

May 2021

Religious Mega-Events and Their Assemblages in Devotional Pilgrimages: The Case of Círio de Nazaré in Belém, Pará State, Brazil

José Rogério Lopes

Follow this and additional works at: <https://crossworks.holycross.edu/jgc>



André Luiz da Silva
Part of the [Aesthetics Commons](#), [Catholic Studies Commons](#), [Christian Denominations and Sects Commons](#), [Christianity Commons](#), [Comparative Methodologies and Theories Commons](#), [Cultural History Commons](#), [Digital Humanities Commons](#), [Folklore Commons](#), [History of Christianity Commons](#), [History of Religion Commons](#), [History of Religions of Eastern Origins Commons](#), [History of Religions of Western Origin Commons](#), [Inequality and Stratification Commons](#), [Intellectual History Commons](#), [Latin American Languages and Societies Commons](#), [Latin American Studies Commons](#), [Liturgy and Worship Commons](#), [Missions and World Christianity Commons](#), [Oral History Commons](#), [Other Anthropology Commons](#), [Other International and Area Studies Commons](#), [Place and Environment Commons](#), [Quantitative, Qualitative, Comparative, and Historical Methodologies Commons](#), [Race and Ethnicity Commons](#), [Race, Ethnicity and Post-Colonial Studies Commons](#), [Regional Sociology Commons](#), [Religious Thought, Theology and Philosophy of Religion Commons](#), [Rural Sociology Commons](#), [Slavic Languages and Societies Commons](#), [Social and Cultural Anthropology Commons](#), [Social History Commons](#), [Sociology of Culture Commons](#), [Sociology of Religion Commons](#), and the [Spanish and Portuguese Language and Literature Commons](#)

Recommended Citation

Lopes, José Rogério and da Silva, André Luiz (2021) "Religious Mega-Events and Their Assemblages in Devotional Pilgrimages: The Case of Círio de Nazaré in Belém, Pará State, Brazil," *Journal of Global Catholicism*: Vol. 5: Iss. 2, Article 5. p.88-128.

DOI: 10.32436/2475-6423.1096

Available at: <https://crossworks.holycross.edu/jgc/vol5/iss2/5>

Religious Mega-Events and Their Assemblages in Devotional Pilgrimages: The Case of Círio de Nazaré in Belém, Pará State, Brazil

Cover Page Footnote

The authors thank CNPq and FAPERGS for the financial support given to their research, data from which has informed a part of the present study.

TRANSFORMATIONS in BRAZILIAN CATHOLICISM

ARTICLES

- Marc Roscoe Loustau / Editor's Introduction
- Carlos Alberto Steil and Rodrigo Toniol / Strong Church, Weak Catholicism: Transformations in Brazilian Catholicism
- Juliano F. Almeida / Contemporary Brazilian Catholicism and Healing Practices: Notes on Environmentalism and Medicalization
- Cecilia L. Mariz, Wânia Amélia Belchior Mesquita, and Michelle Piraciaba Araújo / Young Brazilian Catholics Reaffiliating: A Case Study in the City of Campos, RJ, Brazil
- José Rogério Lopes and André Luiz da Silva / Religious Mega-Events and Their Assemblages in Devotional Pilgrimages: The Case of Círio de Nazaré in Belém, Pará State, Brazil



JOSÉ ROGÉRIO LOPES
ANDRÉ LUIZ DA SILVA

Religious Mega-Events and Their Assemblages in Devotional Pilgrimages: The Case of Círio de Nazaré in Belém, Pará State, Brazil



José Rogério Lopes holds a PhD in Social Sciences from the Pontifical Catholic University of São Paulo. He completed a Postdoctoral Internship in Anthropology at the Federal University of Rio Grande do Sul State, Brazil, and a Senior Researcher Internship in Social Sciences at the University of Cape Verde, Africa. He is currently a Professor at the Federal University of Tocantins State, Brazil and a Coordinator of the Laboratory of Cultural and Environmental Policies in Brazil. He conducted research on popular religiosity in Brazil and Africa with approaches to religious festivals, Catholic pilgrimages, and use of images in popular devotions. He is the author of the books *The Imagetics of Devotion* (Ed UFRGS, 2010) and *Festivals and Popular Religiosity* (Ed. Cirkula, 2013).



André Luiz da Silva, PhD in Social Sciences, is a teacher at the Human Development Graduate Program at Universidade de Taubaté (UNITAU) and Faculdade Santo Antonio (FSA). He is Vice Coordinator of the Interdisciplinary Research Center of Contemporary Practices and Research Collaborator of the Contemporary Cultural Practices Study Group of Pontifical Catholic University of São Paulo and member of the Laboratory of Cultural and Environmental Policies in Brazil. He conducts inquiries in the field of Urban Anthropology and Cultural Sociology using the following themes: symbolic conflict and development, religiosity, identity and cultural diversity, popular culture, cultural mediation, human rights, and social and cultural policies.



INTRODUCTION

This article analyzes some of the contemporary assemblages of Catholic sectors in traditional devotional pilgrimages and how the latter have been transformed into mega-events. At the epicenter of our inquiry is Círio de Nazaré Festival (listed by UNESCO as the Taper of Our Lady of Nazareth), a mass gathering held in the city of Belém, capital of Pará state in the northern region of Brazil. As one of the country's most traditional religious festivities, with its origin dating back to 1886, its rituals include numerous circuits of urban and rural pilgrimages that spread throughout the Amazon area. The central rituals of Círio, which take place yearly on the second weekend of October, are a series of parades that gather more than two million people each year and have become renowned as one of largest Catholic processions in the Western hemisphere.

The article's situational approach to these assemblages adopts Steil's time frame for social scientific studies on Brazilian Catholic pilgrimages.¹ Steil presents four tendencies that "orient current academic production on Catholicism and pilgrimage" in Brazil.² The first highlights a convergence between pilgrimages and Marian apparitions as a long-term tradition in Catholicism, promoted by the Charismatic Renewal movement; the second emphasizes the alignment between the pilgrimages and the New Age movement, resulting in pilgrimages that connect participants to spiritual and ecological values, inner knowledge, and indigenous origins with a focus on corporality and journeying; the third tendency emerges from the previous one, empowering walks in nature, "associated with environmental values and care of the body [...] frequently incorporated in the sphere of public policies in the field of health and tourism;"³ finally, the fourth tendency refers to the fluid boundaries between pilgrimage and tourism that generate complementary influences: either traditional pilgrimages transform into religious tourism, or the religious sphere

1 Carlos A. Steil, "Percursos das Peregrinações Católicas no Brasil: Gênese e Desenvolvimento do Tema na Ótica das Ciências Sociais," *Estudos de Religião* 33, no. 2 (May-August 2019): 221-42, <https://www.metodista.br/revistas/revistas-metodista/index.php/ER/article/view/9522>.

2 Steil, "Peregrinações Católicas," 238. Note by the authors: you'll notice that we disposed some translated sections of works of well-known authors along all the paper. We took the liberty to translate them into English for better understanding.

3 Steil, "Peregrinações Católicas," 239.

sacralizes tourist events.

In the case examined here, Círio de Nazaré, we propose that its realization constitutes a hybrid form of these earlier tendencies, while its constitutive hybridism can also be recognized through the contours of a fifth tendency, as an emergent synthesis of those listed by Steil. This proposal is based on the recognition that the hybrid or synthetic form of the aforementioned tendencies is manifested in the formation of the kind of unity projected in religious mega-events. Adopting the approach pursued by Steil in his analysis of the studies of Catholic pilgrimages, we argue that recognition of the emergence of this tendency implies an expansion of the field of knowledge defined in this approach.

In exploring studies of religious tourism in the human sciences, therefore, it can be noted that they tend to privilege events like World Youth Day (WYD), promoted by the Vatican, as an object of study. Niedźwiedz, for example, invites us to imagine how WYD, inaugurated by Pope John Paul II in 1985, can be seen as the Catholic archetype of this “mega-eventization” of faith, inspiring and shaping innovations made to the older events of pilgrimage and religious tourism.⁴ In the field of marketing, meanwhile, where interest in the theme exceeds that of anthropology, the emphasis is on the voluntary work involved in religious mega-events.⁵

Following the presentation of reference works in this expanding field of research, we present a categorization of contemporary mega-events, aiming to highlight characterizations and typifications that enable us to recognize the operations of hybrid assemblages in the realization of Círio de Nazaré.

4 Anna Niedźwiedz, “Global Catholicism, Urban Heritage, National Politics: The 2016 World Youth Day in Kraków,” *Etnografia Polska* 63, no. 1-2 (2019): 185-204, <https://doi.org/10.23858/EP63.2019.012>.

5 See Martina G. Gallarza et al., “La Dimensionalidad de Valor en la Experiencia de Voluntario en un Mega-Evento Turístico,” *Revista Europea de Dirección y Economía de la Empresa* 19, no. 4 (2010): 149-70; Michaela Pfadenhauer, “The Eventization of Faith as a Marketing Strategy: World Youth Day as an Innovative Response of the Catholic Church to Pluralization,” *International Journal of Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Marketing* 15, no. 4 (November 2010): 382-94, <https://doi.org/10.1002/nvsm.396>; and Elena F. Imízcoz et al., “Value, Satisfaction and Loyalty in Volunteerism: Application to a Religious Megaevent,” *Esic Market Economics and Business Journal* 44, no. 3 (September-December 2013): 109-31, https://www.esic.edu/documentos/revistas/esicmk/130912_130429_I.pdf.

CONTEMPORARY MEGA-EVENTS: CHARACTERISTICS AND CATEGORIZATION

Contemporary mega-events, held in various spheres of social life, have become commonplace and acquired a prominent space in the media. In the field of sports, for instance, some mega-events have already established themselves as global rituals with a strong economic appeal. Focusing on the Olympics, for example, Burbank, Andranovich and Heying examined the experiences of three US cities hosting the Olympic Games (Los Angeles, Atlanta, and Salt Lake City) and analyzed the realization of these mega-events as high-risk political strategies for stimulating local economic growth, responding to the scenario of competition for jobs and capital in the quest to obtain federal subsidies among US cities looking to become more integrated into global economic competition.⁶ For the authors, this strategy entails the search for a high-level event that can stimulate and justify local development. Also from a sports perspective, Gastaldo, analyzing the staging of the FIFA World Cup, highlighted the production of interstitial scales in its promotion, preceding and selecting the participation of countries, football confederations, players and fans.⁷

In the cultural sphere, Palmer explored the ethnographic possibilities offered by the involvement of anthropologists in significant domains of global popular culture, reflecting the increasing presence of mega-events in contemporary social life.⁸ Adopting a situational approach to the Tour de France mega-event, the author analyzes the key ways in which local populations are attracted to the process of producing global culture, and emphasizes anthropology's contribution to the analysis of spectacular dimensions of postmodern popular culture.

