

Bodies, time, literature and history in
O som do rugido da onça (2021) de
Micheliny Verunschik and *Huaco retrato*
(2022) de Gabriela Wiener¹

*Corpos, tempo, literatura e história em O
som do rugido da onça* (2021) de
Micheliny Verunschik e Huaco retrato
(2022) de Gabriela Wiener

<https://doi.org/10.26512/rhh.v12i23.52735>

Renata Dal Sasso Freitas

Universidade Federal do Pampa

<https://orcid.org/0000-0002-1543-2274>

renatadsf@gmail.com

¹ This article was conceived and written during a period of sabbatical at the Instituto de Historia Argentina y Americana Dr. Emilio Ravignani of the Universidad de Buenos Aires, Argentina, between April and May 2023, where I was received by Fabio Wasserman and attended a seminar directed by María Élica Blasco, which was very important for some of the reflections developed here. I am grateful to them, as well as to Fabrício Pontin, who read an earlier version of this text, also presented at the in-person meeting of the Grupo Temporalidad - experiencias de tiempo en los siglos XVIII-XXI linked to Iberconceptos - Proyecto y Red de investigación en Historia Conceptual Comparada del Mundo Iberoamericano, in October 2023, at PUC-Rio.

Abstract

This essay aims to analyze the novels *O som do rugido da onça* (2021), by Micheline Verunschik, and *Huaco Retrato* (2022), by Gabriela Wiener, in what concerns the mobilization of the image of indigenous children as allegories of a history impossible to be narrated. In dealing with the legacies of two nineteenth-century travelers-explorers — Carl Phillip von Martius and Charles Wiener —, both novels tensionate the possibilities of representing the amerindian genocide through the traditional resources of the human sciences and look for forms of reparation through fiction. For this end, I make a reading of both these works through the prism of the theoretical propositions of the post and decolonial field, as well as the notion of “critical fabulation” created by Saidyia Hartman.

Keywords

Latin-american literature; historical reparation; Amerindian genocide

Resumo

Este ensaio tem por objetivo analisar os romances *O som do rugido da onça* (2021), de Micheline Verunschik, e *Huaco retrato* (2022), de Gabriela Wiener, no que diz respeito à sua mobilização da imagem de crianças indígenas enquanto alegorias de uma história impossível de ser narrada. Tratando do legado de dois viajantes-exploradores europeus do século XIX — Carl Phillip von Martius e Charles Wiener —, ambas as novelas tensionam as possibilidades de representação do genocídio indígena pelas vias tradicionais das ciências humanas e buscam formas de reparação pela via da ficção. Para tanto, analiso as duas obras através do prisma das proposições teóricas dos campos pós e decolonial, assim como com a proposta de fabulação crítica de Saidyia Hartman.

Palavras-chave

Literatura latino-americana; reparação histórica; genocídio ameríndio

The recently published novels *O som do rugido da onça* (2021), by Brazilian Micheline Verunschik, and *Huaco retrato* (2022), by Peruvian Gabriela Wiener, present, each in their own way, questions to both historiographical and literary narratives when portraying, through the image of indigenous children, different dimensions of the Amerindian genocide in what concerns its temporality and the meanings attributed to history. As I will demonstrate in this essay, these inquiries stem from the relationships certain social groups have established with time and the historical discipline in contemporary times, particularly surrounding traumatic experiences, wherein history specifically takes on a dimension of recognition and reparation.

I believe that, in accordance with the questions posed by Mario Rufer regarding history as a disciplinary field and its connection with the creation of nation-states, *O som do rugido da onça* and *Huaco retrato* can be interpreted as part of this context of re-signification of nations, intensified in the early decades of the 21st century, in order to encompass groups previously marginalized by them.² I also emphasize here the processes of judging and reparatory measures — ranging from trials, special commissions, and public apologies — that have characterized the relationships maintained by states and certain groups with the past, and consequently, with history and memory. The implications of these processes on the ways we relate to time have been extensively explored by Berber Bevernage.³

Both works address, albeit with distinct internal economies and narrative proposals, the colonial spoils through what were then two auxiliary sciences of history — ethnography and archaeology — through the actions of two European authors of travel accounts to the South American continent: the Bavarian Carl Philipp von Martius (1794-1868) and the Franco-Austrian Charles Wiener (1851-1913). It is necessary to mention that here scientific spoils were not limited to artifacts, local flora and fauna, but also included the trafficking of Amerindians, many of whom were still children.

The bodies of these children, alive or dead, were often transformed into objects of display in European museal institutions. Here they also interest me in their metaphorical dimension as a history only possible to be told through

2 RUFER, Mario. La temporalidad como política: nación, formas de pasado y perspectiva poscoloniales. *Memoria y Sociedad*, v. 14, n. 28, pp. 11-31, 2014

3 BEVERNAGE, Berber. 'A passeidade do Passado' Reflexões sobre a política da historicização e a crise da passeidade historicista. *Revista de Teoria da História*. v. 24, n. 1, pp. 21-39, 2021

fictional means or through the concept of "critical fabulation" as proposed by Saidiya Hartman.⁴

The practice of exhibiting bodies in museums, prevalent until the mid-20th century, was not solely directed at racialized alterities. An example of this is found in the essay by Argentine anthropologist María José Sarrabayrouse Oliveira, who found her own great-grandfather in the permanent exhibition of the Museo de la Morgue Judicial de Buenos Aires. Killed in a traffic accident at the age of 69, the Spanish immigrant had a cast made of his face and displayed as a specimen representative of the working class of Buenos Aires. His granddaughter, the anthropologist, recognized him fortuitously from family photographs while conducting research for her doctorate⁵.

Like many others of its kind, the collection of this museum was or would have been made up of unclaimed corpses. However, despite the entry records of anarchist baker José Oliveira's dead body indicating otherwise, his fractured cervical vertebra was removed without the family's knowledge and ended up in the institution's storage. Sarrabayrouse Oliveira concludes in her essay that the Museo de la Morgue Judicial, like other scientific institutions of its time, reproduces the logic that the bodies of victims of violence from security forces, penal instances, and medical science, as well as the "indigent," were those that could be exhibited, both alive and dead, until the mid-20th century. Such procedures served a range of effects, which makes evident the loss of status of these individuals as they passed through state institutions. It's no coincidence that Michel Foucault opens his classic *Discipline and Punish* (1975) with a description of a public execution.

With this digression, I signal to the fact that embalming and exhibiting bodies considered of those "others" were intrinsic practices to the development of what we call "sciences," including the legal ones, until the mid-20th century. Furthermore, this habit also affects those of us who somehow transcend the ordinary and more acutely embody the maxim that all bodies are political. Consider Vladimir Lenin, exhibited in Red Square in Moscow; the heart of Dom Pedro I, preserved in formaldehyde and brought to Brazil for the celebrations of the Bicentennial of independence in 2022; and the tortuous process involving the body of Eva Perón, embalmed, kidnapped and hidden for twenty years, and finally buried in the Cementerio de la Recoleta.

