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Latin American Heritage

Interdisciplinary Dialogues on Brazilian and Argentinian Case Studies

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Preface

Views, Perceptions and Sensitivities on Heritages

Time, as a disrespectful artificer, indefatigable as it is in its work of creation and at the same time to remove or survey the sources of memory, does not select what has to be reminisced or disremembered. Nothing escapes to the fate of being raw substance of its art. Throughout time, mankind has created laws, mechanisms and instruments to record and value those fragments resulting from the unresolved, unfinished labor of this artisan.

This book discusses if the best criteria have actually been used and if the correct choices of those fragments to be documented and treasured had really been done. If, in fact, these fragments that we call heritage are truly the more truthful and cherished pieces of our memory. And how diverse and valuable these heritages may be, using as evidence case studies, and which of them are related to the furrows of global or local memory. At the same time, and not least essential, this book tries to build an appropriate means to make remarkable the memory of these unforgettable fragments and relics.

In recent decades, the discussion on heritage has expanded and we noticed that the universe that preserves and transmits it has become increasingly broad, heterogeneous and plural.

Thus, discussing the term "Heritage" and its meaning transcends nowadays not only historical or architectural dimensions, but also artistic, archaeological, natural, ethnological, biological, or industrial aspects. Thus, the immaterial or intangible heritage discussion, as well as the local, regional, national, or global heritage scale, should be introduced.

The aim of this book, originated from the First Heritage International Symposium, is to display these dialogues based on global to particular approaches through different views, perceptions and sensitivities.

According to S. Gruzinski, it is not History that has the monopoly of demystification, but the scope of contemporary art (and we aim to display it here, based on heritage studies). To demonstrate this, historians use Lothar Baumgarten's work, author who played with the “viewers’ lazy look” when he was still studying with Joseph Beuys:

> He made a rainforest photographs series, giving each one the name of an indigenous nation from South America. This erudite encyclopedia was actually just a sequence of compositions made with broccoli! Made with diverse resources, Baumgarten’s productions resort to provocations or jokes to develop an aesthetic and intellectual project for scrutinizing the forms of interaction between Western civilization and distant societies without sacrificing its own identities.[1]

In another exposition, Cassel, a photographer and sculptor, retraces Hélio Oiticica’s work in order to remove its “exotic or folkloric varnish” to give it a universal character. Both works discussed by Gruzinski show how such creations were not limited to display the mixtures, the gears of exoticism, its neutralization or criticisms, or even its miscegenation. His works explored the intimate knowledge “to invent other approaches that broke stereotypes.”

> It was through the manipulation of unexpected materials, compositing effects or unexpected angles, playing with perception, that Baumgarten or Oiticica, rejecting exoticism, question the knowledge categories and invent the means to broaden our perspective. Starting from other processes, Mário de Andrade’s work precedes them in the same way.[2]

From this context of valuing pluralistic views, perceptions and sensitivities of what could be named heritage, emerged the intention to create the “First Heritages International Symposium: 21st Century Culture and Society”, in the Universidade Estadual Paulista Júlio de Mesquita Filho (UNESP), Ourinhos Campus, Ourinhos, São Paulo, Brazil.

Thus, from June 22 to 25, 2015, about two hundred people from ten Brazilian states representing four of the five Brazilian regions, and also scientists from Argentina and Portugal, went to the city of Ourinhos to attend this event. Researchers, university and public school professors, graduate and undergraduate students came to share a dialogue about Heritage, through the presentation and discussion of 64 studies, conferences, round-tables, and short courses, organized into four thematic areas (material cultural heritage, cultural immaterial or intangible heritage, natural and landscape heritage, and education and appropriation of heritage).

Twenty-one Brazilian states and federal universities, three public universities or institutions from Portugal and Argentina and five Brazilian organizations, institutes and two museums participated in this conference. The event was also enriched by the significant participation of five private Brazilian institutions and one private institution from Portugal.

The results from this dialogue allow us to believe that this meeting has given relief to the pluralistic Latin America, which is increasingly rich and diverse in its

[1]Gruzinski, S. O Pensamento Mestiço. SP; Cia. Das Letras. 2001. p. 36.
[2]Idem. pp. 37–8.

heritage and in the ways to understand it as well as to question their value and conservation.

We conclude this brief introduction through which we have shared the imprint left by this symposium by proposing that perhaps among the several categories of heritage, human heritage surpasses and permeates all of them. There would not be what to value and salvage if it was senseless.

About the Book

The book is organized into four thematic sessions corresponding to the themes proposed to lecturers: traditions, knowledge and intangible heritage; archaeological heritage; natural and landscape heritage and rail and industrial heritage. The texts in each session were organized always starting from more global discussions to the more particular ones. The reader will find here a wide and plural debate on equity in Latin America, with a focus on Brazil and Argentina.

Thus, the chapters associated with these sessions resulted from the conferences presented and discussed in the Symposium, which have their main contributions described below.

The *first session*, which deals with Traditions, Knowledge and Intangible Heritage, contains the contribution of two researchers who specialize in the subject. In Chap. 1, Fabiana Lopes da Cunha, through her study "Samba Locations: An Analysis on the Carioca Samba, Identities and Intangible Heritage (Rio de Janeiro/Brazil)", discusses the world of *samba* artists and the places where they improvised and composed their songs, and the importance of collective creation and of certain places in the acclaiming of *samba* in Rio de Janeiro, not only as a musical genre, but also as a genre of group identity, and later, of nation.

In Chap. 2, Sandra C.A. Pelegrini, through her text titled "Negligence and Reinvention: Cultural Heritage of the Watering Place of São Vicente (São Paulo/Brazil)", tries to seize the staging of theatrical performances related to the celebration of the founding of coastal towns as representation of a legacy of the resident population and their inclusion in the cultural dynamics of São Vicente, São Paulo, Brazil.

Archaeological Heritage is the theme of the *second session* of the book. Chapter 3, by Pedro Paulo Funari, titled "Brazilian Archaeology, the Last Two Decades", discusses Brazilian archaeology and its trajectory, paying particular attention to recent developments. He starts by stating what is the stand adopted here, from an externalist, social history of discipline, and then does a brief overview of the history of archaeology in the country since the nineteenth century. He then discusses the main developments in the last two decades in the main fields of the discipline and in relation to the main subjects such as early human settlement, rock art, other prehistoric issues, historical archaeology, classical archaeology, underwater archaeology, and public archaeology, followed by a note on the role of women in Brazilian archaeology. He concludes by discussing the outlook of the discipline.

In Chap. 4, Mónica Salemme and Laura Horlent, in their work "The Patrimonialization and the Heritage Value of the Archaeological Record. Tierra del Fuego as a Case Study", state that heritage is an assemblage of material and non-material (natural and symbolic) assets from our past. It is a portion of culture of previous generations received by the present society. In this sense, it is a basic element in the construction of identity for a human group, since it allows explaining the way of being and making of that society over the natural and social environment. In the same way, current actions and manifestations show the society life of the present, witnessing the past contributes to building the collective memory of the group. The present world, while undergoing constant transformations, begins to understand that heritage belongs to it, and thus it needs protection.

Archaeological heritage is a part of cultural heritage but it has an extraordinary condition; it is a nonrenewable resource, such as natural resources. Tools, artistic representations, caves, buildings, pyramids, sacred places, and sites where remains of fauna and flora "speak" about the past landscape in which extinct societies used to live constitute that heritage. The disseminating of archaeological heritage instills its value. To protect it, all social actors are responsible for maintaining collective memory.

Andrés Zarankin in "The Heritage Horror Show: A Critical Analysis of the Relationship Among Monuments, Power, and People", Chap. 5, proposes, as a starting point to analyze heritage, the reflection on perspectives we use to look at that which we cannot forget. Obviously, this question leads to another: what things can we actually forget? And in turn: who decides what to remember and what to forget? At the same time, the author, citing Hirsh (1997), points out that equity is a form of post-memory that can be assimilated by the agent images mentioned by Yates (2007). The author brings to the discussion the fact that, in our society, in general, decisions about what is heritage, as well as what is not, are mostly assignments of the states, which have created heritage policies functional to their interests. Therefore, according to Zarankin, we can consider heritage as an arbitrary selection of fragments that are "relevant" to the construction of legitimation discourses in the present. The reference to the term "arbitrary", for this researcher, means that equity is presented as an essential category, as something given and that therefore cannot be questioned. He discusses the attempt to hide the fact that heritage is "created" based on specific interests, ideologies that naturalize it and turn it into "sacred" places or things, to the point that it becomes more important than people themselves. When quoting Alejandro Haber (pers. com.), the author questions how can it be that, in a given region, studying and preserving "heritage" is a priority while the current population is totally forgotten by the system.

Thus, the idea of this chapter is to show that there are several competing memories, and that archaeologists have the need to position themselves politically and ideologically to fight those which allow the reproduction of domination policies, reinforcing other memories and heritages.

In Chap. 6, Astolfo Gomes de Mello Araujo in his "Dialogue and Preservation: Considerations About Contract Archaeology in Brazil (or, the Way It Works, and the Way It Does not)" presents, in a critical manner, the regulations in force concerning the protection of Brazilian archaeological heritage and the main consequences of the application of those standards. The roles of the Institute of National Historical and Artistic Heritage—IPHAN and of Brazilian archaeology enterprises on the preservation and obtaining of data pertaining to Archaeology are also discussed. The author argues that these issues have been wrongly addressed, as IPHAN has become increasingly slow in carrying out procedures, and concerned with the extroversion of knowledge only, in the form of "heritage education". Paradoxically, according to the author, the agents do not seem to realize that there can be no extroversion of knowledge without the production of knowledge, and that the role of archaeology in this regard has been shown to be practically useless. In this process, academic archaeology, the real responsible for the production of knowledge, is increasingly relegated to the background in the Brazilian scenario.

Rodrigo Christofoletti, in his work "Ruins of Engenho São Jorge dos Erasmos as a Case Study: World Heritage Nomination in the Context of Hyperinflation and Depredation of Cultural Properties", Chap. 7, brings, as contribution, a Brazilian case study: The Ruínas Engenho São Jorge dos Erasmos National Monument. It discusses the process of turning this national monument into world heritage. Christofolleti points out that the analyzed case indicates that, at times of inflation and destruction of heritage, the understanding that heritage should mean the continuity of a people's culture, or the ensemble of parts of its characteristics, remains the basis for the expanding of its meaning. Thus, according to the author, in light of the reality of the destruction of some assets considered to be world heritage in the region of the Middle East and other parts of the globe, thinking of new assets is an opportunity to reassess the demands and requirements of the contemporary world. In this sense, the discussion on the feasibility of the aforementioned national monument becoming world heritage is a unique chance to re-qualify the existing wealth of this space and develop its potential, while epicenter of decisive moments of the constitution of Brazilian identity. He argues that more important than the proposal itself, the process undertaken towards its eventual achievement can assist in deepening the stories and memories associated with this heritage, which will certainly help in understanding that destruction for irrelevant reasons and extremism of any nature should not slow down the expansion of preservation policies, but on the contrary, strengthen the appeals of safeguarding.

In our *third thematic session*, which deals with Natural and Landscape Heritage, we started with "Natural Heritage: Quantitative Evaluation of Landscape Scenic Values" (Chap. 8) by Jorge Oscar Rabassa; landscape, its main theme, is part of natural heritage and has scenic, aesthetic and economic values, both from the point of view of tourism and leisure, as well as in terms of the social access to the contemplation and use of such heritage. Scenic values are in fact, natural resources, and as such, high scenic values are scarce, and thus, valuable. In the case of scenic values, it is necessary to apply techniques of quantitative evaluation of such resources, which are closely related to the geomorphological characteristics of the studied region, to use these results in decision making and priority ranking processes. This paper presents various techniques of quantitative evaluation which may be applied at the local and regional level. A case-study in Tierra del Fuego is herein described.

In Chap. 9 "The Concept of Landscape in Geography and the Landscape as Heritage", Luciene Cristina Risso introduces the concept of landscape in geography and discusses the influences and contributions from this science to the debate of cultural landscape used in the heritage field. The author stresses that understanding the concepts discussed in geography is essential to comprehend landscape as a concept and a category.

Simone Scifoni, author of Chap. 10, "Cultural Landscape in Brazil: Legal Instruments and the Challenges of Protection" proposes a reflection on contemporary experiences developed by the IPHAN (Institute of National Historical and Artistic Heritage) in relation to the preservation of cultural landscapes. The author points out that this is a new category of cultural heritage established in 2009, based on the new assumptions of the Brazilian Federal Constitution of 1988 and which resulted in innovations both from the point of view of the choice of places of operation, as in the methodological aspect. In this chapter, the following issues are also discussed: the antecedents to the creation of this new instrument, the pilot projects developed in Brazil, with an emphasis on an experience that occurred in the state of São Paulo, and the current possibilities and limits in light of the conducting of Brazilian federal policies.

Angelita Matos, in Chap. 11 entitled "Traditional Populations and Political Activism in the Belo Monte Dam Construction", makes an analysis of the case of the Belo Monte hydroelectric power plant (Belo Monte UPP), state of Pará, in Brazil. The discussion emphasizes the relationship between "development" policies and social struggles. The author highlights the developments, within the context of social movements, and impacts on the city of Altamira, the pole-city of the enterprise, with the intention of pointing to both the civilizing potential and the dimension of the barbarism involved in building the Plant, noting that only popular mobilization can partly turn losses into gains. In this chapter, the ways in which the so-called traditional populations reinvent themselves when faced with the impacts of the project, incorporating new dimensions in order to conserve their assets, knowledge, and ways of life, are also highlighted.

The *fourth session* of the book covers, with emphasis on Brazil, industrial and rail heritage, showing, in Chap. 12, the work by Davidson Panis Kaseker, "Museums from São Paulo and Railroad Memory". In this chapter, the author shows that, over the course of its history, the railway heritage of the state of São Paulo has gone through numerous setbacks, as did its memory, with the exception of honorable initiatives. Kaseker argues that this heritage has been going through a continuous process of dismantling since the 1950s, when Brazil opted to prioritize road transport. The author points out that in the last decade this abandonment of railway memory has been reverting, through publication in blogs, websites, in addition to the nearly two hundred theses and dissertations on the topic in the public universities, with nearly half of these being in the state of São Paulo. He addresses the importance of railway memory and advocates the recognition of the right of undertaking the reinvention of rail museums as a social process that values identity and cultural heritage transformed into heritage, not only in its melancholy and nostalgic dimension of a past to which we cannot return, but, above all, as a vital component for the reinvention of the future.

Chapter 13, written by Rosio Fernández Baca Salcedo, and entitled "Memory and Place: Railroad Villages of the Railroad Company Noroeste do Brasil (CEFNOB)", discusses the relationship of memory with the Railway Villages of the Railroad Company Noroeste Brasil (EFNOB) in Bauru, west of the state of São Paulo. The author makes use of bibliographic and iconographic research, in situ surveys and interviews to analyze the houses of the railroad villages of EFNOB's railway, built by EFNOB between the years 1907 and 1950 and given to employees while they worked in the company. According to the author, this heritage represents memory, identity, the ways of living and building of the time. After the extinction of EFNOB, the houses were sold to private individuals. For its historical importance, architectural and urban identity, it is being considered for Landmarking by the Council of Defense of the Historic Archaeological, Artistic and Tourist Heritage of the State of São Paulo (CONDEPHAAT), Brazil.

Nilson Ghirardello is the author of Chap. 14, "Bauru EFNOB Industrial Heritage", in which he describes the research developed with the support of FAPESP and the state preservation agency, the Council of Defense of Historical, Archaeological, Artistic and Tourist Heritage of the State, CONDEPHAAT, which deals with the former Noroeste do Brasil Railroad, EFNOB, based in Bauru/SP. The author points out that the architectural complex of the former EFNOB is of great historical significance for the state of São Paulo and Mato Grosso do Sul, as well as to the urban growth of the city of Bauru. The chapter brings together the results of the research which lasted two years and involved professors of Universidade Estadual Paulista Filho, UNESP, and comprises a Main Theme: Industrial Architectural Heritage plus three thematic cores: Administrative Organization of Work; Leisure and Culture; and Inventory and Documentation.

As the reader may notice during the reading of the book, the discussion on the theme of heritage is becoming increasingly fertile and diverse. Perspectives have been expanding, opening up new possibilities of analysis, new views, perceptions and sensitivities for the study of the topic, and also for an interdisciplinary and multidisciplinary discussion on it. Time, like an irreverent craftsman, tireless in its work of creating and simultaneously removing the relief of memory's grooves, does not select what should be remembered or forgotten. Nothing escapes being the raw material for its art. Over time, humanity has created laws, mechanisms, and instruments for recording and recovering the fragments resulted from the work, predestined to be unfinished, of this craftsman. This book questions if we have used the best criteria and made the correct choices of the fragments to be recorded and valued, which we call heritage, and if these are the most loyal and valuable representatives of our memory, as well as evidences, through case studies, how diverse and valuable heritage can be, whether related to the grooves of a global or local memory. Last and not least, this book seeks, in itself, to constitute one of the means through which the memory of these fragments or traces becomes indelible. We hope that it can make good contributions to the reflection on the subject.

