LOS INDIOS, PRÁCTICOS DE SUS PAÍSES, E INTELIGENTES DE OTRAS PLANTAS¹ [...]: THE INDIGENOUS KNOWLEDGE ACCORDING TO JOSÉ SÁNCHEZ LABRADOR S. J. ON THE BOTANY VOLUME FROM THE BOOK PARAGUAY NATURAL ILUSTRADO

Mariana Alliatti Joaquim

University of Utah, Salt Lake City, Utah, USA
mari.alliatti@gmail.com

In this article I analyze the manuscript Paraguay Natural Ilustrado, written by the Jesuit José Sánchez Labrador between 1771 and 1776, while he was exiled in Ravenna, Italy. This work, located at the General Archive of the Society of Jesus (ARSI), is divided into four volumes in which we found the author's perceptions about the American nature from the Jesuit Province of Paraguay, where he was stationed as a missionary between 1734 and 1767. This article focuses on the second volume—which deals with Botany—and explores Sánchez Labrador's writing through the intertextuality presented in that volume, including authorities of the Natural History in the 18th century. We also want to understand the «possession» of indigenous knowledge, related to the healing practices adopted by these indigenous peoples.

KEYWORDS: *Paraguay Natural Ilustrado, José Sánchez Labrador, Society of Jesus, Intertextuality, Indigenous Knowledge.*

**LOS INDIOS, PRÁCTICOS DE SUS PAÍSES, E INTELIGENTES DE OTRAS PLANTAS [...]:
LOS CONOCIMIENTOS INDÍGENAS SEGÚN JOSÉ SÁNCHEZ LABRADOR S. J. EN EL TOMO DE
BOTÁNICA DEL LIBRO PARAGUAY NATURAL ILUSTRADO**

En este artículo analizo el manuscrito Paraguay Natural Ilustrado, escrito por el jesuita José Sánchez Labrador entre 1771 y 1776, durante su exilio en Ravenna, Italia. Esta obra, ubicada

1. «The Indians, practitioners of their countries, and intelligent of other plants».

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en el Archivo General de la Compañía de Jesús (ARSI), se divide en cuatro volúmenes en los que encontramos la percepción del autor sobre la naturaleza americana de la Provincia Jesuítica del Paraguay, donde actuó como misionero entre 1734 y 1767. Este artículo se centra en el segundo volumen —que trata sobre Botánica— e investiga la escritura de Sánchez Labrador a través de la intertextualidad presentada en ese volumen, incluyendo autoridades de la *Historia Natural* en el siglo XVIII. También pretendemos entender la «posesión» del conocimiento indígena, relacionado con las prácticas curativas adoptadas por estos pueblos.

PALABRAS CLAVE: Paraguay *Natural Ilustrado*, José Sánchez Labrador, SJ, intertextualidad, conocimiento indígena.

1. Introduction

The Jesuit missionaries acted through diverse forms in the *América Platina*, not only with the intention to evangelize, but also to produce knowledge about the New World. Among those Fathers, we highlight the Spanish Jesuit José Sánchez Labrador, who acted as a missionary in the Jesuitical Province of Paraguay between 1734 and 1767. This Jesuit's wide experience and the observation on American nature resulted in the writing of the book *Paraguay Natural Ilustrado*, still available only in the format of handwritten manuscript and not much explored by scholars up until recently. This paper's object of analysis is the second volume of this work —versed on Botany— since its richness in detail permits a study that goes beyond the content and the information presented by the author, focusing on an analysis of the book's writing and intertextuality, especially when it comes to indigenous lore observed by this Spanish Jesuit.

José Sánchez Labrador was born in La Guardia, city of La Mancha, Toledo, on September 19th, 1714 or 1717. He joined the Society of Jesus in October of 1731, according to Ruiz Moreno,² and in September of 1732, according to Sainz Ollero *et al.*³ and to O'Neill and Domínguez.⁴ He traveled to *Río de la Plata* between 1733 and 1734, accompanying the Father Procurator Antonio Machoni.⁵ From 1734 to 1739, Sánchez Labrador

2. Moreno, Aníbal Ruiz, *La Medicina en «el Paraguay Natural» (1771-1776) del P. José Sánchez Labrador S. J.: Exposición comentada del texto original*, Tucumán, Universidad Nacional de Tucumán, 1948.

3. Sainz Ollero, Héctor, Helios Sainz Ollero, Francisco Suárez Cardona y Miguel Vázquez de Castro Otáñón, *José Sánchez Labrador y los naturalistas jesuitas del Río de la Plata*, Madrid, Mopu, 1989.

4. O'Neill, Charles E., SJ & Joaquín M.^a Domínguez, SJ, *Diccionario Histórico de la Compañía de Jesús: Biográfico-Temático*, v. IV, Roma, Institutum Historicum, Madrid, Universidad Pontificia Comillas, 2001, p. 3492.

5. Antonio Machoni, or Macioni (1672-1753), was born in Iglesias (Cagliari, Cerdeña), Italy. He joined the Society of Jesus in November 1688, traveling to the Paraguay Missions in 1698. He participated on the expedition to the Chaco, organized by the Spanish Governor of Tucumán, Esteban de Urizar, in 1708. Machoni acted at San Antonio de Valbuena reduction and, according to Asúa, founded the reduction of San Esteban de Miraflores in 1711. Cf. Asúa, Miguel de, *Science in the Vanished Arcadia: Knowledge of Nature in the Jesuit*

studied Philosophy and Theology at the University of Córdoba⁶ and, between 1744 and 1749, he worked as a professor in the same city. Between 1751 and 1759, Sánchez Labrador alternated his missionary work at the Guaraní reductions with classes of Theology that he taught in Asunción.⁷ He acted in about fourteen reductions, where coexisted with the Guaranis, Zamucos, Chiquitos, Guanás, Mbayás and Guaicurús indigenous groups. On August, 14th, 1767, as Furlong⁸ affirms, when Sánchez Labrador was returning from an exploring travel, he was informed about the expulsion⁹ decree of the Jesuits from Spain and its colonies. In 1768, Sánchez Labrador arrived in Italy,¹⁰ settling himself in

Missions of Paraguay and Río de la Plata, Scientific and Learned Cultures and Their Institutions 11, Leiden/Boston, Brill, 2014, p. 25. In 1728, he was elected Procurator of the Province in Spain and Rome and, while in Europe, published *Arte y vocabulario de la lengua Lule y Tonocoté*. Machoni returned to *Río de la Plata* with other 66 missionaries, accompanied by procurator San Martín, in 1734, acting as a master of novices until being designated Provincial of the Jesuitical Province of Paraguay in 1739, until 1743. Antonio Machoni died in Córdoba de Tucumán in July, 25th of 1753. Cf. O'Neill, C. E., SJ & J. M.^a Domínguez, SJ, *Diccionario...*, cit., v. III, 2001, p. 2458.

6. The city of Córdoba was founded in 1573, by the Spanish Jerônimo Luiz de Cabrera, Viceroy of Peru and Governor of Tucumán. Due to favorable geographic and climatic conditions, this place became the center of the Jesuitical Province of Paraguay administration. For this reason, on June 19th, 1613, one School was founded to propitiate Latin, Arts and Theology studies, «This house of higher studies, structured as a university, was recognized as such ten years later [1623], shortly before the first graduation». Cf. Fraschini, Alfredo, *Index librorum Bibliothecae Collegii Maximi Cordubensis Societatis Iesu*, Córdoba, Universidad Nacional de Córdoba, 2005, p. 2. Regarding this aspect, Franzen also says «It was necessary to form frames capable to take forward the evangelizing work. A lot of Jesuits came from Europe without finishing their studies and it was necessary to complete them; Cf. Franzen, Beatriz Vasconcelos, *Jesuítas portugueses e espanhóis no sul do Brasil e Paraguai coloniais*, São Leopoldo, Editora Unisinos, 2005, p. 52. The reading and writing school transformed itself in one College, which curriculum aimed Humanistic and Theological formation». After one period when formation activities were transferred to Santiago, Chile, the Jesuitical School retook its functions in Córdoba, in 1614, to become, in 1621, University of Córdoba, receiving Pope Gregorio XV's and Spanish King Felipe III's authorization and, then, offering Arts and Theology courses. Cf. Fleck, Eliane Cristina Deckmann & Roberto Poletto, «Transcrição do Inventário formado por Lorenzo Infante Boticário em la Ciudad de Córdoba de los bienes medicinales, Julio de 1772», *IHS. Antiguos jesuitas en Iberoamérica*, vol. 1, Córdoba, 2013, pp. 162-247.