4 HARTMAN, Saidiya. Venus in Two Acts. *Small Axe*, Vol. 12, n. 2, pp. 1-14, 2008

5 SARRABAYROUSE OLIVEIRA, María José. El Museo de la Morgue Judicial: historias de guardiánes, expedientes y apropiaciones. *Corpus* (online), Vol. 10, n. 1, 2020

Still relying on Argentine examples, in the late 19th century, the indigenous people who survived the so-called *Conquista del desierto* promoted by the government of Julio Argentino Roca were transferred to the Museo de La Plata, where they were treated as specimens to be studied and photographed. After their deaths, these individuals also had parts of their bodies included in the collection, as was the case with the Alacaluf indigenous woman Tafa.⁶

Since the 19th century, scientific disciplines — especially the so-called humanities — have been reformulated and gained different institutional spaces, being primarily challenged in relation to the limits of empiricism and the possibilities of objectivity. However, by the end of the 20th century, following the processes of decolonization in Africa and Asia and the struggles for liberation of different social groups considered minorities in the West, epistemological questions were raised through categories such as gender and race and through theories grouped under the terms post and decolonial.

Some of these queries target museal institutions, central to the novels analyzed here, which until recently displayed bodies in their collections without proper burial or, alternatively, ceremonial objects taken out of context. Such procedures are part of the silent violence disguised as good intentions that characterize scientific spoils, termed by Mary Louise Pratt as "anti-conquest". That is, "*the strategies of representation through which European bourgeois agents seek to ensure their innocence while ensuring European hegemony*"⁷. Nowadays, driven by the same questions that guide the two novels here analyzed, many institutions are being prompted to return bodies and objects from their collections to the countries or communities of origin.

As part of this specific context common to the academic sphere and the publishing market, with intense debates on gender issues, ethnicity, and the role of colonization and imperialism in recent centuries, the novels by Verunschik and Wiener propose, in my view, redefinitions in the so-called national histories. They also address the constitution of the disciplines of the human sciences as established in South America through the actions of European men of letters. To elucidate how the image of the indigenous child is specifically mobilized as a representation of a history to be recovered

6 TELLO WEISS, Mariana. Huellas y espejos. Disponível em: <https://www.argentina.gob.ar/interior/archivo-general-de-la-nacion/bicentenario/inspiraciones/huellas-espejos>

7 PRATT, Mary Louise. Os olhos do império: relatos de viagem e transculturação. Trad. Jézio Hernani Bomfim Gutierrez. Bauru: EDUSC, 1999, p. 32

through fiction, I aim to rethink the varied uses of bodies — especially children's — alive and dead as repositories of meanings around history and the idea of civilization.

I also intend to reflect on how much these bodies are still traversed by categories created in the nineteenth century by men such those who figure in the plots of the two works as well as through the absence of these same bodies from the documentation which, by disciplinary precepts, serves as an instrument to the historian's work. I believe that such a move is currently as fruitful as it is necessary, especially when we understand the association today of the concept of history with the idea of reparation when related to the traumas suffered by different ethnic minorities. These traumas are, by the precepts of the historical discipline, often allocated to the past when it can be observed, through different theoretical readings about temporality, that they continue to emerge in the present.

All of this aligns with one of the ambitions of many historians and men of letters of the nineteenth century: to make the dead speak, now reconfigured to also include those previously silenced.

The following essay is divided into two parts. First, I will focus on the plots of the novels themselves and how they relate to the strangeness caused by the treatment given to bodies of alterities since the encounter of Europeans with Amerindians, resulting in a process of redefinition of history in the present. Next, I will address the link between this strangeness and the representation of indigenous children in the novels discussed, their relationship with the modern concept of history⁸, and with the construction, in contemporary times, of theoretical propositions that question its teleology and its documentary limits.

Children Who Are Not There

Huaco retrato, a novel by Peruvian author Gabriela Wiener, begins with a visit to a Parisian museum. The writer and journalist describes the sensation of seeing her own "Incan profile" mixed with the artifacts on display, until she comes across an empty showcase. The absent object is the tomb of an

⁸ KOSELLECK, Reinhart. A configuração do moderno conceito de história. In: KOSELLECK, et. al. O conceito de história. Trad. René E. Gertz. Belo Horizonte: Autêntica, 2013, pp. 119-222.

indigenous child, and its absence is precisely what alerts her: "if it weren't for the fact that I come from a territory of forced disappearances, where one is unearthed but above all buried in secrecy, perhaps that invisible tomb behind the glass would mean nothing to me".⁹

In addition to her familiarity with the objects on display, even with a sense of ownership over them, there is something else, expressed in the desire to "[...] claim it all as mine and ask for it back in the name of the Peruvian state, a sensation that becomes stronger in the room that bears my surname and is filled with anthropomorphic and zoomorphic ceramic figures from various pre-Hispanic cultures more than a thousand years old".¹⁰

Allegedly the great-great-grandfather of the journalist, Austrian archaeologist and diplomat Charles Wiener owes his fame mainly to an expedition to Peru and Bolivia between 1875 and 1877, which yielded findings that now form part of the collection of the Musée Ethnographique de Paris, as well as for almost discovering Machu Picchu. However, Gabriela Wiener does not dwell solely on her distant relative: she uses him as a pretext to rethink her relationship with her ethnicity, history, her life in Europe, and mainly her relationship with her father, the also journalist, writer, and left-wing activist Raúl Wiener, who passed away in 2015.

In addition to exploring her family relations and fictions, the idea of children as colonial spoil, both living and mummified, gain strength throughout Wiener's account especially through a passage from one of her ancestor's many published books, *Pérou et Bolivie: Récit de voyage suivi d'études archéologiques et ethnographiques et notes sur l'écriture et les langues des populations indiennes*, published in 1880, which Gabriela reads translated into Spanish in her father's library.

There, the Austrian archaeologist claims to have bought an indigenous boy with the aim of taking him to Europe to civilize him.

The plot of *Huaco retrato* therefore consists of the intersection of the narrator's journey to Lima to bury her father and deal with the consequences of his death — among them, his lover and the half-sister he also left behind — and her relationship with the family she leaves behind in Spain, composed of her husband, his wife, and a young daughter. Through the concocted origin stories of the Peruvian Wieners and the fictions of her father's double

9 WIENER, Gabriela. *Huaco retrato*. Buenos Aires: Random House, 2022, 14

10 WIENER, Gabriela. *Huaco retrato*. Op. Cit., p. 11.

life, Gabriela fabulates literarily Charles's life, returning to France and receiving accolades for his scientific discoveries, including the Legion of Honor. Tangentially, there is an attempt to conjure the figure of Juan, an indigenous boy taken from Peru and brought to Paris. In my view, this translates into a desire for reparation for the traumas caused by the colonization process in Peru.

*"I had never heard of a child bought, or should I say stolen by Wiener, I don't know why neither my historian uncle, nor my father mentioned it, nor is it in any of the biographies at my disposal. It's just a footnote in his long journey. They didn't know or didn't give it importance. **The hypothetical or real existence of Juan alone unleashes a rain of images of possible lives, both my own and others', on the horizon**".¹¹*

Recreating indigenous children, finding the unfindable, and repairing the irreparable is also the theme of *O som do rugido da onça*, which takes as its starting point the expedition of Bavarian naturalists Johann Baptist von Spix and Karl Philipp von Martius to Brazil in 1817. The voyage was part of the marriage arrangements between D. Pedro de Orleans e Bragança and Dona Maria Leopoldina of Austria. In addition to collecting a large number of specimens of Brazilian animals and plants, the Bavarians also took back to Munich two indigenous children — a girl and a boy — who died shortly after arriving in Europe.