- 6 Matthew J. Burbank, Greg Andranovich, and Charles H. Heying, "Mega-Events, Urban Development, and Public Policy," *Review of Policy Research* 19, no. 3 (Fall 2002): 179-202, <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1541-1338.2002.tb00301.x>.
- 7 Édison L. Gastaldo, "O 'País do Futebol' Mediatizado: Mídia e Copa do Mundo no Brasil," *Sociologias*, no. 22 (July-December 2009): 352-69, <https://doi.org/10.1590/S1517-45222009000200013>; and Gastaldo, "Copa do Mundo no Brasil: A Dimensão Histórica de um Produto Midiático," *Comunicação & Sociedade* 25, no. 41 (2004): 115-33, <https://doi.org/10.15603/2175-7755/cs.v25n41p115-133>.
- 8 Catherine Palmer, "Le Tour du Monde: Towards an Anthropology of the Global Mega-Event," *The Australian Journal of the Anthropology* 9, no. 3 (December 1998): 265-73, <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1835-9310.1998.tb00196.x>.

From the political, economic or organizational viewpoints, mega-events like the United Nations conferences on environment and sustainable development are still minimally ritualized, though they have been gradually acquiring something of a ritual dimension owing to the importance of the issues covered and the recursivity with which their resolutions are ignored in international relations. Over recent decades, the gaps in these mega-events organized by multilateral agencies have stimulated and favored another sphere of mega-event production: the music or record industry, promoting or sponsoring major musical concerts by famous artists, as well as shows that feature musicians from the same genre and festival revivals like Rock in Rio—which has become a brand outsourced to other countries beyond Brazil.⁹ In this sense, Lipovetsky's analysis of musical mega-events points to the configuration of a new scale of global solidarity, spectacularized and centered on the convergence of resources to support a local cause but of planetary interest.¹⁰

Finally, traversing these diverse spheres involved in the promotion and production of mega-events, the assemblages of global urban tourism sectors have proven to be one of the most active global forces shaping these contemporary phenomena. Indeed, the study by Fainstein and Judd shows that these global forces assemble diverse resources through the redefinition or resignification of local strategies.¹¹ The study of such assemblages in the sphere of cultural productions, as analyzed by Yúdice, complements the comprehension of the procedures mobilized by these global flows, which produce a field of “performative forces” conditioning the strategies of social actors.¹² Agencies involve actors who assemble identity resources retrieved from a “reserve” available in the common trajectories of their cultural formations, in dialogue with cultural models prevalent in globalized society. This prevalence is expressed in the configuration of a field of performative forces that

9 On major musical concerts by famous artists see Gilles Lipovetsky, *El Crepúsculo del Deber: La Ética Indolente de los Nuevos Tiempos Democráticos* [*The Twilight of Duty*], trans. by Juana Bignozzi (Barcelona: Anagrama, 2000).

10 Lipovetsky, *Crepúsculo del Deber*.

11 Susan S. Fainstein and Dennis R. Judd, “Global Forces, Local Strategies, and Urban Tourism,” in *The Tourist City*, ed. by Susan S. Fainstein and Dennis R. Judd (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999), 1-17.

12 Here we use the notion of agency (assemblage) outlined by George Yúdice, *The Expediency of Culture: Uses of Culture in the Global Era* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2003), 2.



condition the action of actors who sometimes impress a dynamic of mobilizing assemblages in the intervals of these models.¹³

These and other studies of mega-events have made explicit some important characteristics involved in their realization: they are global events, insofar as they possess the capacity to attract crowds from diverse areas of the planet, regardless of the places where they are held; they are events with a defined temporality, often short in duration, but with the capacity to produce intensive and contrastive interactions between their participants; they are events increasingly organized as a unity through the interaction of their participants (according to Simmel “unity in an empirical sense is nothing more than the interaction of elements,” as a whole or via social spheres)¹⁴ in social networks at international, regional and local scales; they are events that produce reverberations of their central proceedings in other similar or imitative proceedings, at interstitial scales; and they are events that, as given by their previous characteristics, are realized in a space/place, but in which their participants constitute communities of time.¹⁵

Diverse assemblages are projected in these communities of time, arising from the diversity of actors involved in them, whose absence of organization and control assures a reciprocal perspective on the relations existing among participants of mega-events. Reinforcing this situational perspective, here it is also worth recalling

13 Yúdice, *Expediency of Culture*, 1-8 and chapter 1.

14 Georg Simmel, *Sociology: Inquiries into the Construction of Social Forms*, vol. 1 (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 22.

15 Alfred Schutz, *Collected Papers: 1. The Problem of Social Reality* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1962). According to the author: “In the dimension of time there are with reference to me in my actual biographical moment ‘contemporaries,’ with whom a mutual interplay of action and reaction can be established; ‘predecessors,’ upon whom I cannot act, but whose past actions and their outcome are open to my interpretation and may influence my own actions; and ‘successors,’ of whom no experience is possible but toward whom I may orient my actions in a more or less empty anticipation.” Schutz, *Social Reality*, 15-16. It’s important to highlight that these characteristics have been elaborated in consonance with a typification designed to analyze religious mega-events. Another typification, developed by Muller, for instance, takes into consideration four constitutive dimensions of mega-events (visitor attractiveness, mediated reach, costs and transformative impact) that, applied to the analysis of nine contemporary large-scale events, enabled the author to separate them into three classes distinguished according to size: large events, mega-events and giga-events. See Martin Muller, “What Makes an Event a Mega-Event? Definitions and Sizes,” *Leisure Studies* 34, no. 6, (2015): 634-38, <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/02614367.2014.993333>.



the definition of the notion of event proposed by Damico, drawing from Foucault.

The event is a singular situation that comes into effect in the context of everyday practices and that actualizes the present through movements of experimentation. Every event expresses a permanent reactivation of a practice still to be instituted and implies an actualization and questioning of the reality produced in a singular place and moment; it is always a possibility and an experimentation; it is provisional and non-linear; it is constituted in a sequence of superimposed discontinuities.¹⁶

Setting out from these initial descriptors, therefore, a question surfaces: given the characteristics identified in the promotion of mega-events, in the diverse perspectives and spheres reviewed above, what emerges from these events as a possibility and experimentation in terms of their sequences of superimposed discontinuities?

At the end of the 1990s, announcing the twilight of duty in contemporary life and the inauguration of a painless ethics, Lipovetsky analyzed the promotion of certain mega-events as proceedings that replace the principle of systemic solidarity found in earlier times.¹⁷ Moreover, according to the author, these mega-events promote global and regional connections of multitudes of individuals around planetary causes, such as famine in Africa, destruction of the environment, or opposition to racism, among other issues.

The central question in Lipovetsky's analysis of the importance of mega-events resides in how moving beyond a collective ethics, based on absolute duties over and above individuals, favors the rupturing of social ties and interactions that previously enabled the configuration of discursive contexts that worked to define the relevance of social problems. As the author tells us, the new painless ethics, constituted on the basis of pragmatic and experimental valuations and reasons, is

[...] less demanding for the individual but more socially effective, less categorical for individuals but more pressing for organizations, less sublime but more

16 José G. S. Damico, "Juventudes Governadas: Dispositivos de Segurança e Participação no Guajuviras (Canoas-RS) e Grigny Centre (França)," PhD diss., Universidade Federal do Rio Grande do Sul, 2011, 40. Based on Michel Foucault, "The Discourse on Language," in *Archaeology of Knowledge*, trans. by Alan S. Smith (New York: Pantheon, 1972), 231.

17 Lipovetsky, *Crepúsculo del Deber*.



capable of holding men accountable, less pure but capable of more quickly correcting the various excesses or indignities of democracies.¹⁸

From this viewpoint, mega-events are happenings characteristic of a post-moralist society, where the field of accountability shifts from problems and the solidarity involved in working to resolve them to the sphere of a private ethical accountability.

What interests us here about this process are the shifts taking place between public and private spheres since they should impose discontinuities on social phenomena, which we presume to be perceptible in religious mega-events too. Especially inasmuch as the contemporary promotion of these religious mega-events has diversified and accelerated, they become phenomena important for analysis.

CÍRIO DE NAZARÉ: A RELIGIOUS MEGA-EVENT AND ITS HYBRID ASSEMBLAGES

Describing Círio de Nazaré as a mega-event is not a difficult task. The central rituals have a fixed duration of two weeks, attract a large number of visitors from all over Brazil and abroad; have an enormous spatial and temporal range; involve high financial costs and exert a huge influence on the tourism and services sector of the city and the Amazon area; and cause large impacts on urban space, the local population. In addition, the number of actors and the multiplicity of procedures for organizing the Círio de Nazaré reveal the event's complexity and amplitude, meeting the classification criteria to classify the Círio de Nazaré as a mega-event.¹⁹

Any spectator coming into contact with the huge volume of people participating in the festival,²⁰ held in the first fortnight in October every year, is unlikely not to

18 Lipovetsky, *Crepúsculo del Deber*, 20.

19 Muller, "Mega-Event?"; Pietro Valentino, "A Definition Mega Event," Paper presented at the V Congresso dell'Associazione Italiana di Storia Urbana, Rome, September 10-12, 2011, https://www.researchgate.net/profile/Pietro_Valentino/publication/284157518_A_Definition_Mega_Event/links/564c961708ae3374e5e05025.pdf.

20 Despite the complexity of estimating the size of a multitude in movement, distributed through the streets of the city, for the last ten years the Dieese-PA and the Nazaré Festival Directorate have maintained the estimate that around two million people participate in each edition of the Círio de Nazaré Pilgrimage on the second Sunday of October alone. Meanwhile the Pará State Public Security Office (Segup), in this same period, informed the media that more than a million people participated in the procession on the second Sunday of the festival. The more than 83,000 tourists



feel part of an apparently confused “multitude.”²¹ This experience of forming part of the multitude becomes stronger the more the spectator becomes interested in taking part of the diverse celebrations and manifestations of Círio de Nazaré, in “coevalness” with its actors.²²

