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Archive and Repertoire of Black Culture in Fiction: Jorge Amado's Tenda dos Milagres

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Abstract

The main purpose of this article is to examine the novel Tenda dos Milagres (1969) by Jorge Amado, considering it as an archive of Afro-descendant culture. This study is based on reflections on the relationship between archive and fiction developed by authors such as Keen (2003), Codebò (2010), and Gonzáles Echevarría (2011), as well as the concepts of repertoire and performance also related to the archive, as theorized by Diana Taylor (2013). Thus, grounded in the thinking of these authors, we will observe issues related to the forms of recording ancestral culture (re)presented in the novel and situations surrounding these records, such as the clashes between the knowledge of the white, dominant elite and the traditional knowledge of the black and excluded people in the city of Salvador, Bahia, during the first decades of the 20th century, as well as the appropriation of this same knowledge by the same elite at the end of the century, transforming it into profitable products of mass culture/cultural industry, which was fully developing at that time, driven by the business-military dictatorship. On our journey towards the free and vast territory of Pelourinho, the setting of the narrative and the locus of enunciation of the protagonist Pedro Archanjo, other theorists will accompany us, helping us to think through the plurality that constitutes the novel in focus.

Keywords: Jorge Amado; Tenda dos Milagres (The Tent of Miracles); Afro-Brazilian Culture; Archive; Repertoire.

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> A version circulates among the people of the terreiros, runs through the streets of the city: it was the orixá himself who ordered Archanjo to see everything, know everything, write everything. For this, he made him Ojuobá, the eyes of Xangô. (AMADO, 1969, p. 117).

1. A brief journey through Amada's fiction

Jorge Amado [*] is one of the most prominent Brazilian writers of the 20th century. Among his contemporaries, he was the best-selling author both in Brazil and abroad; his works have been translated into more than forty languages and widely adapted for television and film. Despite his publishing success and having built up a huge readership, as well as leaving a rich legacy to Brazilian literature, Amado did not always receive unanimous praise from critics, especially during the early reception of his work, and particularly from those who were ideologically and politically opposed to the Bahian writer. Not infrequently, this segment of critics labeled Amado's work as propagandistic and Manichean, populated by types (rather than characters) lacking psychological depth and linked to exoticism and stereotyping. These were issues that seemed to us t , as if the goal were to fabricate, at any cost, something that would disqualify Jorge Amado's literature because it was accessible to the popular classes.

For most of his critics, the so-called "demerits" of his work stemmed from the ideological project to which he was linked and which he believed to be a function of literature and the greatest commitment of a writer: denouncing class struggle and the economic and social oppression to which the working class, the dispossessed, are subjected. Because of this, his innovative work—if we take into account the period (first half of the 20th century)—with narrative elements, especially the narrative focus, and procedures such as mixing true facts, historical events, and inserting real people into the plot to achieve maximum verisimilitude in the construction of a complex fictional universe, was often disregarded.

To corroborate these statements, we cite the case of *Capitães da Areia* (Captains of the Sands), an avant-garde novel, both in form and content, as it is structured around dialogism (in the Bakhtinian sense of the term). This dialogism is achieved through the strategy of presenting the protagonists in six pretexts, placed before the first chapter, which emulate a police report and letters sent to the newspaper's editorial office commenting on the article in question.

The use of many discursive genres as resources within the narrative is verifiable in his works, whether newspaper clippings and official, legal, or police documents, popular songs, cordel literature, poetic ways of spinning stories, or naming sections of novels. It is interesting to note that the importance of these circulating or surrounding discursive genres in relation to the plot has not been studied extensively. In general, trying

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[*] Jorge Amado was born in Itabuna, Bahia, in 1912. In 1930, he moved to Rio de Janeiro to study law. His first novel, *O País do Carnaval* (The Country of Carnival, 1931), was published when he was only 19 years old. In 1933, he published *Cacau*, a novel that deals with the social reality of the population of rural Bahia who work in cocoa cultivation. This novel was censored and copies were seized. In the following years, Amado published novels with urban themes: *Suor* (Sweat, 1934), *Jubiabá* (1935), *Mar Morto* (Dead Sea, 1936), and *Capitães da Areia* (Captains of the Sands, 1937). Between 1936 and 1937, the author was arrested twice for political reasons and had his books seized again. In 1941, he went into exile in Argentina, persecuted by the Estado Novo, and wrote the biography of communist leader Luís Carlos Prestes entitled *O Cavaleiro da Esperança* (The Knight of Hope) (1942). In 1945, he was elected federal deputy for the Communist Party of Brazil (PCB) and participated in the Constituent Assembly, but his mandate was revoked when the PCB was outlawed. Between 1948 and 1956, he traveled to several European countries, an experience he recounted in the book *O Mundo da Paz* (The World of Peace) (1951). He returned to Brazil in 1956 and published his most popular novel, *Gabriela, Clove and Cinnamon*, in 1958. He was elected to the Brazilian Academy of Letters in 1961 and returned to live in Bahia in 1963. Jorge Amado received several literary awards, among which the Camões Prize (1995) stands out, for his entire body of work. In 1998, he received an honorary doctorate from the Sorbonne University. He died in Salvador, Bahia, in 2001.

not to generalize, they are mobilized to construct invalidations between truths, on the one hand, the official and bureaucratic, on the other, popular experience and living. And the issue is not really a purely Manichean clash, operating through static binaries (as read by more traditional critics), but rather in understanding the many contradictions and transformations inherent in the phenomena, because hidden, it seems, among the digressive meanderings of the uses of these genres, is a more systematic and devastating critique than one would suppose from their ordinary use alone.

