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AMAZONIA******IDEOLOGIA E TRADIÇÃO DOS USUÁRIOS NA AMAZÔNIA COLONIAL******IDEOLOGÍA Y TRADICIÓN DE LOS USUARIOS EN LA AMAZONIA COLONIAL******IDÉOLOGIE ET TRADITION DES USAGERS DANS L'AMAZONIE COLONIALE***

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**Abstract:** In this text, we seek to indicate how the bearers of a religious ideology of medieval origin described the drunkenness of the indigenous peoples in the 18th century Amazon. We privileged the analysis of the accounts of the work “Tesouro Descoberto no Máximo Rio Amazonas” by the Portuguese Jesuit, João Daniel. Highlighting the contradictions and approximations established between, on the one hand, a colonization based on the production and commerce of drugs and Catholic food tradition based on wine and bread, and on the other hand, an ideology of abuse elaborated to account for the indigenous tradition of drinks ingestion and substances extracted from the forest.

**Keywords:** Colonial Amazon. Drunkenness. Drugs. Missionaries.

**Resumo:** Neste texto procuramos indicar como os portadores de uma ideologia religiosa de origem medieval descreveram a embriaguez dos povos indígenas na Amazônia do século 18. Privilegamos o exame dos relatos contidos na obra *Tesouro Descoberto no Máximo Rio Amazonas*, do jesuíta português João Daniel. Procuramos apontar as contradições e aproximações estabelecidas entre, de um lado, uma colonização fundada na produção e comércio de drogas e na tradição alimentar católica assentada no vinho e no pão, e, de outro, uma ideologia do abuso elaborada para dar conta da tradição indígena de ingestão de bebidas e substâncias extraídas da floresta.

**Palavras-chave:** Amazônia Colonial. Embriaguez. Drogas. Missionários.

**Resumen:** En este texto buscamos señalar como los portadores de una ideología religiosa de origen medieval describieron la embriaguez de los pueblos indígenas en la Amazonia del siglo 18. Privilegamos el examen de los relatos contenidos en la obra *Tesouro Descoberto no Máximo Rio Amazonas*, del jesuita portugués João Daniel. Apuntamos las contradicciones y aproximaciones establecidas entre, de un lado, una colonización fundada en la producción y comercio de drogas y en la tradición alimentar católica basada en el vino y en el pan, y, de otro, una ideología del abuso elaborada para dar cuenta de la tradición indígena de ingestión de bebidas y sustancias extraídas de la floresta.

**Palabras clave:** Amazonia Colonial. Embriaguez. Drogas. Misioneros.

**Résumé:** Dans ce texte, nous voulons étudier comment les missionnaires européens, porteurs d'une idéologie religieuse d'origine médiévale, ont décrit l'ivresse des peuples de l'Amazonie au

XVIII<sup>ème</sup> siècle. Nous y analysons en particulier les récits contenus dans l'œuvre *Tesouro Descoberto no Máximo Rio Amazonas* du jésuite portugais João Daniel. Nous y mettons en avant les tensions et les relations existant entre, d'une part, une entreprise de colonisation fondée sur la production et le commerce de drogues et sur la tradition alimentaire catholique dont la base était le pain et le vin et d'autre part, une idéologie de l'abus élaborée pour rendre compte de la tradition indigène de consommation de boissons et de substances extraites de la forêt.

**Mots-clés:** Amazonie Coloniale. Ivresse. Drogues. Missionnaires.

Since the Greeks of Antiquity, the representation of alterity passed through the translation of the other from their regime and content of drink intake. François Hartog identifies that wine was considered by the Greeks as a "drink of civilization" that could do good (bring longevity) but also do evil (be an instrument of domination, serve to intoxicate the opponent): "remedy or poison, if you know how to use it or not."<sup>1</sup> In turn, the Citas were represented as wild because they drank in excess the pure wine, drank milk and ate cheese. The Greeks attributed to the Citas the reputation of being a wild people because their men and women were in the habit of getting drunk.<sup>2</sup> The association between drunkenness and savagery appears at the origin of the Western tradition of alcohol ingestion.

But it was throughout the medieval period that drunkenness became a sin and wine along with bread took on a "role of singular centrality in rites and Christian symbolism"<sup>3</sup>. Montanari points out that starting from the 4th century, Christianity had become an official cult of the Roman Empire. Moreover, as it was born and grew "within a genuinely Mediterranean civilization", this religion took on bread and wine "as the instruments of its own worship", which are the material and ideological basis of Greco-Latin culture<sup>4</sup>. Elevated to the posts of "sacred food par excellence", these products contributed to the political and cultural legitimation of the people who joined the Christian faith.<sup>5</sup> Sequentially, the non-adherent northern peoples were barbarians because they drank and ate in excess. Gluttony and drunkenness were signs of virtue among those beer drinkers. On the other hand, the symbolization of wine and bread was

<sup>1</sup> Appropriate use of wine, in this sense, would go through verification of the virtue of temperance, practiced during the symposium where men drank together without losing self-control. HARTOG, François. *O espelho de Herodoto: a representação do outro*. Belo Horizonte: UFMG, 1999. p. 186.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 188-192.

<sup>3</sup> MONTANARI, Massimo. *Alimentazione e cultura nel Medioevo*. Roma: Laterza, s/d. p. 14.

<sup>4</sup> *Id.* *A fome e a abundância*. Roma: Laterza, s/d. p. 29-30.

