



# Contentious Narratives in Amazonian Cities Along the Brazil–Bolivia Border: Memories and Resentments Turned Heroic and Glorious

Narrativas contenciosas en ciudades amazónicas en la frontera Brasil-Bolivia: memorias y resentimientos que se tornan gloriosos y heroicos

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Francisco Bento da Silva

Jairo de Araujo Souza

Marcello Messina

## Abstract

The purpose of this article is the comparative study of monuments in Cobija (Bolivia) and Rio Branco (Brazil), unearthing the contentious national narratives that each of these two Amazonian border cities sustains as a result of the historical dispute over control of the region that today composes the southern part of the Brazilian state of Acre. We explore the different ways in which monuments on both sides of the border draw on narratives of national pride that allude to this conflict.

**Keywords:** borders, monuments, semiophores, narratives, history, memory, conflict, nation, Brazil, Bolivia

## Resumen

El objetivo del presente trabajo es el estudio comparativo de monumentos en Cobija (Bolivia) y Rio Branco (Brasil), para observar las narrativas contenciosas que cada una de estas dos ciudades amazónicas de frontera sustentan a partir del conflicto histórico por el control de la región que hoy compone la parte meridional del estado brasileño del Acre. Nuestra propuesta es la de explorar las diferentes maneras con que monumentos en las ciudades de frontera de ambos países divulgan narrativas de orgullo nacional alusivas al conflicto.

**Palabras clave:** fronteras, monumentos, semióforo, narrativas, historia, memoria, conflicto, nación, Brasil, Bolivia



## Introduction

Perhaps border cities, marked by passionate warfare between different nations, always leave to posterity the task of cyclically constructing and renovating historical memories related to a glorious, if humiliating and resented, past. This is probably more evident in these cities than in situations where border conflicts are not a structural part of local historical narratives. One would imagine that this is the case in the majority of foreign cities in contact zones where identities, languages, economies, people, cultures and other aspects of everyday life interact, at times retaining open or latent tensions, other times incorporating each other in complex exchanges.

A small town along the westernmost frontier with Brazilian Amazonia perfectly exemplifies this situation: the Bolivian city of Cobija, capital of the Pando department, which borders two Brazilian cities, Epitaciolândia and Brasiléia, both part of the state of Acre. The capital of Acre, Rio Branco, lies 230 km away from the border. During the so-called “Acrean Revolution,” or “Acre War,” which led to the 1903 Treaty of Petrópolis and the Brazilian annexation of “Bolivian” Acre, none of these cities existed. All of them were founded later, following the political and administrative redefinitions laid down by the two countries during the first decade of the twentieth century. In this day and age, these cities still carry the traces of a past that remains contentious. It is precisely in this sense that we deploy the concept of “contentious narratives”:<sup>1</sup> by comparing the identity narratives embedded in the monuments of Cobija and Rio Branco, we shall attempt to

unearth contrasting and even conflicting visions of the military conflict that led to the Brazilian annexation of Acre.

Cobija and Rio Branco, the two most vibrant and dynamic cities in the region in terms of economic and population growth, also offer the most emblematic monumental representations of a heroic and disputed past, imbued with patriotic tones and chronicles of fierce battles against the enemy. Eric Hobsbawm links “the mass production of public monuments”<sup>2</sup> to the political mobilization of citizens in modern European nations. Benedict Anderson bases part of his well-known formulation of “imagined communities” on the role of national monuments,<sup>3</sup> which, according to Pierre Nora, can be subsumed under the general notion of “*lieux de memoire*.”<sup>4</sup> Abundantly drawing upon Nora’s work, François Hartog illustrates the conversion of “monuments” into “memorials” under the discursive notion of “heritage.”<sup>5</sup> Néstor García Canclini, on the other hand, signals the potential tensions posed by the juxtaposition of monuments and graffiti in urban spaces.<sup>6</sup>

In acknowledging the vast and rich literature on the topic of monuments and nationalism, however, we find it appropriate to deploy the notion of “semiophores” to best describe the politics of monuments in Cobija and Rio Branco. According to Marilena Chauí,<sup>7</sup> semiophores are signals that are placed at the forefront in order to be exposed, observed, worshipped, respected and commemorated. A semiophore can be a monument, an object, an animal, a person, a road

or a document, which is emptied of its intrinsic value and charged with symbolisms, reverential “signals.” Chauí illustrates the role of nation as a semiophore, putting the expansion of borders in correlation with the “national character.”<sup>8</sup> Currently, as border cities, both Rio Branco and Cobija are dotted with multiple semiophores linked to the conflicts that occurred at the turn of the twentieth century.<sup>9</sup>

