

Klaus Schönitzer

## FROM THE NEW TO THE OLD WORLD

**Two indigenous children brought back to Germany  
by Johann Baptist Spix and Carl Friedrich Philipp Martius**

### INTRODUCTION

By the end of 1820, Bavarian naturalists Johannes Baptist Spix and Carl Friedrich Philipp Martius brought two children from Brazil to Munich, Germany. They belonged to indigenous people called the Juri and Miranha, but they did not survive long in Munich. Both died soon after their arrival, because they “could not stand the change of the climate”<sup>1</sup> – as it was reported. Up to now only a few scattered German publications<sup>2</sup> and notices in newspapers<sup>3</sup> exist on this subject. The only thorough publication about the two children is the book by Leonhardt (1987), a literary narrative in which facts and fiction are combined. But of course in the present communication clearly more data were analyzed.

It was probably planned to educate the two indigenous children in Germany in order to send them back home later as missionaries, or as we would now say, aid officials. A similar attempt and its fatal failing some years later was the famous fate of Jeremy Button (ca. 1815–1864) as described e.g. by Charles Darwin (1839).

In the 16<sup>th</sup> to 18<sup>th</sup> century “exotic” people were a sign of power and splendor in many European countries; bringing indigenous people from other continents to Europe was a popular practice even up to the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Many of these foreigners who were often put on exhibition to the public were misunderstood by the European people and authorities and suffered greatly as a result of this (Thode-Arora 1989; Dreesbach 2005). In the present publication all available information regarding such a “case” was collected and brought into its historical context. The present communication is intended to help understand to what extent this form of contact between indigenous people and Europeans has influenced the perception of Europeans to native populations. Unfortunately, a retrospective analysis is difficult, and only rarely are we able to indicate how these indigenous persons thought or felt.

Fig. 1: Detail of the epitaph for Juri and Miranha, two indigenous children from Brasil, about 1824, bronze, 40 x 48 cm. Designed by Johann Baptist Stiglmaier (1791–1844), Inv. Nr. K-67/509, Foto: P. Fliegauß.  
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## HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

### General history

At the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century Brazil, which was a Portuguese colony then, was still relatively unexplored except near the coast. Portugal did not allow foreign scientists to travel within Brazil, a regulation which prevented, for example, Alexander von Humboldt from exploring the country. In 1807 the Portuguese crown moved to Rio de Janeiro and turned the city into the center of the Portuguese Empire. In 1815 Dom João VI raised Brazil's status from a colony to that of a sovereign kingdom united with Portugal. During this time of change the country was opened to foreign scientists; two of those who seized this opportunity were Johann Baptist Spix and Carl Friedrich Philipp Martius.

### European civilization and the indigenous people

Since its discovery, the New World was the focus of intense debate. Not only the new nature but also the different inhabitants were of great interest. One of the earliest reports which influenced the knowledge about the indigenous people in Germany was the report of Hans Staden (1525–1576). He described and illustrated the behavior of ritual cannibalism. Thus the indigenous were widely considered “man-eaters” in Europe. This corresponds with the frequent belief that indigenous people were perceived to be socially inferior. On the other hand the idea of the “noble savage” as an innocent yet wild being was also widely held. This phrase was used in literature and philosophy since the 17<sup>th</sup> century (e.g. Kurella 2002).

### Spix and Martius – the two Bavarian naturalists

Johann Baptist Spix (Fig. 2) was born on February 7<sup>th</sup>, 1781 in Höchststadt/Aisch, in Middle Franconia. He attended secondary school in Bamberg and earned a doctoral degree in Philosophy when he was only 14 years old. Then he studied Theology in Würzburg until his interest in science persuaded him to change the subject and he obtained a second doctoral degree in 1806 in medicine. Later he was appointed as junior scientist (Adjunkt) at the Bavarian Academy of Sciences and Humanities (Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften) in Munich with the task of improving the zoological collection. In the years 1808 to 1810 he was in Paris to learn zoology at the famous Musée National d'Histoire Naturelle and made excursions to northern France and Italy. Back in Munich in 1811, he was appointed as curator and head of the zoological collections. This is considered to mark the beginning of the Bavarian State Collection of Zoology (Zoologische Staatssammlung München). Spix published a number of books and articles before he was appointed to join the Austrian expedition to Brazil as a zoologist.<sup>4</sup>



The colleague and companion of Spix in this expedition was Carl Friedrich Philipp Martius (Fig. 3). He was born on April 17<sup>th</sup>, 1794 in Erlangen, where he attended secondary school. Martius studied medicine and earned his doctoral degree in 1814 with a systematic listing of the plants from the botanical garden in Erlangen. In 1816 Martius was appointed as junior scientist in Munich and chosen to accompany the zoologist Spix as a botanist for the great expedition to Brazil shortly thereafter.<sup>5</sup>

### The voyage through Brazil

For nearly four years between 1817 and 1820 the two Bavarian scientists Johann Baptist Spix and Carl Friedrich Philipp Martius, undertook an expedition through large parts of Brazil (Fig. 4). Originally, this voyage was planned as an appendix of the Austrian expedition (“Natterer expedition”) accompanying the Archduchess Maria Leopoldine von Österreich (1797–1826) to Brazil.<sup>6</sup>

Both scientists had to investigate not only the animals (Spix) and plants (Martius), but they also received an extensive list of other tasks from their authorities. They were supposed to examine all areas of zoology and botany, and required to conduct geological, mineralogical, and geomorphological surveys as well as collect data on climate, magnetic fields and hydrobiology. Additionally they were expected to investigate the languages, customs, traditions, religions and technical facilities of the Brazilian inhabitants in detail,

Fig. 2 (left): Johann Baptist Spix (copy of the painting from Bavarian Academy of Science).

Fig. 3 (right): Carl Friedrich Philipp Martius (painting of the young Martius from private collection).

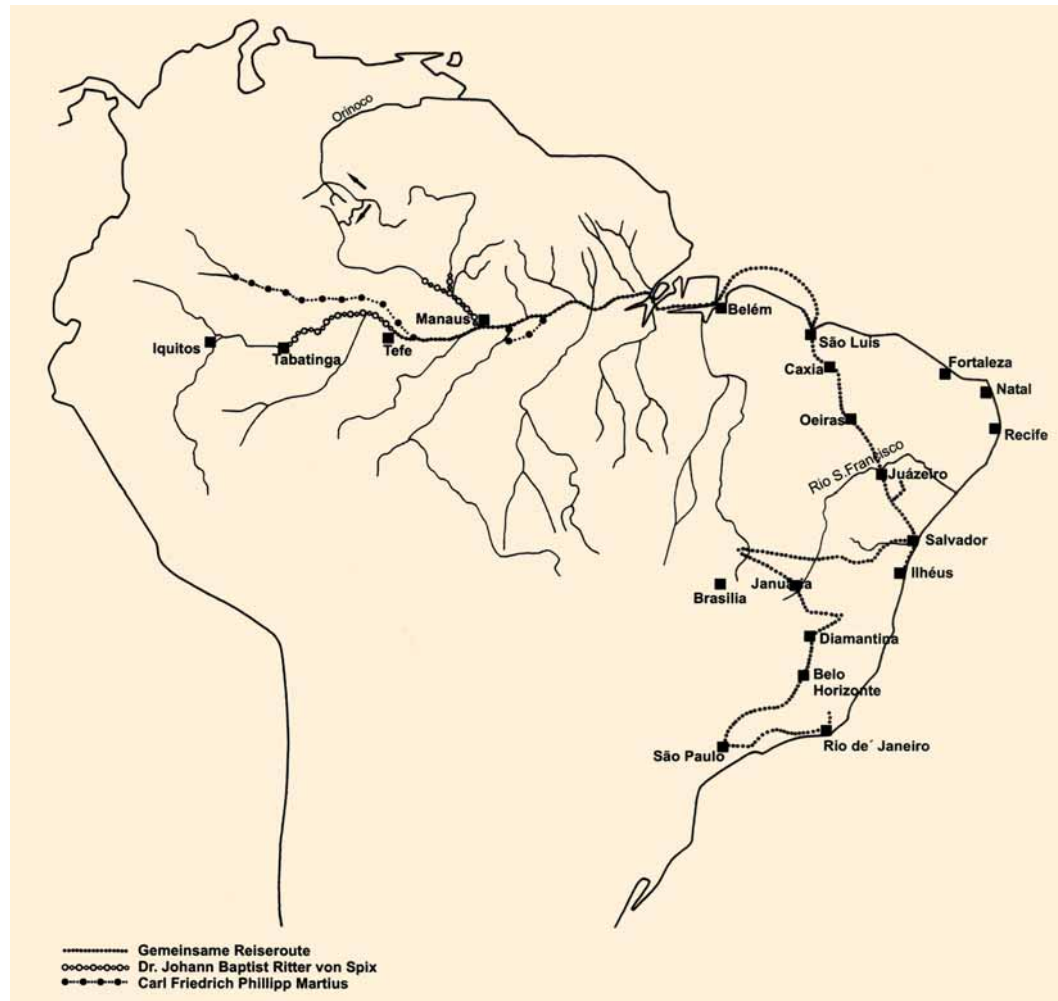


Fig. 4: Travel route of Spix and Martius in the years 1817 to 1820.  
© Drawing Ruth Kühbandner, Zoologische Staatssammlung München

including the natives, and report on anything which might be of scientific or economic interest (Spix & Martius 1823: 5–7). The request to carry out these Herculean tasks was made by people, who had never been outside of Europe themselves. However, here we will focus on one point only: the two indigenous children they brought back to Germany. Their ambivalent attitude towards indigenous people as well as slavery cannot be discussed here. Although some publications deal with these aspects (Lisboa 1997; Kreutzer 2003; Schulze 2008; Helbig 2012), this would require a separate study.