In the case of the novel *Capitães de Areia*, Amado's goal was to contrast the voices representing the wealthy white elite (represented by the authorities and the media) with the voices of the subalternized (represented by a poor seamstress and a priest without social prestige), thus enabling various perspectives on abandoned minors and the opportunity to discuss a pressing issue at that time: the begging of the descendants of former slaves or of parents who died during the smallpox epidemic that ravaged Bahia in the late 1910s. In contrast, initial critics (and many who followed) preferred to point to the novel as a eulogy to juvenile delinquency, which led to hundreds of copies of the novel being burned in public squares.

Although criticism such as this seems to be a thing of the past, the specter of Amado's political militancy still seems to haunt his fiction, as several studies divide it into two phases, the second beginning after his departure from the PCB in the late 1950s, considered at the time to be a "turning point" in Amado's writing, which supposedly moved away from political and social issues. In our view, however, Jorge Amado's departure from the Party did not mean his departure from his commitment to bring the subaltern classes and their tireless struggle against economic and social inequalities, represented in his work, into the literary space.

We therefore understand Amado's work as a whole, without dividing it into phases, as we consider that until his last texts, Jorge Amado continued to discuss social injustices, the repression of Afro-Brazilian culture by so-called white culture; the valorization of traditional knowledge and popular religiosity; the processes of constructing subaltern identities, of minorities inhabiting territories on the margins of the nation. Proof of the unity of Amado's work is the relationship between novels from different periods, such as the aforementioned *Capitães da Areia* (1937) and *Os Pastores da Noite* (1964), both of which feature marginalized groups persecuted by the police and the media, who survive minimally thanks to the bonds of solidarity that unite individuals in situations of extreme poverty.

We also point out the relationship between *Jubiabá* (1935) and *Tenda dos milagres* (1969), the main subject of this article. It should be noted that both novels focus on a poor black protagonist who, faced with an oppressive context, takes on the task of organizing and raising awareness in his communities and territories. This awareness is based on the recognition of being an excluded minority and the understanding that the rich culture inherited from their ancestors can be transformed into a powerful tool in the fight against this exclusion. In this way, Antonio Balduíno and Pedro Archanjo are two sides of *the* same *persona*, even though 34 years passed between the creation of one and the other. Thus, the characters reiterate the unity of Amada's *corpus* and underscore the permanence of violence against the subalternized and the struggle against the erasure of ancestral culture.

That said, in the following topics we will reflect on the relationship between documentary/biographical/memorial proposed in *Tenda dos milagres*, which is presented in the text through a kind of "archiving." To this end, we will develop a study with the intention of verifying the common points with archiving procedures, in an attempt to perceive Amada's narrative as a kind of archival fiction. The question is not to read it here strictly as an archive novel, or archive fiction, since for that to happen, the archive, in its constitution and use, would have to be a kind of creative currency for literary production, for example, through the exploration of its exteriority within the plot, which in fact does not happen. What we intend, therefore, is to demonstrate that literature can function as an archive, in the Foucauldian sense, and,

in the case of the novel studied, perform ethical and poetic modes of functioning of the wisdom and memory of Afro-descendant culture, and the clashes and debates surrounding the knowledge derived from it.

2. Archival fictions, archival novels & Foucauldian archives

According to Roberto González Echevarría (2011) in his study on Latin American fiction, archive fictions are narratives that seek a key to identity for culture, in a kind of rejection of established truths and institutional explanations given as natural. In this sense, Echevarría observed that ethnography played a fundamental role in what he called archive fiction by offering:

> [...] a way of representing the originality of Latin American stories, customs, speech, and other cultural phenomena. The result was the "novela de la tierra" (novel of the land), a highly critical and hybrid product whose rhetorical model was provided by anthropology, from whose domain it can only escape by merging with its object of study, revealing the essentially literary character of ethnography. (Echevarría, 2011, p. 243, our translation).

From the perspective of hybridism, Gonzáles Echevarría pointed to Euclides da Cunha as the only Brazilian writer who, with *Os sertões*, produced a work that was "half reportage, half scientific analysis, and entirely literature" (Echevarría, 2011, p. 184). The Cuban critic established the connection between literary narratives and anthropology (especially ethnography), and the hybridism they present, in texts produced between the late 19th century and the first half of the 20th century, because these narratives attempt to characterize Latin American beings and lands. Although he does not appear on the critic's list of writers, Jorge Amado could be included, since novels such as *Cacau* (1933) and *Mar morto* (1936) have a strong anthropological emphasis, as they (re)present the lives of cocoa farm workers and fishermen on the coast of Bahia, respectively, without ceasing to be literary narratives. It is worth noting that it is not only Jorge Amado's novels written in the 1930s that have this hybrid characteristic, which could prompt other works to reflect on Amado's fictional universe. We believe that this characteristic is another of the factors that led critics to consider Amado's work as minor literature.

According to the same Cuban critic, in the second half of that century, the language mimicked by the narratives would be the language of the archive, its function, and archiving procedures; that is, to store memory, edit it, and update it. To corroborate these statements, we turn to two authors who also theorized about archive fiction: Marco Codebò and Suzane Keen.

According to Codebò (2010, p. 16), "there is a field of boundaries in the archive novel, in which "it sometimes overlaps with other genres, including historical, realistic, epistolary, and testimonial novels, as well as historiography, memoirs, law, and journalism." For Keen, in a study on British literature (2003, p. 3), archive novels are a genre that encompasses several subgenres of fiction that "feature the action, the plot of 'doing research' in documents. They designate a character or characters, at least temporarily, as archive researchers [...]". Such fictions seek (professionally or otherwise) to interpret the past through its material traces, stored in document-holding institutions (libraries, archives, and even museums), with the aim of uncovering the truth about that past (2003, p. 60).