This practice, common since the first Europeans invaded different parts of the continent between the late 15th and early 16th centuries, was in line with the development of Western scientific paradigms at different stages.

Like Wiener's, Verunsch's novel tensions the impossibility of truly accessing these stories from the subjectivity of the two children, whose lives were not only brief but also resulted in scant documentary evidence, unlike other more notable cases¹². Through a contemporary character, Josefa, a migrant from the state of Pará in São Paulo, *O som do rugido da onça* also explores the limits of belonging for the descendants of colonial loot in 21st-century Brazil,

¹¹ WIENER, Gabriela. *Huaco retrato*. Op. Cit., p. 55, bolded emphasis added.

¹² Another similar case, but rich in documentation, is that of Jemmy Button, a Fuegian taken to England after being bought for a pearl button and later returned to his tribe during the same expedition on the HMS Beagle, famously accompanied by Charles Darwin. Later, Button and his family were considered suspects in a massacre of Christian missionaries at Wulaia Bay. Button reappears as a witness to deny his involvement. Button is one of the characters in the novel *La tierra del fuego* by the Argentine author Sylvia Iparraguirre, published in 1998.

which also applies to the narrator of *Huaco retrato*, which, in a passage, reveals the meaning that History takes on in both works:

*"We all have a white father. I mean, God is white. Or so we've been made to believe. The settler is white. **History is white and male.** My grandmother, my mother's mother, used to call my father, her daughter's husband, <<don>> because she wasn't white but chola. It seemed very strange to me to hear my grandma treating my dad with such excessive and undeserved respect. <<Don Raúl>> was my father".¹³*

Beyond the Amerindian children transformed into objects of nineteenth-century scientific knowledge, representing the silences, losses, and all that is left unsaid on the formation of institutions that still today are legitimized places of enunciation of knowledge, both novels also deal with the "in-between spaces"¹⁴ inhabited by women writers of indigenous descent and originating from Latin American countries in contemporary times.

Verunschik alternates the story of Iñe-e with the everyday life narrative of Josefa, who works as a translator and struggles to recognize herself in her country as a subject. Similarly to Wiener, through Josefa, Verunschik addresses not only the epistemic place of these women but also how their bodies are impacted by the experience of colonization in various aspects, not limited to the scientific and academic realm of what she aims to narrate.

"My maternal great-grandmother was caught with a lasso, you know? I have a bit of Kaiapó blood in me. But the fact is that everyone has a grandmother caught with a lasso in Brazil, me, you, the doorman downstairs. I grew up with my other grandmother, my father's mother, who raised me, a stubborn Colombian woman, who always spoke of my ancestry whenever something related to my character seemed bigger than her capacity for resoluteness. It was as if she was telling me that there was a rebellious force in me, incapable of being tamed. When I heard her speak like that, it seemed that my black, straight hair would

¹³ WIENER, Gabriela. *Huaco retrato*, op. cit., p. 45, bolded emphasis added.

¹⁴ Here, I draw upon Silviano Santiago's concept regarding the place of enunciation of Latin American literature and art in relation to the West. See: SANTIAGO, Silviano. *O entre-lugar do discurso latino-americano*. In: *Uma literatura nos trópicos: ensaios sobre dependência cultural*. 2a Ed. Rio de Janeiro: Rocco, 2000..

come to life, and it was as if I could see from outside myself, my eyes filled with anger and fear".¹⁵

The scientific practices alluded to by Verunschik and Wiener were essential for the establishment not only of the fields of knowledge of the human sciences but also retained their status for much of the twentieth century. As demonstrated by Mary Louise Pratt, Europe's colonial expansion not only created a "planetary consciousness" but also — and here the author relies on Michel Foucault — forged the very idea of scientific knowledge through the description of the world using categories established by Western rationality. What began with a method of plant classification proposed by a Swedish naturalist in the eighteenth century later extended to other animals, including humans and their different "races".¹⁶

Hence the face of the Spanish immigrant José Oliveira, mentioned at the beginning of this essay, was also chosen to be included in a museum collection as a "specimen," and his cervical vertebra preserved in the collection for "scientific research," which precisely led his great-granddaughter, María Sarabayrouse Oliveira, to write.

It is undeniable that the exhibition of "authentic" human remains in jars displayed in showcases may impact, if not in a morbid way, arousing the curiosity of the spectator who finds themselves in a place whose support and justification lie in the existence, behind those anatomical tissues, of an entire medico-legal and police knowledge. However, in this case, it was not those fleshless human remains in their visualization — which could appear as the epitome of violence — that prompted me to write. On the contrary, the heads in the jars overshadowed the death masks of the workers and, therefore, that violence exerted by medicine and judicial and police bureaucracies on certain bodies and populations. In this sense, it was not the "morbid" that was most violent nor my "principle of inquiry" [...] but the "insipid," that which covered the most everyday, opaque, and repeated violence exercised on certain bodies.¹⁷

15 VERUNSCHK, Micheliney. O som do rugido da onça. São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 2021, p. 100

16 PRATT, Mary Louise. Os olhos do império: relatos de viagem e transculturação, op. cit., p. 41

17 SARRABAYROUSE OLIVEIRA, María José. El Museo de la Morgue Judicial: historias de guardi-
anes, expedientes y apropiaciones, op. cit., p. 2.

Relatively recent proposals for understanding Western knowledge as a construct based on colonial expansion and the epistemic subjection of indigenous individuals in colonized spaces have been systematized by Latin American intellectuals such as Aníbal Quijano and Walter Dignolo¹⁸. On the other hand, Cameroonian philosopher Achille Mbembe offers a reading of how European subjectivity was constituted through its relationship with blacks from the experiences of the diaspora and the colonization of Africa, and the establishment of this racial otherness as a determining marker for slavery.¹⁹

Although differing in certain points, these approaches have been essential for rethinking the field of the human sciences in general and the internalized forms of conceiving subjectivity, the construction of knowledge, and concepts of time and space in supposedly universal categories, despite, at least in Brazil, they have been gaining traction in historiography only recently.

