# VISIONS OF THE AMAZON

## What Has Shifted, What Persists, and Why This Matters

*Candace Slater*
*University of California, Berkeley*

*Abstract: For many people throughout much of the world today, the terms "Amazon" and "rain forest" are synonymous—indeed, it seems as if the two must have always intertwined. However, while this much-invoked realm of shimmering, fragile nature, together with its ferocious jungle alter ego, does have deep roots in the past, its present-day incarnation has much to do with the global environmental movement that began emerging in the 1960s and has continued to morph over time. This article examines contemporary representations of the Amazon with an eye to what is now changing, as well as why. It underscores the key role that these depictions play in shaping policy, which gives them an importance far transcending purely narrative concerns.*

Until very recently, the prevailing popular image of Brazilian Amazonia remained the pristine emerald "Rainforest," whose unhappy flip side oscillated between images of a savage—if often perversely fascinating—tangle of vegetation and a denuded hell. I capitalize "Rainforest" and its thorny flip side, the "Jungle," to indicate a geographic entity that is also a particular metaphoric space (a rain forest is simply a wooded area that receives at least one hundred inches of rainfall per year; whereas a jungle is a similar, though always tropical, space).[1] While this idea of a two-faced realm of nature has by no means vanished, it has in many cases morphed into a space with less effusive vegetation and a wider variety of people.

The following pages examine a number of varied narrative forms that both reflect and contribute to this shift in reference to Brazil, which is home to by far the largest area of the six-country (by some counts eight-country) Amazon region. My examples include literary works (above all, the largely urban novels of one widely read contemporary Amazonian author), advertisements for a variety of Amazon-related products, and journalistic pieces that describe either isolated native groups or new scientific research that challenges once extremely common notions of a virgin forest. These expressions are not intended to be seen as equal in veracity or importance. In addition, most are not directly connected—indeed, I have chosen examples from different narrative genres precisely because of their heterogeneity. My point is that the ongoing changes in representations of the Amazon are in no way uniform but rather signal conflicting perceptions. Although others have suggested that images, particularly those of nature, are never

I thank Julia Lourenço and William Gromer Smith for their editorial help.

1. For further definition and a history of these terms see Slater (1996, 114–131).

*Latin American Research Review*, Vol. 50, No. 3. © 2015 by the Latin American Studies Association.

https://doi.org/10.1353/lar.2015.0039 Published online by Cambridge University Press

innocent, these pages underscore their uneasy interactions in the specific case of Amazonia—a region of vast importance to the world.[2]

The visions analyzed here are significant because of their role in shaping policies that exert a major impact on people's lives. They are also noteworthy because of the ways in which newer representations often rework older images for diverse strategic ends. Finally, these visions' often competing relationships to one another suggest the complexity of a larger image-making process that has generated an ample scholarly bibliography focused on the Amazon and other realms of tropical nature.[3]

I begin with a brief overview of representations of the region that have recurred over the last five centuries. Although most of these narrative images were initially utilized by newcomers to the region, they have mixed with, and been transformed by, various "insider" influences. Chief among the key themes singled out for attention are the Amazon as an earthly heaven or hell, as a font of commodities, as a Lost World, and as a domain of nature that is also a distinctly human space. While these images sometimes clash, they also partially intermingle.

This initial summary opens out into an examination of the roles that these key themes play in the passage from late twentieth-century ideas of a luxuriant though fragile Rainforest/Jungle to today's increasingly common vision of a considerably more populous and heterogeneous space. I first show how the work of the Amazon-born novelist Milton Hatoum challenges the Rainforest idea even as it incorporates portions of the time-honored conception of the region as an earthly heaven or hell. I next consider advertisements that underscore the shift from products with a direct Amazon connection (Rainforest Crunch, for instance) to others that suggest more attenuated, increasingly symbolic relationships. I then examine recent articles and electronic postings about Amazonia as a Lost World (today often not all that lost) that provoke increasingly ambivalent feelings. The concluding section highlights journalistic accounts of new scientific research that underscores the central role of human beings in shaping the land around them. The larger context for all of these representations is a globalizing Brazil in which rapid economic expansion under two Workers' Party regimes from 2003 to the present has intensified the long-standing battle between development and environmental preservation in the Amazon.

## BACKGROUND TO THE PRESENT: A RAPID HISTORY OF REPRESENTATIONS OF THE AMAZON

Today's images of Amazonia have partial roots in early colonial chronicles that flip between visions of the region as a paradise-like nature full of marvels and an earthly hell that punishes presumptuous intruders. Although the authors seek

2. The ideological implications of nature imagery and the identity of nature as a shifting cultural construct are particularly clear in the work of Raymond Williams ([1976] 1983, 1980).

3. For some of the many scholarly analyses of visions of the Amazon see Costa (2002), Gondim ([1994] 2007), González Echevarría ([1990] 1998), Hecht and Cockburn (1990), Leão (2011), Pizarro (2012), Raffles (2002), Sá (2004), and Slater (2002).

https://doi.org/10.1353/lar.2015.0039 Published online by Cambridge University Press

to underscore the region's material promise, few resist descriptions of its more hostile features.

Friar Gaspar de Carvajal's 1542 account of the first voyage by Europeans down the length of what would become known as the Amazon River is marked by dramatic swings in its depictions of the natural world (Carvajal 1934). On the one hand, the Amazon of this initial chronicle is an astounding paradise that prepares the way for today's descriptions of abundance—40,000 plant species, 3,000 freshwater fish species, and more than 370 types of reptiles, and so on (World Wildlife Fund 2013a).[4] On the other hand, the realm that he portrays is a perilous expanse that most contemporary readers would be quick to call a Jungle.[5] Although Carvajal extols the land's promise of those sorts of riches dear to the hearts of the expedition's royal patrons, his account is also full of dangers.

Chief among these dangers are the fearsome natives who emerge seemingly from nowhere to attack the Spaniards before melting back into the forest. These natives' leaders are the warrior women whom Carvajal identifies as the same Amazons described by the ancient Greeks. The friar's vision of these women as an amalgam of wealth (a classical attribution emphasized by late medieval authors) and bellicosity finds a perfect visual image in the arrow that one of these remarkably rich figures shoots into his side.[6]

Tales of the Amazons give way over time to notions of a fabulously abundant nature that requires patient cataloging—and eventual European use.[7] While the late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century scientific travelers employ a more impartial-sounding, fact-oriented approach than that of the colonial chroniclers, they continue to alternate between visions of the Amazon as a heaven and a hell. Although Henry Walter Bates's *The Naturalist on the River Amazons*, for instance, begins with a lyrical evocation of a particularly lush forest on the outskirts of Belém, the book goes on to describe more harrowing scenes, such as that of the leaf-cutter ants that cart off the hungry traveler's provisions (Bates [1863] 2002). Though in the end the ants are as fascinating to Bates as an iridescent butterfly or industrious spider, he takes a less forgiving view of the region's human inhabitants. It is these flawed humans whose actions destroy nature's promise, just as when the dazzling bower of his introduction gives way to far less joyous city streets.

Nature fights back in a host of later narratives—above all in the *novelas de la selva* (jungle novels) of the first part of the twentieth century, a period that coincides with the peak and bitter aftermath of the Rubber Boom (1850–1920) (Weinstein 1983).[8] Fictive portraits of a thorny hell abound in classic texts such

4. These particular statistics come from World Wildlife Fund but there are many similar sources.

5. For a discussion of the similarities and differences between Rainforests and Jungles see Slater (1996, 114–131).

6. "If it had not been for [the thickness of] my clothes, that would have been the end of me," he declares (Carvajal 1934, 214).

