /
Fabricio José Nazzari Vicroski. – Passo Fundo: Acervus,
2021.
10 MB ; PDF.

ISBN: 978-65-86000-67-2.
Publicação bilingue.

1. Cities and towns - Rio Grande do Sul (Brazil).
2. Indigenous peoples. 3. Jesuit War, 1754-1756
(South America). 4. Geopolitics. I. Title.

CDU: 981.65

Cataloging: Librarian Jucelei Rodrigues Domingues - CRB 10/1569

Fabricio J. Nazzari Vicroski

**BETWEEN THE CROSS
AND THE SWORD**

**Evangelization and indigenous
enslavement in Spanish and Portuguese
America in the 17th century**



**Passo Fundo
2021**

SUMMARY

INTRODUCTION	7
1. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND	15
2. INDIGENOUS, JESUITS AND BANDEIRANTES	35
3. THE CONQUEST OF IGAÍ.....	65
4. FINAL CONSIDERATIONS.....	91
REFERENCES.....	95
INDEX	101

INTRODUCTION

AT THE THRESHOLD OF THE 17TH CENTURY, THE HILLS AND TROPICAL forests outlined the landscape in the region of the interfluvium of the hydrographic basins of the Alto Jacuí and Alto Uruguay, in current Rio Grande do Sul, the most southern of the Brazilian states. The leafy Araucaria trees were the protagonists with their columnar trunks and branches distributed radially around their crown. The tree was remarkable not only for its symmetry and uniqueness, but mainly for the high nutritional value of its seeds, the pinhão, which meant food availability in autumn and winter.

Amid the araucaria forests, the Jê-speaking indigenous peoples - ancestors of the current Kaingang and Xokleng (Laklãnõ) - established their camps and lit the fires where they prepared the pine nuts. Fire was obtained by rubbing sticks of jerivá (*Arecastrum romanzoffianum*). For the maintenance of the fire, they favored the wood of the American pepper (*Schinus*

molle). The enemy groups were unaware of this practice, so the smell resulting from the burning of other trees could indicate the approach of people with no ties to the tribe.¹ Such a measure was not unreasonable, since the occupation of this region required constant concern about strategies for sharing territory with enemy groups.

As the Jê centralized their domains in the highlands, the indigenous speakers of the Tupi-Guarani linguistic trunk unleashed their expansionist impetus guiding themselves by the course of the great rivers and their tributaries. The fertile floodplains of the Uruguai and Jacuí rivers had the attributes to maintain their livelihood.

In the 17th century, both the Jê and the Tupi-Guarani groups already brought with them a historical heritage of millennial occupation of this territory, marked by disputes, strategies, interactions and conflict mediations. Their ancestors decimated and absorbed the ancient populations of hunter-gatherers who had ventured into the region for more than 10,000 years.

In this perspective, the Alto Jacuí basin region can be interpreted as a cultural frontier zone, characterized by migration routes, cultural diffusion, and interethnic contact between different indigenous groups during pre-colonial history. This bordering capacity expanded, also encompassing the period of European colonization, thus marking the Spanish-Portuguese conflict zone.

At the same time that the indigenous people remained concerned with regional enemy groups, on the other side of

¹ MABILDE, Pierre François Alphonse Booth. *Apontamentos sobre os indígenas selvagens da Nação Coroados dos matos da Província do Rio Grande do Sul: 1836-1866*. São Paulo: IBRASA; Brasília: INL, Fundação Nacional Pró-Memória, 1983, p. 122.

the Atlantic Ocean a geopolitical project was outlined with direct repercussions on the territorial occupation dynamics in South America, concomitantly decreeing the end of absolute indigenous territorial sovereignty and the beginning of a new population cycle.

The Iberian Crowns went to South America with the desire to expand their territorial domains. In these circumstances, the action of the Jesuit missionaries and the creation of the Jesuit Province of Paraguay were used as expansion fronts in service of the colonial policy. From the 17th century onwards, the regional perspective was subjected to the global conjuncture. Signing a treaty in Madrid, resulted in direct implications for the indigenous settlers in the distant region of the headwaters of the Jacuí River, in the ends of Colonial America.

The method adopted for the development of the Spanish conquest and catechization project in the Province of Paraguay was based on the implementation of the reduction system. Between the decades of 1620 and 1630, the feasibility of alliances between Jesuits and indigenous people resulted in the founding of eighteen missionary villages in the eastern part of the Uruguay River, current territory of Rio Grande do Sul.

Mission is understood as the work of conversion and catechizing indigenous peoples, while **reduction** was the method used to make missional practice feasible. A reduction was represented by the urban nucleus and its support structures. The indigenous people and their different ethnic subgroups were allocated and incorporated into the colonial organization system. The indigenous village ceased to be a form of indigenous organization to become a space created by Christian culture.

The adoption of the reduction model to implement the

Missions only became effective after the frustrated attempts of the missionaries to conduct itinerant incursions in search of indigenous communities, among which they intermittently evangelized. In the second half of the 16th century, the creation of indigenous settlements was part of the demographic ordering policy adopted by Don Francisco Álvarez de Toledo in the territory of the Viceroyalty of Peru, thus seeking to replace the *encomiendas* system.²

When well received by indigenous leaders, initial contacts resulted in collective baptisms, among other catechizing actions. However, the absence of a “Christian village” made it impossible to stimulate them to learn and exercise the practices preached by the Jesuits. The creation of stable settlements established the role of reductions as places of conversion and indigenous evangelization under the precepts of Catholic doctrine.

The reductions adopted a form of political organization completely different from the model conceived by indigenous societies. Symbolically, Christian baptism represented the abandonment of their traditional practices and the adoption of a new cultural behavior radiated from the *pueblos misioneros*.

Obviously, it is not possible to assume the indigenous passively accepted this transition. However, several episodes of conflicts and resistance were recorded, given the threat posed by the “*encomenderos españoles*” and Portuguese-Brazilian *bandeirantes*. The indigenous people understood the alternative presented by the Jesuits as a survival strategy.

² SZYKULSKI, Józef. *Chryścianizacja obszaru Imperium Tawantisuyu (Inków). Synkretyz kulturowy i dylemat walki z idolatrią*. In: DZIEDUSZYCKI, Wojciech; WRZESIŃSKI, Jacek (Org.). *Chrzest – przemiany religijne, kulturowe i sepulkralne*. *Funeralia Lednickie – Spotkanie* 19. Poznań: Stowarzyszenie Naukowe Archeologów Polskich, 2017, p. 6-7.

At first, it was common that the chosen location to house the reduction corresponded to the nucleus commanded by the regional indigenous leadership. Usually the villages were about two to three walking days away from each other. There was a constant movement of people, information, and food. The incorporation of European construction and urban planning techniques intended to give the villages an aspect of colonial villages with squares, cemeteries, churches, and rammed earth houses. The transformation of indigenous villages into missionary villages was not immediate, nor was the adherence of the indigenous people fully resolved. The success of the undertaking depended to a large extent on traditional indigenous knowledge about horticulture techniques, climatic conditions, and processing of cassava, yerba mate, pine nuts, and other means of subsistence. The introduction of cattle by the Jesuits and the construction of ranches for the maintenance and expansion of the herd were also providential. In the same way, the indigenous organizational structure was incorporated into the mission system. The chiefs and warriors maintained their leadership and influence roles over their people. In that period, it was observed the adaptation and fusion of innumerable elements of the native and European cultures.

It was in this context that the Jesuit reduction of *Santa Teresa del Curiti* was founded in 1632 by Father Francisco Ximenez in the northwest region of the current Brazilian state of Rio Grande do Sul. The arrival of the Jesuits and the consequent establishment of missionary settlements in the eastern part of the Uruguay River under Spanish rule, are related to the unfolding of *bandeirantes* attacks on the reductions founded in the regions of Itatim and Guairá, on the left bank of the Paraná River. The *bandeirantes* had the objective of capturing

the indigenous people in order to commercialize them as slave labor, thus resulting in the indigenous and Jesuit exodus towards the south and in the creation of new missionary villages in the commonly named Tape area.

In 1633, the incipient village was moved to a position further south. The new location allowed the articulation with the other reductions, provided proximity to the herbal zone, and mitigated the risks of attacks by Jê Indians against the advance of the missional front. Both locations were in the Alto Jacuí basin, then called Igaí.

It was a prosperous and strategically located settlement. Its population surmounted four thousand people. Among the villagers were Guaraní and Jê Indians, regionally known as Tape and Guañana.

Seduced by the lucrative slave trade, the São Paulo *sertanistas* entered the Tape. In 1637, the reduction of *Santa Teresa* was invaded by *bandeirantes* under the command of André Fernandes. Most of the indigenous people were captured and sent to São Paulo, where they were traded as slaves.

The *bandeirantes* established the Igaí or Pinhais camps, fully aware of the strategic location of the reduction. **This would be the first settlement founded by paulistas in Rio Grande do Sul.** For more than three decades, the local served as a support base for the Portuguese-Brazilian insertion towards the interior of Rio Grande do Sul territory - under the rule of the Spanish Crown at the time - helping in the taking of the other missionary villages and also in the military campaigns, such as the Battle of M'bororé in 1641. From that base, the *bandeirantes* organized attacks to the west, south and southwest.

The importance of this enclave was such that even the

defeat in M'bororé did not undermine the *bandeirante* domain in the region. A little more than three decades later, the maintenance of this important position became unsustainable.

The interpretation of the historical facts related to the foundation of the reduction of *Santa Teresa* and the subsequent establishment of a support post for the advances of the *bandeirantes* from São Paulo allow to extrapolate the geographical limits of the Tape area.

The Igaí camp was consolidated as the pole for the Portuguese-Brazilian slave explorers of Rio Grande do Sul in the 17th century. **A century before the landmark of the official occupation of that territory by the Portuguese colonizers.**

It is estimated that about 30 thousand indigenous people have been subjugated. Tens of thousands more were disassembled, killed or emigrated. The dynamics of traditional settlement of native populations was disarticulated. The territorial dispute reached a new level. The regional clashes reflected the geopolitical context of powers overseas.

Despite this effervescent historical context, there is a high degree of neglect or forgetfulness of this past, rarely or superficially addressed in historiography. Given this context, the present study seeks to revise and update the available data and, above all, to highlight the historical importance of the listed facts, defending the assertion that the events which resulted from the founding of the reduction had profound historical and geopolitical implications in the formation of Rio Grande do Sul. Among the main documentary sources used, the *Cartas Ânuas* (*Litterae Annuae*) are of great importance.³

³ Periodic correspondence and administrative reports produced by the Jesuits and sent to the superiors of the Society of Jesus. Its content can span a period of one year or more.

This reflective and interpretative effort was guided by the analysis of a series of interrelated problems, which have direct implications not only in the historical events of the period, but also in the social, economic and geopolitical context of the subsequent centuries.

The *Litterae Annuae* relating to the Jesuit Province of Paraguay cover the period from 1609 to 1675 and from 1714 to 1762.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

THE UNDERSTANDING OF REGIONAL HISTORICAL PROCESSES SPANS THE analytical appreciation of global phenomena of long duration. At the same time, the regional perspective enriches the historical analysis with inherent particularities to the local context, sometimes imperceptible in other scales of interpretation.

Aiming to contextualize the theme, as well as to understand the long-term phenomena linked to it, an effort is made to undertake a bibliographic review about the historical background that founds the interpretative propositions and assessments associated with the presence of indigenous people, Jesuit and *bandeirantes* in southern Brazil in the 17th century.

1.1. IBERIAN CROWNS AND THE CONTEXT OF MERCANTILIST EXPANSION

In order to interpret the historical phenomena that culminated in the actions of Christian evangelization in the Alto

Jacuí basin, the classical western chronology refers to the Iberian Peninsula in the beginnings of the Modern Age. The 15th century represents the beginning of a period of great transformations. Europe, recently out of the Middle Ages, envisioned the role of relevant explorers in the history of the Great Navigations or “Age of Discovery” (15th to 17th centuries). A period deeply marked by the maritime explorations that sailed the seas towards the east and the west.

Despite the necessary impetus for explorers and sailors, their motivations are found in the set of economic actions that characterize Mercantilism, a practice in which the colonial economy depended on the direct intervention of the State.

The Portuguese and Spanish monarchies, allied with the merchant class, adopt actions such as commercial protectionism, development of manufactures and local industries, in addition to territorial expansionism motivated by the search for precious metals and raw materials. Lisbon held status as the colonial expansionist capital.

In this same period, completely oblivious to this process, the different indigenous ethnic groups that inhabited the present-day Rio Grande do Sul territory maintained a way of life different from that of the Europeans. Such a characteristic should never be understood as a synonym for cultural inferiority or as a primitive stage of development compared to European societies. The notions of property and territory occupation were divergent even among different indigenous groups. Even so, territorial expansion was also a reality among these groups.

Great migrations that began more than two millennia ago had brought the Tupi-Guarani and Jê peoples to this region, respectively from the Amazon and the savannahs of Central

Brazil.⁴ In the 15th and 16th centuries, the maintenance of the territories conquered by their ancestors possibly proved to be one of the greatest challenges to these populations. Certain territorial sharing strategies proved to be viable among the indigenous peoples, however, the arrival of European explorers profoundly altered this dynamic. At the headwaters of Alto Jacuí, changes were felt mainly from the first decades of the 17th century. However, the foundations of these changes had been arranged more than a century ago.

Signed in 1498, the Treaty of Tordesillas regulated the overseas territorial possession of the Iberian Crowns by establishing an imaginary dividing line (Tordesillas meridian), thus aiming at the political strengthening of national states based on mercantilist practices.

The commercial exploitation of the American continent not only founded the colonial empires of Spain and Portugal, but also initiated a cultural and economic revolution of global impact, resulting in the circulation of people, products, spices, and raw materials in different regions of the planet. After the first explorations in the coastal regions, the Iberian Crowns turned their attention to strategic regions such as the Río de la Plata basin.

1.2. COLONIALISM IN SOUTHERN AMERICA

The definition of the limits of the Treaty of Tordesillas has always fueled diplomatic quarrels. The cartographic location of

⁴ SCHMITZ, Pedro Ignacio (Org.). *As casas subterrâneas de São José do Cerrito*. São Leopoldo: Instituto Anchieta de Pesquisas, 2014, p. 8.

the longitudinal axis adopted to establish the limits of colonial empires fluctuated according to the interests of the Crowns. Such vagueness is partly due to the low precision of the calculation instruments and the discrepancies in the leagues' measurements, resulting in a deficient cartographic base. For the Spanish, the current territory of Rio Grande do Sul marked the passage of the imaginary line and, therefore, the beginning of their southern domains, the Portuguese already defended a more western demarcation, advancing along the banks of the Río de la Plata.⁵

The fleet led by Martim Afonso de Souza marks the passage of the Portuguese on the South-Brazilian coast towards the Río de la Plata, whose exploration was one of the main objectives of the expedition. The fleet had left Lisbon at the end of 1530 and the vessels were already sailing the north coast of present-day Rio Grande do Sul in early October of the following year. As events unfold, the ship of Martim Afonso sank in a storm at Cape Santa Maria.⁶ While the other vessels were being repaired, his brother, Pero Lopes, recognized the Atlantic coast and Río de la Plata.⁷ After performing the proper calculations and measurements, Pero Lopes found that he was in Spanish territory.

After several years, during which the Portuguese showed a lack of interest in exploration and occupation policies for their American territories, the expedition of Martim Afonso had left Lisbon seeking to organize the first efforts to begin

⁵ ESPÍRITO SANTO, Miguel Frederico do. *Fundamentos da incorporação do Rio Grande do Sul ao Brasil e ao espaço português*. In: BOEIRA, Nelson; GOLIN, Tau (Org.). *Colônia* (Coleção História Geral do Rio Grande do Sul, v.1). Passo Fundo: Méritos, 2006, p. 25.

⁶ Nearby La Paloma, current Uruguayan territory.

⁷ GOLIN, Tau. *A Fronteira: 1763 - 1778 - história da brava gente e miseráveis tropas de mar e terra que conquistaram o Brasil meridional*. v.3. Passo Fundo: Méritos, 2015, p. 19.

the settlement and wealth exploitation of the Brazilian coast. In 1532, after his return from the Plata region, he founded the village of São Vicente in the current São Paulo coast, laying the foundation for subsequent occupations.

Since then, the Portuguese Crown has shown an increasing concern to ensure its territorial sovereignty. The exploitation of the brazilwood trade by the French - who ignored the Treaty of Tordesillas - was seen as a threat to territorial maintenance. Even the creation of villages and their administrative structures were not sufficient to guarantee their possessions, there was a need to implement a colonization regime for Portuguese America. Previous experiences on the island of Madeira, the Canaries and the Azores offered a positive retrospective, which supported the adoption of the hereditary captaincy regime.

Such a regime was based on the concession of large tracts of land to the called donatary captains. In view of the complete disinterest on the part of the nobility, the beneficiaries were selected among the state bureaucrats, navigators and prestigious military personnel from the Crown. Between 1534 and 1536, fifteen hereditary captaincies were created, granted to a total of twelve donataries. The coast of the current state of Santa Catarina marked the southern limits of the concessions.

In general, the external threat posed by the French triggered the creation of hereditary captaincies in Portuguese America. This event had geopolitical repercussions in the Castilian Court, which immediately realized the need to hasten the settlement of the Río de la Plata, resulting in the foundation of Buenos Aires in 1536.⁸

Despite prior planning, the Portuguese and Spanish en-

⁸ GOLIN, Tau, op. cit., p. 20.

countered obstacles in the first colonizing efforts in southern America. The Spanish possessions of the Río de la Plata or the territories corresponding to the hereditary captaincies held unfavorable conditions.

The maritime incursions carried out throughout the 16th century resulted in cognomens that sought to signal in the cartography of the time the current Lagoa dos Patos, namely: “Rio Grande de São Pedro”, “Barra do Rio Grande”, “Rio Grande da Alagoa”, “São Pedro do Rio Grande” or simply “Rio Grande”, thus endorsing the future denomination.⁹

Even with the incipient exploratory actions towards the interior lands, the Europeans soon understood the strategic importance of the current Guaíba hydrographic basin. At a time when land circulation routes were limited to the trails used by the indigenous people, any navigable water course had great importance for the Iberian explorers. The indigenous people were not only aware of this fact, but they were possibly the interlocutors of this information. For centuries, water courses from the highlands to the southern coastal plains had been used as a route of migration and displacement by native populations, mainly by the Guarani. Their ancestors migrated from the Amazon to the banks of the Upper Uruguay, heading east, following the course of the Ijuí River. Then reaching the headwaters of Jacuí whose waters flow south to its inflection to the east in the central region of modern Rio Grande do Sul, allowing the connection with the Guaíba estuary and Lagoa dos Patos to its mouth on the coastal plain.¹⁰

⁹ Ibidem, p. 24-25.

¹⁰ VICROSKI, Fabricio José Nazzari. *O Alto Jacuí na Pré-História: Subsídios para uma Arqueologia das Fronteiras*. Dissertação de Mestrado. Programa de Pós-Graduação em História da Universidade de Passo Fundo. Passo Fundo: UPF, 2011.