The epistemic violence at the heart of the process of establishing what we understand today as scientific knowledge, however, is not limited to the use of colonized bodies in their literal sense. The way to assimilate the new continents, including cognitively, went through their representation in literary and historiographical terms in the molds in which these genres were establishing themselves, with their own particular logic, in Europe and among the colonial elites of the American continent. Therefore, maritime voyages were usually accompanied by the production of reports, starting with Christopher Columbus's own diaries published in Spain shortly after his return in 1493, transcribed by Bartolomé de las Casas. As demonstrated by Tzvetan Todorov's classic study of 1982, the production of meaning, otherness, and the assimilation of non-European subjectivities through the process of colonization began from this first moment of contact.²⁰

The novels analyzed here derive from this line of questioning, as both deal with the exploration and exploitation of the American continent by European men of letters and naturalists. The rupture caused in the European worldview at the beginning of what we call modernity, with the arrival in America, was above all temporal. François Hartog, in *Anciens, modernes, sauvages* explains how the arrival of the Europeans on the new continent disrupted

18 See: QUIJANO, Aníbal. Colonialidad y modernidad/razionalidad. *Perú Indígena*. Vol. 13, n. 29, pp. 11-20, 1992; MIGNOLO, Walter. *The Darker Side of Renaissance*. Ann Arbor: Michigan University Press, 1995

19 MBEMBE, Achille. *Crítica da razão negra*. Trad. Sebastião Nascimento. São Paulo: n-1 Edições, 2018

20 TODOROV, Tzvetan. *La conquista de América: el problema del otro*. Trad. de Flora Botton Burlá. 9a Edição. Madri: Siglo XXI, 1998

the temporal binomial of ancients and moderns, previously configured solely in terms of "older" and "younger," and established since the High Middle Ages through the opposition of the present in relation to what we call Classical Antiquity.²¹

The arrival of white Europeans in America in the sixteenth century forced these terms to be reconsidered, opening a crisis that, one could say, has not yet been resolved. The linearity imposed by the philosophy of history on which the historical discipline based its foundations²² in the 19th century does not account for the experience of these subjects and their place in the world. This is because facing the existence of the Amerindians also meant inscribing them in time, according to Hartog.

Hence the initial measures to compare them to the ancients and then to children, in other words, as being endowed with a potential for civilization yet to be revealed, as much as the "new" continent. The "never seen" had to be encoded in some familiar way. "*How to see what we have never seen, how to make this visible to readers?*"²³ Here it is necessary to relate this question to the series of essays that Hartog wrote on the issue of historical evidence and how it was transformed between the milestones of Antiquity and the 21st century²⁴. This "making seeable" will later prove relevant regarding the invisibility of these individuals in historical archives as subjects and historical agents.

Efforts to locate indigenous peoples in the temporality as conceived until then marked not only the understanding of the history of the territories that became European colonies and later independent nation-states from the late eighteenth century onwards, but also the literature of these countries. As Hartog himself emphasizes, history and literature — especially the novel — forged their current internal economies synchronically and dialogically, and contributed to what he defines as a "belief in History".²⁵

21 HARTOG, François. *Antigos, modernos, selvagens*. Trad. Mariana Portella. Rio de Janeiro: FGV, 2021, p. 31

22 Here, I intentionally use the term "foundations," invoking Arnaldo Momigliano's classic text titled *The Classical Foundations of Modern Historiography*.

23 HARTOG, François. *Antigos, modernos, selvagens*, op. cit., p. 41

24 HARTOG, François. *Evidência da história: o que os historiadores veem*. Trad. João Guilherme Teixeira com colaboração de Jaime A. Clasen. Belo Horizonte: Autêntica, 2011

25 HARTOG, François. *Crer em história*. Trad. de Camila Dias. Belo Horizonte: Autêntica, 2017, p. 127

In other words, the “New World” was not only on the horizon of the first modern realistic novels, as in the accounts of Daniel Defoe — in the form of the shipwreck in *Robinson Crusoe* (1719) or penal transportation in *Moll Flanders* (1722) — but also, mixed with the abundant narratives of travels and experiences of captivity, served as a “foundational” element of national literatures in America in the nineteenth century²⁶. From a cyclical conception of time, albeit no less linked to the idea of progress, notions of the apex and decline of civilizations were applied to these peoples, and the elimination of their cultural or even physical characteristics served as a theme for the transformation of the indigenous into an object of the incipient literature. This topic became recurrent mainly from the novels *René* (1799) and *Atala* (1801) by François-René de Chateaubriand and, later, in the literary production of the American continent: in the United States with the poetry of Philip Freneau and the novels of James Fenimore Cooper, and in Brazil, with the so-called “indianism” of Antônio Gonçalves Dias and José de Alencar.

As evidenced in the treatment that Verunschik and Wiener give to Ine-e and the boy Juan, the two novels analyzed here are traversed by the idea of the indigenous, especially in childhood, as potential — lives that could not be —, as well as trying to explore the fissures that this third factor causes by intruding into the European opposition between Ancients and Moderns.

Admittedly based in the notion of Amerindian perspectivism, as proposed by Eduardo Viveiros de Castro, which fundamentally questions the field and practice of anthropology and its relationship with the subjects it studies, Verunschik's text not only attempts to reconstruct the worldview of its protagonist but also addresses the scientific expedition that marked the construction of Brazilian historiographical discourse to this day from her point of view.

Carl von Martius, one of the characters focused on in the novel, won a prize in 1847 from the Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro (IHGB) for best monograph on “how to write the history of Brazil.” In the text, dated from four years earlier, as Armelle Enders indicates, Martius applied the so-called “theory of races” widely circulated in Europe at the aftermath of the French Revolution with the aim of aiding and legitimizing the composition of modern nation-states as a way of addressing their internal and external conflicts. According to Martius, Brazil had as its fundamental characteristic

26 SOMMER, Doris. *Ficções de fundação. Os romances nacionais na América Latina*. Belo Horizonte: Editora da UFMG, 2004.

being a confluence of three distinct races — indigenous, black, and white — which were far from occupying equivalent hierarchical positions. Using an aquatic analogy, according to the Bavarian, the Portuguese blood should be turned into a powerful river in order to absorb the two other "lesser" tributaries. As Enders herself states, this reading of historical processes was not only part of the emerging historical discipline but also of the equally emerging novel in this period, through authors like Walter Scott in Britain and Alexandre Herculano in Portugal.²⁷

Through Martius's text and the subsequent production of the IHGB, the foundations were laid for the whitening policies promoted by the Brazilian Empire throughout the nineteenth century and also for the idea that blacks and indigenous peoples are merely "tributaries" contributing to this "great river" that is a determined idea of Brazil, its originality and its culture. As the IHGB literati adopted to varying degrees the premise of the Bavarian naturalist, these notions became part of the common sense of what it means to be "Brazilian" and that blacks and indigenous peoples only "contribute" to mold this concept. It is worth mentioning that the IHGB was the place whose production is still considered canonical in Brazilian historiographical and literary fields, as well as having served as the basis for public policies in the 19th century.²⁸

By taking the Spix and Martius expedition as the theme of her novel, Verunschik, therefore, provokes a shift not only in the history of Brazil in general but also in the constitution of the literary and historiographical fields in the country. The novel questions the foundations of how scientific institutions were established in the country and at what cost, aligned with Viveiros de Castro's questioning in *Metafísicas Canibais*: "What does anthropology conceptually owe to the peoples it studies?"²⁹

In a way, what Verunschik's novel highlights is a similar question: what do history and literature conceptually owe to the peoples they represent?

The same concerns are also present in Wiener's novel, which end up being much more evident in the gaps in her family's history — and in the history

27 ENDERS, Armelle. Os vultos da nação. Fábrica de heróis e formação dos brasileiros. Rio de Janeiro: FGV Editora, 2014, pp 130-131.