7. O'Neill, C. E. SJ & J. M.^a Domínguez, SJ, *Diccionario...*, cit., p. 3492.

8. Furlong, Guillermo, *Naturalistas Argentinos durante la dominacion Hispanica*, Buenos Aires, Editorial Huapes, 1948.

9. The Jesuits expulsion from Spain and its colonial areas happened in 1767, whilst their properties were confiscated, in compliance with February 27th's Decree, signed by King Carlos III. The expulsion of the Society of Jesus was part of one group of reforms made by the Spanish Crown, known as the *Bourbonic Reforms*, which aimed extending the Royal power's control over the dominions overseas. Before Carlos III, another *enlightened despot*, Don Jose I, King of Portugal, expelled the Jesuits from his domains, in 1759, also wanting to subordinate the Clergy to the State. The Jesuits, besides being accused of trying to build a state inside the State and conspiring against the Spanish Government, were unpopular among other religious orders. Thus, Jesuits were vulnerable because of their independency and their lack of root within Spanish-American society. Cf. Schwartz, Stuart & James Lockhart, *A América Latina na época colonial*, Rio de Janeiro, Civilização Brasileira, 2002.

10. José Sanchez Labrador and other circa of two thousand Jesuits expelled from the Spanish America were exiled and settled in other European locations. Priests from the Viceregal of *Río de la Plata* were the last ones to leave reductions, due to difficulties in finding substitutes. They were only removed from their houses between June and August of 1768. Documents found with the Jesuits were confiscated with the purpose of finding evidences about their activities; for that reason they were authorized to travel only with their clothes and breviaries. The Jesuits were taken, in precarious conditions, to Córsega, from where they were sent to Faenza, Ravenna, Brisighella and Imola cities. One letter dated of August 21th, 1768, from Puntales (Cádiz), has

Ravenna, where he passed 30 years in exile. During this period he focused on the writing of his main books, *Paraguay Católico*,¹¹ published in 1910, *Paraguay Natural Ilustrado*, still not published, and *Paraguay Cultivado*,¹² which has unknown whereabouts. Sánchez Labrador died in Ravenna, on October 10th, 1798.

Paraguay Natural Ilustrado was originally written between 1771 and 1776 and is only found in manuscript format at the General Archive of the Society of Jesus (ARSI), in Rome. The work has four parts and each of them is divided in «books». The first part has three books: *Diversity of grounds and terrestrial bodies*; *Water and several things belonging to it*; and *Air, winds, seasons of the year, weather of these countries and the most common diseases*. The second part deals specifically with *Botany*.¹³ The third is divided in the following books: *Quadruped animals*; *Birds*; and *Fishes*. The last part of the manuscript has the *Amphibian animals*; *Reptile animals*; and *Insects* books.

Authors like Moreno,¹⁴ Furlong,¹⁵ Barcelos¹⁶ and Sainz Ollero *et al.*¹⁷ give attention to the fact that *Paraguay Natural Ilustrado* is a huge evidence of Sánchez Labrador's erudition and deep knowledge about Natural History. The large number of citations to contemporary authors and the presence of reputed references are important features of this work, as well as the discussions made by Sánchez Labrador with these authors, using them for corroborating his own assertions. It is clear that, in Ravenna, Sánchez Labrador

a list with 150 Jesuits who had left Buenos Aires in one frigate called *Esmeralda*, which took them back to Europe, commanded by Mateo del Collado Neto. Sánchez Labrador had his name cited among the missionaries who came from the Jesuitical Province of Paraguay. Cf. Sainz Ollero *et al.*, *José Sánchez Labrador y ... cit.*

11. *Paraguay Católico en sus principales Provincias reducidas a la Santa Fe y vassalage del Rey de Espana por la predicación de los Misioneros zelosos de la Compañía de Jesús: en gran parte arruinadas por los Mamelucos del Brasil y restablecidas por los mismos Misioneros* can be found, in its original format, scattered between two institutions, the Royal Academy of History in Madrid and the Historic Provincial Archive of Society of Jesus in Toledo. One of its parts probably was lost in the decade of 1960, because it was sold by the Argentinian editors who owned the piece. Sainz Ollero found, in the Royal Academy of History in Madrid, two volumes of the book (Volumes I and II), while the third volume was found in the Historic Provincial Archive of Society of Jesus in Toledo. Sainz Ollero *et al.*, *José Sánchez Labrador y..., cit.*

12. *Paraguay Cultivado's* whereabouts is unknown since 1878, when the manuscript was auctioned by House Maisonneuve, and now it can be part of any European family particular collection. The only information about the manuscript that we could find are in Sainz Ollero *et al.*, *José Sánchez Labrador y..., cit.*, who found the auction catalog in which the book was sold. According to these authors, the description of the manuscript said that it was composed of four parts: Part 1 - 5 books: *On the tillage of the lands*. Part 2 - 4 books: *On tree orchards*. Part 3 - 1 book: *On vegetables and legumes*. Part 4 - 2 books: *Gardens and a curious appendix of several terms with several instructions*.

13. The second volume of *Paraguay Natural Ilustrado* has circa 520 pages and is divided in seven books: I. *Botany or on the plants in general*; II. *Jungles, fields and prairies of Paraguay*; III. *On the trees in particular*. IV. *Palms, tunas and reeds*; V. *Vines and other vegetation*; VI. *Small trees, scrub and herbs*; VII. *Some utilities and curiosities*. Year of 1772.

14. Moreno, A. R., *La Medicina...*, *cit.*

15. Furlong, G., *Naturalistas...*, *cit.*

16. Barcelos, Arthur Henrique Franco, *O Mergulho no Seculum: exploração, conquista e organização espacial jesuítica na América espanhola colonial*, Tese de Doutorado, Pontifícia Universidade Católica do Rio Grande do Sul (PUCRS), Porto Alegre, 2006.

17. Sainz Ollero *et al.*, *José Sánchez Labrador y..., cit.*

had access to a significant number of books, works and reports of other Jesuits and that the information obtained in these sources was a determining factor for his writings. As a result of the fact that the Jesuit was impeded to take with him his notes—or at least most part of them—¹⁸ one can say that the large number of citations was a resource that Sánchez Labrador adopted to complete the information that he could not access using only his memories.

2. The Jesuits' natural histories and the authorities for Sánchez Labrador

The writing process of *Paraguay Natural Ilustrado* is part of not only the style of the Jesuits in exile, but also of the scope of the Natural History model of writing of 18th century. Even though Sánchez Labrador's work has its particularities, the author sought to fit his writing to the scientific milieu, especially in terms of dialoging with authors who had knowledge in Natural History in this period. On the one hand, the 18th century was marked by great transformations in science, mostly due to the dissemination of Enlightenment¹⁹ ideals, and on the other hand by scientific and intellectual fields still influenced

18. Sainz Ollero did a tireless search for Sánchez Labrador's handwritten works in several archives and reported difficulties on identifying and locating these works. Based on their search, they state that «The initial surprise we found on this case is the practically certainty that Sánchez Labrador could, in spite of Bucareli's orders took with him part of his writings to the Italian exile». Cf. Sainz Ollero *et al.*, *José Sánchez Labrador y...*, *cit.*, p. 106. The authors cannot determine how many writings Sánchez Labrador could take with him to the exile, neither explain surely on what circumstances he received this permission. Sainz Ollero *et al.* only affirm that the conditions of the withdrawal of the Jesuits from Asuncion was much quieter than in other cities of the Jesuitical Province of Paraguay. These authors also point the existence of a possible relationship between Sánchez Labrador and Francisco Bucareli y Ursúa, Lieutenant General and Governor of Paraguay in this period. According to them, Bucareli was not in favor of the Society of Jesus, but kept a cordial relationship with some Jesuits with the goal, probably, of benefitting from valuable information. In one report made by Sánchez Labrador about his arrival at the Santa María Port we can perceive his relationship with the Governor because the Jesuit affirms that he did a discovery travel to the Chiquitos» Missions, about which he made notes and maps, and after remarks that «[...] the excellent sir Don Francisco Bucareli y Ursúa [...] asked the exact map which was totally given to the Ex. who offered to send it to your Majesty» [our griffin]. Cf. Sánchez Labrador apud Sainz Ollero *et al.*, *José Sánchez Labrador y...*, *cit.*, p. 107. This excerpt allows us to think about the possibility that Sánchez Labrador received permission to take his writings to the exile by the Governor of Buenos Aires, Bucareli, in exchange to his notes, maps and information about the exploratory expedition he made and that resulted on a new route, faster and safer, from Asuncion to the Chiquitos» territory. The description of this exploratory travel is in his diary called *Viagem desde la reducción de Nuestra Señora de Belén de indios guaycurúes hasta las misiones de los chiquitos, año de 1766*. O'Neill and Domínguez wrote in their dictionary that Sánchez Labrador, in spite of the prohibition, «[...] could incomprehensibly take with him part of his writings to the exile». Cf. O'Neill, C. E., SJ & J. M.^a Domínguez, SJ, *Diccionario...*, *cit.*, v. IV, p. 3492. However, Sainz Ollero *et al.* and other authors believe that it is still difficult to know whether Sánchez Labrador could or could not travel to the exile with some of his notes, but they state that it is certain that most part of his works he had to write using mostly memories.