Spix and Martius arrived in Rio de Janeiro on June 14<sup>th</sup>, 1817, where they stayed for nearly half a year investigating the surroundings. Initially it was very interesting and strange for them to see so many people of different skin colors. They wrote in their report on the journey: “What reminds the traveler very soon, that he is in a foreign part of the world, is most of all the colored

milling crowd of black and colored people, the working class, who encounter him everywhere and immediately as soon as he puts his shoes on the ground. [...] The low, raw nature of these half-naked, meddling men hurts the feeling of the European, who just feels to be transferred from his homeland with fine customs and pleasant habits.”<sup>7</sup> Their writings imply that the journey was a kind of cultural shock for the two Bavarians who had previously never been outside of Europe.

However, the two Bavarian scientists were fascinated by the tropical environment and collected animals and plants. In their first report to the king of Bavaria they wrote enthusiastically: “The most luxuriant imagination is not able to embrace the diversity and luxury of forms, by which nature has decorated this region. [...] the earth seems to have poured out all wealth of colors and forms. [...] – No! Brazil and no other country is the archaic, hopeful paradise of the earth, hoped for since ever.”<sup>8</sup>

The two Bavarians separated from the Austrian scientists, left Rio de Janeiro on December 9<sup>th</sup>, 1817 and headed to São Paulo. During the first weeks they were accompanied by the Austrian painter Thomas Ender (1793–1875), with the fortuitous result that there are invaluable paintings and sketches illustrating the first part of Spix’ and Martius’ journey.<sup>9</sup>

After investigating the area surrounding São Paulo, the two German scientists went north to the district of diamonds, near Porto Salgado (now Januária), crossed the São Francisco River and headed eastwards to the coast to Salvador na Bahia and São Luís. They suffered terribly under the burden of drought and various diseases; narrowly escaping death on several occasions.

The last and most important part of their journey was up the Amazon River. The two scientists separated in Ega (Tefé). Both of them went their own way to explore more of the country within the given time. Spix went up the Solimões up to Tabatinga, on the border of Brazil and Peru. There he described the dancing of the Ticuna people and brought back some of their famous masks, which are still housed in the Five Continents Museum in Munich. Martius went upstream along the Yapurá (= Japurá). He recruited a rather large number of indigenous people and soldiers for assistance. He received valuable assistance by the adept and experienced Captain Francisco Ricardo Zany, who also knew the “lingua geral”, the common language spoken by the indigenous and Portuguese inhabitants. On this trip Martius made a stop at a settlement of the Miranha people, known as “Porto dos Miranhas”.

### Spix, Martius and the indigenous people

Spix and Martius were quite unprepared for the encounter with the indigenous cultures (Helbig 2012: 42). Their ideas about race were influenced by the German scientist Johann Friedrich Blumenbach (1752–1840) (Lisboa 1997). On the whole they had little previous information about Brazil, some of which came from the reports of Charles Marie de La Condamine (1771–1774) and

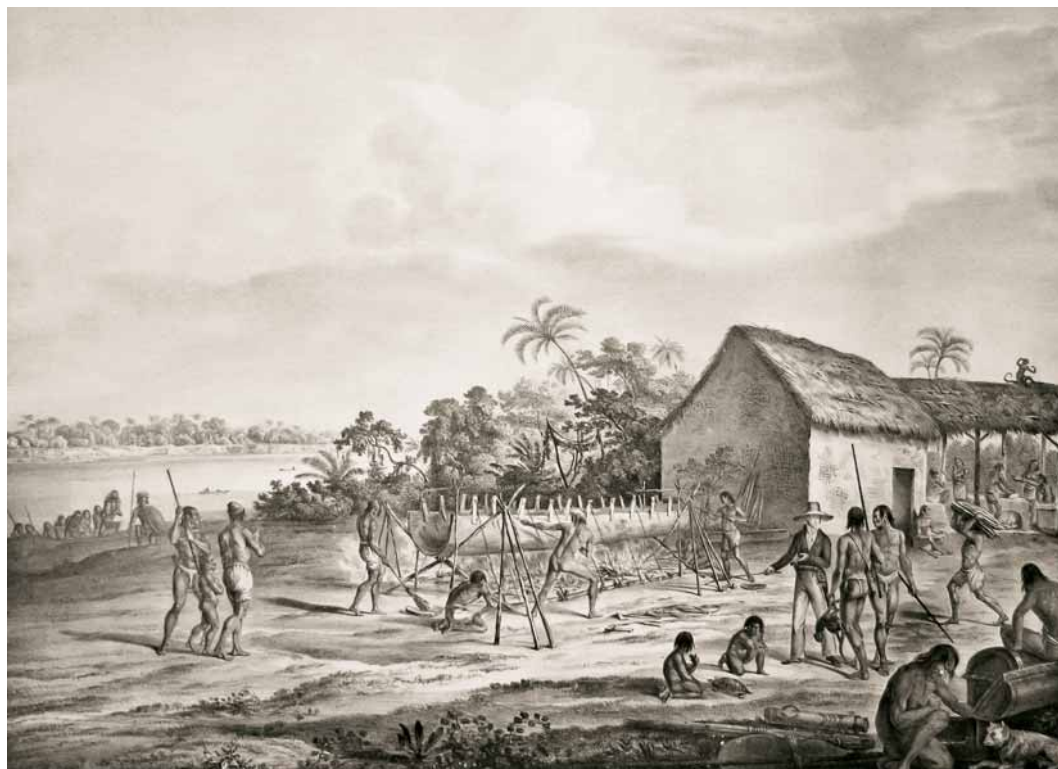


Fig. 5a: Porto do Miranhas, the settlement of the Miranha people where Martius bought Miranha (from Spix & Martius atlas to "voyage in Brasil" 1823/1831).

Christóbal de Acuña (1597–1675). Of course they also knew about the journeys of Alexander von Humboldt (Kreutzer 2003: 92), with whom Spix had contact in Paris during his stay there in 1808.

Spix and Martius collected impressions of all kinds of people. They were influenced by and dependent on information from the inhabitants they met, such as a pastor near Jacarehy who described the indigenous people as rather dull and unpleasant (Spix & Martius 1823: 212). Later they had many opportunities to visit indigenous people and to study their culture. Spix and Martius observed the indigenous tribes they met and collected many items considered characteristic for their culture. Both made lists of words from the different languages and described much of the cultural life (Schönitzer 2011a). Many of their descriptions are detailed and very informative, although their understanding of the indigenous cultures was characterized by misunderstandings and was influenced by the ideas of other naturalists of that time.<sup>10</sup> Overall Spix and Martius brought material from about forty different ethnic groups to Munich (Zerries 1980: 273), a fact which demonstrates the importance their contribution had to the knowledge on the natives of Brazil.

The first indigenous person they met was a boy from the, as they said, "man-eating" Botocudos in a house in Rio de Janeiro belonging to the German-Russian Georg Heinrich von Langsdorff (1774–1852). This is a remarkable

little story which is described in the travelogue (Spix & Martius 1823: 96): The German physician and anthropologist Johann Friedrich Blumenbach wanted a skull of a Botocudo for anatomical investigation. As the commander had no skull, he sent a living Botocudo to Baron von Langsdorff. This Botocudo was captured by the commanders' soldiers. Langsdorff actually liked him and kept him as servant. The Botocudo was named "living showpiece".<sup>11</sup> Spix and Martius must obviously have been shocked by the idea of killing a man in order to examine his skull. Later, Spix evidently obtained a skull from a Botocudo, since he examined, measured and illustrated it later in a comparative study with the skulls of a European, African and Asian individual (Spix 1823), actually a resumption of his earlier investigation of animal skulls (Spix 1815).

