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ABSTRACT

This essay brings reflections on the production of written narratives about Paraguayan territoriality and cultural identity. It focuses on the use of a single data location: the Harvard Library and the Latin American Pamphlet Digital Collection. From the search for 8 bibliometric descriptors - nation, territory, physical aspects, border, security, people, migration and national identity - 5 works and an official document were listed to interpret the meanings and connections that these descriptors made it possible to make, from the authorship of the works, in the twentieth century.

Keywords: Territory, Sovereignty, Identity, Memory, Paraguay.

1 INTRODUCTION

The triple border between Brazil, Paraguay and Argentina is the site of several memories. Political, diplomatic, military, migration, litigation, passers-by, miscreants, indigenous peoples, ethnic groups. Memories and actors find devices in the form of narratives, life stories, dividing landmarks, bridges, rivers, monuments, historical architecture, collections, museums, works of modern engineering such as hydroelectric power plant and plans of directors that shed iconographic names.

Among these various places of memories are books. Writings of various styles thematize the triple frontier since the presence of actors who used the writing. Since the discovery of the new world and the arrival of Spaniards and Portuguese there are written records about these territories. Maps, travel reports, records of memories, government reports and books of history, geography, short stories, poetry, tell the qualities of the people, the paths of displacement, the foundation of cities, indigenous reductions and catechesis, the fishy and navigable rivers, minerals and other riches such as mate and wood, strategic paths for the conquest of wealth and or territorial control.

Before Spanish rule, this territory was, gradually and to the extent of the rewrites of the Treaty of Tordesillas (1494), passing into the domain Portuguese. Initially by diplomacy between the crowns and later by warlike conflicts to define borders, capital cities and control of roads with exit to the sea.

The Portuguese crown in the late nineteenth century¹ came into conflict with Paraguay over border issues.

In this game of remembering or forgetting events, the creation of representations, the compilation of meanings and the use of descriptive expressions are indicative of a cultural field (Bourdieu) where discourses rooted in practices (Foucault) discipline a certain social order. It is in a cultural field that one thinks of a people, a territory, an identity and a sovereignty (FOUCAULT, 2008a); Much more than words, they are devices of knowledge and power that infringe on meanings and distribute them according to the game of power.

The search to understand terms that describe Paraguay, refers to understanding how the formation of a cultural field occurs in various aspects. Looking at these issues leads to the search for understanding how terms compiled from local history and geography lead to a cartography of the totality of a territory and its people².

The research was carried out by a bibliographic analysis with the purpose of a search for a direct contact with all the data related to the theme and its approach. This search was carried out in *the Harvard Library portal* where we searched the digital collection *Latin American Pamphlet Digital Collection* that according to the information to the readers, «Scarce and unique pamphlets, primarily from Chile, Cuba, Bolivia and Mexico, published during the 19th and early 20th centuries»³, that is, it is an exclusive and rare collection mainly about Chile, Cuba, Bolivia and Mexico, published during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries".

The bibliographic sources of this Library are not exclusively about these countries described. We found abundant documentation on Argentina and Paraguay, some of which we will present in this text.

The bibliographic research mentioned here, follows the provisions of Prodanov and Freitas, (2013) «[...] seeks the resolution of a problem (hypothesis) through published theoretical frameworks, analyzing and discussing the various scientific contributions" (p.66). This search will build the ribbing of a research object and will foster hypotheses and or forms of treatment in consonance, in discussion and or even rejection of the conclusions pointed out by it. This type of research will provide subsidies for knowledge about what was researched, how and under what focus and/or perspectives the subject

¹ The Paraguayan War that took place between (1864 to 1870)

² - Originally this theme is developed as a Scientific Initiation project whose title is *Labyrinths of Memory – international collections on memories of the triple border Brazil, Paraguay and Argentina*, whose main objective "to survey, read, file and disseminate bibliography on the History of Paraguay and the disputes over borders with Brazil and Argentina, agervado in Library Harvad, especially the *Latin American Pamphlet Digital Collection archive*.

³ - Free translation: These pamphlets are valuable primary resources for students and researchers working on Latin American history. They document the emergence of Latin American colonies as independent states and illuminate many aspects of the social and cultural life of their populations. Many pamphlets are devoted to border disputes, territorial expansion, description of unexplored territories, and the relationship between church and state.

presented in the scientific literature was treated. This search will inquire into how some narratives of Paraguayan authors of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries understand their national identity. What are the devices? What is the meaning of the terms? What memories will be rescued?

The bibliographic research must be carried out through a "systematic planning of the research process, ranging from the thematic definition, through the logical construction of the work to the decision of its form of communication and dissemination" (PRODANOV; FREITAS, 2013). According to these authors, Severino (2007) also defends bibliographic research as a systematization and registration of information and data that leads to concrete conditions of a formatting of problems and objects, as well as to trends of analysis and research objectives.

Following these indications for the construction of this essay, we used works from the aforementioned Platform, written in Spanish, that mentioned some descriptors previously selected according to the interest of data collection. It was the recording of the descriptors that led to the selection of works and, consequently, to the authors. The terms were nation, territory, physical aspects, border, security, people, migration and national identity. The search returned the existence of 12 works published between 1873 and 1995 in the database. The descriptors of only six of these works will be examined here, for the sake of delimitation and objectivity of the discussion.

The use of descriptors led us to also consider another discussion of the historical bibliography. According to authors such as Gontijo et al. (2015); Neves (2011); Bentivoglio (2017); Oliveira and Gontijo (2016), it is also necessary to consider a "history of historiographies" when intending the use of historiography as a source of research. First, because historiography suggests an art of writing history. But it also mentions a body of historical works pertaining to a particular epoch and, ultimately, to a manner in which the works were produced. These three uses refer to consider the construction of the narrative by researchers who are in history at the same time that they exercise a distance from itself to produce representations. And although the old lesson of Thucydides is exercised by the search for truth, he must understand, on the other hand, that the historian constructs memories, enhances perceptions, selects sources and ensures a type of narrative.