7. For the commerce-driven underpinnings of this apparently disinterested research see Pratt (2007).

8. Actual dates of the Rubber Boom vary. For examples of earlier novels that depict a fierce nature see Gallegos (1929) and Mera ([1877] 2007).

https://doi.org/10.1353/lar.2015.0039 Published online by Cambridge University Press

as Alberto Rangel's *Inferno verde* (*Green Hell,* 1927), Eustasio Rivera's *La vorágine* (*The Vortex,* 1924), and Portuguese novelist Ferreira de Castro's *A selva* (*The Jungle,* 1930). The jungle as nightmare is also the central image in openly documentary works like US president Theodore Roosevelt's description of his travels in search of the "River of Doubt" (Roosevelt 1914). While essays by the Brazilian writer Euclides da Cunha transcend the usual binaries, images of Amazonia as a heaven and a hell still crop up in his work (Cunha [1905] 2003; Hecht 2013).

Euclides da Cunha's insistence on Brazil's uniqueness in relation to Europe anticipates the search for national identity that largely defines Brazilian *modernismo.* Interestingly enough, some of the most enduring masterpieces of this highly important multi-arts movement of the 1920s—Mário de Andrade's novel *Macunaíma* (1928), Raul Bopp's long poem *Cobra Norato* (1931), composer Heitor Villa-Lobos's haunting *Bachianas brasileiras* (1930–1945)—look to the Amazon for inspiration. These works convert what had been a terrifying chaos in the jungle novels into a wondrous tangle of mythic elements and fantastic flora and fauna that confirm Brazil's creative potential.

Modernismo's artistic force went hand in hand with a much larger drive to centralize and modernize Brazil obvious in the Getúlio Vargas regime's construction of roads, factories, and a new, state-supported popular music industry. This same drive also underlay the Marcha para o Oeste (Westward March) that sought to open the country's center-west and northern regions to development in the 1930s and 1940s. This campaign saw the Amazon as a stubborn giant that must be transformed into a wellspring of profitable resources and, as such, an obvious symbol of the nation's size and imperial aspirations.

Vargas's suicide in 1954 ushered in a democratic era that collapsed in a US-assisted military coup a decade later. As part of their model of consumerist development, the coup's leaders revived older notions of the Amazon as a potential land of plenty capable of solving the social problems that arose in the Brazilian south as increasingly powerful agro-industrial interests pushed small farmers off the land. However, depictions of the region as a promised land or developers' heaven soon collided with the obstacles to traditional farming posed by an unfamiliar, seemingly hellish terrain.

The destruction unleashed by road and dam builders, cattle ranches, loggers, and miners during the 1960s struck the nascent US and worldwide environmentalist movements of this period as a poster-ready assault on nature. Images of the Amazon as a virgin rain forest able to sustain endangered animals and native cultures find particularly vivid expression in the protests and discussions surrounding the later United Nations–sponsored 1992 Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro.

The "counterfeit paradise" (archaeologist Betty Meggers's [1966] term for a land whose lush appearance is belied by meager soils that can support only the smallest of human populations) is also often a "Lost World"—the title of a turn-of-the-century novel by Conan Doyle (1912). This idea of tropical nature as a refuge resurfaces in Claude Lévi-Strauss's *Tristes tropiques* (1955) and Alejo Carpentier's *Los pasos perdidos* (*The Lost Steps*) (1953), two influential texts both published in the wake of World War II. As time progressed, outsiders' nostalgia for a seemingly more harmonious and simpler world became more specifically identified with the

https://doi.org/10.1353/lar.2015.0039 Published online by Cambridge University Press

Amazon as a home for not only ancient species (Doyle's dinosaurs) but above all people who continue to live in a largely vanished harmony with nature.

This idea of a Lost World reflects in part the new pressures on indigenous groups that had managed to withstand the onslaught of colonialism. The transformation of earlier ideas of the noble savage into the contemporary Amazonian Indian has much to do with a modern public's longing for a purity equated with a simpler way of life.[9] Although this longing might reflect genuine concern for justice and a desire to help both the forest and its inhabitants, it often blunts actual indigenous voices and crucial differences among native groups.

The particulars of today's ongoing shift toward a vision of the Amazon as a home to considerably larger and more diverse populations reflect the government's attempts to balance—or at least *appear* to balance—development and preservation as Brazil strives to stabilize and reignite the dramatic economic expansion that began to flag in 2012. A renewed push for agro-industrial development is readily visible in the Brazilian Congress's 2013 softening of protective measures established by the national Forest Code of 1965. At the same time, the counterdrive for preservation is particularly clear in a series of continuing protests over the construction of the giant Belo Monte Dam on the state of Pará's Xingu River. A number of these protests were timed to coincide with the United Nations' Rio+20 Summit of June 2012—a critical revisiting of the discussions on sustainable development held in Rio two decades earlier.[10] These debates are in turn inseparable from the larger questions regarding national priorities (transportation, health, and education) at the heart of the turbulent street protests during the summer of 2013. While the bulk of these protests took place in Brazil's large southern cities, others erupted in various corners of its vast interior.

## THE AMAZON AS HEAVEN AND AS HELL IN CONTEMPORARY LITERARY TEXTS

Although the preceding summary seeks to emphasize recurrences within representations of the Amazon, these are not uniform. One need only look at novels about the region to see how much images may vary. *Simá* (Amazonas [1857] 2003)—the first Brazilian novel to be set in the Amazon, for example—resembles the Northeast Brazilian writer José de Alencar's far more famous *O Guarani* (1857) and *Iracema* (1865) in its use of the same sorts of Romantic vocabulary and formulas. However, the Amazonian novel contains far fewer descriptions of nature. Instead, its author, Lourenço da Silva Araújo Amazonas, concentrates upon the conflict between white colonizers and native groups. In addition, while Simá, like Alencar's Iracema, meets a tragic end, she—unlike Iracema, the virgin Indian princess—is the product of a savage rape.

The obvious role of colonial oppressors in the disasters that befall the Amazon

9. While the image of the noble savage is often associated with Jean-Jacques Rousseau and Romantic primitivism, it is actually considerably older. For the issue of nonmercenary attachment see Conklin (1997, 2010).

10. The Forest Code of 1965 set aside a percentage of rural land meant to be maintained permanently as forest (the so-called Legal Reserves) and also defined environmentally sensitive areas called Areas of Permanent Protection on which vegetation was to be left intact (World Wildlife Fund 2013b).

https://doi.org/10.1353/lar.2015.0039 Published online by Cambridge University Press

in *Simá* make it very different not just from Alencar's work but also from a later wave of "jungle novels" in Brazil and other parts of Latin America. While these jungle novelists continue to influence writing about the Amazon throughout much of the twentieth century, a handful of Amazonian authors from the 1930s prove considerably more open to urban themes.[11] One can also find special cases such as that of Dalcídio Jurandir (1909–1979), whose brand of regionalism is more rooted in a day-to-day experience of the interior than that of most writers of his period.[12] Hints of a more concerted challenge to the nature-as-heaven-or-hell norm do begin to surface in the 1950s and 1960s with the founding of the Clube da Madrugada (Dawn Club) in Manaus by a group of authors open to a greater range of visions of the region.[13] However, these writers enjoyed very little extraregional projection at a time in which Latin American writers as a whole were gaining national and international attention.