<sup>5</sup> This was the case for the Franks who favored "the expansion of the Roman-Christian food model in northern Europe" when they realized that this would bring them advantages in the conquest of territory and success against the adversaries. *Ibid.*, p. 32.

inscribed in a way of understanding the world organized from the praise of virtue and the denunciation of vice<sup>6</sup>. To earn salvation, the medieval man needed the help of the Church, which practiced a struggle without respite against the sins of pride, envy, wrath, sloth, greed, gluttony and lust. Baschet explains that these are capital sins “because they engender one another and, above all, because each of them is the starting point of ramifications that give rise to numerous derivative sins”<sup>7</sup>. This septenary of sins was transformed throughout the Middle Ages into the “cardinal point of Christian pastoral”.<sup>8</sup>

In modern times, the drunkenness of the other became an enemy to the Holy See in both the Old and the New World. For Europe, Antônio Vieira provides an example<sup>9</sup>. This “Counter-Reformation militant”<sup>10</sup>, in the 1649 Dominga Sermon, attacks Martin Luther and his questioning of the Roman Church accusing him of being an inveterate drunkard. Luther would drink wine to endure the sorrow and grief for having rebelled against Rome. What's more, he enticed his disciples by offering it fermented to them, and thus would be an apologist for the drink. Vieira in this way trivializes the motives of the Lutheran rebellion, intending to de-characterize it. He accuses the protestant of being founder of a heretic sect (“heresiarch”). However, due to his upbringing in the Catholic Church, Luther would have had a crisis of conscience triggered by the heretical act of disrespect, a crisis that had been resolved by being inebriated by wine. In this way, wine would be an accomplice to heresy. In the author's own words:

Being disapproved Pilate's remedy against scruples, which was water, what will be next? I am sure nobody imagines it. It is the wine. Because the wine is a remedy against scruples? Yes. Luther for a cause and vengeance as light as we all know rebelled against the Church and became not only a heretic but also an heresiarch. However, since he was a great lawyer, and had been brought up in such a holy

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<sup>6</sup> According to Jerome Baschet: “The enormous success of the addictions and virtues moral is linked to the fact that it offers a totalizing discourse on the world or, more precisely, a discourse on the order of society according to the clerical criteria. At the same time, moral duality is the fundamental justification for the intervention of the Church in society, which seeks to liberate men from sin, to protect them from evil and to keep them on the right path, which leads to salvation” BASCHET, Jerome. *A civilização feudal: do ano 1000 à colonização da América*. São Paulo: Globo, 2006. p. 375-376.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 377.

<sup>8</sup> This one practiced a relentless struggle for salvation rooted in virtue typologies, the most important of the seven virtues being: “four cardinal (prudence, justice, temperance and strength) and three theological virtues (charity, faith and hope)” which make up the “septenary of the virtues”. There is also humility, “mother of all virtues.” *Ibid.*, p. 377.

<sup>9</sup> VIEIRA, Antonio. *Sermões do Padre Antonio Vieira*. Lisboa: Oficina Miguel Deslandes, 1692. Sermão 7. Acervo digitalizado da Biblioteca Brasileira da USP.

<sup>10</sup> VAINFAS, Ronaldo. *Antonio Vieira*. São Paulo: Cia das Letras, 2011.

religion, scruples were also continuous, with which conscience accused him, and forcibly beat him and fought the soul. Moreover, what remedy did Luther take to rid himself of the continual battering, the affliction, and the sorrow, which naturally cause scruples still in the most depraved and stubborn consciences? What Luther was doing was to become Calvin [...] He was always in a hurry, and had good wine, he drank valiantly, and gladly, his judgment was disturbed, and thus as he was beside himself, he had peace with him [emphasis added] [...] And because his disciples, and followers, as former children of the Catholic Church, could not stand still in that new doctrine, and they suffered the same scruples; says the same Author, that when they resorted to Luther, with their doubts, he promptly offered them drinks, and with the same antidote carried them together, and relieved the brain.<sup>11</sup>

According to Jean Delumeau<sup>12</sup>, "vigilance regulations dictated in Protestant and Catholic countries at one and the same time" could be compared, and with that, "one would see how moral reformers opposed to each other had common moral concerns". This would be the case regarding excesses of alcohol. Delumeau further states "Luther and Zwingli, Calvin and Bullinger, Rome and Geneva began the fight against alcoholism"<sup>13</sup>. In any case, the Vieirist explanation was that the Reformation would have been secured by a kind of collective drunkenness by the followers of the new sect. Alcoholism was a non-existent term in the seventeenth century, but this ideology crossed the Atlantic to become one of the components of the characterization of the other that did not belong to the Western and Catholic tradition of ethnic ingestion, whether it be Nordic, Protestant, and, as we shall see, Amerindians.

First, a word about the concept of ideology that comes in the title of this article. By using this term, we are not referring only to the mere illusion of a misleading and distorted representation of social reality. We also consider the "relation between a statement and its material conditions of possibility" to accompany how certain discourses contributed to the constitution of social interests.<sup>14</sup> Inserted in the field of political struggle the critique of ideology can contribute to clarify processes and alter the political consciousness of people.

As previously shown by scholars who study the process of colonization of America<sup>15</sup>, the Argonauts of the Great Navigations were instructed by the medieval

<sup>11</sup> VIEIRA, op. cit., p. 83-85.

<sup>12</sup> DELUMEAU, Jean. *La Reforma*. Barcelona: Editorial Labor S.A., 1967.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 267.

<sup>14</sup> EAGLETON, Terry. *Ideologia*. São Paulo: Boitempo, 1997. p. 193.

<sup>15</sup> HOLANDA, Sérgio Buarque de. *Visão do Paraíso: os motivos edênicos no descobrimento e colonização do Brasil*. São Paulo: Brasiliense, 2002; SOUZA, Laura de Mello e. *O diabo e a Terra de Santa Cruz: feitiçaria e religiosidade popular no Brasil colonial*. São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 1986.

Christian mentality and were engaged in performing in the New World paradisiacal projections but also affirming diabolical and infernal beliefs<sup>16</sup>. These projections were translated into a strategy of denying the other, “who carried subversive or detractor elements in relation to European culture”<sup>17</sup>, thus legitimizing the conquest and colonization of the continent. This is what was described by friar Laureano Montesdoca de la Cruz<sup>18</sup>, who traveled the upper Amazon between 1647 and 1650, imbued with the intention of “seeking the conversion and remedy of those poor souls”. When referring to the collective alcoholization of the natives he observed, the friar finds in drunkenness the origin of all evils, during which the Indians became so dangerous that they could even commit “patricide” and “fratricide”<sup>19</sup>. Half a century later, Samuel Fritz<sup>20</sup> reports that the devil was summoned with music to the festivals of the peoples he visited, and to him they offered drinks and the sick to heal them in places secluded from the village where they lived. A demonization of the feast of the Indians, whose vehicle of contact with the devil was the drink.