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Contents

Part I
Traditions, Knowledge and Intangible Heritage

Chapter 1
Samba Locations: An Analysis on the Carioca Samba, Identities, and Intangible Heritage (Rio de Janeiro, Brazil)

Fabiana Lopes da Cunha

Abstract The universe of samba is the major concern of this chapter which aims to discuss the artists of samba as well as the places where they composed and improvised it. From this discussion, we give prominence to the collective creation and certain particular places which were responsible for the enshrinement of samba in Rio de Janeiro, not only as the both musical genre and group identity but also as a nation identity later. Thus, our work deals with intangible heritage concerning to samba, through an analysis on the different forms of musical expression, their relevance to certain groups and to the former federal capital in such singular historical and cultural period and, consequently, their contribution to the construction of the "samba matrices of Rio de Janeiro."

Keywords Samba · Intagible Heritage · Brazilian identity · Carnival

When I began my research on samba in Rio de Janeiro, still as an undergraduate student,[1] my intention was to analyze how music, its melody, rhythm, and lyrics influenced the listener and to what extent the composer, intellectuals, and the State itself would relate and have knowledge of the type of "feeling" or sensation that the listener would have toward certain genres, rhythms, or melodies.[2] As Carnival was

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[1]During my undergraduate studies, I did research through Scientific Initiation guided by Prof. Dr. Nicolau Sevcenko and funded by FAPESP.
[2]My initial discussions were stimulated by my friend Virgínio Mantesso Neto who always helped me with valuable material and information.

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the biggest of our festivities, I decided to face the challenge of trying to understand the genre that was consecrated in the festivities of Momo: samba. I confess that, for a person of my generation, who grew up listening to Elis Regina, Chico Buarque, and Milton Nascimento and matured with Cazuza, Raul Seixas, and Legião Urbana (musical genre better known as Brazilian popular music and Brazilian rock), entering this musical universe, hitherto unheard by me, was extremely rich and at the same time thought-provoking. In order to carry out this work, I was fortunate enough to know, personally or through telephone contact, several 78 rpm record collectors who told me stories about the radio, their lives and in what state of conservation their collection was. They also told me that they met annually in a contest to know who had better memory and more data on Brazilian popular music from the 20s to the 40s of the twentieth century. All those with whom I had the opportunity to speak more freely had in common the same opinion: Brazilian popular music would have ended in the 1940s. From then on nothing new had been done again or nothing of quality.

Collectors are extremely interesting people. At first, they are a little suspicious and afraid that you do not understand or do not value their collection, but, with a little more talking, they realize that your interest is sincere and then, they open their bookshelves and turntables and tell stories, for hours on end, about composers, performers, and songs.

The first encounter I had with Mr. Alcino Santos, the collector with whom I had most contact throughout this phase of my research,[3] was extremely bizarre. At first, he almost kicked me out, saying that I was too young to care for those "oldies." After some time of conversation in the doorway, I convinced him of my desire to know more about his collection and his stories. When I entered his library and disco, I came upon a true sanctuary: besides the sofa and amidst the shelves with the disks cataloged and arranged in extremely organized form, there was a small altar with a green lamp that never went out, an Our Lady and the photo of Francisco Alves. That revealed to me the importance of that place and the interpreter and composer (or "compositor" as many say) to the life not only of Mr. Alcino, but of thousands of people from his generation. I asked him if he had any personal relationship with the "King of the Voice" and he told me, excitedly, that he heard the singer's car crash into the President Dutra Highway (Mr. Alcino lived in Taubaté, in the region where Francisco Alves suffered the accident that led to his death) and everyone rushed to the scene. He managed to get a car wheel as a souvenir of that fateful day.

This was just one of the many stories I heard during the many times I visited him in his city. I am narrating these facts, not only to show how the researcher gets involved with his research object, but because I believe it was on this day that I understood, in a way, the importance of what many call the "Golden Age of Radio" in Brazil. It was in this period that I began to wonder why samba, a genre negatively

[3]Here I also refer to my Master's degree period, when I was guided by Prof. Dr. Nicolau Sevcenko and funded by CAPES.

view at the beginning of the century, would have become one of the symbols of Brazilianness. To this question other questions arised: what was the place of samba, who composed it, who interpreted it, who listened to it and danced to it, how and where it was divulged.

In the course of my work, I was capturing the various voices and sounds that permeated the city of Rio de Janeiro during the 20s and 40s. In that period, the city was transformed, with new technologies, avenues and spaces of leisure and entertainment. And in the same way, the samba was also modifying until arriving at its maximum sophistication regarding timbre with the sambas-exaltação. In the meantime, several modalities emerged within the genre such as samba-canção, samba-choro, samba-enredo, among others.[4]

Among these various modalities of samba, only three were chosen to become official records as the main arrays of samba in Rio as intangible heritage: partido-alto samba, samba de terreiro, and samba-enredo. The selection made by the team that compiled the "Dossier" took into account several criteria that are discussed in more depth in another work (da Cunha 2013, pp. 201–229). Thus,

> The document suggests the analysis of these different matrices with respect to their rhythmic, sonorous aspects in the harmonic-melodic structure and the socio-cultural practices that represent the musical and cultural universe of these different ways of samba, without leaving aside the understanding that the musical environment is permeated with multiple meanings, ranging from the instruments used, the environment(s) in which such a genre is composed and consumed, to the per- formance of the musicians and those who participate in it. To this end, the compilers of the dossier emphasize that it is not enough to understand their musicality and poetry to understand this "musical meta-genre", but it is also necessary to understand their connection with dance, place, form and its multiple meanings, linked to religion, dance, the presence of specific drinks and foods (which are consumed in certain places), the symbolism of their instruments, colors, flags, etc. Without understanding this multiple cultural and festive universe, it is not possible to analyze this musical genre in all its diversity and complexity. The choice of three forms of expression as the samba of Rio de Janeiro is justified in the document as being the ones that "relate to the daily life, to the ways of being and living, to the history and memory of the Samba musicians" (da Cunha 2004, pp. 221–222).

That is, the inventory and recording of the musical genre took into account innumerable aspects that are part of the universe of samba and the sambistas, such as rhythm, poetry, food, drink, religion, dance, symbolism, the instruments, the flags, the colors, and the places and environments where these songs are composed, played, and consumed.

Initially, at the beginning of the twentieth century, history shows us that samba was not accepted by the authorities and not well liked by the population (da Cunha2004). However, this was changed during the decades of 1920–1940. Songs such as Pelo Telefone began to translate desires, different realities and forms of expression on the part of the population and be successful in popular festivals,

[4]Based on the introduction of the book CUNHA, Fabiana Lopes da. Da Marginalidade ao Estrelato: O Samba na Construção da Nacionalidade (1917–1945). SP: Annablume 2004, pp. 17–20.

record companies and later on the radio. The great success of this samba shows the universe of these musicians and the places where they composed, the improvisation, the importance of collective creation and certain "spaces" in the history and consecration of samba, not only as a musical genre, and later, of the nation (da Cunha 2004). The success of samba Pelo Telefone will also enable the creation and/or recreation of identity around samba and carnival and its connection to certain city spaces, making possible to create some "founding myths" and the "sacralization of some spaces" within history of carnival and samba, such as the house of Tia Ciata, Pedra do Sal, Plaza Onze, some neighborhoods such as Saúde, Gamboa, Estácio, Vila Isabel, Pavuna, among others. The relevance of these places can be proven not only in bibliography on the subject[5] but also, more recently, through the document produced by the *Centro Cultural Cartola*,[6] with the intention of establishing the samba of Rio de Janeiro as the immaterial heritage of the nation.

This text seeks to associate the main arenas of the Rio de Janeiro samba with certain spaces and the identity construction of the groups. In this way, the partido-alto samba (one of the matrices of this musical genre) would have as a "locus" of expression and manifestation, the roda (samba circle). The samba de terreiro would have its place, in the beginning of century XX, in the yard of the houses that, later, would be transformed into blocks of the samba schools. And finally, the samba-enredo, linked to the samba schools and the communities that created them. The document deals with these different forms of musical expression, their relevance to certain groups and, of course, to the former federal capital and, consequently, their contribution in the construction of the "samba matrices of Rio de Janeiro" and of this musical genre as national identity. To better understand this discussion, we believe it is important to talk a little about the debates about intangible heritage, popular and folk music, and its relation to samba (da Cunha 2013).

[5]See MOURA.R. *Tia Ciata e a Pequena África no Rio de Janeiro.*R.J., FUNARTE, 1983; SANDRONI, Carlos. *Feitiço Decente:* Transformações do Samba no Rio de Janeiro (1917–1933). R.J., Jorge Zahar Ed./Ed. UFRJ, 2001; CUNHA, Maria Clementina Pereira. *Ecos da Folia:* Uma História Social do Carnaval Carioca entre 1880 e 1920. S.P., Cia. Das Letras, 2001; EFEGÊ, J. *Figuras do carnaval carioca.* R.J., FUNARTE, 1982; CUNHA, Fabiana L. Da Marginalidade ao Estrelato: O Samba Na Construção da Nacionalidade (1917–1945). SP: Annablume, 2004. From the same author As matrizes do samba carioca e carnaval: algumas reflexões sobre patrimônio imaterial. Patrimônio e Memória (UNESP). v.5, p.1–23, 2009. With regard to books of memorialists and authors who were of great importance for the contribution of the "mythical" construction of these spaces see ALMIRANTE. *No tempo de Noel Rosa.* 2a. ed., R.J., Francisco Alves, 1977; BARBOSA, O. *Samba: Sua História, seus Poetas, seus Músicos e seus cantores.*2ª ed., R.J., FUNARTE, 1978; GUIMARÃES, Francisco. *Na roda do samba.* 2a. ed. R.J., FUNARTE, 1978.

[6]*Dossiê das Matrizes do Samba no Rio de Janeiro: Partido Alto, Samba de Terreiro e Samba-enredo.* Centro Cultural Cartola/ IPHAN/MinC/ Fundação Palmares, 2006. Available at: http://www.cnfcp.gov.br/pdf/Patrimonio_Imaterial/Dossie_Patrimonio_Imaterial/Dossie_Samba_RJ.pdf. Accessed in 23/05/2011.

1.1 Debates on Samba, National Identity, and the Choice of Samba Matrices in Rio de Janeiro

The first debates about urban popular music and samba began in the 1920s and were polarized mainly by Vagalume, who argued that the morro was the mythical territory of samba, while Orestes Barbosa argued that this musical genre should be treated as a heritage of Rio de Janeiro city and as synthesis of Brazilianness.

During this period, we also have the entry of new actors in the scenario of samba history, as we will see the entry of new social groups in the samba universe, such as the Vila Isabel group; the formation of the Samba Schools, which will begin to become places of tradition (the "Deixa Falar" appears in 1929); the territorial mobility of musical experiences (such as the Estácio-Morro); the cauldron of sonorities catalyzed by radio expansion, pressured and impressed by the potential for audience growth that was not part of the social group that had initially shaped the world of samba. All these elements needed to be "disciplined", placed under the prism of tradition, especially at a time when the popular and the national were the categories of cultural and ideological affirmation par excellence.

Part of these debates about the origins of the carioca samba (beginning in the 1920s and extending to the present day), identity issues and their link to certain spaces can be found in a wide bibliography on the subject[7] and also in the document produced for the patrimonialization of the matrices of the carioca samba.

From the different types of samba, three have already been registered as immaterial goods of Brazil: TheSamba de Roda of Recôncavo of Bahia (Proclaimed by UNESCO as Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity); the headquarters of the samba in Rio (partido-alto samba, samba de terreiro and samba enredo) and the paulista jongo.

Mário de Andrade demonstra em seu *Dicionário Musical Brasileiro* (de Andrade1989, p. 453–458), os inúmeros verbetes que buscam explicitar as diferentes formas e expressões do samba, demonstrando com isso, a complexidade para se estudar e compreender este ritmo. Nesta obra,

> After clarifying the origin of the word Samba, he then enumerates the different types of manifestations with the codex-name of samba: "samba a dois coros; samba batido; samba chulado; samba corrido; samba da virada; samba-de-chave; samba de embolada; samba-de-influência; samba-de-morro; samba de palma; samba do matuto; samba-do-norte; samba do partido-alto; samba raiado; samba-rumba; samba trançado." In addition to these numerous denominations and rhythmic, choreographic and geographical differences, there are still other rhythms that would be described by him as a variety of samba, such as the jongo, for example. These facts denote not only the rhythmic multiplicity, but also the relevance of this musical and choreographic expression within our country and in different regions (da Cunha 2009, p. 37–38).

As we can see, it is not an easy task to define the different types of samba.

[7]We inserted throughout the text a bibliography concerning the theme.

This conclusion is also highlighted in the dossier on *Matrizes do Samba do Rio de Janeiro* proposed by the Cartola Cultural Center. The research that compiled the document submitted to IPHAN, brings together a set of historical references through: Books, Theses and Monographs, Videos, Discography, Reports, Testimonials from "old school" sambistas, such as Monarco, Xango de Man Nelson, and Sergeant.

In order to justify the choice of only three expressions of the genre (the partido-alto samba, the samba de terreiro and the samba-enredo), among many others, the team that compiled the document submitted to IPHAN highlighted the styles and places of the Rio de Janeiro samba, which in the past were (and still are) of great importance for this musical and choreographic genre to be transformed from marginal and persecuted music into a symbol of Brazilianness.

To distinguish the three matrices, the team worked on different categories, specifying their peculiarities: in **music**: rhythmic aspect, sonority, melodic-harmonic structure; in **poetry**; in **dance**; in **places**; the **actors**; the **situation**; the **Scene**: the *roda*, the manifestations of religiosity, the *food*, the *instruments*, the *flags* and the *colors*, the *baianas*, the *old schools*, the *terreiros* (now blocks), the *forms of transmission of knowledge in the Rio de Janeiro samba*. And finally, the **Safeguard proposals**.

One of the main justifications for the registration request concerns the relevance of this musical genre in the creation of a Carioca identity and, later, a national identity. Another point highlighted in the document is the concern to demonstrate how this cultural dialogue, full of tensions, endures and is extremely relevant for much of the population of the old federal capital to this day. To understand this discussion, we will have to clarify about these different manifestations.

1.1.1 Partido-Alto Samba

Sapateia em cima do salto
Mostra que és filha do samba,
Do samba do partido alto.

O samba tem a sua escola,
E a sua academia também
Como dança, é uma boa bola
Nós sabemos o gosto que tem

Sapateia, ó mulata bamba!
Sapateia em cima do salto
Mostra que és filha do samba,
Do samba do partido alto.

Você seja de que linha for
Que eu prefiro a de umbanda
Quando no samba vejo meu amor
Sapeco logo uma boa banda…

Sapateia, ó mulata bamba!
Sapateia em cima do salto
Mostra que és filha do samba,
Do samba do partido alto.

Caô, caô! Caô, caô! Caó, Cabeaci!
Eu tenho o corpo fechado!
Lamento o tempo que perdi
Andando no mundo, errado!

Sapateia, ó mulata bamba!
Sapateia em cima do salto
Mostra que és filha do samba,
Do samba do partido alto.[8]

This samba is the first of the three mentioned at the beginning of the Dossier,[9] and it refers to one of the headquarters of the samba in Rio: the partido-alto samba. This samba is also inserted in the book of Francisco Guimarães (Vagalume), from 1933, transcribed during his visit to the Salgueiro Hill. Despite the elite's efforts to keep the less favored social strata and their cultural manifestations away from the streets of the former federal capital after the urban reforms in the Rio de Janeiro first decades of the twentieth century, much of the population that began to live in the morros managed to keep their religious and festive traditions within this new topographic space. Thus, persecuted, "samba took refuge on the hill, where despite not being born, it was where it developed and established itself as a musical style. The sambistas took refuge there from police and social persecution." (Matos 1982, p. 27–28).

This morro and its specificities, like the song mentioned, was presented to Guimarães by "his" Xande (a community leader), to exemplify the festive character of the candomblés in this "piece".[10] This samba, without specific authorship,[11]

[8]Idem, p. 4. To see the lyrics transcribed by Vagalume and the dialogue with Xande see: GUIMARÃES, F. Na Roda do Samba. P. 195–197.

[9]*Dossiê das Matrizes do Samba no Rio de Janeiro: Partido Alto, Samba de Terreiro e Samba-enredo*. Centro Cultural Cartola/ IPHAN/MinC/ Fundação Palmares. 2006 Available at: http://www.cnfcp.gov.br/pdf/Patrimonio_Imaterial/Dossie_Patrimonio_Imaterial/Dossie_Samba_RJ.pdf. Accessed in 05/23/2011.

[10]That was how the morro dwellers referred affectionately to the place where they lived in the beginning of century XX.

[11]The lack of specific authorship was also common at the beginning of the samba history, which was until then a collective creation, made by a group of people, with no concern for copyright since the entertainment industry was still in gestation, like the samba itself.

was, according to Xande, always sung at parties at the morros, which were generally linked to candomblé. These are described by him as "imposing festivals," where one eats and dances, in the midst of the greatest joy and enthusiasm, without forgetting religion" (Guimarães 1978, p. 195). And didactically, he sings and explains how would be the "performance" of this composition in these ritual and festive moments. In the text, the chronicler follows his visit and conclusions about the Salgueiro as being a place where everything may lack less "a soft sambinha every night and a candomblé on Mondays and Fridays" (Idem, p. 201). This hill wins in the work of Vagalume, the epithet of being the greatest of the "Academias", because there "they play every day" (Idem, p. 201). It is also where many established authors from the record companies would seek inspiration and/or consecration with the "productions of others" (Idem, p. 202).