From the 16th century - more than a millennium after indigenous migrations - the Portuguese and Castilians took the opposite route, beginning the exploration of the river and land route upstream, starting from the coastal plain towards its sources in the interfluves of the southern highlands.

The following centuries were marked by constant war-like and diplomatic territorial disputes between the Iberian Crowns. The coastal region between the *Río de la Plata* and the northern limits of *Vila de Laguna* concentrated most of these conflicts. Initially, the Portuguese were interested in conquering the Spanish territory with military force and, later, ratify their possession by bureaucratic means. In this context, *Rio Grande do Sul* only acquired the current territorial outline in the middle of the 19th century.

Historical episodes sequentially recorded in the regions of *Rio Grande de São Pedro*, *Campos de Viamão* and *Porto dos Casais*¹¹ may restrict historiographical production on occupations in the interior lands.

The fluidity of the imperial frontiers combined with strategies for the creation of national identities are factors that corroborate this “historiographical neglect”. It composes a scenario where the interior lands are generally forgotten and, in a way, remain without “making history”.

In this perspective, these regions are sometimes identified as “no man’s land”, or, at most, a transition zone between places that are effectively important for the writing of history. The fact is that the highlands were occupied with different methods from those commonly used in the coastal region. If gunpowder and the sword were used to make way for the expansion fronts

¹¹ Locations that gave rise to the current municipalities of *Rio Grande*, *Viamão* and *Porto Alegre*.

on the coastal plain, from the Uruguay River basin to the west, the conquistadors reached the highlands wielding the Christian cross, causing this region to become a center of tension, interethnic contacts and cultural fissions.

1.3. THE SOCIETY OF JESUS: RELIGION AND GEOPOLITICS

In 16th century Europe, Iberian monarchies were deeply linked to the Roman Catholic church. The rapprochement between State and Church was forged during the Middle Ages, providing both the territorial expansion of colonial empires and the expansion of Catholicism. After sailing the Atlantic Ocean, the cross and the sword landed together on American land.

Over time, the merchant class understood that the influence of religious precepts on the state's political order was harmful to the adoption of certain policies aimed at economic growth and, consequently, to the maintenance of their privileges.¹² In this context, secularism progressively became even stronger mainly at the end of the 18th century, when it came to be as one of the main flags of the French Revolution.

The questions about the doctrinal practices adopted by Roman Catholicism in the early Modern Age demanded reflection even among clergy. The high clergy monopoly in the interpretation of the biblical scriptures was strongly questioned by Martin Luther in 1517. The 95 theses formulated by the then Augustinian monk punctuated a series of proposals deemed necessary for the improvement of Catholic doctrine.

¹² The profit of the merchant class was condemned by the church.

The theses established by Luther are part of the context of the Protestant Reformation, a movement from which Protestantism arose, thus dividing the Church of the West into two strands, Roman Catholics and Protestants or Reformed.

The reaction of the Catholic Church followed with the Counter-Reformation, a movement characterized by a set of measures designed to ensure its sovereignty and stop, or at least reduce, the diffusion of the questions raised by the Protestant Reformation. The proposals received during the Council of Trento (1545-1563), reverberated in Alto Jacuí in the beginning of the 17th century, as well as in other Iberian possessions. Among the main actions, the creation of new religious orders and the incentive to catechize the American peoples are highlighted. In addition, the council sought to resume the Holy Inquisition Court and the prohibition and seizure of books contrary to the principles of the Catholic Church.¹³ The priests needed a combative stance. In addition, they needed a solid disciplinary structure combined with planning and self-sacrifice, since catechesis should break and expand the colonial frontiers. This profile was shared by the Jesuit priests, whose religious order was used as a spearhead for evangelizing and colonizing Luso-Castilian America.

The Society of Jesus was founded by Ignatius of Loyola in 1534 and recognized as a religious order by the Vatican in 1540.¹⁴ Loyola, a former military captain, who was wounded in the leg during a battle against the French in 1521. During the recovery, he would have read about the life of Christ and

¹³ *Index Librorum Prohibitorum* (Index of Forbidden Books published in 1559, later revised and expanded, was abolished only in 1966).

¹⁴ The approval of the Order was confirmed through the Papal Bull *Regimini militantis Ecclesiae*.

religious martyrs. Such publications would have influenced him to relinquish his military career in order to dedicate himself entirely to religious life. In 1549 the first Portuguese Jesuits landed on the coast of the Province of Brazil.

The opinion of the researchers on the action of the Jesuits in southern America is far from unanimous. While the colonial Jesuits are attributed the character of pioneering martyrs defending the indigenous and Christian ideals, the concentration of indigenous peoples in the *pueblos misioneros* facilitated the predation by slaving *bandeirantes* and the spread of diseases that decimated thousands. At the same time, libertarian positions in relation to indigenous people were not repeated in relation to Africans, whose enslavement was pointed out by the Jesuits as an alternative to indigenous labor. Obviously, it must be taken into account that all of this occurred in a historical context in which slavery was supported even among intellectuals and philosophers.

Undoubtedly, a univocal approach to the role of Jesuits in America is a distant perspective, if not impossible. The delineation of agreement points presents itself as a more realistic task. Therefore, regardless of the antagonism that permeates historical interpretations, most opinions converge on a central issue: The fronts of Iberian colonization, indigenous societies and the process of formation of the South American National States would have acquired other contours without the action of the Jesuit priests.

For the historian Tau Golin, “the missionary experience represented an alternative to the indigenous people inside the colonial world”.¹⁵ It was a “possible space to safeguard the free-

¹⁵ GOLIN, Tau. *Missões jesuíticas do Paraguai: uma sociedade alternativa*. Entrevista concedida à Patricia Fachin. Revista do Instituto Humanitas Unisinos. Nº 350, Ano X. São Leopoldo:

dom of the indigenous before the colonizer” as Júlio Quevedo reinforces.¹⁶ The countless variables prevent any assertion about the directions that would be taken in the absence of the missionaries. In reality, even today we live the unfolding of colonial evangelizing efforts.

In the 16th century, the Jesuits arrived in America lands, which were at the same time a hardship and an experiment. The lands demanding a latent spirituality and a keen sense of organization and discipline. In fact, hierarchy, obedience, and discipline proved to be indispensable to the organizational structure of the Society of Jesus. The cognomen “soldiers of Christ” is often used in reference to their missionaries. This is due to the military organization of the religious order, considered a legacy of its founder.

The foundation of the Order, followed by its papal recognition, and disciplinary structure, supported the soldiers of Christ to spread the gospel throughout the world. From then on, the projection and support for the Company in American lands were largely assumed by the Iberian crowns, deeply marking the Spanish-Portuguese colonial history.

Upon accepting the reduction system brought by the Jesuits, the indigenous people were immediately linked to the Colonial State,¹⁷ going from lords of the fields, valleys and forests to vassals of the king, subject to colonial policies of territorial and commercial expansion. In addition to their role as emissaries of the Catholic faith, even if inadvertently, the

Unisinos, 2010, p. 30.

¹⁶ SANTOS, J. R. Q. *As Missões Jesuítico-Guaranis*. In: BOEIRA, Nelson; GOLIN, Tau (Org.). *Colônia* (Coleção História Geral do Rio Grande do Sul, v.1). Passo Fundo: Méritos, 2006, p. 106.

¹⁷ NEUMANN, Eduardo. *O trabalho guarani missioneiro no rio da Prata Colonial, 1640-1750*. Porto Alegre: Martins Livreiro, 1996, p. 51.

religious played a crucial role in the process of colonial occupation. As Szykulski points out, native populations (as well as their skills and workforce) constituted one of the basic wealth of the Spanish Crown in the New World.¹⁸ By clearing the interior lands and making the first contacts with the indigenous populations, the missionaries acted as ambassadors for the economic interests of the Iberian crowns. The missionaries opened the way for the expansion fronts of the Portuguese-Brazilian and Spanish-American colonial society.

1.4. JESUIT PROVINCE OF PARAGUAY: CATECHESIS AND COLONIALISM

The Society of Jesus was responsible for leading the evangelization of the indigenous people. However, missionaries from other congregations with a strong presence in colonial America, such as Franciscans, Carmelites and Benedictines, were also registered. The work of Ignatian missionaries proved to be more incisive and striking, especially in the 17th and 18th centuries.

The years 1580 and 1640 indicate the chronological extremes of Union of Iberian Crowns, a period marked by the coalition of Catholic kingdoms under the aegis of a single Spanish monarch who exercised authority in both kingdoms. However, it should be noted that the Iberian Union did not represent an unrestricted overlap of empires, nor an administrative unification of their territories. Jaime Cortesão states that a “dual monarchy” was created, where States “retained their own and distinctive statutes, forums and privileges; their

¹⁸ SZYKULSKI, Józef. op. cit., p. 6.

national structures of administration, mutually impenetrable; and their geographical and imaginary borders, whether in the metropolises or in America".¹⁹

In this period, the Portuguese missionaries preceded the Castilians in the expansion towards the territory of Rio Grande do Sul. Several expeditions left Santa Catarina towards the coast of Rio Grande do Sul, covering practically the entire coastal region to the southern limits of Rio Grande, however, their attacks were concentrated on the north coast and slopes of the highland, the region where they would have founded the village of Caibi. The Portuguese missionaries had to face not only the resistance and distrust of the indigenous people, but also the pressure of the *bandeirantes* from São Paulo and slave traders who opposed indigenous Christianization. Faced with this highly conflicted scenario, the priests progressively returned to Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo taking with them several Christianized indigenous groups, whose migration was seen by them as an alternative to enslavement.²⁰

The territories under the assistance of the Society of Jesus were divided into provinces, each corresponding to a group of administrative units spread across Europe, Asia, Africa and America. The Tordesillas meridian was still an imaginary projection marked by flexibility, far from creating any dividing barrier between the fronts of evangelization. The lack of technical resources limited the possibilities of demarcating it in the field, thus resulting in the intersection of the Iberian Jesuits

¹⁹ CORTESÃO, Jaime (Org.). *Jesuítas e Bandeirantes no Guairá (1549-1640)*. Manuscritos da Coleção De Angelis I. Rio de Janeiro: Biblioteca Nacional, 1951, p. 73.

²⁰ FRANZEN, Beatriz Vasconcelos. *Jesuítas portugueses nos séculos XVII e XVIII*. In: BOEIRA, Nelson; GOLIN, Tau (Org.). *Colônia* (Coleção História Geral do Rio Grande do Sul, v.1). Passo Fundo: Méritos, 2006, p. 85-101.

areas of activity, divided between the Jesuit Province of Brazil and the *Provincia Jesuítica del Perú*, created respectively in the years 1553 and 1568.²¹

In 1587, the Portuguese Jesuits founded their first mission in Paraguay, implanted effectively the following year. That same year, the Superior General of the Society of Jesus, Fr. Claudio Acquaviva, determined his incorporation into the domains of the Jesuit Province of Peru, and then began to involve all subsequent Paraguay missions. For Cortesão, the action of Acquaviva would have been an obedience act to the Spanish king Felipe II, monarch of the Iberian Union at the time, “always suspicious of the Portuguese interference in the American provinces of the Spanish Crown”.²² In fact, in this region, Spanish colonization was prominent compared to the Portuguese.

Improving the administrative organization and adopting effective territorial occupation strategies, in 1607 the *Provincia Jesuítica del Paraguay* was created, with headquarters in the city of Córdoba. Basically the province was centered in the basin of the Río de la Plata and adjacent regions, covering in its beginnings parts of the current territories of Paraguay, Uruguay, Argentina, Chile, Bolivia, and also with portions of the Brazilian states of Mato Grosso, Paraná, Santa Catarina, and Rio Grande do Sul.

According to Ernesto Maeder, from 1609 onwards the Jesuits began their evangelization work simultaneously in several distant zones, starting in the middle Paraná (1609-1622) and at the same time in the regions of Guairá and Paranapanema valley (1610-1630), then passing to the rivers Acaray and

²¹ BARCELOS, A. H. F. *O Mergulho no Seculum: exploração, conquista e organização espacial jesuítica na América espanhola colonial*. 1. ed. Porto Alegre: Ed. Animal, 2013, p. 128.

²² CORTESÃO, Jaime, op. cit., 1951, p. 77.

Iguaçu (1624-1626), continuing to the Itatim region in Alto Paraguay (1632). The expansion continued to the south and southeast towards the basins of the Uruguay and Jacuí rivers, in the Tape area (1626-1638). Thus, between the years 1610 and 1640, dozens of reductions were founded in six different areas of the Province of Paraguay.²³

This evangelization project was widely supported and encouraged by the imperial authorities. Hernandarias de Saavedra, then Governor of Paraguay, suggested to King Felipe II to encourage the colonization of this territory through the creation of indigenous settlements submitted to the Catholic faith by the Jesuits. At the same time, he intended to stop the advance of the Portuguese towards the mines of Potosí and also to create a route to the Atlantic for the flow of silver. The extensive Guarani population and its vast territory should act for the benefit of the Spanish Crown.²⁴

Throughout the 17th and 18th centuries, missionary villages and their support structures (cattle ranches, herb fields, crops, chapels, potteries, roads, trails, farms, etc.) multiplied throughout the Plata basin and adjacent regions, thus creating the foundations for many villages, cities and roads that developed in the following centuries.

As the villages developed, they were also coveted by the enslaving *bandeiras*. From 1618, “the *bandeirantes* declared war on the Guaira Jesuits”. In 1628, the indigenous people in the

²³ MAEDER, Ernesto. *De las misiones del Paraguay a los estados nacionales. Configuración y disolución de una región histórica: 1610-1810*. In: GADELHA, Regina. *Missões guaranis: impacto na sociedade contemporânea*. São Paulo: Educ, 1999, p. 115.

²⁴ SPOSITO, Fernanda. *Santos, heróis ou demônios? Sobre as relações entre índios, jesuítas e colonizadores na América Meridional (São Paulo e Paraguai / Rio da Prata, séculos XVI e XVII)*. Tese de doutorado apresentada ao Programa de Pós-Graduação em História Social da Faculdade de Filosofia, Letras e Ciências Humanas da Universidade de São Paulo. São Paulo: USP, 2012.

reductions formed a population of almost 30 thousand people, of which about 20 thousand were imprisoned during the incursions of the *bandeirantes*. In this context, the surviving Jesuits and indigenous people migrated to the South, where further reductions were developing in the basins of the Paraná and Uruguay rivers. The villages located on the left bank of the Uruguay River, in the basins of the rivers Ijuí, Ibicuí, Jacuí and in the Central Highland of current Rio Grande do Sul, were called “the reductions of the Tape”.²⁵

1.5. THE PROVINCE OF THE TAPE

In 1617, the Gobernación del Río de la Plata was created. It was an administrative division of the Spanish empire based in Buenos Aires. In 1619, Father Provincial Diego de Boroa appointed Roque González to lead the evangelization efforts in the Uruguay River basin, founding in the same year the reduction of *La Concepción*, in current Argentine territory. During the following years, Roque González explored the eastern side of the Uruguay River. However, among the indigenous people mistrust prevailed since the Jesuit was seen as an emissary of the Spanish who would lead them into servitude, under the pretext of the Christian religion.²⁶ At the same time, shamans opposed to cultural changes and losing their prestigious positions, constantly instigated the offensive against Ignatians.²⁷

In 1626, Roque González founded the reduction of Japejú (*Nuestra Señora de los Santos Reyes Magos de Yapeyú*), located on

²⁵ Ibidem, p. 108.

²⁶ Idem, p. 61.

²⁷ FLORES, Moacyr. *História do Rio Grande do Sul*. Porto Alegre: Nova Dimensão, 1993, p. 26.

the right bank of the Uruguay River. The mouth of the Ibicuí River was on its opposite bank. This waterway served as an entry route in the eastern side of the Uruguay River, reaching the territory under the dominance of the chief Tabacan, where he erected a chapel and founded the reduction of *Candelaria*.

Rego Monteiro²⁸ points to the reduction of *Candelaria*, in the Ibicuí basin, as “the oldest catechesis center” in Rio Grande do Sul lands. However, its duration was short-lived, after the return of Roque González to Japejú and the dispersion of Tabacan and his followers, the place was quickly attacked and destroyed by enemy groups. The reduction was later refounded in the region located between the Ijuí and Piratini rivers, also receiving the name of Caaçapamini.

The governor of the province of the Río de la Plata, Dom Francisco de Céspedes,²⁹ feared the advance of the Portuguese over their domains and in order to stop them, in 1626, he granted the Company of Jesus the right to the reduction of the Tape³⁰. That same year, after his frustrated entry by the Ibicuí River, Roque González entered on the right bank of the Uruguay River. González navigated the waters of Uruguay upstream supported by indigenous leaders from the Tape region and the mid-river basin of the Uruguay River, especially the chief Nheenguirú. He then reached the mouth of the Piratini

²⁸ MONTEIRO, Jonatas da Costa Rego. *As primeiras reduções jesuíticas no Rio Grande do Sul: 1626-1638*. In: Revista do Instituto Histórico e Geográfico do Rio Grande do Sul. Ano XIX. Porto Alegre: IHGRS, 1939, p. 16.

²⁹ According to Nicolás del Techo (Idem, 1897, p. 221), the governor of the province of the Río de la Plata, Don Francisco de Céspedes, had asked Father Roque González to open a road from Buenos Aires to the reduction of Conceição as a way to win the Catholic king and increase the prestige of his family. Céspedes, as an attempt to avoid to use the force of arms, decided to entrust the mission to the Jesuits, whose expedition would be paid for by the public purse.

³⁰ SANTOS, J. R. Q. op. cit., p. 110.

the use of indigenous names or their respective translations also varies depending on the editor. The same happens with the spellings of indigenous names. The result of this context is a multiplicity of denominations, locations, and dates of foundation attributed to the eighteen reductions of that period.

The fluid denominations and delimitations also permeate the territorial limits of the Province of the Tape. For Aurélio Porto, the current territory of Rio Grande do Sul, in that period, encompassed three distinct ethnographic provinces, inhabited by different indigenous groups and their respective different ethnic subgroups.

The Tape region would be centered in the central and northwestern portions of present Rio Grande do Sul, between the Serra do Mar and Geral, with the Jacuí River basin, whose headwaters faced the province of Ibiçá, as a radiating center. The medium course basin of the Uruguay River (Ijuí, Piratini, Ibicuí rivers) would correspond to the province of Uruguay. Even if in a generic way, such ethnographic delimitations were taken into account by the missionaries and the colonial authorities, and are frequently referred to in the documentation of the period.

Uruguay and Tape are said to be sub-provinces linked to the Jesuit Province of Paraguay. Soon, the first reductions founded on the eastern side of the Uruguay River would be in the domains of the homonymous province. Gradually the Jesuits advanced on the region of the Tape. Over time, the name of the Province of the Tape became widespread, corresponding to the entire territory of Rio Grande do Sul.³¹

³¹ FREITAS DA SILVA, André Luis. *Reduções Jesuítico-Guarani: espaço de diversidade étnica*. Dissertação apresentada ao Programa de Pós-Graduação em História da Faculdade de Ciências Humanas da Universidade Federal da Grande Dourados. Dourados: UFDG, 2011, p. 134.