It is based on Keen's point about the traces of the past, the truth (or not) they contain, and the preservation of memory surrounding archives that we call on Michel Foucault (2008) in our critical journey, since the theoretical tools of this work aim at a critical reading of *Tenda dos milagres*. Observing the treatment of records and the processes of archiving black culture in the novel, we see it as necessary to relax Foucault's notion of the archive, which, within its archaeological phase, has an epistemological intention and is therefore treated as a language system, a set of rules that, in a culture, determines the appearance and disappearance of statements, their permanence and their erasure. Thus, according to the philosopher:

> [...] we have in the density of discursive practices systems that establish statements as events (with their conditions and domain of appearance) and things (comprising their possibility and field of use). It is all these systems of statements (events on the one hand, things on the other) that I propose to call *archives.* (Foucault, 2008, p. 146).

The question of permanence/erasure present in archives, to which Foucault draws our attention, goes back to the very origin of archives as constructions of group memory, and therein lies a key question: to which memory are archives linked? Jacques LeGoff's studies on memory matrices as instruments of collective identification shed light on this question. According to Le Goff, archives have always been related to official collective memory. The earliest known archives are those of the ancient Asian kingdoms and pre-Columbian America, created with the intention of being an "official program of remembrance," in which the sovereigns were the very center of remembrance (Le Goff, 1992). Now, if there is appearance/disappearance, permanence/erasure of statements, if there is a separation of events and things, as Foucault emphasizes in his definition of archives; and if archives are matrices of collective memory and, to a large extent, of official memory, as Le Goff shows us, it must be inferred that archives can be understood as sources that foster narratives, which arise precisely in the folds, in the interstices, in the voids between permanence and erasure, between the gaps opened by the movement of selection of what, in the official eyes, deserves to be remembered and what should be banished from official memory.

Based on these considerations, what we propose in this work, starting from the understanding of the li terary work as a discursive unit that is established and formed through feasible statements, is an approximation to the perception of the conservative character of the archive which, according to Marques (2008, p. 107), thus reinforces the homogeneous time of the nation:

> [...] however, the discarded elements, the memories of subalternized groups, of minorities, which were excluded from the process of enunciating the nation's legitimizing narrative, tend to insinuate themselves through emptiness and fragmentation, as unclassifiable residue, in the archive of the national community's official memories. (Marques, 2008, p. 107).

It is, therefore, the "unclassifiable residues" that shake the conservative character of official archives, pointing to another memory and operating in the sense of brushing against the grain of history, as proposed by Walter Benjamin. (Benjamin, 1994, p. 225), which will serve as raw material for the archival fictions that emerged in the 1960s and 1970s. Appropriating them, Latin American writers used them in their texts, from an identity perspective that contrasted with the identity model proposed by 19th-century narratives, which were based on the myths of the continent's origins.

3. Archiving in Tenda dos Milagres

*T*enda *dos milagres* is, on the one hand, a "novel of resistance," like other contemporary narratives. From this perspective, it draws attention to the authoritarianism of the period in which it was conceived and published, in a context of suppression of rights, marked by the resurgence of the military regime after the enactment of Institutional Act No. 5 (AI-5) in December 1968. Amada's narrative blends fiction and history, literature and journalism, myth and allegory, encompassing the hybridism that Echevarría speaks of and the form of the "mosaic of genres" as conceived by Codebò.

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an identity perspective that contrasted with the identity model proposed by 19th-century narratives, which were based on the myths of the continent's origins.

On the other hand, still based on Echevarría, the novel in question brings together the characteristics of archival fiction, since its central theme is the discussion of Bahian cultural identity, configured in the clash between two territories: that of the white elite, represented above all by the Terreiro de Jesus Medical School (in addition to other spaces), and the territory of the subalternized, represented by Pelourinho, the "University of the people." This clash calls into question the knowledge produced by both and the methods used by the elite to supplant traditional knowledge. The figure of the archive as a place of records of the past mediates the identity debate, whether in the form of Mestre Pedro Archanjo's notebooks (which would come to constitute the memory of the culture inherited from black ancestors), or when police archives (or newspaper archives, which carry the voice of the authorities and provide accurate records of the persecution of subalternized groups, such as the peoples of the terreiros and practitioners of capoeira), consulted by sociologist Fausto Penna to (re)construct the figure of Ojuobá de Xangô.

In a clear rejection of established truths and institutional explanations, as Echevarría writes about Latin American archival fictions, the narrator of *Tenda dos milagres* begins the text by characterizing the environment in which much of the plot will unfold, for it is in that environment that the main character of the narrative — Pedro Archanjo, the Ojuobá of Xangô — and other characters of importance to the plot of the novel:

> In the vast territory of Pelourinho, men and women teach and study. A vast and varied university, it extends and branches out into Tabuão, Portas do Carmo, and Santo Antônio Além-do-Carmo, Baixa dos Sapateiros, the markets, Maciel, Lapinha, Largo da Sé, in Tororó, Barroquinha, Sete Portas, and Rio Vermelho, in all places where men and women work with metals and wood, use herbs and roots, mix rhythms, steps, and blood; in this mixture, they have created a color and a sound, a new and original image. (Amado, 1969, p. 11).

From the excerpt transcribed, we believe it is important to highlight the following aspects: the characterization of Pelourinho as a "vast territory," which is also a "vast and varied university." Jorge Amado's use of the term territory is conducive to the writer's intention. The term is a polysemic concept that contains the notions of space and culture, intertwining material and immaterial traits endowed with countless meanings, in permanent (de)construction throughout history, as explained by Anael Ribeiro Soares (2014). The concept ranges from the notion of a place of shelter and protection against external dangers (as in ancient and medieval times) to the more contemporary idea, presented by Soares himself, of territory as a place of identity and memory for peoples and groups, or, in his words:

> Territory originates and at the same time originates, generates, and, in turn, is generated in social relations, giving rise to the relationship between man and his space, where identity bonds are formed, a semantic structure is created, giving rise to culture. (Soares, 2014).