In Rio Branco, the traces of the so-called Acrean Revolution are not grounded in “historical sites” of past battles, as in other regional centers such as Porto Acre (formerly Puerto Alonso) and Xapuri (formerly Mariscal Sucre). Instead, they are concentrated in two recently built semiophores, both celebrating the figure of Plácido de Castro, the military leader acclaimed by the official narratives as a revolutionary hero. The best known of these monuments is in the center of the city, in the Praça da Revolução (“Revolution Square”). The other one sits in the former *seringal* Capatará, a property once owned by Plácido de Castro and currently on the outskirts of Rio Branco. There, in 2008, the local government built the Plácido de Castro Municipal Park, describing it as an “open-air museum” commemorating the place where the Acrean hero was ambushed and killed in 1908.<sup>10</sup>

According to the official press release, the Acrean government’s initiative consisted of “performing a historical-cultural rehabilitation of the region within the touristic route Caminhos da Revolução (“Paths of the Revolution”, comprising museums in the city of Rio Branco, the chalet



Plaza de los Bueyes monument. *Monumento al Esfuerzo Carretero y su Histórico Carretón*, David Paz Ramos, 2008. Photography: Jairo Souza, September 2015



Tres Cabezas monument. *Monumento a los Héroes de Bahía*, David Paz Ramos and Ángel Jiménez Román, 2006. Photography: Jairo Souza, September 2015

of the *seringal* Bom Destino, the city of Porto Acre and Quixadá— home of the set of the TV drama *Amazônia, de Galvez a Chico Mendes* [“Amazonia, from Galvez to Chico Mendes”], broadcast by Rede Globo).<sup>11</sup> All these spaces conform to a pompous official discourse, recently renovated for the centenary commemorations of Brazil’s annexation of Acre.<sup>12</sup>

Back in Cobija, the traces of the past offered up to everyday observation are constituted by various semiophores, such as roads, public transportation, monuments depicting heroes, welcome plaques, historical sites and other, less perceivable, objects.<sup>13</sup> Undoubtedly, the most impressive and evocative of these semiophores is the monument commonly known as “Tres Cabezas” (“Three Heads”), which will be one of the objects of our investigation, as well as the statue of Plácido de Castro in Rio Branco.

### Monuments in Cobija

When visiting the city center of Cobija in Bolivian Amazonia, one can find many important monuments, which not only refer to the founding of Cobija but are also directly related to historical conflicts with the neighboring country, Brazil, over the territory along the Rio Acre. These monuments celebrate local historic figures and glorified national heroes and transmit specific narratives about the place and its people. These narratives are in turn determined by a tradition which reestablishes practices begun by the region’s first colonial settlers and normalized by travelers in their historical accounts. In this way, the place and its people are submitted to the scrutiny of the “Imperial Eyes,”<sup>14</sup> i.e., the official national narratives, an important feature of the colonial and post-colonial eras.

In particular, the monuments in Cobija direct our attention to one of the main conflicts of the Guerra del Acre along the border, the “Battle of Bahía.”<sup>15</sup> The central square, Plaza de los Bueyes, is populated by monuments built in October 2008, one of which celebrates early-twentieth-century rubber tapping, which was the main reason behind the conflict. Rubber or latex extracted from the *hevea brasiliensis* tree, known as *gomero* in Bolivia and *seringueira* in Brazil, was an important raw material for the international market. The rubber trade played a central role in triggering the war. In the square, there is the monument of a *cauchero/seringueiro* (rubber tapper) with his dog, followed by an oxcart loaded with *goma/seringa* (latex)

extracted from the Amazon rainforest. According to official historical narratives, the *cauchero/seringueiro* is the protagonist of the settlement of this part of Amazonia, which emerged as a hot spot precisely because of the extraction of latex. The rubber tapper, in other words, is represented as a pioneer, explorer, adventurer, etc., and his labor is justified by foreign affairs and other interests alien to the region.<sup>16</sup> The semiophoric significance of this symbolic figure is attested to by the fact that the rubber trade has long since lost its importance in the region’s economy. The character of the *cauchero/seringueiro* towers over Cobija’s urban landscape, emptied of its original meaning and standing for something else, which is to be worshipped and celebrated.