## MIRANHA AND JURI

### Getting Miranha

At the Miranha settlement ("Porto dos Miranhas", Fig. 5a), there was an indigenous chief, "tuxana", who had adopted the Christian name "João Manoel" (Spix & Martius 1831: 1241). This chief sold slaves to Portuguese settlers "as workers for the fazendas or as servants for rowing. The tuxana of the Miranhas, who resides here, is wont to sell captives from war to the white like the chiefs of negroes, and therefore he always has a large number of combatants ready for fighting."<sup>12</sup> "Because the tuxana offered to make an excursion against his enemies to catch some adult Indians for captain Zany and some children for us, Dr. Martius left his companion [Captain Zany] and another sick man here to accelerate this martial expedition ..."<sup>13</sup> From there Martius travelled up to the Arara-Coara waterfalls, marking the end of his expedition, upon which he returned to "Porto dos Miranhas". Captain Zany's health deteriorated (Spix & Martius 1831: 1262) and most of the companions were also sick, probably due to malaria or enteroparasitic infections. At this point they also had to build a new boat, which is illustrated in a plate of the atlas (Fig. 5b).<sup>14</sup>



Fig. 5b: Detail of a boat at Porto do Miranhas, the settlement of the Miranha people where Martius bought Miranha (from Spix & Martius atlas to "voyage in Brasil" 1823/1831).

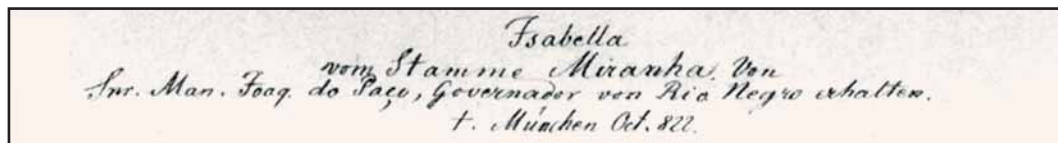


Fig. 6: (Detail of Fig. 12) Pencil drawing of Miranha with wrong date of death and wrong origin of the girl hand written by Martius (Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Martusiana, I, A, 1,7, not signed, probably by P. Lutz, size of original 47.5×38 cm).

The tuxana came back from the foray. Years later in 1831 Martius describes him as a rather uncivilized person: “He [João Manoel] asked to interpret to me, horribly grinning at me, and pointing to the shack with the captives: he had done his job well. Obviously he did not see any reason for my coming, rather than to bargain captives from him; he could hardly believe it when I gave him as many axes and knives for the feathered headdress, weapons and a pretty fan-shaped fern (*Schizaea*), which he gave me, as he had expected for the captives. So he added five young Indians, two girls and three boys to his present. Of these unlucky creatures, which I took even rather from the hands of this brute, as here they would certainly be doomed without care – they all were ill with fever – the oldest, a girl, was brought by us to Munich”.<sup>15</sup> The text cited above conveys the impression to the reader that Martius took the girl to Germany because of his compassion for her, and not as a slave. Erroneously it is implied that Martius had received her as a present. Martius does not mention in the cited book that he had asked the tuxana to capture (!) children, and in fact this was not cited in any later publication. Even in recent publications it is stated that Martius received the girl as present (e.g. Helbig 2012: 47). Later, Martius left two of the children in Ega and Pará and two more died on the journey to Europe (Spix & Martius 1831: 1265, 1381). The girl, which Martius brought to Munich, was then called “Miranha” or “Isabella” (Fig. 7). Throughout his narrative, Martius describes the chief of the Miranha, João Manoel, and his soldiers as very negative and cruel (Spix & Martius 1831: 1263–1268). They were dancing, singing and performing ceremonies which frightened the Europeans all night long. Martius wrote for example: “We spent the whole night disturbed and sleepless near those sons of wild beastly lust. [...] Still now, my heart is sad when I remember the ugly degeneracy of those half-humans. [...] The soul of this fallen native [the tuxana] is not immortal; it only has the awareness of being, not of thinking”.<sup>16</sup> Throughout this famous travelogue, Martius probably wished to denigrate the Miranhas and their tuxana as an excuse for taking children from him (see Schönitzer 2011a: 140). In another text of 1832 Martius describes this man in a much more positive tone. He depicts the social life of these indigenous people and how he had lived with the tuxana for some weeks, roamed the forest with him, and observed him mediating a family difference (Martius 1832: 18, 22, 42). Below a large pencil drawing of Miranha (Fig. 6) Martius wrote: “Isabella from the tribe of Miranha. Received from Sr. Man. Joaq. do Paco Governador of Rio Negro”.<sup>17</sup> It is absolutely unclear why Martius wrote this, because it does not correspond to any other sources, as explained above.

## Getting Juri

Remarkably, Martius does not write much about how he got the second child, the boy Juri (Fig. 8), whom he also brought to Munich. In the itinerary we read only: “... I fortunately came to Manacapuru, [...]. There a young [boy of the people] Juri, from the Comá-Tapuiija family joined our crew, he accompanied us to Munich, but unfortunately he could not withstand the change of climate and other circumstances, just as his companion, the young Miranha, what they have paid with their lives”.<sup>18</sup>

More details can be found on a handwritten note in a diary by Martius, dated to 1862, which means that it was written many years later and was not intended to be published. “When I returned from the Yapurá to Maracapuru, the court of Zany – he remained, still sick, in Ega – the foreman demonstrated me the Indians on command of his lord, of which I was permitted to choose one, whom I dared to show in Europe and educate to European humanity. In the morning before our departure the male Indians positioned themselves in a row on the court in front of the house, and I chose! I pointed at the pretty boy Juri, the foreman took him out of the row ...”.<sup>19</sup>

At that time it was in no way unusual to take indigenous people to Europe, as Spix and Martius had done. For example, the Austrian botanist Johann Emanuel Pohl (1782–1834), participant of the “Natterer Expedition”, brought two Botocudos to Vienna (Schreibers 1820/22, II: 101–102), and the German precursor of Spix and Martius, Maximilian zu Wied-Neuwied (1782–1867) brought a young Botocudo servant from Brazil to his home in Neuwied, Rheinland-Pfalz (Willscheid 2002). All of them were the subject of curiosity and misunderstanding, too (Riedl-Dorn 2000, Löschner 1988) what was rather common at that time (e.g. Dreesbach 2005).

Obviously it was the king himself who initiated or at least endorsed the two scientists to bring indigenous people along with them. Queen Caroline wrote in December 1820: *Schouri, the Brazilian from Martius has almost died (inflammation of chest), of liver fever [...] – the king was deeply moved from fear that the poor Schouri be lost, of whom he expected much satisfaction ...*<sup>20</sup> Thus the king was strongly interested in the children; the word “satisfaction” is certainly to be interpreted as “scientific curiosity”, since it is well known that King Max I was strongly interested in science.<sup>21</sup> Furthermore he might have been interested in the foundation of settlements for emigrants in America. According to another letter from Queen Caroline to her mother about the two children written right after Spix and Martius returned to Munich, Juri was apparently bought for two axes.<sup>22</sup> Remarkably, Martius never mentioned in his publications that he had purchased Juri. According to this letter, as well as to a report published on December 12<sup>th</sup>, 1820 in the newspaper, Juri was the “son of the head of an Indian horde, who died in a combat”.<sup>23</sup> As we have seen above, however, this was not true (see note 19).

Fig. 7: Miranha or Isabella  
(from Spix & Martius atlas to  
"voyage in Brasil" 1823/1831).



In a later, rather comprehensive report in the journal EOS, it can be read that Spix and Martius had even planned to bring eight natives from Brazil to Munich for investigation (*"as voucher and subject of further research"*<sup>24</sup>). In this text it is clearly stated that both scientists wanted to bring people to Germany, as if to point out that this was not intended by Martius only. Although it was Martius that had actually brought the two children, Spix must have agreed with him, since he outranked his colleague. Spix wrote in a letter from Bahia dated on January 28<sup>th</sup>, 1819, concerning an indigenous person: *"Our Indian, whom we have taken with us from Villa Rica has deserted in Ilhéus, where he has seen other savages"*.<sup>25</sup> Overall it may be assumed that he had also planned to bring natives from Brazil to Germany. On the other hand, it seems that Martius took over the command of the expedition gradually because Spix became rather sick during the last part of it. Also on the way back down the Amazon River, Spix took the direct route back to Belem because he was too sick, whereas Martius made several side trips (Schönitzer 2011a: 141, 142). In the above mentioned report "Über Brasilien" (Anonymus 1821b) one can read further: *"The wild and captured Indians can hardly do without their forests and homes and thus they can hardly get used to the food and lifestyle of the white. [...] Of all natives taken, they [Spix and Martius] only succeeded in saving two of them, and brought them to Europe, and then to Munich with extreme effort and care."*<sup>26</sup>