and around 15,000 volunteers announced yearly over the last decade also reveal the huge scale of the event. See Victor Furtado, “Dieese-PA Mantém Estimativa de 2 Milhões de Pessoas para o Círio,” *Oliberal.com*, October 10, 2019, <https://www.oliberal.com/cirio/dieese-pa-mantem-estimativa-de-2-milhoes-de-pessoas-para-o-cirio-1.200612>; Roberta Paraense, “Círio de Nazaré Reúne 2 Milhões em Belém,” *O Estado de São Paulo*, October 14, 2018, <https://brasil.estadao.com.br/noticias/geral,cirio-de-nazare-reune-2-milhoes-em-belem,70002547313>; “Procissão Número 225 do Círio de Nazaré Leva 2 Milhões de Pessoas às Ruas de Belém,” *G1 Pará*, October 8, 2017, <https://g1.globo.com/pa/para/cirio-de-nazare/2017/noticia/procissao-numero-225-do-cirio-de-nazare-leva-2-milhoes-de-pessoas-as-ruas-de-belem.ghtml>; “Círio de Nazaré Leva 2 milhões em Procissão de Mais de 5h em Belém,” *G1 Pará*, October 9, 2016, <http://g1.globo.com/pa/para/cirio-de-nazare/2016/noticia/2016/10/cirio-de-nazare-leva-2-milhoes-em-procissao-de-mais-de-5h-em-belem.html>; “Círio de Nazaré 2015 Reúne Mais de 2 Milhões de Fiéis Pelas Ruas de Belém,” *G1 Pará*, October 11, 2015, <http://g1.globo.com/pa/para/cirio-de-nazare/2015/noticia/2015/10/cirio-de-nazare-2015-reune-mais-de-2-milhoes-pelas-ruas-de-belem.html>; Thais Rezende and Natália Mello, “Devotos Louvam a Padroeira no Círio de Nazaré em Belém,” *G1 Pará*, October 12, 2014, <http://g1.globo.com/pa/para/cirio-de-nazare/2014/noticia/2014/10/devotos-louvam-padroeira-no-cirio-de-nazare-em-belem.html>; “Círio de Nazaré 2013 Reúne Número Recorde de Fiéis, Aponta Dieese,” *G1 Pará*, October 13, 2013, <http://g1.globo.com/pa/para/cirio-de-nazare/2013/noticia/2013/10/cirio-de-nazare-2013-reune-numero-recorde-de-fieis-aponta-dieese.html>; Nathália Mello, “Tradição do Círio Marca 220 Anos de Devção Mariana em Belém,” *G1 Pará*, October 14, 2012, <http://g1.globo.com/pa/para/cirio-de-nazare/2012/noticia/2012/10/tradicao-do-cirio-marca-220-anos-de-devocao-mariana-em-belem.html>; Glauco Araújo, “Círio de Nazaré Deve Reunir 2 Milhões de Pessoas Neste Domingo,” *G1 São Paulo*, October 9, 2011, <http://g1.globo.com/brasil/noticia/2011/10/cirio-de-nazare-deve-reunir-2-milhoes-de-pessoas-neste-domingo.html>; and “Círio Bate Recorde e Atrai 2,2 mi de Fiéis em Belém,” *Gazeta do Povo*, October 10, 2010, <https://www.gazetadopovo.com.br/vida-e-cidadania/cirio-bate-recorde-e-atrai-22-mi-de-fieis-em-belem-0v31qdgaaurcmuko0vpgnkymm/>. On the organizational dimension of Círio de Nazaré, see “Roteiros da fé,” *O Diário do Pará*, October 10, 2010 and Diretoria da Festa de Nazaré, “Diretoria do Círio de Nazaré. Organização,” The Nazaré Festival Directorate official website, 2020, <https://ciriodenazare.com.br/site/organizacao/>.

- 21 The central events of Círio (Candle/Taper) and the Festival of Our Lady of Nazareth had taken place on the last Saturday and Sunday of October since 1886. However, “in 1901, the bishop [of Belem] established the second Sunday as the official date of Círio de Nazaré.” Rita Amaral, “O Círio de Nazaré em Belém do Pará,” in *Festa à Brasileira: Sentidos do Festejar no País que “Não é Fério”* (São Paulo: eBooksBrasil.org, 2001). It should be pointed out that the citations referring to the work of Amaral, available on the web as a hypertext, do not include page numbering. José R. Lopes, “Círio de Nazaré: Agenciamentos, Conflitos e Negociação da Identidade Amazônica,” *Religião e Sociedade* 31, no. 1 (June 2011): 155-81, <https://doi.org/10.1590/S0100-85872011000100007>.
- 22 Fabian defines coevalness in ethnographic experience as the sharing of the space and time of the manifestations produced and lived by research subjects, enabling the researcher to objectify the shared lived experience. Johannes Fabian, *Time and the Other: How Anthropology Makes its Object* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2014), 25-35.



In this sense, the spectator or participant of Círio de Nazaré can readily perceive that the celebration's religious motif assumes a central role in the event, orienting the diverse circuits that compose it.²³ Thus, beyond the huge processions involving around two million people during the period of its realization, Círio de Nazaré is also formed by a set of religious and profane manifestations that burst with the potential for investigation and analysis, as can be apprehended from reading previous studies.²⁴

Backed by these readings, we conducted further investigation—using individual ethnographies as our main strategy—on the subsequent editions from 2009, 2010 and 2011 of Círio de Nazaré. Due to its ritual complexity, our goal was to interpret the diverse meanings associated both with the religious and profane participation of the actors (seen, during this observation, as a collective entity) in several events throughout the duration of the Círio, especially during the second weekend, when the main pilgrimage (“Romaria”) takes place. Our efforts to penetrate these symbolic structures and social circuits that constitute the mega-event Círio de Nazaré resulted in impressions that are shared in this paper as a narrative aimed at interpreting the sociocultural forces of this phenomenon as assemblages of interconnected multivocal purposes and actions. Therefore, our understanding and impressions—created by the ethnographies—manifest as “meaningful textual

- 23 By circuit we refer to a specific route demarcated by the movements of significant actors in the production of the festive event. This circuit demarcating the processional rituals that occur during the festival is related to the original events that compose the imaginary of the finding of the saint and its historical, or mythological, developments. On this point, see Isidoro M. S. Alves, *O Carnaval Devoto: Um Estudo Sobre a Festa de Nazaré, em Belém* (Petropolis: Vozes, 1980); Amaral, “Círio de Nazaré;” Raymundo H. Maués, *O Homem que Achou a Santa: Plácido José de Souza e a Devoção à Virgem de Nazaré* (Belem, PA: Alves Gráfica e Editora, 2009); and Lucília da S. Matos, “Belém em Festa: A Economia Lúdica da Fé no Círio de Nazaré,” PhD diss., Pontifícia Universidade Católica de São Paulo, 2010.
- 24 Vanda Pantoja, “Negócios Sagrados: Notas Sobre o Círio de Nazaré em Belém-Pará,” *Novos Cadernos NAEA* 15, no. 2, (December 2012): 261-78, <http://dx.doi.org/10.5801/ncn.v15i2.682>; Vanda Pantoja, “Negócios Sagrados: Reciprocidade e Mercado no Círio de Nazaré,” Master’s thesis, Universidade Federal do Pará, 2006; Matos, “Belém em Festa;” Amaral, “Círio de Nazaré;” Larissa L. P. Sare, “A Serpente no Asfalto: Estudo Compreensivo do Espetáculo da Corda dos Promesseiros no Círio de Nazaré em Belém do Pará,” PhD diss., Universidade Federal da Bahia, 2005; Regina Alves, “Círio de Nazaré: Da Taba Marajoara a Aldeia Global,” Master’s thesis, Universidade Federal do Pará, 2002; Silvio L. Figueiredo, ed., *Círio de Nazaré: Festa e Paixão* (Belem, PA: EDUFPA, 2005); and Mary L. Del Priore, *Festas e Utopias no Brasil Colonial* (São Paulo: Brasiliense, 2000).





Figure 1. Saturday, Oct. 10, 2009, 4:45 p.m.: Basilica Sanctuary of Our Lady of Nazareth. Photo by José Lopes.

undertaking,” situated both historically and culturally by the readings and the individual net of relationships arranged by the authors during the observation of three editions of this religious mega-event.²⁵

The initial terms used to describe Círio de Nazaré—multitude, intensity, emotion, apparent confusion—project the perceptions registered in the fieldworks undertaken under the influence of the intense stimuli to which a popular religious celebration of this magnitude exposes the anthropologist.

The preliminary research involved learning about the procession of Círio de Nazaré and observing the preparations on its eve. The routes of these processions have remained the same for several years and the streets through which the processions pass are always lined with festival posters, displayed like flags on the street posts. Along the various routes taken to immerse ourselves in the ritual, walking from the Gentil Bittencourt School, in the city center to the Docks and the Ver o Peso Market on the shores of the Guajará river, passing by the Basilica (Figure 1) as far as the Sé Cathedral (and some distance beyond this circuit), we see that the

25 The idea of a meaningful textual undertaking as a “textualization” of the fieldwork experience was appropriated from James Clifford’s reading, “On Ethnographic Authority,” *Representations*, no. 2 (Spring 1983). <https://doi.org/10.2307/2928386>.

city of Belém is adorned with enormous banners in homage to the image of the Lady of Nazareth, simply called “Saint” by many worshipers. On the same routes, residential and commercial buildings are decorated with small altars or replicas of the *Berlinda* (a shrine on a carriage surrounded with flowers) that protects the sacred image, and small printed or hand painted banners are displayed in stores and houses, almost all of them decorated with colorful balloons, woven like ropes. This “devotional attire” projects an atmosphere of the affective intensity generated by the Círio de Nazaré processions, by the city’s worshipers and by the hundreds of thousands of pilgrims who visit Belém during the festival.

The impression obtained from walking these routes is of an exteriorization of devotional motifs that contribute to the relational appropriation of the representations of the *Senhora de Nazaré* (Lady of Nazareth) in the processions. The idea that, in the festival, relational appropriations occur with the representations of the Virgin of Nazareth are already found in the book by Alves.²⁶ However, these are described by the author as tense and circular appropriations of the production of the festival, mobilized either by the popular and devout sectors, or by ecclesiastical control, or by sectors of the political elite or local economy. Here we seek to broaden the meaning of these appropriations by arguing that it produces an urban ambiance.

This includes both the most common type of appropriation mobilized by the devotional nature of the representations through proximity to the image of the Lady of Nazareth during the parades, and another less common but readily apparent type of appropriation mobilized by the association between devotional representations and the identificatory or socio-political representations usually present in the phrases on the displayed banners. Common themes of Círio de Nazaré like faith, grace, peace, harmony, celebration and communitarianism are associated with others like ethics, cures, Mother Amazon, ethnic diversity, work and prosperity, in an atmosphere that blends into mysticism during the parades.

Almost all the activities of Círio de Nazaré are surrounded by the effects of spectacularization. At the beginning of the parades it is common to see helicopters

26 Alves, *Carnaval Devoto*.

hovering over the festival sites, sirens announcing the approach of the image in the parades, fireworks exploding in their thousands and forming artificial gray clouds in the city sky, restless pilgrims toasting under the sun as it scalds the asphalt. Everywhere you look during these activities, an anxious multitude can be seen, trying to catch a glimpse of the central motif of the event: the image of *Nossa Senhora de Nazaré* (Our Lady of Nazareth). A moving centrality, suggesting the search for a religious meaning amid the immanence of the fascination exerted by the spectacularized ritual, sacrifice and sacred image—the meaning immanent to the urgency of earthly life and the mystical.²⁷

Between the Saturdays and Sundays of the festival fortnight, people jostle for a space closer to the path of the image. On the final Saturday, after the River Pilgrimage, departing from the pier on the Guajará river shortly before midday, tens of thousands of motorcyclists on the motorbike pilgrimage lead the image to the Gentil Bittencourt School. The motorcyclists wear T-shirts printed with festival motifs, displaying the various uniforms of the groups with which they are identified. Wherever the image passes, thousands of devotees take out their mobile phones, cameras and digital camcorders, competing for the best angle to capture images of the *Imagem Peregrina* (“Pilgrim Mother” is another name for Our Lady of Nazareth’s image). Whether in the Masses or during the transfer processions held on the final weekend of the festival, the multitude swarms around the image, trying to touch it.

The image remains close to the worshipers throughout the festival, whether during the processions, in the Masses, or at the sites where it is displayed, highlighting a sense of belonging open to touch and affection, characteristic of the devotion’s history.²⁸ This, as Amaral writes, is singularized as an encounter in which the sacred and the devotees are objectified:

In this context, the presence of the saint is fundamental, insofar as it is “willing”

27 Jean Baudrillard, *In the Shadow of the Silent Majorities*, trans. by Paul Foss, Paul Patton and John Johnston (New York: Semiotext(e), 1983).

