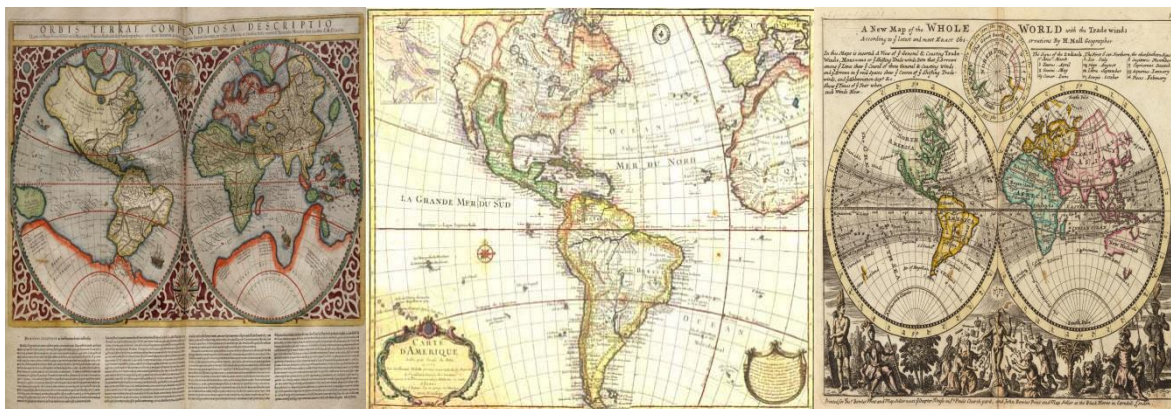


## Rhizomatic cartography of *El Dorado*: Legend, Myth and Utopia

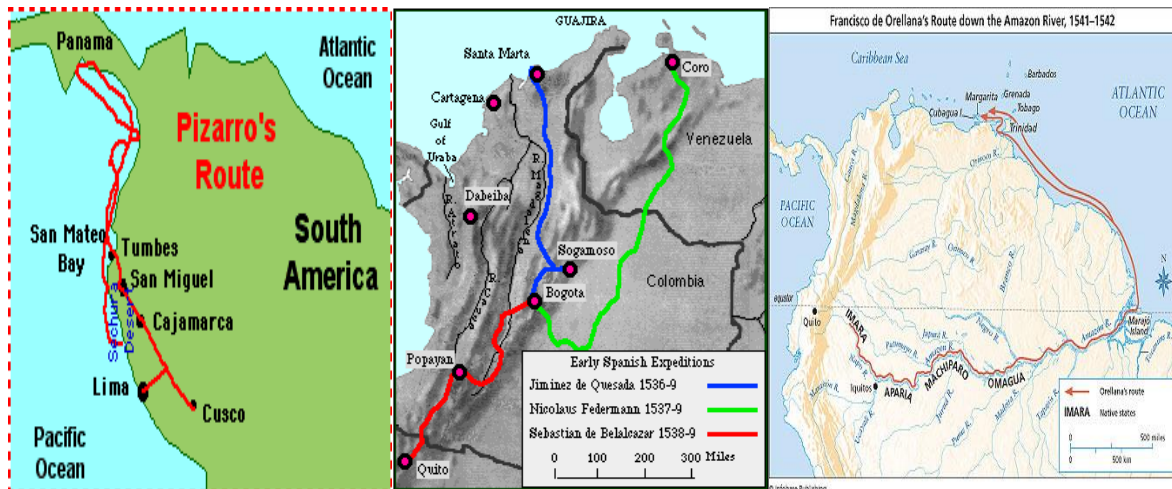
By Julián Fernando Trujillo Amaya

The *El Dorado* myth is a European creation based on various stories that had been narrated by Native Americans and a series of medieval representations that formed part of the Renaissance's collective imagination<sup>i</sup>. The *El Dorado* myth envisioned the dreams of some Europeans and founded their own reality in the New World. America became the realization of a utopia. The "City of God", "The New Atlantis" or "Paradise Lost" was no longer a desirable and imaginary, but non-existent location. The "Utopia" now was not only conceivable but truly possible<sup>ii</sup>. America was a real possibility and its existence an indisputable fact. However, the reality overcame the fantasy of the Renaissance's great utopias and served as a basis or stimulus for its development: "the utopia is American", as Arturo Uslar Pietri said<sup>iii</sup>. And certainly the "New World" recovered the hope of forlorn Europeans in search of a "heavenly Jerusalem" on Earth and became an object of idealization through travel journals, letters, chronicles, stories and legends. In *El Dorado* there was a symbolic articulation of the ambition for wealth and the European's willingness to dominate on the twilight of the middle ages. This built a complex network from which the modern bourgeois world conception emerged<sup>iv</sup>. *El Dorado* then became the motivation for many expeditions, and was the yearning of many a *conquistador* and colonizing companies that eagerly looked for a world full of riches to seize in the paradisiacal landscapes of the American continent: "everything important that has happened or is happening takes the route of the American rhizome"<sup>v</sup>.