28 GUIMARÃES, Manoel Salgado. Historiografia e nação no Brasil - 1838-1857. Rio de Janeiro: EdUERJ, 2011

29 VIVEIROS DE CASTRO, Eduardo. *Metafísicas canibais*. São Paulo: Cosac Naify, 2015, p. 20.

of Peru — than in what is recorded in books and documentation. As a relative of an Austro-French archaeologist who explored Peru, Gabriela positions herself as an object of this science: *"My face is very similar to that of a huaco retrato. Every time they tell me that [I look Peruvian], I imagine Charles moving the brush over my eyelids to remove the dust and calculate the year in which I was modeled"*.³⁰

Wiener's attitude towards her famous relative and how Amerindians were treated in general is more directly personal than the one made by Verunschik in *O som do rugido da onça*. The narrator/protagonist, for example, writes to Pascal Riviale, Charles Wiener's biographer, and an uncle of hers who is a historian, in order to clarify her doubts about the real identity of the first Wiener from whom her family descends. The mismatch of information — Riviale's denial that Wiener left descendants in Peru and her uncle and relatives' belief in this origin myth — makes her reflect about the nature of historical and archaeological evidence, and the methodological criteria that guide both sciences.

We already know where the vestiges that bring confusing or erroneous information end up, the poorly cataloged ones or those of bastard or unknown origin. Without archaeological context, there is no discovery. In 1885, Florentino Ameghino, the Argentine naturalist of the autochthonous theory of the American man, wrote that 'any object, no matter how rare and curious it may be, about which there is no exact data on its origin and conditions of discovery, has no importance and must be eliminated from any collection formed with true scientific method.'

*"Poor huacos. How Nazi science is. The objects without context from the Wiener collection, for example, are kept in the storerooms of the Musée du quai Branly, listed in the general inventory, but no one visiting the museum can see them. They are hidden in its basements since archaeology became a serious science because outside they make too much noise, like the ghost of a mummy, like Juan or my surname. Where do people without exact data of origin end up, what common grave welcomes them in life?"*³¹

This identification of the protagonists of both novels with indigenous children and, consequently, with the objects of the human sciences will be

³⁰ WIENER, Gabriela. *Huaco retrato*, op. cit., p. 60

³¹ WIENER, Gabriela. *Huaco retrato*, op. cit., pp. 125-126

further explored, as well as to what extent the writings of both authors are intended as exercises in attempts at repair for these traumas.

Science and the ships

*The ship, well then, a large canoe of death. People, plants, animals, monkeys, kdiziba, armadillos, gooi, anteaters, and, even still, the **Disenchanted**. What to call them? Iñe-e had observed the scientists at their work of **disenchantment** while still on land. And she soon realized that it was not just about killing the animal. It was another activity altogether. First, they took its soul to the skin of paper so perfectly that it might be possible to say that the animal would crawl, if it were a snake, or fly, if it were a bird, out of that fragile boundary. Then, the **disenchantment** continued. And dying was only a very small part of it all. The animal, the actual animal, in its strength and blood, was turned into nothing after everything was over. Dead and gutted, the animal was cleaned, its skin scraped of the flesh already devoid of power, and the body emptied of everything it had once been, leaving behind a flaccid, sad sack, which would only later be rebuilt with straw or any kind of stuffing that would do, gradually regaining its old form, and with that other face being blown onto it, that other body, that mouth that, once opened, would no longer eat; that once closed, would never open again: and from there would arise the new animal, the other animal, often inventing a movement that could never end, fixed in a position, leap, or strike that from that moment on could never be extinguished.³²*

Through the semantic choice of calling taxidermy "disenchantment," one of the narrators of Micheline Verunschik's novel highlights how our vocabulary and worldview are impregnated with the racialization of subjects and the deracialization of whites, treating science and magic, knowledge and belief, as mutually exclusive. Shortly after arriving in Munich, Iñe-e loses her traveling companion, a Juri boy with whom she could not even communicate. In

³² VERUNSCHK, Micheline. O som do rugido da onça, op. cit., p. 12, bolded emphasis added.

Chapter IV, it is the boy who undergoes a disenchantment, dissected in an anatomy class by the Bavarian naturalists themselves.

Spix applies the plaster for the death mask and leads the creation of the wax replica. After twelve hours of work, between the necropsy and art, the head is finally immersed in a jar of formaldehyde.

[...]

Iñe-e, who is unaware of the events that took place between the removal of the body from the house and the ceremony with the sealed coffin, dreams that the boy hovers over the house with his head in one hand and a flash of lightning in the other. Jörg accompanies him. Both have bodies made of water. A few days later, inadvertently, she will see, to her horror, the wax head of her companion in Martius's office.³³

The issue history and, especially, its lack of relationship with the indigenous peoples of the Amazon, was recently addressed by Guilherme Bianchi, who synthesizes the construction of history as a discipline and mode of apprehension of temporality in its relationship with otherness³⁴, focusing mainly on the divisions made by the West and not recognized by Amerindians, especially those between humans and other animals. This peculiarity of indigenous cosmology is woven into the plot of *O som do rugido da onça*, in its endeavor to "lend voice" to the girl Iñe-e before her capture and sale to Spix and Martius, and her relationship with Tipai uu, the jaguar alongside which they find her as a baby one day after she disappeared. Tipai uu is also one of the narrators of Verunschck's novel, which reflects this same logic in the reading pact of the novel. The encounter between Iñe-e and the jaguar marks the girl's relationship with her father since he realized that she, "by having joined in a pact with the enemy, even without having actual knowledge of what had actually happened, was now an enemy like the jaguar".³⁵

In the end, Iñe-e is handed over to the white men by her own father, just as the boy whom Charles Wiener takes to Europe is sold by his own intoxicated mother.

33 VERUNSCHK, Micheliney. *O som do rugido da onça*, op. cit., pp. 96-97

34 BIANCHI, Guilherme. Arquivo histórico e diferença indígena: repensando os outros da imaginação histórica ocidental. *Revista de Teoria da História*, Vol. 22, n. 2, pp. 264-296, 2019

35 VERUNSCHK, Micheliney. *O som do rugido da onça*, op. cit., p. 18

In Wiener's text, these divisions between humans and animals, the West and its others, fact and fiction, science and charlatanism, are mobilized from what can be described as a narrative of affiliation. In the economy of the text are the personal history and reputation of Charles Wiener, the veracity of his relationship with Gabriela's family, the adultery of the author's father — who wore an eyepatch when he was with his lover — the supposed kidnapping of the indigenous boy Juan, and Gabriela's own trajectory as a migrant with a polyamorous family. Charles Wiener himself was a sort of “other” in France: Austrian and Jewish, desperate to be accepted as a literate and diplomat, a trajectory with which she ends up identifying with despite herself.

The account of the Peruvian writer, as well as the passages from Verunschik's novel focused on Josefa's point of view, can be related to the idea of double consciousness conceived by W. E. Du Bois in one of the most famous passages of “The Souls of Black Folk,” published in 1903:

“After the Egyptian and Indian, the Greek and Roman, the Teuton and Mongolian, the Negro is a sort of seventh son, born with a veil, and gifted with second-sight in this American world,—a world which yields him no true self-consciousness, but only lets him see himself through the revelation of the other world. It is a peculiar sensation, this double-consciousness, this sense of always looking at one's self through the eyes of others, of measuring one's soul by the tape of a world that looks on in amused contempt and pity. One ever feels his twoness,—an American, a Negro; two souls, two thoughts, two unreconciled strivings; two warring ideals in one dark body, whose dogged strength alone keeps it from being torn asunder.