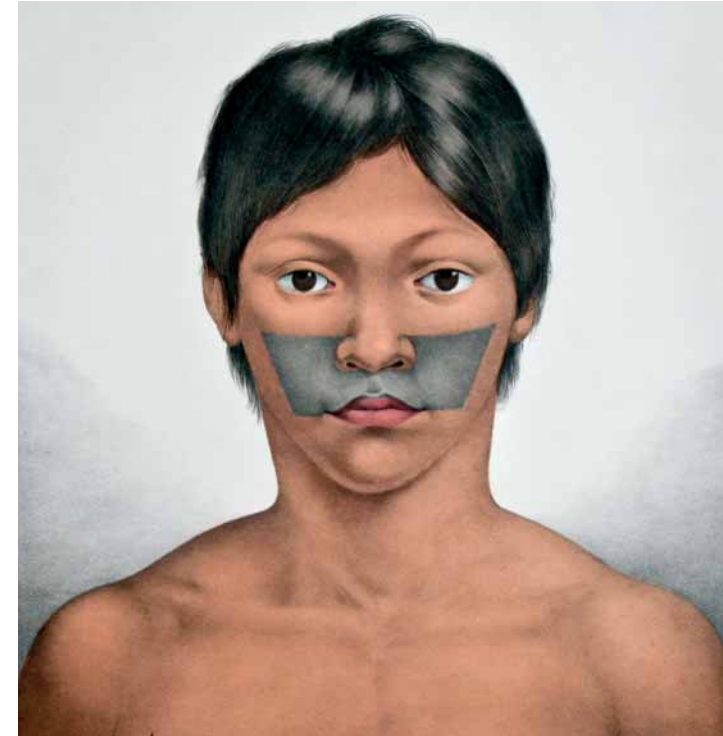


Fig. 8: Juri or Johannes  
(from Spix & Martius atlas to  
"voyage in Brasil" 1823/1831).

The two indigenous children, Juri and Miranha were baptized, but this was considered so self-evident that Spix and Martius did not mention it. In that context it may be of interest to note that Spix was Catholic, whereas Martius was Protestant. The children received the Christian names "Isabella" and "Johannes". However, their original, real names remain unknown. The names Juri and Miranha indeed were not their individual names, but the names of their tribes.

The age of the two indigenous children is unknown. According to the report in EOS "Über Brasilien" (Anonymus 1821b) they were about 13 years old, Miranha being possibly a little younger. According to the letter cited below from the Queen of Bavaria, they were considered to be eight and ten years old. Elsewhere it was reported that they were supposed to be 12 years old, – about 13 at the most – or between 13 and 15 years of age.<sup>27</sup>

#### Coming to Germany

Spix, Martius and the children travelled down the Amazon to Belem, where they took a boat to Portugal which left Belem on the 14<sup>th</sup> of June, 1820 (Spix & Martius 1831: 1377). The passage across the ocean was not very pleasant, because of the "tyranny" and "arbitrariness"<sup>28</sup> of the captain, who did not allow them to have enough water and food, which they had taken aboard the ship for themselves, the children as well as the living plants and animals.

Spix and Martius suffered from liver disease and two Indian children died as a result of the captain's behavior – as Martius states (Spix & Martius 1831: 1381).

The group arrived in Lisbon on August 23<sup>rd</sup>, from there they went overland via Spain and France to Munich, Germany. They arrived in Munich on December 8<sup>th</sup>.<sup>29</sup> Initially the two indigenous children were of great interest for everyone. Several newspapers reported about them; their arrival was even reported in Paris.<sup>30</sup>

Spix and Martius initially stayed with the children in Munich in the "Golden Rooster" Inn ("Zum Goldenen Hahn") on Weinstrasse in the center of Munich. Many people came there to see the foreign children. "Yesterday many people came to the 'Golden Rooster' Inn, where our luckily homecoming travelers from Brazil took their accommodation, also today a large bulk of people went to their residence in the royal Max-Palais, where the two young Indians stay, the two doctors Spix and Martius permitted admittance to everybody by courtesy so far".<sup>31</sup>

The tattoo around Juri's mouth was usually mentioned, as well as his black hair and brown skin; the newspapers also commented on the children's stout bodies and the fact that they could not communicate between themselves because they had different native languages. The mimics and expressions used by Juri are described as more vivid, whereas Miranha's face was viewed as rather stern (Figs 7, 8, 11, 12).

### Life in Munich

Spix, Martius and the two children then lived in a house belonging to the king. In the newspapers it was reported that they received everything they needed from the king, e.g. firewood, which was essential in the cold winter after the return from the tropics. They were given eleven rooms in the so called Maxburg (Duke-Max-Castle, Fig. 9), where they lived together with the widow Martini, who took care of the household with the help of two maids and a servant.<sup>32</sup>

In the beginning, the two children slept in the same room as Martius (and Spix?).<sup>33</sup> Nevertheless Martius' mother complained in a letter that he does not let her know about the children's health. It frequently looks like Spix gave them more attention than Martius. The famous Bavarian philologist Johann Andreas Schmeller (1785–1852) visited Spix and Martius and later wrote in his diary: "The children, as Spix calls them, Schuri and Isabel,<sup>34</sup> came before they went to bed, to shake hands, say goodnight and let Spix give them a sign of the cross, who also told them something about Topana (God). He has brought them to Maria Aich [a place of pilgrimage near Munich] today. Schuri has gone with a hat on his head in the little church to the altar, probably scandalizing all praying people there, until Spix showed him thru signs to feel the special holiness of the place and let him take off his hat."<sup>35</sup>



Fig. 9a: Duke-Max-Castle, where Spix, Martius and the children lived in Munich (Herzog Max Burg), photograph ca. 1860.

Understandably the children had problems with the cold winter weather.<sup>36</sup> Spix and Martius also had problems with the cold after years of exposure to the tropical climate of Brazil; they had to apply for firewood at the court.<sup>37</sup> In several reports it was noted that Juri and Miranha suffered of the cold temperatures in the winter time. Juri coughed and had a severe chest infection,<sup>38</sup> (bronchitis, possibly pneumonia or tuberculosis) of which he almost died and had to endure the treatment of bloodletting five times. There he seemed to have been afraid that the doctors might intend to kill him by taking his blood several times, but later he became confident of the doctors as he recovered.<sup>39</sup> Miranha also had a cough and fever and had to receive medical treatment. As far as possible both children were treated medically with great care.<sup>40</sup>

It was said that Miranha and Juri played with dressed dolls "neither of them understanding that the toys were not alive. It is told that they stated seriously that they are alive".<sup>41</sup> Miranha was taught to sew and stitch. "By the way, the Indian girl has good talents, and an extraordinary insistence in performing given tasks; after some days, as she saw others sewing, she copied them all, just as finely as her master craftswomen did, probably because Indian women are more exercised and keen-eyed".<sup>42</sup>

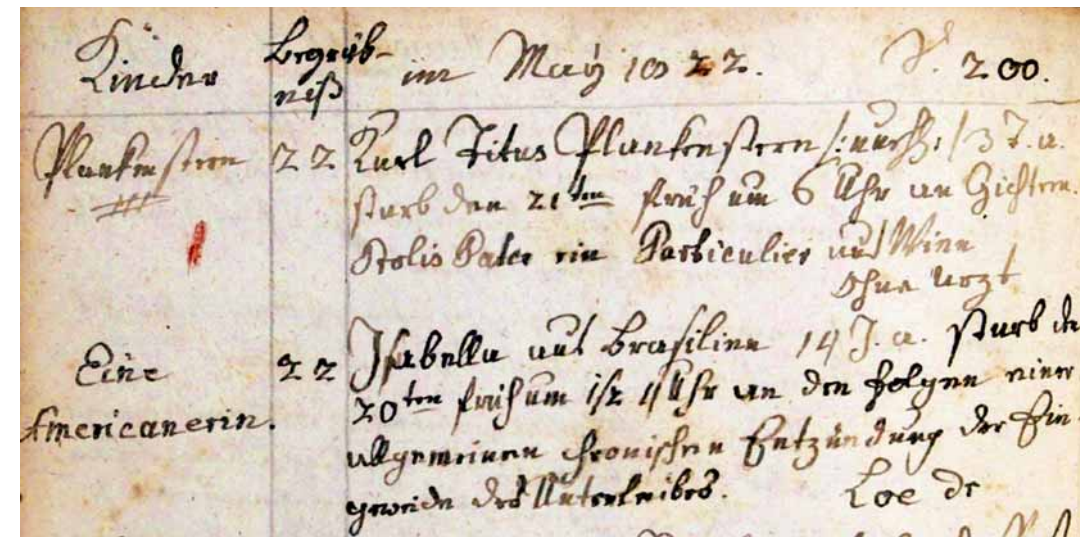
It was a burden for Martius and Spix to pay for the two children's expenses. Martius' mother wrote in a letter to him on February 22<sup>nd</sup>, 1821: "Try to get rid of the two Indians, they will bring you much more trouble. In case you will not be compensated for the food you have given to these two brats up to now in any other way; I would charge the costs and so this would demonstrate that you"<sup>43</sup>

did not receive the food from the king's account. If you can read in all newspapers that in the Duke-Max-Castle you are provided with all the necessary on account of the royal expenses ..."<sup>44</sup>

It was often reported that the two children were later separated, Miranha lived in the house of the "Hopfistersmeisterswitwe"<sup>45</sup> Kreszenz Jacobi, and Juri came to Duke Max. But this cannot be true and is probably due to a clear misinterpretation by Spengler (1962: 51; Leonhardt 1987: 179). Juri probably remained as long as he lived in Spix' and Martius' flat in Duke-Max-Castle, and Miranha was mostly living together with Spix or Martius, perhaps temporarily given to Mrs. Jacobi, who had rooms for rent, but probably this accommodation was not really good, as outlined by Leonhardt (1987: 179); Mrs. Jacobi advertised free rooms very frequently, not only at the dates when it was usual to change flats at these times.