Since the Renaissance, Europeans crossed oceans in search of *El Dorado* and Latin America has been restricted to roaming without a place in a Universal History written by the winners. The ambition and the physical and symbolic violence have displaced it from the Kingdom of Heaven towards a hell of misery and marginality. The conquest and colonialism have transformed the utopia that came upon South America and created their myths in an apocalyptic destiny. From being the utopia of a kingdom of wealth and wonders, where the imagination is defeated by reality, Latin America has become a trophy of conquest, an expression of the abuse and the exploitation by the great powers of the western world, an amusement park for their adventures and fantasies. The *El Dorado* myth is a possibility in the organization of the collective imagination that configures the American utopia. Its terrible effects constitute shameful episodes in the

historical genesis and cultural archaeology of our America. The massacres of Hernán Cortes in Mexico and Francisco Pizarro in Peru, the expeditions of Francisco de Orellana, Pedro de Ursua and Lope de Aguirre through the Amazonian Jungle, among Ecuador, Peru, Colombia, Venezuela and Brazil, and the confrontation between the German Nicholas de Federman and the Spaniards Gonzalo Jiménez de Quesada and Sebastián de Belalcazar for the domination of the Muisca valley, are some of the best known historical examples.



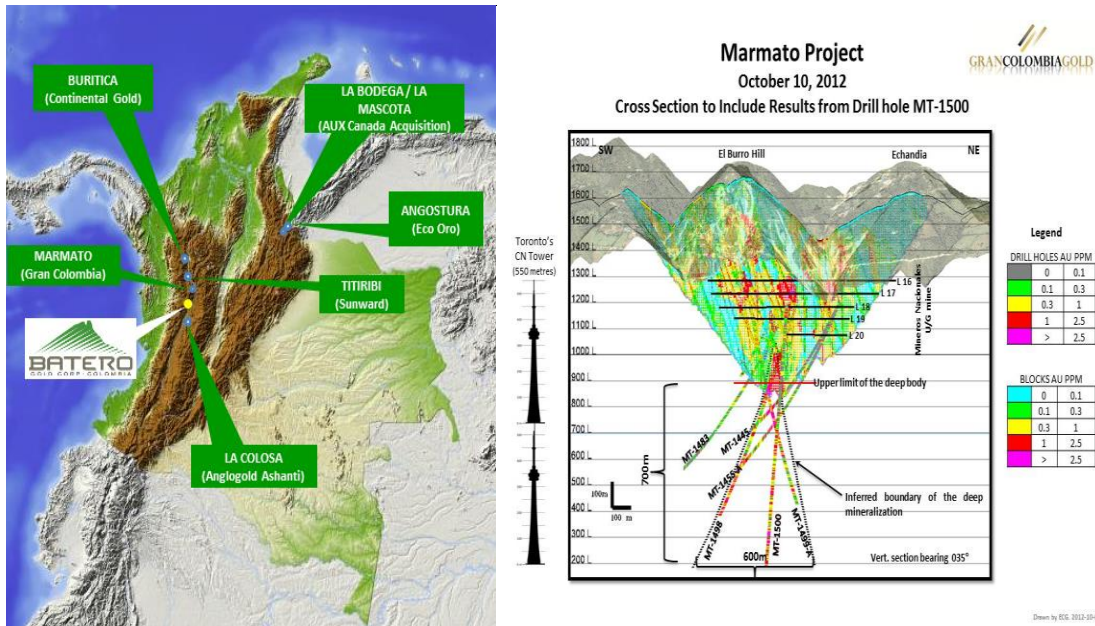
While in Ecuador Sebastián de Belalcazar heard rumors and information about a "Golden King", a "Golden Man" or a "Golden City". He separated from Pizarro in Peru to search for *El Dorado* on his own and this is how he arrived to the *cundiboyacense* plateau, in what is today the Republic of Colombia. The myth of the "Golden City" is present in the Peruvian history of the Spanish Jesuit Andrés López, although the *El Dorado* legend is initially built from a spectacular Muisca ritual that was performed at the Guatavita lagoon, in the midst of the Andes Mountains<sup>vi</sup>. This ritual is clearly described by Juan Rodríguez Freyle in his work "*Conquista y descubrimiento del Nuevo Reino de Granada de las indias occidentales del mar océano*" (1636) and Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo in his chronicle "Sumario de La Historia Natural de Las Indias", but it had been known of since 1530 by Gonzalo Jiménez Quesada and Sebastián de Belalcazar. The ritual consisted of a succession of power ceremony, where the Chief heir to the Muisca Kingdom was first anointed in honey and tree resins, then his body was covered with gold dust, to finally be led on a raft decorated with golden ornaments and gifts to the center of the Guatavita lagoon, where he was accompanied by four priests. Once the Moon reached its zenith and its light cast down on the raft, the Muisca Chief began to throw golden gifts, offerings, and figurines into the lagoon, finally throwing himself into the lagoon as a symbol of fertility. This occurred amid the merriment of the spectators and music produced by flutes and drums. This Muisca ritual served as the basis for the stories and legends that ended up becoming the *El Dorado* myth<sup>vii</sup>.