However, it was not only the alcoholic intake that was part of the missionaries' observations. In the first half of the eighteenth century, the Portuguese Jesuit João Daniel<sup>21</sup> reported that “some older men also have their pipe to regal themselves with paricá, instead of tobacco”<sup>22</sup>. The Lusitanian priest tried to disqualify this use by the shamans by stating that “similar to the rustler of blows is the chewing or smoking of tobacco, which others use and with which they smoke more, and have the

<sup>16</sup> Precisely to review such projections referring to the “ethyl regimen” of native people, see: FERNANDES, João Azevedo. *Selvagens bebedeiras: álcool, embriaguez e contatos culturais no Brasil Colonial*. 2004. Tese (Doutorado em História) - Universidade Federal Fluminense, Niterói, 2004.

<sup>17</sup> BACCEGA, Marcus. América das Mirabilia: uma Idade Média ressignificada. *Revista Outros Tempos*, v. 5, n. 5, p. 130, 2008. Dossiê História da América.

<sup>18</sup> Narrative by friar Laureano Montesdoca de la Cruz, 1647-1650 in PORRO, Antonio (Org.). *As crônicas do Rio Amazonas*. Petrópolis: Vozes, 1993. p. 141.

<sup>19</sup> Narrative by friar Laureano Montesdoca de la Cruz, 1647-1650, op. cit.

<sup>20</sup> FREITAS, Renan (Org.). *O diário do padre Samuel Fritz*. Manaus: Editora da Universidade Federal do Amazonas; Faculdade Salesiana Dom Bosco, 2006.

<sup>21</sup> It was João Azevedo Fernandes who initiated the investigation on the way João Daniel described the ethylic customs of the Indian peoples in Amazonia. Fernandes understands the priest's work as a part of something he named “colonial discourse”. FERNANDES, João Azevedo. Um tesouro etílico: bebidas, identidades e categorias sociais na Amazônia Portuguesa do século XVIII. *Revista de História Saeculum*, João Pessoa, n. 27, jul./dez. 2012.

<sup>22</sup> DANIEL, João. *Tesouro Descoberto do Máximo Rio Amazonas*. Rio de Janeiro: Contraponto, 2004, 2 volumes, Vol. I, p. 274. Jesuits differentiate tobacco from paricá: “Paricá is how others call pau angico, is the last minor species of speckled trees [...] from its fruits, which is tiny, be it roasted or ground, all indians acquire special tobacco that, they say, makes them robust, strong and vigorous, and that is why they prefer it over ordinary tobacco, which they do not commonly use”. DANIEL, op. cit., p. 478.

sick smoking more than they are healed”<sup>23</sup>. He further accuses the shamans of pretending and affirms that the effects of their actions are contingencies, “[...] or, and most certainly, of poisonous herbs which some know, and with which they toast others, squeezed and confectionated [sic] in drinks”<sup>24</sup>.

On the other hand, these indigenous leaderships had notorious popularity and their practices of healing and divination were recreated, giving rise to new rituals within the pastoral activities. Karl Heinz Arenz reports that there was no categorical antagonism between missionaries and shamans. The first ones respected the traditional knowledge and the thaumaturgical activity of the second<sup>25</sup> and, among the natives, “the priest's healing work was just as sought after as the priest's blessing”<sup>26</sup>. Moreover, the recognition of the shamanic tradition by the missionaries coexisted with the acceptance of the effectiveness of the medicines known by these peoples. Daniel himself admits:

[...] it is true that many times the sick recover without partaking of their parish priests; because the same patients, despite the recommendations of their shamans, apply themselves to some remedies; and some healthy ones, who already know a kind of milk, that they call iapu, ginger, chilli, and many others.<sup>27</sup>

Besides knowing the remedies, the natives, as observed by Daniel, refused to reveal which were the trees that had medicinal powers. As in the case of a sick woman whose eyes were inflamed and swollen and could not be saved by the missionary. An Indian observed the case, went to the bush, picked the root of a vine and applied it “to the eyes with such efficiency of virtue, that in the brief space of half an hour she was healthy”<sup>28</sup>. However, the “sigilist” Indian did not reveal the secret of healing.

Further on, the Jesuit identifies that the natives had many solemn days, “which are the day of the birth of a son, of his betrothal, of weddings, and many others, for which they prepare the stews beforehand, and the wines, supplying clay pots and

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<sup>23</sup> Ibid., p. 338.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid., p. 339.

<sup>25</sup> ARENZ, Karl Heinz. Além das doutrinas e rotinas: índios e missionários nos aldeamentos jesuítcos da Amazônia Portuguesa (séculos XVII e XVIII). *Revista História e Cultura*, Franca, v. 3, n. 2, p. 63-88, 2014.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid., p. 83.

<sup>27</sup> DANIEL, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 338. Further he affirms in a deprecatve tone, but even then admits that shamans “are such masters in knowing them [medicinal herbs] and give them that they do not need to read herbalists nor consult apothecaries, who in this case might be their disciples”. Ibid., p. 339.

<sup>28</sup> DANIEL, op. cit., p. 501.

wineries”<sup>29</sup>. But this did not prevent him from representing drunkenness as a sign of the Indians' inability to resist the god of wine: “and after the first ones, unable to resist the Bacchus that bellows in their guts, some fall to here, and other to there, it ceases for a few hours, or until the afternoon, their function [...] lasts the feast until the wines last”<sup>30</sup>. The Christian ideology of indigenous abuse articulating elements of Greco-Latin antiquity with demonizing associations from the medieval imagery also appears when João Daniel narrates a feast of the arapium nation, settled on a mission on the banks of the Tapajós river: “the feasts begin, the jublations grow with Bacchus the father of joy, and Juno the goddess of marriage, the drunkenness continues, and, dancing naked, and some others falling, and all the more cornered, may reminisce you of what would go on in hell”<sup>31</sup>.

This representation of the Indian trance evokes another passage when the hesitant Jesuit still reports on the festive character of the Indians of the same nation, who committed the “abuse of preserving the bones of the dead”:

[...] they have several predicates that make them worthy of the stories. The first is to celebrate the moon very much on the first day when it appears new; I do not know whether for abuse, if they still preserve some or all the material idolatry of the gentilism. The second predicate is the abuse of preserving the bones of the dead, which in their festivals and drunkenness the old women usually serve soaked in their wines, undone in dust.<sup>32</sup>

From the priest's point of view, abuse was an attribute that was not restricted to "drunks". It was present at different times. The practice of approaching the members of the indigenous community in the face of death is nevertheless seen.