And, mentioning the *Archaeology of Knowledge* (FOUCAULT, 2008b), Foucault, analyzing the production procedure of historians, points out that they were directed to describe "constant regulations, "slow saturations" and "large immovable and mute bases, capable of constructing a line of historical continuities". The means of construction were "models of economic growth, quantitative analysis of trade flows, profiles of demographic developments and regressions, studies of the climate and its oscillations", among others (FOUCAULT, 1987, p.3). These productions, in the fashion of Thucydides or as serial history, wished to describe the repetition, the simultaneity in the historical course. His *Archaeology* points in the opposite direction: "it seeks to loosen all the threads connected

by the patience of historians; it multiplies differences, shuffles the lines of communication" (FOUCAULT, 1987, p. 194).

According to Alvarenga (1998) the textual, paratextual and contextual referent elements are variables commonly addressed in bibliometric studies. The results achieved reflect quantitative aspects of fields of knowledge, evidencing angles, such as productivity of authors or discursive sources, the authors who constitute the research fronts in a given field of knowledge and findings of regularities that can make historical facts emerge in the process of evolution of a discipline. In this sense, the potential of data generated by bibliometrics is presented as valuable inputs for the development of regional archaeological and epistemological studies, that is, of the specific fields of knowledge. (p.3)

Reading the construction of historiographical memory in the opposite direction. That is, relocating the biography of its authors as cartographic becomings, possible according to the social order they are part of. The final, writing, emerges as the art of power. Written memory, among several other forms of memorialistic expression, in the order of the construction of national states and their borders, was preferred. Contexts, texts and paratexts are also fundamental elements to describe and understand the creation and repercussion of narrative devices in the discursive order. In this tuning fork that will give a visibility of sovereignty, the precise and previously defined scientific discourse is, for Foucault, a mechanism of control whose narratives and their authors exercise. As he told us: "in each society the production of discourse is controlled, selected, organized and redistributed according to certain procedures (Foucault, *apud* Radford, 1992, p.417). Science, as general knowledge, enables this level of approximation. Therefore, it is considered that scientificity is an artifice built to produce results; the specification of the elements involved in the "formation of objects" of a discursive field; c) the adoption of the concepts of intertextuality and dispersion as inherent characteristics of discursive formations; d) the finding, in discursive practices, of a pragmatic imperative that determines the existence of systems of exclusion, from which derives the power that authors invest in the process of knowledge production.

The descriptors and their authors will be mentioning some events of the sixteenth century, when the Spanish arrived in Guarani lands. But they had already gone through several traumatic events and as men of a present time, they reorganize the past in order to make it appreciable in their horizon of experience. That is, there is in the productions a formation of objects, an intertextuality and dispersion and discursive practices that serve as devices to understand the cultural field.

The research was divided into three parts. First, we listed eight descriptors: nation, territory, physical aspects, border, security, people, migration and national identity. Next, we chose 6 works that dealt with these terms, and they were published between the period of 1890 and 1925⁴.

⁴ - This time frame was imposed from the dates of the collection in the *Harvard Library*

The works analyzed were: *Los problemas nacionales (1915)*, *El Paraguay progresa: la ciudad de Concepción (1913)*, *República del Paraguay: apuntes para el inmigrante (1914)* by a single author, Genaro Romero; *República del Paraguay (1897)* by Carlos R Santos; *Paraguay – Chapters Intersacados de la geografía universal* de Eliseo Reclus de 1896 e o *Documento Extensão territorial del paraguay al occidente de su rio*, by Fulgencio Moreno, 1925. Thirdly, we proceed to a cartographic analysis of the terms, demonstrating that they carry, discursive unity, similarities, analogies, when they narrate and relate texts and contexts in the formation of meanings for the descriptors mentioned.

2 THE BIRTH OF THE NATION

Memories that survive have their meaning rewritten. The act of rewriting denotes a desire; to talk too. But the written narratives follow orders of science and the political order. If today we can understand that borders are negotiable (SANTOS, 2013); that the dividing landmarks are almost virtual, that territories are transformed into places (TUAN, 2015), these were not the concepts that formed fields of discourses of the nineteenth century.

The analyzed bibliography is marked by the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. the descriptors may not bring this time frame; the meanings, the analogies, the similarities, certainly yes. It is in their surroundings that *things* have passed through the sieve of *words*, (FOUCAULT, 1995) to use a Foucaultian expression. Such narratives make mention of the European nativity of the territory at the time of the arrival of the Spaniards. 1530 would have been founded *the Fuerte de Asunción* (Fort Our Lady of the Assumption) that would give rise to the possession, the territoriality of the Spanish crown, always in dispute with Portugal. The Porteños sought routes to Peru after the dream of *El Dorado*; from Asunción they entered the territory through the Plata Basin and advanced through the territory that today belongs to the State of Paraná, Mato Grosso and regions that today host Uruguay and Argentina. The recurrence to Spanish memory by the authors analyzed fulfills the ritual of reconfirming certain traits and guarantees within discursive forms that guarantee the stability of a national identity to the territory, the people and their modern sovereignty.

Set then, in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, these authors and their narratives are issued stitching past and present to a palate pleasing to the political flavor. As Jaguaribe (2008) said, the nation, in a modern sense, appears in Europe, in an incipient way, with the Italian Renaissance, in which Florentines, Milanese, Neapolitans etc. are differentiated.

In its full sociopolitical sense, European nations emerge from the sixteenth century, with the formation or consolidation of National States, such as France, England, Castile, Portugal. The National State will be long-lived. It acquires its modern form from the eighteenth century and is configured in its fullness in the second half of the nineteenth century, with the unifications of Germany and Italy. This type of state is generalized to the rest of the world from that century on. (p. 275)

In the nineteenth century, after the Napoleonic adventure, such nations are confronted with British imperialism and its unbridled desire to interfere/control other nations. This will occur later in Brazil. German growth, first with Bismack and then with Hitler, harassed the European world by occupying territories of other nations, such as the French case. Also the British empire, which will have great influence in Latin American conflicts.

The modern state, as a globally widespread political organization, is situated in a world system of nation-states that emerges through historically established conflictual and tense relations in the international arena. 'A Internal administrative coordination of nation-states, from its inception, depends on reflexively monitored conditions of an international nature. International relations are contemporary with the origins of nation-states» (Giddens, 2008: 30). In turn, the emergence of the modern state is also what makes possible the creation of this new international order. «The term 'international'», in fact, only has its full meaning with the emergence of nation-states which, because of their strictly demarcated character, provides a very particular form to internal versus external issues (Giddens, 2008: 191).