In the context of expansion, alliances, and conquest of the Tape by the Jesuit missionaries, the reduction of *Santa Teresa* was founded in 1632, near the headwaters of the Jacuí River, which was considered an ethnic-cultural frontier zone.

INDIGENOUS, JESUITS AND BANDEIRANTES

THIS CHAPTER ATTEMPTS TO SYSTEMATIZE, UPDATE AND COMPLEMENT the historical data regarding the presence of the Jesuits in the then Province of the Tape. Especially in the reduction of *Santa Teresa*, as well as its subsequent invasion by the São Paulo *bandeirantes* and the creation of a slaveholding pole.

2.1. THE REDUCTION OF SANTA TERESA

Within the territorial limits of the Province of the Tape, the reduction of *Santa Teresa* marked the northern and eastern borders, being the most distant of the reductions in relation to the beginning of the expansion front, as well as the most susceptible to attacks by enemy groups.

The process of implementing a reduction was preceded by a series of measures aimed at ensuring the success of the

endeavor. The Ignatians used a reduction model that provided the basic foundations for the creation and maintenance of missionary villages. Also, persuasion strategies were used to entice the indigenous.

In archaeological research carried out in Peru, archaeologist Józef Szykulski noted the importance that cultural syncretism has acquired in the Christianization of indigenous societies.³² The missionaries were a minority surrounded by native peoples aware of their own identity. Faced with this context, the priests were compelled to adopt convincing strategies, taking advantage or adapting elements of the spiritual and real worlds. They resignified habits, customs and physical spaces, especially those related to the belief system that Szykulski calls “religious infrastructure”. In other words, in addition to adapting the indigenous worldview to the Catholic faith, places related to worship practices also served this purpose. Places like rocks, cracks in rocks and scenic landmarks. Resignifying these elements proved to be essential, especially in the period of the first contacts.

As the process of Christianization progressed, the old practices and places of reference could be progressively abandoned or definitively replaced. In the archaeological sites of this period, multicomponent contexts are recurrent and characterized by the simultaneous presence of material culture with indigenous and European influences are recurrent.

In the Province of the Tape, the places of foundation of the *pueblos misioneros* corresponded mainly to the territory of traditional occupation of the reductions. In such a way, the indigenous people were incorporated into the colonial system

³² SZYKULSKI, Józef. op. cit., p. 7-8.

without this representing a sudden disruption of their territorial and cultural references, thus corroborating for the acceptance of the new conjuncture.

This predilection for traditional territories was recurrent mainly in the initial period of the creation of the villages. After a certain consolidation of the relations between the priests and the indigenous people, the transfer of the reductions to other positions was usual, considered more convenient in relation to the guidelines of the reductive model. This procedure was adopted in relation to the village of *Santa Teresa*.

The hydrographic basins of the Ibicuí and Jacuí rivers guided the scope of action of the Tape Missionary Front. After the first settlements were established in the upper Ibicuí, attention turned to the highland located to the east of Jacuí, abundant in streams, vast herb fields, araucaria forests, and fertile land.

For the foundation of the missionary villages, it was necessary to make viable the first contacts and alliances between indigenous priests and leaders, in addition to the prior recognition of the regions. In the year 1631, Father Pedro Romero took an exploration trip towards the upper Jacuí.³³ In support of him, a procession of chiefs from other regions who had already agreed with the foundation of reductions in their territories accompanied Romero. Among the main leaders is the chief Nicolás Neenguirú, whose high prestige and diplomacy would have contributed to the expansion of the missionary front.³⁴

After the exploratory trip and his initial contacts, in the

³³ JAEGER, Luiz Gonzaga. *As invasões bandeirantes no Rio Grande do Sul (1635-1641)*. 2.ed. Porto Alegre, Typographia do Centro, 1939, p. 42.

³⁴ CAFRUNI, Jorge E. *Passo Fundo das Missões: História do Período Jesuítico*. Passo Fundo: Prefeitura Municipal de Passo Fundo, 1966, p. 98.

following year, Chief Tupamini would have requested a new visit from Father Romero or, in the case of his unavailability, the sending of a priest to attend them. Prevented from definitively assigning a priest to serve the peoples installed in the springs of Jacuí, Romero chose to highlight Father Pedro Mola to make a new visit to the place. Mola was then in charge of the reduction of *San Carlos del Caapy*, whose position was about 12 to 16 leagues to the west, or two walking days according to Nicolas del Techo.³⁵ The priest fulfilled his mission that same year, thus taking care of serving the people of Tupamini, without, however, establishing a reduction there.

Still in 1632, Father Pedro Romero, aware of the need to continue evangelizing efforts on the northern border of Tape, sent an order for the reduction of *Apóstoles San Pedro y San Pablo*. From there, the priests Francisco Ximenez³⁶ and Gerónimo Porcel went to the headwaters of Jacuí to continue the evangelizing efforts.

The arrival of Ximenez and Porcel was acclaimed by the indigenous people with a speech by chief Tupamini. Then, under the guidance of the priests, the indigenous people dedicated themselves to the construction of the church and the parish house, as an attempt to guarantee the permanent permanence of the priests. The dynamics of the indigenous village gradually gave way to the missionary village format, with farms and indigenous house.

During the visit of Fathers Ximenez and Porcel, the Jesuit

³⁵ TECHO, Nicolas del. *Historia de la Provincia del Paraguay de la Compañía de Jesús*. Versión del texto latino por Manuel Serrano y Sans. Tomo Cuatro. Asunción: Madrid Librería y Casa Editorial A. de Uribe y Compañía, 1897, p. 278.

³⁶ His surname is also spelled as Ximenes, Jiménez or Jimenes, however the version now used is corroborated by his signature on documents of the time.

reduction was officially founded, under the invocation of *Santa Teresa* in honor of the devotion professed by Dom Pedro Esteban Dávila. From 1631 to 1637, Dávila was the governor of the provinces of Rio da Prata, whose jurisdiction encompassed the Province of the Tape.³⁷

The village was founded at the entrance to the Ibitiru forest, however, the indigenous people remained without the permanent assistance of a priest for a certain time. However, assisted several times by Father Porcel and other priests from *San Carlos* and *Apóstoles* who made occasional visits, in order to avoid the dispersion of the indigenous people, until a priest was definitively appointed to take charge of the reduction.

In the following year, 1633, the missionary villages were visited by Father Provincial Pedro Romero. Starting from the reduction of *San Joachim* - located in the northern foothills of the mountain range -, Romero arrived at the reduction of *Santa Teresa* three days later. As previously agreed, Father Francisco Ximenez was waiting for him. On this occasion, Father Romero considered it convenient to move the village to a place that would be more comfortable for the indigenous people and more accessible to the priests. Because, in addition to being disjointed from the villages of *San Carlos*, *Apóstoles* and *San Joachim*, the location was also far from the herb fields and exposed to the attacks of the Gualachos (southern Jê). Their territorial domains emerged in part of the southern borders at the edges of Ibitiru, therefore, where they were confronted with the Guarani populations installed in Alto Jacuí. Thus perpetuating the character of the pre-colonial borders in the region.

³⁷ MAEDER, Ernesto. *De las misiones del Paraguay a los estados nacionales. Configuración y disolución de una región histórica: 1610-1810*. In: GADELHA, Regina. *Missões guaranis: impacto na sociedade contemporânea*. São Paulo: Educ, 1999, p. 176.

The new location chosen was about 4 to 5 leagues south of the original location, in the region then known as Curiti (or Curitiba). In Tupi-Guarani, this word signaled a place with a large amount of pine trees. Also translated as “land of pine forests” or simply “pine forests”. Hence another denomination often attributed to this village, that is, the reduction of *Santa Teresa del Curiti* or *de los Piñales*, in reference to its second location.

The cross was erected in the new settlement on March 22, 1633, a Tuesday of Holy Week. This date symbolizes the re-foundation of the *Santa Teresa* reduction, this time located in the pine forest region or Curiti.

In the documentation, the names of the chiefs Tupamini and Guaraé emerge as the two main indigenous leaders who made the foundation of the reduction possible.

Regarding the new location, besides the Curiti (pine forest) indicative, we have as main spatial reference the slope of a hill located at the headwaters of the Jacuí River, then called Igay. The village was set up in a pleasant place, largely bathed by crystalline springs.

Even after the transmigration of the village, the reduction did not yet count on the constant presence of a priest. Francisco Ximenez was then appointed by the Provincial to assume the direction of the reduction, having Father Juan de Salas as assistant priest. The first was responsible for the general administration of the village, the second specifically the parish functions.

Ximenez and Salas settled in *Santa Teresa* on August 6, 1633. According to Ximenez, the place already had the appearance of a village, because in the meantime the indigenous people had worked on the construction of their houses that

were practically completed. The news spread to the adjacent regions, soon the village began to receive people from Mbo-cariroy, a region corresponding to the current Guaporé river basin, inserted to the east and southeast of the reduction. Ximenez enrolled 250 families, baptized 50 children and some seriously ill people. Throughout the year 1633, more than 400 children were baptized.³⁸

1633 was marked by the reorganization of the village. The number of indigenous settlers was still reduced, as the availability of food was limited. The farms were being sown and in a few months of work they were already harvesting corn and beans. The pine nuts had a great food importance and was widely offered by the araucaria forests. That year, more than 800 people were enrolled. According to Romero, there were still many people scattered throughout the region, making it perfectly feasible to increase the population or even create new reductions.³⁹

Among the Tape reductions, *Santa Teresa* presented a peculiarity that expresses the frontier phenomena that date back to the pre-colonial period. In the *Litterae Annuae* for the year 1633, Romero states that, in the village, among the Guarani population there were also Guañanas, a population that could be Christianized in the future.

Guañanas, Guayanas, Ibirajaras or Gualachos are just some of the regional denominations formerly used in reference to the groups speaking the southern Jê linguistic trunk, ancestors of the current Kaingang and Xokleng (*Laklãñõ*).

The fact that they were enemy groups did not prevent them from

³⁸ CORTESÃO, Jaime (Org). *Jesuítas e Bandeirantes no Tape (1615-1641)*. Manuscritos da Coleção de Angelis. Volume III. Rio de Janeiro: Biblioteca Nacional, 1969, p. 175.

³⁹ Ibidem, p. 92.

establishing a truce or alliance that allowed them to live together in the same space. The development of territory-sharing strategies is one of the characteristics of border areas. Archaeological knowledge points to the Alto Jacuí basin region as an extremely beneficial place for such phenomena. This facet of pre-colonial history lasted during the missionary period.

The population was steadily increasing. By the end of 1634 there were already more than a thousand families settled in *Santa Teresa*, quickly surpassing the number of four thousand people. Faced with insufficient food, many people settled in the outskirts of the village where they waited for the opportunity to definitively integrate the reduction.⁴⁰ For Tau Golin,⁴¹ in the missionary system, extended families maintained a duplicity in life between the reductions and their traditional settlements. Even families already integrated could live far from the reduction nucleus, occupied in tasks at the ranks of the ranches, herb fields and crops.

According to the *Litterae Annuae* of 1634,⁴² 650 children and about 300 adults were baptized in that year. Food was still insufficient, so many indigenous people were divided between living in the village and searching for food in their old settlements. The Jesuits avoided baptizing adults who were not yet rooted in the reduction. It was projected that in the following year *Santa Teresa* would offer full subsistence conditions, being unnecessary to return to the old villages in search of food. This year Ximenez and Salas shared several sacks of corn and beans

⁴⁰ Apud MAEDER, Ernesto. op. cit., p. 176.

⁴¹ GOLIN, 2010, p. 28-30.

⁴² Apud VIANNA, Hêlio (Org). *Jesuítas e Bandeirantes no Uruguai (1611-1758)*. Manuscritos da Coleção de Angelis. Volume IV. Rio de Janeiro: Biblioteca Nacional, 1970, p. 133-134.

among the indigenous people so that they could sow them, thus constituting yet another attraction to the village.

Contrary to what the missionaries wanted, it was not the standard of the Holy Cross nor the words of the gospel that moved the indigenous people to integrate permanently into the village, but rather their communal interests and their sense of survival, in addition to the concern with maintaining your traditional culture (*teko*).

In fact, the maintenance of the traditional way of life was threatened. The settlement in the missionary villages was a strategy of defense and resistance consciously assumed by the indigenous people and articulated by the *tubixá*.⁴³

The zealous treatment and the persistent search for missionaries manifested by the indigenous leaders of *Santa Teresa* and other reductions, are characteristics resulting from this concern. From the point of view of the *tubixá*, the presence of a reduction in the territory also represented a great advantage in relation to the other regional chiefs, since they would be impelled to seek the protection offered by the missionary village, being subject to the conditions of alliances eventually imposed by their hosts.

However, life in missionary villages was not the only possibility. Alliances were also made possible on other fronts. At the same time that some indigenous people sought protection from the Jesuits, other groups approached the *bandeirantes* and the Portuguese, starting to act as intermediaries in the *encomiendas* system.

⁴³ Tupi-Guarani word used in reference to indigenous chiefs. The noun "cacique" was spread by the European colonizers. Among the indigenous people, denominations such as *tubixá*, *tubixaba*, *tuxava*, *ycubixá*, *morubixaba*, *mburubixá*, and other regional variations were common.

Regarding the administration of the village, one of the latent demands imposed on its administrator Francisco Ximenez was the guarantee of subsistence of its population. The year 1634 marks an important step in this direction, the introduction of cattle.

References to the presence of cattle in the reductions refer to the year 1633. The availability of cattle was still limited to dairy cows or oxen. The larger-scale introduction took place the following year by order of the Father Provincial Pedro Romero. The cattle were acquired in Corrientes and led with great effort by the priest Cristóbal de Mendoza to the present Rio Grande do Sul, where it was distributed among the reductions. Providence also made Superior Diego de Boroa recommend to Father Romero to maintain a reserve destined to help the troops that would assist the reductions in the face of an eventual *bandeirante* attack. For this purpose, 300 head of cattle were separated. Initially, each village would have a quota of 99 head of cattle that ended up being relocated according to the conditions and needs of each reduction.

Santa Teresa was distinguished by the quality of its pastures. Its main resort was a league away from the reduction, its main ranch held 200 head of cattle were taken.

In 1635, Father Francisco Ximenez led an exploratory expedition lasting 24 days through the Tebicuari region. In his company, Father Juan Suarez de Toledo and some indigenous from *Santa Teresa* left.

The exploration of the eastern border of the Tape was ordered by Father Provincial Diego de Boroa, with the possibility of expanding the missionary territory towards the Atlantic. The objective was to stop the eventual invasions of São Paulo, in addition to the recognition of the region and its popula-

tion.⁴⁴ The advancement of the flags had not yet taken place, however, the imminent danger was found in the punctual presence of Portuguese lurking in the territory. Certainly, the invasions of Guairá required the Jesuits to maintain a constant state of alert.

Departing from *Santa Teresa*, the expedition traveled through the Caapi region in an easterly direction for five days. From then on, exploration took place on the waterway in the south direction, passing through Mbocariroi (Guaporé river), Tebiquari (Taquari river) and Mboapari (Antas river). The return route was covered only by land. Romero describes in detail his incursion into Tebiquari in a report to the the Provincial Superior.

The presence of two indigenous leaders allied with the Portuguese slave traders, Ibiraparobi and Parapopi⁴⁵, is undoubtedly the most relevant fact recorded by Ximenez. The first was seated in Mbocariroi and the second in Tebiquari, four leagues below the mouth of Mboapari. These indigenous people, then called **mus**, acted as intermediaries who captured their enemies to sell them to the *mamelucos*.⁴⁶

As found by Ximenes, slave traders from São Paulo arrived in the region by sea. After traveling the untimely South-Brazilian coast, they docked in the Barra do Rio Grande region. From there, they left in smaller boats through Lagoa dos Patos towards the Guaíba estuary, continuing through the navigable points of the Jacuí River and its main tributaries. On their

⁴⁴ TECHO, Nicolas del. op. cit., p. 343.

⁴⁵ Also spelled as Parapoti.

⁴⁶ In the context of this research, as well as the bibliography used, the word *mameluco* refers to members of the 17th century indigenous slave hunter troops. Its origin is the result of miscegenation between indigenous and Europeans. The word is therefore used as a synonym for “*bandeirante*” or “*mestiço*”.

banks they made barter with the mus who did not hesitate to dismiss their prisoners in exchange for various utensils.

In the year 1635, a tragic episode was recorded in the town of *Santa Teresa*. About nine hundred people die from the plague.⁴⁷ According to historian Eliane Fleck,⁴⁸ several diseases were generically referred to as “plague” or “sickness”, such as yellow fever, malaria, influenza, measles, smallpox, typhus, syphilis, leprosy, tuberculosis, among other diseases that until then were unknown to indigenous populations. The lack of antibodies acted as an aggravating factor.

The plague had also claimed lives in previous years. Epidemics were rapidly spreading through missionary villages where part of the population was already weakened by hunger. Father Francisco Dias Taño reported to his superior that the context of hunger had been aggravated by the imprudence of the priests who, in the extreme desire to entice the indigenous people, destroyed their villages and uprooted the corn they had sown. The new farms created in the villages were hit by drought, accentuating the context of hunger.⁴⁹

The year 1636 demanded that efforts be directed towards the consolidation of the village. The cattle reproduced freely in the ranch located a league away from the reduction. The previously sown farms allowed for good harvests. “When famine reigned elsewhere, in *Santa Teresa* there was an abundance of cereals, chickpeas, corn and vegetables, to the point that

⁴⁷ TECHO, Nicolas del. op. cit., p. 345.

⁴⁸ FLECK, Eliane Cristina Deckmann. *A morte no centro da vida – reflexões sobre a cura e a não-cura nas reduções jesuítico-guaranis (1609 – 1675)*. Anais Eletrônicos do V Encontro da ANPHLAC. Belo Horizonte, 2000, p. 11-12.

⁴⁹ Apud CORTESÃO, Jaime (Org). op. cit., 1969, p. 113.

they could yield from abundance to many refugees”.⁵⁰ In this scenario of optimism, prosperity and constant abundance, the population increased progressively, thus incorporating people who went there spontaneously.

One of the great amenities offered by the town of *Santa Teresa* was its proximity to the extensive native herbs, a characteristic that also gave it the cognomen *Santa Teresa de los Piñales y Yerbaçales*.

In 1637, the town of *Santa Teresa* already held a prominent position. In the *Litterae Annuae* of 1637-1639, the then Father Provincial stated that the village was the most important among the reductions, with 1200 families and many provisions.

According to Montoya, “5,000 souls were added to this people of *Santa Teresa*”. Their extensive plantations would have contributed to attract the indigenous people, “an initiative that became famous and brought great flocks of souls to them”.⁵¹

Possibly this context of abundance was also driven by the constant concern to guarantee the availability of provisions in the face of an attack by slave traders. This concern was by no means inappropriate. The dreaded advance of flags finally occurred *Santa Teresa* in December 1637, thus ending the cycle of development and characteristic of the *pueblo de los piñales*.