In studying the texts of the Europeans who elaborated representations about the Amazon, Ana Pizarro<sup>33</sup> locates the same construction regarding the indigenous festivals. Before them, the observer “does not question, he qualifies: these Indians are given to drunkenness”<sup>34</sup>. Among the figures that appear in the chronicles studied by

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<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 286.

<sup>30</sup> DANIEL, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 286.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 363.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 362.

<sup>33</sup> PIZARRO, Ana. *Amazônia: as vozes do rio. Imaginário e colonização*. Belo Horizonte: UFMG, 2012.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 61. According to this author, “the discourse built by a traveler, who discovers the Amazon through the eyes of a European, is, thus, framed in an imaginary that comes, on the one hand, from the Middle Ages and inquisitorial obscurantism, and, on the other hand, from mythical contents that the Renaissance rescued from the fantasies of Greco-Latin antiquity”. PIZARRO, *op. cit.*, p. 68.

Pizarro, the Amazon warriors stand out. Throughout centuries, since time immemorial, the feasts of these forest queens are described as follows by Walter Raleigh: “For a month they feast, dance, drink abundantly of their wines; when the moon disappears, they return to their own provinces”<sup>35</sup>. An image often associated with the Amazons is Eldorado. The description of the headquarters of this empire in the city of Manoa informs that after blowing over their naked bodies gold “reduced to a fine powder”, “they sit to drink in a group of twenty to a hundred and continue drinking for six to seven days”<sup>36</sup>. Fernando Ozorio de Almeida says that the fermented drinks were present in the “cognitive revolution” that humans crossed in the last thirty thousand years, like the rupestrian paintings created during the European Superior Paleolithic or by the first American Paleoindians<sup>37</sup>. The presence of the fermented drinks in the region is immemorial.

It is important to reiterate that identifying the ideology of indigenous abuse does not mean that we are insisting on the absolute subsumption of Amerindians to Christianity. On the contrary, the sociocultural modifications of Amerindian life “seem at least secondary until the establishment of civilization activity as a priority of the mission starting from the second half of the eighteenth century”. Karl Heinz Arenz warned that although the missionary discourse insisted on combating the idolatry and polygamy of the Indians, “it is found between the lines that it is impossible to apply this requirement to the letter”<sup>38</sup>. The author reports to Cristina Pompa, for whom, in contact, what happened was rather the construction of a “shared symbolic universe” and the “reconstruction of a new hierarchy of social relations and power”<sup>39</sup>. In light of a description of Vieira about a shaman in a state of ecstasy, Heinz suggests that shamans may have appropriated “gestures and formulas, proper to mass and confession, in addition to using the abstract concept of salvation, omnipresent in homiletic and catechetical discourses, but unknown in the shamanic worldview”<sup>40</sup>.

However, this did not prevent João Daniel from making a list of the three vices to which “the Indians of America live without law or living according to the law

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<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 75.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 81.

<sup>37</sup> ALMEIDA, Fernando Ozorio de. A arqueologia dos fermentados: a etílica história dos Tupi-Guarani. *Revista Estudos Avançados*, v. 29, n. 83, p. 88-89, 2005.

<sup>38</sup> ARENZ, *op. cit.*, p. 70.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 84.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 78.



of nature and just like beasts of the jungle” were affected. They are, “1st of the meat, 2nd of the vinasse and drunkenness. 3rd considering that it is not so universal to eat human flesh, some nations show themselves to be wilder than the same beasts”<sup>41</sup>. Perhaps it is not an exaggeration to understand this set of sins as projections, respectively, of lust, gluttony, and wrath. In any case, besides animalizing the natives, Daniel considered the first sin to be the greatest of all and therefore praised the “death penalty law for adultery”<sup>42</sup> found in some Indian nations. The creation of a shared universe between the missionaries and natives did not prevent the priest from defending the sacrament of marriage at this point. Regarding the third vice, the anthropophagy, Daniel linked it to the *mocororó*, fermented from cassava produced in the region. This drink would be “the tea with which they digest the food which they binged like wolves”, “and thus they drink it without measure, also they eat without weight. Crude in life, brutes in eating and drinking, in everything, and by all brutes!”<sup>43</sup>. In addition to reiterating the animalization of the act, associating it with the voracity of the wolves, the Jesuit describes a feast where one eats and drinks "without measure". Both the ingestion of human flesh and the ingestion of fermented cassava were previously food interdictions that should be established to restrain the unmeasure.

Precisely on the consumption of the *mocororó* (the second vice on the list), Daniel described it as an “original vice”:

And there is no feast, no banquet, no comedies, and the principal factor of feasts; and they do not drink only for small sips or with restraint, or moderation, but until they can not anymore, or even fall: and they are as brutish in life as they are masters in this art. [...] They make their vinasses, which they call *mocororó*, of the same flour of wood; and more is spent on the flour for the *mocororó*, then on the bread that they eat.<sup>44</sup>

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<sup>41</sup> DANIEL, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 281. In another excerpt, Daniel describes the anthropophagic act in the following way: “Die for a bunch of human food, the nations who practice this abuse: throw themselves at it, like cats to cow insides, and dogs to bones, half cooked and a little raw; and still red, with blood, they take from the embers without doing it sneakily, as the fear of getting burn takes away their hunger: and when doing it, they do it abundantly like wolves, to whom they are similar to in terms of voracity” DANIEL, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 308-309.

<sup>42</sup> DANIEL, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 283.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 308-309.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 285.