19. «The Enlightenment is one of the most important topics on the history of ideas, influencing all the mental structure of the contemporary west. As a concept, it was created by the German philosopher Immanuel Kant, in 1784, in order to define the dominant Philosophy in Western Europe in the 18th Century. The word Enlightenment comes from Clarification (Aufklärung, in the original German), used to designate the condition

by the 16th century ways of thinking. The Inquisition was still exercising vigilance and censorship on new ideas and Spanish universities followed, in general, a Scholastic doctrine based on the Classic discussions, which excluded experimentation ideas and the production of new hypotheses.²⁰ Del Valle affirms that the «18th century has been understood as the moment in which the areas that will be the progress, the reasoning and the knowledge were defined».²¹ The progress of these areas also had, as one of its effects, Eurocentrism, which means «placing Europe at the top of the universal hierarchy».²²

Natural History, a field to which the *Paraguay Natural Ilustrado* belongs, was one of the most developing fields during the 18th century with the influence of Enlightenment. According to Anagnostou and Fechner,²³ the expression «Natural History» refers to «[...] a paradigm with the same historic value of the subsequent which characterized the observation and the description of natural phenomena until ends of the 18th century». And one could not consider it as an insufficient or antiquated form of producing science, not even as a totally homogeneous methodology of observation and knowledge creation. The term «Natural History» surged from a work written by Plinio Segundo (23-79) called *Naturalis historia*, which was spread among Europe and modified over time.²⁴

The educational formation of the Society of Jesus' members was not bent to Natural History, because the most important subjects were Philosophy and Theology. Nevertheless, the Jesuits received instruction also in the areas of Natural Philosophy and stood out on Mathematics studies. Justo²⁵ highlights the fact that the development of these Natural studies on Jesuits' colleges and universities happened on an unequal and incomplete way: only some universities, in the center of Europe, had Mathematics courses containing Geometry or Sphere classes, and Cosmography, Geography, Ballistics and Constructions courses. Therefore, the Jesuits who were mathematicians, astronomers and who contributed to the development of Modern Science were still a minority within the Society of Jesus during the 18th century. «Notwithstanding, there is no doubt on the importance of the natural philosopher Jesuits and their participation on the Century debates in the called "Scientific Revolution"».²⁶

in which the man, the humanity, was autonomous. This situation could only be possible if, according to the Enlightenment, each individual thought for himself using reason». Cf. Silva, Kalina Vanderlei & Maciel Henrique Silva, *Dicionário de conceitos históricos*, São Paulo, Contexto, 2009, p. 210.

20. Sainz Ollero *et al.*, *José Sánchez Labrador y...*, *cit.*, 1989.

21. Del Valle, Ivonne, *Escribiendo desde los márgenes: colonialismo y jesuitas en el siglo XVIII*, México, Siglo XXI, 2009, p. 37.

22. *Ibidem*, p. 44.

23. Anagnostou, Sabine & Fabian Fechner, «Historia Natural y Farmácia Misionera entre los Jesuitas en el Paraguay», In Guillermo Wilde (ed.), *Saberes de la conversión. Jesuitas, indígenas e Imperios coloniales en las fronteras de la Cristiandad*, Buenos Aires, Editorial Sb, 2011, p. 176.

24. Anagnostou, S. & F. Fechner, *Saberes...cit.*

25. Justo, María de la Soledad, «Paraguay y los debates jesuíticos sobre la inferioridad de la naturaleza americana», In Wilde, Guillermo (ed.), *Saberes de la conversión. Jesuitas, indígenas e Imperios coloniales en las fronteras de la Cristiandad*, Buenos Aires, Editorial Sb, 2011.

26. Justo, M. S., *Saberes...*, *cit.*, p. 158.

The missionary Jesuits sent to America, like Sánchez Labrador, had as their main function the indigenous peoples' evangelization. However, although their knowledge on Natural History was not so profound and the natural world study was not their main focus, some members of the Society of Jesus stood out on scientific works that contributed on the disclosure of knowledge about the New World. Father José de Acosta²⁷ was one of the most outstanding Natural Historian Jesuits because of his *Historia natural y moral de las Indias* (Natural and Moral History of the New World), published in 1590. This work became standard of Natural History writing among Society of Jesus members in terms of rhetoric and methodology, especially for those who have acted on the Jesuit Province of Paraguay. Acosta's work received a widespread disclosure, being widely utilized as an encyclopedia by other Jesuits who, after him, traveled to America. His work's principal goal was to evidence one correlation between the Classic erudition, related with the Bible and the sacred way of writing, and the new experiences provided by the contact with the New World. Asúa states that Acosta's work can be considered the programmatic source of the Spanish Jesuits' approach on New World's nature, even though it was conceived as an introduction to a missionary treatise on the Jesuit style of mission in Spanish America.²⁸

Anagnostou and Fechner state that Father José de Acosta «more than simply compiles and merges this knowledge with his solid lore in Philosophy and writing, the author confronts and compares the tradition with the dialectical experience and develops one new “method of understanding”». ²⁹ The Jesuit proposed methodological changes of work that were slow and adaptable, besides the fact that he encouraged the Jesuit scientists to utilize the curiosity on their studies, something considered a sin since the Middle Age Philosophy. According to Barrera Osorio,³⁰ in the period when Acosta wrote, the natural scientists and other intellectuals saw themselves forced to reorganize the established epistemological models and to integrate new information and discoveries on their own cultural system.

The Jesuits' natural histories that resulted from their experiences in America cannot be considered entirely fitted on the template of enlightened Natural History. According to Asúa, the Jesuits' «[...] science was related to exploration, surveying, cataloguing, and describing plants and animals of the land, all of which they needed for reasons of survival and propagation of their religious message». ³¹ Their works on Natural History had an

27. José de Acosta (1539-1600) was a Jesuit born in Medina del Campo, Valladolid, Spain, who acted as a poet, cosmographer and Spanish historian. He traveled to Peru in 1571, acting as a missionary. Since 1575, Acosta became a consultant of the Holy Office and a Theology teacher at Colegio San Pablo and at San Marcos de Lima University, becoming, after, rector of *Colegio San Pablo* (1575) and Provincial of Peru (1576-1581). In 1586, he traveled to New Spain (Mexico), where he stayed a year and completed his best known work, *Historia natural y moral de las Indias*. Acosta died in Salamanca, Spain, on February 15th, 1600. Cf. O'Neill, C. E. SJ, & J. M.ª Domínguez, SJ, *Diccionario...*, cit., v. I, pp. 10-12.

28. Asúa, M., *Science in...*, cit., p. 1.

29. Anagnostou, S. & F. Fechner, *Saberes...*, cit., p. 178.

30. Barrera-Osorio, Antonio, *Experiencing nature: the Spanish American empire and the early scientific revolution*, Austin, University of Texas Press, 2006, p. 103.

31. Asúa, M., *Science in...*, cit, p. 1.

important function of producing information and knowledge, as stated by Del Valle, who says that the Jesuits were the ones who were actually there, in America, living with indigenous peoples and in «an environment full of “new” natural objects and thus waiting to be cataloged».³² In Asúa's point of view, the Jesuits' natural histories have several features, like their affinity with wonders and religious miracles, their hospitality to native languages and their dubiously critical criteria of evidence that made him argue that their works belong to Baroque. In short, their natural histories «were the result of the author's life experience in the tropical forest and as such reveal their preoccupations and interests».³³

Asúa also remarks that the natural histories written by Jesuits who acted on the Jesuit Province of Paraguay had a specific way of writing about this region's geography, land, climate, animals, plants and people. «As a rule, they consist of a series of chapters and constitute either complete treatises or, more frequently, form an integral part of a larger work».³⁴ This author distinguished three genre groups of these Jesuits' natural histories, based on criteria such as scope, language, authorial voice and chronology, which were: the chronicles, the memories and the encyclopedias. According to Asúa, Sánchez Labrador's *Paraguay Natural Ilustrado* fits in the third group and has the ambitious task of being *the* encyclopedia of Paraguay with most part of its books containing a summary of encyclopedic material.³⁵ Sánchez Labrador is also considered the most enlightened of the Jesuits writers of Natural History,³⁶ having his own way of organizing and presenting information in his *Paraguay Natural Ilustrado*, but maintaining the way of writing based on the Jesuitical education:

He [Sánchez Labrador] organized methodically his subject matter and under each heading rehearsed in scholastic fashion the opinions of different authors, discussed the pros and cons of each of them and ended by expounding what he considered the sound opinion. This was the basic layout of the education which he and his fellow Jesuits had gone through.³⁷

On analyzing the book's second volume, we found evidences indicating that Sánchez Labrador had a general plan to the works he intended to write. One can tell that this Jesuit employed a procedure of division and systematization of knowledge on the Jesuit Province of Paraguay that was not considered new and could not be dissociated from the context in which he wrote. De Certeau calls attention to the social, economic, political and religious changes that were consequences of the finding of the new world, and among them emerged another «writing and word operation».³⁸ With the advent of the Modern

32. Del Valle, I., *Escribiendo...*, cit., p. 52.

33. Asúa, M., *Science in...*, cit., p. 84.

34. *Ibidem*, p. 30.