The logic of “progress” and “development” portrays the *cauchero/seringueiro* as “the local man,” silencing indigenous people and erasing pre-existing cultures and knowledge from official national narratives.<sup>17</sup> In other words, national narratives (re)establish, control and select what must be remembered and assimilated as “native” to this region. These narratives can be found, with similar echoes and values, on both sides of the border, as the disputed territory was entirely given over to this industry.

In this same public square, one can find an obelisk divided into three blocks, which represents the characters and events of battles throughout the territory of Acre, summarizing the Guerra del Acre by honoring the so-called heroes of the Batalla de Bahía (“Battle of Bahía”).<sup>18</sup>

At the base of the monument, we can distinguish the “native race,” as the plaque at the bottom of monument reads, i.e., indigenous people mixed in with the local fauna and flora. It is worth mentioning that the spatial arrangement of the figures that compose the obelisk suggest a sort of “natural order,” or the narrative of an evolutionary hierarchy, at whose bottom lie the racialized characters that compose the base of the obelisk. Portrayed in order to exalt the exotic and exuberant beauty of Amazonia, these men and women are represented as playing a secondary role in that they do not appear as the protagonists of events, but simply as part of the local setting. Here lies one of the crucial points of our criticism of official narratives, as we perceive the reinforcement and maintenance of a discourse that traditionally stigmatizes and perpetuates prejudices against the region and its indigenous people. As has been pointed out by Eni Orlandi,<sup>19</sup> places and their



Plaque of the "Tres Cabezas" monument. Photography: Marcello Messina, September 2015

people are narrated, categorized and silenced: in this context, these indigenous men and women are selectively placed "at the margins of history," as Euclides da Cunha<sup>20</sup> would put it.

Back to the monument, new figures gradually gain emphasis as we follow the obelisk up along its carved reliefs. In the second block, we see the rubber tappers. These characters, in our view, receive greater prominence and importance than the natives depicted just below them. The rubber tappers are represented within the framework of those who helped color the heroic national narrative. They are the explorers or pioneers of colonial Bolivia.

In the third block, at the top of the monument, there are the three gigantic heads that give the monument its nickname *Tres Cabezas*. These are the defeated heroes who fought the Guerra del Acre or, as the official plaque states: *El holocausto de la Guerra del Acre* ("The Holocaust of the Acre War"), evoking genocide and mass killing. The Bolivian defeat is turned into a historical tragedy, which strengthens the official national narrative by making the historical event unfor-



Statue of Bruno Racua. Photography: Jairo Souza, September 2015

gettable. The word "holocaust" is a fundamental keyword in the texture of the tragic narrative: as noted by Stef Craps, references to the Holocaust often tend to appropriate a genocidal history that happened elsewhere in both space and time in order to "validate an occluded history of victimization."<sup>21</sup> It is important to be aware of the effects that such appropriations may have in different historical contexts: according to Andreas Huyssen, "one must always ask whether and how the trope (of the Holocaust) enhances or hinders local memory practices and struggles, or whether and how it may perform both functions simultaneously."<sup>22</sup> Certainly, the word "holocaust" on the monument in Cobija appeals to sentiments that go beyond pain, into the realm of collective sacrifice, which is associated with bravery and heroism – a constant source of pride for Bolivians.

The three monumental heads belong to the indigenous warrior Bruno Racua, the military and political leader José Manuel Pando and Nicolas Suarez, a landlord celebrated as a hero of the Battle of Bahía. The narrative of these three "heroes of Acre" is not only part of an unspoken dispute with Brazil: this narrative is not harmoniously incorporated into the history of the rest of Bolivia. One of the central streets of La Paz was eventually named Calle Héroes del Acre ("Heroes of Acre Street"), but it celebrates three heroes that are not the same as those depicted

in the Cobija monument: Ismael Montes, Pedro Kramer and Lucio Pérez Velazco, figures more recognized and celebrated on the Andean altiplano, as opposed to the local Amazonian heroes of Cobija.

Both of the monuments in Plaza de los Bueyes were created by the Bolivian sculptor David Ramos Paz, who also designed many other historical monuments that dot cities across Bolivia. In a 2016 interview, Paz described his technique as "figurative realism."<sup>23</sup> This figurative realism allegedly attempts to represent people, things and natural elements "as they are (or would be)." Engaged in the "redemption" of historical facts and local/national heroes, Paz is seen in his country as both "sculptor and history scholar."<sup>24</sup> We are, in other words, in the presence of a double realism: artistic and historical. Regarding this last point, we perceive the intention of representing the official and hegemonic historical narratives as "true." But these strategies of reminiscing through multiple signs – such as the monuments/semiophores – are always transitory and incomplete, as they are based around the pretention of imprisoning the past and its supposed reality.<sup>25</sup> They are nothing but simulacra that silence and erase the victims of the heroes celebrated in public squares.