28 See Alves, *Carnaval Devoto*; Amaral, “Círio de Nazaré;” Maués, *Plácido Jose*; and Carlos Rocque, *História do Círio de Nazaré* (Belem, PA: Mitograph, 1981).





to take part in the festival at the same level as the people. The latter, for their part, at the ritual moment, are able to grasp a deeper dimension, that is, the dimension of life itself [...]. Approaching the saint closely during the procession also implies a simplification of the relationship with the sacred, which becomes more direct.²⁹

And more ritualistic, we would add.

After the departure of the motorbike pilgrimage, the *Arrastão do Pavulagem* (literally translated as Presumption Trawling) leaves the *Praça dos Estivadores* (Stevedore Plaza) on an alternative circuit, leading thousands more people (Figure 2). This parade is led by a group of local artists dressed as traditional pilgrims, some using stilts, others appearing as Pierrots with their face painted white, and a lively band playing music and songs exalting the festival, popular worship, the *miriti* toys and Amazonian culture in general.³⁰

Figure 2. Saturday, Oct. 10, 2009, 12:26 p.m.: Arrastão do Boi da Pavulagem through the streets of Belém. The participants wear straw hats with colorful satin ribbons, the traditional procession prop. Photo by José Lopes.

29 See Amaral, "Círio de Nazaré."

30 The name *Arrastão da Pavulagem* is a reference to the *Arrastão do Boi (Ox) da Pavulagem*, which

This parade continues to the Largo do Carmo, in the Old Town, close to the Sé Cathedral. After arriving at this destination, following some exaltations and more music played by the *Arraial do Pavulagem* (Presumption Village) band, many parade participants scatter through the streets to the bars of the Old Town, while others return to the Docks or the city center.

This assemblage around the festival makes explicit an organization of artists and cultural agents from Belém dedicated to researching and disseminating aspects of the popular culture of Pará and the Amazon area:

The Arraial do Pavulagem Institute is an autonomous, nonprofitmaking civil society organization, founded in 2003. Over its existence, the Institute has developed cultural education projects in Amazonia that contribute to transmitting and strengthening traditional oral knowledge, pursuing a contemporary reading through languages like dance, music and theatrical visibility. In almost a decade of activities, the Institute has seen its main projects take to the streets: the popular culture parades “Arrastão do Pavulagem,” “Arrastão do Círio,” “Cordão do Galo” and “Cordão do Peixe-Boi.” These parades are complemented by workshops, lectures, seminars, research, extension projects, singing circles, essays, exhibitions and shows that valorise and propagate Amazonia’s artistic manifestations.³¹

Although the route of the Arrastão takes a different direction to the motorbike procession, it is complementary precisely because it suggests an opposition of popular participation within the festival, as Amaral observes: “effective popular participation in the festival takes place [...] in the opposite direction to order and

is a traditional Brazilian folkloric parade of the city of Belém do Pará, during the June festivities in praise of Catholic saints. In turn, the expression *arrastão* is related to fishing with a trawl, referring to the fishing activity, one of the traditional forms of income in the Amazon area. *Miriti* toys are traditional toys produced by craft makers from riverside areas of the state, like those in the town of Abatetuba, which use the fiber of the miriti palm as a raw material. The term usually refers to *Mauritia flexuosa* (*Mauritia vinifera* Mart.), a very tall palm native to Trinidad and Tobago and the central and northern regions of South America, especially Venezuela and Brazil.

31 Instituto Arraial do Pavulagem, “Arraial do Pavulagem,” Arraial do Pavulagem Institute website, 2018, <https://arraialdopavulagem.wordpress.com/instituto/>.





control.”³² Walking in the opposite direction to the motorbike procession, but within the circuit of the festival’s main processions, the Arrastão do Pavulagem complements and demarcates the limits of the festival’s territoriality (Figure 3). In this way, it comprises a supplementary element to the complex circuit of this mega-event, configuring it as a diffuse ritual.³³

Figure 3. Sunday, Oct. 9, 2010, 11:53 a.m.: Boi da Tarja Preta de Ourém - PA, are invited to attend Arrastão do Boi da Pavulagem (literally translated as Presumption Trawling) Photo by André Silva.

At the end of the afternoon on the final Saturday of the festival a Mass is held at Gentil Bittencourt School. After the Mass, a crowd gathers in front of the school to accompany the departure of the shrine with the image and the forming of the rope, which then proceeds along various avenues (Magalhães Barata, Nazaré and Presidente Vargas), Castilho França Boulevard, Praça do Relógio to the Sé Cathedral in the Old Town district (Figure 4). In this procession, called Transladação (The Transfer), those holding the rope are mainly young people who

32 See Amaral, “Círio de Nazaré.”

33 The argument that Círio de Nazaré is a diffuse ritual was developed in an earlier study by Lopes, “Agenciamentos, Conflitos e Negociação.” This expands on Alves’s idea that it involves a complex ritual, based on the perception that Círio de Nazaré incorporates these and other manifestations in its festive-devotional circuits, which traverse each other in overlapping flows, despite the fact that the *Programação do Círio*, the official program distributed by the Círio de Nazaré Festival Directorate, describes only the religious events taking place in the city over the period. See Alves, *Carnaval Devoto*.



Figure 4. Saturday, Oct. 9, 2010, 10:43 p.m.: *Trasladação*, the nighttime pilgrimage. The devotees strive to take hold of the rope tied down to the *Berlinda*, at least at some part of the route. Photo by André Silva.

perform the slow walk and the “centipede-like” or “serpentine” choreography configured by this sacrificial parade through Belém’s streets.³⁴ These youthful devotees and pilgrims are fulfilling vows for requests made for work, health, success in university, entrance exams and so on—a fact we were able to observe in our conversations with some of the young people in the parade or when they deposited ex-votos and prayers in the urns storing the missives of the pilgrims and devotees in the churches and pilgrimage sites.

Another important aspect of this parade, repeated in the Sunday morning procession, is the large number of volunteers working in these manifestations. We had already observed this surplus of volunteers when we accompanied the processions, but were only able to understand its magnitude when the *Diário do Pará* newspaper published the festival figures in a booklet with the poster of the saint:

25,353 people involved in the organization (volunteers, health workers, security and support); DIEESE and the Festival Director estimate that 2.1 million people would participate in the festival. After [the event] this figure was determined as 2.2 million; 69,000 tourists are expected in Belém; US\$ 25 million is estimated to be earned from tourism; the festival turnover this year is expected to be worth R\$ 700 million. A 30% growth in the informal market; R\$ 2 million is set to be spent on holding the Círio 2010 (the most expensive Círio in history). This amount is 10% higher than last year.³⁵

34 See Sare, “A serpente no asfalto.”

35 See “Roteiros da Fé.”

It is on the Sunday of the festival, however, that the true dimension of the mega-event becomes clear. From 5 a.m. on, the main parade of Círio de Nazaré can be watched on public and private TV channels, which broadcast the procession until its conclusion, around midday, at the Basilica of Nazareth. This media assemblage focuses intensively on Círio de Nazaré with dozens of cameras set up at strategic points of the processions and of the circulation of visitors throughout the city. It first began to make itself more present in the festivals held in the mid-1990s, as Amaral observes:

[...] everyone [...] has noted that the real force that has been emerging and “messing” with the Círio is television, which, to transmit the festival, occupies too many places, bothers the participants and generates an exhibitionist character, whether in the fair of Nazaré, or in the big procession. Everyone also acknowledges that the TV coverage helped bring awareness not just about the festival but, through it, about Pará and, especially, Belém, which previously had not been “part of Brazil.”³⁶

Although we recognize the importance of the media for certain apprehensions of the real in contemporary life, including its establishment of virtual interlocutions, it is necessary to stress that the media only ever establishes cross-sections of reality, defined by the technology being used, the framing concepts, the display of images and the timing that it imprints on the flows of imagery. These procedures create a product and type of knowledge that, according to Bettanini, is always partial knowledge of what happens at a distance.³⁷

Thus, the TV productions explore various angles in their coverage of the event, placing cameras (fixed and mobile) along the routes or inviting guests into their studios to comment on aspects of the festival and what is happening. Watching the broadcast reveals many other facets of the festival and its assemblages, displayed by the commentators, generally reinforcing Alves’s definition of them as components

36 Amaral, “Círio de Nazaré.”

37 See Tonino Bettanini, *Espaço e Ciências Humanas*, trans. by Liliana L. Fernandes (Rio de Janeiro: Paz e Terra, 1982).

of a complex ritual,³⁸ but also describing various innovations produced over recent years. This assemblage is so important that during the 2010 festival, a year when elections were being held across the country, the TSE (Supreme Electoral Court) and the local TRE (Regional Electoral Court), in agreement with the candidates, suspended television broadcasting of presidential election propaganda on the Sunday of Círio de Nazaré, complying with a request made by the festival directorate.³⁹

These commentators, including Barnabite priests, laypersons helping coordinate the festival, cultural agents and researchers from Pará Federal University, express many shared ideas and some more occult divergences. Whether commenting on images from the festival coverage, providing information on the event's organization, or interpreting historical and contemporary aspects of this huge religious production, the expositors configure a media field of reflexivity, which helps synthesize aspects convergent with the principle informing its elaboration.⁴⁰

This media field of reflexivity introduced us to an important sphere of realization of the Círio de Nazaré festival, namely the flows produced at the interstitial scales of its promotion, which select and prepare the participation of pilgrims, devotees and tourists. Thus, the commentaries of local researchers, heard in the TV programs, help integrate the meanings of these flows by simply and concisely describing the festival's elements as they circulate between people's houses (as an expression of family ties and the extended community) and the festival itself (marked by the presence and actions of the pilgrims in the processions, and the image of Our Lady of Nazareth).⁴¹

38 Alves, *Carnaval Devoto*.

39 "No Pará, Propaganda Eleitoral na TV é Suspensa pelo Círio de Nazaré," G1 Globo, October 10, 2010, <http://g1.globo.com/especiais/eleicoes-2010/noticia/2010/10/no-para-propaganda-eleitoral-na-tv-e-suspensa-pelo-cirio-de-nazare.html>.

40 Eduardo A. Vizer, *A Trama (in)visível da Vida Social: Comunicação, Sentido e Realidade* (Porto Alegre: Sulina, 2011).

41 These elements are verified in the study by Alves, *Carnaval Devoto*, and developed further by Raymundo H. Maués and Maria A. M. Maués, "'Feliz Círio!' Relatos, Interpretações e Memórias Afetivas de um Casal de Antropólogos," in *Círio de Nazaré: Festa e Paixão*, ed. Silvio L. Figueiredo (Belém, PA: EDUFPA, 2005), 41-63, and Raymundo H. Maués and Vanda Pantoja, "O Círio de Nazaré na Constituição e Expressão de uma Identidade Regional Amazônica," *Espaço e Cultura*, no. 24 (July-December 2008): 57-68.





Figure 5. Sunday, Oct. 9, 2011, 11:30 a.m.: The faithful jostle for a space to complete the procession holding the enormous rope tied down to the Berlinda. Photo by José Lopes.

One of these flows, regularly remarked upon, concerns the networks of little chapels of Our Lady of Nazareth, whose members make pilgrimages from the towns and communities of inland Pará to Belém throughout the year.⁴² Here it is a question of an institutionally controlled assemblage directly related to the central event of Círio de Nazaré, reproduced at diverse scales of worship that organize, stimulate and dynamize the devotional cycles and pilgrims for the festival. The annual duration of these cycles of pilgrimages from chapels, organized among groups of devotee family members, constantly renews the flows of elements from the festival and diffuses its meanings among families of worshipers and their territorialities throughout the Amazon area.