The citation of this samba in the dossier, its anonymous authorship and the fact that it is embedded in the work of Vagalume seems to us to be deliberate, since it refers the reader to the famous "question of origins" and to the invention of the samba tradition (Napolitano and Wasserman 2000; Moraes 2007).

The narrative of Vagalume, associated with other authors such as Orestes Barbosa, Mariza Lira, Almirante, among others, was responsible, according to Moraes, for the invention of a tradition within our popular culture and within the history of modern Brazilian popular music (Moraes 2006). The construction of the text of the dossier is consistent with this "invention" and associates this tradition, which was invented at the outset, eventually becoming a reality, including the tipping of some sites linked to the "samba ancestry," such as the Pedra do Sal, located at Saúde neighborhood, famous for having a community of Bahian migrants very active in candomblé and in the rodas de samba. It was also where the house of the famous Tia Ciata was located, where the first successful samba would have been made, the one already mentioned, *Pelo Telefone* (Moura 1983).

The partido-alto samba would thus have been born on the rodas de batucada (batucada circles), where the group marked (and still marks) the beat, pounding with the palm of the hand, repeating the chorus and inventing stanzas according to a proposed theme (what also would have happened with the famous *Pelo Telephone*). It is the chorus that serves as a stimulus for a participant to go to the center of the roda and dance samba and with a gesture or body swing invites the other component of the roda.

This matrix would be marked, therefore, by improvisation, by the challenge and its rhythmic matrix would have as origin, still according to the dossier, the "Estácio paradigm."[12] That is, if the main elements of the samba de roda are related to the challenge, improvisation and collective creation, these are not enough to designate

[12]This term was used and defined by SANDRONI, C. Feitiço Decente. In this work, he proposes two types of rhythmic paradigm for samba. The two paradigms are: the "paradigm of the tresillo" and the "paradigm of Estácio." The "paradigm of the tresillo" would organize the rhythm of the initial phase of samba, the first recordings of this musical genre, such as the famous "Telefone," from 1917. The "Estácio paradigm" would emerge in the late 1920s, in a same name neighborhood, from the rodas de batucada and would define the so-called modern samba.

this style as belonging to partido-alto, since such characteristics already existed in the samba of the early twentieth century, and that can be identified, as we have said, in Pelo Telefone. Entering the twentieth century, the samba changed. It is produced in different geographic spaces of the city and starts to be transformed regarding different aspects: composers, interpreters, means of dissemination and the listener public. And it is the samba produced by the Estácio sambistas that most interest the researchers and compilers of the document, even though the house of Tia Ciata and the Saúde neighborhood are cited as spaces of origin of the musical genre. This style of samba would allow revelers to sing and dance at the same time. And it is what made it possible for samba to be played and spread through the newly created samba schools.

In the document, therefore, the partido-alto samba is defined, musically, by a polyrhythmic pattern, performed simultaneously to a medium-treble instrument (tambourine or ganzá) and a surdo attacked in the off-beat. Such a standard would have been fixed only in the 1930s through the works of composers from the Estácio neighborhood, replacing what had existed until then.

Another characteristic of the partido-alto is still associated with a "swing" with a "slower pace," favoring the development of "chanting, both of the choir and of the versed part." To give a musical example of this "swing", the document cites the composition by Candeia, *Não vem.*[13]

The text also highlights another peculiarity of this matrix of samba in Rio: the alternation between "solo and the chorus." The notion of song is in the chorus, because the second parts of the composition, in general, are improvised. "the Music was the chorus."(Dossiê, op, cit., p. 26) This second improvised part would also have great relevance, because it would be the moment of improvisation for the versador in the performance.

> Improvisation is related to a quick-thinking ability of the versator to create convincing poetic solutions respecting song metrics, rhymes based on the chorus, and often but not always, their theme. The challenge is an element of great relevance, since it establishes a certain social ambience in the rodas of the partido-alto based on a competition filled with provocations, jokes, games of language and much creativity. The versador or partideiro is therefore a figure of great respectability in the circuits of samba, being admired by his agile thinking (Idem, p. 26–7).

The document also identifies three major aesthetic groups concerning the musical typology of the partido-alto: the partidos curtos (choruses consisting of two verses, of about four bars and short improvisation)[14]; the second group, which usually presents four verses, can thus better develop the central idea and is often understood to have a typical, regular, and symmetrical structure, because both the refrain and the improvisation generally have four verses that are extend for eight measures, and finally, we have what has a greater formal and harmonious

[13]Quatro Grandes do Samba, 1977, Gravadora: RCA-Victor.

[14]The idea of the chorus is concise and reiterated by the repose of the tonic, from where the improvised verse begins. idem, p. 27.

complexity and that begins to approach what we can understand assamba de terreiro. Its main characteristic is that both the refrain and the development of improvisation extend for 12 or 16 measures (Idem, p. 29).

While in this first example, the text sings the partido-alto samba as a theme, the existence of its school and academy, exalts the mulata woman, the dance and religious rites, the second composition quoted, exemplifying the samba de terreiro, is written by the well-known composer and sambista, Cartola, and speaks of two morros of great tradition in carnival parades and samba schools: Estácio and Mangueira.

1.1.2 Samba de Terreiro

> Muito velho, pobre velho
> Vem subindo a ladeira
> Com a bengala na mão
> É o velho, velho Estácio
> Vem visitar a Mangueira
> E trazer recordação
> Professor chegaste a tempo
> Pra dizer neste momento
> Como podemos vencer
> Me sinto mais animado
> A Mangueira a seus cuidados
> Vai à cidade descer
> ("Velho Estácio"-Cartola e Nelson Sargento, 1991).

"Velho Estácio," composed by Cartola and recorded by Nelson Sargento in 1991, was rescued by the latter, who ended up concluding it, thus establishing a posthumous partnership with his friend. The lyrics reverence the "old Estácio" (a reference to Estácio's "ancestry" regarding the samba universe), which brings to Mangueira all his wisdom for the school to win the championship.

The allusion to city spaces, consecrated by samba, in the introduction of the text on the samba de terreiro in the dossier about the samba matrices, already clarifies its definition: this matrix differs from the alto-partido samba and the samba-enredo by Its function, by its context, by the fact "of being a type of samba that takes place in the terreiro." (Dossiê, op., cit, p. 31) And, due to the relevance of this space, the dossier defines terreiro as being:

> A socio-cultural space of great importance for samba. "Terreiro" may be Tia Ciata's backyard, just as the word popularly designates the candomblé house, and may also refer to the backyard of the houses in the Rio suburbs. […] the terreiro of samba is a space of sociability, in which the sambistas meet, exchange ideas, stories and sambas.

If, in general, the terreiro has multiple meanings, all linked to samba, in a more restricted sense it designates "the common area of a samba school" (Idem, p. 31).

It is at this point that the document emphasizes the fundamental and matricial role of samba schools in the constitution of samba and the fact that samba de terreiro is "*the inside of organized samba*." This would mean that "the samba de roda, when in the terreiro, is, therefore, more specific than other samba rodas, since it is associated with the structure of the samba schools and their forms of social and musical organization." (Idem, p. 31) Because of this, this matrix is characterized more as a "sociomusical practice" than properly as a specific type of samba. It is possible to see that the choice of the types of samba made in the document to become the "samba of Rio de Janeiro" are all linked to the history and places of the samba schools.

As the document is being read, it becomes clear that it intends to demonstrate that the whole history of samba in Rio is linked to the samba schools and their communities. Because of this, the samba de terreiro is only classified in this way if a certain "community" does so. And this community will always be linked to some samba school.

Only the self-recognized group of people as sambistas of the schools has the legitimacy to designate a particular samba or group of sambas as being of "terreiro", since this classification derives exactly from the fact that it has been "presented" on the rodas of the terreiros and to represent this samba environment, this "inside" of samba (Idem, p. 31).

Because of this characteristic, this samba matrix of Rio de Janeiro has a great variety of styles. Such diversity would be related to the intense cultural exchanges between samba and different schools, between these community environments and the "opposite pole of the mass circulation of music by the entertainment industry" (Idem, p. 32).

But there is some effort by the compilers of the dossier to identify some characteristic elements of thesamba de terreiro style. However, it is difficult to define the musical structure of this samba of Rio de Janeiro, for, although the document emphasizes that the oldest compositions would only have the first part and the second would be free (such as the partido-alto sambas and the first Sambas-enredo), there are two musical examples in the dossier: one from 1940 and another from 1982 with the same characteristics. Thus, the focus of the differentiation of the samba de terreiro is in the place of its production and in its themes, which privilege and sing mainly the love: to a person, a place of the community and, mainly, to the school of samba, its colors, symbols, and members. Its role within the community is also highlighted: that of building "bonds of friendship and collective identity" (Idem, p. 33).

This can be understood with the collective chanting of the sambas chorus, which in general exalts symbols that are identified by the members of the community. Hence the great importance of the refrain which is defined, therefore, by repetition and collective singing.

> The samba de terreiro thus represents an identity shared by a certain group of people aggregated by the samba school. Until some time in the twentieth century, the composers of samba de terreirowere respected figures in the internal hierarchy of schools, “bastions” of each group, almost always occupying important positions in the power and the structuring of schools. Although this power has dissolved among other protagonists of the schools, it is through the sambas de terreiro that the collective speaks and makes itself heard, elaborating its interpretations and narratives. This side of the carnival organizations makes visible (audible) through the set of their sambas de terreiro, who express their world view, their thinking, their ideas and their identity (Idem, p. 34).

As schools are changing their structures and the terreiros are turning into blocks, just as the old sambistas have their prestige and power diminished within this structure, the samba de terreiro also loses its force, reflecting such transformations.

In the 1960s, in parallel with the “professionalization” ofsamba schools and parades, samba performers will search the repertoire of samba for the terreiro, the possibility of success, through the recording of these songs. In this way, the samba that until then occupied the “terreiros”, moves to other spaces, “other rodas, for the market, or even within the structure of the schools, for less prominent spaces.”[15]

1.1.3 Samba-Enredo

A grande paixão
Que foi inspiração
Do poeta é o enredo
Que emociona a velha-guarda
Lá na comissão de frente
Como a diretoria
Glória a quem trabalha o ano inteiro
Em mutirão
São escultores, são pintores, bordadeiras
São carpinteiros, vidraceiros, costureiras
Figurinista, desenhista e artesão
Gente empenhada em construir a ilusão
E que tem sonhos
Como a velha baiana
Que foi passista
Brincou em ala
Dizem que foi o grande amor de um mestre-sala
O sambista é um artista
E o nosso Tom é o diretor de harmonia
Os foliões são embalados

[15] *Dossier*, op., cit., p. 35.

Pelo pessoal da bateria
Sonho de rei, de pirata e jardineira
Pra tudo se acabar na quarta-feira
Mas a quaresma lá no morro é colorida
Com fantasias já usadas na avenida
Que são cortinas, que são bandeiras
Razão pra vida tão real da quarta-feira
É por isso que eu canto
Pra tudo se acabar na Quarta-Feira.
("Pra Tudo se Acabar na Quarta-Feira"- Martinho da Vila)

The samba-enredo *Pra Tudo se Acabar na Quarta-Feira*, from 1984, sung by the samba school, Unidos de Vila Isabel, written by Martinho da Vila, is the last used in the introduction of the dossier and has as its theme the movement, the daily life and the dreams that stir the members of the samba world and the schools during all year round, whose climax is the carnival, which, although it ends on Ash Wednesday, is reborn again in Lent.

This matrix is described as "more than simply a kind of theme or purpose for samba,"(Idem, p. 36) for it consolidated its own aesthetic, which based on the carnival parade associated with the powerful sonority of the samba school drummer with a form of song that is characterized mainly by its narrativity, which gradually became mandatory in the composition of sambas intended for parades.

Hence the need in the document to distinguish the songs sung in the first parades, especially in the 1930s, which sang subjects that had no connection with the plot (since this was not yet mandatory),[16] those that were related to the theme proposed for the carnival parade, but which, musically, did not differ from other sambas composed by the same composers, in the period between the late 1930s and the late 1940s[17]; and the sambas-enredo, which have a specific form and function, linked to the parades of the samba school.

This type of samba would have been fruit of the changes that the parades will suffer through the years. Thus, gradually, the soloist part is diminishing, "insofar as the whole parade becomes a collective enterprise, adjusted and timed in detail […]" (Idem, p. 38). This process is exemplified in the document by the sambas of the Império Serrano between 1948 and 1951, who have a letter linked to the plot,

[16]See the example of the samba *Chega de Demanda*, from 1929, that had 16 bars intoned by a choir of shepherdesses and another 16 measures that were destined to the improvisation of a soloist. *Dossiê*, op., cit., p. 36.

[17]Here the text emphasizes as a musical example the samba *Não Quero Mais Amar Ninguém*, by Carlos Cachaça and Cartola, which was used in a parade in 1936. The great difference of this one for the first type is the authorship of the two parties, in this case, the second part improvisation did not occur.

but musically, would represent, according to the dossier, a transition between the samba of Estácio and the samba-enredo. These sambas add several measures to the first part of samba, and, subsequently, also to the second part.[18]

The increasing importance of the first part in the form of the samba-enredo is accompanied by a progressive shift from the emphasis of the "samba", in a more musical sense, to the "plot", that is, to a more explicit intention to narrate this plot (Idem, p. 39).

Gradually, the plot (the lyrics, the story) is imposing itself on the samba and its narrative character is changing the extension of these compositions, to the point of being nicknamed "sheets", because they tried to "cover" all the steps described in the parade.[19]

There is consensus among researchers that it is at the turn of the 1940s to 1950 that the samba-enredo as we know it today acquires its most striking features. In the following years, the tendency of composition of sambas-enredo more and more integrated to the narrative intensifies, generating extensive sambas with virtually no repetition (Idem, p. 40).

In the 1970s, there were new changes in this samba matrix in Rio, again due to changes in the structure of the parades, which further diminished thesambistas freedom and got them away from their original motivation, linked to community and collective singing. Another point highlighted in the document concerns the acceleration of the progress of this type of samba, associated with the short time that the school has to walk the avenue. And such an acceleration ends up masking the rhythmic nuances of the drums, reducing the singers' potential for interpretation and hiding the richness of the melodic and harmonic paths, as well as bringing significant choreographic consequences (Idem, p. 40).

This process, according to the dossier, would represent a departure from the matrix of samba-enredo, increasingly focused on "carnival trade and less on relevant cultural activity in the context of schools" (Idem, p. 40).

1.2 The Places of Samba

The document, therefore, highlights the differences between the carioca samba and also seeks to highlight the places where the samba is manifested in the city of Rio de Janeiro. Obviously, it was never confined to a single place, and even though the samba school terreiro (now, square) should be considered a privileged space, fundamental for its creation and transmission, samba took place and takes place

[18]See musical examples. *Dossier*, op., cit., p. 39.

[19]Here the musical example is the samba *Aquarela Brasileira*, by Silas de Oliveira, presented by the Império Serrano in 1964. But the document also cites compositions from other schools. *Dossier*, op., cit., p. 40.

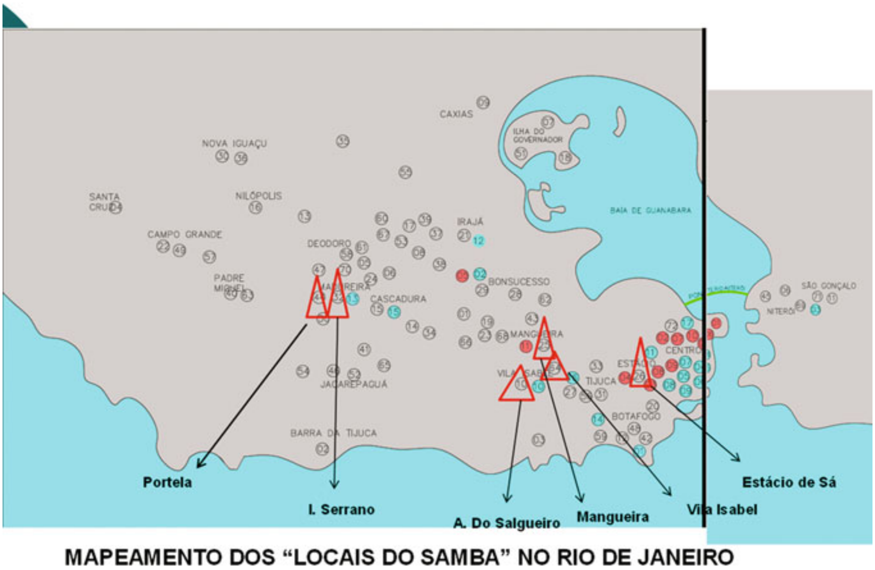

Fig. 1.1 "Places of Samba" in Rio de Janeiro. *Source* Modified from Fabiana Lopes da Cunha. *Original* http://www.cnfcp.gov.br/pdf/Patrimonio_Imaterial/Dossie_Patrimonio_Imaterial/Dossie_Samba_RJ.pdf

anywhere, at any time, if the samba musicians meet. This is how it spread throughout the city, and this is how it still manifests itself today (Dossiê, p. 89).