The nascent European nation states carried this symbolism of the international order. Conquer, control, possess; Three verbs that had direct repercussions to the New World, to the order of maritime and commercial navigations, to the meeting of the Indies. Ships and conquerors brought to America not only ships and men, but all the symbolism of the administrative form that marks their time. As mentioned by Pierre Bourdieu (2005), the power to appoint is the same as to make exist by appointment; It is one of the elementary forms of political power. In the struggle for the monopoly of power, agents try to impose their vision of the social world through certain symbolic strategies such as, for example, appointment. The nomination « (...) belongs to the category of 'official' acts or speeches, symbolically efficient because they are carried out in a situation of authority, by authorized persons, by a function or an office assigned by the State» (Bourdieu, 2005: 143).

3 TERRITORY, PHYSICAL ASPECTS AND BORDER

It was not *El Rei* Español who took possession of the discovered territory: it was his vassal, appointed. It was not the natives of the land who defined the size and boundaries of the Spanish dominions; were the named vassals. These, in turn, named the places, the landforms, the foundations *in Del Rei'* s name.

In the narratives analyzed, the similarities were, one by one, taking the form of the nomination. Fulgencio Moreno (1925) thus narrated the Spanish authority on, first of *El Mar del Sur* and later of *la territorial strip*:

In the second decade of the century, an event of importance, the discovery of the South Sea, shed some light amid still-confused notions about American geography. Balboa soon paid with death for his nascent glory, but that wide road on which he waved for the first time the flag of Castile, was offering a new point of orientation to the explorations of the Continent. These, as everyone knows, did not let themselves wait; powerful stimuli stoked the anxiety of the discoveries, the communication of the two seas, the recognition of the new lands, the possession of the Moluccas and that portentous Empire, whose vague news collected by Balboa, in his preliminary excursions, confirmed him later on the seashore the good cacique Temuco, pointing him to the east the next course of the conquest. (MORENO, 1925:3)

Balboa, according to the meaning of the account, on behalf of Castile, paved the way by offering the next navigators the guidance for exploration of the new continent. Powerful stimuli revived the anxiety for new discoveries. This statement can only be written by those who already know the outcome of the narrative: there were new discoveries and long awaited.

Later in his Account, he states that

A powerful motif, which arose on the side of the Atlantic, then stimulated in the court of Spain these initial currents. Since Alvarez Cabral, dispatched by King Don Manuel bound for India, arrived by chance on the coasts of Brazil, the aspiration of the Portuguese tended insistently to the explorations and occupation of that part of the continent. These tendencies increased with the news spread by the Guarani about the riches of the interior, which also attracted to those regions the audacious attempt of Alejo García and the river exploration of Sebastián Gaboto. A short time before a Portuguese expedition, under the command of Cristóbal Yaques, had penetrated the waters of the Plata, and a new expedition commanded by Alfonso de Souza left with the same destination at the end of 1530. (MORENO, 1925:4)

A narrative plot is created here always in becoming, which maps several devices, notably the historiographical ones: The native legends were responsible for stirring the imagination of the royal envoys. Balboa had the collaboration of a certain chief Temuco, whose name does not appear in the writings; The Guarani will also have "golden legends", of endless places and riches, never found.

Beyond imagination, the abilities of the conquerors had a decisive influence on the interior exploration of the conquests. Skilled navigators, the searches for new lands took place from the veins of inland rivers⁵. Both the Portuguese and the Spanish conducted this strategy of conquest very well. This was decisive of the place of entry of the navigators: the Plata basin. The name, by the way, is a Spanish attribute of a fantastic imaginary of the search for *El Dorado*, sought by Aleixo Garcia, Caboto, Cristóbal Yaques and the expedition of Afonso de Souza, who found silver in Potosi, Peru.

The narrative tensions an external/internal environment (Gidens) with recourse to the narrative of inauguration, the control of the appointment and, through the document Report, Moreno states:

Such are the antecedents and facts that originated and conditioned the primitive Governorate of the Río de la Plata, with whose territory, later fractioned, was constituted in the northern part, the Province of Paraguay, converted after independence into the Republic of the same name. To determine the limits of Paraguay, it will therefore be necessary to go back to its

⁵ - The discovery of interiority, in fact was an auriferous strategy of the nineteenth century. there was search only for the other of alluvium, hence why explore through rivers, streams and valleys.

origins, check the terms agreed by the King, and follow in the process of its historical formation, the royal provisions, the governmental acts and the main facts that confirmed and affirmed the territorial extension with which the Spanish province was erected as an independent nation, preserving the integrity of its domain, according to the principles enshrined in American public law. (MORENO, 1925:6)

Such are the antecedents and facts that originated and conditioned the primitive Governance of the Río de la Plata. The statement is a historical sentence, a foundation. In fact, foundation/creation of the Province of Paraguay. More than that: the author states in the twentieth century that, in order to determine the limits of Paraguay, it will be necessary to return to its origins, verify the terms *that El Rei* agreed to it and follow the process of its historical formation, the royal provisions, the governmental acts and the main facts that confirmed and affirmed the territorial extension with which the Spanish province was established as an independent nation. The narrative then, by similarity and analogy, speaks of Paraguay as one who spoke of Spain itself; of an independent nation, as if the extent of its independence transmitted by the royal scepter, the existence of Paraguay as a reflection of a territoriality, borders and dominions.

In the final pages of his book, he makes a mention that escapes the very structure of the work that, until then, was summarized in quoting texts of agreements and comments on these. It changes to a political rhetorical type:

In the previous pages are recorded Paraguayan domain the main titles that support the right of Paraguay to the west of its river, as well as the constant exercise of that right by its political and ecclesiastical authorities. That western band, called Chaco, was like the eastern band of that river, an integral and inseparable part of the same governmental entity. Over both exercised this identical dominion, emanating from the same origin, stimulated by similar dispositions and sustained with equal firmness and conviction throughout its existence. Paraguay therefore possesses that territory with a right as old as its own life. The possession and its title were born together, and together they continued without solution of continuity, in the laborious process of their historical formation. No more perfect dominion can be invoked, nor is there another that provides a more solid foundation for the territorial constitution of a State. This is proven in our brief presentation, with precise, concrete documentation, free of interpretative vagueness. (81)

Your argument presents as *provas* the "[...] as the constant exercise of that right by its political and ecclesiastical authorities [...]" on the territory inherited by conquest to Espanha. It is alleged that these exercises of right exercised in the region of chaco... That 's why "*Possession and its title were born together.*"

This perspective of possession that Moreno recalls and reinserts in the daily discussions of 1925, and that the Paraguayan State was still grappling with the theme of its territoriality. We will see more at the end, what contemporary historical feature kept this theme in vogue.