Beyond the reality transmitted by the TV stations, during the main Sunday of the festival, in the streets of Belém, the ethnographic records on the procession of the

42 These small chapels are similar in terms of the form and organization of their devotional networks to the community worship model of the networks of chapels of Our Lady of Shoenstatt, or of the Immaculate Heart of Mary, which form part of family networks in urban districts throughout large regions of the south and southeast of Brazil. See André L. da Silva, "FACES DE MARIA. Catolicismo, Conflito Simbólico e Identidade: Um Estudo Sobre a Devoção a Nossa Senhora de Shoenstatt na Cidade de Ubatuba," Master's thesis, Pontifícia Universidade Católica de São Paulo, 2003, and Marta R. Borin, "Por um Brasil Católico: Tensão e Conflito no Campo Religioso da República (Rio Grande do Sul, 1900-1930)," PhD diss., Universidade do Vale dos Sinos, 2010. Based on data from postgraduate students at Pará Federal University, who have studied these networks and their pilgrimages to Círio de Nazaré in 2009, one researcher stated in an interview transmitted live by TV RBA: "this year a total of 4,200 chapels were registered by the Festival's staff." (Field notes, October 10, 2009).

night before multiplying in intensity and volume in contact with the manifestation. Many more pilgrims pulling the rope (Figure 5), many more tourists watching, much more water being served to pilgrims or poured over them, packed stands along the procession route, showers of flowers and confetti dropped from buildings and helicopters following the *Berlinda de Nossa Senhora de Nazaré* (Shrine of Our Lady of Nazareth), produce the atmosphere of the festival's climax, accompanied by religious music, songs and prayers played one after the other over the loudspeaker system.

Moving about during the pilgrimage becomes extremely difficult due to the size of the procession and the sheer number of people packing the avenues, sidewalks and buildings. Even outside the space delimited for the procession, the volume of people circulating along the parade route discourages any idea of moving around. Very often it is necessary to circle around entire blocks to either approach or move away from the stations that form part of the rope and the pilgrims going to the Shrine of the "Saint."

Everywhere pilgrims can be seen carrying replicas of the images of Our Lady of Nazareth on their head or chest, or miniatures of houses, chapels and boats, and other icons forming part of the mythological narrative of the "finding" of the sacred image and the development of her devotion. Personal assemblages that blend into the multitude, composing a setting of devotional offerings, reflecting the system of gifts and obligations that characterize the relations based on vows in popular religiosity⁴³ (Figure 6). However, in alignment with the production of diversity typical of mega-events, in the Círio Festival, these assemblages merge with the introduction of modern religious music in the sound system that surrounds and mobilizes the processions, by the followers of the Charismatic movement who are slowly occupying more and more important spaces in the festival's organization or in the support team. The intensity of the music of the charismatic artists from the religious movement can be heard during the festival's main days and are very often criticized by local actors who complain that it decontextualizes the regional

43 Etienne Higuete, "O Misticismo na Experiência Católica," in *Religiosidade Popular e Misticismo no Brasil*, ed. Etienne Higuete et al. (São Paulo: Paulinas, 1984), 21-62.





identity. Involved here is an assemblage that extends beyond the regional context of Amazonia, since these changes are mobilized by the charismatics in their activities as promoters or organizers of various other festivities across the country.⁴⁴

On the arrival at the Basilica of Nazareth, after fireworks and firecrackers bursting for several minutes, the Shrine of Our Lady is taken down from the pickup truck and transferred to an altar in the plaza in front of the building where a Mass is held. After the Mass, the streets of the city empty, literally, with people moving indoors to celebrate at home with family and friends.

THE SPHERES OF CONTROL AND NORMALIZATION OF THE RELIGIOUS MEGA-EVENT

Other festive circuits of the Círio, recognized during the process of listing this manifestation as intangible cultural heritage, are also important assemblages of this mega-event, though they generate debates and divergences among its actors and the festival directorate.⁴⁵ The most controversial occurs on the final Saturday of

Figure 6. Sunday, Oct. 10, 2010, 9:40 a.m.: During the Círio procession, many devotees cover the route walking on their knees. Photo by André Silva.

44 Steil, "Peregrinações Católicas."

45 Márcio C. Henrique, "Do Ponto de Vista do Pesquisador: O Processo de Registro do Círio de Nazaré Como Patrimônio Cultural Brasileiro," *Amazônica* 3, no. 2 (2011): 324-46, <http://dx.doi.org/10.18542/amazonica.v3i2.771>.

the festival. After the passage of the Transfer Procession through the Plaza of the Republic, the actors from Belém's GLBTI movements and organizations hold the Chiquita Festival in front of the Teatro da Paz.⁴⁶ In Souza's description:

The Chiquita Festival gathers around 40,000 people each year in a parade that gathers in the Bar do Parque in the Plaza of the Republic and begins shortly after the Transfer, continuing until the beginning of the procession of the Círio. There is just one objective: paying homage to the Virgin Mary. The fact is that this homage involves a lavish spectacle filled with color, plumes and glitter. The climax of the festival is the crowning of the "Golden Queer," a prize given by the organizers to someone who caught the attention due to the Drag Queen costume during the event. The manifestation has been an "official" popular tradition of the Nazaré festival since 1976, when it was called the "Maria Chikita Festival," created by the Pará singer Eloy Iglesias.⁴⁷

This assemblage dialogues objectively with the realization of the festival, assuming an important role in the configuration of the tradition, as explained by one of its coordinators to Souza:

"Whatever is pertinent and, therefore, finds a correspondence transform into a tradition and is assimilated since it converges with the central objective, which is to praise the Saint. Whatever is not pertinent, does not flourish," Zélia Amador continues. It is in this interim that, from the aesthetic point of view, we can see, in the Nazaré context, manifestations that range from the sublime to the grotesque—that is, moments that involve everything from the purest form of the sacred, like the solemn celebration of the Eucharist in Catholic worship to the Chiquita Festival promoted by the GLBTI community.⁴⁸

46 See Pedro A. Sanches, "Paradoxo do Círio de Nazaré, Gays da Festa da Chiquita Roubam Cena nas Ruas de Belém," *Uol Notícias*, October 11, 2009, <https://noticias.uol.com.br/cotidiano/2009/10/11/ult5772u5648.jhtm>.

47 Jéssica Souza, "Manifestações Profanas Dividem Espaço no Calendário," *Jornal da Universidade Federal do Pará*, no. 65 (October 2008). <http://www.jornalbeiradorio.ufpa.br/novo/index.php/2008/13-edicao-65/129--manifestacoes-profanas-dividem-espaco-no-calendario->.

48 Souza, "Manifestações profanas."



Another assemblage, more legitimized by the festival coordinators, is the *Auto do Círio* (Tapper Play), a manifestation made by university students that dramatizes historic and contemporary elements of the Círio de Nazaré, combining components of Amazonian identities in dialogue with artistic, theatrical and circus expressions. The Auto do Círio occurs on a Friday preceding the final Sunday of the Círio, at night, in the historic center of Belém.

Alves had already described the presence of theatre and circus groups, but not recognized, or established, how these presences are projected or connected as assemblages in the flows of the festival.⁴⁹ The study by Matos, which reassesses the degree of involvement of these groups in the circuits of the festival, after the listing of the Círio de Nazaré as intangible cultural heritage by IPHAN (National Historical and Artistic Heritage Institute), indicates that the Auto do Círio forms part of the goods listed in this process and transcribes the testimony given by its organizer:⁵⁰

The recognition was particularly important since it provided a national projection to the Auto do Círio. This seal from IPHAN was created in 2003. I recall that, beside Círio, three other manifestations were apparently included. When Círio was listed it created a huge commotion, since in the interviews we always spoke about the manifestations that were studied and that formed part of the book and Auto do Círio is there. Whenever we give interviews, we say that the Auto do Círio is a manifestation recognized along with Círio as the Intangible Cultural Heritage of the Brazilian people.

We began to feel a very large responsibility, a responsibility to maintain this tradition, a tradition not from the kind of traditionalist viewpoint from which the Festival Directorate and the TV divulge the Círio, but as something ancient, very correct. Círio is not like that, Círio has a lot of carnivalization, which is different from carnival. The Círio has a lot of carnivalization because it is colorful, it is festive.⁵¹

49 Alves, *Carnaval Devoto*.

50 Matos, "Belém em Festa."

51 Matos, 159-60.

The testimony of Santa Brígida, as well as that of Zélia Amador transcribed by Souza, evokes a view of tradition distinct from the view “which the Festival Directorate and the TV reveal,” suggesting that the manifestations that they coordinate form part of Círio, but impress their own meanings on their contributions, as in the assertion by Amaral that popular participation in the festival is in the opposite direction to order and control.⁵²

Here it becomes perceptible that the Festival of the Círio de Nazaré is composed and reproduced from the synthesis of various mediations. In this sense, the previous emphases on the negotiation of the traditional character imbuing the legitimacy of the Círio were possible because the process of cultural heritage recognition—despite the bias evident in its technical dossier—shifted the perspective from a religious good that founded the Festival and its devotional cycle to the wider dimension of an “expressive [cultural] manifestation,” as elaborated by Martins.⁵³

52 Amaral, “Círio de Nazaré.” It should be recognized that this model of oscillation of appropriations operated by actors vis-à-vis the meaning of the religious festivals is not limited to the manifestations of Círio de Nazaré. Analyses undertaken by Del Priore on festivals in colonial Brazil, by Braga on the pilgrimages to Juazeiro do Norte, and by Brandão on the reciprocal meanings of participation among popular devotees in other religious festivals have already made clear this appropriation of tangible and intangible goods that converge in devotional cycles. See Del Priore, *Festas e Utopias*; Antônio M. da C. Braga, *Padre Cícero: Sociologia de um Padre, Antropologia de um Santo* (Bauru, SP: EDUSC, 2008); and Carlos R. Brandão, *Prece e Folia, Festa e Romaria* (Aparecida, SP: Ideias e Letras, 2010). One of the most fruitful interpretations of this model of oscillation is presented by Steil in his analysis of the pilgrimages to the Sanctuary of the Good Jesus of Lapa, which, making use of the notion of a “religious void” described by Eade and Sallnow, explains how the dynamic of the pilgrimages constitutes a game “capable of adapting meanings and diverse practices [...] within which are defined religious belongings and social identities. In this sense, the ritual of the pilgrimage mobilizes a kind of union of opposites in which the two logics are articulated without one excluding the other.” Carlos A. Steil, “Romeiros e Turistas no Santuário de Bom Jesus da Lapa,” *Horizontes Antropológicos* 9, no. 20 (October 2003): 259.