As argued by Huyssen, the twentieth century confronts us with genocide, colonization, war, di-



Statue of Plácido de Castro (*Monumento à Tomada de Porto Acre e Estátua de Plácido de Castro*, Honório Peçanha, 1963). Photography: Marcello Messina, October 2015

aspora, repression and domination, which would be sufficient to invalidate any pretensions of glorifying the past.<sup>26</sup> But perhaps the key to understanding the monumentalization of the past lies precisely in its intimate dependency on conflict, on human contradictions, on multifaceted narratives that compete to become hegemonic. Without all this, what we describe as “contentious narratives” would not have any reason to exist.

The historical narrative presented in the monument of the “Heroes of Bahia” is reinforced on Avenida Teniente Coronel Cornejo, where a statue honoring Bruno Racua can be seen aiming a flaming arrow towards the other side of the Acre River (Brazil). An indigenous man, Racua is considered to be one of the heroes of the Acre War. Once again, there is a representation of an unsettled past with the neighboring country, in order to assuage feelings of resentment still present today regarding the loss of this territory, in a mixture of pride and national bravery captured in the way in which the statue is laid out in the public square.

### Monuments in Rio Branco

When comparing the monuments in Cobija with the statue of Plácido de Castro in Rio Branco, Acre, Brazil, it is necessary to note that the roles of the various ethnic and social groups involved in the conflict are articulated in a totally different manner. In the monument to the “Battle of Bahia” in Cobija, indigenous people are problematically racialized and implicitly assigned an inferior status than those of the *cachueiros/seringueiros* and the three heroes at the top of the obelisk. However, they are undeniably represented as a component of the conflict. Furthermore, the presence of Bruno Racua, an

indigenous subject, as one of the three large heads at the top of the obelisk, as well as in the other monument on Avenida Teniente Coronel Cornejo, attests to the willingness to acknowledge the contributions of indigenous people in the conflict.

In Rio Branco, however, the monument to Plácido de Castro celebrates the individual heroism of the white military leader, disavowing the collective dimension of the Cobija obelisk. The statue portrays de Castro showing the way with his left hand while wielding a sword with his right. The sword, pointing towards the South-East, is oriented exactly towards the border with Bolivia, although not exactly in the direction of Cobija. In this sense, the pair formed by the statue of Plácido de Castro in Rio Branco and that of Bruno Racua in Cobija embodies the extremely polarized form in which the symbolic militarization of the Pando-Acre border manifests itself.

In the monument to Plácido de Castro in Rio Branco, the racialized subaltern is represented in a plaque situated underneath the statue. The plaque is a bas-relief that celebrates the opening of the passage to Porto Acre in January 1903, led by Colonel Alencar.<sup>27</sup> The bas-relief shows a bare-chested black subject pulling a metal chain. Behind this worker, the military leader, dressed like an explorer, waves his hand at a boat that can now navigate the river. Here the chain is not directly connected to the phenomenological sphere of slavery; however, and in line with the implicit referentiality of semiophores, it puts forward the control and exploitation of the black body as a component of the ethical and social dimension of the Brazilian conquest of Acre. It is important to note that indigenous people are totally ignored in this monument, unlike in Cobija. This absence is symptomatic,



Plaque beside the statue of Plácido de Castro. Photography: Marcello Messina, October 2015

on the one hand, of the continued reticence about the phenomenon of indigenous slavery,<sup>28</sup> and on the other hand, of the silencing of the roles of indigenous peoples within the history of present-day Acre.<sup>29</sup>

In brief, we wish to draw attention to the considerable difference between the official Bolivian narratives that acknowledge the role of indigenous populations in the process of the formation of present geopolitical subjects and the Brazilian narratives that silence the indigenous presence and celebrate the supremacy of the white hero, together with the exploitation of black slaves, almost treating the two as indispensable paradigms in the process of the colonization of Acre. We also propose that this fundamental difference foreshadows a peculiar racialization that operates across the border today, a racialization in which Bolivian people, practices and territories are categorized as “inferior” with respect to a perceived and fantasized Brazilian “whiteness.”