When we analyze the document of patrimonialization of the carioca samba, we notice the great number of "oficial" samba schools and samba places, spread throughout the city of Rio de Janeiro and surrounding areas. It is something impressive. Therefore, the organizers of the work decided to select only five schools that they considered as more traditional within the samba history of the city of Rio de Janeiro to study within the dossier: Portela, Mangueira, Salgueiro, Vila Isabel and Estácio de Sá. We inserted here this mapping with some modifications, indicating in red these samba schools and where they are located in the city of Rio de Janeiro, in order to facilitate the reader's visualization (Fig. 1.1).

As we can see in Fig. 1.1, there are 72 carnival associations, without taking into account here the hundreds of independent blocks that also take to the streets before and during the celebrations of Momo. Their names and components denote who they are, their stories, their identities.

Along with tradition, new places of samba are created; this explains the reason of the dynamism of the carnival party in Rio de Janeiro.

> It was inside the trains that it arrived in the "farm" of Oswaldo Cruz and Madureira […] around jackfruit trees, mango trees, tamarind trees, in the backyards of the suburb, the samba carioca is celebrated and renewed (not without tensions). The emergence or consolidation of new spaces devoted to traditional samba – 'de raiz,' as the sambistas themselves say - can be pointed out as a strategy of these communities in the face of reducing the

> moments for their enjoyment in the original spaces. If the samba-enredo today dominates in the school square, the partido-alto reigns in the bar of the Candongueiro, in Pendotiba (Niterói). […] (Idem, p. 89).

The renovation of the neighborhood of Lapa, with the opening of bars and cultural centers that give space and prominence to the traditional sambistas, has in recent years created an alternative circuit for the presentation of sambas of terreiro and partido-alto.

The geography of the samba of Rio de Janeiro transforms at any moment, with gains at one side and losses at another.

> On the one hand, urban space degrades and communities are torn apart (unemployment, drugs and criminality), on the other hand there is an effort by public authorities and some groups to “sacralize” places, to value and to spread some rites and cultural practices. In the case of Carnival and more specifically the samba, which currently carries the name of “carioca,” there is an effort to link this genre as an important identity symbol of the residents of the city and state of Rio de Janeiro and its historical relevance within the construction of an identity for the nation. This has mainly occurred through policies for the valorization of heritage (both material and immaterial) associated with a process of redevelopment and revitalization of some areas of the city that are linked to the history of this musical genre and carnival celebrations (da Cunha 2013, p. 201–2).

Thus, what we can conclude at the moment is that this richness and musical and cultural diversity coupled with the encounters within the urban space of the city of Rio de Janeiro provided an extremely dynamic festive and musical universe. Such dynamism enabled the creation of rhythms and Diverse melodies that were being composed, diffused, and consumed in their respective historical moments, also responding to the yearnings of amusement of the public and to the need of the nascent entertainment industry.

Finally, if on the one hand, it seems to us that the attempt to organize and adapt in a more “civilized” way the revelers, the carnival and the samba, still in the first decades of the twentieth century, on the other, we perceive that the creativity and the eagerness to enjoy the pleasure of parading and singing are perpetuated among the most popular layers that create or recreate ways of playing in the public spaces of big capitals. We believe that this has been one of the main reasons for requesting the inventory and recording of the carioca samba, as a commodity of intangible culture: the concern of samba communities (especially those related to the “old school”) in relation to this dynamic that eventually stimulates changes in the way of composing, singing, dancing, parading and experiencing samba.

On the other hand, the creation of the Cidade do Samba (where samba and carnival courses are promoted, shows and where the great samba schools have their headquarters) associated with the patrimonialization of the carioca samba matrices seems to end a cycle that was started in the 1920s with the attempt to create a national music with the construction of a speech based on the “myth of origin” of the carioca samba. However, they are elements that are completed, but which are also dialectical, since they point to two paths, that of inclusion and exclusion, and also to new directions and developments. Another point to emphasize is that, of all samba styles, those selected were those that have their samba matrices linked to places, communities, and samba schools. Even the Cidade do Samba was built at the "feet" of the Morro da Providência (Providência Hill), the first hill to have the construction and settlement of a favela in Rio de Janeiro. And since samba has a history linked to the morros, although it was not born in them, with a great community of singers and talented composers who resided in them, this great tourism and cultural enterprise also became a reference in the history of samba and carnival.

Thus, in spite of all the problems mentioned here, without the involvement of this community of sambists, scholars and lovers of the subject, and, consequently, for their concern for the preservation of a musical and festive memory and, on the other, for their willingness to engage in constant dialogue and recreation of these musical expressions, this endeavor—that of inventing and safeguarding these samba matrices of Rio de Janeiro—would never have had any effect.

Finally, when we see in the document, the description of the various spaces of the city and its surroundings destined to samba and carnival, like the bar of the Candongueiro in Niterói, or the numerous bars and Cultural Centers in Lapa (that diffuse the samba), the culinary mapping associated with samba and/or samba in Rio de Janeiro, the rhythmic and narrative styles, or the map of the samba schools, the samba rhythms and the spaces considered as references in the city, with regard to the history of carnival and samba, we understand the phrase of the former director of development of the Palmares Foundation, who supported the making of the dossier, Mr. Martvs António das Chagas: "There is nothing more material than the 'immateriality of samba.'"[20]

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[20]This phrase was said when Mr. Chagas was Undersecretary of affirmative policies and actions of the Secretariat for the Promotion of Racial Equality of the Presidency of the Republic, during the government of President Luis Ignacio Lula da Silva. Available in: http://www.clubedosamba.com.br/index.asp?url=noticia&id=215 Accessed in 09/08/2009. Based on CUNHA, Fabiana Lopes da. Samba Carioca e Carnaval: Sonoridades, Identidades, Urbes e Imaterialidades. Op., cit., p. 225–6.

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Chapter 2
Negligence and Reinvention: Cultural Heritage of the Watering Place of São Vicente (São Paulo/Brazil)

Sandra C.A. Pelegrini

Abstract This text discusses the appeals and contradictions of the historical heritage of the watering place of São Vicente, a city located on the coast of São Paulo, Brazil, and considered the oldest in the country. Despite the compromised state of its environmental heritage and the lack of respect for the preservation of its material and immaterial cultural assets, public and private management recreate memory pseudospaces as potential tourist attractions for local economic development.

Keywords Vila de São Vicente cultural park · Historical heritage · Cultural heritage · Memory

Several factors make it difficult to perceive the social scope and economic potential of conservation practices in Brazilian ancient cities. With a view to a problematic approach to the distortion of the senses of the protection and conservation of material and immaterial cultural goods, this reflection discusses impasses involving the recognition of the patrimonial assets, knowledge, and practices of the resident population in São Vicente's Watering Place, located on the coast of the State of São Paulo (Brazil).

For this purpose, this analysis is directed toward the appreciation of the strategies of public and private powers to promote an attractiveness of city as a historical nucleus of national relevance: first, dedicating monuments to famous personages of the process of the Portuguese colonization; second, taking as narratives of founding myths and transforming them into identity referents, often relegated to simulacrum.

In the case of São Vicente, there is an aggravating factor: it is a city that did not protect its cultural and natural assets. Although when municipal authorities viewed the possibilities of development and generation of employment and income through the exploration of tourist attractions, they adopted a series of misguided measures to remedy the setbacks with the local patrimony.

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2.1 São Vicente's Watering Place

Recognized as the first Brazilian urban center, São Vicente is located in Santos' microregion (State of São Paulo, Brazil) and completed 484 years in January, 2016. According to data provided by the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics (IBGE) in 2015, the city has approximately 350,000 inhabitants and 147,893 km^2 of land area; and the total length of the beach area is about 3,400 meters.[1] The best known beaches are Milionários, Itararé (where you can see Porchat and Urubuqueçaba islands) and Gonzaguinha, which has 800 meters of coast and, historically, is recognized as the place where Martim Afonso landed at the time of Portuguese colonization.

Cartography and records of Spanish expeditions' travelers show the presence of Europeans in *Santos coast* since the early years of the sixteenth century, but the village was officially founded only on January 22, 1532 by Martim Afonso de Sousa, a nobleman named donee of two hereditary captaincies by King Dom João III. It is reported that Gaspar Lemos arrived in this place 30 years before (1502) and gave it the name of one of Portugal's patron saints: Vicente de Saragoça (Leme 2003).

On IBGE's map (Fig. 2.1), São Vicente's territorial extension is highlighted in orange:

In the last years of the first three cinquecentist decades, São Vicente was elevated to the condition of a village. Although there is no charter record of this fact, it is assumed that it occurred between 1536 and 1537, as pointed out by Castro (1932), Leme (2003) and Gianesella (2012).

The houses of the village and the mother church—remnant of the temple structure raised by Jesuits—appear in this cartographic representation (Fig. 2.2), designed in order to indicate nautical conditions and accessibility to the port.

This eighteenth-century picture, considered the oldest of São Vicente Village, also suggests some attributes which favored the establishment of the Portuguese, such as rivers that guaranteed access to fresh water and easiness of defending the territory against any investitures of corsairs adventurers, because in this bay the sea was too shallow. In addition, this side of the island guaranteed partial protection from the strong wind from the South and avoided confrontation with Tupinambá indigenous, settled on the eastern side of the island.

One thing we know for sure is Martim Afonso de Souza's squadron anchored on the island of São Vicente and his responsibilities were the following: to establish territorial landmarks of the Portuguese colony in that part of the Brazilian coast; to face continuous confrontations with Carijós, Tamoios and Guaianases indigenous people; to promote exploratory activities on the coast and on Rio da Prata (Silver River); to open representative institutions of Royal power (church, pillory and municipal council); to develop sugar cane culture and, as a consequence,

[1]Source: IBGE. Research Board—DPE—Coordination of Population and Social Indicators—COPIS.

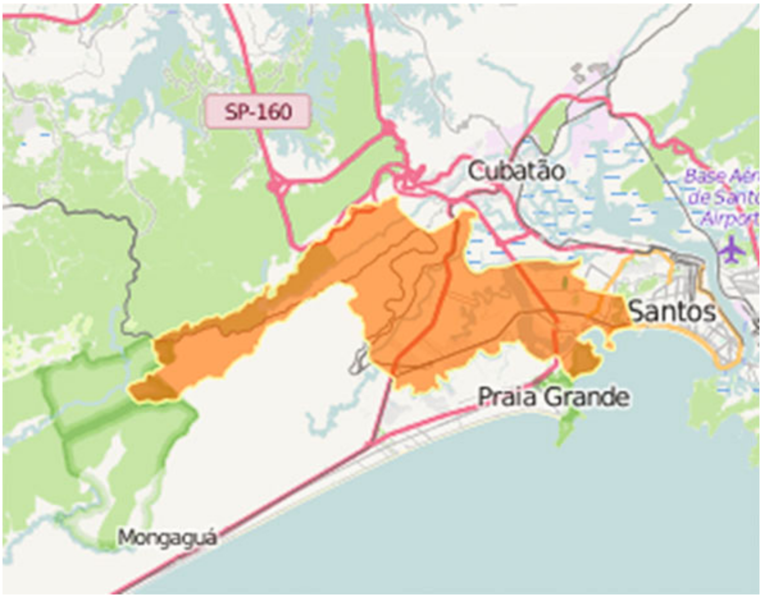

Fig. 2.1 Map of São Vicente

Fig. 2.2 Floor plan fragment of São Vicente village (1765–1775). Unidentified authorship. Source: "Floor plan of the coast of Santos Village" detail, manuscript safeguarded by the National Library of Brazil, in Rio de Janeiro

subsistence agriculture; and to introduce the needed mechanisms for sugar manufacture, a basic product in the colonial economy.

Souza's expedition, even without officially integrating the Portuguese Crown colonization plan, brought together a contingent of about 150 men for about 16 months and, in those conditions, contributed to fixing them in Brazil, impelled by the dream of finding "Eldorado" and exploration intentions of gold and silver mines, even precious stones. That way, it would have operated indirectly and collaborated in a non-compromised way with the exporter agrarian colonial project implemented by the Portuguese metropolis (Gianesella 2012: 181).

Bad weather and floods altered the landscape features of São Vicente Village (Madre de Deus 1975); misfortunes that resulted from invasions and robberies of English and Dutch corsairs pirates, respectively, in 1591 and 1615 (Luís 1980); deactivation of sugar mills activities, supplanted by development of coffee production in regions of São Paulo upland; expansion of coffee beans trade in the international market; and development of port operations in Santos somehow contributed to the economic stagnation of the city over the centuries (Castro 1932).

In the second quarter of the twentieth century, the city grew moderately around seaside activities which attracted vacationers in the hottest seasons of the year. Social, cultural, environmental, and economic defective policies culminated in frequent attacks to seaside ambience and almost total lack of enterprises in health, education, security, and habitation fields. Therefore, they contributed to the spread of *favelas* and proliferation of violence, making job generation not viable and corroborating to turn São Vicente into a "dormitory town" of *Santos coast*. Although São Vicente's sea coast had "natural attractiveness", it failed to assure job opportunities related to tourism and *per capita* income equal or lower than two or three minimum wages (Roque 2005).

From 1997 on, there is a more incisive concern of political authorities with the association of tourism to the city historic "vocation", which explained initiatives to provide entertainment and leisure options for vacationers.

Cultural marketing used slogans such as "The First City of Brazil", "Cradle of Democracy in the Americas", "São Vicente—always the first one", and "The First Municipal Council of the Americas", catchphrases that spread through the local press narratives and have gained considerable prominence in political speeches and tourist companies, which made investments aiming to attract vacationers and stimulate tourism, by alternative entertainment options, such as

nautical-sports fairs and products from other regions; exhibitions (…); photography contests (…); Fish & Pay opening; (…) creation of thematic spaces, such as the "Replica of Brazil's first village"; use of already existent squares and places, such as the Praça 22 de Janeiro (22 de Janeiro Square), where the Hipupiara Park was established; and the Horto Municipal, where there is the Museu dos Escravos (Museum of the Slaves) (Roque 2005).[2]

[2]The author highlights that a program was created on cable TV channel titled "TV-Primeira" as well as "electronic tourist information panels", available in squares and avenues.

Fig. 2.3 Houses at the entrance to the Vila de São Vicente Cultural Park. Source: São Vicente City Hall Photo Gallery Archive http://www.saovicente.sp.gov.br/galerias/visualizargaleria.asp?ID=21/ Accessed on March 18, 2014

Despite the intentions of these initiatives, Parque Cultural Vila de São Vicente (Vila de São Vicente Cultural Park) (Fig. 2.3), opened in 2001 next to the Mother Church, is for sure presented as a fantastic "time machine" which, according to São Vicente City Hall reports:

Reproduces the architecture, traditions, and customs of the first Brazilian city, colonized by Portuguese. At the park, visitors can get to know the sixteenth century colonial daily life in many cultural spaces that pay homage to important characters of Brazil and São Vicente histories in the region (PMSV 2014).

Through theater groups and script previously defined by São Vicente City Hall, actors and actresses take turns telling the history of the city foundation, by reciting poetry, commenting daily life facts of old colonial villages, and recreating conversations between female colleagues and occasional encounters with indigenous catechized by Jesuits and priests (Fig. 2.4).

Administered by the Association for Economic and Social Development for Families (ADESAF), the park received numerous critical assessments of heritage scholars, since in a tendentious way, their managers linked an authenticity idea to the reproduction of aesthetic and historical peculiarities of architecture and design of the old village, with no reference to fishermen and with an artificial lake, beach umbrellas, and other anachronisms.

Furthermore, the assumed concept of the park as a place capable of reviving memories of residents and visitors is doubly dissimulative: first, because it is a simulacrum of the official histories; and second, because it is based on a

Fig. 2.4 Vila de São Vicente Cultural Park. Source: São Vicente City Hall Photo Gallery Archive http://www.saovicente.sp.gov.br/galerias/visualizargaleria.asp?ID=21/ Accessed on March 18, 2014

hierarchizing project of access to the city, guided by a veiled proposal of distinction and social exclusion aggravated in 2010, through the adoption of the "Tourist Passport", created by the city Department of Tourism.

Between the gateway and the walls that surround the village, the scenario is full of distorted explanations about dichotomous and Manichean representations of human relationships, about notions of progress and civilization (cities and European colonizers) versus delay and barbarism (colonies and indigenous/Mamelukes), and also judgments that induce suppression of perceptions regarding indigenous population annihilation and a wrong sense of culture and power.

In addition, the works have not gone through technical assessment of the National Historic and Artistic Heritage Institute (IPHAN) or the Council for the Defense of the Historical, Archaeological, Artistic and Touristic Heritage—of the State of São Paulo (CONDEPHAAT). The park was completed under warnings of embargoes and interdiction ultimatums for disobeying the resolutions of the Preservation Federal Law (25/1937) and also for transgressing the norms of protection of the surroundings of goods under tutelage and safeguard of the State (Motta and Thompson 2010).