The brutality would then be expressed because the Indians preferred the fermented liquid of cassava instead of the solid food that could be made of it. They were sinners because they abdicated bread. Crude abuse, therefore, manifested itself in that they used cassava as a raw material for the production of alcoholic beverage instead of something that referred to the European food tradition. The Jesuits insisted on ending such binges because it was important to break the moments of creation and strengthening of the “existing networks between the groups”. Almeida adds a consequence for the Tupi-Guarani: they returned to drinking water, losing the vitamin benefits of the fermented ones and being exposed not only to the impurities contained in their waste but also to a cocktail of European diseases that the water transmitted<sup>45</sup>. Above all, the drunkenness was tied to memory. According to Almeida, the alcoholic excess, “combined with the exhaustive repetition of dances and songs for days, provides conditions of alteration of consciousness for the dialogue with the ancestors”<sup>46</sup>. This author refers to Renato Sztutman and Eduardo Viveiros de Castro for whom the alcoholic (and anthropophagic) ritual was “a moment of openness to the ‘other’ and to the world, since it is in it that we dilute the boundaries that separate categories like those between self and other, a relative and a foreigner, a human and a non-human”<sup>47</sup>.

João Daniel, however, understood that the abuse of fermented ingestion would lead to another sin, that of vengeance (wrath):

[...] these feasts ordinarily end in the effects and misfortunes of drunkenness, which are sounds, blows, wounds, and deaths; some, because they have enemies, and altering through Bacchus their anger, they vent their vengeance; others, because when drunk they do not know what they do; these, for wanting to show bravery, and those for some grudge.<sup>48</sup>

In another passage, the author states: “one of the effects of drunkenness is revenge”, considered a dominant passion among the “tapuias”. If they cannot avenge themselves “in the open”, “they do it slyly in the drunkenness, and in the toasts they make, in which they use refined poisons, in which they are also masters, some of herbs,

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<sup>45</sup> ALMEIDA, op. cit., p. 95.

<sup>46</sup> Ibid., p. 94.

<sup>47</sup> Following this excerpt, we read: “The peak of this search for alterity and timelessness would occur in a series of liturgical statements, when the prisoner about to be killed and devoured declares to already have eaten many relatives of his assassins, and that he will be avenged.” Ibid., p. 94.

<sup>48</sup> DANIEL, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 289.

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others of fruits of trees”<sup>49</sup>. The indigenous knowledge of the Amazonian flora appears in the eyes of the missionary as a resource for vengeance through poisoning. Following that, Daniel informs that the missionaries were trying to prohibit such parties to avoid further problems among the natives. Therefore, he exclaims: “Out with drunkenness! Out with drunkards! And out with the noise!”<sup>50</sup>

Basically, through the eyes of the European who “tended to relate everything to their own customs”<sup>51</sup>, the term drunkenness was mobilized not only to refer to drinks and their effects on humans, as when La Condamine reports that the omáguas manage to, “through their own means, provide themselves with a drunkenness that lasts for 24 hours, during which they have very strange visions”<sup>52</sup>. The term also appeared describing an indigenous form of fishing in the regions crossed by the Amazon River. In the words of this French traveler, “there are several species of plants different from those which are known in Europe, and whose leaves or roots, thrown into the water, have the property to intoxicate the fish”<sup>53</sup>.

In a schematic way, it is worth differentiating two types of violence associated with the indigenous drunkenness that comes from the ingestion of psychoactive substances. One of them was tolerable and was foreseen in the internal organization of certain peoples. For the Tupinambá, Maria Betânia Albuquerque<sup>54</sup> recalls that drunkenness took part in parties, weddings, funerals, shamanism, joint efforts, anthropofagy and places of political decision. It was part of social life and functioned as a sort of “free pass” that allowed punishment-free transgression. In it, some initiatives considered to be criminal were tolerated, such as fighting between warriors of the same tribe and putting fire to the malocas. On the contrary, the individuals who committed the greatest number of ‘follies’ rose in the estimation and the consideration of their peers, endowing this permissive state with the important function of preserving the psychic balance of the natives. Albuquerque insists on the

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<sup>49</sup> DANIEL, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 290.

<sup>50</sup> DANIEL, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 290.

<sup>51</sup> LA CONDAMINE, Charles-Marie de. Viagem pelo Amazonas. Rio de Janeiro: Nova Fronteira, 1992, p. 64.

<sup>52</sup> Ibid., p. 64.

<sup>53</sup> Idem, p. 100.

<sup>54</sup> ALBUQUERQUE, Maria Betânia de. Beberagens indígenas e educação não escolar no Brasil Colonial. Belém: FCPTN, 2012.

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pedagogical character of drinking as spaces of transmission of values, perpetuation of tradition and promotion of resistance.<sup>55</sup>

Another type of violence associated with drunkenness was the one that resulted from the alteration of the ethyl regimen of these peoples. Because of the colonization process (new forms of labor exploitation, settlements, catechesis, etc.), those populations were inserted into circumstances that provided the conditions for problematic uses. A component of this was the very mode of dissemination of the drink that contributed to increasing the exploitation of the natives in the region. João Daniel provides clues about the relationship that the Portuguese established with the Indians in the world of labor. Using the offer of brandy in exchange for food such as cassava flour, he even recommends that whites take the drink on their missions to purchase groceries<sup>56</sup>. The Jesuit even suggested that the brandy should be made from the bark of oranges found in the forest because the latter “have various medical services, out of which no less is the preservative remedy against bad airs.” Among the reasons for this, Daniel believed that this would spare the sugar cane plantations.<sup>57</sup> Therefore, to protect the sugar cane, to serve as medicine and as a barter for food, were the arguments presented by the priest in defense of the production of brandy. At this point, we can emphasize the apparent paradox of a Church that promised to combat the excesses of alcoholization while stimulating the production and consumption of brandy.

In examining the content of the missionary practice in the region in the first half of the eighteenth century, Camila Loureiro Dias differentiates two activities that should mediate the relationship with the Indians: dressing and gifting with tools and drugs<sup>58</sup>. Dias emphasizes that, to dominate the Indians, the missionaries seemed to favor the establishment of friendly relationships (through the offering of gifts), as well as promises of protection and, finally, demonstration of strength. In the words of this author, “the evangelizing practice assumed a fundamental role. It was, first, of convincing and then of submission to subjection”<sup>59</sup>.

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<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 156.

<sup>56</sup> DANIEL, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 290.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 468.