From the times of Francisco de Orellana, who travelled into the Amazon basin in search of *El Dorado* accompanied by Gonzalo de Pizarro (brother of Francisco de Pizarro), and Lope de Aguirre, and during many centuries after, this European myth has debased Latin America in an inconceivable but sadly real anti utopia. From 1545 to the present time, many have tried to take

control of the hidden wealth in the Guatavita Lagoon. In 1580, Antonio de Sepúlveda enslaved six thousand Indians in order to drain the lagoon. The British Empire, through Sir Walter Raleigh, in 1595 and in a second expedition in 1617, unsuccessfully sought the riches of *El Dorado*. In the 19th century a European company with German capital tried to find and extract, through excavations and channels, the gold at the bottom of the Guatavita lagoon. In 1807 the Prussian naturalist Alexander von Humboldt valued the gold in the Guatavita lagoon at three hundred million dollars, at the time. He approximately calculated that an average of 4000 Indians threw a number of small pieces of gold in the Lagoon each year. During the 1000 years tradition, that would result in no less than some fifty thousand pieces. In addition to these authorized opinions was the publication of *El Dorado*, an archaeological and ethnographic work by Liborio Zerda, where he showed the results of research into the fabrication of pottery and metalwork, and its relationship with the myths and rituals in different pre-Colombian cultures that were carried out in the Nueva Granada territory.



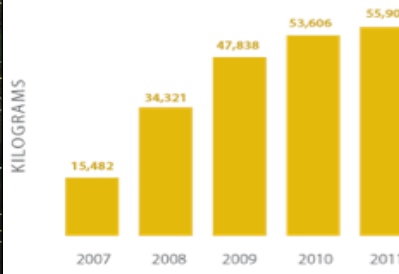
But the myth and misery of gold continued to grow. In 1912 the Franco-Saxon company, Contractors Limited, made a new attempt to dredge the lagoon. Since the Wesler de Nuremberg expeditions in 1539, up to the festival of mineral extraction which started in 2010 by multinationals in the town of Marmato, a municipality in the Department of Caldas, in the Republic of Colombia. There a Canadian company intends to extract 150 tons of gold over 20 years<sup>viii</sup>. There are many who have put all their effort into finding the coveted gold of *El Dorado*, regardless of the negative consequences that this Western myth has on the ecosystem and human life in this part of the world. Segovia Antioquia, with the highest contamination in the world with Mercury, as result of gold mining, and the environmental damage resulting from extraction of gold in Zaragoza<sup>ix</sup> on the road to the port of Buenaventura in the Pacific Coast of Colombia, are some of the amazing recent effects that the *El Dorado* myth causes in South America.



Currently, diverse multinationals and several Canadian companies explore and exploit South America in search of *El Dorado*<sup>x</sup>. Colombia, first called "Castilla de Oro" (Castle of Gold), later becoming the capital of "El Nuevo Reino de Granada" (the New Kingdom of Granada), is located at the entrance point to South America, and it has been the ideal destination, since Christopher Columbus's third voyage, for usurpers blinded by ambition and dominated by the *El Dorado* myth<sup>xi</sup>. This myth and the discourse used to build it, try to hide the thirst for conquest and the misery that takes place in colonies, victims of their own wealth<sup>xii</sup>. The symbolic efficiency and material power of the *El Dorado* myth is evident in Colombia's current mineral exploitation and the incredible reality of poverty that it produces<sup>xiii</sup>. The Muriel Mining Corporation, a United States mining company, explores, exploits and commercializes the gold reserves found in areas that belong to the afro-descendent communities of the Chocó and the ancestral territories of the natives Embera in Colombia. The Canadian companies New Ventures Ltd. -subsequently renamed New Ventures Global International Ltd.-, Vetana Gold Corporation, Greystar Resources Ltd., Pacific Rubiales, Colombia Goldfields and Medoro Resource Ltd., control the exploration, exploitation and commercialization of gold and other mineral resources in what is today the Republic of Colombia. The impact of these companies on afro-descendent and ancestral indigenous communities, the ecosystem and the increase in poverty and violence in Colombian society, is still not of concern or an object of priority interest for academic communities or real or virtual social networks in the named "First World" countries<sup>xiv</sup>. In consequence, the dispossession, displacement and terrorism extend into all areas of South America where gold is found and foreigners arrive with their greed and cravings to accumulate. America "proceeds both by internal exterminations and liquidations (not only the Indians but also the farmers, etc.), and by successive waves of immigration from the outside. The flow of capital produces an immense channel, a quantification of power with immediate "quanta," where each person profits from the passage of the money flow in his or her own way (hence the reality-myth of the poor man who strikes it rich and then falls into poverty again): in America everything comes together, tree and channel, root and rhizome"<sup>xv</sup>.



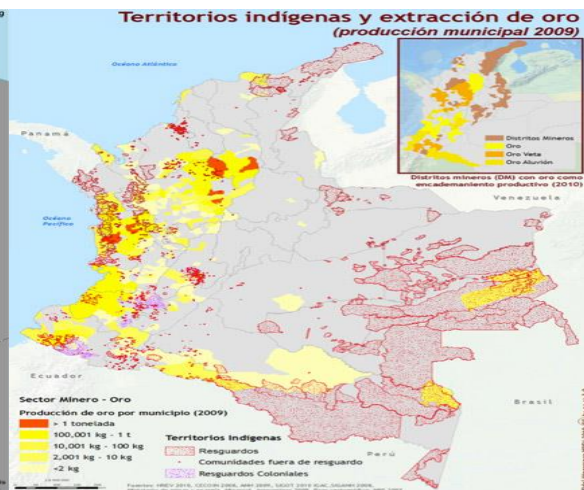
### Colombian Gold Production 2007 - 2011