The history of the American Negro is the history of this strife,—this longing to attain self-conscious manhood, to merge his double self into a better and truer self.”³⁶

This notion serves as a reference to Paul Gilroy in *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness*, published ninety years after Du Bois' book. In it, Gilroy deals with the dissonances of being black and European — British — and therefore heir to an intellectual tradition that has as its background racial distinction not only in its scientific aspect, constructed throughout the nineteenth century, but also aesthetically conceived to define the beautiful, the good, and the truth, which ultimately informed the very notion of

³⁶ DU BOIS, W. E. B. *The Souls of Black Folk*. Edited by Brent Hayes Edwards. Londres: Oxford University Press, 2007, p. 8-9.

"culture" in modernity.³⁷ In *Huaco retrato*, this is reflected in episodes where Gabriela recalls not only her experience in Peru as the daughter of an elite family and yet still displaying indigenous physical traits, but also in Spain, where she is relegated to a subordinate position, in which many consider, by her appearance, that it would be impossible for her to have any profession other than domestic work, which includes the grandmother of her Spanish wife.

Although referring to the African diaspora, Gilroy's proposition of the Black Atlantic, marked by the conception of slave ships as cultural and political units where many of the ideas we now identify with modernity were articulated, also serves to think about the movements made by Amerindians and their descendants. Gilroy conceives of ships as a chronotope in the Bakhtinian sense to rethink notions of capitalism, industrialization, and progress, ideas that defined the order of time in the 19th and 20th centuries.³⁸ I extend this idea to consider the novels of Wiener and Verunschik not only because Amerindians were also enslaved and transported from one place to another and deterritorialized, but also because, from the contact with the same ideas of freedom and citizenship that became accessible to enslaved Africans, they also mobilized them in their defense. The son of Rocío and Jaime, Gabriela Wiener's wife and husband, is named Amaru, a clear reference to the decolonial ideals of his parents.

This same amalgam of Enlightenment concepts and the perception of otherness is present in *O som do rugido da onça*, especially when the stories of Josefa and Iñe-e are united by the identification of the young woman from Pará with the Miranha girl taken by Spix and Martius. Josefa goes to Munich to look for the tomb of the indigenous children in the same way that Gabriela Wiener, the narrator, begins her narrative standing in front of the empty tomb of an indigenous child in Paris. Like Wiener, Verunschik's character is also what philosopher Rosi Braidotti called a "nomadic subject," a category that Ana Casas extends to the Peruvian writer.³⁹

Informed by post-structuralist theories and their emphasis on language, and by her own trajectory as an Italian immigrant in Australia, at the same time that Gilroy reflected on the tradition of British cultural studies and issues of

37 GILROY, Paul. *The Black Atlantic: modernity and double consciousness*. Londres: Verso, 1993, p. 8.

38 GILROY, Paul. *The Black Atlantic*. Op. Cit., p. 17

39 CASAS, Ana. *Autoficción y performance: las escenificaciones autoriales de Gabriela Wiener*. *Itinerarios*, n. 36, pp. 9-28, 2022

race, Braidotti promotes a gendered cut to these subjectivities that escape the construct of the universal subject of the 18th century, adopting nomadism as *"a political fiction that allows me to think and move through established categories and levels of experience: blurring boundaries without burning bridges"* and *"a type of critical consciousness that resists settling into socially coded modes of thought and behavior".*⁴⁰

Gilroy's and Braidotti's propositions stem from European experiences: one of being an Afro-diasporic body on that continent, and the other of being a European in Australia and feeling displaced by the nuances of whiteness in colonial spaces. Therefore, not surprisingly, they also share the notion of seeing movement—whether of ships or individuals—as a remedy to the fixedness of categories that do little for such subjectivities when they are placed in the position of objects, at their limit, embalmed. However, even movement itself, depending on the direction it is taken, encounters its limits:

*Josefa is a woman who ran away. Everywhere in the world, at any time, there is a woman running away. When a woman flees, she invariably flees from her history, from an uncomfortable past materialized in an abusive relationship, or from a life that appears petty or limiting, or from the echoes of some failure, or from a life that couldn't be or couldn't reinvent itself. Josefa doesn't know exactly what she ran away from. She has been living in the metropolis for three years, and since her arrival, she has been operating strategies to erase her own identity. She doesn't keep in touch with the friends and family she left behind, educating herself with new tastes, new experiences, building a disidentity.*⁴¹

As we can see, the process of leaving behind her double consciousness proves impossible for Josefa, who sees herself in the image of Iñe-e in an exhibition in São Paulo: *"I look exactly like her"*⁴², she says to Tomás, a young man with whom she maintains a relationship "without labels". Similarly, the narrator/character Gabriela Wiener, unlike her relatives, perceives herself less as a relative of Charles Wiener and more vinculated to the child he supposedly took to Europe: *"Would Juan have eyes as small and burning as mine when he saw all this for the first time? It's strange, I know that I have Charles's blood in my veins,*

40 BRAIDOTTI, Rosi. *Nomadic Subjects: embodiment and sexual difference in contemporary feminist theory*. Nova York: Columbia University Press, 1994, pp. 4-5.

41 VERUNSCHK, Micheliney. *O som do rugido da onça*, op. cit., p. 87-88

42 VERUNSCHK, Micheliney. *O som do rugido da onça*, op. cit., p. 100.

not Juan's, but it's the adopted one I feel as part of my family"⁴³. Like Josefa, who cannot, despite herself, think of herself as distinct from this universal, Wiener, upon returning to Spain after her father's burial, seeks a workshop called "Decolonizing Desire," in which she becomes involved with a Colombian immigrant.

This "not being" of both characters reflects how affections and sexual desire, guided by the standards of what is beautiful, good, and true, as Gilroy points out, were constructed based on racial difference.

"You are prettier and don't have any piercings, but we can fix that," Tomás says to Josefa when she compares herself to Iñe-e.⁴⁴ Meanwhile, Wiener, at the "Decolonizing Desire" workshop, is assaulted by anguish about her marriage to Rocío:

"When I unlearn this fascination with the colonizer, will I still want to make love to her, share my life with my life's Spaniard, or will I have to leave her? Is this the solution to my problems? If whiteness is a political regime, am I like the black person who votes for Vox? Everything understood as beautiful and ugly has been generated by that system as an axiom. 'The beautiful is white and has a soul,' says our guru while explaining that a non-white body has no chance of being desired in that framework, neither of being loved, because the paradigm is not only aesthetic, it is moral and educates our sense of love".⁴⁵

If subjects like the fictional Josefa or the autofictional Gabriela cannot see themselves in this modernity, then how can we find in it those who were subtracted from their homes as specimens or enslaved? These questions, posed, as we have seen, in both novels, have already been raised regarding the limits that representation of the diaspora encounters in the disciplined history by Saidiya Hartman in two texts: *Lose Your Mother* (2007) and the essay "Venus in Two Acts" (2008).