In fact, Amado points to Pelourinho as a place of refuge and identity for a particular social group. In the case of *Tenda dos Milagres*, these are subalternized groups who, in that space, are grounded in ancestral knowledge. Hence the use of the term "university," which refers to places of knowledge production. It should be noted, however, that Pelourinho is an open university and the knowledge produced there is autonomous and pluralistic. It is precisely its autonomy and plurality that give rise to its constant struggle against the local elite, as we will discuss in this study. We also draw attention to the terms "steps" and "blood," which denote that the passage of men and women in the territory of Pelourinho is a passage of struggle and, consequently, of resistance to the dominance of the ruling elite. In every sense (racial, economic, social, and cultural).

Observing the similarity between Amada's narrative and ethnographic texts and, at the same time, perceiving the relationship between ethnography and archiving present in Latin American archival fiction, we seek dialogue with another theorist who proposes to reflect on the figure of the archive and the forms of

recording Latin American cultural memory. This is Diana Taylor (2013), who, in questioning the role of the archive as the guardian of the official cultural memory of groups and peoples, points to another archive, based not necessarily on written records, but on what she understands as "repertoire" and "performance."

Broadly speaking, the repertoire would be a kind of code based on body communication, including gestures, movements, dances, songs, and oral traditions, which result in performances (Taylor, 2013). For the author, the term "performance" has a range of controversial meanings, but from the perspective of its relationship with cultural memory, she defines performances as "acts of vital transfers, transmitting social knowledge, memory, and a sense of identity through repeated behaviors" (Taylor, 2013, p. 9).

Diana Taylor's considerations lead us to infer that repertoire is in the order of the recording of knowledge, while performance is the form of transmission of this knowledge in oral cultures, with memory and the body being the places where records are kept. It is the body in motion and the repetition of movements that, according to Taylor, would ensure the transmission and permanence of knowledge. Archives and documentary records *in the strict sense*, on the other hand, belong to the realm of writing and therefore have the advantage of the fixity of the letter, but they depend on those who possess knowledge of written language for their contents to be transmitted. Furthermore, they are not immune to exclusions and erasures of statements, as Foucault (2008) warns us. Despite this, Taylor considers that archives and repertoires can coexist in the same society, one does not exclude the existence of the other.

Thus, based on the theoretical assumptions presented so far, we will first look at the series of lists presented by the narrator of *Tenda dos milagres* in the introduction to the novel. These lists appear to be records of the ancestral culture rooted in the Pelourinho territory and can be thought of as notes on the repertoires and performances of the knowledge contained in this culture (Taylor, 2013) or as notes that illuminate the power of Afro-descendant heritage, bringing into discussion the clash between dominant culture and marginalized culture, present in Latin American archival fiction from the 1960s and 1970s (Echevarría, 2011). In both cases, the lists presented are undoubtedly a fictional strategy for archiving the cultural memory and identity of the black people of Bahia.

As a discursive genre, lists are types of texts that relate things or people, with a criterion of sequencing, whether alphabetical, temporal, or chronological (Costa, 2008); like a roll, an arrangement of a series of names (of things; of people, living or deceased; of circumstances; of goods, amounts, etc.), arranged in an order for formalization, registration, or remembrance. In the case of the novel, the narrator, a kind of double of Pedro Archanjo (who wrote everything down in his notebooks and then transformed his notes into documents, in this case books, with the aim of legitimizing what he observed and capturing the marginalized collective memory through the printed word), introduces the reader to the narrative environment through the "soundtrack" of the place, demonstrating the intense pulsation that exists there:

> Here resound the atabaques, the berimbaus, the ganzás, the agogôs; the pandeiros, the adufes, the caxixis, the gourds: poor instruments, so rich in rhythm and melody. Music and dance were born in this popular territory: *Mr.* Deodoro is an expert in atabaques of all types and nations: Nagô and Jeje, Angola Congo, and Ilus from the Ijexá nation. He also makes agbês and xerés, but the best agogôs are from Manu. (Amado, 1969, p. 11).

The instruments mentioned are closely linked to capoeira de Angola. This dance-fight is part of the repertoire, act, and manifestation of resistance of Afro-descendants, inhabitants of Salvador, and especially Pelourinho. The repertoire of moves, stored in the memory of the masters as "Budião, Querido de Deus, Saveirista, Chico da Barra, Antônio Maré, Zacaria Grande, Piroca Peixoto, Sete Mortes, Bigode de Seda, Pacífico do Rio Vermelho, Bom Cabelo, Vicente Pastinha, Doze Homens, Tiburcinho de Jaguaribe, Chico Me Dá, Nô da Empresa, and Barroquinha" (Amado, 1969, p. 14), is transmitted through the performances of their bodies to apprentices, in a spectacle of exuberant vitality:

> the berimbaus command the varied and terrible blows: half-moon, rasteira, cabeçada, rabo de arraia, aú com rolê, aú de cambaleão, açoite, bananeira, galopante, martelo, escorão, chibata armada, cutilada, boca de siri, boca de calça, chapa de frente, chapa de costas and chapa de pé, são bento Grande, São Bento Pequeno, Santa Maria, Cavalaria, Amazonas, Angola, Angola Dobrada, Angola Pequena, Apanhe a Laranja no Chão Tico-Tico, Iúna, Samongo and Cinco Salomão — and there's more, oxente!, of course there is: here in this territory, capoeira angola was enriched and transformed: without ceasing to be a fight, it became ballet. (Amado, 1969, p. 15-16).

These masters, by repeatedly practicing their craft, (re)affirm their ancestral identity. But it is not only the capoeira masters who have their place in Pelourinho. The narrator lists several of them: miracle writers, typographers (in the figure of Lídio Corró, a faithful friend of Pedro Archanjo, the Ojuobá), writers of cordel literature, sculptors, herbalists, visual artists, tambozeiros, santeiros, silversmiths, among others.