Source: USGS Yearbook Colombia 2011

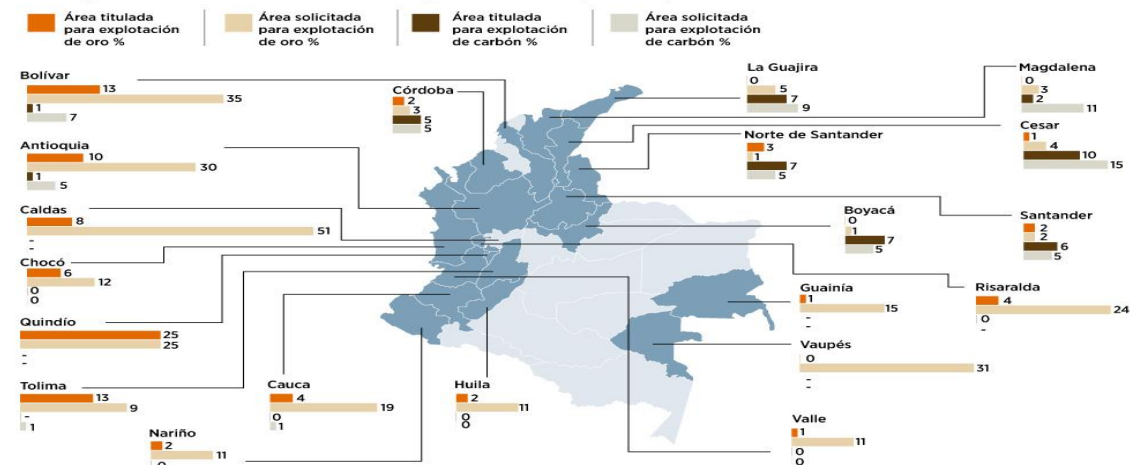
Table 4-4: 2009 Colombian gold production (SI/MCO, 2010b)

| Department    | 2009 Production (kg) | 2009 Production (oz) |
|---------------|----------------------|----------------------|
| Antioquia     | 28,027.85            | 901,116              |
| Chocó         | 10,847.19            | 348,745              |
| Bolívar       | 3,431.14             | 110,314              |
| Cauca         | 2,316.77             | 74,486               |
| Caldas        | 1,217.53             | 39,144               |
| Valle         | 569.99               | 18,326               |
| Córdoba       | 454.79               | 14,622               |
| Nariño        | 442.66               | 14,232               |
| Tolima        | 275.8                | 8,867                |
| Santander     | 140.07               | 4,503                |
| <b>Total:</b> | <b>47,723.79</b>     | <b>1,534,355</b>     |

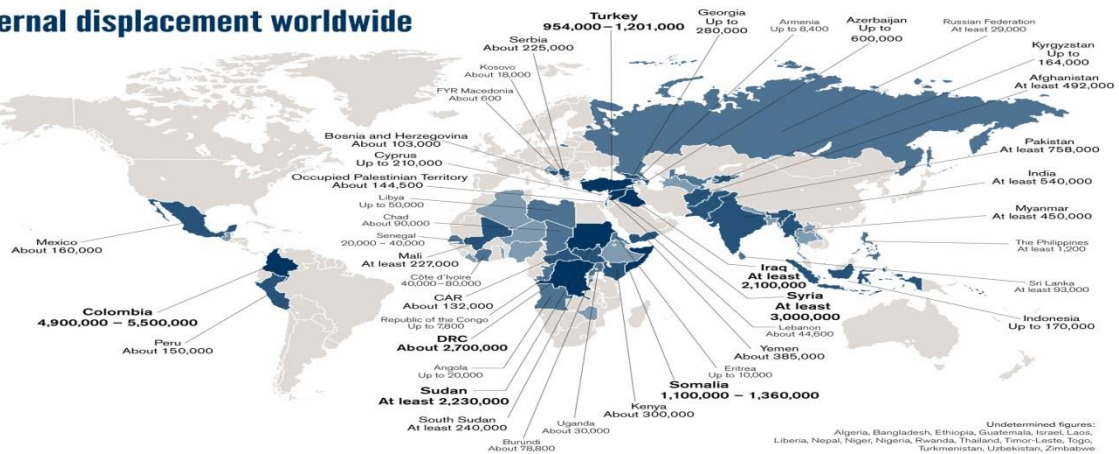


The coincidences between areas of production and exploitation of gold, indigenous territories and areas of native black communities, forced displacement and violence are not random<sup>xvi</sup>. Conversely constitute further evidence of the terrible effects that still generates the myth of *El Dorado*. But, according to Moretti, "Quantitative research provides a type of data which is ideally independent of interpretations, and that is of course also its limit: it provides data, not interpretation"<sup>xvii</sup>.

### Los departamentos con más títulos y solicitudes para explotación minera



## Internal displacement worldwide



Nevertheless, ironically it is capitalism which has taken the initiative to preserve the archaeological symbols of the *El Dorado* legend, for instance, in a series of the two peso bill, issued between 1972 and 1977 by the Bank of the Republic of Colombia. This occurred amidst the boom of marijuana trafficking and the beginning of cocaine trafficking (two other natural resources offered by Latin America). *El Dorado* was represented on one side of the bill by the image of a Muisca raft with the chieftain and the priests, just as the legend described them<sup>xviii</sup>.