Scocuglia, when commenting on nowadays scenic architecture, draws attention to two main dangers of this type of revitalization: transformation of "individuals" into "mere contemplators" and "artificial appreciation of urban land, associated with an increase in flow of people in areas created within proposals of generation of partial public spaces" (2006: 1–2).

In spite of all that, the expression "Brazil was born here" was certainly highlighted by the media at the time of April 22, 2000 celebrations and, following the civic festivities of 500 years of Brazil's discovery, it stimulated the production of pamphlets, billboards, t-shirts, and all kinds of souvenirs that could link São Vicente's natural heritage and landscapes to its historical past. This is the case of a caravel's logotype, used in picture representations formatted in golden metal that dot the edges of traffic and identification signs of places of interest, beaches, civic center, and local shops, arranged at circulation spaces of the city and surrounding areas, outside the urban perimeter, and on access roads to the city.

In addition to the ship visual symbol created, the "S V" letters have been inserted on the stylized drawing of waves, in order to promote a dialectic and identity intervention of the printed set through "stickers glued on official vehicles, garbage collectors' t-shirts, panels displayed in spaces intended for events and waste baskets distributed along the beaches" (Roque 2002: 4). The ostensive display of these symbols and topics had an impact in interviews of mayors and municipal secretaries, in printed materials in newspapers and magazines, in programs broadcast by radio and television, and in digital texts and images provided by the Internet.

In periods close to preparations for celebration of the city's anniversary, a clear dissemination of such slogans catches the eyes of observers. Phrases such as "Always the First", among other similar ones, were and continue to be used as a cultural and business marketing, printed even on paintings of vehicles responsible for the transport of tourists and for driving passengers in vans that move around the city.

In this line of thought, is it possible to infer that lack of urban planning and non-accomplishment of legal regulations that rule Brazilian legislation with respect to heritage has accompanied São Vicente's trajectory? To understand the merit of this hypothesis, it is necessary to approach the disturbing experiences of São Vicente's population and scholars' views of this subject.

In the middle of the twentieth century, more precisely in 1953, Claude Levi-Strauss (1985) pointed out the disordered growth problem of countryside cities of São Paulo. He warned that municipal authorities of São Paulo, as well as the City Hall of the State capital, were not preserving urban monuments, understood by him as important identity references. In other words, we can deduce that his reflections had already detected a reckless matter: historical marks, traditional practices, and customs of these populations were at the mercy of oblivion and extinction.

In this line of thought and based on the propositions of the referred anthropologist, Cecília Rodrigues dos Santos, coordinator of the Architecture Department of the São Paulo Cultural Center, on this position in the first year of the twenty-first century, admitted the existence of "administrative discontinuity in municipalities, (…) susceptibility to pressure from community groups, a powerful real estate game of interests" informed by "a sense of progress" linked to "continuous renovation processes of cities" (2001: 45).

Such findings suggest that the deal with natural and historical heritage of São Vicente is on the list of problems mentioned above by Santos, particularly the Brazilian State protectionist dispositions, expressed in 1937 and 1988 *Magni Cartas*, on federal and state legislation. To mention an example, it should be noted that only on October 21, 2005, the São Vicente Council for Defense of Historic, Artistic, Architectural, Cultural and Touristic Heritage (CONDEPHASV) was created. In accordance with the City Organic Law (art. 341), the City Council approved the law 1634/05 that established it as "deliberative and autonomous institution on issues related to preservation of cultural and natural goods, linked to the Department of Tourism and Culture" (Art. 1—Law 1634/05-PMSV).

However, after several months, the article entitled "The city only has two heritages", published by the newspaper *A Tribuna*, on May 20, 2007, expressed indignation in the face of ineffectiveness of the CONDEPHASV, regarding abandonment and destruction of São Vicente heritage. Such situation was analyzed, to say the least, as paradoxical and inconsistent with the acclaimed distinction of Brazil's oldest city. Furthermore, there is no effective records of protection of natural goods and landscape, nor material or immaterial cultural goods in the municipal sphere either.

Since the middle of 2006, the council formed by twenty-two members promised the forwarding of a list of goods to be assessed. However, due to interest shocks and dissatisfaction of those who had benefited from the real state vacationer boom that has occurred in the municipality, from the 1960s on, there was resistance against municipal processes of preservation performed after 2008.

This is how it happens only in 2008, the announcement of preservation of historical and traditional and touristic city monuments, such as "Biquinha de Anchieta"; "Marco Padrão", from Gonzaguinha Beach; "22 de Janeiro Square"; the "São Vicente Mother Church" and "Pênsil Bridge"; the frontispiece and/or structures of some buildings and the statutory across from the City Hall; "Casa" (House) and "Martim Afonso School"; "Grupão" (nineteenth-century school); "Gáudio building"; the volumetry of "Mirante" and "Anchieta" buildings, located in the central area; and also, "Jardim da Casa do Barão" (Garden of the Baron's House), "Acastelado do Jardim Aralinda" Palace; "Porto das Naus" (Port of Ships), "Ruinas do Acaraú (Ruins of the Acaraú)" and "Curtume" (A Tribuna 2008).

In the IPHAN listing there is the recognition of the heritage value, in 1982, of the "São Vicente Pênsil Bridge"[3] and "remnants of the Vila Colonial e Port of Naus.[4] Among the CONDEPHAAT records the following were listed: in 1986, the "Serra do Mar and Paranapiacaba"[5]; in 1988, the "Casa do Barão e Cobertura Vegetal".[6] Unfortunately, the archaeological heritage of the colonial city, submerged in 1542, still has not received due attention. Under the sea are the remains of the first church of the village and remnants of material culture of the population that inhabited the place.

So, we can check that in the mid-twentieth century, strategies to retake economic growth, driven by the Government in partnership with private investors, have adopted measures aimed at improving quality of life of residents in order to

[3]Livro do Tombo Histórico (Historic Heritage Registry): Registration number 175, p. 41, 5/26/1982.

[4]Livro do Tombo Histórico (Historic Heritage Registry): Registration number.

[5]Livro do Tombo Arqueológico, Etnográfico e Paisagístico (Archaeological, Ethnographic and Landscape Registry): Registration number 16, p. 305, 9/8/1986.

[6]Livro do Tombo Histórico (Historic Heritage Registry): Registration number 279, p. 72, 7/18/1988.

preserve environmental and cultural heritage, therefore, ensure success on hospitality and tourist activities of the beach resort of São Vicente.

2.2 Final Remarks

Heritage safeguarding can become a way of residents symbolically recreate their relationship with the city and recognize their individual and collective memories as an integral part of these goods, regardless of their type. However, the development of conservation projects, the implementation of laws and decrees of preservation, and registration of goods are worthless if the sense of belonging is not rooted into the soul of the resident population (Pelegrini 2009).

This way, the propositions of Laenen (1997) concerning integrated conservation agree with the idea here defended: when the population is encouraged to participate in actions of protection, the "cultural personality" can be preserved, even in the face of information globalization or economic globalization.

In fact, it is essential to measure the benefits of joining cultural policies and development of tourist attractions, as well as protection and safeguarding of goods (Barreto 2007), however, without ignoring the interference of visitors in maintenance and transformation of recipient traditional cultures, since cultural boundaries are fluid, dynamic, and multifaceted, as suggested by Homi Bhabha (2013) and Néstor García Canclini (2006).

However, in the case of São Vicente, we observe that state and local public policies, besides not promoting conservation of landscape, natural and historical goods of the city, they did not take into account the issues referred by the authors mentioned above: business community, workers, children, young people, and adults have not been involved in heritage education projects or awareness programs regarding the vital need for protection of old buildings and the Atlântica forest, either of riparian forests, rivers or beaches, which resulted in degraded environments. Similarly, traditional practices, knowledge of fishing job, or preparation of food consumed by communities have not been valued—potential intangible cultural heritages to be safeguarded for future generations.

Same occurred with the creation of the "Staging of Foundation of São Vicente Village" (1982), idealized by amateur theater groups of the city, to celebrate 450 years of the city foundation. However, from its inclusion to the Guinness World Records' list (2002) as "greatest theater performance on beach sand in the world", the event has gained other dimensions. After 5 years, it was integrated into the tourist circuit and received some new features, such as inclusion of pyrotechnic show and "Espírito Santo" caravel.

At the time, in 2007, the show achieved national repercussion and started to be performed in parts, divided into several acts for 7 days; it has received an audience of about 56,000 people; 1,300 supporting actors from the community participated and famous actors from Brazilian television were cast to take the protagonist roles of the plot.[7] In other words, the spectacularization of the performance of a cultural good happened, which was simply elaborated for celebration of Martin Alfonso's arrival in the village located among the mountains of Serra do Mar and the south coast of São Paulo.

Regarding the considerations presented, this paper proposed a reflection about the complexity of preservation practices in cities that take a "historical vocation" for themselves, based only in the economic potential that this characterization can bring. In this perspective, it should be noted that actions for heritage protection, when articulated to tourism and public policies of economic planning and urbanization, education, and culture, can promote sustainable development and social inclusion of citizens, since by aggregating values to cultural and natural goods, they generate jobs and income, essential resources to improve quality of life of residents.

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Part II
Archaeological Heritage

Chapter 3
Brazilian Archaeology, the Last Two Decades

Pedro Paulo A. Funari

Abstract The paper aims at discussing Brazilian archaeology and its trajectory, paying particular attention to recent developments. It starts by stating the stand adopted here, from an externalist, social history of the discipline, to then turn to a brief overview of the history of archaeology in the country since the nineteenth century. Then there is a discussion of the main developments in the last two decades in the main fields of the discipline and in relation to the main subjects such as early human settlement, rock art, other prehistoric issues, historical archaeology, classical archaeology, underwater archaeology, and public archaeology, followed by a note on the role of women in Brazilian archaeology. It concludes by discussing the outlook of the discipline.

Keywords Brazilian archaeology · Dictatorship and democracy · Prehistory · Historical archaeology

3.1 Introduction

In 1994, in the first issue of our *Art History and Archaeology Journal*, I published an overview of the discipline (Funari 1994a, b). In the period, Brazilian archaeology has evolved in ways impossible to forecast back then, even though the main thrust for its advancement was very much clear: democracy and social inclusion. Indeed, as we will see in this article, Brazilian archaeology is an early endeavor, starting in the nineteenth century. (Ferreira 2010), but it has changed overtime and the main thrust has been the struggle for justice and equality. The last 20 years has witnessed a revolution in the discipline in the country, with the multiplication of fieldwork and the explosion of publications within and without the country. If there was a cautious optimism in 1994, even the most daring expectations have been

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surpassed. Before starting to deal with those achievements, I must address two issues: my own stand and a brief overview of the trajectory of archaeology in Brazil.

3.2 A Word on Brazil

It is useful to introduce the reader to the country. Brazil is a huge country. Its area (8,514,877 km^2) is twice that of the European Union (4,324,782 km), the population is now more than 190 million people and the GDP is US$2.493 trillion. The number of archaeologists is difficult to establish, but from a few hundred twenty years ago it is now probably in the thousands, most of them in Cultural Research Management (Schaan and Almeida 2009).

3.3 A Social History of the Discipline

History of science is always a controversial subject. There is a long and respected tradition of considering science as the accumulation of knowledge, from generation to generation, building on previous achievements and findings. On the shoulders of giants, even small steps may be considered as advancements, as considered our Renaissance masters. This approach has been described by some as putting the main emphasis on internal factors affecting changes in any scholarly discipline. Indeed, Eratosthenes in the third century BC would not be able to calculate the diameter of our planet without the previous experiments and reasoning of earlier mathematicians and geographers (Bozic and Ducloy 2008). He has built on previous ideas and there is no dispute about that. But two main issues are to be added: Alexandrian context and setting, on the one hand, and the destiny of his ideas. The Alexandrian Library as scholarly institution resulting from the Alexandrian imperial move away from the poleis of ancient Greece is a key factor to explain his achievement, much beyond the limited scope of small towns and directly related to empire and world view. It was a move dependent on a shift from town to world, form polis to cosmopolis (Macleod 2005).

In a few centuries though planet earth was no longer considered round or Eratosthenes precise circumference of the earth measures were considered right. For several hundred years, the planet turned flat and no Greek mathematician, geographer or philosopher, even though known, were enough to change a perceived view of earth as a completely difference place. Science was not building on the predecessors, but on changed tenets. So, more important than the accumulation of knowledge, the historical, social, and political contexts are essential to determining and explaining changes in science. This is also called an external approach to history of science, stressing how social circumstances prevail in shaping scientific thought, as put Thomas Patterson (2001) in discussing the social history of anthropology in the United States and the main guide of the approach used in this essay. In continental philosophical terms, taking Heidegger, Wittgenstein, Derrida, and Foucault, among others, this stand can also be considered as a way of focusing on what is possible to think and say in specific circumstances. Whatever the level of sophistication of our understanding, be it the pragmatic one of the Anglo-Saxon philosophical stance or the more intricate and abstruse one of continental, German, and French hermeneutical strings (Hunter 2006), it is clear that there is more than the mere accumulation of knowledge, the main argument of this article. Brazilian archaeology cannot be disentangled from Brazilian history.

3.4 Brazilian Archaeology: A Historical Overview

Brazilian archaeology is one of the earliest, even though this may seem unreasonable. It is indeed difficult to accept that Brazil was early on concerned with archaeology, but Napoleon played in this respect, as in many others, a special role. Brazil was part of Portugal for several centuries, producing first Brazil wood, and then sugarcane and precious metals and stones in the first three centuries of colonization, starting in 1500. Napoleon's onslaught in Europe menaced old regime monarchies everywhere and the Portuguese crown decided, with the decisive support of the British, to move the capital of the colonial power from Lisbon to Rio de Janeiro in 1808, a unique move from center to periphery in modern times. All the arrays of power were then established in the former colony, elevated to part of the United Kingdom of Portugal, Brazil, and Algarves and siege of power, as the capital and center of all the other institutions, such as the court, library, museum, and much more. Within a few years though the powerful Napoleon was defeated and the Portuguese court faced the challenge of returning to Lisbon. After some hesitation, John VI decided to go back to Europe, leaving the heir to the throne in Brazil, Peter, who would in 1822 declare Brazil independent from Portugal. Peter I established Brazilian archaeology, bringing to the country the first archaeological artifacts, such as Egyptian mommies and other material (Funari and Funari 2010). Later on, Peter decided to return to Portugal and reclaim his throne, as Peter IV of Portugal, leaving his son Peter II as emperor of Brazil, reigning from the 1830s until 1889.

Archaeology flourished during this period. Peter II was an enlightened absolutist, in the mold of Peter the Great of Russia, his namesake. Inspired by him, he founded his own Petersburg (Petrópolis) and all the arrays of ancient glory, thanks to archaeology. If Moscow was the third Rome, as considered Peter the Great and the Russians, Rio de Janeiro was to be Rome in the tropics, and archaeology was the tool for this. Peter II married to a Neapolitan princess and got archaeological material from Pompeii, Etruria and much more. The National Museum in Rio de Janeiro aimed at rivaling with the British and Louvre Museums and thus sidelining former colonial power Lisbon. The Emperor established the Brazilian Academy (*Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro*, literally the Brazilian Historical and Geographical Institute) a counterpart to the French Académie (Ferreira 1999). In this program archaeology played a special role, aiming at establishing both Old World (Classical and Egyptian archaeology) and New World roots (prehistoric archaeology). For several decades, archaeology was at the centre of the Brazilian imperial ideology and this explains its early development. The demise of the monarchy led to a steep decline of archaeology during the early oligarchic republic (1889–1930). The imperial thrust was followed by a deep *horror indigenae*, or fear of native roots, pushing archaeology to a most humble endeavor pursuit. In the 1930s, the strong influx of nationalism gave a new impetus to history and heritage: the colonial ideal should serve to build the nation. The colonial period was chosen as the one defining Brazilian society, particularly during the fascist New State dictatorship period (1937–1945), but archaeology as a scholarly endeavor started in this period as a reaction against this move (Funari 1999).

Paulo Duarte (1899–1984) was a key figure in this move (Funari and Silva 2007). Duarte was a democratic political activist during the later years of the oligarchic republic and contributed to the founding of the first Brazilian university, the University of São Paulo (1934), modeled on a humanist approach to scholarship. Among the scholars in this academic endeavor, the young Claude Lévi-Strauss (1908–2009) played a vital role, as did Jéan Gagé (1902–1986) and Fernand Braudel (1902–1985), all of them later to become leading French intellectuals. Democrat Duarte did not stand though dictatorial rule (1937–1945) and preferred the exile. During this period, his humanist ideals led him to American and French anthropology and to the struggle for human rights, particularly concerning native peoples. *Musée de l'Homme* served as the model for considering indigenous peoples as equally important as any other humans. As a dreamer, Duarte had a dream: setting up a Museum of the American Man, inspired by the Parisian outlet. Upon returning to Brazil, Duarte spearheaded a movement for Indian rights and as a consequence of prehistoric archaeology, during the liberal period between 1945 and 1964. He mobilized ordinary people around popular science courses on prehistory, archaeology, and the American man, as it was then called (but man in Portuguese means, as in French *homme,* a human being). He was able to set up a Prehistory Commission and then a Prehistory Institute, which he was able to link with the University of São Paulo, a very important move, so that archaeology could for the first time become a scholarly endeavor in Brazil. Due to his friendship with Paul Rivet (1876–1958), Duarte was able to lure for the first time professional archaeologists to Brazil, Joseph (died 1977) and Annette Laming-Emperaire (1917–1977), disciples of Rivet and leading pre-historians who studied rock art as evidence of human culture, as opposed to the traditional high and low art (Poloni 2008). This was part of the humanist move stemming from Lévi-Strauss, Marcel Mauss, and André Leroi-Gourhan, all of them stressing, in different ways, how humans are all capable of representing the world through symbols. Again, prehistory was not only a subject worth pursuing for intellectual reason, but also as statement on humanity itself: we are all culture bearers. It is not coincidental, that rock art played a special role in this, for drawing in caves and inscriptions on rocks reveal the most human capacity of communication. All humans master language.