2.2. THE BANDEIRANTES INVASIONS IN THE TAPE

The arrival of the *bandeirantes* in Alto Jacuí in 1637 interrupted the Castilian evangelizing mission, transforming it

⁵⁰ JAEGER, Luiz Gonzaga. op. cit., p. 47.

⁵¹ RUIZ DE MONTOYA, Antônio. *Conquista espiritual feita pelos religiosos da Companhia de Jesus nas Províncias do Paraguai, Paraná, Uruguai e Tape*. Tradução de Arnaldo Bruxel e Artur Rabuske. 2.ed. Porto Alegre: Martins Livreiro, 1997, p. 248.

into a Portuguese-Brazilian slaveholding stronghold on the Tape. This extreme reorganization was favored by the political situation surrounding the relations between the colonizing powers. The union of the Iberian crowns greatly benefited the Lusitanian territorial expansion beyond the limits of the Treaty of Tordesillas.

According to researcher Fernanda Sposito, the union of empires did not eliminate conflicts between the colonial agents of both crowns. Furthermore, there was a progressive opposition between two extremely different colonization projects that intensified the disputes. At one end was the indigenous enslavement project defended by the Portuguese. The opposite alternative envisioned the transformation of this population into Jesuit catechumens and vassals of the King of Spain.⁵²

Political and ideological clashes have resulted in physical shocks engendered in the confines of South America. In this scenario, the traditional and conservative historical perspective gives the indigenous a passive or secondary role. As an example, Olyntho Sanmartín's approach, in whose narrative the "trailblazer *bandeirante*" was opposed to the "glorious Jesuit spiritualism". Corroborating both fronts and also intermingling the conflict was the "indigenous barbarian", also described as "primitive aborigine" or "savage".⁵³

Such almost caricatural predicates express not only the common sense prevalent at the time, but also the conceptions perpetuated by historiography until the 20th century. It should be noted that full civil capacity was only guaranteed to Brazilian indigenous as of the Federal Constitution of 1988. Howev-

⁵² SPOSITO, Fernanda. op. cit., p. 158.

⁵³ SANMATIN, OLYNTHO. *Bandeirantes no sul do Brasil*. Porto Alegre: A Nação, 1949, p. 9-11.

er, the image of the indigenous as a secondary, passive, barbaric, and incapable historical element, reflects the still prevailing understanding in the mixed South-Brazilian society.

In the 16th century, the Portuguese expansion front advanced from the São Paulo coast (Vila de São Vicente) towards the highland. After making alliances with the Tupi Indians feasible, in 1554 the Portuguese Jesuits made official the creation of a village in the region known as Piratininga. In the 17th century, the then Vila de São Paulo de Piratininga was the main base for *bandeirantes* expeditions and, consequently, as the center of irradiation of the colonization fronts.

The “*bandeirante*” (flag holder) cognomen currently consolidated by historiography is used in reference to members of expeditionary campaigns aimed at territorial conquest, capture of slave labor and exploration of ores and precious stones in the territories of Portuguese and Spanish America. It was stipulated to call these expeditions “*bandeiras*” (flags). In the documentation of the time, the *bandeirantes* are generally referred to as *mamelucos*, Portuguese from São Paulo, *sertanistas* (hinterlander), *maloqueiros* (the hostiles) or simply “*paulistas*”. In turn, expeditionary diligences were also treated as “entrances”, “expeditions”, “conquests”, “trips” or “malocas”. Despite the generic equivalence of the terms, some expressions maintained specificities that vary according to the objectives of the diligences.⁵⁴ The *bandeiras* also showed distinct peculiarities throughout the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries.

When discussing the circumstances of *bandeirismo*, Alfredo Ellis Junior indicates the poverty of the residents of Vila de São Paulo as his immediate and peremptory cause. Obviously,

⁵⁴ SPOSITO, Fernanda.. op. cit., p. 51, 65.

the context was indeed complex, involving not only immediate issues, but also the geoeconomic situation of exploration and control of South American lands by colonial elites in the second half of the 16th century.

The inhabitants of the Portuguese settlements composed a mosaic that included the Jesuit priests, colonizers and Portuguese, African, mixed-race merchants, and the indigenous populations to a large extent. The context permeated by conflicts, abuses, and epidemics did not take long to cause an accelerated decrease in the population of native groups. After the annihilation of the native populations installed in the surrounding regions, “the preferred target of the residents of São Paulo in this search for new arms were the Guarani populations of Paraguay and Rio da Prata, known to the Portuguese since the beginning of their occupation”.⁵⁵ Once captured, this workforce - sometimes already qualified in the context of missionary villages - was then commercialized and incorporated into forced labor in sugar cane, cotton and wheat crops, and also other agricultural and livestock activities.

Despite the eventual predilection of the *bandeirantes* for indigenous enslavement to the detriment of the search for ores and precious metals, Sposito argues that making an expedition viable implied high costs of logistical organization. In turn, the guarantee of financial return offered by indigenous trafficking was an enormous attraction in relation to any campaign with an uncertain outcome.

When describing the peculiarities that outlined the character of the different expeditions, Alfredo Ellis Junior states that the journeys aimed at the search for metals “were not of-

⁵⁵ SPOSITO, Fernanda.. op. cit., p. 37.

fensive, and therefore they were stripped of conditions that would give them the possibilities of aggression". In turn, hunting indigenous people "had to be aggressive and had to act on the offensive, making the most of the initiative and the surprise".⁵⁶ Undoubtedly, one of the main characteristics of the campaigns that invaded the missionary villages is the bellicose and violent character. Its organization resembled a small armed legion with disciplinary and strategic regulations.

The troops were made up exclusively of men over the age of 14. The use of the horse was rare. The necessary supplies were in leather chests or baskets carried by a large number of porters. Firearms (shotguns, blunderbusses, arquebus and rifles) were indispensable and of restricted use to corporal or troop chiefs, also equipped with bladed weapons (swords, knives and daggers). It was typical to use the leather doublet, a garment similar to a cotton-lined waistcoat or jacket composing a breastplate that offered protection to the arrows launched by the indigenous people. Aside from the expedition's leaders, the bulk of the troops were walking barefoot. They did not transport food. Subsistence was through hunting, fishing, gathering, and also indigenous crops previously cultivated along the itinerary.⁵⁷

Colonial authorities regulated and authorized internal trade between villages. In addition to consumer goods, slaves were also included in the list of permitted "products". In this context, the *bandeiras* were conceived as slave associations recognized and made official by local governments. However, its organizational and financial contribution came from the Portu-

⁵⁶ ELLIS JR., Alfredo. *O bandeirismo paulista e o recuo do meridiano*. 2ª ed. São Paulo: Companhia Editora Nacional, 1934, p. 42-43.

⁵⁷ JAEGER, Luiz Gonzaga. op. cit., p. 22-23.

guese-Brazilian elites who quickly realized the high profitability and low risk provided by the activity.

The flags directly promoted by the colonial authorities obeyed a regiment registered with the São Paulo Chamber, with the nominate of its components and a description of its objectives. The corporal commanded the expedition. The governing body was also composed of two captains, clerk and bailiffs. Such an organizational structure allowed to judge and settle conflicts and also to do inventories and sharings of the seized goods, including the enslaved indigenous people.⁵⁸ The *bandeirantes* shared with the Jesuits the belief in Catholicism. Due to this religious dichotomy, the presence of a priest during the campaigns, as well as his blessing preceding any important movement of the troops, became indispensable.

After the interruption of the slave trade in the face of Dutch invasions in the Northeast, the adoption of slave labor was even more delayed. This scenario stimulated indigenous capture in the interior of the provinces.

The slave trade in current Rio Grande do Sul territory preceded the entry of the Jesuits and *bandeirantes*. The circulation of Portuguese people through the Guaíba estuary and in the Baixo Jacuí occurred in the early decades of the 17th century. There were no major armed clashes, the main conflicts were between the mus, also called bilreiros (Portuguese allies) and the captured indigenous people.

At the same time, Castilians and Luso-Brazilians did not oppose each other as natural enemies in population centers. Even when Jesuits introduced cattle in the eastern part of Uruguay, they did so by acquiring it from a Portuguese ally installed in Corrientes.

⁵⁸ BOITEUX apud CAFRUNI, Jorge E. op. cit., p. 265.

Once both colonial projects moved from peripheral areas to the center of geopolitical and economic rivalry - causing an overlap of interests - armed conflict became inevitable.

In 1607, Belchior Dias Carneiro commanded a *bandeira* against the Bilreiro Indians. The expedition lasted for two years. However, its itinerary still lacked consensus. Alfredo Ellis Junior⁵⁹ points to the Tocantins region as the most likely destination. However, according to the hypothesis of Aurélio Porto,⁶⁰ the traditional territory of the Bilreiro Indians (also called Ibiraiaras or Ibirajaras) would be inserted between the basins of Uruguay and Jacuí, thus, this *bandeira* had the primacy in the exploration of the lands of Rio Grande do Sul. Although, uncertainty still remains.

Alfredo Ellis Junior, endorsed by Afonso d'E. Taunay, argues that the thus termed "Aracambi *bandeira*", commanded by Fernão de Camargo and Luiz Dias Leme, would have been the first to enter modern Rio Grande do Sul, in 1635. Departing from Piratininga, the troops advanced towards the coast of São Paulo. From there they sailed to Laguna (located on the Tordesillas Meridian), then proceeding towards "Sertão dos Patos". Speculatively, Ellis Junior states that maritime and fluvial navigation possibly led the "*bandeirantes*" to the Baixo Jacuí. This assumption was confronted by Aurélio Porto. His argument, largely supported by the documents of the Collection de Angelis,⁶¹ attests that the *bandeirante* invasion took place

⁵⁹ ELLIS JR., Alfredo. op. cit., p. 94.

⁶⁰ PORTO, Aurélio (Org.) Terra Farroupilha. 1ª Parte. Porto Alegre: 1937, p. 54.

⁶¹ The collection consists of documentation of printed and handwritten works, totaling 4076 pieces of inestimable historical value. The collection was brought together by the Italian diplomat Pedro de Angelis in the first half of the 19th century. Due to its historical and geopolitical relevance, the Brazilian Empire acquired it with active negotiation by Visconde de Rio Branco. Currently the documents are part of the collection of the National

only in the following year. It is probable that the Aracambi *bandeira*⁶² landed at the port of Laguna reaching west to the course of the Pelotas River. After eight months, it is known that the flag had already returned to São Paulo.

In any case, 1635 marks the prelude to the *bandeirantes* invasions on the Tape. In addition to rumors about the possible approach of the Portuguese, Father Provincial Diego de Boroa also possessed reliable information that the Paulistas were enlisting components for an eminent offensive on the reductions.

In the geoeconomic interests of the Portuguese-Brazilian elite of Piratininga, the seizure of the Provinces of the Tape and Uruguay was presented as the logical sequence after the attacks on the Paraná River region. In the Guairá, they had promoted the destruction of missionary villages and the imprisonment of about 20 thousand indigenous people out of a population of approximately 27,500 people. When aiming towards the Prata basin, the *bandeirantes* found a great possibility of slave workforce.

At the same time that the indigenous resistance against the advance of the Jesuits was concerned with safeguarding the western flank, they also needed to make efforts to stop the rise of the Portuguese on the other fronts. At least one prominent confrontation is registered. The indigenous people of the Caaguá region demobilized a group of *bandeirantes*, resulting in the death of twenty-nine Portuguese. "The Jesuits did not pay attention to the event and did not even consider as a *bandeira* those isolated groups of captors that descended from

Library of Rio de Janeiro.

⁶² Thus named after the local indigenous leader.

São Vicente, Piratininga, and other places on the coast of Brazil".⁶³ For Jaeger, possibly, the Portuguese were not sufficiently equipped to confront the reductions, or were also intimidated by the plague in the missionary villages that year.

In May 1635 Father Provincial Diego de Boroa appointed Father Francisco Dias Taño as superior to those reductions. This remarkable position brought with it no less meritorious responsibilities. Taño was responsible for organizing the defensive system of the missions in order to reject the *mamelucos*.

Appointed to help Taño, Antônio Bernal and Juan de Cárdenas held an extensive military experience acquired before joining the Society of Jesus. As curate, their role was to assist priests in the most varied daily tasks of missionary villages. In the face of the ultimate experience at Guairá, it was evident that an army with spears, bows and arrows would be at a disadvantage against a troop of *mamelucos* armed with firearms. However, colonial authorities prohibited the use of such weapons by indigenous peoples. Secretly opposing such regulations,⁶⁴ Father Boroa authorized the composition of a modest arsenal designed to provide resistance to the Jesuit-indigenous.⁶⁵

Duly installed in *Jesus-Maria* (about four days of walking away from *Santa Teresa*), the brothers Bernal and Cárdenas started an intensive military training of the indigenous militia.

⁶³ PORTO, Aurélio. *História das Missões Orientais do Uruguai*. Coleção Jesuítas no Sul do Brasil. Volume III. Porto Alegre: Livraria Selbach, 1954, p. 133.

⁶⁴ Information on the use of firearms used to be suppressed, or even erased, from the documents written by the Jesuits, preventing the spread of information intended exclusively for the Provincial Superior. In spite of these precautions, the documents of the Collection de Angelis show the indigenous munitions prior to the year 1639, when the governor of Buenos Aires regionally authorized its use for the purpose of defending the missionary villages. The Spanish crown only authorized its use in 1643.

⁶⁵ PORTO, Aurélio, op. cit., 1954, p. 128-129.

The defensive system had strong palisades defended by mud-walled ditch. After the reduction was taken, these structures were reused by the *bandeirantes* to create a fortified stronghold. The remaining traces of these elements were evidenced by archaeological research conducted in the second half of the 20th century.

According to the letter written by Father Pedro Mola in the reduction of *Jesus-Maria*, on October 22, 1635,⁶⁶ here were rumors that the Paulistas would enter through the region of Caamo (Campos de Vacaria), where they had left indigenous people of their trust to persuade others to make way for the attack on the reductions. The native groups, however, found themselves without any guarantee of maintaining their physical integrity or their traditional way of life. When they also felt cornered, they tried to inform the priests Pedro Mola and Cristóbal de Mendoza about the intent of the Portuguese, asking in time for their assistance to repel them. In turn, the *mamelucos* still present in the region, who became aware of the organization of an armed resistance, were forced to retreat. Even so, the Guarani persecuted them to free their consorts from captivity. According to Pedro Mola, these events brought great enthusiasm and confidence to the indigenous people, fostering the desire to confront for territorial defense. It is not clear how many Portuguese were rejected. It is also unclear whether they actually constituted a *bandeira* or whether they had a possible relationship with the Aracambi flag. The fact is that, in this clash, the paulistas realized that the arquebuses definitely started to reinforce the performance of the missionary garrisons.

⁶⁶ CORTESÃO, Jaime (Org). *Jesuítas e Bandeirantes no Tape (1615-1641)*. Manuscritos da Coleção de Angelis. Volume III. Rio de Janeiro: Biblioteca Nacional, 1969, p. 115-116.

For Jaime Cortesão,⁶⁷ faced with this context of armed and militarized indigenous militias attacking the paulistas, “the *bandeiras* of Antônio Raposo Tavares and André Fernandes appear to historians as a retaliation and a measure to protect their interests in the Tape”.

The conception of a retaliation seems to be an exacerbated defense of the Luso-Brazilian perspective. However, a possible rise in the heavily armed resistance was seen by the Paulistas as a potential threat to the expansion of their commercial interests. Intervention was inevitable and eminent.

The month of December 1636 marks the systematic beginning of the *bandeirante* invasion in the reductions of the Tape. The Jesuit documentation⁶⁸ reveals that there were two routes commonly used by paulistas, named respectively Caaguá (with two forks in the road) and Guebirenda.⁶⁹

The Caaguá route basically comprises the same penetration region that had been used by the southern Jê peoples about 2 thousand years ago. From the current Santa Catarina highland, the indigenous people migrated south crossing the headwaters of the Pelotas River to access the Campos de Cima de Serra (Caaguá). The *bandeirantes*, in turn, marched from São Paulo towards the current Campos de Lages. From there the indigenous paths that gave access to Caaguá were trodden. When the displacement occurred by sea from the coast of São Paulo, they docked at Laguna in order to proceed by land. Having overcome the foothills of the Serra Geral, they finally accessed the Campos de Cima da Serra, where the paths forked. One of the routes was oriented in the southwest direc-

⁶⁷ Ibidem.

⁶⁸ Apud CORTESÃO, Jaime (Org). op. cit., 1969, p. 116; 118.

⁶⁹ Also spelled as Guaybi-renda or Guaibi-renda.

tion, crossing the valleys of the Antas (Mboapari) and Taquari (Tebiquari) rivers. Then the reductions in the Pardo river basin and the Baixo Jacuí were accessed. This would have been the route used by André Fernandes.

The other bifurcation seen from Campos de Cima da Serra was directed westwards by the region of the interfluvium of the Uruguay and Guaíba hydrographic basins, passing by the present Campos de Vacaria (Caamo) towards Mato Português (Caamome), Mato Castelhano (Modencaá), Campo do Meio (Cariói), then reaching the region of the headwaters of the Jacuí River (Ygayriapipe). This route allowed immediate access to the thus termed Serra reductions. Despite being widely known by indigenous people and missionaries, the use of this route by the Portuguese only seems to have occurred in a period subsequent to the taking of *Santa Teresa*, being consolidated as a Portuguese-Brazilian colonial route only in the following century.

The Guebirenda route, in turn, corresponds to the current Guaíba estuary, then accessed by Barra do Rio Grande. The main feature of this itinerary is to travel via Atlantic and fluvial navigation. The slavery trade took place mainly on the banks of Guaíba, Taquari and the lower course of Jacuí and its main tributaries.

The Portuguese used this route long before the Jesuit penetration in that territory. Its use was reported by the Guaraní to Father Ximenez on his expedition to Tebicuari in 1635. However, the eventual continued use of this route must be put into perspective. The navigation of access to Lagoa dos Patos through Barra do Rio Grande still presents a high degree of complexity today. It can be assumed that land routes have progressively supplanted waterways.

The context of clashes that preceded the *bandeirante* invasion had two important implications. In one aspect, the paulistas definitely lost part of the element of surprise, as the Jesuits and indigenous people were constantly preparing for an imminent attack. In another aspect, the Jesuit-indigenous resistance seemed to be accustomed to the context of guerrilla conflicts. The confidence exacerbated by the victories led them to ignore the possibility of a systematic attack with a large contingent. This conjuncture outlines the circumstances of the takeover of the reduction of *Jesus-Maria* by the troops led by Antônio Raposo Tavares, in December 1636.

According to the report on the taking of the reduction written by Father Diego de Boroa, on April 10, 1637, the approximation of the Luso-Brazilians was noticeable. However, it was mistakenly believed that the invaders were few in number and were still distant. The defensive mud walls were hurriedly and partially erected when unexpectedly the enemy troops were detected only two leagues away.