The mentioned icon on the bill is based on a piece of gold work made by the Muisca Culture around the year 600 a.d., which was found within a vessel of pottery at the beginning of 1969. This figure was made using the *"técnica de la cera perdida"*, showing the very significant level of the art of the goldsmithing and is an archaeological element in favor of the *El Dorado* legend and ritual that gave origin to it. The representation of a Muisca raft on a bill issued by the Bank of the Republic of Colombia and the gold raft which sits in the Santa Fé de Bogotá, Gold Museum, are also visible symbols of the on going nature of the myth<sup>xix</sup>. The most evident proof of the ongoing *El Dorado* myth and its detrimental effects on the Latin American reality is not only the mineral exploitation by North American and multinational companies, but its shift to the cultural and symbolic forms. Not only human resources and natural resources are stolen from their rightful owners, also the rituals, the artwork and artifacts that symbolize and identify a people are

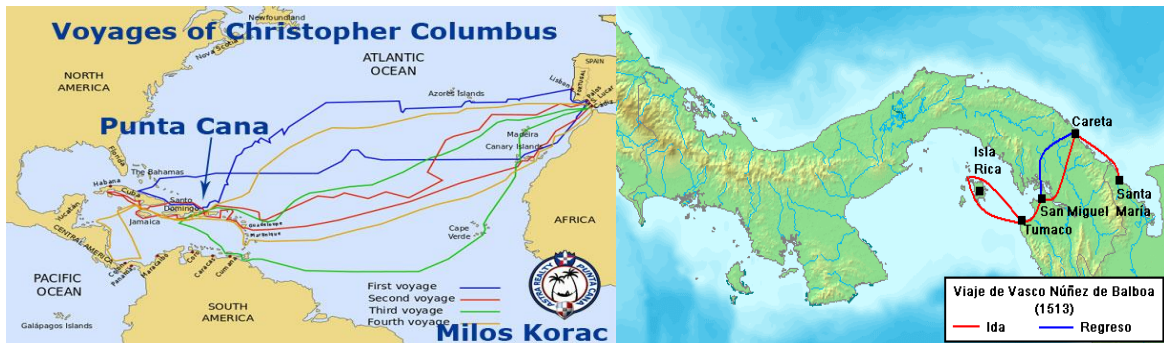
alienated and put into circulation in the industrial markets of culture and the virtual networks, together with legitimizing discourses and its purifying over interpretation.



Philanthropists and merchants of symbols have also sought benefits with *El Dorado*. A figure similar to the Muisca raft currently preserved in Bogota was found in 1856 in the Siecha Lagoon, in the Colombian Department of Cundinamarca. The "*balsa de Siecha*" was put on public display in 1883, but was bought by collector Salomon Koppel who then sold it to the Royal Museum in Berlin, but arriving at the Bremen port, the boat where it was transported caught fire and the raft disappeared. Perhaps for this reason the golden Muisca raft that still remains has never left Colombia. Regardless, the meaning of art and pre-Hispanic culture has become a commodity and a spectacle in a process of cultural encroachment and symbolic domination. Important museums accumulate capital on the international art market, thanks to the fascination that the *El Dorado* myth still produces and the images that reproduce it<sup>xx</sup>. The movement of goods in a globalized world now allows the few gold pieces used in Muisca rituals and that have survived the usurpers to travel from the *Museo del Oro* of the *Banco de la República de Colombia* to other museums around the world. Thus, reminding everyone of the real substratum of the *El Dorado* myth and legend. At the same time, they accumulate economic and symbolic capital for the benefit of cultural elites who administer these monuments to the conquest of America. *Colombian indigenous goldsmithing* is currently on exhibit at the British Museum in London, where a great deal of artistic and cultural wealth from around the world has ended up<sup>xxi</sup>.

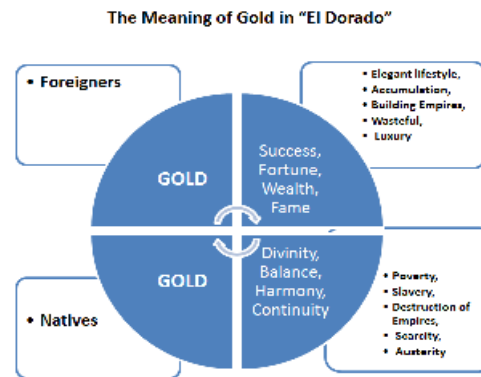
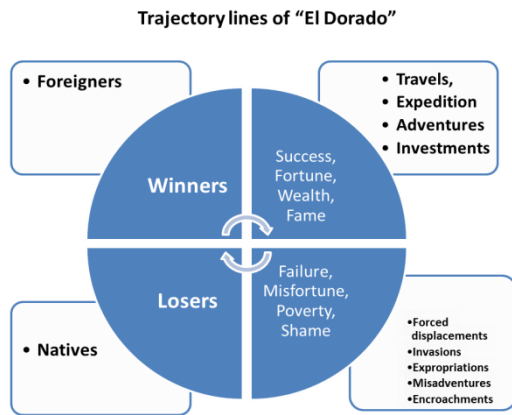