In this territory filled with sounds and colors, the health of residents is in the hands of the "herbalists," who possess knowledge of herbal medicine. It should be noted that the healing practice of herbal medicine, derived from popular knowledge, is combined with religiosity and, ironically, is practiced just meters away from the Faculty of Medicine, where so-called scientific knowledge is professed, which classifies such practice as the result of ignorance among popular groups:

> In the leaf tents, the obis and orobôs, the magical ritual seeds, are added to the medicine. Dona Adelaide Tostes, spitting, foul-mouthed, and heavy on the cachaça, knows every bead and every leaf, their ebó power and their quizila. She knows about roots, tree bark, plants, and grasses and their healing qualities: alumã for the liver, lemon balm to calm the nerves, tiririca-de-babado for hangovers, quebra-pedra for the kidneys, capim-santo for stomach pain, capim barba-de-bode to lift spirits and boost energy. Dona Filomena is another expert: if asked and paid, she prays and protects the client's body against the evil eye, and positively cures chronic catarrh and chest ailments with a certain mixture of mastruço, honey, milk, lemon, and who knows what else. No cough, no matter how violent, can resist or endure. A doctor learned a recipe from her for cleansing the blood, moved to São Paulo, and became rich curing syphilis. (Amado, 1969, p. 19).

In the same vein, that is, health care, in addition to spiritual care, a record is made of the mothers-of-saints and the close relationship between them and Pedro Archanjo, "Aunt Maci, Mrs. Menininha, Mother Senhora, from Opô Afonjá, the respectable matrons, not even they kept secrets from the old man, revealing everything to him willingly – in fact, the orixás had ordered it that way, 'for Ojuobá there are no closed doors'" (1969, p. 45). It should be reiterated that, in addition to the mothers-of-saints and the herb ladies, other women and their crafts are also described by the narrator, emphasizing the importance of the female figure in the popular classes, in contrast to the elite groups, centered on a patriarchal conception.

The sculptor is given the craft of transforming hardwoods into pieces of devotion, as can be seen in the list that enumerates the raw material and its corresponding object:

> [...] rosewood, brazilwood, vinhático, peroba, putumuju, massaranduba [transformed] into devotional pieces, oxês of Xangô, Oxuns, Yemanjás, figures of caboclos, Rompe-Mundo, Três Estrelas, Sete Espadas, the shining swords in their powerful hands (Amado, 1969, p. 17).

In Pelourinho, the Afro-Brazilian artist Mestre Didi uses "beads, straw, horse tails, leather: he creates and recreates ebiris, adês, eruexins and eruquerês, xaxarás de Omolu." (Amado, 1969, p. 14). The list of artists in a community, a pantheon of artists and their sculptures, continues: "There is also the 'santeiro' Miguel [who] makes and embodies angels, archangels, and saints. Catholic saints, church devotion, the Virgin of the Conception and Saint Anthony of Lisbon, the archangel Gabriel and the Child God, and the silversmiths, who molded noble metals, silver and copper, gold, the best known of whom was Lúcio Reis" (Amado, 1969, p. 19).

It is important to note the intertwining of folk medicine and art with religiosity in that marginalized area of the capital of Bahia. Like capoeira, religiosity has the same performative character and resistance to the domination of the elite and their attempts to erase ancestral memory. Consequently, the Afro-descendant cultural identity. As Ildásio Tavares observes, "within a process of cultural crushing, religion is the most

important vehicle of resistance. It mobilizes, unites, and strengthens identity" (Tavares, 2009, p. 26 *apud* Teixeira Sobrinho; Magalhães, 2010).

In this sense, Candomblé plays a prominent role in the narrative. This is not without reason, since the main character, Pedro Archanjo, was Ojuobá de Xangô[†] , a high position within the hierarchy of Candomblé terreiros. This assertion can be seen, for example, in Pedro Archanjo's note about the mothers of saints: "Queens in the streets of the city, with their trays of food and sweets, doubly queens in the terreiros, mothers and daughters of saints" (Amado, 1969, p. 84), wrote Pedro Archanjo. Or in the description made by the extra-diegetic narrator, when recounting Dr. Levenson's visit in 1968 to Olga's candomblé:

> Daughter of Lôko [Time] and Yansan [Oyá], in Alaketu, [...] and, turning a deaf ear to the explanations of the girl's fiancé, she greeted them with joy and friendship. Leaning on his shiny paxorô, Oxalá danced up to him and welcomed him into his arms. "Your enchanted one, my father, is Oxolufan, old Oxalá," Olga told him, taking him to see the pejis. Olga was a queen in her Bahian costumes and necklaces, with her entourage of feitas and iaôs. (Amado, 1969, p. 84).

In the transcribed excerpts, we see the archiving of the rites and deities of Afro-Brazilian religions, as well as their priestesses.

The description of Afro-Brazilian religious rites runs through the entire narrative of *Tenda dos milagres*, confirming its anthropological/ethnographic characteristic, as mentioned above. One of these rituals is the "Axexé." This is a funeral ritual dedicated to a person initiated into Candomblé. It is a ritual of great beauty and emotion, in which ancestral songs attempt to unite the world of the living with the world of the dead. Below, we transcribe the narration of Pedro Archanjo's funeral, in which the Axexé is practiced:

> The voice of the pai de santo Nezinho rises in the funeral song, in the Ioruba language: (*sic*)
>
> *Axexê, axexê*
>
> *Omorodé.*
>
> The choir repeats, the voices growing louder in the farewell song: "Axexê, axexê."
>
> The burial continues, climbing the hill: three steps forward, two
>
> steps back, dance steps to the sound of the sacred chant, the coffin raised
>
> at the height of the obás' shoulders: Iku lonan ta ewê xê
>
> Iku lonan ta ewê xê
>
> Iku lonan (Amado, 1969, p. 57-58).