Most of the authors who produced work focused on the Amazon or neighboring Orinoco during and soon after the major marketing and publication phenomenon of the 1960s and 1970s known as the Boom are Spanish Americans (Alejo Carpentier [1953] 1992; Mario Vargas Llosa 1965; Luís Sepulveda 1989) with little or no firsthand knowledge of the region.[14] The most notable exception to this rule is Márcio Souza, a writer from the Brazilian Amazon whose novels began to be translated into English and other languages in the 1980s. Although the first of these English-language translations—*Mad Maria*—operates within a familiar Jungle paradigm, the book is set apart by a sharp, often sardonic vein of social criticism that has come to distinguish the author's writing as a whole (Souza 1980).[15]

Souza's departure from the forest norm in a number of his other novels opens the door for other visions of the Amazon, such as the emergence of literature that pictures the region as a home to cities and to immigrants from distant lands, as most clearly visible in the writings of Milton Hatoum. While Hatoum's first book, *Relato de um certo Oriente,* appeared in 1990, his real rise to fame came with the publication of *Dois irmãos* in 2000.[16]

Hatoum's *Dois irmãos* (*The Brothers*)—an account of an ongoing battle between twin brothers that recalls the tale of Jacob and Esau in the Old Testament's book of Genesis and also the celebrated Brazilian author Machado de Assis's 1904 novel

11. Writers who diverge from the forest mold include Francisco Gomes de Amorim, Abguar Bastos, and Francisco Xavier Galvã, all located in Manaus.

12. For an introduction to the fiction of Dalcídio Jurandir see Leite (2006).

13. Dawn Club writers include Luiz Bacellar, Arthur Engrácio, Benjamin Sanchez, and Astrid Cabral.

14. The author of the considerably more recent *El príncipe de los caimanes* (*The Alligator Prince*), Santiago Roncagliolo ([2002] 2006), cheerfully calls attention to the fact that he has never set foot in the Amazon.

15. Souza's nonfiction works on Amazonian history, film, and writing also call attention to the ways in which the region has always been more than a series of easy formulas.

16. *Dois irmãos* is available in English as *The Brothers,* trans. John Gledson (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2002). Hatoum has since published two other novels in which cities continue to play an important role. For a very long list of books, articles, and theses relating to *Dois irmãos* and his other work, see www.miltonhatoum.com.br.

https://doi.org/10.1353/lar.2015.0039 Published online by Cambridge University Press

*Esaú e Jacó*—offers a compelling family saga. The book's gripping plot and psychological immediacy explains much of its appeal to a general reading public, including students in high school and college literature classes.

Hatoum's success also stems from the insertion of the region into a larger context (Pellegrini 2004, 121–138). Rather than the usual great green appendage to the rest of the country, the Amazon of *Dois irmãos* is—for better or worse—an integral part of that extremely complex whole that is Brazil. This story of one Lebanese-Brazilian family in the sprawling port city of Manaus takes place primarily in the years of the military dictatorship (1964–1985), whose effects, while centered in the urban south, were felt throughout the nation. The twin brothers of the book's title represent opposing aspects of a region and a nation that cannot seem to achieve fusion. Yaqub, the twin who abandons Manaus for São Paulo, is all smoldering rage and calculated intensity. In contrast, bohemian Omar pours his apparently limitless vitality into sex, booze, and ill-fated business deals that decimate the family's hard-won wealth.

The failure of head and heart to come together in both the family and the nation is nowhere clearer than in the novel's references to the impending military coup of 1964, in which the poet Laval—Omar's French instructor at the federal university—meets a violent death at the hands of government soldiers. Yaqub's ties to the military, his fondness for technology and cold-blooded mathematical precision, and his inability to forgive past wrongs push him to embrace a brand of progress that will snuff out all that was of value in an older way of life. At the same time, Omar's inability or outright refusal to embrace ongoing changes in a modernizing Amazon all but guarantees the scene of ruins with which the book begins and ends.

In his pivotal role as the family's lone survivor (the twins and their sister have no acknowledged heirs), the illegitimate narrator Nael emerges as the living and distinctly hybrid voice of today's Amazonia. Although neither he nor the book's readers learn for certain which twin is his father, the identity of both his Indian mother and his immigrant grandparents is sure. In this sense, the book's answers to the question of what constitutes a larger, specifically Amazonian identity within the present are very different from those implicit in a number of earlier, more nature-focused works about the region. Hatoum's vivid descriptions of the city of Manaus also distinguish the book from others set in rural communities or the forest, to which the narrator and his mother stage a brief and not particularly happy return on one occasion. A mix of cultures, the city exudes a vital force that makes it far more than a simple backdrop for the characters' actions, converting it instead into a kind of personage in its own right.

At the same time that the novel includes urban elements foreign to the majority of earlier writing about the Amazon, Hatoum does not dispense entirely with nature images. The description of the garden that begins the book, for instance, is a vegetal mirror of the heterogeneous society within which it is located. However, instead of the usual expanse of wild nature, this cultivated space is home to a host of trees that evoke the varied ancestry of Brazil and Amazonia. While the ancient mango trees that appear in the first sentence are familiar throughout much

https://doi.org/10.1353/lar.2015.0039 Published online by Cambridge University Press

of Brazil, they are actually imports to the New World from India and thus ultimately no more native than the house's immigrant owners. Likewise, at the same time that the native rubber tree conjures up the uniquely Amazonian history of the Rubber Boom and bust, the palm trees over which it towers evoke the waves of Northeastern migrants who brought carnauba seedlings to the Amazon. As a result, the orchard that has borne fruit for over half a century is a mélange that provides protection from the sun, refuge from the busy street, and the ingredients for a hybrid diet. While the initial portrait of the abandoned garden foreshadows the book's familial tragedy, the larger theme of cultivated spaces that revert to jungle recurs in descriptions of the region (Leonardi 1999).

Hatoum's move to the Brazilian publishing capital of São Paulo after many decades in Manaus unquestionably augmented his already considerable success. His close ties to the cultural elite in the city where he had been a university student helped him to establish a strong literary presence once he made the move. Beyond these factors, the moment was almost certainly propitious for the appearance of an Amazonian-born author bent on asserting his own—and the Amazon's—larger Brazilian identity. Hatoum's repeated insistence on not just the multistranded nature of Amazonia but also the more universal aspects of the family sagas that shape all of his novels make his populated world as appealing in its own way as the more widely known Rainforest or Jungle. At the same time that the writer's popularity has helped to disseminate his personal vision, the increasing circulation of larger ideas of a peopled Amazon within and beyond Brazil explains at least a portion of his books' success.

## THE AMAZON AS A SOURCE OF MATERIAL AND SYMBOLIC COMMODITIES

Like the image of the Amazon as both glorious Rainforest and threatening Jungle, the notion of the region as a locus of valuable commodities is hardly new. Indeed, the forest's splendor is often rooted in the promise of riches whose precise identity has changed considerably over time.

The old-as-Columbus notion of Latin American tropical forests as a source of valuable goods appears prominently in Carvajal. During much of the Amazon's early history, explorers were interested in a long list of regional plant products, including something as surprising to modern readers as sarsaparilla. Different periods in history saw treasure-hungry newcomers eager to lay hands on hardwoods, rubber, jute, and, increasingly, various plant extracts with pharmaceutical properties.

Environmentalist concerns for the future of the Amazon routinely described as a life-giving forest and home to a full fifth of the Earth's freshwater triggered an explosion of rain forest products aimed at a global market from the 1980s onward.[17] Though this was not the first time that entrepreneurs had set out to market tropical forests as the source of healthful, vitality-inspiring products (William

17. The 100 billion metric tons of carbon are said to be equivalent to more than ten years' worth of global fossil-fuel emissions.

https://doi.org/10.1353/lar.2015.0039 Published online by Cambridge University Press

Beebe and Richard Evans Schultes did so in the 1920s and 1930s), the proliferation of products aimed at a global market was definitely new.[18] The clear concern for the well-being of the forest and its native peoples was now apt to openly mingle with a healthy dose of nostalgia and exoticism for a second Eden often recast as a more scientific-sounding "habitat." It is during this burst of new-style eco-commerce that the original two-word spelling of "rain forest" (once primarily a noun) shifts increasingly to the single word "rainforest"—a primarily adjectival form less cumbersome in references to a growing host of cereals and shampoos. By 1990, seventeen US companies were churning out twenty-one rain forest products. Some seventy-five others were testing potential new offerings, leading sales of forest commodities to quadruple between 1990–1991 and 1991–1992. In 1992, Cultural Survival Enterprises sold an estimated 2.5 million dollars in forest substances to twenty-six companies making nearly forty different products (Clay 1992). A large number of these goods were either health and beauty products or snacks and juices that utilized nuts, herbs, and seeds harvested by native groups, whose direct association with these goods appealed to faraway consumers.