According to Aurélio Porto, the *bandeira* of Raposo Tavares traveled the Caaguá route heading towards the Taquari River, reaching the reduction of *Jesus-Maria* after about seven months. It should be noted that, in 1635, Father Francisco Ximenez left *Santa Teresa* on a mission to recognize this region, identifying there the trading post of Parapopi, an ally of the Portuguese. It was precisely in this region that Raposo Tavares provisionally imprisoned his captives in two palisades distant about 12 to 14 leagues from *Jesus-Maria*. The flag devastated the existing indigenous villages along the way. The imprisonment of the indigenous people occurred concurrently with the advance of the troops. In other words, even before the onslaught against

reductions, the expansion of Luso-Brazilian frontiers was already stained with indigenous blood.⁷⁰

The fulminating attack on *Jesus-Maria* occurred precisely on the morning of December 2, 1636. Raposo Tavares sent a letter that preceded the attack. He asked the priests for a peaceful welcome and stated that he was searching for food for his army. Possibly supported by inflated victories in previous clashes, Jesuits and the indigenous people ignored the cunning request and established resistance with their arquebuses. However, one of their major disadvantages was the low contingent that they had. As the settlement was still in the structuring phase, hunger still afflicted them. It was necessary to return periodically to their old villages in search of food, thus emptying the reduction. As a result, they managed to gather around 300 people who were entrenched in the precariously constructed defensive structures. There were the Ignatians Pedro Romero, Pedro Mola, Antônio Bernal and Juan de Cárdenas.

The *bandeirantes* advanced against the reduction to the sound of drum and the war trumpet. The Tupi regimented predominantly in São Paulo comprised the troops considerably. According to Boroa's report, approximately 150 heavily armed Portuguese and around 1,500 indigenous people equipped with their traditional weapons were part of the *bandeira*. The retaliation was immediate and the confrontation lasted for about five hours, resulting in deaths on both sides. Pedro Mola was wounded in the head. Bernal and Cárdenas had their hands and arms hit. Possibly sure of victory, the *bandeirantes* advanced with caution. The siege was progressively closing. Hit by flaming arrows, the roofs of the church and the priests' house were

⁷⁰ PORTO, Aurélio, op. cit., 1954, p. 143-144.

quickly consumed by fire. Cornered, wounded and surrounded, the resistance waved a white flag in surrender. Once the capitulation was confirmed, the pioneers aggressively entered *Jesus-Maria*. They captivated and killed many indigenous people and their women. They also confiscated the property and destroyed important documents, including baptism and wedding books and *Litterae annuae*.

After the first conquest, the *bandeirantes* organized the attack against the other reductions located in the region. Preventively, the priest of *San Cristóbal* emptied this village and sent his catechumens to the reduction of *Sant'Ana*, where the Jesuits of *Jesus-Maria*, freed by Raposo Tavares, also took refuge.

While the Jesuits and indigenous people took refuge in *Sant'Ana*, the *bandeirantes* continued to raid the dispersed catechumens and destroy the abandoned villages. One of these garrisons overcame the foothills of the mountains and devastated the village of *San Joachim*.

In about two weeks, the Jesuits reorganized the resistance with the intention of halting the advance of the flag. About 1600 men left *Sant'Ana* for *San Cristóbal*, located on the right bank of the Pardo River. The combat occurred at Christmas 1636. Twice, the Jesuit-indigenous resistance repelled the enemy. After about four and a half hours, both armies were overcome with tiredness. After setting fire to the church and the priests' house, the *bandeirantes* returned from *San Cristóbal* towards the conquered palisades of *Jesus-Maria*. Jesuits and indigenous people retreated to *Sant'Ana*. This being supposedly the next target of the *bandeira*, it was quickly decided to transfer the resistance to the village of *Natividade*, about four leagues away.

The Father Provincial Diego de Boroa, arrived at the end of January of 1637 to the reduction of *Natividade* and participat-

ed actively in the sequence of the facts. The Jacuí River served as a defense and marked the new battle front. The missionary army, then composed of about 1500 men, was preparing for the clash when it was surprised by the information that the *bandeirantes* were retreating. Understanding the news as a ploy, the Jesuits tried to convince the indigenous people to move to a safer post. The answer was emphatic, before fleeing to abandon their lands, they would die fighting.

The missionary army marched towards the destroyed reductions of *Sant'Ana*, *San Cristóbal*, *Jesus-Maria* and *San Joachim*. Along the way, they buried the bodies of their warriors and rescued the survivors. Finally, they confirmed the *bandeirante* retreat, as well as their motivation. The indigenous captives on the palisades of Taquari had rebelled and killed part of the Portuguese. In view of this context of insecurity, it was essential to withdraw and strategically reorganize its deposit in Taquari. They stayed in Taquari for a few months before returning to São Paulo, with a large number of prisoners.

The Jesuits and indigenous people reorganized themselves in *Natividade*. Stunned by the cruelties they had experienced, indigenous leaders considered migration to safer places in the regions of Parana or Uruguay prudent. The same decision was announced to Father Boroa in the Serra reductions, among which was the town of *Santa Teresa*.

This decision - perhaps announced in an exalted manner - could have resulted in the definitive closure of the *Santa Teresa* reduction. However, shortly after, Father Provincial Diego de Boroa describes receiving letters from the priests stating that, out of love for their country and the fear of hunger that would ensue from transmigration, everyone had definitely regretted the decision. The guidance given by Boroa was that the

matter should only be resumed if the initiative came from the indigenous people. Thus, the year 1637 was marked by migrations and rearrangements in the reductions of *Candelaria*, *Mártires*, *Apóstoles*, and *San Carlos*. At the direction of Boroa, Father Pedro Mola returned to *Jesus-Maria* in order to gather his catechumens. About 400 people quickly gathered. He also recorded constant escapes from the palisades in Taquari.

Pedro Mola, in a letter dated March 24, 1637, reported on the rapid restructuring of the village. In a short time, they sowed their farms and tried to rebuild the church. At the end of March, different ethnic subgroups of twenty chiefs were gathered there.⁷¹ In the meantime, the Society of Jesus was attempting to obtain military support from Spain to reject eventual attacks by the *bandeirantes*.

The calls from the Tape reached Rome. Pope Urban VIII⁷² was impressed by the reports of Father Francisco Dias Taño, who had been sent there as the Company's attorney. Upon returning from Rome and Madrid, the Ignatians brought with them decrees, acts of excommunication and, finally, the authorization of Felipe IV - albeit provisional - for the use of firearms.⁷³

On April 7, 1637, according to Alfredo Ellis Junior,⁷⁴ Father Provincial Antonio Ruiz de Montoya met the Jesuit Council. At the time, it was decided to abandon the reduction of *San Joachim*. The village was still recovering from the offensive by a group of the *bandeira* of Raposo Tavares. However, his position

⁷¹ Apud CORTESÃO, Jaime (Org). op. cit., 1969, p. 158.

⁷² Born Maffeo Barberini. He held the highest office of the Catholic Church between the years 1623 and 1644.

⁷³ JAEGER, Luiz Gonzaga. Idem, p. 42-43.

⁷⁴ ELLIS JR., Alfredo. op. cit., p. 151-152.

was too exposed. After this determination, part of the population of *San Joachim* flocked to the village of *Santa Teresa*. Its position, the furthest to the north, was isolated.

A new São Paulo attack was taken for granted. And, in fact, even before the return of the *bandeira* that had affected the reductions of the Pardo and Baixo Jacuí river, a new expedition left São Paulo that would seal the destiny of the village of *Santa Teresa*.

THE CONQUEST OF IGAÍ

THE *BANDEIRANTE* ATTACKS LED BY RAPOSO TAVARES COULD HAVE SIGNALED the end of the missionary experience in Rio Grande do Sul. Cornered, resentful, and enraged, the indigenous people absolutely refused to leave their territory.

From then on, Alto Jacuí was conceived by them as a safe haven. The village of *Santa Teresa* demonstrated an impressive war effort on the front lines of the Luso-Brazilian attacks. The historical developments resulting from this decision are unveiled in this chapter.

3.1. THE BANDEIRANTE CAMP OF SANTA TERESA DO IGAÍ

The *bandeira* that advanced over the Alto Jacuí region left São Paulo in the beginning of 1637. According to Aurélio Por-

to,⁷⁵ the troops entered through the fields of Vacaria and Campos de Cima da Serra. In May, they were already installed in Taquari, possibly taking advantage of the temporary palisades erected by Raposo Tavares.

Despite the lacunae resulting from the scarcity of sources, Alfredo Ellis Junior took care to historicize this *bandeira* based on the inventories and testaments of its components. “Its organizers were the members of the most important families in São Paulo”.⁷⁶ The leadership positions were held by the Bueno, Preto, and Cunha Gago families. Captain Francisco Bueno headed the expedition’s command. However, he would not have been the executioner of *Santa Teresa*, but Corporal André Fernandes.

Francisco Bueno died in the Taquari region, on May 26, 1637. This episode was followed by the deaths of João Preto and Manuel Preto. In the following months, part of the *mamelucos* returned to São Paulo taking with them a considerable number of indigenous captives. The rest of the troops advanced to Alto Jacuí in order to conquer the strategic village of *Santa Teresa*. Upon arriving in the region, the troop was divided into two columns led by André Fernandes and Jerônimo Bueno. The latter proceeded to the Ijuí region to the west.⁷⁷

Basílio de Magalhães makes a curious biographical description⁷⁸ of Fernandes, classifying him as “one of the greatest captors of indigenous people in the villages of the south”. The researcher also states that André Fernandes was notable for the fruitful settlement, “bringing indigenous people from the

⁷⁵ PORTO, Aurélio, op. cit., 1954, p. 159-161.

⁷⁶ ELLIS JR., Alfredo. op. cit., p. 154.

⁷⁷ PORTO, Aurélio, op. cit., 1954, p. 161.

⁷⁸ Apud SANMARTIN, OLYNTHO. Ibidem.

distant hinterlands and using them for spreading settlements". For these characteristics, he is called "colonist", along with his brothers. The Santana de Parnaíba foundation is highlighted as a base that was used to support the organization of several *bandeiras*. In his family of *sertanistas* (hinterlanders), his brothers Domingos and Baltasar are respectively recognized as founders of the original villages of the current cities of Itu and Sorocaba in São Paulo. This populating vocation in Fernandes family was also present in the Curiti region.

In December 1637 the fields and forests of Alto Jacuí were trodden by the *bandeirantes* who were heading towards *Santa Teresa*. Troop numbers are still a controversial issue. It is commonly accepted the presence of 260 paulistas proclaimed by Techo. This estimate was widely disseminated by Teschauer and reproduced by Aurélio Porto, Jaeger, Cafruni, Olyntho Sanmartin, among other researchers on the topic. Alfredo Ellis Junior considers the number exaggerated, since the Raposo Tavares expedition was still on the field with about 120 men. Soon, the sum of both troops would be below the demography of São Paulo *bandeirantes* available at the time.⁷⁹

The *Litterae Annuae* of 1637-1639 presents possibly more precise numbers. The document states that the village was looted by 200 Portuguese bandits assisted by 500 Tupi people, totaling, therefore, around 700 people.⁸⁰

Still in the same *Litterae Annuae*, **the taking of the reduction of Santa Teresa took place on December 18, 1637.** In contrast to the history of violent clashes between

⁷⁹ ELLIS JR., Alfredo. op. cit., p. 159.

⁸⁰ MAEDER, Ernesto (Org.). *Cartas ânuas de la Provincia Jesuítica del Paraguay 1637-1639*. Buenos Aires: Fundacion para la Educacion, la Ciencia y la Cultura. Buenos Aires, FECIC, 1984, p. 75.

bandeirantes and indigenous people, the taking of the reduction of *Santa Teresa* was accomplished without there being a great armed conflict.

The peaceful surrender of the village is often attributed to the element of surprise conferred on the *bandeira*. It is strange the sneaky advance of such a troop who was invisible to the uninterruptedly crowded population, as well as to the spies kept in outposts. The presence of *mamelucos* wintering in Taquari was notorious, as was their attempt to devastate the reductions. It is possible to conjecture that spontaneous surrender is the result of a reasonable decision in the face of the inevitable. Stunned by the death toll of the previous clashes and aware of the great disadvantage compared to the *bandeirante* arsenal, they were left to place their hopes in the diplomacy of the priests Francisco Ximenez and Juan de Salas, leaders of the reduction. In fact, Ximenez committed himself to such an attack, proposing to the executioners the rescue of the indigenous people. The stipulated sum exceeded his possibilities, thus failing the attempt to negotiate.⁸¹

The armed clash was avoided, however, the Jesuit documentation records that the *bandeirantes* acted with atrocity, mistreating and subjecting the indigenous to multiple tortures, still resulting in the destruction of the reduction.⁸² The Auto Commissioner of the Holy Office written by Father Diogo de Alfaro - contained in the documents of the Collection de Angelis -⁸³ makes a clear distinction between the reductions destroyed and those depopulated in the face of the possibility of an imminent attack. *Santa Teresa* falls into the first category.

⁸¹ JAEGER, Luiz Gonzaga. Ibidem.

⁸² MAEDER, Ernesto. op. cit., 1984, p. 75.

⁸³ Apud CORTESÃO, Jaime (Org). op. cit., 1969, p. 163-167.

The *Litterae Annuae* of 1637-1639 states that the invaders subdued about 4,000 souls who were taken to a camp not far away. It appears, therefore, that the *bandeirantes* did not settle their base in the exact location of the village, but in the surroundings, where they kept their prisoners in palisades built there for this purpose.

The population of *Santa Teresa* at the time of its capitulation remains uncertain. The figure of 4 thousand indigenous people can be based on the demographic growth reported in the *Litterae Annuae* prior to their destruction. Teschauer says more than 5,000 people were baptized in *Santa Teresa*.⁸⁴ This figure is already pointed out by Montoya in his *Conquista Espiritual*. The population that flocked there in the face of the assault on other reductions does not appear to have been counted. Part of the population of *Candelaria* and, mainly, of *San Joachim* would have added about 500 families to the village.⁸⁵ Such a contingent would easily total a population of about 6 thousand people.

Priests had been given freedom. However, Francisco Ximenez and Juan de Salas remained in the village even after the surrender, trying as far as possible to console and advise the captured indigenous people, even suggesting an attempt to escape. This alternative was successful for about a hundred prisoners, as evidenced by the *Litterae Annuae* of 1637-1639.

There was also a peculiar episode that occurred at Christmas. Interestingly, the Christmas celebrations were maintained. Despite the incongruous situation, the *bandeirantes* did not shy away from taking part in religious celebrations. In substitution

⁸⁴ TESCHAUER, Carlos. *Porandúba Riograndense*. Porto Alegre: Livraria do Globo, 1929, p. 30.

⁸⁵ PORTO, Aurélio (Org.) op. cit., 1937, p. 47.

for cutlass and arcabuzes, they held firmly lit candles. With an indifferent countenance, they entered the church in order to attend mass. Father Ximenez took his place at the pulpit where he delivered a fiery speech condemning the atrocities committed by his listeners. In turn, the *bandeirantes* limited themselves to listening to the sermon with total apathy.

Usually, after the capture of the indigenous people and the reorganization of the troops, the *bandeirantes* returned to São Paulo to sell the prisoners, thus ending the cycle of the slavery expedition. This return was not immediate, as it required prior preparation, such as the construction of palisades and even the opening of fields for the cultivation of food. Finally, there was the definitive withdrawal of the settlement.

Santa Teresa escaped the rule. Captain André Fernandes realized the strategic importance of the position he won. Instead of leaving the village, a base of operations was created there that would serve to support future incursions into southern territory.

It is possible that the effective devastation of the reduction and its transformation into a *bandeirante* camp occurred shortly after the departure of the priests. Destruction itself is a controversial subject. Part of the researchers argues that it is described not only in official documents - where the narrative was sometimes written with exacerbated terror to dissuade the authorities - but in internal correspondence, also unpretentious, such as the note that Father Ximenez astutely dispatched for the reduction of the *Apóstoles* telling about the occupation of *Santa Teresa* and alerting Father Antonio Palermo about the possibility of an imminent attack. At the opposite part, researchers who do not hesitate to disagree with the version that attests to the destruction of the village. For Aurélio

Porto, “Captain André Fernandes understood the strategic importance of the village. He did not destroy it, as the Jesuits say, but there he organized his winter quarters, planted, erected palisades, and occupied it definitively.”⁸⁶

Given this context, an intermediate version seems plausible to us. From an operational point of view, the spontaneous surrender of the population would make the destruction of the village unnecessary. Furthermore, the Christmas Mass episode testifies that in the week following the capitulation, at least the church had remained intact. However, the imprisonment of catechumens completely demobilized the reduction. Considering that the *bandeirante* post was not installed in the exact location of the mission, but in the surroundings, it can be assumed that after the removal of the priests, the *bandeirantes* permanently disassembled the buildings and reused the wood in the construction of the palisades. A similar procedure occurred in the reduction of *Apóstoles*, where the church beams were used to erect seven forts around the village.⁸⁷ In that context, the reuse of construction materials presented itself as a practical and even obvious option. It is assumed, therefore, that the destruction of the reduction did not occur in the actual invasion, but as a result of the dismantling of buildings and the imprisonment of its population. Considering that the troop marched from Taquari, it is assumed that the camp was allocated somewhere in the southeast of the village.

Aurélio Porto highlights the strategic location of *Santa Teresa* as one of the main attractions taken into account by Captain André Fernandes. When addressing the geoeconomic factors

⁸⁶ PORTO, Aurélio, op. cit., 1954, p. 166.

⁸⁷ MAEDER, Ernesto. op. cit., 1984, p. 78.

of the *bandeiras* that entered the present day Rio Grande do Sul, Jaime Cortesão bases his analysis on the historical sources of the National Library.⁸⁸ The documents show that the *bandeiras* of Raposo Tavares and André Fernandes **were not intended solely to capture indigenous workforce**, but to **defend Portuguese-Brazilian commercial interests**.

The place became known as post, fortress or camp of Igaí, toponym alluding to Alto Jacuí. Sometimes also called *Santa Teresa do Igaí*, *Santa Teresa dos Pinhais* or simply *Posto dos Pinhais*. Its administration was in charge of Father Francisco Fernandes de Oliveira, son of Captain André Fernandes.

The crucial difference between the camp of Igaí and the other bases of support created by the *bandeirantes* in the present Rio Grande do Sul, is its perpetuity. While the other places were used on a provisional basis, the *Posto dos Pinhais* was transformed into a fortress and incorporated into the dynamic of the *bandeirante* as a support to the successive attacks against the missionary villages in the 17th century.

Unfortunately, we do not have details about the organization or functioning of this important warehouse. It is known that the place was fortified through palisades. Cultivation areas were opened and pastoral winters were explored to raise livestock. When they left *Santa Teresa*, the priests Ximenez and Salas deeply regretted ceding approximately 500 heads of cattle, in addition to a smaller number of cows, pigs and goats that then went on to supply the fortress *bandeirante*.

According to archaeologist Cláudia Uessler,⁸⁹ the defini-

⁸⁸ CORTESÃO, Jaime (Org). op. cit., 1969, p. 4.