43 WIENER, Gabriela. *Huaco retrato*, op. cit., p. 56

44 VERUNSCHK, Micheliney. *O som do rugido da onça*, op. cit., p. 99

45 WIENER, Gabriela. *Huaco retrato*, op. cit., p. 119-120

Concerned with not falling into what would admittedly be literary fiction, Hartman proposes the notion of "critical fabulation"⁴⁶ to imagine an existence for the victims of the Atlantic slave trade outside of the records that evidence their passage through the world. Here again, as in Maria Sarra-bayrouse Oliveira's account of her great-grandfather, one encounters bureaucracy, but that of slavery.

Unlike Hartman's book, the novels by Verunschik and Wiener have their fictional economies unconcerned with disciplinary status and do not position themselves in direct dialogue with historiography, but rather with History with a capital H. Nonetheless, the three texts have intersections. In Wiener's case, the documentary gaps that trouble Hartman in *Lose Your Mother* also frustrate the narrator/protagonist Gabriela Wiener when she investigates her family's history.

Beyond the scant lines about the boy Juan, when following the trail of her first ancestor recorded in Peru with that surname, Wiener encounters a woman called María Rodríguez whose son, Carlos Manuel Wiener, would be the son of a Manuel Wiener and not someone named Charles or Karl⁴⁷. Regarding Rodríguez, Wiener also lacks information:

"In the family, there is not a single photo of María Rodríguez. We will never know what her face looked like. The woman who initiated the lineage of the Wieners in Peru, who went through a lonesome pregnancy and breastfed a semi-orphan has been swallowed by the earth. Just as traces of a previous world are lost for years under the sand. To gather those materials scattered across a geography, to save what time has not eroded in order to try to reconstruct a fleeting image of the past is a science. To 'huaquear', on the other hand, is to open, penetrate, extract, steal, flee, forget. In that gap, however, something remained inside her, implanted, germinated outside the tree".⁴⁸

Huaco retrato, then, explores a spiral of fabulations about the past, including that of Charles Wiener who, like Verunschik's Josefa, tried to escape, erase his Jewish origins in order to belong in French society, and by positioning

⁴⁶HARTMAN, Saidiya. *Venus in Two Acts*, op. cit., p. 11. *Venus in Two Acts* is an essay engaged in a dialogue with a criminal case also featured in *Lose Your Mother*, both texts concerned with the limits of understanding and representing the experience of the Atlantic slave trade.

⁴⁷ WIENER, Gabriela. *Huaco retrato*, op. cit., p. 102

⁴⁸ WIENER, Gabriela. *Huaco retrato*, op. cit., p. 57

himself as an archaeologist and explorer, would have appropriated the work of other explorers and photographers. The author also explores the fabrications of the Peruvian Wieners who created this kinship from a dubious baptismal record, and those of her father, who maintained two families, as well as her own fiction when she writes autofiction and invents and reinvents herself as a Peruvian immigrant woman, mother, and member of a threesome marriage.

In Verunsch's case, the procedure resembles Hartman's essay in her attempt to bring to life one of the victims of the captain of a slave ship tried for the murder of two enslaved girls.

I decided not to write about Venus for reasons different from those I attributed to him. Instead I feared what I might invent, and it would have been a romance.

If I could have conjured up more than a name in an indictment, if I could have imagined Venus speaking in her own voice, if I could have detailed the small memories banished from the ledger, then it might have been possible for me to represent the friendship that could have blossomed between two frightened and lonely girls. Shipmates. Then Venus could have beheld her dying friend, whispered comfort in her ear, rocked her with promises, soothed her with 'soon, soon' and wished for her a good return.⁴⁹

In the second chapter of *O som do rugido da onça*, Verunsch sets out to do exactly what Hartman did not want to do. Based on the accounts of Spix and Martius, and engravings, the narrator decides:

To lend Iñe-e this voice and this language, and even these letters, all neatly arranged, placed one behind the other, like a necklace of ants on the ground, because now this is the only available means. The most efficient.

[...] This is the voice of the dead, in the language of the dead, in the letters of the dead. All tainted with imperfection, it is true, but what can I do but tell, among the cracks, this story? Like a plant that breaks

49 HARTMAN, Saidiya. *Venus in Two Acts*, op. cit., p. 8

through the hardness of the brick, its roots walking through the darkness, the strength of its leaves imposing a new landscape, this story seeks the sun.

When Inê-e died she was twelve years old. So this is the voice of the dead girl.⁵⁰

To "lend" instead of giving voice to the other is the term used by Verunschik, a concern that guides modern literature since its conception as a way to assimilate the world. In the works of Walter Scott, in special his first novel *Waverley* — considered by Geörgy Lukács as foundational for the so-called "historical novel"⁵¹ — which sought to portray the highlanders of northern Scotland as racialized as indigenous people, the question of language and voice appears not only in the use of phonetic writing of their English speech, in their dialect, but also in the absence of Gaelic, only referenced as incomprehensible sounds.⁵² In other words, in a way, within what we call Europe, these cleavages and boundaries of race, through the category of whiteness, are also present.

Regarding Latin America, Argentine scholar Josefina Ludmer, in the prologue to her *El género gauchesco*, states that she imagined a book about the uses of the voice and body of the other in the American continent, entitled *Gauchos, indios y negros: alianzas de voces en las culturas latinoamericanas*, but gave up when she realized that "what she had imagined had already been said, already written, and that she would never write that book".⁵³

In the case of the novels analyzed here, however, the lending of voice and the concept of fiction have other meanings, related to the ones attributed to history in the two narratives that reflect the debates around traumatic historical events and policies of recognition and reparation. Such notions necessarily imply recognizing the temporality of historical discipline as a political issue, as postulated by Mario Rufer, especially regarding the reformulation

50 VERUNSCHK, Micheliney. O som do rugido da onça, op. cit., p. 15

51 LUKÁCS, Geörgy. O romance histórico. [1955] São Paulo: Boitempo, 2011.

52 SCOTT, Walter. *Waverley, or 'tis sixty years since*. Edited by Claire Lamont. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008

53 LUDMER, Josefina. *El género gauchesco. Un tratado sobre la patria*. 2a. Ed. Buenos Aires: Eterna Cadencia, 2011, p. 17

of the nation-state as established in the 19th century to encompass "new voices" and thus constitute itself from the idea of a "multicultural nation" in contemporary times.⁵⁴ As the works of Verunschik and Wiener demonstrate, the primacy of evidence over experience as an ordering element of historiographical narrative opens dilemmas and questions for the inclusion of these subjects in national histories and, consequently, in the nations themselves. Recently, Maria da Glória da Oliveira systematized the problem of reparation and recognition once made objects or excluded from historiography, pointing to the potential postponement not only of the opening of the discipline and the possibilities of reparation, that is, a postponement of decolonial time itself,⁵⁵ despite the cleavages made by narratives like those of Wiener and Verunschik.