Many of the possibilities and problems associated with these products are encapsulated in the story of Ben and Jerry's Rainforest Crunch ice cream. The flavor, which first appeared in 1989, ceased production in the mid-1990s amid numerous problems with the suppliers' quality controls and growing consumer doubts as to whether the promised percentage of profits from sales was really going toward rain forest preservation (Santillano 2010; see also Welles 1998). Traces of these sorts of direct ties to the region and its inhabitants, on which Rainforest Crunch depended, nonetheless remain visible in a number of contemporary products.

Some of these products rely on rain forest ingredients such as the "natural clay harvested from the banks of the Amazon River and naturally baked by the sun" in order to give buyers "a true Brazilian bronze bombshell finish—all while replenishing and rehydrating skin."[19] A few also recall earlier goods' activist dimension. For example, Sambazon—a brand name that combines "samba" with "Amazon"—stresses its commitment to "the sustainable growth and harvesting of Amazon superfoods" as a way to also "create jobs and help protect the rainforest."[20] The fact that the company's acai fruit products are "sustainably grown (certified USDA organic), wild-harvested, collected and manufactured in a Fair-Trade supply chain (certified by Eco-Cert) that supports over 10,000 family farmers and protects 1.6 million acres of Amazon Rainforest" makes them not just "supertasty" and "superhealthy" but also "supergood" in a moral sense.

While companies such as Sambazon represent a new twist on the socially conscious past, a larger number of contemporary rain forest enterprises em-

18. For an account of how the purveying of rain forest images evolved into the hawking of actual rain forest products see Enright (2012).

19. This product was advertised on the Sephora website as "Tarte Amazonian Clay and annatto body bronzer: shop body/Sephora," www.sephora.com/amazonian-clay-annatto-body-bronzer-P310017costa (accessed February 25, 2013).

20. These products were advertised by Sambazon at www.sambazon.com./meet-us/manifesto (accessed February 25, 2013).

https://doi.org/10.1353/lar.2015.0039 Published online by Cambridge University Press

phasize individual well-being over any sort of communal good, such as environmental preservation. Even Sambazon is quick to stress its products' links to Brazilians'—as opposed to native Amazonians'—"vibrant state of soulful contentment that comes from celebrating life to the utmost." The company takes care to underscore the country's "contagious zeal for an existence that transcends physical health and radiates from within," and its ads suggest that drinking acai juice is like imbibing an exotic energy that is not just nutritionally beneficial but actually capable of transforming its consumers from within.

Other rain forest enterprises have a far more symbolic dimension. Today's Internet is full of ads for rain forest learning modules and theme park–like locations aimed at schoolchildren and their parents. The Discover Amazonia facility in Motherwell, Scotland, for instance, bills itself as "Scotland's largest indoor tropical rainforest" and "a unique place for fun and learning for all ages."[21] Described on its website as "one of the Wonders of the World," the park is essentially a collection of exotic animals, including toucans, tarantulas, leaf-cutter ants, and giant millipedes. Although participants may well come away with a new concern for these creatures, the Amazon that they encounter is a largely unbroken expanse of highly iconic, decidedly flamboyant flora and fauna.

While some educational products retain a connection to actual places and the living beings that reside within them, others have very little to do with geographic entities. Good examples of the latter would be a number of the baby toys, swings, diaper bags, and plastic bathtubs produced by companies with names such as "King of the Jungle" and "Funfari." These goods—available through Target, Walmart, and various online vendors—feature "jungle" animals such as lions and monkeys. Other products, such as Rainforest Babies diapers in shades of coconut, butterfly (morpho blue), hemp, turtle, kiwi and ladybug, have almost no connection to real-life forests.[22]

What is ultimately for sale in the case of the diapers has less to do with the forest proper than with a nostalgic conception of purity and authenticity, coupled with a wink to the abundant moisture that both babies and rain forests are known for producing. The deeper link between the diapers and the forest lies in the fact that the former are made of cloth as opposed to synthetic fabrics, with hemp or bamboo sometimes mixed in with organic cotton. The supposedly "virgin" nature of the jungle/forest is meant to evoke the innocence and fragility of the infants for whose bottoms the diapers are intended.

A yet more diffuse symbolic connection to rain forests can be seen in Rainforest Apparel, a brand of outerwear sold by upscale retailers such as Saks Fifth Avenue, Nordstrom, and Neiman Marcus. Though founded in 1989 as an "eco-conscious" venture, today's company has no direct link to anything that grows in a rain forest. Instead, it utilizes a number of synthetic (what the company calls "technical") fabrics including micro-suede tailored in largely traditional styles

21. "Discover Amazonia: Scotland's Indoor Tropical Forest," http://www.discoveramazonia.co.uk (accessed February 25, 2013).

22. Examples of these products are advertised by We Love Diapers Inc. "Snap 'n' Wraps," https://www.clothdiapersinc.com/proddetail.php?prod=SNW-001 (accessed March 6, 2013).

https://doi.org/10.1353/lar.2015.0039 Published online by Cambridge University Press

and earth tones. Ads in elite publications such as the *New York Times Magazine* feature models posed against a backdrop of wilderness-suggestive settings accompanied by text stressing a "rugged elegance" that stands up to the harshest weather.

Descriptions of the apparel include other terms such as "upscale," "luxury," "sleek," and "sophisticated"—none of which are generally associated with rain forests (Sierra Trading Post 2013).[23] Accompanying references to "technical performance" and "state-of-the-art technologies" suggest the rain forest's links to science and technology while justifying references to the clothing as simultaneously "contemporary" and "timeless." The apparel's "world class charm" cements its appeal to the consumer for whom the rain forest has become less a place than a state of mind and an immediate and secure relationship to nature that individuals with a credit card can access regardless of their physical location.

### THE AMAZON AS A LOST WORLD

To the extent that Rainforest coats and jackets invoke a space apart wherein select people remain free to commune with a primeval nature, ads for them bear some resemblance to the Amazonian Lost World of which reports regularly surface in newspaper, TV, and Internet accounts.[24] This world is not a specific article of commerce like a diaper or juice carton but rather a geographical place distinguished by its remoteness and long-isolated, even "Stone Age" natives. The ever-shifting location of this Lost World, however, makes clear that it is much more than a point upon a map.

The Lost World's fluidity suggests its partial roots in much earlier accounts of the fabulously wealthy hidden kingdom of El Dorado, whose king, the Golden One, is rich enough to coat his body each day in a glittering powder that his attendants wash off every evening. While the original El Dorado is centered first and foremost upon a shimmering commodity, it is also a dream of plenty that finds its way into the present. Today's Lost World resembles this second El Dorado in its promise of a potential harmony between human beings and nature. Although this yearning is as old as the human journey out of Eden, it resurfaces with new intensity in a globalizing present characterized by far-ranging environmental and cultural loss. A figurative gold mine for journalists eager to drum up business, these contemporary Lost Worlds are above all images of a rare and therefore precious harmony that harried moderns yearn to think may still exist within the present.