As Antônio Carlos Teixeira Sobrinho and Carlos Alberto Magalhães observed in their essay “Jorge Amado and identities on the margins,” the reference to Candomblé as a key element in the narrative contributes to removing it “from the margins where it had been placed physically and symbolically. It is not only the people, inhabitants of the margins, who are moved to the center, but also their gods, in an act of restoring the dignity that had been taken from them.” (Teixeira Sobrinho; Magalhães, 2010). Regarding the representation of Candomblé in the narrative, there is also a parallel between fiction and history, given the issues related to the

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[†] Orixá, a deity in Yoruba culture, lord of thunder and responsible for the execution of justice.

persecution of Candomblé terreiros in the 1920s, marked by police abuse of power, racial discrimination, and religious intolerance.

> Many babalorixás and ialorixás took axé and saints away, expelled from the center and neighboring neighborhoods to distant farms, places that were difficult to access. Others took the orixás, instruments, costumes, itás, songs and dances, baticum, rhythms, and moved to Rio de Janeiro—this is how samba arrived in the then capital of the country, in the caravans of fugitive Bahians. Some smaller terreiros could not resist so much persecution and disappeared for good. Several reduced their calendar of celebrations to essential obligations, carried out in secret. (Amado, 1969, p. 303).

With this, Jorge Amado discusses the subordination/marginalization of the Afro-Bahian religion, distancing himself from other literary texts or analytical studies. As Teixeira Sobrinho and Magalhães (2010) state, representations of Candomblé are little studied, limited to observing it as a representation of popular daily life, a mere composition of the cityscape, which amounts to a concealment of black culture, condemned to the margins or to the reductionist limits of folklore.

By disassociating Candomblé from the folklorization that has been imposed on it and treating it as a mechanism of collective identification for black-mestizo people and a place of resistance for these same people, denouncing attempts by the ruling class to erase it, Jorge Amado establishes in his text a serious and profound discussion about the exclusion of black people from the social/cultural/historical process. We believe that the considerations of the scholars mentioned above are quite pertinent in this regard:

> The oppression exercised against Candomblés was configured, metonymically, from a process of erasing black identity itself, which, in these sacred spaces, was created, subsisted, and sought to resist. The persecution was therefore part of a broad movement to exclude Black people, a proposal that originated in and was identified with the post-abolition movement, which sought to protect and maintain racial hierarchies. These were places of power, on the one hand, and of submission, on the other, in order to keep them intact, safe from the social advancement of the formerly enslaved people. (Teixeira Sobrinho; Magalhães, 2010, p. 155).

It should be emphasized, however, that despite the cultural crushing suffered by Candomblé and its relentless "pushing" to the margins through the use of symbolic and non-symbolic violence, Afro-Bahian cults managed to survive, constituting a mechanism for the (re)cognition of the Afro-descendant population of Salvador.

4. The archivist and the archive researcher: Pedro Archanjo and Fausto Pena

We have worked so far with the forms of (re)production of the records of Afro-descendant cultural memory, linking them to the notions of repertoire and performance and to the question of identity (re)presented by archival fictions. Next, we will address the figure of the "archive researcher," as described by Keen (2003, p. 60). In *Tenda dos milagres*, this researcher is the sociologist and poet Fausto Pena, tasked with “gathering data through which he could get a better idea of the personality of Archanjo, about whom [an American researcher] was going to write a few pages, a kind of preface to the translation of his works.” (Amado, 1969, p. 18).

The task entrusted to the sociologist points to the archiving processes carried out around written documents, which are the collection of material, the selection and interpretation of this material, and the construction of a text based on what has been interpreted. The dissemination of Archanjo's books by researcher James D. Levenson triggered the launch of a campaign to celebrate the centenary of the birth of Pedro Archanjo, born in 1868. This task is accomplished from two perspectives: Pena as an outside observer and Pena in the first person, in the present tense, narrating the events that led to Archanjo's discovery by the ruling class of the state of Bahia.

As in any (re)constitution based on traces, remnants, and oral accounts, Pena will encounter gaps in the material that will give rise to the archive of the life and work of Pedro Archanjo Ojuobá, as the sociologist/researcher himself recounts:

> Not only did details escape me about Archanjo's existence, but also important, perhaps vital facts. I often found myself faced with a void, a gap in space and time, or inexplicable events, multiple versions, disparate interpretations, complete disorder in the material collected, and contradictory information and informants. (Amado, 1969, p. 22).

James D. Levenson went to Bahia, "the land of Archanjo, the location and subject of his studies, his research, the reason for his work" (1969, p. 35), to better understand Archanjo's work, consisting of four books: *Popular Life in Bahia* (1907); *African Influences on the Customs of Bahia* (1918); *Notes on Miscegenation in Bahian Families* (1928); *Bahian Cuisine* – Origins and Precepts (1930). These books are, within the plot, descriptive studies of Afro-descendant culture, based on the city of Salvador: “how much he had collected, noted in his notebooks, for his work, ‘a bag of treasures,’ the wisdom of the people” (Amado, 1969, p. 46).

As can be seen from the excerpt transcribed, Archanjo behaves like an archivist, collecting, classifying, and organizing records of Afro-descendant culture. His dedication to this activity lasted until his death, as the narrator reports, reiterating the importance of the work of Ojuobá de Xangô:

> [...] they found him dead, lying in a gutter, late at night. In his pockets, only a notebook and a stub of a pencil, no identity documents. Unnecessary, in fact, in that poor and filthy area of the old city, where everyone knew and loved him. (Amado, 1969, p. 37).

Pedro Archanjo's habit of writing everything down can be understood as "archival sickness," as Derrida put it to describe the compulsion to archive, the desire to preserve the memory of things, the desire to return to the origin, the struggle against forgetting (Derrida, 2001). Archanjo's compulsive archiving translates into Ojuobá's understanding that it was necessary to preserve the memory of his ancestors' knowledge, preventing its death, its disappearance.