Moreno recalls a theme already weighed by other authors. In another text authored by Carlos Santos, from 1897 – therefore with 36 years of anticipation – it had already been a device of tessitura

of the internal and the external, and that our descriptors classified in the research. In *La República del Paraguay*, by Carlos R. Santos:

The area is about 317,000 kilometres. The Paraguay River divides the territory into two large regions, an occidental called Chaco, and an eastern, that is, Paraguay proper, which occupies an area of 238,290 square kilometers and is surrounded by two powerful river arteries: Paraguay and Paraná. (SANTOS, 1897, p.1)

The ancient ability to navigate the arteries is exalted as a symbol on the altar of history. But he already mentions, in this period, not a Spain, but a Paraguay. There is a change in identity treatment that administrative history has tried to guide: independence⁶ and the Republic. Thus, Santos' narrative meets Moreno's narrative when he said: "[...] *la Provincia del Paraguay, convertida después de la independencia en la República del mismo nombre*"⁷. And this Republic had its birthplace in the *Gobernación del Río de La Plata*. The narrative follows the order of things. Or rather, things are placed in the order of the narrative, creating the pleasant sense of the twentieth century. Santos is closer to the Paraguayan War, where the main theme was the navigability of the rivers; Moreno is further away from it and speaks, therefore, of the sovereignty of a National State.

The skill of the navigators also has an embarrassing or forming factor in the imagination of two Paraguayans: one western, the Chaco and one eastern. Although the narrative describes and elevates natural irrigation as a qualifier of the territory, the Chaco is different from *Paraguay proper*. Also the Paraguay River, its route, deserves an explanatory note. "It originates in the state of Mato Grosso, starting its path in a northeast-southwest direction, which runs through Mato Grosso do Sul and crosses the Brazilian border towards the neighboring territories of Bolivia, Paraguay and Argentina, where it flows into the Paraná River." It is this river that divides the two Paraguayans: to the east and west or the Chaco (west) and the other Paraguay (east).

The Chaco region is an area of great controversy, even contemporaneously.

⁶ - Paraguay's declaration of independence from Spain, dates from 1811.

⁷ - Santos, 1897, p.4

Figure 1 - THE GRAN CHACO



Source: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gran_Chaco_people . Public domain. Accessed at 29/06/2023.

The chaco represents a third of Paraguay's forests. With a specific climate, soil and vegetation, it has undergone several discursive screens among those who wish to preserve and those who wish to explore the potential as an economic resource⁸.

Its boundaries to the north and south are not so clear, going beyond the national territories in question. According to these parameters, the Gran Chaco⁹ stretches for 730 kilometers from east to west and 1,100 kilometers from north to south. It is located mainly in Argentina, where it has more than half of its extension. The Paraguayan territory it occupies represents approximately one third of its forests and the rest belongs to Bolivia¹⁰.

From the image (Fig. 1), it is visible that this is an area that goes beyond the current borders of the nation states. This overflow across borders was the cause of territorial conflicts with the two

⁸ - The exploitation of the chaco in an economical way has been carried out by the practices of agriculture and wood due to its plain and soil qualities. Foreigners and Brazilians, named brasiguaios have taken this onslaught forward and diversified the economic indices of Paraguay. However, it is not a peaceful issue, since it confronts the rights of Paraguayan nationals and foreigners over the ownership and exploitation of the soil.

⁹ - The forest of Chaco and the entire region of "Gran Chaco" are located in a basin of geosinclina. This is a region of extensive land that forms a basin based underground, at the continental level. It was formed by the geological movements of the Andes mountain range and the highlands of southern Brazil. It consists mainly of poorly consolidated sand sediments, which reach 3 kilometers deep in some parts of the region. The only places in the forest where large sections of stone can be found on the surface are found in Paraguay, around the river that bears the same name and in the highlands of southern Bolivia. To the west of the Gran Chaco are the Andean mountain ranges and to the east the Paraguay and Paraná rivers.

¹⁰ - The eastern part of the forest resembles a park of trees in groups interspersed with herbaceous savannas. To the west of the forest, dry vegetation and thorny shrubs of small size.

countries, resolved only after the Paraguayan War and specifically with Bolivia in the Chaco War. On the other hand, the eastern part of "Paraguay proper" is a region also called *paramenha*, due to the influences of the Paraná River and that in its orography includes three main chains – Amambai, Maracaju and Caaguazú¹¹, which was in dispute with imperial Brazil, also by definition of border. This place is today, explored by nationals and foreigners, notably Brazilians with the practice of agriculture¹².

In Santos' narrative, the soil of the territory has *atrayerente qualities*.

Due to this circumstance the surface of the land presents continuous undulations in whose concavities sepentean innumerable streams that fertilize the soil. The succession of majestic forests, vast and lush countryside and picturesque hills gives the country a most varied and attractive appearance. (SANTOS, 1897, p.1)

Such qualities of the territory are highlighted at the end of the nineteenth century as qualitative of the commercial exploitation of agriculture and livestock. Integration, by rail, as in Brazil, was pointed out by him as a strategy of development and territorial exploitation, as Romero said: "This road of hierro pondrá esas regiones en relación com los progressistas. States of Brazil, will transport the fruits that the prodigal suelo promises and will give aliento agriculture, industry, trade and the demás fuerzas productoras of the country'. (ROMERO, 1913, p. 3)

Rail transport routes were, since at least a century before, XVIII, one of the great national objectives of the three countries in question. Although, Romero here mentions the neighboring state of Brazil and with this implicitly citing Mato Grosso and Paraná, the large volume of circulation between the two countries was done by waterway, taking advantage of the navigability of the Paraná and Paraguay rivers.