It was stated that the people of Juri were "close to the settlements of Portuguese"<sup>46</sup> and "serving the white people"<sup>47</sup> whereas the people of Miranha were always called "man-eaters" and "from one of the roughest Indians roots."<sup>48</sup> Sometimes it was reported that Queen Caroline, who lost her daughter Maximiliane at the age of ten on February 4<sup>th</sup>, 1821, took care of the two slightly older Brazilian children herself. Probably this is owed to the interpretation of a sentence of the above cited letter of Queen Caroline to her mother (dated December 9<sup>th</sup>, 1820, i.e. right after their return to Munich, cf. footnote 28): "Spix and Martius have come and announced their little wild which I have kept [or supervised them] here for a long time."<sup>49</sup> Probably, however, this

Fig. 9b: Duke-Max-Castle, where Spix, Martius and the children lived in Munich (Herzog Max Burg), photograph ca. 1860.



means that Spix, Martius and the children stayed at their visit at the royal family for an extraordinarily long time, not that the Queen herself took care of the children.

Fig. 10: Inscription in death register on decease of Miranha (Archiv des Erzbistums München und Freising, AEM Matrikel 72, S. 200).

#### Death of Juri and Miranha

Juri died on the June 11<sup>th</sup>, 1821 from chronic pneumonia and was buried on June 16<sup>th</sup>. In the church register it is stated that: *Jury from America / Johann Jury from Brazil died on the 11<sup>th</sup>, in the evening at 6 o'clock, of lung disease.*<sup>50</sup> The Munich journal EOS writes: "... the young Indian Johann Jury, whom the two scientists Drs. von Spix and von Martius released from captivity in Brazil and brought here, died from the consequences of a chronic pneumonia and lung-suppuratation, which were caused [...] by the extraneous stimuli of the climate here. [...] He suffered a long lasting disease with much tranquility, just as he had always shown a calm character. He passed away as gentle as he lived."<sup>51</sup>

The dead Juri was dissected to investigate and confirm the reason for his death. The lung was highly congested and filled with pus. Furthermore a plaster cast was made of his face.<sup>52</sup> Probably a wax copy was made from this, as this had been done frequently in those years. Later it was reported that the head of Juri was housed in the University's Institute of Anatomy, as an anatomical object before the Second World War.<sup>53</sup> In all likelihood this was actually a well-made wax reproduction of Juri's head. Also the two Botocudos, whom Johann Emmanuel Pohl brought along with him to Vienna in 1821 later were copied in wax and put on display (Feest 2012). Such wax copies were widespread in those days, also in Munich. There was a large museum at the center of Munich during the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century with a wide variety of anatomical figures, preparations, death-masks and wax copies (Hammer & Gabriel 1895).



At the time of Juri's death, the journal EOS writes concerning Miranha: "The girl Isabella is doing very well, she makes daily progress in European languages and education".<sup>54</sup> The plural "languages" indicates that she was taught Portuguese as well as German. During the following year no further information about Miranha could be found. She died one year later on May 22<sup>nd</sup>, 1822 from a chronic intestinal infection. The register of the church states (Fig. 10): "An American / Isabella from Brazil, 14 years old died on the 20<sup>th</sup> at 3:30 in the morning as a result of a general chronic infection of the intestine of the lower abdomen."<sup>55</sup> Miranha's death was not mentioned in EOS nor in its supplements – it does appear that this was no longer of special interest to the public. But the royal family showed compassion towards Miranha, as expressed in a letter of the Queen to her mother.<sup>56</sup>

Both Juri and Miranha were buried on the old city cemetery (Alter Münchner Südfriedhof), in the graveyard where Spix and Martius were also buried after their deaths (Huber & Huber 1993). An epitaph, which was made at the children's grave, was designed by Johann Baptist Stiglmaier (1791–1844), chief of the royal ore-foundry (Königliche Erzgießerei). This epitaph is now housed in the Munich City Museum (Stadtmuseum) and is open to the public. The inscription on the grave reads: "Distant from their home, they found love and care in a far continent, but the rough winter of the north is unrelenting."<sup>57</sup> Since the grave no longer exists and was exhumed and reused in 1895 for a later burial (Pfeiffer 2013), the epitaph in the Munich City Museum at least remains a public reminder of the bad fortune that beset these two children. Surprisingly, Martius wrote incorrect dates of their deaths below the large pencil drawings of the two children: Juri "Feb 1821" and Miranha "Oct. [1]822" (Figs. 11, 12). On the whole it is quite remarkable how many of Martius' details in the travelogue or other sources are contradictory or insufficient. The most obvious explanation for that appears to be that Martius was mentally repressed because he felt guilty for the death of the children.

## EPILOGUE

### Further life of Spix and Martius

After his journey to Brazil, Spix lived only a few more years, as he was unable to recover from the rigors of the expedition. Despite health problems, he managed to publish several books about the animals of Brazil.<sup>58</sup> He died in Munich on May 13<sup>th</sup>, 1826, which left him only about five years to publish the results of his great expedition.

Martius, who was younger, recovered from the exertions, outlived Spix by 42 years, and worked as a professor at the University of Munich.<sup>59</sup> He became a well-known member of the Munich society, married, and had four children. Martius published famous books about palms ("Historia naturalis palmarum") and initiated the great, trail blazing "Flora Brasiliensis" which was published



in 40 parts from 1840 to 1906. Martius also continued to publish the travelogue (Spix & Martius 1823–1831, three volumes plus an atlas), as well as the word lists from the indigenous languages which the two scientists had collected (Martius 1863, 1867). Martius also encouraged students of zoology to continue the work of Spix on the fauna of Brazil. He partly edited their publications, e.g. on the fish, mollusks and insects of Brazil. Martius died in Munich on December 13<sup>th</sup>, 1868.

Like Juri and Miranha, both Spix and Martius were buried on the grounds of the old city cemetery (Alter Münchner Südfriedhof), but only Martius's grave still exists, because his descendants took care of it. Spix had no family, and hence, no descendant to look after the grave, so his grave was vacated. A memorial stone now stands in its place (Huber & Huber 1993).

### Assessment

In the course of this study it became apparent that the writings of Martius are fraught with contradictions. First he clearly stated that he has bought Miranha and Juri as slaves, later he tried to excuse this as an act of humanity to save them from slavery and became entangled in contradictions. It is of special interest to compare the three different writings of Martius in the years 1831 and 1832.<sup>60</sup> As stated previously he wrote in a very negative way about the chief of the Miranhas in the famous travelogue (Spix & Martius 1831:

Fig. 11: Drawing of Juri by P. Lutz with wrong date of death hand written by Martius. Pencil, lips slightly red. (Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Martiusiana, I, A, 1, 7, size of original 55.5×47.5 cm).

Fig. 12: Pencil drawing of Miranha with wrong date of death and wrong origin of the girl hand written by Martius (Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Martiusiana, I, A, 1, 7, not signed, probably by P. Lutz, size of original 47.5×38 cm).

1263ff.), but at about the same time he published his essay on the social organization of the indigenous people (Martius 1832<sup>61</sup>). There he frequently mentioned this chief, sometimes characterized him with negative words like *“the gloomy gravity of this chief”*,<sup>62</sup> but in general described him in a much less negative manner than in the travelogue. In a third text of the same years, the novel *“Frey Apollonio”* (Martius [1831]) we can find real human understanding of the indigenous people. A friend of Martius (*“Ricardo”*, i.e. Captain Francisco Ricardo Zani), who had lived together with the indigenous people for years, talks very appreciative about them (Martius 1832: 108ff.). However, Martius did not publish this novel himself; it was published in 1992.<sup>63</sup> Thus we can see an inconsistency in the writings of Martius, that can be understood expressing a moral conflict. Such an emotional cleft was also described by the German poet J. W. Goethe when Faust says: *“Two souls, alas, are dwelling in my breast, – And each will wrestle for the mastery there ....”*

As time progressed, Martius felt that what he did was unacceptable. He came to realize his malpractice, when he saw the children suffering, but it took many years until he could write about this clearly as he finally did in a diary in 1862: *“I pointed at the pretty boy Juri, the foreman took him out of the row and the boy’s father did not follow him, but followed me with a glance: was it a question or was it anger? I did not forget that glance. One year later when the boy died in Munich from pneumonia, it fell like a heavy burden [literally a ‘heavy weight’] over me! I suffered the hazard of hardening temper and thereout learnt the affection and adoration towards the human nature. Thru a dark deed I became a friend of mankind.”*<sup>64</sup> The ethnological research carried out by Spix and Martius is considered by some authors as ahead of its time (Guth 2009; Zerries 1980) and their ethnographic collection is still extremely valuable (e.g. Appel et al. 2009; Bujok 2007; Helbig 2012).