It is important to note, once again, that Pedro Archanjo spent his life making written records in his notebooks, as seen in the excerpt transcribed above, but, ironically, the written records about him were scarce, limited to police reports, since the character was arrested several times because of his activism on behalf of the oppressed. It should be noted that in these reports, he is characterized as a "criminal," even though Archanjo never committed any crime. Until the celebrations of his centenary, the figure of Archanjo was part of oral accounts, and even in these, he was already fading away.

As we stated earlier, considering *Tenda dos milagres* as a novel of resistance and a place for debate on the issue of identity, we recall that these characteristics are represented in the confrontation between knowledge linked to white culture (the dominant knowledge) and the knowledge of the people, related to Afro-descendant culture (the knowledge repressed by the elites). For this reason, Pedro Archanjo's relations with the intellectual elite are conflictual, from the moment Ojuobá enters the Faculty of Medicine as a janitor[‡] . Within this renowned institution of knowledge, the University, he occupied a minor position. Let us recall the words of the reactionary Professor Batista when he met his former student Fausto Pena in the "unknown hole in the middle of nowhere," the Xixi dos Anjos bar, during Levenson's visit in 1968:

> After all, what is he trying to foist on us as the pinnacle of science? Nonsense in bad Portuguese about the rabble, the common people. Who was this Archanjo? Some prominent figure, a professor, a doctor, a luminary, a political leader, at

[‡] According to the Aurélio Electronic Dictionary: "1. Head of discipline in schools. [...] 2. Junior employee in the faculty office."

> least a wealthy merchant? None of the above: a lowly janitor at the Faculty of Medicine, little more than a beggar, practically a laborer. (Amado, 1969, p. 65).

Several decades after the publication of Archanjo's books, the unease they caused still persisted among members of the Bahian elite, as can be seen in the excerpt highlighted above, denoting the persistence of an authoritarian and exclusionary mentality in the city of Salvador. The hatred of Pedro Archanjo was spread by the most prominent professor at the Faculty of Medicine of Bahia, Professor Nilo Argolo: "professor of Legal Medicine at the faculty and scientific mentor of the congregation, renowned as a sage and owner of an enormous library, [...] he had written those terrible pages, those burning words, about the mestizos of Bahia." (Amado, 1969, p. 119) The image of the professor contrasts with that of Ojuobá, a master of the popular institution of the University of the People, legal representative of traditional knowledge, still employed in a lower hierarchy within that institution. For Argolo, it is worth remembering that in this Faculty of Medicine, a place where all scientific, official, and legitimized/legitimizing knowledge is produced, eugenic/Aryan theories were produced outside the realm of fiction. From these intersections, we can relate the real and fictional characters, in which a kind of revision of positivist/eugenicist thinking is carried out, given by the clash between the professor and the janitor. In this sense, there is the appropriation of a clash between historical figures: Nina Rodrigues, whose theses are considered racist, and Manuel Querino, an Afro-Brazilian intellectual who became notable for his studies and anthropological and ethnographic books, two of which resemble the themes of Pedro Archanjo, one dealing with Bahian cuisine and the other tracing a kind of genealogy of the white elite of Salvador. Rodrigues and Querino were protagonists in an ethnic-racial debate in the city of Salvador in the early 20th century.

Professor Nilo Argolo considered it unacceptable that a janitor, a mestizo and resident of Pelourinho, could be capable of writing and publishing books, especially books that directly challenged eugenicist/Aryan theories about the purity of the white race and the inferiority of blacks and mestizos. Pedro Archanjo's "audacity," his rebellion and insubordination, cost him dearly, for in addition to losing his job at the college, Ojuobá suffered persecution and a process of ostracism and oblivion that lasted until the (re)discovery of his books by the American researcher.

In the present time of Amado's narrative—the year of the celebrations of Pedro Archanjo's centenary—questions about knowledge and cultural production turn to other aspects that, at the end of the 1960s, were already beginning to permeate the discussions of Brazilian intellectuals: the issue of cultural dependence, which in Amado's novel is expressed in the figure of the American researcher Levenson, and the issue of the cultural industry and mass culture, outlined in the strong presence of the media (newspapers and advertising agencies) in the text. We recall here that it is because of Levenson's "discovery" of Archanjo, a respected professor and foreign Nobel Prize winner, that Ojuobá is also "discovered" in his homeland, thus emphasizing that it was necessary for foreign authority, especially American authority, to first endorse the importance of Archanjo's studies on the diversity of local culture so that the mestizo from Taboão would later be recognized by the elite of Salvador.

With regard to the media, it should be noted that it is the media, not the university, that is leading the celebrations of Pedro Archanjo's centenary, transforming him into a consumer product, a commodity, an item of mass culture, glamorized by the cultural industry. The figure of Ojuobá then undergoes several changes, with traits being added or removed according to economic and political convenience. The university and schools follow what is determined by journalists and advertisers, reiterating the power given to the media during the period of corporate-military dictatorship, a power that would continue to this day. Although James D. Levenson endorses the importance of Archanjo, for the population of Salvador he will remain in the realm of the unreal, the legendary, the eccentric, due to the temporal distance, the "gaps and hiatuses" in the records of his life, and the emptying and saturation of his image stamped on walls, both as a poster boy for Coca-Coco, as well as Crocodilo cachaça. It should also be noted that popular culture and its knowledge remain

marginalized, considered minor, treated as something "exotic," understood at that time as "folklore." Thus, the elite of Salvador once again points to Archanjo's marginality as his place, minimizing his knowledge, his struggle on behalf of the oppressed and the organization of workers, diluting his relationship with Candomblé, erasing his rebelliousness, by inscribing him as a folkloric figure, which lends itself to economic exploitation, just as they did with the ancestors and do with the descendants of Ojuobá de Xangô.

5. Final considerations

To conclude this study, let us return to what Marco Codebò wrote, which we believe applies to *Tenda dos Milagres*: "Archival novels perform the same type of meaning-making operations performed by the records, archives, and inventories that characterize bureaucratic archival practices" (Codebò, 2010, p. 14), or what Echevarría (2011, p. 8) says about the history of these types of novels being the history of the escape from authority and that they are part of a subplot.