A plaque below the monument of Plácido de Castro seems to implicitly refer to this racialized geopolitical divide, but it represents the conflict as a confrontation of the “Acrean revolutionary forces” against “the Bolivian Army and international capital.”<sup>30</sup> The official discourse of the State of Acre implicitly claims the non-involvement of the Brazilian side of the conflict with economic and political interests and associates these same interests exclusively with the Bolivian side. This forced dichotomy of Brazil vs. international capital silences all issues that have to do with the racialization and violent militarization that characterize the border narrative. Moreover, the plaque’s reference to the “Acrean revolutionary forces” can be put in direct contrast with the “holocaust” evoked in Cobija: it is precisely this tension

between the “revolution” and the “holocaust” that led us to use the concept of “contentious narratives.”

### Conclusion

Those who enter Cobija from Brazil are met by a towering welcome plaque that celebrates the city as “La Perla del Acre” (“The Pearl of Acre”). What is this Acre mentioned here? The river? The state? The region? All of the above? The plaque seems to deliberately rely on ambiguity and indeterminacy: it marks both pride and resentment in light of the open scars of past conflict with Brazilians.

The polysemic, ambivalent and indefinite Acre cited in the plaque is precisely what brings Bolivians and Brazilians together in this border zone. But this neither unites nor homogenizes them; on the contrary, it signals heterogeneity, separation, latent or open conflict, unequal exchange, mixed languages and prejudices. Cobija is a hybrid city due to the presence of the many Brazilians who buy imported products and work in local shops. The image of the pearl, then, functions as a nostalgic compensation that seems to replace one Acre with another Acre: the allusion to the lost/ceded region disappears and what remains is the reference to the river along which the city was built. The name stays, but it is resignified, it stands for something else. Cobija remains the “least Bolivian (city) among the departmental capitals”<sup>31</sup> and the pearl that shone in the golden age of rubber tapping seems to now shine for the commerce aimed at Brazilian consumers.

For a territory “gloriously” won against Bolivia, the Brazilian state of Acre is exceptionally marginalized and forgotten within Brazilian national culture,



Welcome sign at the entrance to Cobija. Photography: Francisco Bento da Silva, February 2015

even to the point of being the butt of a popular joke spread on social media which says that “Acre doesn’t exist.”<sup>32</sup> This marginalization not only operates at the level of national popular culture, but concretely determines a series of infrastructural disadvantages that objectively determine the exclusion of the Acrean territory from Brazil’s national space. The most blatant, arbitrary and unjustified of these disadvantages is perhaps the exorbitant cost of plane tickets to and from the state, which cyclically triggers protests from local politicians.<sup>33</sup> In this way, the territory and population of Acre remain in a liminal, intermediate position, suspended between the local celebration of the military conquest of their own Brazilianness and the negation of this same Brazilianness at the national level. In view of all this, we can suppose that it is precisely along this border with Bolivia – polarized, racialized and symbolically militarized, but also utilized as a reservoir of cheap commodities – that Acre imagines and fabricates its own Brazilianness; and that this imaginary Brazilianness sustains itself on the Bolivian bitterness over the lost territory.

Michel De Certeau teaches us that urban spaces sustain their own discourses through the coercive organization of space,<sup>34</sup> and we wish to conclude our journey through the militarized monuments towering over these border cities by tactically disobeying their spatialized discourses. We displace the statues of Bruno Racua and Plácido de Castro by imagining them facing each other, pointing their respective weapons against the “foreign” enemy. This symbolic militarization in the name of national narratives contrasts with a more plausible scenario: that of two regions (Acre and Pando) which are dramatically dependent on each other in the face of the continued isolation to which their respective nations relegate them.