Duarte and his humanist archaeology flourished for a while. Thanks to his efforts and to allies engaged in similar pursuits, congress approved the first and only law protecting archaeological remains, in 1961. However, the country would suffer under military rule for long 21 years (1964–1985) and humanism, prehistory, and archaeology would direly be affected. The country faced a wave of persecution, exile, killings, missing people (Funari 1994c). Former liberal presidents were persecuted (two of them died almost simultaneously (Juscelino Kubitschek the August 22, 1976 and João Goulart the December 6, 1976), three of the most recent presidents were persecuted during the period (Fernando Henrique Cardoso went into exile; Lula was harassed; Dilma Rousseff was put into jail and tortured). Duarte and the Pre-History Institute he founded were also victims: Duarte was expelled from the University in 1969 and the Institute was assigned to an ally of the authorities.

Soon after the military coup (April 1, 1964), a National Archaeological Program (Pronapa) was set up in Washington, DC, in close coordination with the new Brazilian military authorities and under the leadership of the Smithsonian Institution, under Clifford Evans and Betty Meggers. Pronapa set up a surveying program active all over the country, particularly concerned with strategic areas, contributing to the effort of controlling the territory in the context of the Cold War. The empirical and theoretical tenets were most reactionary and anti-humanist, promoting the concept that natives were lazy and the country dully poor, due to natural conditions (Noelli and Ferreira 2007). The first 5 years (1965–1970) were followed by a second period in the Amazon basin (Pronapaba), where there were guerilla fighters against the dictatorship. During the long dictatorial rule, a network of archaeologists brought up in those dire circumstances shaped the field, hindering freedom and humanism.

The struggle against the dictatorship gathered pace in the 1970s and in 1979 an amnesty conceded by the military enabled several exiles to return, political parties were soon legalized and direct elections for state officials in 1982 enabled a wider range of political and scholarly activities. The end of military rule in March 1985 thus marked a new phase for the country and for archaeology. The discipline had an odd position within academia. During the last few years of dictatorship, the humanities and social sciences played an increasing role in developing critical thinking and independent-minded scholarship. Sociologist Fernando Henrique Cardoso, upon returning from exile, contributed with several others—economists, anthropologists, political scientists, and philosophers—to the development of independent and well-informed scholarship. Cardoso later on would be twice elected president of the republic (1994–2001). Archaeology, however, was affected by two factors: the need for funding and for permission by state offices to carry out fieldwork. This meant that funding was channeled to fieldwork concerned with empirical and government-friendly approaches and subjects. Permission for fieldwork was also biased. It is interesting to note that anthropology faced similar constraints, considering that both disciplines dealt with natives (dead or alive) and with areas with guerrilla fighters, but anthropologists never shunned from confronting power and indeed were at the forefront of the democratic movement inside and outside academia. Archaeologists trained under military tenets and sponsorship or simply sympathetic to dictatorial rule, sometimes actively taking part in the persecutions of scholars tainted the discipline and still today, 40 years after the heyday of their power, some of them are around hovering over the discipline. This is no surprise, considering that several political supporters of the military are still in key positions in parliament and ministries and other positions of power. However, archaeology is an odd example in Brazilian academia, for there is no such senior persecutors and military allies in power positions in other social and human sciences (Funari 1994d).

Duarte was expelled from the university but he established a strong intellectual position in favor of humanism, the respect for human rights and a discipline in close relationship with anthropological interpretation of material culture. The influx of French archaeology was thus particularly relevant for both theoretical and practical reasons. In terms of interpretive influence, the anthropological and semiotic approaches enabled the flowering of interpretive frameworks emphasizing native ingenuity, in clear opposition to the official line of Pronapa that Indians were backward inhabitants of a stagnant rain forest environment. Furthermore, field methods introduced by the French included attention to natural archaeological layers (in opposition to artificial ones used by Pronapians) and to elaborate methods of recording rock art (in opposition to the lack of attention to this evidence by Pronapians, who were not at ease with symbols at all). Then again, in terms of practical issues, the French had a democratic context back home and fostered the collaboration of Brazilian scholars with a wider intellectual setting and last but not least providing much needed funding. This explains the early innovative work of Niède Guidon, a former pupil of Duarte, who was exiled in Paris, got in touch with a plethora of intellectuals and was able to return to Brazil in the 1970s and set up a pioneering Museum of the American Human in the most remote and poor area of the country: this was a scholarly and political move at the same time. Others were also exploring the opportunities opened by the demise of authoritarian rule, as the case of maroon archaeology developed early on by Carlos Magno Guimarães in the early 1980s in Minas Gerais or the study of Jesuit Missions in Rio Grande do Sul by Arno Álvarez Kern in the same period. French humanist archaeology was also important in the development of classical archaeology in Brazil, thanks not least to Haiganuch Sarian, Brazilian member of the French School at Athens, who introduced a plethora of French-speaking leading archaeologists and scholars as lecturers contributing to bringing up a new generation with critical thought, again from the 1980s. A few names reveal a lot about the importance of those influences, such as Jean Bottero, Elena Cassin, Renée Ginouvès, and Tony Hackens.

The restoration of civilian rule (1985), the new constitution (1988), and the devolution of powers to states and municipalities led to new developments in academia in general, with strong effects in archaeology. During the dark years of discretionary rule, consultation with the people was not in the agenda, but one of the first symbolic acts of the new civilian government was to declare the archaeological remains of Palmares, the large seventeenth century maroon, national heritage. This was a clear hint of the new compromises of democratic rule with society and particularly with those left out of official history, particularly those exploited, such as Africans, Indians, but also other persecuted people, such as witches, Jews, and Muslims, all members of the famous seventeenth polity. This move was a shock for Brazilian archaeologists trained in the Pronapa school, but the message that times changed did not escape them. The new democratic constitution established a series of general principles affecting environmental and heritage protection and thus concerning archaeology in new and revolutionary ways. During military rule, dams, roads, highways, nuclear stations, and everything else were built with no injunction protecting the environment or heritage. Freedom led also to the passing of an increasing array of legal requirements for any public or private building intervention and this resulted in a huge increase in the number of archaeological surveys, and tests and digs mandated by law. In the last 15 years or so, field archaeology has multiplied as never before and several private cultural research management (CRM) firms sprouted in the country. This means that archaeology is now a practice reaching all the 27 states and the Federal District of the Union, a most popular endeavor, as attested by its presence in a number of publications available in newsstands all over the country.

The second revolution resulting from freedom has been in scholarly archaeology. Higher education was very late in Brazil, in relation not only to Europe, but even considering Spanish colonies: the first Universities in the Spanish America were founded in the sixteenth century, while the first two Law schools in Brazil were set up as late as the 1827, a few years after independence (1822). Strange as it may be, even when Rio de Janeiro was capital of the Portuguese Empire (1808–1821), no higher education plan was set up, for the Portuguese court was from the start keen to return to Portugal as soon as the menace from Napoleon was over (1815), even if it stayed in Rio several more years deciding what to do. The Brazilian monarchy (1822–1889) was grounded on slavery and higher education developed late, with some isolated schools of medicine and engineering. The oligarchic republic (1889–1930) continued this tradition of isolated schools, the first university was founded in 1934, as already mentioned, thanks to the efforts of some intellectuals, including Paulo Duarte. Other universities followed, supported by the Union, states, and religious denominations (such as several Pontifical Catholic Universities, and later Protestant ones). Graduate courses were established during military rule, following the American system of MAs and PhDs, so that when civilian rule was reestablished in 1985 scholarship was already gathering strength. Archaeology was established as a graduate course, first within history or other sciences, such as social sciences. The first graduate course on archaeology as such was established at the University of São Paulo in 1990. Academic archaeology has increased exponentially and several hundred MAs and PhDs have been produced, several of them in close contact with archaeology abroad and well acquainted with both theoretical and empirical discussion in Europe, the USA, and beyond.

3.5 Recent Trends

It is difficult to discuss in any depth archaeological research topics and issues, considering the high number of publications and the huge variety of subjects. Perhaps the most useful way of discussing them is addressing a series of main subjects, such as early human settlement, rock art, other prehistoric issues, historical archaeology, classical archaeology, underwater archaeology, and public archaeology. A note on the role of women in Brazilian archaeology is also relevant, as we shall see.

Prehistoric studies are the oldest in Brazil and the earliest one were concerned with very early human remains, carried out by the Dane Peter Lund (1801–1880) in Minas Gerais. Due to Lund's Christian stand, the evidence linking humans and extinct fauna was too much for him and he decided to abandon fieldwork. However, today discussion about the early presence of humans in Brazil is the most popular archaeological subject both within and outside academia. This is no wonder though: there is nationalist stint in the interest toward the subject. The search for the earliest human presence in the New World has gained traction during the heyday of military rule, when two early proposals were set up by two ladies of very different outlook: Conceição Beltrão (b. 1933?) and Niède Guidon (b. 1933). While Guidon went to Paris during the dictatorship, the young Conceição married to Minister Hélio Beltrão (1916–1997), a leading member of the establishment, who signed the infamous Institutional Act number 5 (AI5), 1968, clearing the way for open dictatorship. As a colleague minister declared in the occasion, Colonel Passarinho, "let's put aside any restrain from our conscience."

Beltrão has studied with Leroi-Gourhan and Laming-Emperaire in Paris and got degrees in Rio de Janeiro, before the introduction of the modern graduate courses in Brazil (her doctorate was granted in 1969 in Niterói). She worked with a French mission in Minas Gerais (1970–1977), at Lagoa Santa, then worked in other early sites in Bahia, and today she is senior emeritus research of the Brazilian CNRS (CNPq). Her name has been made in two main areas of prehistoric research, being her interpretations controversial in both of them: early human settlement and rock art. Her long-standing work at Central, Bahia, since 1982, has produced evidence, according to her publications, of *homo erectus* presence. Beltrão proposed that *homo erectus* came from Southern Africa during a Glacial period, walking over a ice bridge, as she called it, so that humans were in South America at least 500,000 years ago. The evidence has never been convincing enough, so that her proposal has not been included in mainstream archaeological narrative in Brazil, scholarly or otherwise.

This is not the case with two other scholarly fieldwork and interpretive proposals, grounded on very different evidence and theoretical frameworks. At the deep Brazilian northeast, in the poorest backland and backward area of the country, Niède Guidon led a French mission in a very charming natural haven, the Serra da Capivara, a hilly region. The French mission went there to study rock art, but one of the first amazing results of the fieldwork in the 1970s were the very early carbon dating of fires possibly associated with human remains. Those finds run counter the then accepted view that humans entered the Americas in the last few thousand years, considering the so-called Clovis evidence from the North America and dated some 10,000 years BC. This meant that any earlier dates, particularly in South America, were putting into question the whole model for the settlement of the Americas. Guidon and her team were able to study a whole series of lithic artifacts and to gather momentum in Brazil, in the wake of the decline of authoritarian rule in the country and then with the restoration of civilian rule. This overall context fostered Guidon's claim that Brazil produced the earliest human settlement in the Americas, dated from the 40,000 s BP and beyond. In the late 1980s, Guidon was for a while research associate of the University of Campinas (Unicamp), already the second best in the country and the most innovative, research oriented and concerned with reaching out and popularizing science. This meant that in a few years, Guidon and her stand fostering Brazilian national pride led to the general acceptance in Brazil of the fact that Brazil has produced the earliest human archaeological remains. Today, in a mere three decade period, all Brazilian school textbooks refer to the very early Serra da Capivara site. It is not only the most popular archaeological subject, but the only one widely known by every child and most adults. However, several Brazilian archaeologists and the overwhelming foreign ones do not accept that the early dates refer to human settlement or that the rocks studied by her team are lithic artifacts. No recent volume on the settlement of the Americas by English-speakers accepts those dates. Guidon's theories for the possible arrival of humans in Brazil, via sea-fearing in Pacific as early as 70,000 BP have also been subjected to criticism.

The other scholarly study of early human settlement stem from a biological approach. Walter Alves Neves (b. 1958?), a biologist and expert in human skeletons, has been studying for quite several years actual human remains from the earliest period (that is some 9,000 BC). He decided to study the oldest skeletons and to use a series of statistical tools to understand the possible origins of those most ancient inhabitants of Brazil (beyond dispute, as the bones were dated around the 9,000 BC period). In the last few years, Neves was able to publish a series of papers on those skeletons and propose a new understanding of the dynamics of settlement of the Americas. According to his studies, skeletons prove that there has been an earlier population of people with African features, substituted completely later on by the Asiatic migration of the ancestors of American Indians. He was able to introduce the second most popular feature of Brazilian archaeology, after Guidon's early Brazilian: Luzia, the Brazilian Lucy, represented as an African woman. Even though his studies are supported by the most prestigious Brazilian scholarly agency (São Paulo State Science Foundation) and he has published in several English-language journals, again his theories are absent in most recent foreign volumes. Furthermore, in postmodern times it is not widely accept that it is possible to discern skeletons that accurately. Politically then it is also difficult to accept the idea that Indians replaced Africans, implying indirectly that Indians exterminated Africans and they were not the first inhabitants of the Americas (and thus no less foreign as the modern colonizers). Whatever the case may be, there is no doubt that the early settlement of Brazil is a most relevant and popular topic.

Rock art is also a most important topic and for two different reasons: people do enjoy rock paintings and it is a most elaborate archaeological topic. Again, all school textbooks do reproduce rock art to illustrate the chapter on the most ancient Brazilians and rock painting is also considered beautiful by Brazilians living in shanty towns and palaces alike. It is a difficult subject to study though. It is not easy to document it, and it was much more so until recent introduction of digital technology. It is even trickier to interpret it. Conceição Beltrão was a pioneer in proposing interpretations grounded on the possible use of hallucinogens by those painting the walls. Even though this was probably the case in several cases, it is a difficult avenue of interpretation for obvious reasons. The most enduring influence came from the French structuralism of Leroi-Gourhan and other linguistic interpretive schemes. Two leading schools developed since the 1970s, one in Minas Gerais, led by André Prous, and another one in the Northeast led by Guidon and Anne-Marie Pessis (b. 1952?), but also with other important scholars, such and Dénis and Águeda Vialou in Mato Grosso and Edithe Pereira in the Amazon basin. Guidon and Pessis fostered the establishment of so-called rock art traditions, trying to establishing styles over specific areas. Prous has mixed his training as classical ancient historian and his penchant for cataloging (a classical archaeology feature) to foster the production of a mass of documentation. Vialou represent the best French linguistic schools, as he stressed in an interview: *L'art préhistorique est la manifestation de la pensée* (L'Express, 13/12/2004). Indeed, prehistoric art is an expression of articulate human reasoning, in the best humanist French tradition and a most relevant approach for humans in general and for Brazilians in particular.

Other prehistoric issues are also relevant. In recent years, the Amazon basin is a most hot topic, for all the reasons and not least for environmental aspects. Since the 1950s and 1960s, Betty Meggers (1921–2012) and Donald Lathrap (1927–1990) were disputing the rain forest as hell for her and as just right for him. Meggers who died recently defended until her death not only that Latin American would always be backward and underdeveloped, but also that the rain forest was a false paradise, luring hardworking people to become lazy Indians. Lathrap first and then Anna Roosevelt (b. 1946) would challenge this and propose the Amazon as an environment fostering huge settlements. Roosevelt from the 1990s added gender issues to the equation and proposed an increased role for women in Brazilian prehistoric past. Others, as Eduardo Goes Neves (b. 1964?), have been focusing on fieldwork and tracking possible settlement patterns and migration routes, while Denise Schaan (b. 1962) focused on symbolism and Denise Cavalcante Gomes (b. 1962?) on fine tuning ceramic analysis and settlement patterns. Otherwise, the two traditional fields of lithic and pottery studies have been developing in a haphazard way. Both fields have been forged during the hay day of dictatorial rule and the culture history approach of finding out so-called traditions, equating sometimes lithic style with supposed ethnic groups, such as Umbu and Humaitá. Mutatis mutandis, the same applied to pottery studies, inventing Tupi-Guarani pottery and linking it to a linguistic group (Tupi-Guarani) and supposed ethnic groups. However, in the last few years there has been a steep increase in studies avoiding such traditional approaches in favor of more fluid and nuanced ones, taking into account social theory.