35. *Ibidem*, p. 70.

36. *Ibidem*, p. 102.

37. *Ibidem*, p. 76.

38. Certeau, Michel de, *A escrita da história*, 3. ed. Rio de Janeiro, Forense, 2011, p. 223.

society there happened an epistemological and social differentiation that brought a division in the writing work, especially on travel reports describing the contact between the «savage man» and the «religious» tradition.

Besides this division, De Certeau highlights another distinction used by scholars of the 16th, 17th, and 18th centuries to organize their works, chiefly the ones describing the New World. This differentiation was between the ethnological «subject» and «object»: «In the text, it is traced by the difference between two literary forms: the one that «tells» about travels; the other that «describes» a natural and human landscape».³⁹ It is quite clear that Sánchez Labrador utilized this configuration to organize his works as part of an already planned whole: *Paraguay Católico* was destined to his ethnographic studies and travel reports, treating about his relation with indigenous groups and other inhabitants of Paraguay; while that *Paraguay Cultivado* and *Paraguay Natural Ilustrado* comprehended his descriptions and notes on Natural History, like Botany, Zoology, Geology, Agriculture, etc. Asúa states that Sánchez Labrador's works are an ambitious encyclopedia with more than ten manuscripts volumes and divided in three parts, and his work, understood as one, «[...] can be seen as an instance of the trend toward encyclopedic writing which took hold of the Jesuits after the suppression of the Society».⁴⁰

Paraguay Natural Ilustrado's second volume,⁴¹ as mentioned earlier, presents a wide number of citations and references to classic authors, from the Greek and Roman periods to authors contemporary to Sánchez Labrador and who, therefore, wrote during the 18th century. According to Asúa, Sánchez Labrador intended some kind of dialogue with the Moderns, with whose works he became acquainted through his readings, especially encyclopedias of Natural History and medical dictionaries.⁴² Thereby, examining the practice of citation among naturalists, medicals, chemicals, physicists and other intellectuals, especially between the 17th and 18th centuries, one can observe that the presence of certain names and works on scientific texts plays an essential role. Chartier⁴³ treats about the importance of establishing one central relation between the writing and the individual and collective readings made by the author, which will compound the final work, while the author needs to keep in mind his target audience:

Conceived as one open space to the multiple readings, the texts (but also all the categories of images) cannot then be seized neither as objects, whose distribution would be sufficiently determined, neither as entities, whose signification would be universal. The texts should be relat-

39. Certeau, M., *A escrita...*, cit., p. 244, author's griffin.

40. Asúa, M., *Science in...*, cit., p. 33.

41. In order to know more about Sánchez Labrador's *Paraguay Natural Ilustrado*, Second Volume, in the matter of writing and intertextuality see «Joaquim, Mariana Alliatti, «Yo en trabajar esta obra no he tendido la aprobación de ninguno [...]: uma análise da escrita do Tomo de Botânica da obra *Paraguay Natural Ilustrado* (1771-1776) de José Sánchez Labrador, SJ, Undergraduate final work in History, Universidade do Vale do Rio dos Sinos, 2016.

42. Asúa, M., *Science in...*, cit., p. 89.

43. Chartier, Roger, *À beira da falésia: a história entre incertezas e inquietude*, Porto Alegre, Ed. Universidade/UFRGS, 2002a.

ed to the *contradictory network of utilization* which constructs them historically. [our emphasis]⁴⁴

Ergo, one can verify that no text has an end in itself. It is built from categories, schemes of perception, appreciation and operating rules that refer only to its own production conditions, without being related with the real and its discursive models or intellectual cutouts.⁴⁵ According to Chartier, texts should be perceived also as reflexes of historical reality, being necessary to «[...] establish its specificity while *text situated in relation to others texts* and whose organization and form aim to produce something different than one description» [our emphasis].⁴⁶ Under this perspective, the writing practice obeys construction procedures, in which should exist concepts and opinions of its producers, besides the necessity of certain writing rules that are particular to the genre in which the text is inserted.

This premise that one text is formed by its relation with other texts is essential for comprehending the importance of different authors' names utilized in Sánchez Labrador's writings, using for this analysis Chartier's⁴⁷ study on «author-function» in the 17th and 18th centuries. According to the latter, on scientific texts elaboration, in this period, persisted one common characteristic of medieval writing, which was not considered of «true value» when texts did not bring author's marks, whose name should be placed in one position of knowledge «authority».⁴⁸ However, in the 16th and 17th centuries, as in the Middle Ages, what validated the truth on scientific texts was some royal authority's name indication. From Renaissance onwards, the «author's name» begun to receive more prestige, making scientific authority more strongly associated with the individual writer than with the book's writing property.⁴⁹ Hence, «the importance resides on material and intellectual relation between one object, one writing (or a set of writings), and one proper name».⁵⁰

44. *Ibidem*, p. 54.

45. *Ibidem*.

46. *Ibidem*, p. 56.

47. Roger Chartier disserts on the *author-function* issue and discourse appropriation in the 17th and 18th centuries, and also on its changing in relation to *authorities* cited in texts after the end of 18th Century and the beginnings of 19th, jointly with the insertion of *copyright* laws, basing himself on the conference “*What is an author?*” by Michel Foucault, presented in February of 1969, in the Société Française de Philosophie. Cf. Chartier, Roger, «Textos, Impressões, Leituras», in Lynn Hunt (ed.), *A nova história cultural*. São Paulo, Martins Fontes, 1992, pp. 211—238; Chartier, Roger, *A Ordem dos Livros. Leitores, autores e bibliotecas na Europa entre os séculos XIV e XVIII*, Translated by Mary Del Priore. Brasília, Editora Universidade de Brasília, 1994; *A Aventura do Livro: do leitor ao navegador: conversações com Jean Lebrun*, São Paulo, Imprensa Oficial do Estado de São Paulo, Editora UNESP, 1998; «História intelectual do autor e da autoria», in Chartier, Roger, Priscila Faulhaber & José Sérgio Leite Lopes (orgs.), *Autoria e história cultural da ciência*, Rio de Janeiro, Beco do Azougue, 2012, pp. 37-64.

48. Chartier, Roger, *A Ordem dos Livros...*, *cit.*

49. Faulhaber, Priscila, «Uma leitura da História do autor e da autoria», In Chartier, Roger, Priscila Faulhaber & José Sérgio Leite Lopes (orgs.), *Autoria e história...*, *cit.*, pp. 25-35.

50. Chartier, Roger, «História intelectual do...», *cit.*, p. 62.

There exists, therefore, one fairly delimited difference between «writer» and «author»,⁵¹ since the latter possesses the proper name as a differentiation in relation to other writers. In this period scientific discourses included features from Middle Age and had, thus, its relevance conditioned to the scientific community's approbation, which only considered works that presented the «authorities» who were read and appropriated by the author:

Validation of one experience or credibility of one proposition presupposes the *proper name guarantee* - the proper names of whom, due to their situation, could *state the truth*. Concealment of the wise and practical, behind *aristocratic authority*, does not lead absolutely to one discourse's anonymity whose certainty exclusively depends on its compatibility with one *already constituted body of knowledge*. [our emphasis]⁵²

Those particularities related to scientific texts are clearly perceived in Sánchez Labrador's second volume, in which the Jesuit reveals influence received from the *wise* already established in science community during the 18th century. The author probably seized this writing practice in his formation period and from readings of reputed authors' works. Faulhaber says that «[...] names like Hippocrates and Pliny served as indexes that marked this discourse, destined to be received like previously sanctioned by foundational characteristic sacredness of *scientific truth*» [our emphasis].⁵³ The two authors cited above, and other well-known as Aristotle, Galen, Paracelsus, Piso and Marcgraf,⁵⁴ are present in Sánchez Labrador's text, not only in the Botany Tome, but in the entire *Paraguay Natural Ilustrado*.