The aura of deep desire that surrounds updated versions of an elusive kingdom is particularly obvious in an ongoing parade of stories concerning long-hidden indigenous tribes reputed to have escaped the ravages of colonization. These initially confident reports almost always end in disappointment as the group's ex-

23. "Rainforest Clothing," Sierra Trading Post, http://www.sierratradingpost.com/rainforest~b~18046/ (accessed September 21, 2013).

24. For a discussion of how this ancient trope, which almost certainly represents a mingling of European and native sources, keeps reappearing in the present see Slater (2002, 29–53).

https://doi.org/10.1353/lar.2015.0039 Published online by Cambridge University Press

istence turns out to have been previously recorded or its appearance is shown to have been staged by outsiders eager to spur international interest in its plight.

Until recently, the idea that there might still be native groups within the Amazon that had never had the slightest contact with modern society remained widespread among a general reading public. One particularly noteworthy example involved a so-called Lost Tribe said to have been sighted for the very first time on the Brazilian border near Peru. Pictures of the group, "skin painted bright red, heads partially shaved, arrows drawn back in the longbows and aimed square at the aircraft buzzing overhead," quickly found their way into newspapers, the Internet, and evening news broadcasts (Hanlon 2008).[25] The subsequent revelation that the photographer, an employee of the Brazilian government's National Indian Foundation, FUNAI, had purposefully brushed over the agency's prior knowledge of the group, infuriated journalists who felt duped into believing that the group was previously unknown. While the employee in question seems not to have lied so much as exploited conflicting understandings of the term "uncontacted," an avalanche of negative reactions on reader blogs suggested not just anger but profound disappointment with the "hoax" (Radford 2008; see also *China View* 2008).

Repeated letdowns have not kept new reports from surfacing (Holmes 2013). A number of these more recent articles, however, reveal a growing if often grudging acceptance of most contemporary native people's sporadic, often indirect contacts with the outside world.

Descriptions of two separate, once-secluded Amazonian tribes that found their way onto the Internet in August 2013 offer an excellent example of this movement toward a less sharply delineated Lost World. The first article, "Peru: Alarm over Appearance of Isolated Mashco-Piro Tribe," bears the subtitle "Authorities Perplexed As More Than 100 Members of Clan That Has *Almost* No Contact with Outsiders Threaten to Cross River" (my italics) (*Guardian* 2013).[26] The report, which resembles many others in its reliance on the same Associated Press sources, describes how a small group of Peruvian natives on a river near the Brazilian border who have "long lived in voluntary isolation" have just sought contact with outsiders for the second time since 2011.

The report is noteworthy for its insistence on the pressing problems in the Mashco-Piro's traditional lands in the Eastern Andes, which appear to have pushed the group beyond its traditional boundaries. These problems include long-standing interference by miners, loggers, and oil and gas prospectors, and a growing number of drug smugglers. Although drug trafficking is hardly new within the region, the growing emphasis on traffickers in this and similar articles provides an important link between the residents of the remote rain forest and the inhabitants of the Brazilian cities often described as "urban jungles."

Another, yet more noteworthy feature is the sense of alarm that the group's appearance triggers in its neighbors. The residents of nearby Monte Salvado are said to have "feared for their lives" in the face of the Mashco-Piro's supposed pro-

25. For a full account of this news event and how it was reported see Slater (2010).

26. See also Radford (2008) and *China View* (2008).

https://doi.org/10.1353/lar.2015.0039 Published online by Cambridge University Press

clivity toward kidnapping other tribes' women and children and turning upon former friends. Although the article mentions the Peruvian government's concern for the safety of a group whose "immune systems are highly vulnerable to germs other humans carry," it devotes far more attention to the "threatening behavior" that leads local officials to push the natives back into their own lands when they attempt to cross the Pedras River. This emphasis suggests that while the Lost World elicits sympathy so long as its representatives remain within its borders, its intrusion on the modern world is thoroughly unwelcome.

This interpretation is borne out by my second example—an approximately ninety-second video of the Kawahiva people walking through their forest home in "the Brazilian Amazon." Released by FUNAI two days after the appearance of the Mashco-Piro article, the video shows a small group of men with bows and arrows and two women, one of whom transports a child on her back.

The so-called Internet debut of the Kawahiva presents a number of instructive contrasts to news reports on the Mashco-Piro.[27] First, although reporters describe both groups as "isolated," the Kawahiva are considerably more "reclusive." They are unexpectedly "caught" or "captured" on film by a "crew" that turns out to be a lone FUNAI employee who has set out to "monitor and protect" the tribe—supposedly without coming into direct contact with them.[28] The natives themselves are described as "trekking" through the "heart of the forest" in the state of Mato Grosso (technically not part of the Amazon), where their 411,848-square-acre reservation lies (Fox News Latino 2013). Apparently "nomadic," they are heard conversing in their native language by unidentified outsiders about where they will spend the night. While the men carry weapons, they are said to "don" rather than "wield" these in any kind of menacing manner. When one of the women notices the crew she cries out in fear, causing the whole group to scurry off into the woods. Although the Kawahiva face many of the same threats from loggers and farmers as do the Mashco-Piro, the thick vegetation that appears on the video is clearly rich in the sort of animal and plant life that signals the Rainforest. As a result, in contrast to the Mashco-Piro, whose uninvited foray into civilization causes them to be seen as threatening intruders, the Kawahiva are portrayed as suitably retiring residents of a world apart.

The footage's grainy, unprofessional quality further enhances the aura of primordial authenticity created by the naked natives. If viewers cannot have the thrill of witnessing a totally uncontacted people, they can at least take satisfaction in their encounter with a real live "Amazonian tribe in Brazil caught on camera for the first time" (*Daily Mail* 2013). The tribe's "nomadic" status and its lack of interest in contact with the outside world further suggest the distance between its members and fascinated viewers. These features also reconfirm the relative intactness of their rain forest realm. For at least a moment, this green world appears capable of coexisting with a technology that seems not to create ill effects for anyone.

This "rare footage" nonetheless leaves the observer with several nagging ques-

27. The video and other images are available from *O Globo* (2013).

28. One of the many articles that make reference to a "jungle" is the *Daily Mail* (2013).

https://doi.org/10.1353/lar.2015.0039 Published online by Cambridge University Press

tions. Why, for instance, if the tape was made in 2011, did FUNAI wait two years to release it? Is the appearance of the video close on the heels of the Mashco-Piro story mere coincidence or should its release be seen as an attempt to temper the first report's negative vision of native peoples? What seems beyond doubt here is the ongoing evolution of representations of the Lost World in which "isolation" has become an ever more relative concept. While elements of today's reports continue to recall older representations of a realm of nature wholly apart from civilization, there are also unmistakable traces of the increasingly immediate effects of economic developments coupled with an ever more far-reaching media presence.

## THE AMAZON AS A REALM OF NATURE AND A PEOPLED UNIVERSE

The notion of the Amazon as an El Dorado and/or Lost World is difficult if not impossible to separate entirely from larger conceptions of the region as a peopled universe. While the idea of the Amazon as a home to humans is not new, we have seen how the identity of these residents has varied over time. Carvajal's Amazons, for instance, stand apart from the supposedly lazy natives described by nineteenth-century scientific travelers. These flawed natives, in turn, provide a contrast to the late twentieth-century indigenous groups cast in the role of rain forest protectors. Today, not only are the region's residents seen as more numerous and varied, but there has been an important reevaluation of the region's past.