Historical archaeology developed late in Brazil. While it started in the USA as the study of WASP material culture in the 1960s, it was imported into Brazil in the late authoritarian period as the study of material culture after the arrival of the Portuguese (1500 to the present). The discipline started as in the USA as a conservative eulogy of the elites, ceramics, high architecture and beyond and in some quarters it is still so. However, from amnesty (1979) onwards there has been an increasing movement from the elites to ordinary people. The pioneering archaeological studies were carried out in the Jesuit missions in southern Brazil, aiming at recovering the way ordinary Guarany Indians and priests lived together. Maroon archaeology has started in the same period of the mid and late 1980s, exploring runaway settlements in the eighteenth century mining districts in modern day Minas Gerais. As democratization gathered pace, historical archaeology paid attention to the most iconic maroons, seventeenth century Palmares and late 19th c. Canudos. Brazilian archaeology was increasingly challenging the old-established narrative of an irenic Brazilian people, only too happy to accept the social order, including the slave one. Palmares has been the most enduring maroon, active for several decades (1605–1694). After the restoration of civilian rule in March 1985, the site was soon established as national heritage. Archaeology started in the early 1990s and the results were astonishing, for it fostered a social discussion about the Brazilian society. Archaeological evidence of native Indian wares, as well as other ordinary pottery, led to a discussion about the social fabric of the rebel polity and as consequence of Brazil: a multi-ethnic democracy, an African polity. More recently, gender issues have also been studied in the same move to socially relevant issues. Canudos, the most famous late nineteenth century rebel polity, was an independent Catholic religious community (1893–1897). The Brazilian army was sent to conquer the area in Bahia state, destroying it and killing several people, including the leader of the community, popular preacher Antônio Conselheiro. The area was later to be submerged by the construction of a dam, so that in the 1990s, during a long draft, Paulo Zanettini (b. 1961?) was able to carry out fieldwork there, contributing to better understanding both the rebel polity and the attacking forces. It again contributed to the discussion of the Brazilian society, particularly of some features such as religiosity, community mores, but also violence and authoritarian rule, thanks not least to archaeology.

Since then, historical archaeology has been exploring several other subjects, such as the study of dictatorship and repression, but also pottery, architecture and more in relation to gender, ethnic and other issues relevant for present-day society. Probably the most socially and scholarly relevant recent trends refer to the study of dictatorship, within a wider Latin American context. Other particularly relevant studies refer to maroons and slavery, gender, and identity issues. Historical archaeology is now the most practiced endeavor in Brazil, overcoming prehistoric and classical archaeology. It is no coincidence the fact that Brazilian scholarship has contributed to expand historical archaeology worldwide as the study of material culture of any society with written texts, not only the modern, capitalist ones, as was the original concept in the USA.

Classical archaeology and art history have started in the 1960s associated with the French School at Athens, but if flourished since the 1980s in the new open political and scholarly environment. Thanks to the leading activities of Professor Haiganuch Sarian, several scholars, particularly French speaking, lectured in Brazil, and then received Brazilian students and scholars. A generation of classical archaeologists in touch with the international community has grown up, publishing books and articles abroad on a range of subjects. The main original and enduring thrust comes from the study of pottery, not least iconography. From this early trend, numismatics, the study of wall painting and drawings, and much more followed suit. The most relevant feature though has not been the mastership of scholarly techniques, even if this is not a mean feat in itself, in particular in such a traditional field of study as classical archaeology. The most relevant contribution has been in exploring new subjects and perspectives, such as popular mores and expressions, postcolonial and peripheral outlooks, contributing thus in unique ways to the discipline in the former colonial powers.

Underwater archaeology has again developed only recently and thanks to the French-speaking world. Portuguese settlements in South America have been for centuries centered on the coast, so much so that the late dean of historians in Brazil, Sérgio Buarque de Holanda (1902–1982), describe Portuguese towns and hamlets as coast settlements in close contact with the sea and strange to the backlands. The only exceptions were again those few settlements in waterways. In any case, maritime or fluvial life has been at the heart of Brazilian social life from the start and until very recently. Underwater archaeology has developed recently worldwide, after WWII, not least thanks to Jacques Cousteau and French pioneering diving improvements. In Brazil, Gilson Rambelli (b. 1965), thanks to his training in France, Portugal, Spain and Mexico, was able to set up the field in Brazil since the late 1990s. Underwater archaeology has studied boats, but also shell middens and other less usual subjects, such as illegal slave trading ships. It has been particularly active in exploring such issues as piracy and illegal practices, but also paying attention to heritage issues, as there is still no heritage legislation protecting underwater sites.

This leads us to public archaeology, a most recent field in the discipline, worldwide, but one in which Brazil has been at the forefront. Public archaeology is the direct result of the awareness of the political character of the discipline. The creation of the World Archaeological Congress, in 1986, was a landmark in this respect. It has shown that the archaeology is as much the study of power as the study of the past, as stressed a year later Michael Shanks and Christopher Tilley. This reversal of meaning of the discipline has been epoch making: from the study of the past to the study of the present, from remembrance to reenactment. It is beyond dispute that archaeology has been from the start a dreaming endeavor, a unique way of voyaging in time and in space and this is still the most enticing aspect of the discipline. But this *fuga temporis* is no more relevant than it was in Virgil's time: *Sed fugit interea fugit irreparabile tempus, singula dum capti circumvectamur* *amore*, “But meanwhile it flees: time flees irretrievably, while we wander around, prisoners of our love of detail” (Georgics, 3, 284-5). Present-day concerns are at the root of archaeology as of everything else, even if we may always dream of moving to the most ancient past and circumstances.

Public archaeology is thus a consequence of the realization by scholars that scholarly disciplines, including archaeology, are relevant to the present and to contemporary social issues. Public archaeology has been a growing pursuit worldwide since the 1990 and it has developed fast in Brazil in the last few years, putting school kids, the wider adult population, maroon, and Indian populations not only in contact with archaeology, but contributing to forge the discipline itself. Archaeology has been active in fostering the interaction of archaeologists with ordinary people, aiming at producing scholarship relevant to society at large and to specific groups. Brazilian archaeology has been very active in this area and is now recognized worldwide as a leading contributor to the advancement of the discipline in public archaeology and this is linked to the social conditions in Brazil, whose mixed features reveal more than sometimes foreign observers realize. Publication such as “Arqueologia Pública” and several books, PhD dissertations and articles attest to the achievements of public archaeology in Brazil and its contribution to the discipline beyond Brazilian borders.

A note on the role of Brazilian women is also a must. Archaeology worldwide has been a male preserve, not to say a military and imperialist practice. The discipline started this way and continued so for several decades, until the mid twentieth century at least. The first leading women archaeologists, such as Kathleen Kanyon (1906–1978) and Annette Laming-Emperaire (1917–1977), were *aves rarae*, as would say Juvenal in his Satires, exceptions in a male world. Only after the revolution of 1960s and the introduction of the contraceptive pill women played a more significant role in the discipline, even if most leading archaeological positions are still dominate by males, as in most other dominating social positions. It is thus not an exclusive archaeological feature, but due to the military overtones of the discipline, this is still particularly acute in archaeology. The role of women in Brazilian archaeology has run counter to this overall trend though. Niède Guidon is of course the most obvious example of the leading role of women, but others must also be mentioned, such as Maria Conceição Beltrão and Haiganuch Sarian (b. 1940), but probably a majority of archaeologists in Brazil are women and several of them are in power positions and recognized within Brazil and abroad, even if they are young, as Márcia Bezerra de Almeida (b. 1963) and Denise Schaan (b. 1962). Brazilian archaeology has been widely shaped by women and they played and still play a leading role in shaping the discipline. It is not easy to explain this unique feature, in contrast to the developments in countries near and distant alike. Has this contributed to shape the discipline itself? It is not easy to say. But, it is most probable that the female predominance has contributed to the fact that archaeology in Brazil has been more democratic in the last decades and less authoritarian. Furthermore, it may have contributed to the international stance of the discipline in the country.

3.6 The Outlook

What are the possible conclusions and the perspectives for the future? The outlook for the discipline in Brazil is bright. From a fringe activity, archaeology has been able to be at the same time a scholarly and a socially relevant endeavor. It started as an aristocratic pursuit in the nineteenth century and only in the mid twentieth century it begun its trajectory as both scholarly and socially relevant. In the last twenty years or so archaeology in Brazil has expanded exponentially. The number of archaeological sites explored has exploded. Publications in Brazil and abroad attest to the huge advances. If we then turn to the outlook of the discipline, it is worth returning to my own assessment almost twenty years ago, when I notice that the new generations were prone to change. Two decades on, it is possible to say that archaeologists have changed the discipline beyond recognition. It is now part of the struggle for both scholarship and social commitment. If it was able to shatter the heavy heritage of dictatorship in such a short period, archaeology has a bright future, as part of the struggle for freedom, justice, and scholarship, in Brazil and beyond.

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Chapter 4
The Patrimonialization and the Heritage Value of the Archaeological Record. Tierra del Fuego as a Case Study

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> "…deterioration or disappearance of any item of the cultural or natural heritage constitutes a harmful impoverishment of the heritage of all the nations of the world…" (Convention for the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage, Paris 1972).

Abstract Heritage drives along a path that goes from nowadays toward the past, when somebody starts to recognize it and thus come back to the past looking for references that legitimize interests of the present. Then, heritage constitutes a speech, a narrative that joins values, interests, and ideologies as from concrete elements or goods gain sense. At present, an avoidable topic in those heritage activation processes is tourism. The explosive development of this activity hardly pushed and particularly based these kinds of processes from heritage. The increase in tourism promoted the interest for the voyages looking for the consumption of cultural goods. We present here four examples of archaeological/historical sites from Tierra del Fuego (Argentina), where tourism is one of the main industries. Scientific community, indigenous communities, Government actors, and tourism are presented as the best-involved social agents in heritage enhancements. From these cases, we analyze the limits and difficulties to go ahead with the heritage activation and its feasibility.

Keywords Heritage · Patrimonialization · Archaeological sites · Tourism · Tierra del fuego · Argentina

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4.1 Introduction

Preserving the cultural heritage of a society, rescuing it, valuing it, taking care of it, protecting it, transmitting it are all assertions that hardly allow discussion. The agreement is general and nobody would think of denying its importance. The sentence of the Unesco Convention heading this work puts it in clear and dramatic terms: the loss of a heritage item is a loss for all human kind. However, like many sentences that do not usually generate greater contradiction, it presents a process that is not so much transparent as it seems to be. The complexity and difficulties start when we define what heritage is and, consequently, which things are worth valuing and preserving, who provides the impetus to establish it, and which social forces are capable of sustaining and caring for this heritage.

We will start with some general reflections on heritage. In the most classical definitions, heritage is the set of tangible and intangible assets that we have inherited from past generations, which is linked to our identity as a people and that is part of our culture and our history. In this conceptualization, the notion of heritage is a key: heritage would come from the past and we receive it as a legacy from our ancestors. Nevertheless, for some decades now, it has been said that the identity, memory, and traditions of a people have a very strong component of "invention" or "construction" (Hobsbawm and Ranger 2002; Anderson 2000). The same applies for heritage, inextricably linked to those. Effectively, it has been pointed out that the valorization and recognition of cultural heritages have been specific historical processes associated with the formation of nation-states during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Within this framework there were, among other things, the creation of museums and large public monuments or compilations of local folklore, with the purpose of consolidating forms and identification symbols for populations that, on one hand, should be amalgamated, and on the other, differentiated themselves from their neighbors (Anderson 2000; Prats 1997).

Those cultural items—tangible or intangible—that were the object of the rescue, preservation, and valorization were selected based on a certain conception of identity and also of certain interests of the groups that could assume the representation of that nation. A process that is never free of conflict and tension. In this selection, only some of the potential elements were enshrined as "heritage" (García Canclini 1999). In that sense, heritage does not follow a path that goes from the past to the present, but it begins at the moment this heritage is intended to be recognized and, from there, it goes to the past in search of that reference that legitimizes the interests of the present. The heritage is, then, a speech, a narrative that articulates values, interests, and ideologies and from which the concrete elements (historic site, old objects, customs, celebrations, etc.) acquire sense (Prats and Santana 2011).

The strong impetus for constituting these heritages was not exhausted in the period of formation of modern nation-states that we have mentioned so succinctly: it continued and reaches the present day. Currently, new values and new social cleavages have been added to the scenery and logic of the formation of nations. To give an example, in the last decades of the twentieth century, the valorization of all those cultures, customs, and experiences, which capitalist and industrialized Western societies had displaced or subsumed, burst with great force. In some cases, they were incorporated into the background of the "national" heritage, in other cases they are part of the purpose of those who impel it to be recognized as autonomous political entities, or to obtain some kind of right or social recognition. Alternatively, they may eventually be considered as part of such a "transnational" heritage linked to the ecology, environmental care, and new forms of spirituality that are imposed in the world (Herrero Pérez 2011).

In short, heritage is "a set of sacralized symbols" (Prats and Santana 2011), which varies according to historical moments. To reiterate it once again "We are, therefore, facing a social construction and, as such, historically modifiable as a result of the criteria or interests that determine new goals in new circumstances" (Fernández de Paz 2006: 2, our translation).

Now add an essential element in the current patrimonialization processes: tourism. Indeed, a phenomenon of wide ranges as massive tourism development was to give impetus and a special bias to the patrimony formation processes, that is to say, the action of valuing, protecting, and enshrining certain cultural goods. The increasing development of tourism produced a diversification of its products and promoted the interest for new travel proposals aimed at the consumption of cultural goods. Likewise, a number of values associated with sustainability, respect for cultural diversity and ecology have stimulated the consumption of cultural attractions in tourists, whether—or at least proclaimed—authentic expressions of traditional ways of life or the cultural heritage of ethnicity. In this context, the concern of both tourism companies and public administration for developing attractions capable of bringing in more and more tourists was growing, a fact that resulted in an accelerated process of patrimonialization of cultural assets (Urry 2004; Prats and Santana 2011). This new wave is also associated with identity, but now it is no longer attached to political identity, linked to the construction of citizens, but to a "cultural" identity, that emphasizes the peculiar and specific features of each region.

As highlighted by Prats and Santana (2011), the heritage-identity-tourism polynomial has complex and varied manifestations, which are not exhausted in the brief exposition we have done. However, "there is no heritage project that it is not based, to a greater or lesser extent, its sustainability on tourism" (Prats 2011: 250, our translation). The overlay is deep. For many public administrations, whether national, provincial, or municipal, tourism represents a possibility through which they can achieve the economic and social development of their regions. The costs of maintaining and preserving certain heritage elements usually constitute an expense that administrations are unable to afford, so that the association with private agents linked to tourism appears as desirable or, directly, as the only condition of possibility for a heritage activation. This also means that the heritage linked to tourism must have some characteristics to develop it into a "cultural attraction" capable to summon tourists; a certain share of exoticism, aesthetic or spectacular aspects, recreational components, etc. Besides, they will require to be located in an environment of easy access, not away from lodgement and restoration places (Hernández Ramírez 2011). These last considerations are even more relevant when

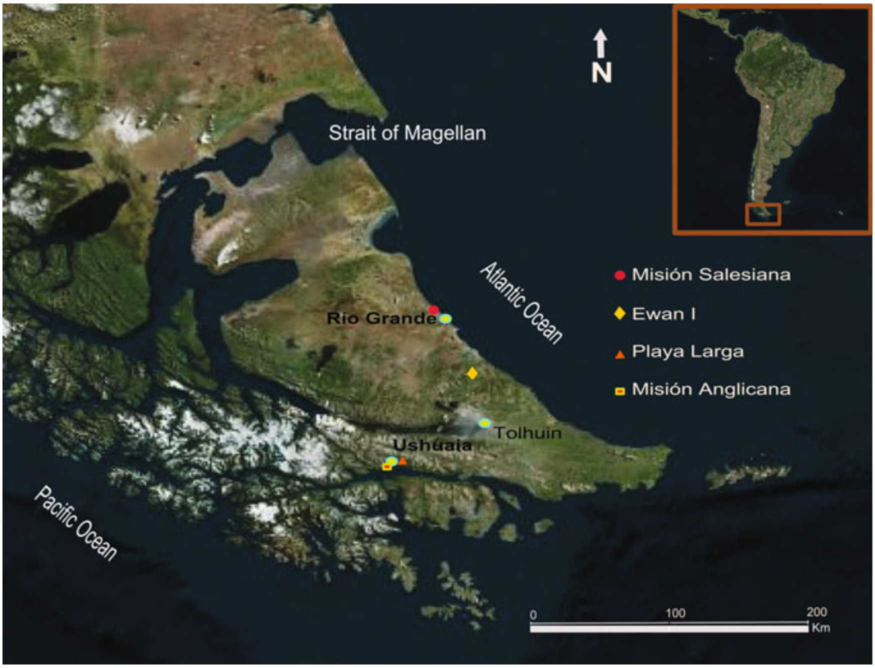

Fig. 4.1 Location map of Tierra del Fuego and the studied sites analyzed in this paper

nonstate sectors or organizations are those that promote a certain patrimonialization. We conclude that heritage activations whose object is not easily transformed into a "cultural attraction" is much less likely to materialize.

These initial comments are intended to locate the context and logic in which a heritage activation process can be thought of. That is the case of Tierra del Fuego (Argentina, Fig. 4.1), a province in which tourism is an important part of its economy. The boundaries and difficulties for certain heritage activation will arise from some examples.