The ethical and political lesson that the *El Dorado* myth leaves behind should be critically analyzed and not disguised with the rhetoric of marketing. One aspect to take into account, in the archaeological analysis is its utopian character. Christopher Columbus believed that he had found “the paradise on earth” that the West European culture had dreamed of for so long, with the installation of the "New World" in the virtual space of the utopias. This type of discourses and beliefs, that the West used to conceive the Americas, has helped to increase the ambition without limits of Europeans and people from the United States. It has forged the violent character of those who yearn for the riches of *El Dorado* and has negatively influenced the collective imagination of corrupt politicians, the disoriented revolutionaries groups and Latin American drug traffickers. They, just as the conquistadores, pirates, adventurers, merchants, bankers and others who seek *El Dorado*, have erred in trying to follow the mistaken path of Christopher Columbus delirium, pioneer in the construction of the *El Dorado* myth: "Gold - said Columbus in his *Diario de viajes* - is the most exquisite of all the elements that are found in the new world, he who holds gold can buy everything you need in this world and in the thereafter. Indeed, with gold you can even achieve that ones soul enters paradise"<sup>xxii</sup>.

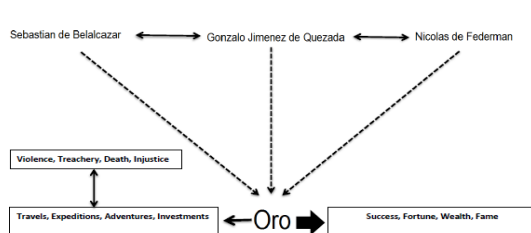


El Dorado has an explicit plot which is repeated over and over for centuries. The graph of its historical trajectory and the places that indicate the legends can be visualized in the maps that represent the expeditions and travels of the conquerors in the territories of the "New World". In the same way, is possible to recognize a basic diagram, and several connections can be identify between the characters, objects, places, actions and concretes effect that compose El Dorado myth.

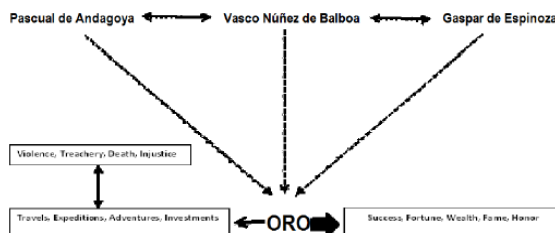




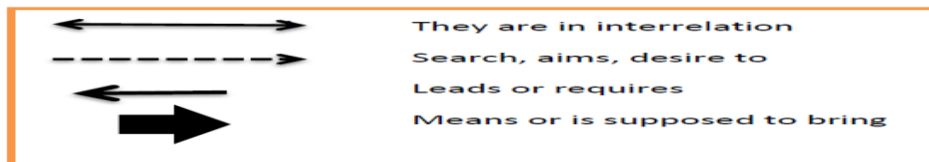
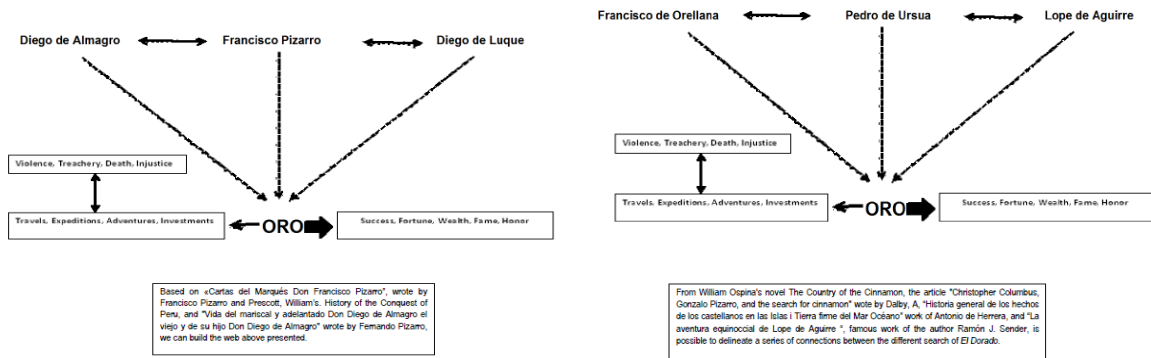
These networks show an asymmetric relation between two types of characters, the winners and the losers. According to this mythical conception, foreigners are the winners and natives are the losers<sup>xxiii</sup>. While for the foreigners gold represents wealth, fortune and success, for the natives from Latin-American gold represents divinity, balance and harmony. The natives work, own and offer gold to their gods. The foreigners search, crave and usurp gold for its personal benefit. Their urges to find gold leads them to violence and to make large investments, expeditions and dangerous trips. Natives make rituals and other cultural practices, built legends and produce artworks with gold. The effects of *El Dorado* in foreigners are the expansion of power, wealth accumulation and elegant life style of the Leisure classes. The consequences of this myth for natives are death, misery, slavery and expropriation. For the foreigners, *El Dorado* myth serves as a utopia and a justification of existence; through the one they feed their thirst for adventures and utopian fantasies<sup>xxiv</sup>. By contrast, for natives *El Dorado* was first a ritual to relink them with the gods and a collection of stories, but then it became a strategy to mislead foreigners that were looking for gold and finally a tragic reality. When drawing the map of the networks<sup>xxv</sup> that compose the texts which presents the stories and tales about the search for *El Dorado*, the pattern of connections between all these paths and elements (gold, places, characters and actions) are evident, "but in order to see this pattern, we must first extract it from the narrative flow, and one way to do so is with a map. Not, of course, that the map is already an explanation; but at least it shows us that there is something that needs to be explained"<sup>xxvi</sup>.