This navigability deserves special emphasis to understand and discuss the "historical" boundaries between the two countries. When, a text of 1897 recalls the treaties and limits with

¹¹ - The main chain, 200 kilometers long, has smaller branches that extend westward and die along the banks of the Paraguay River. The Amambai mountain range merges with the Maracaju mountain range, which reaches 120 kilometers east of the Paraná River. The average height of this mountain range is 200 meters; The highest point of the chain, 500 meters, is in Brazilian territory. The Paraná River formed the Salto del Guairá waterfall, now covered by Lake Itaipu, which cut through the mountains of the Maracaju mountain range to enter Argentina. The Cordillera de Caaguazú begins where the other two main mountain ranges meet and extends to the south, with an average height of 400 meters. Its highest point, Cerro de San Joaquin, reaches 500 meters above sea level. This chain is not a continuous massif, but is interrupted by hills and undulations covered with forests and meadows. The Cordillera de Caaguazú reaches west of the Paraná Plateau to the central plains.

¹² - An extension of the southern plateau of Brazil, are extensive plains and valleys, of approximate altitude of 700m. With water flow from west to the Paraguay River and east to the Paraná River, the meadows are low, subject to flooding, separated by eastern mountains from the Paraguay River. The plateau region (plateau of Paraná) is densely wooded, occupies a third of the region and extends from north to south up to 145 km west of the border with Brazil and Argentina. The western edge of the Paraná plateau is defined by an escarpment that descends from an elevation of 460 m to 180 m at the southern end of the sub-region¹². The plateau slopes moderately towards the southeast, its remarkably uniform surface is interrupted only by the valleys of the tributaries of the Paraná flowing to the west. The mountains reach on average 400 meters above sea level, although the highest point reaches 700 meters.

arguments in international law and emphasizes an independent and free national state as was Spain and highlights the heroism of first-generation conquerors on their onslaught on the conquest and possession according to the tradition of the *Uti Possidetis*, this is done in order to resolve any doubt about the historical sovereignty built on space. But this appeal to memory, its retelling, is made through the discursive needs of the present time of its authors. And this leads us to think: why would the Paraguayan State need to remember its achievements? 63 years after the end of the Paraguayan War, why does the theme return?

Some antecedents serve as indicators of the meaning of the author's present time. As is known, the Paraguayan borders Mato Grosso, were redrawn after the Paraguayan War and established in the Loizaga-Cotegipe treaty, signed in 1872, Decree 4.911 of March 27, 1872¹³ and supplemented in 1927. By Decree 19.018 of December 3, 1929, at the end of his government, Washington Luiz signed ratifying the addendum agreed in 1927; an almost monosyllabic text: The President of the Republic of the United States of Brazil:

Having sanctioned, by decree n. 5,431, of January 10, 1928, the resolution of the National Congress that approved the treaty of limits, complementary to that of 1872, concluded between Brazil and Paraguay and signed in Rio de Janeiro on May 21, 1927; and having effected the exchange of the respective ratifications in the same city, on the 25th of November next ended: Decrees that the said treaty, appended by copy to the present decree, shall be executed and fulfilled as fully as it is contained.

Art. 1 - From the confluence of the Apa River, on the Paraguay River, to the entrance into the outflow of Bahia Negra, the border between the United States of Brazil and the Republic of Paraguay is formed by the alveo of the Paraguay River, belonging to the left bank to Brazil and the right bank to Paraguay. (BRAZIL. Federal Decree 19.018)

These acts take place according to diplomatic and military strategies. Argentina used its clear economic, naval, air, and land advantage over Brazil to support Paraguay in the Chaco war against Bolivia, providing Asunción with equipment, weaponry, strategic information, money, and blocking several attempts by Brazil and the United States of America to act as mediators in the conflict (Rapoport & Spiegel 2009). Brazil, in turn, approaching Bolivia, and, after the Paraguayan victory in the war in 1938, signs a treaty of alliance with La Paz, in which Brazil guaranteed the territorial integrity of that country before a possible new war with Paraguay or Argentina, and in return received

¹³ - In summary, this Term signed by Princess Isabel, established that "The territory of the Empire of Brazil is divided with that of the Republic of Paraguay by the alveo of the Paraná River, from where the Brazilian possessions begin at the mouth of the Iguassú to the Salto Grande das Sete Quedas of the same Paraná River. From Salto Grande das Sete Quedas continues the dividing line by the highest of the Serra de Maracajú to where it ends. Dahi follows in a straight line, or whatever else comes close to it, through the higher ground to meet the Amambahy Range. It proceeds through the highest of this mountain range to the main source of the Apa River, and down the alveo of this to its mouth on the eastern bank of the Paraguay River. All the slopes that run north and east belong to Brazil and those that run south and west belong to Paraguay. The island of Fecho dos Morros is the domain of Brazil. (Chamber Portal. Collection of Laws of the Empire of Brazil - 1872, Page 109 Vol. 1)

from the Bolivians the concession of oil from the Santa Cruz region. In this same treaty, Brazil still committed to build with its own resources the railway link from Santa Cruz to Corumbá.

The blockades promoted by Argentina to Brazil also served to bring Brazil closer to the United States of America, reflecting in increase and modernizations in the military field. Not only of a warlike nature, but above all of the political organization with the military, inserted graduated officers in administrative spheres of the Brazilian State¹⁴. The 1930s will mean the integration of various sectors of Brazilian civil life with the theme of national security: transport, economy, defense of borders. Hence why Fulgencio returns to the theme of the augers and limits of Paraguayan territory. It was a way of recalling the theme of national sovereignty in the face of the historical movements of the possession and occupation of the territory (FOUCAULT, 2008a; 2008b; 2005).

The Chaco war also had an important symbolic significance for Paraguay. This conflict extended between 1932 and 1935 over the Chaco Boreal dispute; not only because of the territory, but because of the discovery of oil in the foothills of the Andes (DORATIOTO, 2000: 5). On July 21, 1938, the conflict finally came to an end through diplomatic channels. The Peace Treaty between Paraguay and Bolivia is signed, brokered by a Commission meeting in Buenos Aires, composed of Argentina, Brazil, Chile, the United States, Peru and Uruguay. If the borders were fixed, Bolivia renounced the request to have an exclusive port on the Paraguay River.