As far as Spix is concerned, we can hardly make assumptions about his personal persuasions to the indigenous people. One thing we definitely know is that he took care of the children, educated and Christianized them, and must have accepted the procedure of taking the children to Germany, at least essentially. As pointed out by Schönitzer (2011a: 128, note 75) it is quite clear that Spix reported about the indigenous people with much more impartiality than Martius, but a detailed analysis still has to be done.

It would not be fair to pass retrospective judgement on Spix and Martius by stating that their actions are inexcusable in view of our present-day moral imperative as Pfeiffer (2013) and Bahl (2013) did, nor should we be apologetic for the attitudes of the two as Tiefenbacher (1997: 41ff.) was. Spix’ and Martius’ actions can only be understood within the context of their time, however, this should not be taken as an excuse for their actions based on our contemporary attitude.

The aim of this publication is to present a synthesis of the historical facts using all available sources. The facts show how the personal contact between Martius and the two children influenced his thoughts and how he later changed his mind. An ethno-historical examination of the past local practice of trafficking persons in the Amazon and also the widespread custom of bringing people from abroad to Europe remains to be conducted.

In the present study, evidence is offered for the dynamics involved in observing people from other societies – in one respect to show them as similar to “us”, which has the potential to enhance humanity, and in another sense to create and solidify the apparent cultural and physical differences between people originating from different continents.

## ABSTRACT

During their expedition in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century (1817–1820), Bavarian naturalists and explorers Johannes Baptist Spix and Carl Friedrich Philipp Martius, had contact with various indigenous populations in Brazil. They took two indigenous children from the Amazon region to Germany where they stayed alive just a few months. They were named Isabella and Johannes or correspondingly to the nation they belonged to – Miranha and Juri. The king himself probably encouraged the two scientists to do so. The purpose of this action is not really clear. Martius acquired these children as slaves while he was traveling without Spix. Martius gave contradictory versions how he got the children but later he stated that he took the children to Munich out of compassion to save them from a life in slavery. Until recently this version was cited. In old age Martius confessed in a diary that it was a dark deed.

This article aims at discussing this interethnic contact and is a case study to show how the acquaintance with two Indians, taken to Munich, influenced the perception about the nature of Indians from Brazil in Germany at that time.

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## ZUSAMMENFASSUNG

Die beiden bayerischen Naturwissenschaftler Johannes Baptist Spix und Carl Friedrich Philipp Martius unternahmen in den Jahren 1817 bis 1820 eine Expedition nach Brasilien auf der sie Kontakt zu verschiedenen indigenen Völkern hatten. Sie brachten aus dem Amazonasgebiet zwei indigene Kinder nach München mit, die Isabella und Johannes (bzw. Miranha und Juri, nach dem Volk von dem sie waren) genannt wurden. Der König selbst hatte wohl angeregt Kinder aus indigenen Völkern nach München zu bringen, wobei der Zweck dieser Aktion allerdings nicht ganz klar ist. Die beiden Kinder starben schon nach wenigen Monaten. Martius erwarb diese Kinder als Sklaven als er ohne Spix alleine im Amazonasgebiet unterwegs war. Martius äußerte sich widersprüchlich darüber, wie er zu den Kindern gekommen ist und behauptete später, dass er sie aus Mitleid nach München gebracht habe, um sie aus der Sklaverei zu befreien. Diese Darstellung wurde bis in die jüngste Zeit übernommen. Erst im späten Alter bekannte er in einem Tagebuch, dass es unrecht war, die Kinder mit zu nehmen.

Der Artikel ist eine Fallstudie, in der ein interethnischer Kontakt aufgezeigt wird. Der persönliche Kontakt zu den indigenen Kindern beeinflusst das Bild der europäischen Gelehrten von den indigenen Personen und ermöglicht dadurch eine Reflektion über die indigenen Völker, auch wenn dies zu ganz widersprüchlichen Äußerungen führt.

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## EXPLANATORY NOTES

- 1 “den Wechsel des Klima [...] mit dem Leben bezahlt” Spix & Martius 1831: 1277; see note 18.
- 2 e.g. Spengler 1962; Tiefenbacher 1982; Helbig 1994: 182–183, pl. 46–47; Pfeiffer 2013; Bahl 2013.
- 3 e.g. “Verschleppte Indianer und die Mohren des Herzogs”, *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, Feb. 28<sup>th</sup>, 2008; “Als der Dschungel nach München kam”, *Abendzeitung*, Feb. 17<sup>th</sup>, 2011.
- 4 For further details on the life of Johann Baptist Spix see Schönitzer 2011 a, b and <http://www.schoenitzer.de/Spix.html>.
- 5 Biographies of Martius are published e.g. by Schramm 1869, Sommer 1953 and Grau 1994.
- 6 For details see e.g. Riedl-Dorn 2000; Helbig 2012; Bujok & Helbig 2014.
- 7 Spix & Martius 1823: 91: “Was jedoch den Reisenden alsbald erinnert, dass er sich in einem fremden Welttheile befinde ist vor Allem das bunte Gewühl von schwarzen und farbigen Menschen, die ihm als die arbeitende Classe, überall und sogleich begegnen, wenn der den Fuss ans Land setzt. [...] Die niedrige rohe Natur dieser halbnackten, zudringlichen Menschen verletzt das Gefühl des Europäers, der sich soeben aus dem Vaterlande feiner Sitte und gefälliger Formen hierher versetzt sieht.” All quotes in italics are translated by the author (K. S.), on the basis of the original texts written in German. The page numbers cited refer to the original publications, not to reprints.
- 8 Spix & Martius 1818 (3): 11: “Die üppigste Einbildungskraft vermag nicht die Mannigfaltigkeit und den Luxus der Formen zu fassen, womit die Natur diese Gegend ausgeschmückt hat. [...] scheint die Erde allen Reichtum an Farben und Formen ausgegossen zu haben. [...] Nein! Brasilien und kein anderes Land ist jenes schon in der Urzeit geträumte hesperische und das hoffnungsreiche Paradies unserer Erde.”
- 9 Examples can be found by the following internet-link: [http://www.schoenitzer.de/Spix\\_Bilder.html](http://www.schoenitzer.de/Spix_Bilder.html).
- 10 Lisboa 1997; Kreutzer 2003; Schulze 2008; Helbig 2012.
- 11 Spix & Martius 1823: 97: “da jener nicht Gelegenheit fand, eines solchen todten Documentes habhaft zu werden, so schickte er dem Grafen zwei lebendige Botocudos, [...] den einen derselben, welcher ihm [...] als lebendiges Kabinettstück [...] diente”.
- 12 Spix & Martius 1821 (4): 16: Written by Martius in Lisboa, 8<sup>th</sup> of Oct. 1820, i.e. before the two scientists had returned to Munich: “... als Arbeiter in ihre Faziendas oder Ruderknechte [...] Der Tuxana der Miranhas nämlich, welcher hier residirt, pflegt auf ähnliche Weise, wie die Negerfürsten, die im Kriege gemachten Gefangenen an die Weißen zu verkaufen, und hält deßhalb immer eine große Anzahl streitbarer Männer bereit.” The text written later (Spix & Martius 1831: 1241) is less clear as concerning the slave hunting of the tuxana.
- 13 Spix & Martius 1821 (5): 19: “Da sich der Tuxana erbot, einen Ausflug gegen seine Feinde zu machen, um erwachsene Indier für Capit. Zany und einige Kinder für uns einzufangen so ließ Dr. Martius seinen Begleiter nebst dem Kranken hier zurück um diese kriegerische Expedition zu beschleunigen ...”.
- 14 See: [http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Spix\\_Reiseatlas\\_original\\_59.jpg](http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Spix_Reiseatlas_original_59.jpg).