53 Pedro Martins, “Cabo-verdianos em Lisboa: Manifestações Expressivas e Reconstrução Identitária,” *Horizontes Antropológicos* 15, no. 31 (January-June 2009): 241-62. <https://doi.org/10.1590/S0104-71832009000100010>. According to the author, “expressive manifestations” serve as a “category of analysis that encompasses all the manifestations capable of expressing a form or aesthetic content allied to any identity content.” Martins, “Cabo-verdianos em Lisboa,” 243. Convergent with this notion in the configuration of these expressions are the ideas of invented tradition (E. Hobsbawm), imagined community (B. Anderson) and aesthetic attitudes (J. Duvignaud). Reviewing the contributions of these authors, Martins argues that “aesthetic attitudes vary according to social frameworks and, therefore, only convey an original meaning in the context from which they emerge. The aesthetic attitude or the product of it acquire new meaning when observed outside the social framework that gave rise to it.” (Martins, 244). This contribution is important since it



Continuing in this direction, Graburn, when analyzing the ethnic tourism projects in China and Japan, adds the idea of “expressive manifestations” in affirming that such projects are assembled by diffuse investments that resolve into a regional version of the global “theory of convergence,” producing “veritable simulacra of communities [...] not only for the tourist faze, but also for interactive performances” that reinforce community relations through the reconstruction of their traditions.⁵⁴

In this sense, the notion of “expressive [cultural] manifestations” exposes the tension generated between conceptions of authenticity and reproduction in religious mega-events, as collective and idealized projections of the assemblages and identity flows operating within them, simultaneously complementing the ritual circuits of these devotional cycles and contributing to their symbolic capital. Diverse actors operate in these manifestations—not exclusively religious—that assemble narratives, identities and memories concerning the cultural heritage registration process of the manifestation, without necessarily demanding religious recognition of their agencies. For these actors, the cultural heritage process serves as a reference to a collective good, which processes relevant cultural logics within a determined context.⁵⁵

In sum, the Círio de Nazaré Festival is composed as a religious mega-event that should be conceived via the logic through which it establishes a network with other contiguous events in singular spatial and temporal cycles, all of them centered on the Belém festival. This centrality is organized by tense and conflicting internal flows, arising from the assemblage strategies of local actors, and these assemblages seek to superimpose themselves on others.

emphasizes the influence of exogenous actors on the events in terms of attributing new meanings to the aesthetic attitudes produced in the social framework from which they originated. On the technical dossier's bias, see Henrique, “Processo registro do Círio.”

54 Nelson Graburn, “Reconstruindo a Tradição: Turismo e Modernidade na China e no Japão,” *Revista Brasileira de Ciências Sociais* 23, no. 68 (October 2008): 12, <http://dx.doi.org/10.1590/S0102-69092008000300002>.

55 A character strengthened by the title of Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity, declared by UNESCO in October 2014. Organização das Nações Unidas – ONU, “Círio de Nazaré é Declarado Patrimônio Imaterial da Humanidade da UNESCO,” Nações Unidas Brasil, October 8, 2014. <https://nacoesunidas.org/cirio-de-nazare-e-declarado-patrimonio-imaterial-da-humanidade-da-unesco/>.



While it is evident that the Círio de Nazaré Festival today produces a gravitational field attracting the other commemorations, the latter also clearly either copy its characteristics, reproducing its events and modes of organization in miniature, or innovate or actualize their elements in new ritual combinations. Examples of the projection of these flows outside their context can be observed in the passage of the “Pilgrim Mother” (Our Lady of Nazareth’s image) through Rio de Janeiro, an event repeated since 2009, when the former archbishop of Belém, Dom Orani João Tempesta, became the archbishop of Rio de Janeiro and promoted an encounter between the Our Lady of Nazareth and Christ the Redeemer.⁵⁶ In 2011, this visit occurred in other capitals of the country, like Porto Alegre, where a set of specific activities from the ritual circuits of the Belém festival was reproduced.⁵⁷

Thus, the diffuse rituals that inform Círio de Nazaré operate with and through the exteriorization of religious-heritage goods, reaching broader scales in which intersections with other goods of the same kind occur. The broader character of these strategic assemblages is that of an inclusive formation that, by agglutinating the diversity making up this mega-event, implies the need to produce a “negotiation of reality.”⁵⁸

The context of this negotiation began to develop in the mid-2000s, especially following the huge upsurge in TV broadcasters transmitting the event, combined with the official recognition of Círio de Nazaré Festival as intangible heritage. Simultaneous or subsequent to these two contexts we can identify the emergence of a series of perceptions concerning the way in which these flows are projected and frequently superimposed.⁵⁹ In other words, we argue that the television broadcasts

56 “Católicos Fazem Festa para Receber Imagem de Nossa Senhora de Nazaré,” G1 Rio, September 19, 2009, <http://g1.globo.com/Noticias/Rio/0,,MUL1310684-5606,00-CATOLICOS+FAZEM+FESTA+PARA+RECEBER+IMAGEM+DE+NOSSA+SENHORA+DE+NAZARE.html>.

57 For an updated list of Círio de Nazaré Festivals in Brazil and elsewhere in the world, consult Ronaldo G. Hühn, ed., *Círios de Nazaré 24* (Belem, PA: Editora Círios, 2019), <https://issuu.com/revistaamazonia/docs/cirios2019>.

58 Schutz, *Social Reality*; Gilberto Velho, *Projeto e Metamorfose: Antropologia das Sociedades Complexas* (Rio de Janeiro: Zahar Editores, 1994); and Luiz F. D. Duarte, “Ethos Privado e Justificação Religiosa: Negociações da Reprodução na Sociedade Brasileira,” in *Sexualidade, Família e Ethos Religioso*, ed. by Maria L. Heilborn et al. (Rio de Janeiro: Garamond, 2005), 137-76.

59 Alves, “Taba Marajoara Aldeia Global,” and Regina Alves, “O Manto, a Mitra e o Microfone: A Mediação do Círio de Nazaré em Belém do Pará,” PhD diss., Universidade Federal do Pará, 2012;



of the festival, at national level, and the legitimization of the goods (manifestations) that compose it, officially recognized by IPHAN and the title of Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity declared by UNESCO in 2014, have had a marked influence on the tense interplay of projections mobilized by the actors, in this model of oscillation of appropriations, modifying their valuation meaning.

In response to the constant expansion of these flows, the Festival Directorate has become professionalized over recent years, instituting a bureaucratic organizational logic that oscillates between religious and commercial promotion.⁶⁰

Simultaneous to this perception, observing the changes to the Official Program of the Círio de Nazaré over the last few years it is clear that the reflexivity operating between the convergences and divergences of the actors in the event also enables the festival management to create strategies to control internal tensions of the event through the inclusion or separation of the diverse expressive manifestations that make themselves present in this devotional cycle. Examples of such changes can be perceived, among other strategies, in the gradual incorporation of some activities into the Official Program of the Círio over the last few years: both the introduction of competitions that regulate and award prizes for the decorations of houses and buildings on the route of the processions, or appropriate photos and videos produced by participants in the festival and turn them into cultural heritage, and the realization of seminars that gather social scientists to reflect on the character of the changes in contemporary religious festivals, which provide important inputs for the festival coordinators themselves. As we could ascertain from our observations from 2009 to 2011, this reflexivity is constantly mobilized by the actors involved in the event, but their syntheses are multiple. In some cases, it is located

Pantoja, "Reciprocidade e Mercado no Círio;" and Matos, "Belém em Festa."

60 Pantoja, "Notas Sobre o Círio," and "Reciprocidade e Mercado no Círio;" and Matos, "Belém em festa." The process of this professionalization and bureaucratization, described by Pantoja "Notas Sobre o Círio," and "Reciprocidade e Mercado no Círio," involved the conducting of a Catholic census in the Belém region in 2005, the subsequent hiring of Catholic marketers, the elaboration of the PPOCN (Official Sponsorship Project for the Círio de Nazaré), the creation of ADENAZA (Association of Devotees of Our Lady of Nazareth), and the application to register the trademark Círio. This process is a characteristic that affects every festive mega-event, as analyzed by Farias in studies of Brazilian North-eastern popular festivals. See Edson S. Farias, *Ócio e Negócio: Festas Populares e Entretenimento-turismo no Brasil* (Curitiba: Appris, 2011).



Figure 7. Friday, Oct. 8, 2010, 7:55 p.m.: A cluster of people at Auto do Círio, in front of the Church of Our Lady of Mount Carmel. Featuring the characters of the play and the banner related to that year's chosen theme. Photo by André Silva.

more explicitly in some manifestation of circuit of the festival. This occurred in 2010, in the Auto do Círio, whose theme was “All paths lead to you, Lady.” The theme was represented by diverse banners alluding to the paths that lead to the Virgin of Nazareth, during the Círio: “We have come to you on the path of Faith,” “We have come to you on the path of Art,” “We have come to you on the path of Theatre,” “We have come to you on the path of Music,” “We have come to you on the path of Culture,” and so on (Figure 7). These diverse paths comprising the movement of the actors in the Círio are justified in the Auto.⁶¹

In this sense, another type of appropriation that has become more visible recently stems from the correspondence between the investments needed to realize the event and its sponsors, attracting large national and multinational companies, who associate their brands with the “Círio trademark.”⁶² And while recognizing that these types of appropriation are not mutually exclusive, in the ambientation that produces and imbues the city, in this manifestation, this latter type supplements its relational character with an institutional strategy common in contemporary religious tourism.

61 Mentions according to the field notes.

62 The “Círio trademark” is a trademark that was applied for and registered by the Directorate of the Círio Festival at the INPI (National Intellectual Property Institute) in 2000. According to Pantoja, “Notas sobre o Círio,” as a registered trademark, as one of the Círio's directors stated, the Directorate already has a number of privileges in terms of making some money on this good, or more precisely, on all the symbolic goods related to the event.

In the framework of typifications of this latter mode of appropriation, we can perceive the occurrence of a circularity of influences promoted by the actors of religious tourism. On one hand, the tourists appropriate the traditional attire of devotees and pilgrims, like the straw hat (with or without the draped ribbons), the festival T-shirt and the candle (*círio*), in order to take part in the parades, mingling with the same.⁶³ On the other hand, the availability of various types of T-shirts, hats and baseball caps, sold with a large diversity of printed designs, in stalls lining the parades or by the hundreds of street vendors milling around them, attract many devotees and pilgrims, who, in turn, appear more and more like tourists. Consequently, our recognition of these types of participants needs to be re-examined.⁶⁴

The Círio de Nazaré also receives assemblages of public agencies and para-state entities stimulating entrepreneurialism, like SEBRAE (Brazilian Micro and Small Business Support Service), which sponsors the Miriti Craftworkers Fair with their “naive” and beautiful works and motifs ranging from children’s toys to the traditional little boats made from balsa wood, as well as icons of the Círio de Nazaré Festival.⁶⁵ Located on the “margins of the events,” very close to the Docks, the fair is part of the activities of the festival, as announced regularly on its sound system, “displaying the Amazonian art of those who are also devotees of Nazareth.”⁶⁶

63 The *círio* is a wooden allegory that copies the format of a large and well-adorned candle about a meter and a half in height.

64 Here an approximation is also made between the commercial character impressed on these manifestations—and exploited in the local economic dynamic—and the tangible and intangible appropriations that local people and tourists effect in this market, as elaborated by Farias and also studied in the Círio de Nazaré Festival by Pantoja. See Farias, *Ócio e Negócio*; and Pantoja, “Reciprocidade e Mercado no Círio.”

65 It would be more appropriate perhaps to consider these material productions as an example of what Prokop defines as a spontaneous art that expresses distinctions vis-à-vis the productions of mass culture. See Dieter Prokop, “Ensaio Sobre Cultura de Massa e Espontaneidade,” in *Prokop: Sociologia*, ed. Ciro Marcondes Filho (São Paulo: Ática, 1986), 114-48.