#### Notes

1. See an earlier work by two of the authors of this article: Jairo de Araujo Souza and Marcello Messina, “Contentious Border Narratives in Amazonian Bolivia and Brazil” (Paper presented at the 12<sup>th</sup> JALLA - Jornadas Andinas de Literatura Latino Americana, La Paz, Bolivia, August 8-12, 2016).
2. Eric Hobsbawm, “Mass-Producing Tradition: Europe, 1870-1914”, in David Boswell y Jessica Evans (eds.), *Representing the Nation: A Reader* (London: Routledge, 1999): 61-87 (66).
3. Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso Books, 2006): 9-38.
4. Pierre Nora, “Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Memoire,” *Representations* 26 (1989): 7-24.
5. François Hartog, “Time and Heritage,” *Museum International* 57-3 (2005): 7-18.
6. Néstor Garcia Canclini, *Culturas Híbridas - estratégias para entrar e sair da modernidade* (São Paulo: EDUSP, 1997): 283-350.
7. Marilena Chauí, *Brasil: mito fundador e sociedade autoritária*, (São Paulo: Fundação Perseu Abramo, 2000).
8. Marilena Chauí, *Brasil: mito fundador e sociedade autoritária*.
9. Francisco Bento da Silva, “A cidade de Cobija e os lugares de memória da Guerra do Acre/Revolução Acreana,” in Gerson Rodrigues de Albuquerque (ed.), *Das margens* (Rio Branco: Nepan, 2016): 121-138. See also, Jairo de Araujo Souza and Marcello Messina “Contentious Border Narratives...”
10. Agência de Notícias do Acre, “Local onde morreu Plácido de Castro vira museu a céu aberto” (web), August 30, 2008. Accessed January 28, 2017, <https://goo.gl/MCVuaY>.
11. Agência de Notícias do Acre, “Local onde morreu Plácido de Castro vira museu a céu aberto.”
12. Maria de Jesus Morais, *Acreanidade: invenção e reinvenção da identidade acreana*, doctoral thesis (Niterói: Departamento de Geografia, Universidade Federal Fluminense, 2008).
13. Francisco Bento da Silva, “A cidade de Cobija...”; Jairo de Araujo Souza and Marcello Messina, “Contentious Border Narratives...”
14. Mary Louise Pratt, *Os olhos do império: relatos de viagem e transculturação* (Bauru: Edusc, 1999).
15. Carlos G. Zambrana Lara, “Historia fotográfica del puerto de Cobija (1908),” *Revista de la Biblioteca y Archivo Histórico de la Asamblea Legislativa Plurinacional* 5-12 (2011), 09.
16. Gerson Rodrigues de Albuquerque, “História e historiografia do Acre: notas sobre os silêncios e a lógica do progresso,” *Tropos: Comunicação, Sociedade e Cultura*, 4 (2015), 12.
17. Gerson Rodrigues de Albuquerque, “História e historiografia do Acre,” 14.
18. The Batalla de Bahia was fought on October 11, 1902. Bahia was the former name of Cobija. See Francisco Bento da Silva, “A cidade de Cobija...”, 125.
19. Eni Orlandi, *Terra à Vista: Discurso do Confronto – Velho e Novo Mundo* (São Paulo: Cortez Editora, 1990).

20. Euclides da Cunha, *À margem da história* (São Paulo: Martins Fontes, 1999).
21. Stef Craps, "Holocaust Literature: Comparative Perspectives" in Jenni Adams (ed.), *The Bloomsbury Companion to Holocaust Literature* (London: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2014):199-218 (207).
22. Andreas Huyssen, "Present Pasts: Media, Politics, Amnesia," *Public Culture* 12.1 (2000): 21-38 (26).
23. Alexander Ortega, "Tiene 50 monumentos en la ciudad David Paz, el escultor de la historia de Santa Cruz," *La estrella del oriente* (web), April 10, 2016. Accessed June 27, 2017, <https://goo.gl/GjYtT2>.
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25. Andreas Huyssen, *Seduzidos pela memória: arquitetura, monumentos, mídia* (Rio de Janeiro: Aeroplano, 2000), 20.
26. Andreas Huyssen, *Seduzidos pela memória*, 31.
27. Plácido de Castro, "Apontamentos sobre a Revolução Acreana," in Genesco de Castro (ed.), *O Estado Independente do Acre e J. Plácido de Castro: Excertos Históricos* (Brasília: Senado Federal, 2005), 68.
28. John Monteiro, "O escravo índio, esse desconhecido," in Luís Donisete Benzi Grupioni (ed.), *Índios no Brasil* (Brasília: Ministério da Educação e do Desporto, 1994).
29. Albuquerque, "História e historiografia do Acre...", 14.
30. Inscription on the monument to Plácido de Castro, Rio Branco.
31. Carlos G. Zambrana Lara, "Historia fotográfica del puerto de Cobija (1908)," 06.
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## Francisco Bento da Silva

Doctor of History

Universidade Federal do Paraná

Professor

Universidade Federal do Acre

✉ [chicobento\\_ac@yahoo.com.br](mailto:chicobento_ac@yahoo.com.br)

## Jairo de Araujo Souza

Master of Literature

Universidade Federal do Acre

Professor

Universidade Federal do Acre

✉ [souzajairo9@gmail.com](mailto:souzajairo9@gmail.com)

## Marcello Messina

Doctor of Musical Composition

University of Leeds

Professor

Universidade Federal do Acre

✉ [marcellomessina@mail.ru](mailto:marcellomessina@mail.ru)