Reflecting on reading and writing, Chartier defends that «[...] there is no cultural production or practice that is not based on materials imposed by tradition, authority or market, and it is not subject to supervision or censure by part of those who detain the power upon words and gests». ⁵⁵ As proposed by Certeau⁵⁶ and Chartier,⁵⁷ the reading

51. Chartier, Roger, *A Aventura do...*, cit.

52. Chartier, R., *A Ordem...*, cit., p. 58.

53. Faulhaber, P., *Autoria e...*, cit., pp. 26-27.

54. The use of Piso's and Marcgraf's works was a common practice among Natural History scholars in 17th Century, when they lived, and in 18th Century. The expedition both naturalists made in Brazil, between 1636 and 1644, permitted them making numerous observations and discoveries about American Nature, which made them authorities in this subject. According to Gesteira. Cf. Gesteira, Heloisa Meireles, «O Recife Holandês: História Natural e Colonização Neerlandesa (1624-1654)», *Revista da SBHC, Sociedade Brasileira de História da Ciência*, vol. 2, num. 1, Rio de Janeiro, 2004, p. 20; «Guillermo Piso and Georg Marcgraf presence is, thus, emblematic because knowledge about the natural world, elaborated by the naturalists, was based on the discovery of several species' therapeutic properties and attributes». Therefore, we understand that significant part of information on determined American plants and its utilities described in the second volume, *Paraguay Natural Ilustrado*, were obtained from Piso's and Marcgraf's studies. It is also quite clear the influence these authors made on other authors who worked with the same thematic, which supports the idea that Piso's and Marcgraf's work presence in naturalists' texts would be necessary.

55. Chartier, Roger, «Textos, Impressões...», cit., p. 236.

56. Certeau, Michel de, *A Invenção do Cotidiano*, v. 1. Petrópolis, RJ, Vozes, 1996.

57. Chartier, Roger, *A nova...*, cit.

process predicts «appropriation», starting from one creative invention premise that is part of the reception. We defend, thus, that writing should be a synthesis of this «appropriation» that starts in reading, in agreement with Foucault, who understood «[...] the “discourses” social appropriation as one procedure that controls them and one mechanism that restricts its distribution—in other words, as one of *discourse domination* systems» [our emphasis].⁵⁸ This «discourse appropriation» is present in various forms in writings and can be shown through authors’ citation and appropriated works.

Other reading characteristic, presented by Certeau⁵⁹ and Chartier,⁶⁰ is the form by which it applies. According to Chartier «Reading is understood as one text »appropriation», because it concretizes the semantic potential of it and creates one mediation for self-knowledge through text comprehension» [our emphasis].⁶¹ It is clear that there exists various forms of texts comprehension made by readers and there also exists a series of strategies employed by authorities and editors who aim to impose a determined interpretation or text’s «authorized reading». ⁶² Michel de Certeau⁶³ understands the reader as a «hunter», while Chartier⁶⁴ believes that reading is part of an «appropriation» process and, also, of invention and creation of meanings.

3. Indigenous Knowledge: Sánchez Labrador and the given space for *natives*

Starting from what was presented above, it is clear that reading and writing involve the *appropriation* process of other author’s *discourse*, *intertextuality*, [author’s emphasis]⁶⁵

58. Chartier, R., *A nova...*, cit., p. 235.

59. Certeau, M., *A Invenção...*, cit.

60. Chartier, R., *A nova...*, cit. Chartier, Roger, *Do palco à página: Publicar teatro e ler romances na época moderna (séculos XVI-XVIII)*, Rio de Janeiro, Casa da Palavra, 2002b. Chartier, Roger, *A Aventura do...*, cit.

61. Chartier, R., *A nova...*, cit., p. 215.

62. *Ibidem*.

63. Certeau, M., *A Invenção...*, cit.

64. Chartier, R., *A Aventura...*, cit.

65. Julia Kristeva, referring to the Russian author Mikhail Bakhtin, explains the *intertextuality* concept by saying: «[...] all texts are constructed as a *mosaic of citations*, all texts are absorption and transformation from another text. In place of intersubjectivity notion, it is installed the *intertextuality* notion and the poetic language is read at least as *double*». Therefore, studying poetic language as a priority, Kristeva affirms that in poetic statements we can find, in a readable form, others speeches presence. Then, it is important to understand *intertextual realm* as «[...] one multiple textual realm whose elements are susceptible of being applied in concrete poetic texts» Cf. Kristeva, Julia, *Introdução à Semanálise*, São Paulo, Editora Perspectiva, 1974, p. 64; Kristeva, Julia, *Semiotica*, v. 1, Madrid, Espiral/Ensayo, 1981, p. 67. Other scholar who studied this concept was Gerard Genette, who comprehends *intertextuality* as «[...] one relation of co-presence between two or several texts, that is, essentially, and most frequently, as an effective presence of one text into another one», Cf. Genette, Gerard, *Palimpsestos: a literatura de segunda mão*, Belo Horizonte, Faculdade de Letras, 2006, p. 8. Genette argues that *intertextuality* has three forms: the first one is *citation*, more explicit and literal, which possesses quotation marks and may or may not show precise references of cited texts; the second, *plagiarism*, is less explicit and canonic, which means a literal lending of someone’s text, but in a veiled form; and *allusion*, which is the least explicit form and also the least literal, when the author is related with another text without a clear perception of the established relationship [author’s emphasis]. Cf. Genette, G., *Palimpsestos...*, cit.

which can be observed in the second volume's writing of *Paraguay Natural Ilustrado*. Sánchez Labrador invoked in his text works from authors who represented authorities in the 18th century's scientific community. Nevertheless, although the fundamental importance of writings of largely known authors, such as Guillermo Piso, Georg Marcgraf, Robert James, Nicolás Lemery, Jacques-Christophe Valmont de Bomare and Esteban Francisco Geoffroy, in Sánchez Labrador's second volume's composition, it is impossible not to consider indigenous lore, observed during his missionary period in Platinum America.

It is important to emphasize that indigenous' references in Sánchez Labrador's second volume on botany cannot be compared with the extension and the significance reserved to erudite «authorities». The Jesuit wrote only few commentaries about indigenous contribution to his knowledge on American nature and his citations to these groups —Mbayás, Guaranis, Chiquitos, Guanás (Chanas), Guaycurús and Payaguás— were normally related with indigenous nomenclature, localization and utilities of some plants. Although those mentioning about indigenous knowledge are rare, we localized some indications that made us believe that they were effectively indigenous knowledge and practices, but for which the Indians did not receive credit by the author.

Especially concerning knowledge on plants —second volume's subject—, Di Liscia⁶⁶ states that Sánchez Labrador neither just seems to ignore the indigenous knowledge, but he also affirms that these people did not know how to utilize plants for their benefit. «Sánchez Labrador, in his work on the Guaycurús from Paraguay, even stated that they did not know the abundant vegetation and also the practical uses they could do with it. [...] [He] asserted indigenous had total ignorance about appreciable uses [of the plants]». ⁶⁷ In *Paraguay Natural Ilustrado*'s second volume, the author affirms that indigenous, or the «*Hijos del Paraguay*» (Paraguay's children), should learn about plants' medicinal virtues which they have the privilege to possess in their land: «Puede ser, que el tiempo enseñe a los Hijos del Paraguay a valerse algun día de estas preciosidades para la salud. Están coronados de multitud de plantas, prontas a servirlos, y que lo hicieran, se pusieran cuidado, y estudio en averiguar sus virtudes». ⁶⁸ It is interesting to notice that this type of commentary about indigenous' lack of knowledge about plants' utilities is present in other parts of the book.

However, the Jesuit contradicts himself in some excerpts, when commenting the indigenous' autonomy to heal themselves from diseases by using plants. In one passage,

66. Di Liscia, María Silvia, *Saberes, Terapias y Prácticas Médicas en Argentina (1750-1910)*, Madrid, Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 2002a.

67. Di Liscia, M. S., *Saberes...*, cit., p. 39.

68. «It may be, that time will teach Paraguay's children to someday use these precious things for health. They are crowned with a multitude of plants, ready to serve them, and to do it, they need to be careful and study to find out the plants' virtues». Cf. Sánchez Labrador, José, *Paraguay Natural. Ilustrado. Noticias del país, con la explicación de fenómenos físicos generales y particulares: usos útiles, que de sus producciones pueden hacer varias artes*, Parte Segunda, III. Los Árboles en particular (Unpublished manuscript), Ravenna, 1772, Archivo Romano da Sociedade de Jesus (ARSI), Roma, p. 254).

Sánchez Labrador says that «[...] los Indios, cuyas fuerzas no alcanzan a pagar las medicinas, trahidas de lexos, ni a los médicos, que sirven muy poco aun a los acaudalados del País, poseen el conocimiento de bastantes hierbas, y plantas, que usan con feliz suceso».⁶⁹ Sánchez Labrador continues commenting about herbs employed by Indians —as *Guaicuru*, *Charrua*, *Acangita*, *Plateada* and *Carquexa*— but later he affirms that these people «no saben dar razon de las causas, que aflixen los cuerpos, pero con instinto medico, por explicarme asi, no se les ocultan las plantas, con que se curan en breve tiempo, sin purgar con violencia, sin amargor la boca, y comover todas las entrañas».⁷⁰ In this excerpt, the Jesuit evidences that Indians did not have knowledge about what diseases afflicted them, but they had enough consciousness about plants' virtues to heal themselves.