Recent shifts in terms of overriding visions have much to do with contemporary scientific research that has sharply challenged the idea of the Amazon as a counterfeit paradise. Some of the key studies triggering the movement away from older notions of the region as a place of fragile soils unable to sustain complex civilizations show how forests devastated by logging and clear-cutting may respond with surprisingly robust secondary growth. Discoveries of large amounts of extremely fertile anthropogenic or human-modified soil known as *terra preta* or "black earth" have similarly fueled contemporary ideas of an Amazon far more advanced and heavily populated than scientists had assumed only a decade earlier. So have sightings via Google Earth of geometrically patterned earthworks known as "geoglyphs" in the transitional area between the Andes and the Amazonian lowlands.

At the same time that these findings have prompted a barrage of further studies by archaeologists, geologists, paleontologists, and soil scientists, they have found their way into reports in mainstream media. One excellent example of these articles written for a more general public is a *New York Times* report titled "New Jungles Prompt a Debate on Rain Forests" in 2009 (Rosenthal 2009). The author notes that "about 38 million acres of original rain forest are being cut down every year, but in 2005, according to the most recent 'State of the World's Forests Report' by the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization, there were an estimated 2.1 billion acres of potential replacement forest growing in the tropics—an area almost as large as the United States." She then goes on to note that the "new" forest included "secondary forest on former farmland and so-called degraded forest—land that has been partly logged or destroyed by natural disasters like fires and then left to nature" (Rosenthal 2009).

https://doi.org/10.1353/lar.2015.0039 Published online by Cambridge University Press

The discovery of large quantities of terra preta throughout much of the western Amazon has prompted an even larger number of articles in publications oriented toward lay readers. These articles generally begin by defining terra preta—a mix of humus, pieces of unfired clay pottery, charcoal-like carbon known as biochar, and organic materials including fish and animal bones along with human manure—as the most concentrated form of several sorts of soil known as Amazonian dark earth or *terra preta do índio*. Found throughout much of the Amazon, including contemporary cities, this exceptionally fertile mixture signals an intensive human presence over time. It also leaves no doubt about the sizable degree to which humans have transformed a supposedly virgin land.[29]

While the majority of these journalistic pieces repeat and sometimes enlarge upon the same facts, their authors adopt a range of perspectives. Some writers use no-nonsense titles such as "Scientists Focus on Making Better Soil to Help with Food Concerns" as a lead-in to strictly factual descriptions of the many benefits of terra preta (Bennett 2008). They are likely to recount how this rich organic mix enhances the retention of water and nutrients while decreasing the need for fertilizer and encouraging microbial growth. A number of authors also trace the dynamics of the soil's ability to bolster carbon sequestration in a neutral manner (Pessoa Júnior 2012).

Other articles, in contrast, adopt a decidedly more euphoric tone. "Terra Preta: Magic Soil of the Lost Amazon," for example, describes a kind of agricultural alchemy in which previously unproductive soils become a "microbial reef" that can increase crop yields by as much as a whopping 800 percent (Balliet 2007). These same newly fertile soils are often able to sequester carbon at such a high rate that "in the near future, farming with this technique could be eligible for lucrative carbon credits." "Perhaps most amazing," the author exclaims, "the incredible properties of terra preta are *not* denied by myopic academics. In fact, almost everything we know about terra preta is coming from university populations!"

Expanses of this still-fertile soil sometimes trigger direct comparisons to a modern El Dorado. In articles such as "Terra preta: Unearthing an Agricultural Goldmine," for instance, the author describes the soil as providing a potential answer to all sorts of problems, even serving as "a major tool against global warming" (Bennett 2005). Another report titled "Amazonian Terra Preta Can Transform Poor Soil into Fertile" begins with the declaration that "the search for El Dorado in the Amazonian rainforest might not have yielded pots of gold, but it has led to the unearthing of a different type of gold mine; some of the globe's richest soil that can transform poor soil into highly fertile ground" (*Science Daily* 2006).

While part of terra preta's appeal to contemporary newspaper reporters lies in its myriad of potential uses, part also owes to its antiquity. At the same time that the soil remains a scientific puzzle on which industries as well as academic researchers are now working, it also takes the form of a gift from the past. The fact that these soils may remain fertile for many centuries (some samples date back as much as two thousand years) makes them bridges to a Lost World that has

29. Examples of scholarly articles include Pessoa Júnior et al. (2012) and Lehmann et al. (2003). For a more journalistic approach see *Science Daily* (2006).

https://doi.org/10.1353/lar.2015.0039 Published online by Cambridge University Press

left few other clues. This almost mystic link to civilizations that have vanished compounds terra preta's indisputable practical benefits to contemporary humans (Bennett 2005). The articles speak not just to distinctly material concerns such as carbon overload and global warming but also to the sorts of more symbolic yearnings for continuity and redemption discussed in the preceding pages.

The third Amazon-related scientific discovery that has generated widespread coverage in the mass media concerns newly discovered geoglyphs in the form of circles, squares, and other geometric shapes, some of which date back at least two thousand years and which scientists increasingly regard as ritual sites where different peoples may have come together at particular ceremonial moments. Massive human-made earthworks lie primarily in the transitional area between the Andes and the Amazon, including parts of Bolivia, Peru, and the Brazilian states of Acre, Mato Grosso, Amazonas, and Rondônia. They are most common on interfluvial uplands, where researchers have used tools from archaeology, archaeobotany, paleoecology, soil science, and aerial imagery to locate at least three hundred constructions–a number that continues to grow as research proceeds.[30] Although scholars remain unsure of the earthworks' original purpose, their size (often as big as two or three football fields) and varying distance from population centers have fostered conjectures regarding their ceremonial use—as opposed to primarily residential or defensive uses. The fact that composite and rectangular structures increasingly replace circular earthworks as one proceeds northward raises additional questions about the builders' identity as well as the cultural significance of their creations. So does the presence of embanked roads in sites boasting multiple geoglyphs.[31]

These and other unanswered questions have prompted descriptions of the geoglyphs as part of a Lost World. "Once Hidden by Forest, Carvings in Land Attest to Amazon's Lost World," proclaims one article (Romero 2012). The vast amount of labor necessary to construct ditches averaging thirty-five feet across and three to ten feet deep has also led some reporters to treat the enigmatic earthworks as one part of "a real-life El Dorado in Amazonia" (Pyne 2010). As reconfirmations of the Amazon's identity as "an unknown quantity," the geoglyphs reinvest the region with an aura of mystery even as intense development makes life in these still relatively remote areas increasingly similar to that in the rest of Brazil.

Ironically, the more deforestation continues to reveal a world previously concealed by vegetation, the more enigmatic the region as a whole appears. Moreover, at the same time that the geoglyphs create a wealth of new questions, they, like the reports on secondary forest regeneration and the ongoing discoveries of terra preta, leave little doubt that large and complex societies once existed within portions of the pre-Columbian Amazon. A number of journalists go further in dismissing many earlier visions of a virgin rain forest as severely flawed. "The bottom line for mainstream archaeological interpretation of the history of the Amazon was based on the assumption that the area was a 'counterfeit paradise'

30. The environmental ramifications of these earthworks, often constructed in what was then savannah, is also receiving intense scientific scrutiny. See Carson et al. (2014).

31. For scientific research on the geoglyphs see Pärsinnen et al. (2003, 97–113).

https://doi.org/10.1353/lar.2015.0039 Published online by Cambridge University Press

with all of its nutrients locked into its canopy, leaving soils poor, acidic and toxic," one author explains (Balliet 2007). "Caught in a 'believing is seeing' syndrome," he continues, "archaeologists assumed that because typical Amazonian soils were thin and infertile, large populations could never have existed there. *Accepting this assumption, they saw no point in looking for evidence of settlement*" (Balliet 2007; my italics).[32]

The ramifications of these new scientific discoveries for Amazonian history are spelled out in a number of the geoglyph reports. "Instead of being pristine forests, barely inhabited by people, parts of the Amazon may have been home for centuries to large populations numbering well into the thousands," the *New York Times* "Lost World" article suggests (Romero 2012). The piece then goes on to explain that long periods of human habitation may have resulted in a considerably smaller preconquest forest than that which exists today. "Such revelations," the article quotes one reluctant scientist as saying, "do not fit comfortably into today's politically charged debate over razing parts of the forests, with some environmentalists opposed to allowing any large-scale agriculture, like cattle ranching and soybean cultivation, to advance further into Amazonia" (Romero 2012).