Let us also return to Taylor's thinking on the question of written texts and their permanence in societies, linking it to the craft of typography, practiced by Lídio Corró, in Tenda dos milagres, located in Ladeira do Tabuão (1969, p. 16). Typography is defined by Derrida as the art of printing, whose property is made by the duration of the characters written on the surface of the paper. (Derrida, 2001, p. 41)

That said, it should be remembered that, in addition to being the "rector's office" of the open university of Pelourinho, bringing together the "notables of poverty, a numerous and essential assembly" (Amado, 1969, p. 104), Mestre Corró's workshop functioned (like other printing presses) as a meeting point for the intellectual elite and disseminated the knowledge produced by this intellectuality through the product of their work, printed texts:

> [...] troubadours, guitarists, improvisers, authors of small brochures composed and printed in the printing house of Master Lídio Corró and in other poor workshops, sell novels and poetry in the free territory for fifty réis and a penny. They are poets, pamphleteers, chroniclers, moralists. They report and comment on city life, putting every event and invented story into rhyme, both of which are astonishing [...]". (Amado, 1969, p. 13).

Thus, she connects with popular knowledge, expressed in cordel leaflets, on the one hand, and formal knowledge, on the other, when she takes on the responsibility of transforming Archanjo's notes into books, as well as taking on the responsibility of sending them to formal institutions of knowledge, understanding the value of Archanjo's texts and the need to disseminate and preserve them for posterity. In both cases, the issue of the durability of printed texts must be considered.

Jorge Amado thus highlights the importance of typographers and popular printing houses, understanding this art/craft as fundamental for the transmission of knowledge, preventing its loss, as happens with the oral transmission of knowledge. The Tent of Miracles, the rectory of the popular university in the vast and free territory of Pelourinho, is an instrument of collective identification for those who occupy that territory, reiterating the question of identity present in the novel, as well as being a metaphor and metonymy for Amado's text itself.

On the other hand, Mestre Lídio Corró's "Tenda dos milagres" (Tent of Miracles) can be thought of as an ironic subversion of the Greek "arkheion," the residence of the archons, high magistrates, holders of power, and place where official documents were kept. In short, a place where collective memory was kept, from which archives as we know them today originated. From this perspective, Archanjo and Corró are a kind of "archon," since they exercise a certain degree of control, as an epistemic authority, in the Pelourinho neighborhood, and the workshop/studio is a place of memory for things and events related to subalternized groups.

From this, it is worth highlighting the defining role of formal institutions of memory and knowledge, which ultimately work from an archival perspective, in constructing the figure of Pedro Archanjo as an intellectual and disseminating his work. If he had not sent copies of his books to these institutions, "national and foreign libraries, his books would not have been talked about again, as Levenson would not have discovered them" (1969, p. 35).

> In Salvador, only a few ethnologists and anthropologists knew about them [the books], most of them from hearsay. Suddenly, not only journalists but also public authorities, the university, intellectuals, the institute, academia, the Faculty of Medicine, poets, teachers, students, the theater community, the numerous phalanx of ethnology and anthropology, the Center for Folkloric Studies, the tourism crowd, and other idlers all realized that we had a great man, an illustrious author, and we did not know him, we did not even mention him in speeches, relegating him to complete anonymity, without any promotion. Then the race around Archanjo and his work began. A lot of paper, ink, and newspaper space was spent, starting with Levenson's interview, to salute, analyze, study, comment on, and praise the wronged writer. It was necessary to make up for lost time, correct the mistake, and erase the silence of so many years. (Amado, 1969, p. 35).

Thus, we emphasize the importance of the novel, for its archiving procedures, for recording Afro-Brazilian popular cultural and religious tradition, whose grandeur is not due to the exhaustion of terms, given that the lists, as Maciel (2009) considered, are as subjective as fiction can be, are insufficient, being governed by an arbitrary character of the classification systems that govern our lives and knowledge.

Of the other figures from the archives discussed in this article, the police report is a discursive genre distinguished from another discursive genre, the epigraph of the novel: "Brown, commoner, and poor—a know-it-all and a tough guy. (From a police report on Pedro Archanjo, in 1926)." Its protocol function, as an external discourse highlighted at the beginning of a work, or in a section of that work, which “functions as a border” (Genette, 2009, p. 131). And, as a border, it frames the reading that will follow as an act; it gives clues; and it acts as a threshold that separates the exterior from what will be interior. Thus, before entering the text itself, there is a clue from this other textual genre: the police report.

This discursive genre, used in police work, is a formal, functional document in which the police authority reports, in an organized and selective manner, the procedures carried out, the information gathered, and the preliminary conclusions about the existence of a criminal act and the evidence of its perpetrator, which will be the basis for the indictment, which is not the conviction itself, but rather the formalization of the status of the person under investigation, so that they can be brought to trial. As stated above, we see the use of terms from popular vernacular, riddled with prejudice to describe the "subject," framing him not as the legitimate intellectual or researcher that he is, but as a presumptuous and potentially problematic individual, disqualifying his character and his work based on his origin and ethnicity. This "factual and social" description was made by someone in a position of public trust, that is, someone who, as part of their job, has credibility and a presumption of truthfulness in the eyes of society. They are an instrument of power responsible for constructing an official version of events, based on selectively described facts and persuasive interpretations that contrast with their supposed neutrality and objectivity.

The elements of this description touch on issues that run throughout the novel, which are our long-standing, interrelated issues: racialization; authoritarianism; and the subordination of the poor, in a clear disqualification of their knowledge, being seen as arrogant subjects, especially those who challenge the dominant power, defended by forces that, despite their public security function, or in the name of that security, do not shy away from a judicial function that they had before the republic, before the end of slavery in Brazil.

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