According to Juan Rodríguez Freyle, the author of "Conquista i descubrimiento del Nuevo Reino de Granada de las Indias Occidentales del Mar Océano y fundación de la ciudad de Santa Fe de Bogotá (Conquest and discovery of the New Kingdom of Granada in the West Indies of the Ocean Sea and foundation of the city of Santa Fe de Bogotá)", a work commonly known as *El camino* (The highway) and Gonzalo Jimenez de Quezada's reports entitled "Epítome de la conquista del Nuevo Reino de Granada" (1539) which is a description of the New World and the people, and "Memoria de los descubridores y conquistadores que entraron coningo a descubrir y conquistar este reino de Nueva Granada", we can design a simple web about the legend *El Dorado* in relation with the conquistadores Quezada, Belalcázar and Federman.



According to the book "Historia general y natural de las Indias" by Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo y Valdés, "Relación de los sucesos de Pedrarias Dávila" wrote by Pascual de Andagoya, and "Balboa el conquistador: La odisea de Vasco Núñez, descubridor del Pacífico", by Garrison, Omar V., we can identify the web above showed.



The construction of *El Dorado* myth extends his network through new literary works, music, movies, videos and television series. Besides *The road of El Dorado* by Artur Uslar Pietri (1947) and *The equinoctial Adventure* by Lope de Aguirre de Ramón Zender (1964), which worked as base for the movie "Aguirre, der Zorn Gottes" (The Wrath of God, 1972) directed by Werner Herzog, we also have the novel by Wolfgang Hohlbein "Indiana Jones und das Gold von El Dorado" (1991) and the movie "Indiana Jones and the Kingdom of Crystal Skull" (2008), the animated adventure musical comedy film "The Road to El Dorado", directed by Eric "Bibo" Bergeron, Will Finn y Don Paul (2000), the french-japanese television series "The mysterious cities of Gold" (1982, 1983, 2007), the literary works of the Colombian writer William Ospina titled "Ursua" (2005), "The cinnamon country" (2008) and "The snake without eyes" (2012), which with the mini TV show of adventure and fantasy "The Search for El Dorado" (2010) are a proof of the El Dorado myth in the collective imaginary of the Occidental World. American Utopia is still alive, as well the lyrics of the song "El Dorado", from the British group Electric Light Orchestra, clearly says: "And now I found the key to the eternal dream/ Then I will stay, I'll not be back, Eldorado./ I will be free of the world, Eldorado./ Then I will stay"<sup>xxvii</sup>.

Through these discourses and symbolic forms, the dominant powers in Western culture reiterate and promote complex mythology which conceals the painful tragedy of indescribable reality. The horrors of *El Dorado* myth have been lazily extended over five centuries for the leisure classes of the "First World". This reality of poverty and injustice that generates war and violence requires an immediately and radical change. According to Zerda, the *El Dorado* that we should conquer is a genuine and sweeping utopia that does not condemn the peoples of Latin America to centuries of misery and solitude: "The current generations enjoy the benefits of the art of iron and technologies such as the printing press, which are powerful elements of civilization. With this, and other knowledge we must, not only hold up the memory of the ages and the social construction of

our ancestors, but also free from extermination the countless cultures that are degraded and vilified outside the protective scope of our most developed population centers.<sup>11xxviii</sup>

However, when there is no more gold to explode, we will just have the myth and our representations of it to remember the sad utopia that we were not able to change. The British group *Iron Maiden* expresses it unmatched in the lyrics of their song *El Dorado*: “So gone is the glory/ And gone is the gold/ Well if you need a story/ I've come it has to be told (...) *El Dorado* come and play/ *El Dorado* step this way/ Take a ticket for the ride/ *El Dorado* streets of gold/ See those over sold/ You've got one last chance to try<sup>11xxix</sup>. But much more forceful and emotive is the video of the band "Calle 13" entitled Latin America whose chorus says: “You can't buy the wind. You can't buy the sun. You can't buy the rain. You can't buy the heat. You can't buy the clouds. You can't buy the colors. You can't buy my happiness. You can't buy my pains<sup>11xxx</sup>.”

<sup>i</sup> Ágnes Heller, *Renaissance Man* (English trans. of Hungarian original). London, Boston, Henley: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1978. Cfr. Marcuse. Herbert, *El fin de la Utopía México*, D.F: Siglo XXI. 1969. 4 edición

<sup>ii</sup> Manuel, Frank & Manuel, Fritzie (1979) *Utopian Thought in the Western World* (Oxford: Blackwell)

<sup>iii</sup> Uslar Pietri, Arturo. *La otra América*. Madrid: Alianza Edit., 1974. Cfr. Henríquez Ureña, Pedro. *La utopía de América*. Caracas, Venezuela: Biblioteca Ayacucho, 1978, and Tzvetan Todorov: *La conquête de l'Amérique. La question de l'autre*. Paris, Editions du Seuil, 1982.