66 This assemblage is important insofar as the motifs from Pará’s craftwork form part of circular appropriations with the icons of Círio de Nazaré, present in the processions and offerings made to the Virgin of Nazareth, in this festive cycle. These profane motifs become recognized as heritage in the interlocution with the sacred and generate an Amazonian identity that synthesizes natural elements (characterized by the use of “*caranã*, the pulp from the branches of a palm tree, known as *miriti* or *buritie*,” according to Amaral, “Círio de Nazaré”) and socioreligious elements.





Figure 8. Sunday, Oct. 10, 2010, 10:55 a.m.: After the end of the procession, many devotees take home a small piece of the rope as an amulet. Photo by André Silva.

FINAL REMARKS

Our analysis here has argued that the assemblages mobilized in the Círio de Nazaré open a field of possibilities for institutional religious reproduction and generate concentric flows of manifestations involving diverse actors, strengthening identity dynamics through complex and diffuse rituals, in its composition (Figure 8). Meanwhile the organizational control, more or less centralized, and the territorial delimitation of the rituals of the religious festival, as a mega-event, reinforce the complex character of the supposed relations that are shared as reciprocal perspectives in this manifestation, either in a community of time (the festival in itself), or in a community of space (the festival for itself).⁶⁷

In the first case, the manifestation presents typicalities for comprehending the real, which define the relations between the participating actors as distinct alterities in a common-sense situation, perceiving each other as contemporaries: the relation

⁶⁷ Schutz, *Social Reality*, 10-25.

between an “I” and an “us” in this context presumes the emergence of third parties as a “them.” Hence, the internal tension that appears in the event, as a possibility, but not a determination.

In the second case, the typicalities on the line extend beyond the common-sense situation of the contemporaries to a more associative relation of recognition.

Sharing a community of space implies that a certain sector of the outer world is equally within the reach of each partner and contains objects of common interest and relevance. For each partner the other’s body, their gestures, their gait and facial expressions, are immediately observable, not merely as things or events of the outer world but in their physiognomical significance, that is, as symptoms of the other’s thoughts. Sharing a community of time—and this means not only of outer (chronological) time, but of inner time—implies that each partner participates in the on-rolling life of the other, can grasp in a vivid present the other’s thoughts as they are built up step by step.⁶⁸

This distinction between meanings and structures of significance, given in the forms of participation of actors in the Círio Festival, produce alternating individual and collective relevance, “which determine their behavior, define the goal of their action, the means available for attaining them—in brief, which help them to find their bearings within their natural and socio-cultural environment and to come to terms with it.”⁶⁹ Through the distinction recognized in this manifestation, models of projects and assemblages become evident that set in play social roles and functions whose typicality finds a correspondence in the norms of conduct but also in the search for a mutual recognition whose typicality finds a correspondence in an association constituted by an “idealization of the reciprocity of motives.”⁷⁰ While in the former case an anonymity regularly prevails between the actors, which the organizational control of the festival does not attempt to rupture, in the latter mutual recognition between the actors is essential to produce the identity effect sought in its organization.

68 Schutz, *Social Reality*, 16.

69 Schutz, *Social Reality*, 6.

70 Schutz, *Social Reality*, 23.

On the line in this mega-event, therefore, is what Schutz calls the “construction of models of rational behavior,” which enable the transition from latent propositions and actions to manifest propositions and actions.⁷¹ While latent propositions and actions seek to mentally resolve a problem, the manifest propositions and actions insert it in the outside world.⁷² This amounts to a conception of agency, whose premises the author elaborates in terms of a conception of rational deliberation, in Dewey, in which the propositions and actions established in the construction of models of behavior are already defined in an external hierarchy—usually, institutional—that imposes itself on the actors, or in a hierarchical order established by the actors’ courses of action themselves—that is, the relation between the ends that they want to achieve and other ends, “the compatibility of one with the other, and the possible repercussions of one upon another.”⁷³

This hierarchical definition normalizes and explains the biographical situation of the actors, in relation to a physical and sociocultural environment, as well as the knowledge and resources that they have available for materializing their projects. But logically, in the broader scope of a religious mega-event, the hierarchical definition that acts as a control and normalization of the festival and its pilgrimages creates many interstices through which the projects of these actors leak. Thus, the unity that the institutional hierarchy emphasizes on the festival and its manifestations “nothing other than the interaction of elements.”⁷⁴

71 Schutz, *Social Reality*, 44.

72 Schutz, *Social Reality*, 19-20.

73 Schutz, *Social Reality*, 31.

74 Simmel, *Sociology*, 22.



REFERENCES

- Almeida, Ronaldo de. "Religião em Trânsito." In *Horizonte das Ciências Sociais no Brasil: Antropologia*, edited by Carlos B. Martins and Luiz F. D. Duarte, 367-405. São Paulo: Anpocs, 2010.
- Alves, Isidoro M. S. *O Carnaval Devoto: Um Estudo Sobre a Festa de Nazaré, em Belém*. Petropolis, RJ: Vozes, 1980.
- Alves, Regina. "Círio de Nazaré: Da Taba Marajoara à Aldeia Global." Master's thesis, Universidade Federal do Pará, 2002.
- _____. "O Manto, a Mitra e o Microfone: A Midiatização do Círio de Nazaré em Belém do Pará." PhD diss., Universidade Federal do Pará, 2012.
- Amaral, Rita. "O Círio de Nazaré em Belém do Pará." In *Festa à Brasileira: Sentidos do Festejar no País que "Não é Sério."* São Paulo: eBooksBrasil.org, 2001. <http://www.ebooksbrasil.org/eLibris/festas.html#XXXVII>.
- Araújo, Glauco. "Círio de Nazaré Deve Reunir 2 Milhões de Pessoas Neste Domingo." G1 São Paulo, October 9, 2011. <http://g1.globo.com/brasil/noticia/2011/10/cirio-de-nazare-deve-reunir-2-milhoes-de-pessoas-neste-domingo.html>.
- Baudrillard, Jean. *In the Shadow of the Silent Majorities*. Translated by Paul Foss, Paul Patton and John Johnston. New York: Semiotext(e), 1983.
- Bettanini, Tonino. *Espaço e Ciências Humanas*. Translated to Portuguese by Líliliana L. Fernandes. Rio de Janeiro: Paz e Terra, 1982.
- Borin, Marta R. "Por um Brasil Católico: Tensão e Conflito no Campo Religioso da República (Rio Grande do Sul, 1900-1930)." PhD diss., Universidade do Vale dos Sinos, 2010.
- Braga, Antônio M. da C. *Padre Cícero: Sociologia de um Padre, Antropologia de um Santo*. Bauru, SP: EDUSC, 2008.
- Brandão, Carlos R. *Prece e Folia, Festa e Romaria*. Aparecida, SP: Ideias e Letras, 2010.

Burbank, Matthew J., Greg Andranovich, and Charles H. Heying. "Mega-events, Urban Development, and Public Policy." *Review of Policy Research* 19, no. 3 (Fall 2002): 179-202. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1541-1338.2002.tb00301.x>.

"Católicos Fazem Festa para Receber Imagem de Nossa Senhora de Nazaré." G1 Rio, September 19, 2009. <http://g1.globo.com/Noticias/Rio/0,,MUL1310684-5606,00-CATOLICOS+FAZEM+FESTA+PARA+RECEBER+IMAGEM+DE+NOSSA+SENHORA+DE+NAZARE.html>.

"Círio Bate Recorde e Atrai 2,2 mi de Fiéis em Belém." *Gazeta do Povo*, October 10, 2010. <https://www.gazetadopovo.com.br/vida-e-cidadania/cirio-bate-recorde-e-atrai-22-mi-de-fieis-em-belem-0v31qdgaaurcmuko0vpngnkymm/>.

"Círio de Nazaré 2013 Reúne Número Recorde de Fiéis, Aponta Dieese." G1 Pará, October 13, 2013. <http://g1.globo.com/pa/para/cirio-de-nazare/2013/noticia/2013/10/cirio-de-nazare-2013-reune-numero-recorde-de-fieis-aponta-dieese.html>.

"Círio de Nazaré 2015 Reúne Mais de 2 Milhões de Fiéis pelas Ruas de Belém." G1 Pará, October 11, 2015. <http://g1.globo.com/pa/para/cirio-de-nazare/2015/noticia/2015/10/cirio-de-nazare-2015-reune-mais-de-2-milhoes-pelas-ruas-de-belem.html>.

"Círio de Nazaré Leva 2 Milhões em Procissão de Mais de 5h em Belém." G1 Pará, October 9, 2016. <http://g1.globo.com/pa/para/cirio-de-nazare/2016/noticia/2016/10/cirio-de-nazare-leva-2-milhoes-em-procissao-de-mais-de-5h-em-belem.html>.

"Círio de Nazaré Reúne Multidão em Procissão nas Ruas de Belém." *Folha de São Paulo*, October 13, 2019. <https://www1.folha.uol.com.br/poder/2019/10/cirio-de-nazare-reune-multidao-em-procissao-nas-ruas-de-belem.shtml>.

Clifford, James. "On Ethnographic Authority." *Representations*, no. 2 (Spring 1983): 118-46. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2928386>.

- Coelho, Geraldo M. *Uma Crônica do Maravilhoso: Legenda, Tempo e Memória no Culto da Virgem de Nazaré*. Belem, PA: Imprensa Oficial do Estado, 1998.
- Damico, José G. S. “Juventudes Governadas: Dispositivos de Segurança e Participação no Guajuviras (Canoas-RS) e Grigny Centre (França).” PhD diss., Universidade Federal do Rio Grande do Sul, 2011.
- Del Priore, Mary L. *Festas e Utopias no Brasil Colonial*. São Paulo: Brasiliense, 2000.
- Diretoria da Festa de Nazaré. “Diretoria do Círio de Nazaré. Organização.” The Nazaré Festival Directorate official website, [2020]. Last accessed April 20, 2020. <https://ciriodenazare.com.br/site/organizacao/>.
- Duarte, Luiz F. D. “Ethos Privado e Justificação Religiosa: Negociações da Reprodução na Sociedade Brasileira.” In *Sexualidade, Família e Ethos Religioso*, edited by Maria L. Heilborn, Luiz F. D. Duarte, Clarice Peixoto, and Myrian L. Barros, 137-76. Rio de Janeiro: Garamond, 2005.
- Fabian, Johannes. *Time and the Other: How Anthropology Makes its Object*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2014.
- Fainstein, Susan S. and Dennis R. Judd. “Global Forces, Local Strategies, and Urban Tourism.” In *The Tourist City*, edited by Susan S. Fainstein and Dennis R. Judd, 1-17. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999.
- Farias, Edson S. *Ócio e Negócio: Festas Populares e Entretenimento-turismo no Brasil*. Curitiba: Appris, 2011.
- Figueiredo, Silvio L., ed. *Círio de Nazaré: Festa e Paixão*. Belem, PA: EDUFPA, 2005.
- Foucault, Michel. “The Discourse on Language.” In *Archaeology of Knowledge*. Translated by Alan M. S. Smith, 215-37. New York: Pantheon, 1972.
- Furtado, Victor. “Dieese-PA Mantém Estimativa de 2 Milhões de Pessoas para o Círio.” O *Liberal.com*, October 10, 2019. <https://www.oliberal.com/cirio/dieese-pa-mantem-estimativa-de-2-milhoes-de-pessoas-para-o-cirio-1.200612>.