<sup>58</sup> DIAS, Camila Loureiro. *Civilidade, cultura e comércio: os princípios fundamentais da política indigenista na Amazônia (1614-1757)*. 2009. Dissertation (Masters in Social History) – Faculdade de Filosofia, Letras e Ciências Humana, Universidade de São Paulo, São Paulo, 2009. p. 112 and following.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 116.

Aligned with this, Daniel informs us of another function of the drink that “is as much in the Amazon, as the wines are in Europe”<sup>60</sup> – another association between wine and brandy appears when the author affirms that the brandy is the “usual wine of those lands”<sup>61</sup>. João Daniel discriminates the existence of three types of them. When referring to the brandy made from sugar cane, he affirms:

[...] the Indians are so lost by it, that [...] there is no drug of more esteem for them than it is a brandy contract; from here comes the great deal that whites make with them as this drink, because with it they have of them whatever they want; and if the whites set aside the consequences, with a flask they fill a boat with other drugs.<sup>62</sup>

Therefore, the “wine of the earth”<sup>63</sup> also appears being offered to regiment the work of collecting drugs. The other two are the beiju or flour brandy and the cashew brandy. The production of these beverages was profitable because those places, in the eyes of the priest, “have lots of many great drunks”<sup>64</sup>. Therefore, the Crown had to grant privileges to the planters for them to produce sugar. Otherwise, “they would all expose themselves in the binges of brandy”<sup>65</sup>.

As can be seen, along with the production of ideology, the contribution of the Church to the colonization of the Amazon region also extended to the field of production management. Aligned with the interests of the Lusitanian Crown until its expulsion in 1759, during the seventeenth century until the first half of the eighteenth century it engaged in the prohibition of Amerindian captivity and the guarantee of the region's engagement in the slave trade. From 1686, the Jesuits completely took over the time administration of the native populations<sup>66</sup>, and administering the area also meant inserting them into the colonial networks of the drug trade. To this end, the "missionary

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<sup>60</sup> Ibid., p. 525

<sup>61</sup> DANIEL, João. *Tesouro Descoberto do Máximo Rio Amazonas*. Rio de Janeiro: Contraponto, 2004, 2 volumes, Vol. II, p. 42.

<sup>62</sup> João Azevedo Fernandes also calls attention to this excerpt from the jesuit's work when affirming that: “João Daniel also points to the enormous impact of brandy over the Amazonian indian populations, when describing how the natives (“so lost by it”) because easy targets to Luso-Brazilian marketers, who, with a single flask, filled boats of much more valuable hinterland drugs”. FERNANDES, op. cit., p. 47.

<sup>63</sup> Another designation attributed to cane brandy. DANIEL, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 42.

<sup>64</sup> DANIEL, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 42.

<sup>65</sup> Ibid., p. 42. Chamboleyron observes the ambiguity of the Crown in what concerns the permission or prohibition of brandy. Since it was not a product to be sent to Africa in exchange of slaves, its production could threaten the export of sugar cane. On the other hand, brandy became importante to royal finances and the Portuguese dominion over the region. CHAMBOLEYRON, op. cit., p. 139 and following.

<sup>66</sup> To calm the settlers down, after Beckham's uprising, the Crown publishes a regiment on which it confides the totality of the Jesuitic control over Indian peoples. ALENCASTRO, op. cit, p. 142.

farmer" became an administrator of farms of sugar and brandy, cereals, fruits, and vegetables.<sup>67</sup> The Jesuits were responsible for organizing the collection of "drugs from the hinterland"<sup>68</sup> and for managing the production of other foods and drugs. It is worth remembering that this production served both for export and for supplying the colony. Serafim Leite chooses as the most useful products of the land that grew on the banks of the Amazon River, cassava, cotton, tobacco, rice, vanilla, aromatic roots, copaiba and andiroba oil, rubber and earth chestnut, leather, urucu paint, plumage of aves and rare birds, sarsaparilla, clove and cocoa: it is these products that constitute the commerce of the "hinterland drugs". From them,

[...] all of them were used by the Jesuits, and some began to cultivate them on their own farms, sending for others from the Middle East, or using those that had already come from the south or came from Cayenne or from Portugal. The Jesuits planted sugarcane, coffee, corn, sesame, fava, beans, watermelons, melons and all the vegetables of Portugal and the land, as well as fruits, bananas, biribás, pineapples, papayas, cashews, oranges (including those from China) and jackfruit from India, which they themselves introduced in Brazil. For some products of the land and their use, qualities and preparation, they also give detailed information, such as for guaraná.<sup>69</sup>

The Jesuits also brought cinnamon and coffee, both in the first half of the eighteenth century. In addition to what was under the management of these agents, there was a wealth of elements in the region that still today embraces more than half of the world's biological heritage<sup>70</sup>. Among the drinks, we can indicate some of them as the "Açaí wine" (Euterpe Oleracea), "drink of notable consumption among the Indians"; "Bacaba wine"; "Patauá wine"; "Murity wine"; "Tucumã wine", which is "a sweet and yellow drink, much appreciated in the city of Pará and sold in the streets by black women"<sup>71</sup>; "Mocajá wine", a drink "that can be taken bland or thickened with rice, wheat flour or cassava, to become more substantial"<sup>72</sup>; "Mururbian wine". All of them can be "ingested bland" or thickened with flour and were part of the daily diet. "Wine" is the term that, by antonomasia, the traveler used to refer to the brandy and the varieties

<sup>67</sup> LEITE, S. J. Serafim. *Artes e ofícios dos jesuítas no Brasil*. Rio de Janeiro, 1953. p. 75 apud SALLES, Vicente. *Rapsódia Amazônica de João Daniel em Tesouro Máximo do Rio Amazonas*. Rio de Janeiro: Contraponto, 2004. p. 21.

<sup>68</sup> And what is observed in article 14 of the Mission Regiment.

<sup>69</sup> LEITE, Serafim. *História da Companhia de Jesus no Brasil*. Belo Horizonte: Itatiaia, 2006. p. 62.

<sup>70</sup> PIZARRO, op. cit., p. 26.

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 239.

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 240.

of unfermented beverages observed in the region. Add to these the beverages made from honey, vegetable flakes, and salivation. It is worth mentioning that the work of collecting and preparing all this material was carried out by women, who also planted, harvested and transported cassava - in addition to preparing the beiju, flour, tapioca and a whole list of foods derived from this tubercle<sup>73</sup>. Fernando Ozório de Almeida adds that by controlling the flow of beverages, women could “participate and influence important political decisions”<sup>74</sup>.