The authors of a number of these reports on both terra preta and the geoglyphs do their best to explain why such central facets of the Amazonian landscape should only now be attracting large amounts of scientific attention. Several point out that terra preta was studied as early as the 1870s by Cornell University professor Charles Hartt. Others cite Brazilian researchers Ondemar Dias and Alceu Ranzi's initial sightings of the geoglyphs a full century later, noting that the still-thick forest cover made the extent and true significance of these earthworks difficult to grasp in an era before satellite imaging. Only with the massive clear-cutting that has taken place in southwest Amazonia and the advent of new technologies have a portion of these ancient constructions come into fuller view.

## VISIONS OF THE AMAZON TODAY

These factors (clear-cutting, Google Earth) explain to some degree why scientists did not previously take notice of what geoglyph researchers such as Denise Schaan, an archaeologist at the Federal University of Pará, may now describe as "one of the most important discoveries of our time" (Romero 2012). However, this striking oversight clearly owes at least as much to the power of representations as it does to questions of technology. The relatively scant attention paid to insistences by a few scholars on the presence of sizable human settlements that regularly modified the forest (Sauer 1957; Denevan 1992) suggests that something more than simply heavy vegetation sustained the then-prevalent view of the rain forest as a fragile realm of nature.

This article has stressed the ongoing strength of time-honored images of the Amazon together with the heterogeneous and uneven quality of the profound changes in representation that are presently occurring. My point is not that

32. Striking images of some of these earthworks by Ricardo Azoury appear at www.ricardoazoury.com/videos/html (accessed March 2, 2015).

https://doi.org/10.1353/lar.2015.0039 Published online by Cambridge University Press

today's politicians sit around reading novels about an urban Amazonia or that scientific researchers endorse the views of journalists who conjure up no-longer-quite-so-lost worlds for readers hooked on Sambazon juice. Instead I have argued that change in representations consists of a series of convergences that are rarely smooth. While there is no doubt that images of the Amazon are shifting, the transition from the Rainforest to other visions of the region—including other rain forests—is decidedly partial and complex. Moreover, different groups and individuals clearly employ visions of a peopled universe for their own strategic ends. The ongoing use of such representations is not a bad thing; we humans routinely think in images that can be harnessed for beneficial as well as detrimental ends. The Amazon's long-standing, often deeply emotional associations with nature, however, make it particularly important for us to remain conscious of these representations' tenacious presence in our own and others' heads.

## REFERENCES

Alencar, José Martiniano de
(1857) 1968 *O Guarani.* São Paulo: Editora Cultrix.
(1865) 1965 *Iracema: lenda do Ceará, 1865–1965.* Rio de Janeiro: Olympio.
Amazonas, Lourenço da Silva Araújo
(1857) 2003 *Simá: Romance histórico do Alto Amazonas.* Edited by Tenório Telles and Neide Godim. Manaus: Valer Editora.
Andrade, Mário de
(1928) 1984 *Macunaima.* New York: Random House.
Assis, Machado de
1904 *Esaú e Jacó.* Rio de Janeiro: Editora Garnier.
Balliet, Allan
2007 "Terra Preta: Magic Soil of the Lost Amazon." *Acres USA* 37.
Bates, Henry Walter
(1863) 2002 *The Naturalist on the River Amazons.* Torrington, WY: Narrative Press.
Bennett, David
2005 "Terra Preta: Unearthing an Agricultural Goldmine." *Delta Farms Press,* November 14. http://deltafarmpress.com/management/terra-preta-unearthing-agricultural-goldmine.
Bennett, Drake
2008 "Scientists Focus on Making Better Soil to Help with Food Concerns." *New York Times,* April 29. http://www.nytimes.com/2008/04/29/health/29iht-dirt.1.12423368.html.
Bopp, Raul
(1931) 1998 *Cobra Norato.* São Paulo: Editora da Universidade de São Paulo.
Carpentier, Alejo
(1953) 1992 *Los pasos perdidos.* Santiago de Chile: Editorial Andres Bello.
Carson, John Francis, Bronwen S. Whitney, Francis E. Mayle, José Iriarte, Heiko Prümers, Daniel Soto, and Jennifer Watling
2014 "Environmental Impact of Geometric Earthwork Construction in Pre-Columbian Amazonia." *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* (*PNAS*) 111 (29): 10497–10502.
Carvajal, Gaspar de
1934 *The Discovery of the Amazon, According to the Account of Friar Gaspar de Carvajal and Other Documents, as published with an introduction by José Toribio Medina.* Translated by Bertram E. Lee, edited by H. C. Heaton. New York: American Geographical Society.
Castro, Ferreira de
(1930) 1967 *A selva.* Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira.

https://doi.org/10.1353/lar.2015.0039 Published online by Cambridge University Press

*China View*
2008 "Photographer: Photos of Lost Amazon Tribe Are Fakes." *China View*, August 24. http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/2008-06/24/content_8429135.htm.
Clay, Jason W.
1992 "Why Rainforest Crunch?" *Cultural Survival Quarterly* 16 (2). http://www.culturalsurvival.org/publications/cultural-survival-quarterly/brazil/why-rainforest-crunch.
Conklin, Beth A.
1997 "Body Paint, Feathers, and VCRs: Aesthetics and Authenticity in Amazonian Activism." *American Ethnologist* 24 (4): 711–737.
2010 "For Love or Money? Indigenous Materialism and Humanitarian Agendas." In *Editing Eden: A Reconsideration of Identity, Politics, and Place in Amazonia*, edited by Frank Hutchins and Patrick C. Wilson, 127–150. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.
Costa, Kelerson S.
2002 "Homens e natureza na Amazônia brasileira (1616–1920)." PhD diss., Universidade de Brasília.
Cunha, Euclides da
(1905) 2003 *Amazônia, um paraíso perdido.* Brazil: Editora Valer.
*Daily Mail*
2013 "Caught on Camera: Isolated Amazon Tribe Captured for the First Time on Video before Vanishing into the Woods after Encounter with 'the Enemy.' *Daily Mail*, August 14. http://www.dailymail.co.uk/sciencetech/article-2394233/Brazils-isolated-Amazon-Kawahiva-Tribe-captured-time-video.html.
Denevan, William
1992 "The Pristine Myth: The Landscape of the Americas in 1492." *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 82 (3): 369–385.
Doyle, Arthur Conan
1912 *The Lost World.* London: Hodder and Stoughton.
Enright, Kelly
2012 *The Maximum of Wilderness: The Jungle in the American Imagination.* Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press.
*Fox News Latino*
2013 "Newly Released Video Shows Isolated Indigenous Tribe Living in Brazil Jungle." *Fox News Latino*, August 15. http://latino.foxnews.com/latino/lifestyle/2013/08/15/newly-released-video-shows-indigenous-tribe-living-in-brazil-jungle/.
Gallegos, Rómulo
1929 *Doña Bárbara.* Barcelona: Araluce.
Gondim, Neide
(1994) 2007 *A invenção da Amazônia.* Manaus: Editora Valer.
González Echevarría, Roberto
(1990) 1998 *Myth and Archive: A Theory of Latin American Narrative.* Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
*Guardian*
2013 "Peru: Alarm over Appearance of Isolated Mashco-Piro Tribe." *Guardian*, August 20. http://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/aug/20/peru-appearance-isolated-mascho-piro-tribe.
Hanlon, Michael
2008 "Incredible Pictures of One of Earth's Last Contacted Tribes Firing Bows and Arrows." *Daily Mail*, May 30. http://www.dailymail.co.uk/sciencetech/article-1022822/Incredible-pictures-Earths-uncontacted-tribes-firing-bows-arrows.html.
Hatoum, Milton
1990 *Relato de um certo Oriente.* São Paulo: Companhia das Letras.
2000 *Dois irmãos.* São Paulo: Companhia das Letras.
Hecht, Susanna B.
2013 *The Scramble for the Amazon and the "Lost Paradise" of Euclides da Cunha.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

https://doi.org/10.1353/lar.2015.0039 Published online by Cambridge University Press