At the end of her essay about finding her great-grandfather's death mask in a museum, Maria José Sarrabayrouse Oliveira similarly confronts the flaws and imperfections of knowing what actually happened, how, and in what voice to narrate events, regarding that specific death. On the one hand, there is the bureaucratic procedure of the body's entrance into the morgue, on the other, there are the versions not only of the accident but also of her great-grandfather's life fabulated by her grandmother and aunts. *"It is necessary to interweave, and contrast these different accounts to reconstruct the history of that death and that body and understand the operating logics of bureaucracies —police, judicial, medical, and administrative— that captured it,"* she concludes.⁵⁶

In the end, there is still the belief in a possible restitution of the past, but there is also the haunting evidence that even when very close to us, certain stories and certain bodies remain opaque, invisible even when in a jar of formaldehyde.

Final Considerations

In conclusion, with this essay I aimed to bring forth some reflections on the meanings that history acquires in two novels addressing the Amerindian genocide. Published in recent years, both, in my view, reflect the effects of an interpretation of the past informed by post- and decolonial theories and

54 RUFER, Mario. La temporalidad como política: nación, formas de pasado y perspectiva poscoloniales, op. cit., p. 8.

55 OLIVEIRA, Maria da Glória. Quando será o decolonial? Colonialidade, reparação histórica e politização do tempo. *Caminhos da História*, v. 27, n. 2, pp. 58-78, 2022

56 SARRABAYROUSE OLIVEIRA, Maria José. El Museo de la Morgue Judicial: historias de guardianes, expedientes y apropiaciones, op. cit., p. 11.

their implications for the idea of national history and the evidence regime that sustains it.

From this perspective, memory, and to some extent disciplined history, are understood as forms of recognition of the violence committed in colonial spaces and, therefore, of reparation. By addressing the stories of two indigenous children mentioned in reports and diaries of European travelers in the 19th century through fiction, there is an attempt to achieve a rewriting of the past in this sense.

Here, there is a confluence of the idea of childhood as the image of a potential life aborted, both by the absence of information and by death itself, with ideas about indigenous peoples and their place in temporality, that is, in what Europeans codified as the civilizational process object of historical science. By addressing these documentary gaps and modes of expression and conception of time, both novels, in my view, highlight the difficulties of codifying the place of these subjectivities in national histories written within the disciplinary frameworks established in the 19th century and reformulated, not without tensions with ethnography itself in this regard, in the 20th century.

With this essay, I hope to have contributed to the understanding of how history is currently signified outside its traditional institutional places of enunciation, in a process marked by demands from different social groups that often clash with the silences of archives, the subjectivities of narratives, and the very idea of evidence.

Bibliographical references

BEVERNAGE, Berber. 'A passeidade do Passado' Reflexões sobre a política da historicização e a crise da passeidade historicista. *Revista de Teoria da História*. v. 24, n. 1, pp. 21-39, 2021

BIANCHI, Guilherme. Arquivo histórico e diferença indígena: repensando os outros da imaginação histórica ocidental. *Revista de Teoria da História*, Vol. 22, n. 2, pp. 264-296, 2019

BRAIDOTTI, Rosi. *Nomadic Subjects: embodiment and sexual difference in contemporary feminist theory*. Nova York: Columbia University Press, 1994.

- CASAS, Ana. Autoficção y performance: las escenificaciones autoriales de Gabriela Wiener. *Itinerarios*, n. 36, pp. 9-28, 2022
- DU BOIS, W. E. B. *The Souls of Black Folk*. Edited by Brent Hayes Edwards. Londres: Oxford University Press, 2007
- ENDERS, Armelle. *Os vultos da nação*. Fábrica de heróis e formação dos brasileiros. Rio de Janeiro: FGV Editora, 2014
- GILROY, Paul. *The Black Atlantic: modernity and double consciousness*. Londres: Verso, 1993
- GUIMARÃES, Manoel Salgado. *Historiografia e nação no Brasil - 1838-1857*. Rio de Janeiro: EdUERJ, 2011
- HARTMAN, Saidiya. Venus in Two Acts. *Small Axe*, Vol. 12, n. 2, pp. 1-14, 2008
- HARTOG, François. *Antigos, modernos, selvagens*. Trad. Mariana Portella. Rio de Janeiro: FGV, 2021
- HARTOG, François. *Crer em história*. Trad. de Camila Dias. Belo Horizonte: Autêntica, 2017
- HARTOG, François. *Evidência da história: o que os historiadores veem*. Belo Horizonte: Autêntica, 2011
- KOSELLECK, Reinhart. A configuração do moderno conceito de história. In: KOSELLECK, et. al. *O conceito de história*. Trad. René E. Gertz. Belo Horizonte: Autêntica, 2013, pp. 119-222.
- LUDMER, Josefina. *El género gauchesco. Un tratado sobre la patria*. 2a. Ed. Buenos Aires: Eterna Cadencia, 2011
- LUKÁCS, Geörgy. *O romance histórico*. São Paulo: Boitempo, 2011
- MBEMBE, Achille. *Crítica da razão negra*. Trad. Sebastião Nascimento. São Paulo: n-1 Edições, 2018
- MIGNOLO, Walter. *The Darker Side of Renaissance*. Ann Arbor: Michigan University Press, 1995
- OLIVEIRA, Maria da Gloria. Quando será o decolonial? Colonialidade, reparação histórica e politização do tempo. *Caminhos da História*, v. 27, n. 2, pp. 58-78, 2022

- PRATT, Mary Louise. *Os olhos do império: relatos de viagem e transculturação*. Trad. Jézio Hernani Bomfim Gutierre. Bauru: EDUSC, 1999
- QUIJANO, Aníbal. Colonialidad y modernidad/racionalidad. *Perú Indígena*. Vol. 13, n. 29, pp. 11-20, 1992
- RUFER, Mario. La temporalidad como política: nación, formas de pasado y perspectiva poscoloniales. *Memoria y Sociedad*, v. 14, n. 28, pp. 11-31, 2014
- SANTIAGO, Silviano. O entre-lugar do discurso latino-americano. In: *Uma literatura nos trópicos: ensaios sobre dependência cultural*. 2a Ed. Rio de Janeiro: Rocco, 2000.
- SARRABAYROUSE OLIVEIRA, María José. El Museo de la Morgue Judicial: historias de guardianes, expedientes y apropiaciones. *Corpus* (online), Vol. 10, n. 1, 2020
- SCOTT, Walter. *Waverley, or 'tis sixty years since*. Edited by Claire Lamont. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008
- TELLO WEISS, Mariana. Huellas y espejos. Disponível em: <https://www.argentina.gob.ar/interior/archivo-general-de-la-nacion/bicentenario/inspiraciones/huellas-espejos>
- TODOROV, Tzvetan. *La conquista de América: el problema del otro*. Trad. de Flora Botton Burlá. 9ª Edição. Madri: Siglo XXI, 1998
- VERUNSCHK, Micheliny. *O som do rugido da onça*. São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 2021
- VIVEIROS DE CASTRO, Eduardo. *Metafísicas canibais*. São Paulo: Cosac Naify, 2015
- WIENER, Gabriela. *Huaco retrato*. Buenos Aires: Random House, 2022

Submitted February 27, 2024

Accepted April 4, 2024