Faced with this wealth the Church selected, granted and negotiated with the peoples of the region. Moreover, the profit made from trade of these products provided material support for the spreading of the Christian faith in that territory. The work of evangelization was characterized by the “adaptation of the conceptions of life and culture of the European to the dominated peoples”<sup>75</sup>. Among other things, this implied the translation of the native languages in order to discover ways of intervention – that is why the Jesuits contributed to “unbabel” the world<sup>76</sup>. In order to attract the natives, the missionaries in the Amazon used dances, songs (of maracás and taquaras for organs and flutes) and abundant supply of food<sup>77</sup>, and interfered in the diet of the natives. Alencastro reports that Franciscans and Jesuits polemicized in the Amazon “to know if tracajá was in fact a fish or a beast, in order to determine if the tapuias who ate them in Lent were or were not committing mortal sin”<sup>78</sup>. Raminelli points out that missionaries, chroniclers, and travelers debated cassava: it was a Christian food, but the root of the vegetable could also lead the natives “to drunkenness, to ruthlessness, to the annihilation of Christian principles, to distortion of conversion and, according to the missionaries, made their souls willing to hear the voice of the ‘lord of all evils’”<sup>79</sup>. In this way, the religious endeavored to Christianize what the native peoples ingested. Therefore, intervention in indigenous communities legitimized by the demonization of

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<sup>73</sup> Ibid., p. 96.

<sup>74</sup> ALMEIDA, op. cit., p. 93.

<sup>75</sup> DANIEL, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 28.

<sup>76</sup> ALENCASTRO, Luis Felipe de. *O trato dos viventes: formação do Brasil no Atlântico Sul*. São Paulo: Cia das Letras, 2000.

<sup>77</sup> DANIEL, op. cit., p. 28.

<sup>78</sup> ALENCASTRO, op. cit., p. 24.

<sup>79</sup> Ronald Raminelli. *Da etiqueta canibal: beber antes de comer*. In: VENÂNCIO, Renato Pinto; CARNEIRO, Henrique. *Álcool e drogas na história do Brasil*. São Paulo: Alameda, 2005, p. 32.

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Amerindian traditions was, in fact, part of the effort to integrate these peoples into the fabric of the colonial enterprise.

One of the responses to this was the development of a kind of “cultural resistance through eating habits”<sup>80</sup>, expressed in the insistence of ingestion of preparations like not only açaí, that had been subject to prejudice until recently<sup>81</sup>, but also like tacacá that, according to Daniel, “is a little water thickened with fire with carimã flour, with rays of tucupi, and spice of the chili: and from the Indians also learned the whites, who already use this drink today as a delicacy”<sup>82</sup>.

Another manifestation of resistance was the deliberate reduction of the pace of labor. Something that the Lusitanian authorities interpreted as caused by the “drunk excesses” which aggravated the idle life of the Indians. João Alves Souza Junior locates reports in which the settlers of Grão-Pará and Maranhão affirmed that, “the natural idleness of the Indians, in the Portuguese perception, that made them unfit for work, was aggravated by the vicious way in which they spent their lives, ‘occupying in stealing from no matter whom’, and stealing women to live in concubinage, and drunken in continuous brandy”<sup>83</sup>. Indigenous drunkenness appears in this case linked to theft and sexual activity. Sloth, it should be remembered, was one of the seven deadly sins against which the missionaries fought. In this sense, such a religious ideology seemed to be conveyed not only by agents directly linked to the Church.<sup>84</sup> In any case, indigenous alcoholization appears as the cause of both excesses and absences.

It is worth noting that we are considering drug production and trade as the major drivers of the capitalist economy since the century of the Discoveries. The “psychoactive revolution” has greatly increased the availability of perception modifiers in modern times through the expansion of large-scale production and supply of

<sup>80</sup> SALLES, Vicente. *Apresentação: Rapsódia Amazônica de João Daniel*, p. 11-35. In João Daniel. DANIEL, João. *Tesouro Descoberto do Máximo Rio Amazonas*. Rio de Janeiro: Contraponto, 2004, 2 volumes, Vol. I, p. 32.

<sup>81</sup> On the legend of açaí, see: <https://www.xapuri.info/cultura/mitoselendas/a-lenda-do-acai/>

<sup>82</sup> DANIEL, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 295 apud SALLES, op. cit., p. 32.

<sup>83</sup> Ibid., p. 283 and following. The production and consumption of brandy were generalized during the eighteenth century in the Amazon. It became a running currency in the region, which is why the lords became to privilege it instead of sugar cane production. The Pombaline directory prohibited its fabrication, among other reasons, to rationalize the Indian’s labor. SAMPAIO, Patrícia. *Espelhos partidos: etnia, legislação e desigualdade na colônia*. Manaus: EdUA, 2011. p. 187 and following.

<sup>84</sup> To Fernandes, “Daniel also subscribes himself to the typical rhetoric of the eighteenth century, that conceives ‘sloth’ as a trademark of the character of natives and settlers, something that brings him closer to texts with Pombaline and civilizatory inspiration”. FERNANDES, op. cit., p. 47.



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substances in different parts of the world<sup>85</sup>. From this perspective, the colonization of America contributed to quench the "psychic hunger" of Europeans. Something that had been perceived by Caio Prado Júnior, since the "sense of colonization" comprises our insertion at the world level as an organized society for the supply of drugs.<sup>86</sup>

This process was intensified starting from the end of the seventeenth century when there is a migration of Portuguese capital from the Middle East to America. With this, the Lusitanian Crown tried to transfer to these areas the cultivation of the Asian drugs. Grão-Pará and Maranhão were transformed into cocoa, achite, brandy, tobacco and, above all, clove producing regions - each of these cultivates with a specific trajectory. Inspired by the experience of the State of Brazil, sugar production was constantly encouraged by the Crown. While tobacco had little importance (due to Bahia's competition), cocoa was successful because it accompanied "a more general movement in Europe for the assimilation of chocolate"<sup>87</sup>. Thanks to this increase in capital, during the eighteenth century it was also developed in the Amazon valley the cultivation of parsley, anil, and copaíba. By the end of the century, Alexandre Rodrigues Ferreira informs about the stimulation of "hemp linen" cultivation through the distribution of seeds for settlers to grow the plant: "hemp seed has been planted everywhere it has been prorated", however, "in none of them did anything grow"<sup>88</sup>. Carried out by the indigenous people, both the collection and planting labor of these products made up the factors that contributed to increasing the mortality of the native peoples of the region.<sup>89</sup>

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<sup>85</sup> COURTWRIGHT, David. *Forces of habit*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2002. p. 6.