In spite of the little credit conferred by Sánchez Labrador to indigenous knowledge, we found in his writing, besides the example above, other situations when he confers importance to American people's lore. In the third book of the second volume on botany, there are some examples of the reference the Jesuit gave to indigenous practices exhibiting their acquirements and abilities about plants. While explaining the *Palo Santo*, or *Guayaco*, the author presents this tree's employment by the «*Naturais*» (natives) in medicine and other utilities:

Los Indios se sirven de la decocción del Palo Santo en sus dolores de estomago, que nacen de [frío]. Por hervor de las astillas se saca resina abundante. De la qual, y se la que sudan los arboles, se valen las infieles indias Mbayas para dar verniz negro lustroso a las bocas de los cantaros, en que tienen agua, y a otros utensilios. No comunica mal sabor al agua; porque aunque es amarga, participa de algun dulce, como el del orozuz; y quando se endurece no la deslié el agua, ni se percibe su amargor. La carcoma del Palo Santo, puesta sobre las llagas, aunque sean envejecidas, las límpia, y cura».⁷¹

In another passage of the third book, Sánchez Labrador explains about one tincture withdrawal from a tree called Ñandipa. There, he divided the text by giving titles to para-

69. «[...] the Indians, whose strength is not enough to pay for medicines brought from far, neither for doctors, who serve very little even the wealthy of the Country [Paraguay], possess the knowledge about many herbs and plants which they use with prominent success». Cf. Sánchez Labrador, J., *Paraguay Natural...*, cit., Parte Segunda, II, p. 131.

70. «They [Indians] do not know how to give reasons for the causes afflicting their bodies, but with medical instinct, to explain me, the Indians show the plants which cure in a short time, without purging with violence, without bittering the mouth and moving the entrails». Cf. Sánchez Labrador, J., *Paraguay Natural...*, cit., Parte Segunda, II, p. 131.

71. «The Indians use the decoction of the *Palo Santo* [Holy Wood] for their stomachaches, which are born from [cold]. By boiling the splinters, an abundant resin is removed. Of which [resin], and the one that trees sweat, the Indians infidels Mbayas use to give a lustrous black varnish to basins' mouths, in which they have water, and other utensils. It does not communicate a bad taste to the water; because although it is bitter, it participates in some sweetness, like the one of the *orozuz*; and when it hardens it does not dislodge the water, nor perceive its bitterness. The *Palo Santo's carcoma*, placed on the sores, although they are aged, can clean and cure them». Cf. Sánchez Labrador, J., *Paraguay Natural...*, cit., p. 189.

graphs, in order to write about different subjects of this plant and its tincture, naming one of the titles «Ñandipa's tincture relieves bodies».⁷² Nonetheless, this affirmation that the tincture would be good for the body was obtained with indigenous people: «Preguntados los Indios, porque se tiñen con el Zumo del Ñandipa? Responden, que con esta tinctura sienten alivio, y descanso sus cuerpos. La respuesta parece *barbara*, pero bien considerada tiene un fondo de *buena physica*» [our emphasis].⁷³ Even though Sánchez Labrador states indigenous' answer about tincture's use to relieve the body is «barbarian», he also claims that it had logic and «good physics» sense. In the same paragraph, the author explains why indigenous' explanation has logic:

Cansanse los Indios en sus cazas, y en otros ejercicios de su inconstancia; los ardores del sol ponen desmanzelados sus cuerpos, por la desuada transpiración. No sera, pues, milagro, que reciben fuerzas con dicho tinte, que con su virtud adstringente aprieta los poros; detienese la transpiración copiosa, que los desubstanciaba; y asi se hallan mas agiles, y expeditos.⁷⁴

Anagnostou and Fechner⁷⁵ assert that Jesuits were responsible of divulging indigenous knowledge, as well as about the plants they utilized, to Europe. These priests' effort was to adequate indigenous practices to European conceptual standards, seeking to adapt them to European public, making them comprehensible, valorized and used in the best possible way. However, the authors highlight that this approximation between the two continents —American and European— happened «[...] through missionaries' selective focus, because what is comprehensible is understood, and the “barbarism” and the “idolatri” are omitted».⁷⁶ Di Liscia⁷⁷ claims that the knowledge on American flora and fauna had a scientific base to the Society of Jesus, but it also had evident practical goals: survival needs and economic bias. According to Di Liscia,⁷⁸ Europe was Platinum America's favorite market, with woods, paints, aliments and medicines being sold, besides the internal market circulation.

The above mentioned trade was witnessed by Sánchez Labrador, who reported it in his second volume. When the author explains the Ycica tree and its resin utilities, specially to health, he affirms that in Chiquitos' Missions, this tree could be found in large quantities and that this indigenous group used the resin for healing: «Para esto los tales

72. «Tinta del Nandipa alivia los cuerpos». Cf. Sánchez Labrador, J., *Paraguay Natural...*, cit., p. 262.

73. «Asking Indians on why are they stained with the Ñandipa's juice? They answer that with this tincture they feel their bodies relieved and rested. The answer looks barbarian, but if well considered it has a meaning of good physics». Cf. Sánchez Labrador, J., *Paraguay Natural...*, cit.

74. «The Indians get tired in their hunts and in other exercises of their inconstancy; the sun's ardor renders their whacked bodies by sweating perspiration. Then it will not be a miracle, that they gain forces with this dye, which with its astringent virtue tightens the pores; stops copious perspiration, which subverted them; and thus they become more agile and expeditious». Cf. Sánchez Labrador, J., *Paraguay Natural...*, cit., p. 262.

75. Anagnostou, S. & F. Fechner, *Saberes...*, cit., pp. 175-190.

76. *Ibidem*, p. 175.

77. Di Liscia, M. S., *Saberes...*, cit.

78. *Ibidem*.

Indios ponen en agua caliente, siéntase la Resina, cuyo oleo en parte sobrenada: bevense el agua, y sin mas remedio se libran de algunas aflicciones del estomago, y vientre, causadas del frío».⁷⁹ In the same page, Sánchez Labrador reports that when he was already installed in Ravenna he found Ycica's resin in one *Botica* (Pharmacy), adding that «En el Paraguay Proprio se recoge la Ycica en tanta abundancia, que con ella se pudieran proveer todas las Boticas de España».⁸⁰

Besides these passages where the author treats indigenous practices in a more explicit way, there also exist situations in which we might suggest he was omitting references to these people and their knowledge. One example can be found in the second book of the second volume on botany, where Sánchez Labrador explains about certain woods of doubtful use and refers to «*Natural Smart People's*»⁸¹ opinion: «En este caso aconseja Paladío, y lo enseña la razon, que se tome noticia, y parecer de *Personas Naturales inteligentes*; si ya el que las busca no tiene las luces suficientes en orden a las calidades, y utilidad de las tales maderas» [our emphasis].⁸² It is important to notice that the author does not mention «*Indios*» (Indians) in this excerpt, however when he refers to «Smart People», without specifying who they are, he makes us believe that he is not referring to European authorities. Therefore, when he calls them «natives», he might refer to the «autochthons of the Land», namely, indigenous people.

At the end of this second book, the Jesuit presents one subchapter named «Curiosities», where he writes about two topics: «Knowing healthy fruits, and the harmful ones»⁸³ and «Do not lose track, or path in the woods».⁸⁴ In the first topic, Sánchez Labrador explains that it was mainly important for future missionaries and for those who enter in forests seeking «infidels indigenous», knowing how to recognize which fruits are poisoned and which are good to eat. The Jesuit indicates that everyone should observe which fruits are eaten by insects and birds, preferring these ones because if animals feed from them they would not be harmful. Even though this knowledge seems to be quite common for someone who lived in the American continent, like indigenous people, the author affirms that he obtained this information from the Botanical poet Francisco Eulalio Savastano. Sánchez Labrador even wrote that «El mismo elegante Poeta escribe, que de este mismo indicio se valieron los *europeos* , que sin conocimiento de las plantas discurrieron, y viajaron al principio por las selvas de la America comían, y tenían por saludables aquel-

79. «For this the Indians put it in hot water and feel the Resin, whose oil is in the floating part: [then] drink the water, and without further remedy they get rid of some stomach and belly afflictions, caused by the cold». Cf. Sánchez Labrador, J., *Paraguay Natural...*, cit., p. 145.

80. «In Paraguay, the *Ycica* tree is collected in such abundance that all Spain's Pharmacies (*Boticas*) could be supplied with it». Cf. Sánchez Labrador, J., *Paraguay Natural...*, cit., p. 145.

81. «*Personas Naturales inteligentes*». Cf. Sánchez Labrador, J., *Paraguay Natural...*, cit., p. 117.

82. «In this case Palladio advises, and it teaches the reason, to take notice of Natural Smart People's opinion; if the one who seeks them does not have sufficient lucidity in order to know such woods qualities and utility». Cf. Sánchez Labrador, J., *Paraguay Natural...*, cit., p. 117.