⁸⁹ UESSLER, Cláudia de Oliveira. *Sítios arqueológicos de assentamentos fortificados Ibero-Americanos na Região Platina Oriental*. Tese de Doutorado apresentada no Programa de Pós-Graduação de História, Faculdade de Filosofia e Ciências Humanas da Pontifícia Universidade

tion of a fort in the context of the Prata region fortifications refers to a small fortified campaign settlement. Such structures were used as support points for troops or for the defense of strategic and border positions. Its function and the availability of raw material determined the construction techniques. Palisades, mudwalls, trenches and stones can be used.

Regarding the aspect of the fort, perhaps a parallel can be drawn with other *bandeirantes* fortifications of the 17th century. The entrenchment is illustrative and the vestiges are found on Santa Catarina soil, in the current municipality of Campo Erê. Such structures were not only contemporary to the camp of Igaí, but their use was articulated with the São Paulo attacks in Alto Jacuí. Through a field survey headed by researcher Amadeu Fagundes de Oliveira Freitas, in the 1970s, it was possible to identify the remaining vestiges of the fortification, as well as to elaborate a preliminary sketch. The structure was composed of a double circular palisade filled with earth. Installed at the top of a hill, the palisade about 4 meters wide and one kilometer in perimeter had in the center a raised platform with about 36 meters in diameter that served as a lookout, guaranteeing a privileged view of the surroundings.⁹⁰

Católica do Rio Grande do Sul. Porto Alegre: PUCRS, 2006, p. 52.

⁹⁰ FREITAS, Amadeu Fagundes de Oliveira. *Geopolítica bandeirante. Parte Primeira – Sudoeste Brasileiro*. Volume II. Porto Alegre: Editora Emma, 1975, p. 749.

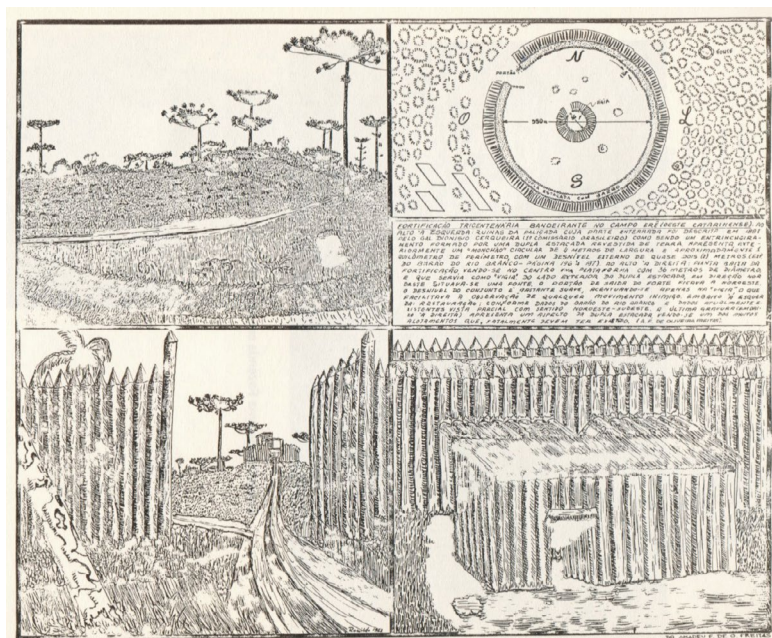


Fig 2. Illustrative sketch of the 17th century bandeirante fortification erected in the modern municipality of Campo Erê / SC.⁹¹

After the takeover of *Santa Teresa*, the *bandeirantes* roots spread across the Provinces of the Tape and Uruguay. The predatory march went to *San Carlos*, *Apóstoles*, *Candelaria*, and *Caaró*. The indigenous captives in *San Carlos* were sent to the palisades of *Santa Teresa*. After a march of approximately three months, the detachment led by captains Francisco de Paiva and Antônio Pedroso once again concentrated on *Santa Teresa*, bringing about two thousand captive indigenous.⁹² Finally, the Alto Ibicuí region started to occupy the position of last missionary stronghold on the eastern side of Uruguay, soon also disarticulated.

⁹¹ FREITAS, 1975, p. 749.

⁹² PORTO, Aurélio, op. cit., 1954, p. 167-171.

In this process, the indigenous people had three destinations: to retreat to safer places, such as the western territories of the Uruguay River; being imprisoned for slavery captivity; or the attempt to return to the traditional way of life, taking refuge outside the pioneering routes.

Approximately two years after his departure, the troops had finally returned to São Paulo, in the beginning of 1639, taking thousands of imprisoned indigenous people with them. Apologist Alfredo Ellis Junior defines this action as “one of the most remarkable exploits in the history of the *bandeirante* and one of the most memorable chapters in the history of the conquest of Rio Grande do Sul”.⁹³

During this period, the apparent passivity shown by the catechumens of *Santa Teresa* was not extended to other villages. The indigenous resistance was reorganized under the command of chief Nheenguirú. The bloody clashes that followed inflicted casualties for both sides, with frequent advantages for Luso-Brazilians.

Captain André Fernandes returned to São Paulo with the bulk of the troops in 1639. He was over 80 years old when he died in Santana de Parnaíba in 1657.⁹⁴ It is unknown how long Father Francisco Fernandes de Oliveira was detained at the Igaí post. However, it is known that on February 2, 1653 he took office as vicar in Santana de Parnaíba.⁹⁵

In a petition addressed to Visitador D. Juan Blázquez de

⁹³ ELLIS JR., Alfredo. op. cit., p. 162.

⁹⁴ Luís Gonzaga da Silva Leme, in *Genealogia Bandeirante*, incorrectly reports that Captain André Fernandes would have died in 1641.

⁹⁵ MOTA, Camila. *Edição de documentos oitocentistas e estudo da variedade linguística em Santa de Parnaíba*. Dissertação de Mestrado apresentada ao Programa de Pós-Graduação do Departamento de Letras Clássicas e Vernáculas da Faculdade de Filosofia, Letras e Ciências Humanas da Universidade de São Paulo. São Paulo: USP, 2007, p. 23.

Valverde, from 1657, there is the statement of a Portuguese sailor, former *bandeirante*, called Domingo Farto. The content statement attests that Father Francisco Fernandes de Oliveira remained at the Igaí post one year after the capitulation of the reduction of *Santa Teresa*.

It appears that the *bandeira* of which Farto was a member, stopped at the *bandeirante* camp of *Santa Teresa*, possibly for supply purposes. The priest named Francisco who had already been mentioned could no longer be Father Ximenez, since the episode took place a year after the invasion of the reduction.

The attacks of captain André Fernandes were followed by other *bandeiras* that plagued Rio Grande do Sul. Notably, the expeditions commanded by Jerônimo Pedroso de Barros, Manuel Pires, Domingos Cordeiro, as well as Fernão Dias Paes Leme, notorious *bandeirante* known as “emerald hunter”. His presence on the Tape was concomitant to André Fernandes. It is possible that the *bandeira* of Paes Leme also enjoyed the supplying station in Igaí, since the place quickly established itself as a strategic pole for slavery in Rio Grande do Sul.

In January 1638, Father Montoya was in Rio de Janeiro. There, in the company of Father Taño, he was waiting for the ship that would take them to Madrid and Rome. In Europe they had the mission of convincing the monarch Felipe IV and the pontiff Urbano VIII to adopt measures against the São Paulo debacle inflicted on the missionary catechumens. In the meantime, Montoya wrote a letter to Father Juan de Hornos, updating the information about the São Paulo *bandeiras*. The letter tells that 300 men had left São Paulo to *Santa Teresa*, adding that many people were leaving to the Tape by sea. Montoya also reports that he came across many indigenous people from the Tape in the city of Rio de Janeiro. He also lamented that many

of those imprisoned in 1637, starved along the way. Newcomers, however, were sold for eight, ten, or fifteen patacas.⁹⁶

This context of Portuguese-Brazilian slavery in Rio Grande do Sul had its culminating setback at the Battle of M'bororé, in 1641, when the paulistas dared to cross the Uruguay River to the right bank. For Jaeger, the *bandeira* led by Jerônimo Pedroso de Barros and Manuel Pires was the best prepared in relation to previous attacks. However, it was also poorly directed. He highlights three main motivating elements, namely, the desire to fight back the defeats suffered; the intention to move the Spanish to distant places; and, lastly, the capture of slave labor destined for the northeastern markets. The numbers on the components of the *bandeira* range from 350 to 450 Portuguese-Brazilians and allies, plus 1,200 to 3,000 Tupi people.⁹⁷ Part of that number would have been concentrated at the Igaí post before leaving for the onslaught about 250 km to the northwest. In turn, the missionary army had about 4,000 soldiers equipped with traditional weapons, in addition to 300 arquebuses, dozens of canoes and improvised artillery pieces.

The fluvial and terrestrial clash took place in March 1641 in the M'bororé region, a tributary of the right bank of the Uruguay River, on the current border between Argentina and the northwestern border of Rio Grande do Sul. After a few days of direct confrontations and skirmishes in naval battles and land infantry, the *bandeirantes* found themselves trapped, defeated, and, finally, disbanded. The indigenous people, in turn, persecuted them tirelessly, even ignoring requests for a truce, a device already used as a hoax in previous conflicts.

⁹⁶ Apud CORTESÃO, Jaime (Org). op. cit., 1969, p. 291-293.

⁹⁷ JAEGER, Luiz Gonzaga. op. cit., p. 53-54.

An indigenous person of the Tupi tribe who had been imprisoned by the missionaries revealed that the captain of the *bandeira* had drawn an escape route. The survivors would make their retreat in three directions. They would leave together from the Acaragua region towards the Guarumbaca stream, a tributary of the Uruguay River, dividing there on three fronts. Part of the troops would advance through the Iguaçu region (northeastwards). Another group would follow the course of the Uruguay River upstream (eastwards), where they would seek support in the villages of the Jê people. Finally, a third group would cross the Uruguay River at Salto do Yucumã, heading for the palisades of *Santa Teresa*, or better, the camp of Igaí. From there they would head south towards the old village of *Jesus-Maria*, then proceeding along the traditional route of the Caamo and Caaguá.⁹⁸ The escape strategy was put into practice, without, however, avoiding constant casualties to the *bandeirante* effective.

Among the documents in the Collection de Angelis, it is found a detailed account of the Battle of M'Bororé written by Father Cláudio Ruyer in the month following the clash.⁹⁹ Ruyer was the Father Provincial responsible for the previous articulations of the missionary army. Then he fell ill and was replaced by Fathers Pedro Mola and Pedro Romero. His report reveals a fact hitherto ignored by historiography. The Battle of M'Bororé ended up avoiding an imminent missionary attack on the Igaí *bandeirante* fort. According to Ruyer, even before receiving the alert sent by Father Boroa informing the approach of the Portuguese, the Father Provincial had already

⁹⁸ Apud CORTESÃO, Jaime (Org). op. cit., 1969, p. 364.

⁹⁹ Apud CORTESÃO, Jaime (Org). op. cit., 1969, p. 345-346.

taken the necessary precautions to guard the borders. Ruyer tells that the catechumens carried out constant military exercises and, also, sentries and militias that surveilled the villages. The relative delay of the Portuguese in reaching the headwaters of Uruguay ended up making the indigenous people impatient and anxious for a confrontation. Finally, an army of more than a thousand indigenous people with firearms set out towards *Santa Teresa*. This army would be joined by more than two hundred armed indigenous people who were preparing to leave the Province of Uruguay towards the Tape. Just before they reached the old *Santa Teresa* reduction, they were told that they should promptly return due to the approach of the Portuguese in upper Uruguay. Thus, the call for the defense of another battle front prevented the missionary militias from entering a new confrontation in *Santa Teresa*.

In Argentina, the Battle of M'bororé is remembered as a historic milestone that limited the Portuguese advance over the Argentine Mesopotamia. For the Rio Grande do Sul historiography, the clash is commonly remembered as the episode that definitively ended the *bandeirantes* invasions in this territory.

In fact, there were no more registers of regular *bandeiras*, except for the great *bandeirante* attack on Buenos Aires, in 1651. However, the performance of the São Paulo slave traders lasted for several decades. The *bandeiras* were replaced by small incursions or smaller contingent entries, and, therefore, with localized effects. Instead of thousands, the captured indigenous people started to be counted by the dozens.

The capitulation of the missions in the face of the *bandeirante* attacks led to the Guaraní exodus. However, there was no emptying of the territory, but a new arrangement in the

occupation of space due to the decrease in population. This event ended up favoring the predominance of the Jê, whose supremacy was only definitively threatened by the advance of the colonization fronts from the 19th century onwards.

Perhaps driven by the ability to adapt to the frontier phenomena, the Jê played the most varied historical roles not only among the missionary population, but also joining the indigenous legions that accompanied the *bandeirante* troops. There was also a group that sought to perpetuate their traditional way of life without external interference, both during and after the missionary period. The fact is that after the Guarani exodus, the *bandeirantes* turned their predation to the Jê populations.

Faced with that situation, the *bandeirante* camp of Igaí ended up consolidating itself as an irradiating pole of Portuguese-Brazilian slavery activities in the 17th century in the territory of today Rio Grande do Sul. Unfortunately, the scarcity of historical documents has practically left this important episode in southern history to oblivion. The Jesuit and São Paulo documentary sources precariously comprise a chronological sequence of three decades of the *bandeirante* presence in Alto Jacuí.

According to data collected by Aurélio Porto in the manuscripts of the Collection de Angelis,¹⁰⁰ in 1656, the corregedor of the *pueblo* de Japeju was alerted about the presence of a group from São Paulo that was imprisoning indigenous people in the eastern band of Uruguay. A militia was promptly organized, surprising the *bandeirantes* Manuel Preto, Pascoal da Ribeira and Francisco Cordeiro, who were supported by a group of approximately 50 heavily armed Tupi people. The troops had

¹⁰⁰ Ibidem.

already captured a considerable number of non-Christianized indigenous people, that is, Jê ethnic groups and probably also Pampean people. The paulistas and their retinue were forced to take the place of their prisoners and then sent to Japeju. However, along the way they managed to make a successful escape. Finally, the other prisoners revealed that the Igaí post was constantly being used as a base of operations by the paulistas, where they were provided with gunpowder and other supplies necessary for their expeditions.

In the year 1669, there would be another imminent approach of the São Paulo enemies, however this time, the targets would be the reductions of the right bank of Uruguay, especially Japeju. Such information was reported to the authorities of the reduction of *San Tomé* by former allies of the paulistas who settled in the village.¹⁰¹

In the same year, the warning was reiterated to the magistrate of the reduction of *San Francisco Javier*. The information was provided by two indigenous people who once lived in the village of *Santa Teresa*. Both had been baptized by the priests Francisco Ximenez and Simon Maçeta, however, when they were children they were captured by the Portuguese and taken to São Paulo. Finally, driven by the urge to return to their homeland, they managed to escape with their wives and children. The indigenous people confirmed to corregedor Don Thomas Potira that the Portuguese of São Paulo were in fact preparing to devastate the doctrines of the Paraná and Uruguay rivers. The objective was to end all pueblos and avenge their relatives who died in past conflicts. They added that the Portuguese met in the old town of *Santa Teresa* destroyed by

¹⁰¹ PORTO, Aurélio, op. cit., 1954, p. 194-195.

André Fernandes. There they obtained food and the necessary support for their campaigns..¹⁰²

The year 1669 constitutes a chronological mark that the documentary sources allow to trace the period of operation of the *bandeirante* camp in Alto Jacuí. The expansion of this chronology depends on the discovery of new sources, whether historical or archaeological. It is certain, however, that the cabocla and kaingang populations took root in the region after the abandonment of the *bandeirante* enclave.

From the point of view of the indigenous populations, the *bandeirantes* can be seen as the Luso-Brazilian version of the Spanish conquistadors that devastated the Inca and Aztec peoples in the 16th century.

It is estimated that in the time gap between the *bandeira* of Raposo Tavares (1635) and the transmigration of the missionary villages to the right bank of the Uruguay River (1640), about 30 thousand indigenous people in the Province of Tape and surroundings were subjugated.¹⁰³ Many Guarani, however, remained in their former territories without ties to the Jesuit project. When counting the direct and indirect victims of the *bandeirantes* invasions in Rio Grande do Sul, Jaeger computed the populations captured, emigrated, displaced or killed in the fighting, thus totaling an estimated population of 200 thousand people.¹⁰⁴ Such demographic density would only be restored in the 19th century, with the great participation of European immigrants.

In this scenario of complete desolation for native popu-

¹⁰² Apud VIANNA, Hélio, op. cit., 1970, p. 347-348.

¹⁰³ SANTOS, J. R. Q.; OSÓRIO, Getúlio Xavier. *A ação dos bandeirantes no Tapê (1636-1641)*. Veritas – Revista Trimestral da PUCRS. Porto Alegre: PUCRS, 1987, p. 359-360.

¹⁰⁴ JAEGER, Luiz Gonzaga. op. cit., p. 58.

lations, the fortress of *Santa Teresa do Igai* consolidated itself as the irradiating pole for Portuguese-Brazilian slave explorers in modern Rio Grande do Sul in the 17th century.

In this process, the *caboclo* - the first gentilic from Rio Grande do Sul - emerged, as a result of the relationship of the European, *mameluco*, *cafuso*, Tupi, with the local indigenous women. For Tau Golin, the *caboclo* is the most important component of the people of the region, who later would come to blend in another process of miscegenation with the subsequent migratory currents.¹⁰⁵ The *caboclo* mediated indigenous knowledge that leveraged the colonization of this territory.

3.2. SLAVERY BASTION

After the capitulation of *Santa Teresa*, Father Simon Maçeta sent a request to the commissioner of the Holy Office of Paraguay requesting military assistance against the *bandeira* of André Fernandes, who was preparing to expand his range of action. In addition to his concern for the missionary villages, Maçeta also expressed his fear of the imminent risk of territorial loss of the Provinces and lands belonging to the crown of Castile. Among the Portuguese also came the Dutch, whose objective was not to capture indigenous people, but to advance through the territory in order to reach Peru and conquer Potosí.¹⁰⁶

Even in the face of a context of constant tensions and threats resulting from Dutch invasions in the northeast, the

¹⁰⁵ GOLIN, Tau. *Identidade gentilica e capital simbólico*. In: BATISTELLA, Alessandro (Org.). *Passo Fundo, sua história*. Passo Fundo: Méritos, 2007, p. 455.

¹⁰⁶ Apud CORTESÃO, Jaime, op. cit., 1969, p. 237-238.

geopolitical interests of the paulistas insistently turned to the south.

Exactly a century separates the creation of the Igaí *bandeirante* post, in 1637, from the foundation of the Presidio and Forte de Jesus-Maria-José, in Rio Grande de São Pedro (1737). The first date is practically disregarded by Portuguese historiography, while the second is remembered as the starting point for southern Portuguese occupation. It is a formal landmark of the settlement to distinguish it from previous initiatives, considered informal or ephemeral.