<sup>86</sup>In the famous words of the author: "colonization of the tropics takes the aspect of a wide commercial enterprise, more complex than the previous trade post, but always with the same character as it, destined to explore the natural resources of a virgin territory in benefit of the European market [...] if we look into the essence of our formation, we will see that we were actually constituted to provide sugar, tobacco, some other products; later, gold and diamonds; after that, cotton, and then coffee, for the European market. Nothings more than that." PRADO JÚNIOR, Caio. *Formação do Brasil contemporâneo*. São Paulo: Brasiliense, 1945. p. 25-26.

<sup>87</sup>CHAMBOLEYRON, Rafael. *Povoamento, ocupação e agricultura na Amazônia colonial (1640-1706)*. Belém: Ed. Açaí, 2010. p. 156. With some reservations for possible exaggerations, later the author cites José Ubiratán Rosário, for whom there was the occurrence of a "configuration of civilizatory process" linked to economic development of this product (cocoa) in the Amazonian region throughout the eighteenth century (a process that the author compares with gold in Minas). *Ibid.*, p. 169.

<sup>88</sup>FERREIRA, op. cit., p. 271.

<sup>89</sup>ALENCASTRO, op. cit., p. 140 e segs. Chamboleyron added that this increased the pressure for the importation of enslaved Africans, which was also of interest to the Crown which received income in the slave trade. CHAMBOLEYRON, op. cit. p. 132 and following.

On the discussion of the potential of economic exploitation of the region, Daniel also suggests that the cultivation of maniva was “the cause of poverty in the Amazon”<sup>90</sup>. There were poverty and beggars in the region not because of lack of land “but only because of the lack of true cultivation in the fields, and the use of wood flour.” This cultivation was the custom of the “brutal living of the rustic”, the Indians. Moreover, “those inhabitants and their settlements will never be rich or full until they banish it from their lands, and put in its place the sowing of Europe, and the rest of the world”. Such crops that the author proposes to replace the planting of cassava with are corn and, above all, wheat, “for the good of the inhabitants, and the rise of the state”<sup>91</sup>. An Ideology that evokes praise for the cultivation of the raw material of bread as if being able to remove the Indians from their rusticity<sup>92</sup>.

Without attempting to reduce the Church's activity in the process of colonization of the Amazon, we try to highlight two apparently contradictory movements, which are, however, related. On the one hand, to take to the tropics an ideology of drunkenness to demonize Indian alcoholization and, as such, to establish missionary influence over the customs of the inhabitants of the earth. To correct usual habits to transform the Indians into a reliable and disciplined workforce, that does not lose itself in the product that they themselves would be employed to collect and manufacture. On the other hand, to organize the extractive activity and cultivation of products attractive to the market of food and psychoactives. To integrate the Amazon region into the internal and external networks of colonial exploration.

In this process, indigenous peoples have developed different forms of protection. The insistence on the ingestion of certain foods and the preservation of their experiences of alteration of perception linked to festivals, religion, healing practices, etc., compose what we may perhaps understand as a tradition of users<sup>93</sup>. Not a

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<sup>90</sup>DANIEL, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 191 and following.

<sup>91</sup>DANIEL, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 172.

<sup>92</sup>Even from a nutritional point of view the liquid version of food based on flour, rice, cassava, sorghum and potato contains more vitamin B, in example, than the solid version produced based on these grains and tubercle. ALMEIDA, op. cit., p 89.

<sup>93</sup> With this expression. We have an account of what Walter Benjamin named “tradition of the oppressed”. When elaborating his original concept of history that questions the ideology of progress, the German philosopher intended to shed light onto a historical fight between oppressors and oppressed, whose predominant results are violence and barbarism against the victims of exploration in their different forms. To Benjamin, this tradition should be recued from official accounts that narrate the “triumphal march of the winners” and become a source of inspiration to action and uprising in the

fabricated tradition that came from above, but a material response to the advancement of catechesis, through the maintenance of eating practices and perceptual alterations in contexts opposed to Christianity. A tradition that nevertheless incorporated the brandy itself as well as Christian elements, as was the case of the shaman quoted by Vieira.

From this point of view, the history of drugs in the Amazon can reveal not only aspects of the Lusitanian colonization of the forest but also can inform about the time dimension of the indigenous experience that has been organized around the use of their food, beverages, and drugs. In the midst of the catechetical effort and the assembly of the colonial economy, the different indigenous peoples have retained their oppressed tradition of users, support of values alien to the “passion for the commodity” that accumulates objects to pile them into infinity<sup>94</sup>. A tradition that persists to this day thanks to shamans like David Kopenawa, who knows the power of the *Yãkoana*<sup>95</sup> and to whom “our true possessions are the things of the forest: its waters, its fish, its game, its trees, and fruits. It is not the marketed goods!”<sup>96</sup>

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present times. A tradition that is not only composed by the fight of the working class, but also by the resistance of all the past victims – all who fell deserved remembrance and those who were somehow victimized by their customs and their forms of alteration of perception, are a part of this. LOWY, Michael. *Aviso de incêndio: uma leitura das Teses sobre o conceito de história*. São Paulo: Boitempo, 2005.

<sup>94</sup> KOPENAWA, Davi; ALBERT, Bruce. Paixão pela mercadoria. In: \_\_\_\_\_. *A queda do céu: palavras de um Xamã Yanomami*. São Paulo: Cia das Letras, 2015. p. 413.

<sup>95</sup> Psychoactive powder used in shamanic rituals of Yanomami.

<sup>96</sup> KOPENAWA; ALBERT, op. cit., p. 410.