Gallarza, Martina G., David Servera-Francés, Irene G. Saura, and Francisco J. A. Moreno. "La Dimensionalidad de Valor en la Experiencia de Voluntario en un Mega-evento Turístico." *Revista Europea de Dirección y Economía de la Empresa* 19, no. 4 (2010): 149-70.

Gastaldo, Édison L. "Copa do Mundo no Brasil: A Dimensão Histórica de um Produto Midiático." *Comunicação & Sociedade* 25, no. 41 (2004): 115-33. <https://doi.org/10.15603/2175-7755/cs.v25n41p115-133>.

_____. "O 'País do Futebol' Mediatizado: Mídia e Copa do Mundo no Brasil." *Sociologias*, no. 22 (July-December 2009): 352-69. <https://doi.org/10.1590/S1517-45222009000200013>.

Graburn, Nelson. "Reconstruindo a Tradição: Turismo e Modernidade na China e no Japão." *Revista Brasileira de Ciências Sociais* 23, no. 68 (October 2008): 11-21. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1590/S0102-69092008000300002>.

Henrique, Márcio C. "Do Ponto de Vista do Pesquisador: O Processo de Registro do Círio de Nazaré Como Patrimônio Cultural Brasileiro." *Amazônica* 3, no. 2 (2011): 324-46. <http://dx.doi.org/10.18542/amazonica.v3i2.771>.

Higuet, Etienne. "O Misticismo na Experiência Católica." In *Religiosidade Popular e Misticismo no Brasil*, edited by Etienne Higuet et al., 21-62. São Paulo: Paulinas, 1984.

Hühn, Ronaldo G., ed. *Círios de Nazaré* 24. Belem, PA: Editora Círios, 2019. <https://issuu.com/revistaamazonia/docs/cirios2019>.

"Imagem de Nossa Senhora de Nazaré Chega ao Rio para Ficar Três Dias." *Jornal O Globo*, September 17, 2009. <http://oglobo.globo.com/rio/mat/2009/09/17/imagem-de-nossa-senhora-de-nazare-chega-ao-rio-para-ficar-tres-dias-767668405.asp>.

Imízcoz, Elena F., David Servera-Francés, Francisco A. Moreno, Teresa F. Gardó, and Martina G. G. Granizo. "Value, Satisfaction and Loyalty in Volunteerism: Application to a Religious Megaevent." *Esic Market Economics and Business Journal* 44, no. 3 (September-December 2013): 109-31. https://www.esic.edu/documentos/revistas/esicmk/130912_130429_I.pdf.

Instituto Arraial do Pavulagem. "Arraial do Pavulagem." Arraial do Pavulagem Institute website, 2018. <https://arraialdopavulagem.wordpress.com/instituto/>.

Lipovetsky, Gilles. *El Crepúsculo del Deber: La Ética Indolora de los Nuevos Tiempos Democráticos* [*The Twilight of Duty: The Painless Ethics of the New Democratic Times*], translated to Spanish by Juana Bignozzi. Barcelona: Anagrama, 2000.

Lopes, José R. "Círio de Nazaré: Agenciamentos, Conflitos e Negociação da Identidade Amazônica." *Religião e Sociedade* 31, no. 1 (June 2011): 155-81. <https://doi.org/10.1590/S0100-85872011000100007>.

Martins, Pedro. "Cabo-verdianos em Lisboa: Manifestações Expressivas e Reconstrução Identitária." *Horizontes Antropológicos* 15, no. 31 (January-June 2009): 241-62. <https://doi.org/10.1590/S0104-71832009000100010>.

Matos, Lucília da S. "Belém em Festa: A Economia Lúdica da Fé no Círio de Nazaré." PhD diss., Pontifícia Universidade Católica de São Paulo, 2010.

Maués, Raymundo H. *O Homem Que Achou a Santa: Plácido José de Souza e a Devoção à Virgem de Nazaré*. Belem, PA: Alves Gráfica e Editora, 2009.

Maués, Raymundo H., and Maria A. M. Maués. "Feliz Círio! Relatos, Interpretações e Memórias Afetivas de um Casal de Antropólogos." In *Círio de Nazaré: Festa e Paixão*, edited by Silvio L. Figueiredo, 41-63. Belem, PA: EDUFPA, 2005.

Maués, Raymundo H., and Vanda Pantoja. "O Círio de Nazaré na Constituição e Expressão de uma Identidade Regional Amazônica." *Espaço e Cultura*, no. 24 (July-December 2008): 57-68. https://www.researchgate.net/publication/237499677_O_CIRIO_DE_NAZARE_NA_CONSTITUICAO_E_EXPRESSAO_DE_UMA_IDENTIDADE_REGIONAL_AMAZONICA

Mello, Nathália. "Tradição do Círio Marca 220 Anos de Devoção Mariana em Belém." G1 Pará, October 14, 2012. <http://g1.globo.com/pa/para/cirio-de-nazare/2012/noticia/2012/10/tradicao-do-cirio-marca-220-anos-de-devocao-mariana-em-belem.html>.

Muller, Martin. "What Makes an Event a Mega-Event? Definitions and Sizes." *Leisure Studies* 34, no. 6, (2015): 627-42. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/02614367.2014.993333>.

Niedźwiedz, Anna. "Global Catholicism, Urban Heritage, National Politics: The 2016 World Youth Day in Kraków." *Etnografia Polska* 63, no. 1-2 (2019): 185-204. <https://doi.org/10.23858/EP63.2019.012>.

"No Pará, Propaganda Eleitoral na TV é Suspensa pelo Círio de Nazaré." G1 Globo, October 10, 2010. <http://g1.globo.com/especiais/eleicoes-2010/noticia/2010/10/no-para-propaganda-eleitoral-na-tv-e-suspensa-pelo-cirio-de-nazare.html>.

Organização das Nações Unidas - ONU. "Círio de Nazaré é Declarado Patrimônio Imaterial da Humanidade da UNESCO." Nações Unidas Brasil, October 8, 2014. <https://nacoesunidas.org/cirio-de-nazare-e-declarado-patrimonio-imaterial-da-humanidade-da-unesco/>.

Palmer, Catherine. "Le Tour du Monde: Towards an Anthropology of the Global Mega-Event." *The Australian Journal of the Anthropology* 9, no. 3 (December 1998): 265-73. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1835-9310.1998.tb00196.x>.

Pantoja, Vanda. "Negócios Sagrados: Notas Sobre o Círio de Nazaré em Belém-Pará." *Novos Cadernos NAEA* 15, no. 2, (December 2012): 261-78. <http://dx.doi.org/10.5801/ncn.v15i2.682>.

_____. "Negócios Sagrados: Reciprocidade e Mercado no Círio de Nazaré." Master's thesis, Universidade Federal do Pará, 2006.

Paraense, Roberta. "Círio de Nazaré Reúne 2 Milhões em Belém." *O Estado de São Paulo*, October 14, 2018. <https://brasil.estadao.com.br/noticias/geral,cirio-de-nazare-reune-2-milhoes-em-belem,70002547313>.

Pfadenhauer, Michaela. "The Eventization of Faith as a Marketing Strategy: World Youth Day as an Innovative Response of the Catholic Church to Pluralization." *International Journal of Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Marketing* 15, no. 4 (November 2010): 382-94. <https://doi.org/10.1002/nvsm.396>.

"Procissão Número 225 do Círio de Nazaré Leva 2 Milhões de Pessoas às Ruas de Belém." G1 Pará, October 8, 2017. <https://g1.globo.com/pa/para/cirio-de-nazare/2017/noticia/procissao-numero-225-do-cirio-de-nazare-leva-2-milhoes-de-pessoas-as-ruas-de-belem.ghtml>.

Prokop, Dieter. "Ensaio Sobre Cultura de Massa e Espontaneidade." In *Prokop: Sociologia*, edited by Ciro Marcondes Filho, 114-48. São Paulo: Ática, 1986.

Rezende, Thais, and Natália Mello. "Devotos Louvam a Padroeira no Círio de Nazaré em Belém." G1 Pará, October 12, 2014. <http://g1.globo.com/pa/para/cirio-de-nazare/2014/noticia/2014/10/devotos-louvam-padroeira-no-cirio-de-nazare-em-belem.html>.

Rocque, Carlos. *História do Círio de Nazaré*. Belém, PA: Mitograph, 1981.

"Roteiros da fé." O Diário do Pará, October 10, 2010.

Sanches, Pedro A. "Paradoxo do Círio de Nazaré, Gays da Festa da Chiquita Roubam Cena nas Ruas de Belém." Uol Notícias, October 11, 2009. <https://noticias.uol.com.br/cotidiano/2009/10/11/ult5772u5648.jhtm>.

Sare, Larissa L. P. "A Serpente no Asfalto: Estudo Compreensivo do Espetáculo da Corda dos Promesseiros no Círio de Nazaré em Belém do Pará." PhD diss., Universidade Federal da Bahia, 2005.

Schutz, Alfred. *Collected Papers: 1. The Problem of Social Reality*. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1962.

Silva, André L. da. "FACES de Maria. Catolicismo, Conflito Simbólico e Identidade: Um Estudo Sobre a Devoção a Nossa Senhora de Shoenstatt na Cidade de Ubatuba." Master's thesis, Pontifícia Universidade Católica de São Paulo, 2003.

Simmel, Georg. *Sociology: Inquiries into the Construction of Social Forms*. Volume 1. Leiden: Brill, 2009.

Souza, Jéssica. “Manifestações Profanas Dividem Espaço no Calendário.” *Jornal da Universidade Federal do Pará*, no. 65 (October 2008). <http://www.jornalbeiradorio.ufpa.br/novo/index.php/2008/13-edicao-65/129--manifestacoes-profanas-dividem-espaco-no-calendario->.

Steil, Carlos A. “Percursos das Peregrinações Católicas no Brasil: Gênese e Desenvolvimento do Tema na Ótica das Ciências Sociais.” *Estudos de Religião* 33, no. 2 (May–August 2019): 221–42. <https://www.metodista.br/revistas/revistas-metodista/index.php/ER/article/view/9522>.

———. “Romeiros e Turistas no Santuário de Bom Jesus da Lapa.” *Horizontes Antropológicos* 9, no. 20 (October 2003): 249–61.

Steil, Carlos A., Cecília L. Mariz, and Mísia L. Reesink, eds. *Maria Entre os Vivos: Reflexões Teóricas e Etnografias Sobre Aparições Marianas no Brasil*. Porto Alegre: EDUEFRGS, 2003.

Valentino, Pietro. “A Definition Mega Event.” Paper presented at the V Congresso dell’Associazione Italiana di Storia Urbana, September 10–12, 2011. Rome, 2011. https://www.researchgate.net/profile/Pietro_Valentino/publication/284157518_A_Definition_Mega_Event/links/564c961708ae3374e5e05025.pdf.

Velho, Gilberto. *Projeto e Metamorfose: Antropologia das Sociedades Complexas*. Rio de Janeiro: Zahar Editores, 1994.

Vizer, Eduardo A. *A Trama (in)visível da Vida Social: Comunicação, Sentido e Realidade*. Porto Alegre: Sulina, 2011.

Yúdice, George. *The Expediency of Culture: Uses of Culture in the Global Era*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2003.