83. «*Conocer las frutas saludables, o danosas*». Cf. Sánchez Labrador, J., *Paraguay Natural...*, cit., p. 123.

84. «*No perder el rumbo, o camino en los bosques*». Cf. Sánchez Labrador, J., *Paraguay Natural...*, cit., p. 124.

las frutos, que las Aves picaban» [our emphasis].⁸⁵ In other words, the author does not cite indigenous people and credits the knowledge about surviving in forest to the European poet. Nevertheless, when he tries to explain how missionaries or travelers should proceed in order to not get lost in forest, Sánchez Labrador comments how indigenous usually act.

In another part of the second volume, more specifically in the third book, Sánchez Labrador presents indications that he witnessed Indians utilizing the Copaiba balsam, or *Cu-pay*, in therapeutic practices in which the balsam was widely employed. Writing about treatment of tumors, member debility and torpidity, the Jesuit states that it was necessary to:

[...] calentar la parte afligida con paños calientes, y la palma de la mano quanto pueda aguantar el enfermo, para abrir los poros; luego se aplica el Balsamo caliente, estendiendole en la parte dolorida con una *pluma*, y encima se ponen hilas, o un papel de estraza empapado en Balsamo, sobre este se pone un pedazo de *vexiga de puerco* mas grande que el Papel con un pano doblado, y se ata con una venda. [our emphasis]⁸⁶

In this specific excerpt, Sánchez Labrador explains that the Copaiba balsam should be spread over the painful body part of the sick person with the aid of a *pluma* (feather), and that, after putting a kind of bandage, a *vexiga de puerco*⁸⁷ (boar's bladder) should be placed over it. Considering that the boar was an American fauna animal and that indigenous used birds' feathers in their rituals, we can suggest that the author had, in this case, witnessed and reported the Copaiba balsam use among natives. Still in relation with this tree, Sánchez Labrador informs that the huge amount of Copaiba balsam virtues would be verified, because «Efectivamente, además de lo dicho, y de lo que se ira diciendo, *varias experiencias*, repetidas muchas veces, y siempre con feliz suceso, [...] han hecho conocer» [our emphasis].⁸⁸ This affirmation contributes even more to the theory that the

85. «The same elegant Poet writes that the Europeans were aware of this indication, not having knowledge about plants, and traveling at first in America forests, they ate those fruits they thought were healthy, the fruits that the birds stung», Cf. Sánchez Labrador, J., *Paraguay Natural...*, cit., pp. 123-124.

86. «[...] warm up the afflicted part with warm cloths, and the palm of the hand as long as the patient can bear it, in order to open the pores; then the hot Balsam is applied, spreading it in the sore part with a feather, and on the top of it they put *hilas* (cotton fiber), or a paper soaked in Balsam, over all they put a piece of pig bladder bigger than the Paper with a folded cloth, and then tie everything with a bandage» Cf. Sánchez Labrador, J., *Paraguay Natural...*, cit., p. 139.

87. According with the *Diccionario de la Real Academia Española* (Dictionary of the Royal Spanish Academy) the word «*puerco*» in Spanish can mean *cerdo*, which in English would mean the commonly known pig that was common in Europe and America in 18th Century, when Sánchez Labrador wrote. However, the dictionary shows that the word *puerco* can also mean *boar*, more present in America than in Europe in that period. («*Puerco*», *Diccionario de la lengua española de la Real Academia Española*, Available in: <<http://dle.rae.es/?id=UaBS0qP>>, Accessed in: June, 7th, 2016). In this way, considering that the practice of utilizing a pig or boar bladder witnessed by Sánchez Labrador resembles more to indigenous practices already described than European's, we regard that the author could be referring to a boar in this passage and not to a common pig.

88. «Effectively, in addition to what has been said, and from what is being said, several experiences, repeated many times, and always with a happy success [...] are known», Cf. Sánchez Labrador, J., *Paraguay Natural...* cit., p. 139.

Jesuit witnessed Indians using the Copaiba balsam, probably, in several occasions at the reductions where he acted.

One can verify, from the passages above, that references to indigenous in the second volume normally occur in a fairly generalized way. In most part of the times when he mentions indigenous practices or exposes that he is writing specifically about the indigenous population, he refers to them only as «Índios» (Indians) or «*Naturais da terra*» (Natives of the land). Only in few occasions, Sánchez Labrador mentions the indigenous group about which he is referring to (Guarani, Mbayás, Guaycurús, Guanás, Chiquitos) and rarely specifies whether he is talking about women or men.

Also, the author usually neither considers the age group of the indigenous whom he refers to, nor the social position these people had within the group they belonged. While analyzing the entire second volume, with circa of 520 pages, it was possible to find only one excerpt in which Sánchez Labrador seems to refer to one specific indigenous as a person separated from the group. In all the second volume when the Jesuit was mentioning indigenous people, he did it by writing in plural or in the third person of plural, «*ellos*» (they), without describing or commenting individually about one indigenous person. The only part in which he writes about one «*Indio Guarani*», separately from the group, is in the second book of this second volume: «Reconocense en el Paraguay varias especies de Helecho, o como se explica el *Indio Guarani*, de Amambay guazu» [our emphasis].⁸⁹

However, if the author was referring to an Indian in specific, this person's name is never mentioned. In the entire Botany Tome, Sánchez Labrador does not cite any indigenous name, not even when he refers to these groups' practices and lore, which he normally does in a veiled form. According to Certeau,⁹⁰ when analyzing someone's discourse regarding other person who is considered *inferior*, like savages or sick people, we must examine the *silences* in the speech. This speech is always organized by *normalizing reasons* and marked by what it needs to eliminate in order to build itself.

Therefore, we believe that it is relevant to compare the way the author refers to indigenous people, commenting their knowledge, with the intertextuality in his writing from the dialogue that the Jesuit established with other authors (authorities), who had prestige in Europe's Science milieu. The contrast⁹¹ between the two intertextuality ways is evi-

89. «It is recognized in Paraguay several species of *Helecho* (Fern), or as called by the Guarani Indian, *Amambay guazu*». Cf. Sánchez Labrador, J., *Paraguay Natural...* cit., p. 115.

90. Certeau, M., *A escrita...* cit.

91. In order to exemplify this citation forms comparison in Sánchez Labrador's writing between the European authors and the indigenous, we selected one passage from the third book of the second volume on botany, where the author explains the *Palo Santo*'s different species nomenclatures. It can be observed, in this excerpt, that the Jesuit cites several authors' opinions, who are referred by their names, while that when he exposes how the indigenous —*Americanos* (Americans) and *Naturales* (Naturals)— called the plant, he mentions them in a generalized way, as a group: «*Juan Gerardo* por Palo Santo entiende el Guayacan, o Guayaco; así también le llama *Gaspar Babino*; y *Juan Parkinsono*. De este modo otros escritores, delos quales algun otro le nombra, Xilaguim. Se puestos lo [*sic*] nombres latinos, escribe *Roberto James*, que hay dos especies de Palo Santo, ambas a dos proprias para curar el mal venéreo. [...] A este nombran los *Americanos*, Hiacan, o Hacan

dent: when the author uses European authorities, he cites their names, their works, their titrations and even refers to some of them with the treatment form «Señor» (Sir); while that when mentioning indigenous people, Sánchez Labrador does that in a general form, several times without even specifying the group about which he is commenting, without referring to them individually and not indicating any name. For the reasons exposed above, in the matter of how Sánchez Labrador refers to others in his writing, we understand that, when he refers European authorities, he would be doing a discourse's appropriation and, when citing indigenous, the author would be incurring in a discourse's possession. Certeau affirms:

The discourse's alteration by the «word» to which it substitutes itself can, after all, has a discrete ambivalent image of the «repressive» procedures. This is, for example, the case of the *citation*. Thus, in ethnographic texts and travel reports, the savage is legally and literally *cited* (as *possessed*) by the discourse that puts itself in his place to tell about this ignorant what he does not know about himself. [our emphasis]⁹²

This discourse's possession indicates that, unlike European authors, who are cited by the Jesuit and who have their works and affirmations circulating among the scholars' scientific works of the period, the access we have to indigenous' lore will always be based on Sánchez Labrador's interpretation or from other authors who wrote about them. The fact that the Jesuit does not cite indigenous' individual names already denotes one possession form and a distinction between these groups and the other, formed by authorities intellectually recognized. Certeau declares that «The Proper Name confers to a person one place in the language and 'ensures', therefore, one order in the sociolinguistic practice»⁹³ and also that this name «[...] produces itself accompanied with one constellation of "adjectives" or predicates».⁹⁴

In order to comprehend the reasons why Sánchez Labrador adopted a different treatment when approaching indigenous' knowledge, in comparison with the one used with European authorities it is primarily important to remember what was previously discussed. Especially the concepts of the «author-function» in the 18th century and the readings' «appropriation», «intertextuality» and «authorities», which were responsible for legitimizing the erudite writing. Considering the comprehension that erudite and sci-

(acaso en la Nueva España) de donde ha venido el nombre, Guayaco. [...] A este llaman los *Naturales*, Hoaxecan, y nosotros le decimos propiamente Palo Santo, por sus excelentes virtudes».