<sup>iv</sup> Beauchesne, K., & Santos, A. (Eds.). (2011). *The Utopian Impulse in Latin America*. Palgrave Macmillan.

<sup>v</sup> Deleuze, Gilles, and Felix Guattari. "A thousand plateaus." Trans. Brian Massumi. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press (1987). P. 19

<sup>vi</sup> <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=g67LyM9ej9I>

<sup>vii</sup> <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sovzUAVoA> [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/El\\_Dorado](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/El_Dorado)

<sup>viii</sup> <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YIQNNjHcN8>

<sup>ix</sup> <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FKwiy84lRYE>

<sup>x</sup> <http://www.goffcorporation.com/projects.html> <http://www.cordilleragold.com/>

[http://tairona.myzen.co.uk/index.php/history/gold\\_smithing\\_in\\_colombia\\_at\\_the\\_time\\_of\\_the\\_spanish\\_invasion/](http://tairona.myzen.co.uk/index.php/history/gold_smithing_in_colombia_at_the_time_of_the_spanish_invasion/)

<sup>xi</sup> <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kZLdrRcTI-M>

<sup>xii</sup> <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=eyrMrJsLFzc>

<sup>xiii</sup> <http://encuentromegaproyectosymineria.blogspot.ca/2013/03/comunicado-de-prensa-asociacion-de.html>

<sup>xiv</sup> [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=u7JdV9o\\_9aE](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=u7JdV9o_9aE)

<sup>xv</sup> Deleuze, Gilles, and Felix Guattari. *Op.Cit.* p. 21

<sup>xvi</sup> <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ulx0jqIgfR8>

<sup>xvii</sup> Franco Moretti, “Graphs, Maps, Trees – 1”, *New Left Review* 24, November-December, 2003, p. 72

<sup>xviii</sup> [http://tairona.myzen.co.uk/index.php/history/the\\_legend\\_of\\_el\\_dorado/](http://tairona.myzen.co.uk/index.php/history/the_legend_of_el_dorado/)

<sup>xix</sup> <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=COM5LzAUbsY> [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Muisca\\_raft](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Muisca_raft)

[http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Muisca\\_raft](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Muisca_raft)

<sup>xx</sup> [http://www.britishmuseum.org/whats\\_on/exhibitions/beyond\\_el\\_dorado.aspx](http://www.britishmuseum.org/whats_on/exhibitions/beyond_el_dorado.aspx)

<http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/magazine-20964114> <http://colombiareports.co/british-museum-now-worth-weight-gold-colombias-gold/>

<sup>xxi</sup> [http://www.britishmuseum.org/about\\_us/news\\_and\\_press/press\\_releases/2013/beyond\\_el\\_dorado.aspx](http://www.britishmuseum.org/about_us/news_and_press/press_releases/2013/beyond_el_dorado.aspx)

<http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/magazine-20964114>

<http://www.theguardian.com/culture/2013/jul/04/british-museum-exhibition-el-dorado>

<sup>xxii</sup> [http://www.elhistoriador.com.ar/documentos/conquista\\_y\\_colonia/diario\\_de\\_a\\_bordo\\_de\\_cristobal\\_colon.php](http://www.elhistoriador.com.ar/documentos/conquista_y_colonia/diario_de_a_bordo_de_cristobal_colon.php) <http://ponce.inter.edu/cai/surisla/vol2/humani/utopia.htm>

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<sup>xxiii</sup> “La división internacional del trabajo consiste en que unos países se especializan en ganar y otros en perder. Nuestra comarca del mundo, que hoy llamamos América Latina, fue precoz: se especializó en perder desde los remotos tiempos en que los europeos del Renacimiento se abalanzaron a través del mar y le hundieron los dientes en la garganta”, Eduardo Galeano in “Las Venas Abiertas de América Latina”.

[http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Open\\_Veins\\_of\\_Latin\\_America](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Open_Veins_of_Latin_America) <http://www.elortiba.org/lasvenas1.html>  
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=INxafgc9Z48> <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=c083pVsqOG0>  
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Y15JyHP1jbk>

<sup>xxiv</sup> <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UJyx0WgWkP8>

<sup>xxv</sup> Cfr. Moretti, F. (2011). Network theory, plot analysis. *New Left Review*: “A network is made of vertices and edges; a plot, of characters and actions: characters will be the vertices of the network, interactions the edges”, p. 3, and Making the past just as visible as the present: that is one major change introduced by the use of networks. Then, they make visible specific “regions” within the plot as a whole: sub-systems, that share some significant property”, p. 4

<sup>xxvi</sup> Franco Moretti, “Graphs, Maps, Trees – 2”, *NLR 26 New Left Review* 26, March-April 2004, p. 84

<sup>xxvii</sup> <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0Rzty-VH-JI>

<sup>xxviii</sup> <http://www.banrepcultural.org/sites/default/files/87219/brblaa302323.pdf>, in this sense seems to be the new musical utopia ChocQuibTown Colombian group and their complaints through the videos “Oro” (Gold) [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=lQZZ\\_gp8dos](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=lQZZ_gp8dos) and “De donde vengo yo” (Where I come) <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yMS4J6Gp6e4>.

<sup>xxix</sup> <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=l7TnYfc1xrU>

<sup>xxx</sup> <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PChsjYXBfzo>