Hecht, Susanna B., and Alexander Cockburn
1990 *The Fate of the Forest: Developers, Destroyers, and Defenders of the Amazon.* New York: HarperCollins.
Holmes, Bob
2013 "How Many Uncontacted Tribes Are Left in the World?" *Washington Post,* September 2. http://publicsource.org/shared-sources/how-many-uncontacted-tribes-are-left-world.
Leão, Allison
2011 *Amazonas: Natureza e ficção.* São Paulo: Annablume.
Lehmann, Johannes, José Pereira da Silva Jr., Cristoph Steiner, Thomas Nehls, Wolfgang Zech, and Bruno Glaser
2003 "Nutrient Availability and Leaching in an Archaeological Anthrosol and a Ferralsol of the Central Amazon Basin: Fertilizer, Manure and Charcoal Amendments." *Plant and Soil,* no. 249: 343–357.
Leite, Marcus Vinicius Cavalcante
2006 *Leituras dalcidianas.* Belém, Pará: Editora UNAMA.
Leonardi, Victor
1999 *Os historiadores e os rios: Natureza e ruína na Amazônia brasileira.* Brasília: Editora UnB / Paralelo 15.
Lévi-Strauss, Claude
1955 *Tristes tropiques.* Paris: Plon.
Meggers, Betty J.
(1971) 1996 *Amazonia: Man and Culture in a Counterfeit Paradise.* Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institute Press.
Mera, Juan León
(1877) 2007 *Cumandá: The Novel of the Ecuadorian Jungle.* Translated by Noé O. Vaca. Bloomington, IN: AuthorHouse.
*O Globo*
2008 "Imagens inéditas mostram tribo que ainda vive isolada na Amazônia." *O Globo,* August 13. http://g1.globo.com/jornal-hoje/noticia/2013/08/imagens-ineditas-mostram-tribo-que-ainda-vive-isolada-na-amazonia.html.
Pärsinnen, Martti, Alceu Ranzi, Sanna Saunaluoma, and Ari Sirrainen
2003 *Geometrically Patterned Earthworks in the Rio Branco Region of Acre, Brazil: New Evidence of Ancient Chiefdom Formations in Amazonian Interfluvial Terra Firme Environments.* Helsinki: Renvall Institute Publications, University of Helsinki.
Pellegrini, Tania
2004 "Milton Hatoum e o regionalismo revisitado." *Luso-Brazilian Review* 41 (1): 121–138.
Pessoa Júnior, Erasmo Sérgio Ferreira, Wamber Broni de Souza, Katiuscia dos Santos de Souza, Mauro Célio da Silveira Pio, and Genilson Pereira Santana
2011 "Terra Preta de Índio na Região Amazónica." *Scientia Amazonia* 1 (1): 1–8.
Pizarro, Ana
2012 *Amazonía: El río tiene voces.* Santiago, Chile: Fondo de Cultura Economica.
Pratt, Mary Louise
2007 *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation.* New York: Routledge.
Pyne, Solana
2010 "The Amazon Geoglyphs." *News Network Archaeology,* November 10. http://archaeologynewsnetwork.blogspot.com/2010/11/amazonian-geoglyphs.html.
Radford, Benjamin
2008 "A Savage Hoax: The Cave Men Who Never Existed." *Live Science,* June 25. http://www.livescience.com/4972-savage-hoax-cave-men-existed.html.
Raffles, Hugh
2002 *In Amazonia: A Natural History.* Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
Rangel, Alberto
1927 *Inferno verde.* Tours, France: Typographia Arrault.
Rivera, José Eustasio
1924 *La vorágine.* Bogotá: Elibros Editorial SAS.

https://doi.org/10.1353/lar.2015.0039 Published online by Cambridge University Press

Romero, Simon
2012 "Once Hidden by Forest, Carvings in Land Attest to Amazon's Lost World." *New York Times,* January 14. http://www.nytimes.com/2012/01/15/world/americas/land-carvings-attest-to-amazons-lost-world.html.
Roncagliolo, Santiago
(2002) 2006 *El príncipe de los caimanes / The Alligator Prince.* Barcelona: Planeta.
Roosevelt, Theodore
1914 *Through the Brazilian Wilderness.* New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.
Rosenthal, Elisabeth
2009 "New Jungles Prompt a Debate on Rain Forests." *New York Times,* January 29. http://www.nytimes.com/2009/01/30/science/earth/30forest.html.
Sá, Lúcia
2004 *Rain Forest Literatures: Amazonian Texts and Latin American Culture.* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
Santillano, Vicki
2013 "R.I.P. Ice Cream: Ben and Jerry Fans Still Miss Rain Forest Crunch Ice Cream." Divine Caroline blog. http://www.divinecaroline.com/ (accessed February 25, 2013).
Sauer, Carl
1957 "Man in the Ecology of Tropical America." *Proceedings of the Ninth Pacific Science Congress* 20:104–110.
*Science Daily*
2006 "Amazonian Terra Preta Can Transform Poor Soil into Fertile." *Science Daily,* March 1, 2006. http://www.sciencedaily.com/releases/2006/03/060301090431.htm.
Sepúlveda, Luís
1989 *Un viejo que leía novelas de amor.* New York: Penguin Books.
Slater, Candace
1996 "Amazonia as Edenic Narrative." In *Uncommon Ground: Toward Reinventing Nature,* edited by William Cronon, 114–131. New York: W. W. Norton and Company.
2002 *Entangled Edens: Visions of the Amazon.* Berkeley: University of California Press.
2010 "Metaphors and Myths in News Reports of an Amazonian 'Lost Tribe': Society, Environment and Literary Analysis." In *Environmental Social Sciences: Methods and Research Design,* edited by Ismael Vaccaro, Eric Alden Smith, and Shankar Aswani, 157–187. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Souza, Márcio
1980 *Mad Maria.* São Paulo: Marco Zero.
Vargas Llosa, Mario
1965 *La casa verde.* Barcelona: Litografía Rosés, S.A.
Weinstein, Barbara
1983 *The Amazon Rubber Boom, 1850–1920.* Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
Welles, Edward O.
1998 "Ben's Big Flop: Community Products, Inc." *Inc.,* September 1. http://www.inc.com/magazine/19980901/995.html.
Williams, Raymond
(1976) 1983 "Nature." In *Keywords: A Vocabulary of Culture and Society,* rev. ed., 219. London: Oxford University Press.
1980 "Ideas of Nature." In *Problems in Materialism and Culture,* 67–85. London: Verso.
World Wildlife Fund
2013a "Amazon." World Wildlife Fund. http://worldwildlife.org/places/amazon (accessed October 12, 2013).
2013b "Brazilian Forest Law." World Wildlife Fund. http://wwf.panda.org/wwf_news/brazil_forest_code_law.cfm (accessed October 12, 2013).

https://doi.org/10.1353/lar.2015.0039 Published online by Cambridge University Press