The first symbolic expression is the movement of countries in search of the mineral that in the coming decades will be the focus of global development. It also means that Paraguay is finally moving from a period of development "inward" to a political activism "outward".

The second indication of openness was the domestic laws creating agricultural colonies for foreigners. According to Mary Monte de López Moreira,

Between 1885 and 1893, a large number of immigrants from Europe and Oceania arrived in Paraguay. Families of French, Italian, Slavs, Russians, Germans, Swiss and Australians arrived during this period. Later, a large contingency of Sicilians, also came to our country with the end of settling in the interior and in the capital. In view of the benefit of the laws of colonization, numerous agricultural colonies were founded. Among them: San Bernardino, Villa Hayes, Colonia Nacional in Caazapá, Colonia Elisa, located in the Central Department and Colonia 25 de Noviembre in Caaguazú" (MOREIRA LOPES: 255/6)

¹⁴ - The international initiatives corresponded to a process of institutional consolidation of the Army and military tutelage in national politics: in 1932 Góes and the lieutenants defeated the first "Young Turks" in the Paulista Revolt, which paved the way for the appointment of this officer to the Ministry of War two years later. In this position, the now General Góes Monteiro establishes the General Secretariat of the National Security Council, a liaison body between the Armed Forces and the civil bureaucracy, one of the pillars of military tutelage over projects considered strategic within the State. Góes' next steps, in articulation with the president himself, was the inauguration of a close officer, Eurico Dutra, in the Ministry of War, while Góes himself, as Chief of Staff of the Army, articulated the military coup that would lead to the institution of the Estado Novo in 1937 (McCann 2009; Góes & Coutinho, 1956). The state's dictatorship consolidated military tutelage over national politics. The Army General Staff now has representatives in civilian bodies such as the National Railway Council and the National Highway Council and the Economic Development Commission, and National Security Sections were created that reported to the General Secretariat of the NSC (commanded by a military man) in various civilian ministries. Finally, Army officers came to occupy positions in the civilian bureaucracy. The institutional apparatus was created that would allow economic development initiatives based on defense requirements.

Finally, these three descriptors: territory, physical aspects and border, when narrated at the end of the nineteenth century by authors of Paraguayan nationality, weave the words before things – historical sources dating back to the beginning of the sixteenth century, recalling events in other forms (POLLACK, 1989; 1992) naming and founding before a utilitarianism of the nineteenth century, the Nation State. It is appealed, therefore, to resolve doubts as to the sovereignty of the soil, the territory and borders and the public right to organize their exploitation.

As Motta said

Paraguay ends the war exhausted. The allied command occupied the government and tasked the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Viscount of Rio Branco, to reorganize the country. The provisional government installed in Asunción decrees the abolition of slaves, at the request of the Count d'Eu. Much of the male population had perished during the war. With the economy devastated – with no loans to retool for the entire period – and with malnutrition and epidemics of all kinds, Paraguay had become a country of survivors. (MOTTA, 1995, p. 252)

Again, now as an opening "outward", the territory was the motivation: the opening to immigration and organization of land exploration. The country recovered diplomatic negotiations for the logistical exit to the sea, either via the Paraná River, to Mato Grosso or to Argentina. And, in the 1960s, a strategic route via road transport to the Port of Paranaguá¹⁵.

4 SECURITY, PEOPLE, MIGRATION

The descriptors described above, after genealogical immersion of the terms, in a certain way, tangented the meaning of the terms security, people and migration. The conflict with the Triple Alliance (Paraguayan War) made possible the emergence of a more self-aware country, focused on values that converged towards a more solid identity and definitively detached from Spain. They took possession of the land; to know their blessings and difficulties; strengthened diplomacy; they reorganized themselves economically, politically, and militarily. They definitively negotiated exits to the Sea and navigability of the rivers; in the 1970s they began the construction of the Itaipu Power Plant in the river of great disputes between the two countries.

With rich and productive soil, it built an economy and agricultural production. In the 1950s with tobacco, pineapple, coffee, peach and yerba mate, among other products. In the 1980s, driven by immigration, with extensive farming. In 1913, Romero described in his work the directions that the country should take in the decades ahead:

¹⁵ - The RN number 7, whose official name is Ruta Nacional n° 7 Dr. José Gaspar Rodríguez Francia is a national route of Paraguay that connects the cities of Coronel Oviedo with Ciudad del Este being continuation of route 2, coming from Asunción and following to the State of Paraná via Friendship Bridge. Its continuation on the Brazilian side is the Br 277 that interconnects to the Port of Paranaguá. The 277th was completed in 1969; The Friendship Bridge owes its beginning to the agreement signed between the two countries in 1956 and was completed in March 1965.

Our ruals jobs cannot exploit these lucrative industries, not for lack of initiative and spirit of progress, but for lack of technical knowledge and mainly for lack of stimulus and capital, which also do not directly encourage them to undertake agricultural tasks. (ROMERO, 1913, p. 6)

Spirited, skilled people, according to him, but without technical knowledge. They lacked the resources to leverage the initiatives of the industry and the countryside. With few investments, he said, "the peasants were developing under the action of their own forces, aided by providence and the fruitfulness of the soil. To say otherwise is to close your eyes to the clear light of truth." (Romero, 1913, p.7)

This impacts on the economy and the need to attract support from foreign countries, to invest both in the domestic and foreign markets and in infrastructure. Thus it is perceived that looking at the first terms endorsed, is the interrelation that can be perceived when looking at the books read. This record demarcates an environment of modernity. Not only technological, but imaginary signs of the modern state; Agreements; institutions, population and economic development, that is, a modernization of the way of understanding and managing the population. In this aspect, we can recall Foucault's studies in *Security, Territory, Population* On governmentality:

the set constituted by the institutions, the procedures, analyses and reflections, the calculations and the tactics that allow to exercise this very specific, although very complex, form of power that has as its main target the population, as the main way of knowing the political economy and as an essential technical instrument the security devices. Secondly, by "governmentality" I mean the tendency, the line of force which, throughout the West, has not ceased to lead, and has long since led, to the pre-eminence of that kind of power which we may call "government" over all others—sovereignty, discipline—and which has brought, on the one hand, the development of a whole series of specific apparatuses of government [and, on the other hand], the development of a whole series of knowledges. Finally, by "governmentality", I believe that one should understand the process, or rather, the result of the process by which the State of justice of the Middle Ages, which in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries became the administrative State, gradually became "governmentalized". (FOUCAULT, 2008a p. 143-144, emphasis added).