Regardless of the official version, the historical events that took place in the Province of Tape in the 17th century signaled the territorial advance of the Portuguese-Brazilian expansion front over Castilian territory, leading to the demobilization of Jesuit missions and the creation of a militarized *bandeirante* possession in Alto Jacuí. In the words of Alfredo Ellis Junior, “the Tape was conquered, the Rio Grande was invaded, the jesuit was expelled, the indigenous was enslaved, the Castilian was crushed, and the Tordesillas Meridian was withdrawn”.¹⁰⁷ For at least three decades, the maintenance of this achievement was supported by the camp of Igaí, constituting the first lasting *bandeirante* occupation in Rio Grande do Sul lands. “It represented a slaveholding stronghold, but it also served as a first landmark, even before Rio Pardo, of Luso-Brazilian penetration in Rio Grande do Sul.”¹⁰⁸

Territorial disputes between Spanish and Portuguese involved dynamic processes of conquest and occupation, especially during the period of the Iberian Union (1580 - 1640).

¹⁰⁷ ELLIS JUNIOR, Alfredo. *Meio Século de Bandeirismo – 1590-1640*. São Paulo: Revista dos Tribunais, 1939, p. 173.

¹⁰⁸ CAFRUNI, Jorge E. op. cit., p. 405.

The actions of territorial expansion in the colonies were not always explicitly or officially endorsed by the government.

As researcher Fernanda Sposito points out, “the missions were opening the way for colonization”. Basically, it can be said that “where they did not settle, colonization could not pass”.¹⁰⁹ In turn, the *bandeirante* attacks dismantled this front of Spanish expansion and expanded the Luso-Brazilian domains. For Cafruni, André Fernandes was aware of the importance of the *bandeiras* for the expansionist movement, the invasion of the southern hinterlands would not be only motivated by the predatory incursion. When unveiling the strategic position of Alto Jacuí, the *bandeirante* also glimpsed its territorial occupation. “He transformed *Santa Teresa* into a bastion of bandeirismo in Rio Grande do Sul, choosing it as a substitute for Taiaçuapé and Pirajubi” (provisional slave concentration posts, on the Taquari River and the Pardo River).¹¹⁰

It is difficult to conceive that in view of the territorial disputes that marked that period, the *bandeirante* conquests were reduced to the capture of indigenous workforce. Although in a veiled way, the *bandeiras* conveyed the Portuguese expansionist yearning. If, in one aspect, there was no explicit support for such attacks, in another, the collusion of the colonial authorities ended up endorsing or even inciting actions.

In addition, the *bandeirante* leaderships constituted the São Paulo elite. In such a position, they had a great deal of government. The *bandeiras* were made official by the Chamber of São Paulo, whose councilors, besides the bureaucratic services, were in charge of captaining the troops that trod the Tape.¹¹¹

¹⁰⁹ SPOSITO, Fernanda. op. cit., p. 171.

¹¹⁰ CAFRUNI, Jorge E. op. cit., p. 307-309.

¹¹¹ SANTOS, J. R. Q.; OSÓRIO, Getúlio Xavier. op. cit., p. 355-356.

While the Spanish rulers were not so explicit in effectively assisting the Jesuits, the Portuguese authorities acted directly in the organization of the *bandeirante* incursions, favoring the expansion of territorial domains.

When studying the documents of the National Library of Brazil, Jaime Cortesão highlighted important geoeconomic factors of the *bandeiras* of the Tape. In particular, the campaigns of André Fernandes and Raposo Tavares did not consist “only and crudely in the hunt for the indigenous of the reductions”. The maintenance of the conquered possessions also guaranteed the defense of the Portuguese commercial organization. When implementing the reductions, the Jesuits did so “in imminently strategic positions”.¹¹² As a result, they sought to disrupt the alliances between indigenous leaders and the *bandeirantes*, thus impacting the Portuguese-Brazilian interests economically. It was not enough, therefore, to subjugate the indigenous people, it was necessary to guarantee territorial sovereignty that would enable the maintenance of their commercial structure.

Based on the studies of Pablo Hernández and on the writings of Nicolás del Techo, researcher Amadeu Fagundes de Oliveira Freitas explains that in the 17th century the *bandeirantes* and the Portuguese built forts as a way of taking possession of the territories.

The ambush system that started from these fortifications destabilized “the attempts of Jesuit-Spanish farms within Rio Grande do Sul”.¹¹³ The Igaí post was the most fruitful *bandeirante* entrenchment in lands south of Upper Uruguay.

Despite its militarized character, the daily life of the Igaí

¹¹² CORTESÃO, Jaime, op. cit., 1969, p. 4.

¹¹³ FREITAS, Amadeu Fagundes de Oliveira. op. cit., p. 666-688.

post should be close to the small seventeenth-century settlements. Possibly, most of its inhabitants were absorbed by the subsistence activities of the village, such as the maintenance of the crops and incipient cattle ranching. The population was composed of paulistas and indigenous allies. It is not by chance that the *caboclo*, the result of miscegenation, established himself in the following centuries as an emblematic figure - and marginalized - in the process of colonization in the region.

In the place of the *bandeirante*, aspects of his mestizo heritage were left. The ethnic crossings, resulted in the *caboclo*, formed in the womb of indigenous women of the region. This new gentile was associated mainly with subsistence agriculture and the extraction of yerba mate, activities that imposed a condition of semi-nomadism on them. In the subsequent centuries, cultural and ethnic miscegenation continued between the *caboclos* and the Jê indigenous. The *caboclo*'s knowledge of the environment and traditional practices was fundamental for the advancement of the colonization fronts of the 19th and 20th centuries in the northern region of Rio Grande do Sul.

The return of the missions to the old possessions of the eastern part of Uruguay was only possible from 1682. However, the presence of the *bandeirantes* at the Igaí post can be traced back to 1669. In the meantime, the founding of the Sacramento Colony occurred in 1680, an episode pointed out by Cafruni as one of the probable causes of the abandonment of the camp. Added to this is the decline of the sugar cycle in the northeast and the discovery of precious metals in the southeast and central-west regions of Brazil. This redirection of the *bandeirantes* geopolitical interests ended up making the maintenance of the Igaí stronghold unfeasible. The abandonment of the region allowed the progressive return of the Jesuits and

missionaries. Alto Jacuí would never receive a missionary village again, however, the exploitation of its herbs and pasture fields acquired great importance for the economic and social development, ending up being integrated into the territorial domains of San Juan and San Luis. This reorganization of the missionary space consisted of a mosaic of ranches, lookouts and chapels scattered over the headwaters of Jacuí.

The Estancia or Vacaria dos Pinhais also disposed in its origin of the cattle remaining from the old herd of *Santa Teresa*, reaching, in the 18th century, tens of thousands of head of cattle, leading to the consolidation of the important economic cycle marked by *tropeirismo*.

Its abandonment possibly also contributed to the fact that his memory practically fell into oblivion. However, its geopolitical reflections echoed over the centuries that followed. The *bandeirantes* fortification system - of which the Igaí post was part - was one of the most prominent arguments used by the Baron of Rio Branco, together with the demarcations of the Treaty of Madrid, to highlight the *bandeirante* possessions in the dispute between Brazil and Argentina. The episode, known as the Palmas Question, took place between 1890 and 1895. Grover Cleveland, then president of the United States, served as arbiter of the matter by analyzing the documentation produced by diplomatic representations. Finally, his decision was favorable to the Brazilian position.¹¹⁴

Despite not being located in the disputed territory, the operation of the Igaí post occurred in conjunction with the entrenchments of Campo Erê and Apiterebi, then installed within the limits of the claimed territory. For Amadeu Freitas, the

¹¹⁴ *Obras do Barão do Rio Branco I: questões de limites República Argentina*. Brasília: Fundação Alexandre de Gusmão, 2012.

role played by fortifications should be appreciated together, since they kept a close link between themselves.

From a geoeconomic point of view, indigenous capture would not be a sufficient element to justify the *bandeirante* fixation in Alto Jacuí for a period of more than three decades. In addition to being unnecessary, this measure does not match the system of transitory incursions that characterize the *bandeiras*. In the light of geopolitical interests, the Igaí *bandeirante* camp represented the beginnings of the Portuguese-Brazilian occupation in Rio Grande do Sul, preceding by a century the formal settlement efforts by the colonial State. Its enslaving, ephemeral and nefarious profile projects itself like a shadow that clouds the pages of official history.

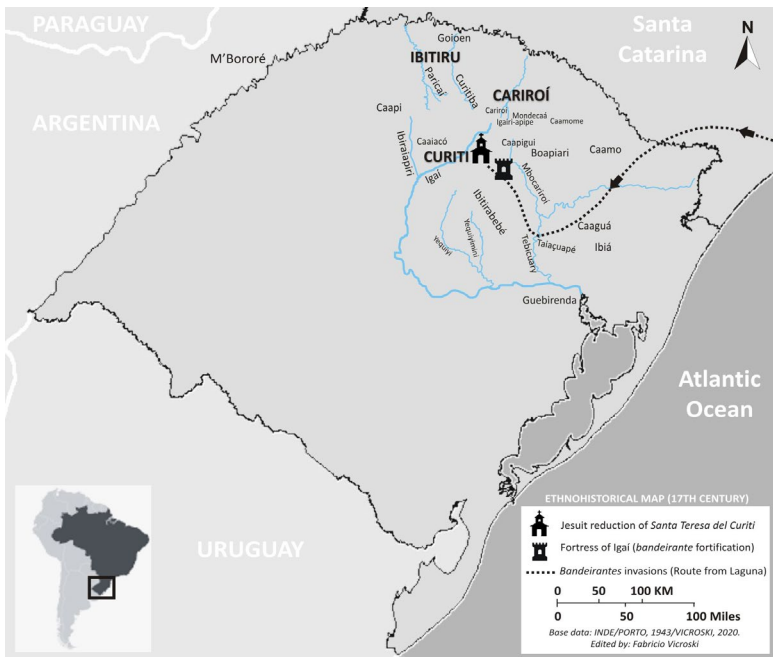


Fig 3. Ethnohistorical map of the region of conflicts in the 17th century.

FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

THE HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE BRAZILIAN STATE OF RIO Grande do Sul still holds a series of lacunae. The clarification of these could contribute to the understanding of several aspects of the identity and cultural construction of society in Rio Grande do Sul. This circumstance stems in part from the lack of knowledge or interest in the complex historical phenomena that somehow influenced or contributed to the conception of the current society. Precisely, the objective of this research is the argumentative defense that the Jesuit reduction of *Santa Teresa del Curiti* constitutes one of these episodes with great informative potential for the understanding of the particularities that characterize the historical development of Rio Grande do Sul.

The writing of southern history has been deeply marked by widespread Spanish and Portuguese paradigms. Ironically, by stifling the Castilian side, a considerable portion of histo-

rians from Rio Grande do Sul also ignored the dawn of the Portuguese-Brazilian occupation of this territory.

Portuguese hegemony suppressed indigenous protagonism and disregarded the beginnings of the historical processes of social, cultural, and geopolitical development that occurred in the 17th century by composing an “official history” and electing the foundation of the prison and Forte de Jesus-Maria-José in Rio Grande de São Pedro, in 1737, as the beginning of the formal Portuguese occupation.

Surrounded by oblivion, the distant history of the Jesuit reduction of *Santa Teresa del Curiti* and the *bandeirante* camp of Igaí remained almost inaccessible to researchers, being integrated by historiographical production - even if timidly - only in the mid-twentieth century. However, the narrative is marked by incongruous and superficial data, justified in face of the lack of documentary sources. This partial history is addressed, unveiled, revised, and complemented through the integrated approach of historical, cartographic, and archaeological sources.

The contribution of the *Litterae Annuae de la Provincia Jesuitica del Paraguay, 1632-1634*, proved to be fundamental. These documents were, until then, unexplored for the writing of the history of the reduction of *Santa Teresa*. They report the proactive stance assumed by the indigenous people in the face of important events, such as the foundation and transmigration of the village. They refute the dichotomy that classifies the different actors between dominant (European) and dominated (indigenous), underestimating the role of native populations in the conduct of the social and political articulations of the time.

The idealized historical version in which indigenous people passively, or even innocently, submit to Christianity, must be suppressed in favor of the resolute and realistic approach. The

proclamation of the gospel must be relativized. The indigenous people were driven by their communal interests and a sense of survival. Integration with the missional front was a strategy of defense and resistance to the threat posed to their traditional way of life. By allying themselves with the Jesuits, the indigenous sought to grant them some privilege or advantage within the scope of the regional geopolitical reorganization.

The disclosure of the **geoeconomic factors** of the actions led by Raposo Tavares and André Fernandes is no less important. The *bandeiras* aimed at territorial expansion, the defense of commercial interests that leveraged the Portuguese colonization fronts in Brazil, as well as the capture of indigenous labor. It should be remembered that many *bandeirantes* were also legislators, and therefore, colonial authorities.

The Igaí camp was incorporated into the *bandeirante* dynamic in support of successive attacks against indigenous populations and as a starting point for the advance of the Tordesilhas meridian over Spanish territory. According to the colonial documentation, the construction of forts was one of the main strategies adopted by the *bandeirantes* to guarantee the possession of the territory. This way, for more than three decades the place has consolidated itself as an irradiating pole of slavery actions, constituting the **first lasting Portuguese-Brazilian occupation in modern Rio Grande do Sul**, maintaining its continuity during the *caboclo* phenomenon, among other consequences. Future approaches on the origin of the first gentile from Rio Grande do Sul and its performance in the colonization of this territory, must emerge from the *bandeirante* camp of Igaí. A historical phenomenon intrinsically related to the **genesis of the *caboclo*** and a founding landmark ignored by historiography. A tragic and inglorious episode, but

also belittled and suppressed. Its existence must be remembered and apprehended so that we can understand and recognize the historical bases and social conflicts on which our society is based.

The **Guarani exodus**; the **economic cycle of yerba mate**; **tropeirismo**; the **Vacaria dos Pinhais**; the **Jê territoriality** in the north of the state; and the **miscegenation** that gave rise to the *caboclo* are some of the themes with historical implications involving the presence of *bandeirantes* and Jesuits in the indigenous territory of Alto Jacuí in the 17th century. Such themes are also seen as future possibilities for further research.

Finally, it is clear that the historical and geopolitical implications arising from the founding of the Jesuit reduction of *Santa Teresa del Curiti* have reverberated for subsequent centuries. By focusing on the regional historical perspective, it is possible to perceive not only its peculiarities and local effects, but also the complexity of social relations and its correlation with world geopolitics, which makes the theme even more relevant in the historiographic scope.

REFERENCES

BARCELOS, A. H. F. *O Mergulho no Seculum: exploração, conquista e organização espacial jesuítica na América espanhola colonial*. 1. ed. Porto Alegre: Ed. Animal, 2013.

BATISTELLA, Alessandro (Org.). *Passo Fundo, sua história*. Passo Fundo: Méritos, 2007.

CAFRUNI, Jorge E. *Passo Fundo das Missões: História do Período Jesuítico*. Passo Fundo: Prefeitura Municipal de Passo Fundo, 1966.

CORTESÃO, Jaime (Org.). *Jesuítas e Bandeirantes no Guairá (1549-1640)*. Manuscritos da Coleção de Angelis. Volume I. Rio de Janeiro: Biblioteca Nacional, 1951.

CORTESÃO, Jaime (Org.). *Jesuítas e Bandeirantes no Tape (1615-1641)*. Manuscritos da Coleção de Angelis. Volume III. Rio de Janeiro: Biblioteca Nacional, 1969.

CORTESÃO, Jaime (Org.). *Do Tratado de Madri à Conquista dos Sete Povos (1750-1802)*. Manuscritos da Coleção de Angelis.

Volume VII. Rio de Janeiro: Biblioteca Nacional, 1969.

ELLIS JR., Alfredo. *O bandeirismo paulista e o recuo do meridiano*. 2ª ed. São Paulo: Companhia Editora Nacional, 1934.

ELLIS JR., Alfredo. *Meio Século de Bandeirismo – 1590-1640*. São Paulo: Revista dos Tribunais, 1939.

ESPÍRITO SANTO, Miguel Frederico do. *Fundamentos da incorporação do Rio Grande do Sul ao Brasil e ao espaço português*. In: BOEIRA, Nelson; GOLIN, Tau (Org.). *Colônia* (Coleção História Geral do Rio Grande do Sul, v.1). Passo Fundo: Méritos, 2006.

FLECK, Eliane Cristina Deckmann. *A morte no centro da vida – reflexões sobre a cura e a não-cura nas reduções jesuítico-guaranis (1609 – 1675)*. Anais Eletrônicos do V Encontro da ANPHLAC. Belo Horizonte, 2000.

FLORES, Moacyr. *História do Rio Grande do Sul*. Porto Alegre: Nova Dimensão, 1993.

FRANZEN, Beatriz Vasconcelos. *Jesuítas portugueses nos séculos XVII e XVIII*. In: BOEIRA, Nelson; GOLIN, Tau (Org.). *Colônia* (Coleção História Geral do Rio Grande do Sul, v.1). Passo Fundo: Méritos, 2006.

FREITAS, Amadeu Fagundes de Oliveira. *Geopolítica bandeirante. Parte Primeira – Sudoeste Brasileiro*. Volume II. Porto Alegre: Editora Emma, 1975.

FREITAS DA SILVA, André Luis. *Reduções Jesuítico-Guarani: espaço de diversidade étnica*. Dissertação apresentada ao Programa de Pós-Graduação em História da Faculdade de Ciências Humanas da Universidade Federal da Grande Dourados. Dourados: UFDG, 2011.

JAEGER, Luiz Gonzaga. *As primitivas Reduções do Rio Grande do Sul*. In: PORTO, Aurélio (Org.) *Terra Farroupilha*. 1ª Parte. Porto Alegre: 1937.

JAEGGER, Luiz Gonzaga. *As invasões bandeirantes no Rio Grande do Sul (1635-1641)*. 2.ed. Porto Alegre, Typographia do Centro, 1939.

GOLIN, Tau. *A Fronteira: 1763 - 1778 - história da brava gente e miseráveis tropas de mar e terra que conquistaram o Brasil meridional*. v.3. Passo Fundo: Méritos, 2015.

GOLIN, Tau. *Missões jesuíticas do Paraguai: uma sociedade alternativa*. Entrevista concedida à Patricia Fachin. Revista do Instituto Humanitas Unisinos. Nº 350, Ano X. São Leopoldo: Unisinos, 2010.

GOLIN, Tau; BOEIRA, Nelson (Org.) *Povos Indígenas. História Geral do Rio Grande do Sul*, vol. 5. Méritos: Passo Fundo, 2009.

MABILDE, Pierre François Alphonse Booth. *Apontamentos sobre os indígenas selvagens da Nação Coroados dos matos da Província do Rio Grande do Sul: 1836-1866*. São Paulo: IBRASA; Brasília: INL, Fundação Nacional Pró-Memória, 1983.

MAEDER, Ernesto. *De las misiones del Paraguay a los estados nacionales. Configuración y disolución de una región histórica: 1610-1810*. In: GADELHA, Regina. *Missões guaranis: impacto na sociedade contemporânea*. São Paulo: Educ, 1999.

MAEDER, Ernesto (Org.). *Cartas ânuas de la Provincia Jesuítica del Paraguay 1632-1634*. Buenos Aires: Academia Nacional de la Historia, Livraria Platero, 1990.

MAEDER, Ernesto (Org.). *Cartas ânuas de la Provincia Jesuítica del Paraguay 1637-1639*. Buenos Aires: Fundacion para la Educacion, la Ciencia y la Cultura. Buenos Aires, FECIC, 1984.