- 15 Spix & Martius 1831: 1264–1265: “Mir liess er verdolmetschen, indem er mich grässlich angrinzte und auf die Hütte der Gefangenen deutete: seine Sache habe er wohl gemacht. Ohne Zweifel hatte er meinem Hierherkommen keinen andren Grund geliehen, als den, Gefangene von ihm einzuhandeln; er konnte daher kaum fassen, als ich ihm für den Feder-schmuck, die Waffen und ein schönes, fächerförmiges Farnkraut (Schizaea), welche er mir überreichte eben so viele Beile und Messer gab, als er für die Gefangenen erwartet hatte. Er fügte nun seinem Geschenke [sic] noch fünf junge Indianer, zwei Mädchen und drei Knaben, bei. Von diesen unglücklichen Geschöpfen, die ich um so lieber aus den Händen des Unmenschen annahm, als sie hier ohne Fürsorge einem gewissen Tode entgegen gingen – ist das älteste, ein Mädchen von uns nach München gebracht worden.”
- 16 Spix & Martius 1831: 1267–1268: “Wir brachten unter diesen Söhnen viehisch wilder Lust die Nächte sorgenvoll und schlaflos zu; [...] Noch trübt sich mein Gemüth, wenn an die grässliche Entartung dieser Halbmenschen zurückdenke.” [...] “Die Seele dieses gefallenen Urmenschen ist nicht unsterblich; sie thut sich nur in dem Bewusstseyn des Seyns, nicht in dem des Denkens kund;” In this text we can recognize the idea of Martius (1832), that these indigenous people were “degenerated men” (see Helbig 2012: 57–58).
- 17 “Isabella vom Stamme Miranha von Snr. Man. Joaq. Do Paco, Governador von Rio Negro erhalten. Gest. München Oct. [1]822.” Bavarian State Library in Munich (Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München), Martusiana I,A.1.7. sheet 11 (see also Helbig 1994: 183).
- 18 Spix & Martius 1831: 1277: “[...] kam ich glücklich nach Manacapurú, [...] Hier sties ein junger Juri, von der Familie der Comá-Tapuúja, zu der Mannschaft, welcher uns nach München begleitet, leider aber, wie seine Gefährtin die junge Miranha, den Wechsel des Klima und der übrigen Aussenverhältnisse mit dem Leben bezahlt hat.”
- 19 Martius, C. F. Ph. von 1862: Tagebuch (diary, handwritten), Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Martusiana, II. A. 3.4 (also cited in Schönitzer 2011a: 141, see also note 64): “Als ich aus dem Yapurá nach Maracapurú zurückkehrte, ....führte mir der Factor auf seines Herrn Befehl die Indianer vor, aus den ich einen auswählen durfte, den ich in Europa zeigen und dann zur europäischen Menschlichkeit zu erziehen mich vermaß. Am Morgen vor der Abreise stellte sich im Hofe, vor dem Wohnhaus die Reihe der männlichen Indianer auf und ich wählte. Ich deutete auf den hübschen Knaben Juri.” According to Helbig (2012: 47), however, Martius wrote that he liberated Juri from captivity from the Miranhas.
- 20 Letter by Queen Caroline (1776–1841) to her mother, Munich 18<sup>th</sup> December, Monday. Geheimes Hausarchiv München, Nachlass Prinz Albert, 17, 384 (letters written off by prince Adalbert von Bayern, not complete copies, original letters probably lost during World War II, partly French, partly German): “Schouri, dieser Brasilianer von Martius wäre beinahe gestorben (fluxion de poitrine), une fièvre bilieuse [...] – le Roi était bien affecté hier de la crainte de perdre ce pauvre Schouri don’t il se promet beaucoup de satisfaction ...”.
- 21 In the 19<sup>th</sup> century it was an accepted scientific goal to investigate foreign peoples ethnologically and/or anthropologically, and the ethnological expositions cooperated well with scientists and their societies (Thode-Arora 1989; Dreesbach 2005).
- 22 Letter of Queen Caroline to her mother, Munich, December 9<sup>th</sup> 1820. Text written off by hand by Prince Adalbert von Bayern (1886–1970). Geheimes Hausarchiv München, Nachlass Prinz Adalbert, 17, 384; also cited in von Bayern 1957: 796: “Der Knabe ist der Sohn eines Königs seines Stammes, Schouri [sic] genannt. Er ist mit vielen anderen gefangen genommen und von diesen Herren gekauft worden – für zwei Äxte.” Complete, original citation see note 49, see also note 20 and 29.
- 23 Münchner Politische Zeitung, 12.12.1820: 1459–1460. Miscellen. Anonymus 1820b: “der Knabe [...] der Sohn eines im Gefechte umgekommenen Anführers einer indianischen Horde seyn soll.”
- 24 Anonymus 1821b: 94: “Als Beleg und Gegenstand weiterer Forschung waren beyde Gelehrte darauf bedacht gegen acht Individuen von verschiedenen Stämmen und Sprachen, mit sich nach Europa zu bringen.”
- 25 Brief von Spix an Direktor von Schrank, 28. Jan. 1919. EOS Nr. 29: 115: “Unser Indier, den wir aus den Wäldern von Villa Ricca mitgenommen hatten, ist uns leider in Itheros, wo er andere Wilde wieder zu Gesichte bekam, desertiert.”
- 26 Anonymus 1821b: 94: “Die wilden und eingefangenen Indier können jedoch nicht leicht ihrer Wälder und Wohnung entbehren, und gewöhnen sich daher sehr schwer an die Kost und Lebensart der Weißen. [...] Von allen die sie mitnahmen, gelang es ihnen nur 2 zu retten, und unter äusserster Anstrengung und Sorgfalt nach Europa, und so nach München zu bringen.”
- 27 Münchner Politische Zeitung, 12.12.1820: 1460–1461. Miscellen. Anonymus 1821b; Kunst- und Literaturblatt aus Baiern. Eine Beilage zur EOS. Miscellen aus Baiern, Dez. 1820, Nr. 47: 185.
- 28 Spix & Martius 1831: 1381: “Wir befanden uns unter der Tyrannei eines Schiffscapitains, dessen Benehmen nur durch Geiz, Eigennutz und geflissentliche Nichtachtung aller sittlichen Verhältnisse geleitet schien. [...] und erlaubte sich überhaupt jede Art von Willkür. Wir hatten den Kummer, zwei unserer indianischen Begleiter in Folge dahinsterven zu sehen, und wurden beyde selbst von Leberkrankheiten ergriffen.”
- 29 According to the travelogue by Martius (Spix & Martius 1831: 1386) they arrived in Munich on December 10<sup>th</sup>; in the police gazette (“Polizei-Anzeiger von München”) of December 10<sup>th</sup> this is noted (see Leonhardt 1987: 13). On the other hand, December 8<sup>th</sup> is the date of arrival according to “Flora. Ein Unterhaltungsblatt” published on December 12<sup>th</sup> 1820 (nr. 94: 374–375). In a letter of Queen Caroline it can clearly be read that Spix and Martius visited the royal family on December 9<sup>th</sup>, and therefore must have arrived the day before: “... Saturday [...]. I had an interesting morning today. Spix and Martius have come and announced their little wild which I have kept [or supervised them] here for a long time. The boy is the son of the king of his tribe, called Schuri [Juri]. He was captured together with many others and bought by these gentlemen for two axes. He is tall for his age (10 years) and of a race that does not eat men’s meat. But the girl is about 8 years of age, she is enormous, rather squarely built. She is from a species of men-eaters.” See note notes 20, 22 and 49.
- 30 Flora, 12<sup>th</sup> Dec. 1820; Allgemeine Zeitung, Augsburg, 11<sup>th</sup> Dec. 1820; Münchner Politische Zeitung, 12<sup>th</sup> Dec. 1820.
- 31 Münchner Politische Zeitung, 12.12.1820: 1460–1461. Miscellen: “So wie gestern nach dem Gasthof zum goldenen Hahn, wo unsere glücklich zurückgekehrten brasilianischen Reisenden ihr Absteigquartier nahmen, begab sich heute eine große Menge der hiesigen Einwohner nach der ihnen im königlichen Max-Palais angewiesenen Wohnung, wo sich beyde jungen Indianer befinden, zu denen, aus Gefälligkeit der Herren Doktoren Spix und Martius, der Zutritt Jedermann bisher gestattet war.”
- 32 Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, 25<sup>th</sup> March 1821, Fm 15,530. The Maxburg building was destroyed during World War II, only one tower of it has been restored now at Lenbachplatz.
- 33 Letter from Regina Martius, the mother of C. F. Ph. Martius, to her son, Erlangen, 11<sup>th</sup> Jan. 1821, Staatsbibliothek München, Martusiana II.B1.
- 34 Misspelling for Juri and Miranha (Isabella).
- 35 Schmeller diary, May 1<sup>st</sup> 1821: “Die Kinder, wie Spix sie nennt, Juri und Isabel, kamen vor dem Schlafengehen, uns die Hand zu reichen, gute Nacht zu sagen, und von Spix ein Kreuz über sich schlagen zu lassen, der ihnen auch etwas von Topana (Gott) vorsagte. Er [Spix] hatte sie heute nach Maria Aich geführt. Juri war mit dem Hut auf dem Kopf, vermutlich zum Skandal der anwesenden Beter im Kirchlein bis zum Altar vorgegangen, bis ihm Spix mit geheimnisvollem Winken die besondere Heiligkeit dieses Hauses zu ahnen gab, und den Hut abnehmen ließ.” See also note from Oct. 27<sup>th</sup> 1820, cited in Schönitzer 2011: 150).
- 36 e.g. Kunst und Literaturblatt aus Baiern. Eine Beilage zur EOS, Miscellen aus Baiern. 1820, Nr. 47: 185.