Modernity, the management of the State, follows the course of a governmentality that strategically brings together knowledge (political economy), instruments (security devices) and population, the object on which it operates. Therefore, strategically the narratives seek foundation in the colonizer of the sixteenth century: autonomy, sovereignty, control. From it can be seen the Paraguayan State; A dignified, royal (royalty) birther: governmental. To know about yourself also means to know about yourself. Knowledge matters power, that is, the creation and use of instruments and population, respectively, refer to "institutions, procedures, analyses, reflections, calculations and tactics through which this specific form of power is exercised". (NOGUERA-RAMIREZ, 2009, p. 33).

Through statements, here demarcated by the descriptors, surreptitiously this is the art of governing; they are discursive and not discursive practices. Foucault also states that there is a passage

that can be understood as a shift from the regime of sovereignty to a regime dominated by the technologies of governance over the population, that is, the problematic of the territories - over which the sovereigns exercised their power -, gives way to the population; the administration of resources, the exercise and maintenance of a type of power that is exercised over life (biopower). Before this modern sense, in the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the word *government* had another meaning. However, among all the meanings attributed to this term, Foucault highlights:

Whatever it may be, through all these senses, there is something that appears clearly: one never governs a state, one never governs a territory, one never governs a political structure. Those who are governed are always people, they are men, they are individuals or collectivities. (2008, p. 164).

The author still speaking of the semantic sense of government/govern that registered a

[...] displacement in space, to movement, which refers to material subsistence, to food, which refers to the care that can be given to an individual and the healing that can be given to him, which also refers to the exercise of a command, of a prescriptive activity, at the same time incessant, zealous, active, and always benevolent. It refers to the control one can exert over oneself and others, over one's body, but also over one's soul and one's way of acting. And finally, it refers to a trade, a circular process or a process of exchange that passes from one individual to another." (FOUCAULT, 2008, p. 164).

Describing the Paraguayan territory takes into account looking at the population to which it belongs, the colonization of the paIt is given as well as all the countries of South America, by Europeans, in particular Spaniards, hence the Spanish language, mixed with the Tupi Guarani of the original peoples, «The inhabitants of Paraguay, like those of other countries of the New World, descend from three races; of the white or Caucasian, of the indigenous and of the black African that, mixed with each other, produce two different types». (SANTOS, 1898, p. 37) in this way the mestizo and the mulatto appear, however after the war it is seen that the population that did not exceed 800,000 had a decline,

Before the bloody war with the Triple Alliance, (1865-1870) composed of Brazil, the Argentine Republic and the Eastern Uruguay, the population cost little more or less than 800,000 souls, but after it was reduced to 231,000 according to the *senso practido* in 1872, having perished as 600,000, not only in the fighting but also of diseases and privations. Currently the number of inhabitants is 500,000 not including in this sifra the uncivilized Indians who are in the interior of the Chaco. (SANTOS, 1898, p. 37)

Pueblo and población, seem to have different meaning in the author's writing. By mentioning the myth of the three races, also well known in Brazil, the author points out this change proposed by Foucault: government. *Pueblo* mentions the natives, *civilized and uncivilized*; but also the colonizers and the Africans. But the narrative is a tactic in the face of something, for him evident: it was necessary to energize the population, to go beyond "pueblos" to increase their number.

As described, the war caused devastation; not only in the physical aspect of the territory and borders, but also in the *Pueblo*, showing a decrease in the country's demographic census. It was the argument in defense of the opening of the country to immigration, thus aiming not only at reconstruction, but of labor and economic investments and consequently leading to the formation of a mixed nation, which led to look at foreigners and their role in Paraguayan society,

5 HOMELAND AND NATIONAL IDENTITY

The descriptors of the written sources explored here, written by Paraguayan historians, mention there is a concern with nationalism and the homeland, since given the historical context in which the country was at the time. The books and documents present excerpts in which nationalism and the homeland must be restored, aiming at the world look at the devastation of the country,

Understanding what immigration means for the patriotic resurgence, our Constituyentes of 1870 established in the Magda Carta that the National Government will encourage the entry into the Paraguayan territory of American and European immigrants who bring for the purpose of improving industries, tilling the land and introducing and teaching the sciences and arts. (ROMERO. 1915, p. 39)

The excerpt written by Genaro Romero (1915) represents discontent with the consequences of a war. But at the same time it suggests an art of government: improving, mixing, coloring with other qualities nonexistent in the place. Nationalizing foreigners has always been a risk to the nascent nation states. According to historians, looking at the term homeland when researched implies a careful process of inclusion of the immigrant and his role in Paraguayan society. Santos said, in this sense: «Naturalized foreigners enjoy all the political and civil rights of those born in the Paraguayan territory, and may occupy any position, except that of President and Vice President of the Republic, Ministers, Senators and Deputies.» (SAINTS, 1898, p. 36) The requirements to be accepted prescribed residency for two years in a row, owning some property, working capital, or producing science, art, or industry, thus providing services to the republic and contributing to taxes.

This process of industrialization is also described in the books of Genaro Romero (1913 and 1915) and Carlos R. Silva (1897) which demonstrates the concern with art, scientific development and the process of industrial and agrarian development of the country. Even though the books describe the territory and borders as conducive to agriculture and livestock, in the process of reurbanization he was concerned with industrialization, showing the national integration of the immigrant into society and its value to the Paraguayan people. This was intended for national harmonisation:

These sacrifices were not entirely sterile. To their charity under several foreigners from different countries have assimilated to nationality, representing positive value today in their moral evolution and economic transformation.