MONTEIRO, Jonatas da Costa Rego. *As primeiras reduções jesuíticas no Rio Grande do Sul: 1626-1638*. In: Revista do Instituto Histórico e Geográfico do Rio Grande do Sul. Ano XIX. Porto Alegre: IHGRS, 1939.

MOTA, Camila. *Edição de documentos oitocentistas e estudo da variedade linguística em Santa de Parnaíba*. Dissertação de

Mestrado apresentada ao Programa de Pós-Graduação do Departamento de Letras Clássicas e Vernáculas da Faculdade de Filosofia, Letras e Ciências Humanas da Universidade de São Paulo. São Paulo: USP, 2007.

Obras do Barão do Rio Branco I: questões de limites República Argentina. – Brasília: Fundação Alexandre de Gusmão, 2012.

PORTO, Aurélio. *História das Missões Orientais do Uruguai.* Publicações do Serviço do Patrimônio Histórico e Artístico Nacional, nº 9, Volume I. Imprensa Nacional, Rio de Janeiro, 1943.

PORTO, Aurélio. *História das Missões Orientais do Uruguai.* Coleção Jesuítas no Sul do Brasil. Volume III. Porto Alegre: Livraria Selbach, 1954.

PORTO, Aurélio (Org.) *Terra Farroupilha.* 1ª Parte. Porto Alegre: 1937.

RUIZ DE MONTOYA, Antônio. *Conquista espiritual feita pelos religiosos da Companhia de Jesus nas Províncias do Paraguai, Paraná, Uruguai e Tape.* Tradução de Arnaldo Bruxel e Artur Rabuske. 2.ed. Porto Alegre: Martins Livreiro, 1997.

SANMATIN, OLYNTHO. *Bandeirantes no sul do Brasil.* Porto Alegre: A Nação, 1949.

SANTOS, J. R. Q. *As Missões Jesuítico-Guaranis.* In: BOEIRA, Nelson; GOLIN, Tau (Org.). *Colônia* (Coleção História Geral do Rio Grande do Sul, v.1). Passo Fundo: Méritos, 2006.

SANTOS, J. R. Q.; OSÓRIO, Getúlio Xavier. *A ação dos bandeirantes no Tapê (1636-1641).* Veritas – Revista Trimestral da PUCRS. Porto Alegre: PUCRS, 1987.

SCHMITZ, Pedro Ignacio (Org.). *As casas subterrâneas de São José do Cerrito.* São Leopoldo: Instituto Anchietano de Pesquisas, 2014.

SZYKULSKI, Józef. *Chrystianizacja obszaru Imperium Tawantisuyu*

(Inków). *Synkretyz kulturowy i dylemat walki z idolatrią*. In: DZIEDUSZYCKI, Wojciech; WRZESIŃSKI, Jacek (Org.). *Chrzest – przemiany religijne, kulturowe i sepulkralne*. Funeralia Lednickie – Spotkanie 19. Poznań: Stowarzyszenie Naukowe Archeologów Polskich, 2017.

SPOSITO, Fernanda. *Santos, heróis ou demônios? Sobre as relações entre índios, jesuítas e colonizadores na América Meridional (São Paulo e Paraguai / Rio da Prata, séculos XVI e XVII)*. Tese de doutorado apresentada ao Programa de Pós-Graduação em História Social da Faculdade de Filosofia, Letras e Ciências Humanas da Universidade de São Paulo. São Paulo: USP, 2012.

TECHO, Nicolas del. *Historia de la Provincia del Paraguay de la Compañía de Jesús*. Versión del texto latino por Manuel Serrano y Sans. Tomo Tercero. Asunción: Madrid Librería y Casa Editorial A. de Uribe y Compañía, 1897.

TECHO, Nicolas del. *Historia de la Provincia del Paraguay de la Compañía de Jesús*. Versión del texto latino por Manuel Serrano y Sans. Tomo Cuatro. Asunción: Madrid Librería y Casa Editorial A. de Uribe y Compañía, 1897.

TESCHAUER, Carlos. *História do Rio Grande do Sul dos dois primeiros séculos*. Porto Alegre: Selbach, v.1, 1918; v. 2, 1919; v. 3, 1921.

TESCHAUER, Carlos. *Porandúba Riograndense*. Porto Alegre: Livraria do Globo, 1929.UESSLER, Cláudia de Oliveira. *Sítios arqueológicos de assentamentos fortificados Ibero-Americanos na Região Platina Oriental*. Tese de Doutorado apresentada no Programa de Pós-Graduação de História, Faculdade de Filosofia e Ciências Humanas da Pontifícia Universidade Católica do Rio Grande do Sul. Porto Alegre: PUCRS, 2006.

VIANNA, Hélio (Org.). *Jesuítas e Bandeirantes no Uruguai (1611-1758)*. Manuscritos da Coleção de Angelis. Volume IV. Rio de Janeiro: Biblioteca Nacional, 1970.

VICROSKI, Fabricio José Nazzari. *O Alto Jacuí na Pré-História: Subsídios para uma Arqueologia das Fronteiras*. Dissertação de Mestrado. Programa de Pós-Graduação em História da Universidade de Passo Fundo. Passo Fundo: UPF, 2011.

VICROSKI, Fabricio José Nazzari. *Índios, jesuítas e bandeirantes no Alto Jacuí: implicações históricas e geopolíticas da redução de Santa Teresa del Curiti*. Passo Fundo: Acervus Editora, 2021.

INDEX

A

Acaray 28
Afonso d'E. Taunay 53
African 50
Alfredo Ellis Junior 49, 53, 63,
66, 67, 75, 84
Alto Jacuí 7, 8, 12, 16, 17, 23, 72,
89, 94
Alto Paraguay 29
Alto Uruguay 7
Amadeu Fagundes de Oliveira
Freitas 73, 86
Amadeu Freitas 88
Amazon 16, 20
André Fernandes 12, 57, 58,
66, 70, 71, 72, 75, 76, 82, 83, 85,
86, 93
Antas 45, 58
Antônio Bernal 55, 60
Antonio Palermo 70
Antônio Pedroso 74

Antônio Raposo Tavares 57, 59
Antonio Ruiz de Montoya 63
Apiterebi 88
Apóstoles 39, 63, 70, 71, 74
Apóstoles San Pedro y San Pablo
38
Aracambi 53, 54, 56
Archaeological knowledge 42
archaeological research 56
Argentina 28, 79
Aurélio Porto 33, 53, 59, 66, 67,
80
Azores 19

B

Baixo Jacuí 53
bandeira 78
bandeirante 44, 49
bandeirantes 11, 15, 24, 29, 93,
94
Bandeirantes 69

Bandeirantes geopolitical
interests 87
bandeiras 29, 49, 89
Baron of Rio Branco 88
Barra do Rio Grande 20, 45, 58
Basílio de Magalhães 66
Battle of M'bororé 12, 77, 79
Battle of M'Bororé 78
Belchior Dias Carneiro 53
Benedictines 26
Bilreiro Indians 53
Bolivia 28
Bueno, Preto 66
Buenos Aires 19, 30, 79

C

Caaçapamini 31
Caaguá 54, 57, 59, 78
Caamo 56, 58, 78
Caamome 58
Caapi 45
Caapy 32
Caaró 74
caboclo 83, 87, 93, 94
caboclos 87
Cafruni 87
Cafruni, 67
cafuso 83
Caibi 27
Campo do Meio 58
Campo Erê 73, 88
Campos de Cima da Serra 66
Campos de Cima de Serra 57
Campos de Lages 57
Campos de Vacaria 56, 58
Campos de Viamão 21
Canaries 19
Candelaria 69, 74
Candelária 31, 63
Cariroí 58
Carmelites 26

Cartas Ânuas 13
Castile 83
Castilian Court 19
Castilians 52
Catholicism 22
Central Brazil 17
Chile 28
Christian evangelization 15
Christianization 36
Cláudia Uessler 72
Claudio Acquaviva 28
Cláudio Ruyer 78
Collection de Angelis 53, 78, 80
Company of Jesus 31
conquests 49
conversion and catechizing
indigenous peoples 9
Córdoba 28
Corrientes 44, 52
Cortesão 28
Council of Trento 23
Counter-Reformation 23
Cristóbal de Mendoza 44, 56
cultural frontier zone 8
Cunha Gago 66
Curiti 32, 40, 67
Curitiba 40

D

Diego de Boroa 30, 44, 54, 55,
59, 61, 62
Diogo de Alfaro 68
D. Juan Blázquez de Valverde 76
Dom Francisco de Céspedes 31
Domingo Farto 76
Domingos Cordeiro 76
Dom Pedro Esteban Dávila 39
Don Francisco Álvarez de
Toledo 10
Don Thomas Potira 81
Dutch 83

Dutch invasions in the
Northeast 52

E

economic cycle of yerba mate 94
Eliane Fleck 46
encomenderos españoles 10
encomiendas 10, 43
enslavement 27
entrances 49
Epidemics 46
Erechim 2
Ernesto Maeder 28
ethnic-cultural frontier zone 34
expeditions 49

F

Felipe IV 63, 76
Fernanda Sposito 48, 85
Fernão de Camargo 53
Fernão Dias Paes Leme 76
Franciscans 26
Francisco Bueno 66
Francisco Cordeiro 80
Francisco de Paiva 74
Francisco Dias Taño 46, 55, 63
Francisco Fernandes de Oliveira 72, 75, 76
Francisco Ximenez 11, 38, 39, 40, 44, 68, 81
French 19
French Revolution 22

G

genesis of the caboclo 93
geoeconomic factors 93
geoeconomic factors of the
bandeiras 72
geoeconomic factors of the

bandeiras of the Tape 86
Gerónimo Porcel 38
Gobernación del Río de la Plata 30
González 31
Grover Cleveland 88
Guaíba 20, 45, 52, 58
Guaira 29
Guairá 28, 45, 54, 55
Gualachos 39, 41
Guañana 12
Guañanas 41
Guaporé 41, 45
Guaraé 40
Guarani 12, 20, 29, 39, 50, 56, 58, 80, 82
Guarani exodus 79, 94
Guayanas 41
Guebirenda 57, 58
guerrilla conflicts 59

H

herbal zone 12
hereditary captaincies 19
Hernandarias de Saavedra 29
Holy Inquisition Court 23
hunter-gatherers 8

I

Iberian Crowns 17, 21
Iberian explorers 20
Iberian Peninsula 16
Iberian Union 84
Ibiaça 33
Ibicuí 30, 31, 32, 33, 37
Ibiraiaras 53
Ibirajaras 41, 53
Ibiraparobi 45
Ibitiru 39
Igai 12, 13, 77, 84, 87, 88, 89, 93

Igay 40
 Ignatius of Loyola 23
 Iguaçu 29
 Ijuí 30, 31, 33
 Ijuí River 20
 indigenous people 15
 indigenous populations 50
 influenza 46
 Itatim 29
 Itu 67

J

Jacuí 20, 30, 37
 Jacuí River 33, 40, 58
 Jaeger 67
 Jaime Cortesão 26, 57, 72, 86
 Japeju 80, 81
 Japejú 30, 31
 Jê 8, 12, 16, 39, 57, 78, 80, 87
 Jê linguistic trunk 41
 Jerónimo Bueno 66
 Jerônimo Pedroso de Barros 76, 77
 Jesuit 15
 Jesuit Province of Brazil 28
 Jesuit Province of Paraguay 9, 33, 108
 Jesuit Province of Peru 28
 Jesuits 10, 24, 35
 Jesus-Maria 55, 56, 59, 61
 Jê territoriality 94
 João Preto 66
 Józef Szykowski 36
 Juan de Cárdenas 55, 60
 Juan de Hornos 76
 Juan de Salas 40, 68
 Juan Suarez de Toledo 44
 Júlio Quevedo 25

K

Kaingang 7, 41
 King Felipe II 29

L

La Concepción 30
 Lagoa dos Patos 20, 45, 58
 Laguna 53, 54
 Laklânô 7, 41
 leprosy 46
 Lisbon 16, 18
 Litterae annuae 61
 Litterae Annuae 13, 42, 47, 67
 Litterae Annuae de la Provincia Jesuitica del Paraguay, 1632-1634 92
 Luiz Dias Leme 53
 Luso-Brazilians 52

M

Madeira 19
 Madrid 76
 malaria 46
 malocas 49
 maloqueiros 49
 mameluco 83
 mamelucos 45, 49, 55, 56, 66, 68
 Manuel Pires 76, 77
 Manuel Preto 66, 80
 Martim Afonso 18
 Martim Afonso de Souza 18
 Martin Luther 22
 Mártires 63
 Mato Castelhana 58
 Mato Grosso 28
 Mato Português 58
 Mboapari 45, 58
 Mbocariroi 45
 Mbocariroy 41

M'bororé 77
 measles 46
 Mercantilism 16
 miscegenation 94
 Mission 9
 mixed-race merchants 50
 Modencaá 58
 Mola 38
 Montoya 47, 69, 76
 mus 45

N

Natividad 61, 62
 Nheenguirú 31, 75
 Nicolas del Techo 38
 Nicolás del Techo 86
 Nicolás Neenguirú 37
 Nuestra Señora de los Santos
 Reyes Magos de Yapeyú 30

O

Olyntho Sanmartin 48, 67

P

Pablo Hernández 86
 Palmas Question 88
 Pampean people 81
 Paraguay 28, 50
 Paraná 28, 54
 Paranapanema 28
 Parapopi 45, 59
 Pardo 58
 Pascoal da Ribeira 80
 Passo Fundo 2
 paulistas 12, 49
 Paulistas 54
 Pedro Mola 38, 56, 60, 63, 78
 Pedro Romero 37, 38, 39, 44,
 60, 78
 Pelotas River 54, 57

Pero Lopes 18
 Peru 83
 Pinhais 12
 Pirajubi 85
 Piratini 31, 33
 Piratininga 49, 53, 54, 55
 plague 46
 Plata region 19
 Pope Urban VIII 63
 Porcel 38, 39
 Porto dos Casais 21
 Portugal 17
 Portuguese 18
 Portuguese America 19
 Portuguese-Brazilian
 bandeirantes 10
 Portuguese-Brazilian
 commercial interests 72
 Portuguese-Brazilian elite 54
 Portuguese from São Paulo 49
 Posto dos Pinhais 72
 Potosí 29, 83
 Presidio and Forte de Jesus-
 Maria-José 84
 Protestantism 23
 Protestant Reformation 23
 Protestants 23
 Province of Brazil 24
 Province of Paraguay 26, 29
 Province of Tape 82
 province of the Río de la Plata
 31
 Province of the Tape 33, 35, 36
 Provincia Jesuítica del Paraguay
 28
 Provincia Jesuítica del Perú 28
 pueblo de los piñales 47
 pueblos misioneros 10, 24, 36

R

Raposo Tavares 59, 61, 66, 82,

86, 93
 reduction 9
 Reformed 23
 Rego Monteiro 31
 Rio de Janeiro 27, 76
 Río de la Plata 18, 19, 20, 21, 28
 Río de la Plata basin 17
 Rio Grande 20
 Rio Grande da Alagoa 20
 Rio Grande de São Pedro 20,
 21, 84
 Rio Grande do Sul 7, 13, 16, 18,
 21, 28, 33, 72, 91
 Rio Pardo 84
 Roman Catholic church 22
 Roman Catholics 23
 Rome 63, 76
 Romero 37, 38, 44, 45
 Roque González 30, 31

S

Sacramento Colony 87
 Salas 42
 Salto do Yucumã 78
 San Carlos 39, 63, 74
 San Carlos del Caapy 38
 San Cristóbal 61
 San Francisco Javier 81
 San Joachim 39, 61, 69
 San Nicolás del Piratini 32
 Santa Catarina 19, 27, 28, 57, 73
 Santa Maria 18
 Sant'Ana 61
 Santana de Parnaíba 67, 75
 Santa Teresa 12, 34, 35, 37, 39,
 42, 44, 46, 71, 74
 Santa Teresa del Curiti 11, 40,
 91, 94, 108
 Santa Teresa de los Piñales y
 Yerbaçales 47
 Santa Teresa do Igai 72

Santa Teresa dos Pinhais 72
 San Tomé 81
 São Nicolau 32
 São Paulo 12, 27
 São Pedro do Rio Grande 20
 São Vicente 19, 55
 Serra do Mar 33
 Serra Geral 57
 sertanistas 12, 49, 67
 Sertão dos Patos 53
 sickness 46
 Simon Maçeta 81, 83
 slave 12
 slave trade 12
 smallpox 46
 Society of Jesus 23, 25, 26, 27,
 55
 soldiers of Christ 25
 Sorocaba 67
 Spain 17
 Spanish 18
 Spanish king Felipe II 28
 Spanish-Portuguese conflict
 zone 8
 Sposito 50
 syphilis 46
 Szykowski 26, 36

T

Tabacan 31
 Taiaçuapé 85
 Taño 76
 Tape 12, 13, 29, 30, 33, 41
 Taquari 45, 58, 68, 71
 Tau Golin 24, 42, 83
 Tebicuari 44, 58
 Tebiquari 45, 58
 Techo 67
 teko 43
 Teschauer 67, 69
 The bandeirantes fortification

system 88
the fortress of Santa Teresa do
Igaí 83
The Igaí camp 93
Tordesillas Meridian 84
Treaty of Madrid 88
Treaty of Tordesillas 17, 19, 48
tropeirismo 88, 94
tuberculosis 46
tubixá 43
Tupamini 38, 40
Tupi 60, 67, 77, 78, 80, 83
Tupi-Guarani 8, 16
Tupi Indians 49
typhus 46

U

Union of Iberian Crowns 26
United States 88
Upper Uruguay 20
Urbano VIII 76
Uruguay
country 28
Uruguay River 11, 22, 30, 33

V

Vacaria 66
Vacaria dos Pinhais 88, 94
Vatican 23
Vila de Laguna 21
Vila de São Paulo 49
Vila de São Paulo de Piratininga
49

X

Ximenes 45
Ximenez 38, 42, 45, 58, 72
Xokleng 7, 41

Y

Yaguaritês 32
Ybiticarai 32
yellow fever 46
yerba mate 11
Ygayriapipe 58
Ytaguatia 32

In the 17th century, the Iberian Crowns went to South America with the desire to expand their territorial domains. In these circumstances, the action of the Jesuit missionaries and the creation of the Jesuit Province of Paraguay were used as expansion fronts in service of the colonial policy. The method adopted for the development of the Spanish conquest and catechization project was based on the implementation of the reduction system. The indigenous people understood the alternative presented by the Jesuits as a survival strategy.

It was in this context that the Jesuit reduction of *Santa Teresa del Curiti* was founded in 1632 in the northwest region of the current Brazilian state of Rio Grande do Sul. In 1637, the reduction was invaded by *bandeirantes* (Portuguese-Brazilian slave hunters). In its place, they founded an enclave that was consolidated as the pole for the Portuguese-Brazilian slave explorers of Rio Grande do Sul in the 17th century. It is estimated that about 30 thousand indigenous people have been subjugated. Tens of thousands more were disassembled, killed or emigrated.