«By *Palo Santo* (Holy Wood), Juan Gerardo, Gaspar Bahino and Juan Parkinsono understand the *Guayacan* or *Guayaco*. In this way, some other writers name it *Xilaguim*. If the Latin names are put, writes Robert James, there are two species of *Palo Santo* (Holy Wood), both possessing properties to cure the venereal evil. [...] After this the Americans name *Hiacan* or *Hacan* (perhaps in New Spain) from where the name *Guayaco* came. [...] This one is called *Hoaxecan* by the Naturals, and we call it *Palo Santo*, for its excellent virtues» [our emphasis] Cf. Sánchez Labrador, J., *Paraguay Natural...*, cit., p. 189.

92. Certeau, M., *A escrita...*, cit., p. 268.

93. *Ibidem*, p. 275.

94. *Ibidem*, p. 279.

entific writing required acceptance and authorized commentaries from the individuals who conferred credibility to the authors' works, it is not difficult to understand why Sánchez Labrador preferred to cite names of authors who were seen as authorities in the Natural History realm. Even if the Jesuit had admitted that he learned a lot about American nature with different indigenous groups with which he had contact he opted to attribute this knowledge to scientific authorities, which could give his work higher chances to be recognized by other intellectuals.

It also worth remembering the inferiority⁹⁵ and degeneration⁹⁶ theories on the American continent that were circulating over Europe and gaining place among naturalists and other scientists, starting in the end of the 18th century. These theories claimed the degeneration of all elements that composed America, like fauna, flora and, especially, its inhabitants, i.e., indigenous people. Justo⁹⁷ and Domingues⁹⁸ explain that the expelled Jesuits sought to participate of the debates with naturalists who followed those theories, refuting them by using their knowledge about America. The Society of Jesus' members mainly criticized the fact that most part of the scholars who detracted America, like De Pauw, disserted about realities that they did not know, because they had never been in America. This was one reason why the Jesuits felt bolstered while defending America: they were supported by their own experiences and by documental sources, which they considered reliable.⁹⁹ Nevertheless, even though Sánchez Labrador sought, in his writings, like the

95. This was the main controversy that arose in the scientific field throughout 18th Century and from which the Jesuits who were missionaries in America sought to participate. The «inferiority» theory was born with Buffon and spread among many scientists and naturalists of this time, with De Pauw as the main exponent of this negative way of interpreting American nature. These scientists defended a total American inferiority idea (botanical, zoological, geographic, climatic and, mainly, population) and not only of climate or animals. According to Justo, works like of Buffon and De Pauw «[...] implicitly or explicitly polemicized with the missionaries' stories and with the good savage admirers». Thus, after the Jesuits' expulsion from the territories belonging to the Spanish Crown in 1767, these priests, who were in exile, began a process of enormous textual production, because that was the way they «[...] struggled not to be expelled of the moment's scientific debates». Cf. Justo, M. S., *Saberes...*, cit., p. 163-165. Using their description of places, plants, animals, minerals and climatic phenomena, as well as maps and diaries production, Jesuits participated of scientific debates on America's inferiority, responding and seeking to refute circulating theories. Cf. Justo, M. S., *Saberes...*, cit.

96. According to Buffon's point of view, America would be a new world—or at least much younger than the European Old World—and would have remained much longer under the sea. Therefore, the continent have not had enough time to dry, which could be an explanation for American humidity, contributing to the climate's deterministic view as another degeneration and inferiority argument. On the issue of human beings interpretation «[...] America is a still intact continent, of which men has not yet taken possession, and therefore unhealthy to civilized people and higher animals». Cf. Gerbi, Antonello, *La disputa del Nuevo Mundo: historia de una polémica, 1750-1900*, 2. ed., México, Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1993, p. 21. According to Gerbi, Buffon's and other authors' theories were also an Eurocentrism expression: «Judging immature or degenerate the American fauna was tantamount proclaiming mature and perfect the Old World fauna, serving as a canon and a point of reference to any other fauna from any corner of the globe. With Buffon, Eurocentrism is affirmed in living nature's new science» [our emphasis]. Cf. Gerbi, A., *La disputa...*, cit., pp. 42-43.

97. Justo, M. S., *Saberes...*, cit.

98. Domingues, Beatriz Helena, *Tão longe tão perto: a Ibero-América e a Europa Ilustrada*, Rio de Janeiro, Museu da República, 2007.

99. Domingues, B. H., *Tão longe...*, cit.

second volume, to defend the American continent from European authors' «attacks», we understand that the Jesuit did not recognize sufficiently the natives' knowledge in his work because it could discredit it and compromise its divulgation and acceptance.

Di Liscia¹⁰⁰ calls attention to the fact that it was common among Jesuits like Sánchez Labrador to resort to indigenous knowledge and, at the same time, to highlight their barbarism and superstition. According to her, Sánchez Labrador «[...] in fact employed information from different indigenous ethnicities to corroborate his work, while introducing an undermining view of indigenous knowledge, which he presented as absolutely dependent on superstition».¹⁰¹ However, Domingues, writing about the contact between Jesuits and Indians in the Jesuitical Province of Paraguay, states that it is «[...] impossible to comprehend the meeting and the confrontation, as well as the adaptation (accommodation) between these two worlds and cultures, without realizing the mutual influence between them».¹⁰² Thereby, Domingues¹⁰³ believes that this contact result is always something intermediate, mixed or eclectic even though that, as in Sánchez Labrador's case, the learning obtained through the encounter with indigenous people is not so clearly exposed. The lack of reference to indigenous knowledge, or a negative view of that, can be related with what Huffine¹⁰⁴ pointed about those priests. She claims Jesuits produced histories about American nature and population in order to become indigenous peoples' spokespersons and to demonstrate their work's importance on Catholic conversions.

Justo¹⁰⁵ also explains the need those Jesuits have felt, since 16th century, for writing about the experiences they have lived in America: «all of their works had clear aims: telling to the world Jesuits' successes and sacrifices, but also, providing new knowledge related with natural science».¹⁰⁶ According to Huffine, during the 18th century:

While refuting European enlightenment notions of American decline, they also wanted to demonstrate a clear *imperative for Jesuit colonial service*. Fundamental to the *legitimacy of their work* while in Paraguay, and critical to *their efforts to salvage the order* while in exile, *Amerindian dependency* and Jesuit accuracy and proprietorship over the production of Paraguayan knowledge, were two key points of focus in their ethnographic studies» [our emphasis].¹⁰⁷

100. Di Liscia, M. S., *Saberes...*, *cit.*

101. *Ibidem*, pp. 39-40.

102. Domingues, B. H., *Tão longe...*, *cit.*, pp. 210-211.

103. *Ibidem*.

104. Huffine, Kristin, «Raising Paraguay from Decline: Memory, Ethnography, and Natural History in the Eighteenth-Century Accounts of the Jesuit Fathers», in Figueroa, Luis Millones & Domingo Ledezma (ed.), *El saber de los jesuitas, historias naturales y el Nuevo Mundo*, Madrid, Iberoamericana, 2005, pp. 279-302.

105. Justo, M. S., *Saberes...*, *cit.*

106. *Ibidem*, p. 263.

107. Huffine, K., *El saber...*, *cit.*, p. 293.

4. Concluding remarks

The need to confer legitimacy and credibility to the second volume may explain why Sánchez Labrador constantly cites so many authors, classics and contemporary to him, who represented authorities in the field in which the Jesuit sought to be accepted, while diminishing references to indigenous knowledge. In dealing with erudite writing, Certeau affirms that, the process of making a text be received, «[...] implies the need for an *authorized comment* from the part of those who are *sufficiently “wise”* or profound to *recognize this sense*» [our emphasis].¹⁰⁸ This happens because the erudite field, in its work's evolution process, since the end of 16th century, was more concerned about the sign systems' methodical invention that should guide the authors who wanted to be part of that group.¹⁰⁹

Thereby, it is noted that a number of factors may have contributed to indigenous knowledge references in the second volume have not expressed the effective contribution made by the natives in *Paraguay Natural Ilustrado*'s writing. It is worth mentioning that Jesuits had a great concern to reaffirm themselves in the period's erudite and scientific means, especially of their writings productions. These writings should attest to their authority to speak about America and indigenous, considering the experiences they had lived in the Luso-Spanish mission lands. Thus, it is possible to suppose that Jesuits' concern in demonstrating natives' dependence on them, in terms of protection and teaching, effectively reveals us a Society of Jesus' strategy, adopted in order to defend itself against the criticisms it has been targeted to since the second half of 18th century.

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109. *Ibidem*.

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