However, not every colonization initiative has yielded positive results towards what was expected of it. Romero pointed out:

But for various causes and consequences, most of the same efforts unfortunately crashed into the fracasso. In anticipation of worse negative results in the future, it would be prudent to follow a guidance of better practical sense that harmonizes with national needs and resources. (Romero, 1915, p. 40)

Intertwined with failure; But it would have been the method, not the initiative, so it would be prudent to follow better guidance. It is evident the importance that immigration has, however also the importance of a preparation not only of the population, but of the government to receive the immigrants, thus not becoming a national problem for the country. Another problem for immigration aimed at avoiding future problems as the text itself presents further the lack of education for immigrants, who seek only the land causing there to be a lack of labor in the country for other respective functions, such as vendors, teachers, among others.

For this the republic itself in the document *Notions of Constitutional Law* of 1913, text intended for the teaching of the Constitution of the Republic of Paraguay in schools and colleges (PARAGUAY, 1913) question:

« - How is the necesidade that the People have a Government justified? »

The question expresses the term with an initial letter in capital letters, which in advance declares the moral sense, respectful. And then he replies:

Because government is an essential necessity to the existence of society and the well-being of men. Society without the authority responsible for carrying out the principle of law would be less than a horde of savagery, in which everyone could do not do what they wanted, do evil by wishing to leave the good. (p. 5)

A citizenship under control; legal. The constriction of freedom in the direction of institutional and individual identity. The Myth of the Modern State. That is why he teaches:

- What is the great end of the government? Strengthening civil freedom. What is civil freedom? It is the right that everyone has to seek their happiness as soon as the laws are allowed. In this same diapasão, it is important to highlight how the author defines sovereignty: "Sovereignty is the highest power. For a state to be sovereign, it needs to govern itself without relying on any other power (p.6).

Nothing more precise, directed, thought to the nascent National State: autonomy and independence. As for the freedom of the new citizen, it was expressed as follows:

They can work and exercise any licit industry, navigate and trade, meet peacefully, petition the authorities, enter, stay, transit and leave the Paraguayan territory free of passaporte; publish their ideas in the press without prior censorship; use and dispose of your property; associate for useful purposes; freely profess their worship; teaching and learning (art. 18) (p. 14)

As for the rights of foreigners, they were not required to naturalize. However, they could do so after two years of residence and assets in their name.

Still on the question of territory, According to Carlos R. Silva (1897) the soil is considered one of the richest in South America for its fertility and tributaries that foster immigration and the search for land in the country. For Genaro Romero (1913) the same is thought of soil and immigration,

Among many indications of an imminent awakening of foreign interest in Paraguay, I must mention the visit of Australian landowners, who have sold their property and cattle and have established themselves with their capital and experience in the Paraguayan Chaco, deliberately chosen in several cases, at least after a worldwide investigation of the best fields for cattle breeding. (ROMERO, 1913, p.3-4)

The relationship established by analyzing the works of the authors shows how the terms territory, homeland and the issue of immigration are related and extremely important for the economy and for the reconstruction of the country. The author shows how the rich soil attracts foreigners, and how this has developed livestock and agriculture in the country.

Both works highlight these rights of citizenship, guaranteed by work, property and schooling. The arrival of new migrants, from the mid-twentieth century, especially Brazilians – the brasiguaios – will bring a new model of development, land distribution and conflicts.

6 FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

The Paraguay of the early twentieth century, where the writing of the texts under analysis is based, is very different from the sixteenth to nineteenth centuries. according to Souchaud's studies "the hospitality of the Paraguayan nation is not denied in the twentieth century, and geographically and culturally diverse contingents are integrated into the Paraguayan nation: Italians, Germans, Japanese, Ukrainians and Russians form agricultural colonies in the eastern region, and Mennonite immigrants from Eastern Europe and Canada settle mainly in the heart of the Chaco. (2011:133)

An official history is constructed in function of the demand for a nationalist and heroic identity forged in resistance and isolation (LANGA PIZARRO, 2006).¹⁶ Although with a negative aspect, these elements point positively to the emergence of a more homogeneous society, with political parties, associations and societies. Souchaud (2011) points out that in this conjuncture of "formation and

¹⁶ - The conflict also brought other lessons. In the specific case of Brazil, it was a remarkable episode in the history of Brazilian society of the nineteenth century. the cities of Rio Grande do Sul – Uruguaiana, Itaqui and São Borja – and some territories of southern Mato Grosso were occupied by Paraguayan troops; but the number of soldiers mobilized in the war reached 140,000 men (CAPDEVILA, 2007, p. 33). An estimated 50,000 died; but the vast majority due to deficiencies, poor training, lack of knowledge of strategies and the inclement weather of the hinterlands. Poor diet, extreme fatigue and diseases (such as cholera) caused at this time more mortality in the troops than battles. Therefore, the human cost of this war was high for Brazil. In addition, it was not a short episode, since Brazilian troops continued to occupy the territory even after the end of the conflict. The Brazilian army stayed in Asunción until 1876 (CAPDEVILA, 2007, p. 494).

collective ideological affirmation that the Paraguayan dictatorships of the twentieth century must be interpreted, at the same time as their expression and factor". (134)

The descriptors chosen – nation, Territory, physical aspects and border, Security, people, migration, Homeland and national identity – resulted in 6 works chosen to be analyzed here. When terms are evaluated as their context, texts and paratexts, an archaeology of ideas emerges; narrative strategies that recall the sixteenth century to the twentieth century. dreams, desires, passions, political wills that intertwine in the form of national goals, nationalities, borders and population. The Paraguayan historiography analyzed here, therefore, is a cartography that dialogues contemporary devices of the twentieth century marked by desire (DELEUZE) and possibility.

Such devices call for sovereignty, freedom and independence. Finally, territoriality, national sovereignty, citizenship emerge in the letters analyzed as central elements of Paraguayan national identity. Its freedom and autonomy were won not only by victories and losses, but by the art of governing which, involving in an amalgamation the ruler and the governed, the possible strategies, the field of power, emerges as an independent state.

The terms descriptors, despite belonging to different works and authors, dialogue with each other in a convergent, constructive conversation. They rediscover the sixteenth to nineteenth centuries with their heroic acts, with the singular events, the dates, the foundations, the rivers, the banks, the borders, a people, in the intuition of forging a contemporaneity. The descriptors indicate meanings constructed in past centuries, by men of the late nineteenth century and early decades of the twentieth century.

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