- 37 Brief von Spix und Martius an den König, 21<sup>st</sup> Aug. 1821, Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, F.M. 21,322.
- 38 Anonymus 1821a, Nr. 7: 31: "Kaum als Isabellens Gesundheit sich zu bessern begann, erkrankte Juri, und die Brustkrankheit, welche ihn befiel, stieg bis zu einem Grade, daß man für sein Leben fürchtete. Eine heftige Entzündung stellte sich ein, und veranlaßte die Aerzte, ihn neunmal zur Ader zu lassen. Die größte Heftigkeit des Fiebers ist zwar vorüber, aber doch leidet Juri noch stark an Husten."
- 39 Anonymus 1821a, Nr. 7: 31–32.
- 40 Flora, 18<sup>th</sup> Dec.; Flora, 28<sup>th</sup> Dec.; Allgemeine Zeitung, 22<sup>nd</sup> Dec.; Leonhardt 1987: 64, 72.
- 41 Anonymus 1821a, Nr. 8: 35 "Viele Freude verursachen dem Knaben, wie dem Mädchen, große, vollkommen gekleidete Puppen, von denen beyde noch jetzt nicht verstehen können, daß dieselben leblos seyn. Man hört sie oft in vollem Ernste behaupten, daß sie leben."
- 42 Anonymus 1821b: 95: "Uebrigens zeigt diese Indierin gute Anlagen, und eine ausserordentliche Beharrlichkeit, in der Ausführung der vorgelegten Arbeiten; gleich nach einigen Tagen, nachdem sie Andere nähen sah, macht sie alles dieses sogleich nach, und zwar eben so fein, als ihre Meisterinnen, vermuthlich weil die Indianerinnen ein schärferes und mehr geübtes Auge haben."
- 43 In German the "you" is clearly plural (also next sentence).
- 44 Leonhardt 1987: 184: "Mache nur, daß Du die Indier vom Halse bekommst, denn diese machen Dir noch viel Pein. Solltest Du für die diesen beiden Fratzen gegebene Kost nicht auf eine andere Weise entschädigt werden; so würde ich solche sauber berechnen und dadurch käme es auch an den Tag, daß ihr die Kost nicht auf Königl Rechnung erhaltet. Denn wenn in allen Zeitungen steht, daß ihr auf der Maxburg auf Königl Kosten mit dem **Nöthigen** versehen würdet ...".
- 45 i.e. the widow of a Master Baker at the Hopfisterei, once Bakery by appointment to the King of Bavaria.
- 46 Allgemeine Zeitung, Augsburg, 12.12.1820: "aus der Nähe der portugiesischen Niederlassungen".
- 47 EOS, Nr. 7: 36 (see next note).
- 48 Anonymus 1821a, EOS, Nr. 7: 31: "Isabelle ist von einem Indierstamme, der aus Menschenfressern besteht, Juri aber aus einem Stamme, welcher den Weißen dient." EOS, Nr. 7: 36: "Isabella von einem der rohesten Urstämme der Indianer entsprossen." Concerning "man-eaters" (= Menschenfresser) see also the following note.
- 49 Probably this misinterpretation goes back to Spengler 1962: 51 (see note 53) Letter of Queen Caroline to her mother, Munich, December 9<sup>th</sup> 1820 "... j'ai eu une matinée bien intéressante aujourd'hui; Spix et Martius sont arrivés et m'ont annoncé leurs petits sauvages que j'ai gardé longtemps chez moi. Le garçon fils d'un roi de sa caste appelée Schouri a été fait prisonnier avec beaucoup d'autres et acheté par les Messieurs pour deux haches – il est grand pour son age (10 ans), fort et d'une espèce qui ne mange pas de chair humaine – mais la fille âgée de 8 ans énorme et toute carée est de l'espèce des Menschenfresser ...". Deutsche Übersetzung: Bayern 1957: 796 (teilweise). See also notes 20 and 22.
- 50 "Jury aus Amerika / Johann Jury aus Brasilien 11 J. a. starb den 11ten abends 6 Uhr an der Lungensucht;" Sterbebuch der Pfarrei Zu unserer Lieben Frau, Archiv des Erzbistums München und Freising, Matrikel München 59, fol. 184–185 (according to Pfister 2008).
- 51 EOS, eine Zeitschrift aus Baiern, zur Erheiterung und Belehrung, Miscellen, 1821, n. 48: 194: "Am Sonntag den 11. d. M. Abend um 6 Uhr starb hier der junge Indianer Jury, welchen die beyden Akademiker Dr. v. Spix und v. Martius aus der Gefangenschaft in Brasilien erlöst, und hierher gebracht hatten. An den Folgen einer kronischen Lungen-Entzündung und Lungen-Vereiterung, welche vorzüglich durch die seinem Organism. fremdartigen Reize des hiesigen Klimas hervorgebracht wurden. Man fand bey der Sektion die Lunge

ganz vereitert. Er hatte eine langdauernde Krankheit mir vieler Ruhe ertragen, wie er überhaupt einen sehr milden Charakter immer bewiesen hatte. Sanft wie er im Leben war, ist er auch entschlafen."

- 52 EOS, eine Zeitschrift aus Baiern, zur Erheiterung und Belehrung, Miscellen, 1821, n. 48: 194.
- 53 This was claimed by Spengler (1962: 46). Actually Spengler's text is incorrect in many details as also stated elsewhere in this publication (see note 48). But nevertheless it is cited again and again (e.g. Bahl 2013; Pfeiffer 2013).
- 54 EOS, eine Zeitschrift aus Baiern, zur Erheiterung und Belehrung, Miscellen, 1821, Nr. 48: 194: "Das Mädchen Isabella befindet sich sehr wohl, und macht täglich Fortschritte in den Sprachen und der Bildung der Europäer."
- 55 "Eine Americanerin / Isabella aus Brasilien 14 J. a. starb den 20ten früh um ½ 4 Uhr an den Folgen einer allgemeinen chronischen Entzündung der Eingeweide des Unterleibes;" Sterbebuch der Pfarrei Zu unserer Lieben Frau, Archiv des Erzbistums München und Freising, Matrikel München 72, 200 (according to Pfister 2008: 21).
- 56 Letter of Queen Caroline to her mother, Tegernsee, March 19<sup>th</sup>, 1822; Geheimes Hausarchiv München, Nachlass Prinz Adalbert, Second fascicle: 17, 384.
- 57 Inscription on their grave: "Der Heimat entrückt, fanden sie Sorgfalt und Liebe im fernen Welttheile, jedoch unerbittlich des Nordens rauher Winter". City Museum Munich, permanent exhibition (see also Tiefenbacher 1997; Bahl 2013).
- 58 More details and literature are listed in Schönitzer 2011a.
- 59 The university was moved from Landshut to Munich in November 1826, i.e. after Spix's death.
- 60 Spix & Martius 1831; Martius 1831; Martius 1832.
- 61 Reprinted in an extended version (Martius 1867).
- 62 "die düstere Gravität des Häuptlings" (Martius 1832: 19).
- 63 For details see Helbig 2012: 53ff.
- 64 Martius, C. F. Ph. von 1862: Tagebuch (diary, handwritten), Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Martiusiana, II.A.3.4, see also note 19, cited according to Leonhardt 1987: 257, also cited in Tiefenbacher 1997: 44. "Als ich aus dem Yapurá nach Maracacru [...] zurückkehrte, [...] führte mir der Factor auf seines Herrn Befehl die Indianer vor, aus den ich einen wählen durfte, den ich in Europa – zeigen und dann zur europäischen Menschlichkeit zu erziehen, mich vermaß. Am Morgen vor der Abreise stellte sich im Hofe, vor dem Wohnhaus die Reihe der männlichen Indianer auf, und ich wählte! Ich deutete auf den hübschen Knaben Juri, der Factor nahm ihn aus der Reihe, und der Vater des Knaben folgte ihm nicht nach, aber verfolgte mich mit einem Blicke: wars Frage, wars Zorn? Ich habe den Blick nicht vergessen. Als ein Jahr später der Knabe in München an der Lungensucht starb, da kam es wie ein schweres Gewicht über mich! Ich habe die Gefahr der Verhärtung des Gemüthes gebüßt und aus ihr Liebe und Verehrung aller menschlichen Natur gelernt. Durch eine Übelthat bin ich zum Menschenfreund geworden." By the way, Martius named himself "Menschenfreund" in other publications, too.

**Klaus Schönitzer**  
Staatliche Naturwissenschaftliche  
Sammlungen Bayerns,  
Zoologische Staatssammlung  
München