4.2 The Enhancement of the Archaeological Heritage

The archaeological heritage, as part of the cultural heritage, has the particularity of being a non renewable resource like many of the natural resources. It consists of material goods, artistic performances, and spaces that a human society lived in the past, ranging from rock shelters or caves to buildings, monuments, sacred places, cemeteries, or garbage dumps that "tell" us about the use of the landscape of other times (Salemme 2015). It is part of a social heritage that the community itself does not always value properly, although it offers a unique piece of information both about the region itself in which those goods are inserted and about alternatives for the future of humankind.

Archaeological sites are documents from the past, each of them are unique and unrepeatable, and they provide different quality of information obtained from scientific knowledge. Archaeological assets are part of a human behavior that no longer exists, which was—as it is today—very different and that, therefore, constantly articulates different responses to the challenges posed by the environment and interaction with other human groups (Salemme 2015). This behavior has generated different archaeological manifestations, which may be more or less attractive according to the interest put on them and the impact that "visually" they can cause.

The *value* given to the archaeological record does not belong to a specific element, but on one hand, the current community apprehends and recognizes in the "vestiges" of that past and, on the other hand, to that which is "attractive" in terms of spectacular nature or unique quality.

The challenge of archaeologists is to contribute, from the production of knowledge, to "find a way to involve the social sectors that give meaning to the past" (Gnecco 2007 in Mariano and Conforti 2013: 281). In this sense, it is not always easy for specialists to transmit the knowledge acquired from excavations and archaeological surveys when they should use a language accessible to non-experts on the subject. To value (or patrimonialise) the archaeological resource, to be offered to the public without losing sight of its non renewable resource, is a task that requires addressing situations and elements that do not condemn that effort to failure or the frustration of those who work for it (Prats 1997, 2011).

The actors of possible heritage activation and then some concrete examples in Tierra del Fuego are presented. It should be noted that the possible movers of heritage activation will be overlaying their actions and deploying strategies within an extended period of time. The case of the State is special because it can act as the first instigator in some situations but it is always the instance which other sectors are directed to. Presenting them separately obeys the purpose of clarifying the exposure but it does not account for the dynamics of the process.

Scientific community: This is the group that in the case that concerns us—the archaeological record—constitutes the first interested party in this heritage activation. It develops its work and professional activity linked to these assets capable to be patrimonialized and, therefore, it knows its value. However, the lack of specific training usually undermines the purpose of adequately communicating the information obtained; anyway, with an appropriate way of transmitting knowledge about archaeological assets, "collective identification processes can be generated, as well as the understanding and respect toward a greater plurality of values and meanings" (Mariano and Conforti 2013: 284, our translation).

In the case of Tierra del Fuego, the community of archaeologists has been a very effective engine for some actions such as the approval of protection laws and the dissemination of their activities, although it has not always been easy to transmit the community the value of the archaeological record.

Indigenous communities: They have been formed formally in relatively recent times; they identify themselves with Selk'nam and Yaghan ethnic groups, although there are some other groups that gather different indigenous people not native from Tierra del Fuego, but of other parts of Argentina and South America. The protection of the archaeological record becomes an objective of enormous significance for these communities as it would contribute to an ethnic identity narrative, which can go back thousands of years ago, while contributing to a greater visibility. Communities have initiated some actions to transmit and patrimonialise part of their cultural baggage, such as the recovery of the language, but they are not yet enough strong voices to influence patrimonialization processes of the archaeological record. It is, however, the most recent and innovative actor, whose voice can find echo in the new sensitiveness of this time.

The State: General laws and regulations for protection (local, provincial, and national scope) have been established; provincial museums preserve and exhibit a part of the archaeological record, but there are neither enough active protection programs nor resources applied to their care and dissemination. The reasons can be found in the fact that the social demand is still weak to commit more resources of the State for this purpose. A narrative of identity linked to the "pioneers" and to the act of occupation of these lands by the Argentine State is more sensitive to the protection of the heritage that emerged from colonization, such as Ushuaia prison buildings, Beban House (a prominent dwelling in the city of Ushuaia) and the locations of the two evangelizing missions that acted in Tierra del Fuego: the Salesian Mission and the Anglican Mission.

Tourism: It could be and it has been an engine of heritage activations linked to the indigenous past that characterizes Tierra del Fuego (Horlent and Salemme 2015). Much of the dissemination of ethnographic photography as well as the edition of some testimonial sources (books of memoirs, indigenous dictionaries, etc.) finds sustainability in the market for a mainly tourist public. However, the bias is very clear and the choice is very focused on a particular topic: it is about the most spectacular—or subject to spectacularization—manifestations such as the photo depicting selk'nam body paintings, which can be treated by their aesthetic values and transformed into products (postcards, souvenirs reproduced in ceramics, wood, metal, etc.).

In Tierra del Fuego, the tourism shows limits as an agent to press in face of the archaeological record that is not monumental or attractive itself. However, tourism is—and in that sense, it is similar to many other places in the world—the main force capable of promoting heritage activations, far superior to the scientific community or the aboriginal communities in its ability to convince the State and the rest of the society. The patrimonialization of any element usually seems immediately "useful" and justifiable if it is linked to tourism.

Is it possible to expect, then, a boost from tourism to heritage activation of the archaeological record in Tierra del Fuego? Is it so in all cases? What are the conditions to make it possible? A review by some sites will allow you to analyze more in detail the possible situations.

4.2.1 Some Examples from Tierra del Fuego

The archaeological resources in the whole Isla Grande of Tierra del Fuego are numerous, since groups of hunter-gatherers inhabited this territory for more than 10,000 years. This record, generally characterized by its low visibility, is very important given the absence of architectural or monumental structures until the arrival of Europeans at the end of the nineteenth century.

In pre-European times, pedestrian hunter-gatherers inhabited the northern zone of Tierra del Fuego (Borrero 1991; Salemme et al. 2007; Santiago 2013), while other hunter-gatherer groups adapted to coastal environments occupied the coasts of the Beagle Channel and the Magellan Straits (Orquera and Piana 1999; Orquera et al. 2012, Massone 2004; Morello et al. 2009 among many others). In historical times, two ethnic groups occupied the greater part of the Argentine sector of the Island, Yaganes (or Yámanas) (Gusinde 1982; Bridges 1978) and Selk′nam (Gusinde 1982; Gallardo 1910; Chapman 1986).

These people groups living in such a marginal environment aroused curiosity generated in ethnographers, missionaries, soldiers, and adventurers, who have passed through the island since the beginning of the nineteenth century. The presence of native people has resulted in numerous stories of those various types of contacts; they are extensive descriptions about social life, customs, economy, symbolism of these societies, plus a prominent photographic record to illustrate the life of two societies that underwent a rapid process of acculturation (Darwin 2001 [1845]; Gusinde 1982; De Agostini 1956; Gallardo 1910; Bridges 1978; Chapman 1986, among others).

A large diversity of sites was generated by these societies; we highlight, among others: (a) “concheros”[1] or shell middens, (b) a site representative of an initiation ceremony among the Selk′nam, (c) historical sites of coexistence between the evangelizing Anglican mission—in the south of the Isla Grande de Tierra del Fuego—and (d) the Salesian mission—in the north of this island (Fig. 4.1).

Valuing or activating the patrimonialization of this type of archaeological record is a great challenge for professionals and society as a whole. Some steps have been already taken: various legal instruments protect the heritage of the whole society since several laws are available. The first national law on “Ruins and Archaeological and Paleontological Sites of scientific interest” is No. 9080/1911, but a more recent one, No. 27743/2003, updated the regulations to international guidelines, preserving those cultural assets. Provinces and local states through the city counties have generated their own regulations and Tierra del Fuego has not been exempted from this, by enacting, in 1997, the Provincial Law #370, which

[1]Archaeological sites consisting basically of malacological, faunal and lithic remains, abandoned by canoing groups that occupied the coasts of the Beagle Channel until historical times. Its ring shaped or domed morphology and its characteristic unctuous creamy black soil is remarkable in the coastal landscape. In the Atlantic coast, its morphological expression is less defined and tends to be less dense and compact.

protects archaeological assets and covers the activity of scientists studying them in this province. Another provincial law—No. 384/97—declares natural and cultural reserve to a particular area (Playa Larga, in the surroundings of Ushuaia), for its archaeological and landscape/scenic value.

Each of the four examples considered above presents—in terms of patrimonialization—a different condition, either because it is legally protected because it has been studied by the community of archaeologists, because there is a social "use" of them or because the local population recognizes it as a "value." First, we present the most consolidated case.

The Salesian Mission "La Candelaria," 10 km north of the city of Río Grande, founded in 1897 (Fig. 4.1), is represented by four buildings from the late nineteenth century and a cemetery where both several missionaries and natives are buried. The whole architectural complex (chapel, *casa de las Hermanas* [sisters house], and *casa de Monseñor Fagnano* [mission house], Fig. 4.2) is National Historic Monument (Decree PEN No. 2087/83). A museum that keeps ethnographic and archaeological collections, as well as historical and wildlife elements of the region has been organized in another modern building of the complex. The complex is rooted in the local population (Guerrero Gallardo 2012) since it has maintained continuity in its operation, currently as an educational institution. It is located beside the National Road 3 and is included in the tourist circuit in the surroundings of the city.

The Salesian Mission is a case in which heritage activation is well established. Tourism played no decisive role in it, although in recent years it has been working to establish this linkage. It was an activation related to the conformation of the city of Río Grande, that is to say, to the constitution of a local identity and the

Fig. 4.2 A general view of the Misión Salesiana La Candelaria. Photo by Noelia Locicero (http://es.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mision)

recognition of its most emblematic institutions, inscribing it in a city foundation narrative. Within that activation, the archaeological heritage there occupies a subordinate place, since the emphasis is placed in the evangelizing work of the Salesian priests and in their role, later, as an educational center. The fact that it is a well-established place paves the way for proposals to expand this heritage including some indigenous settlement sites—evidence of mission-related camps as well as a diversification of the narratives that give it context.

The second case is of recent patrimonialization and is linked, as above, also to the local community. The *Reserva Cultural-Natural* (Natural-Cultural Protected Area) "Playa Larga" is a peri-urban area in the city of Ushuaia (Figs. 4.1 and 4.3), which is easily accessible from downtown and is protected by the provincial law 384/97. A number of archaeological sites—"concheros" or shell middens—along a marine terrace in the Beagle Channel are visible from a higher elevation (Fig. 4.3) and walking on it. They are ring shaped structures, several of them disturbed by the fossorial activity of rabbits but also by current human action. The legislation that protects this space is an excellent mechanism to activate the patrimonialization, considering that it may become an alternative tourist resource of easy access and without the need for additional infrastructure. However, at present, the local society uses the area as a recreational space, without giving the least care to the archaeological sites; unfortunately, there are no guards/caregivers who control the actions of users.

Fig. 4.3 Playa Larga. A view of shell middens along the Beagle Channel coast, nearby Ushuaia

The following case corresponds to an ongoing process of patrimonialization. It is the “Tushkapalan” Anglican Mission, located downtown Ushuaia (Figs. 4.1 and 4.4), which also has a heritage status (National Historical Place, National Executive Decree 64/99, article 8); it is settled on lands currently administrated by the Argentine Navy, where a small obelisk recalls the first 50 years of installation of this mission. Joint efforts between the *Museo del Fin del Mundo* (End of the World Museum, a provincial institution), the Navy itself, the Yámana Museum (a private museum), aboriginal communities, and various other actors promote the recovery of this space for tourist and educational use, revealing the origins of contact between Yaghan people and European society (Weissel et al. 2015). This process gained momentum from an archaeological project launched recently (year 2013) and still in progress. From the excavations, the mission design was identified and materials and artifacts were recovered from the time of that occupation. The visibility contributed to the discussion about the type of protection that should be received and the possibility of obtaining resources for its valuation. In this activation, the indigenous communities, the scientific community, the national State represented by the Navy, the Provincial State through its Museum, and the local government, each with their interests, particular this last one directly concerned, since the mission would constitute the actual origin of the city, come together. On the other hand, tourism also has a relevant role: all the above-mentioned actors consider that it may be added to the attractions that the city offers visitors since the site is located in the urban area and is easily accessible. In fact, the obelisk that is currently the most visible indicator of this space is a landmark for both locals and tourists (Borla and Vereda 2011).

Fig. 4.4 A view of archaeological excavations (2014) at the Anglican Mission Tushkapalan, downtown Ushuaia. Photo by Enlace CADIC

The last case, located in the central sector of the Island, refers to Ewan I (Fig. 4.1) site located in the forest-steppe ecotone. It has been recently studied from the archaeological record and it is the evidence of a *Hain,* the initiation ceremony of the young men among the Selk'nam (Mansur and Piqué Huerta 2012). This ceremony was the axis of the social structure of this ethnic group and was carried out when several young people in age to begin the adult life had to pass through a series of physical and psychological tests. The *Hain* used to extend for several months and was developed in a natural clear forest where a hut of pyramidal structure was constructed, with a preset pattern (Fig. 4.5), whereas the domestic units were located about 200 m away, in the forest (Gusinde 1982; Chapman 1986). There are numerous photographs and descriptions of the characters, objects and situations involved/occurred in these ceremonies (Gusinde 1982; Chapman 1986), which have circulated from the aesthetic to the scientific, making visible the symbolic world Selk'nam. However, the discovery of a ceremonial hut (Fig. 4.5) and related domestic units allowed discussing the study of materials from an ethnoarchaeological perspective (Mansur and Piqué Huerta 2012). A spectacular find from a visual point of view, which is also unique so far in the light of the archaeological record in Tierra del Fuego.

This site does not have legal protection yet, it is far from the urban centers and several kilometers west of the National Road No. 3, in a private property and it is necessary to request permission to enter.

Fig. 4.5 The ceremonial hut for the *Hain*. Photo by Estela Mansur (CADIC); see Mansur and Piqué Huerta (2012)

It is the most difficult case in terms of valuation; even if a legal protection could be obtained quickly, it is hardly likely that the most interested actors—the scientific community and the Selk'nam community—can allocate funds for more active protection. The difficult access characteristics, the distance from urban places, the lack of nearby infrastructure work against its transformation into a tourist attraction and deprives the demand for patrimonialization.

4.3 The Patrimonialization of the Archaeological Record: More Expectations than Positive Answers

In the light of what we have developed, it is clear that valuing the archaeological heritage is neither a simple process nor much less direct. Accessibility, visibility and the lack of interest on the part of the local population may be among the main obstacles to overcome. The various social actors capable of promoting and channeling the patrimonialization of the archaeological record may have divergent interests and criteria and need, in any case, to build a link with society as a whole in which they can demonstrate that this heritage strengthens its attachment to the territory and has, even potentially, the possibility of establishing an economic resource.

Tourism, indigenous communities and the scientific community emerge, although with uneven force, as the main engines able to articulate the efforts with the final actor that will be the State. Out of all of them, tourism is the one which undoubtedly has more capacity to impose its logic. If tourism becomes a patrimonialization engine, this activity being so important currently in Tierra del Fuego, will contribute to activate various currently neglected assets. The final definition of this activation will be left to the State. Because it is a non renewable resource, the archaeological heritage needs legal protection regardless of the intervention that is thought about it. However, interpretive information that can be provided (posters, leaflets, photographs) and offered will define the main criteria that would support the patrimonialization of the selected asset. What will prevail here? Will it be the tourism with its logic based on the production of "attractions" only? It is a certain heritage resource condemned if it fails as a generator of economic resources through tourism? Can other players enter their own "narratives," their own activation criteria?

How will the actors play their parts? Strategic partnerships have their advantages and risks: all players have an ambivalent relationship with tourism. We expect from it to provide the force capable of patrimonializing a specific asset, but we are afraid of the bias that this patrimonialization can give to that asset.

The scenario is open: on one hand the circumstances, and on the other hand the strategies that can deploy the various sectors will be added to the force each of them has. The result will be, as it usually happens in social life, something different from what each one intends and imagines at the beginning of the game.

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Chapter 5
The Heritage Horror Show: A Critical Analysis of the Relationship Among Monuments, Power, and People

Andrés Zarankin

Abstract This article presents a critical discussion on issues relating to the concept of "heritage" and their political-ideological implications. From this discussion, I develop a comparative analysis of three case studies, historical sites in Antarctica, places of memory about the military dictatorship (1976–1983) in Argentina, and my family's house in Buenos Aires (which is a building listed as a historic landmark by the government of the city of Buenos Aires).

Keywords Heritage · Material culture · Memory · Archaeology

In October 2014, I was invited by the President of the SAB-Sul [Brazilian Archaeological Society—South], Beatriz Costa, to give the opening lecture of the biannual meeting in the Joinville congress (SC). The title of the meeting was "Archaeology, Heritage and Interdisciplinarity: Contemporary challenges" (Fig. 5.1). When I accepted the invitation, I thought it would be an easy and simple task to talk about what we, as archaeologists, are used to 'save.' How wrong I was…

I had just sat down to prepare the lecture and started to write the first idea when I realized I had never really reflected on what heritage is. Of course, I remembered the definitions of heritage I had learned throughout my career, such as: "the legacy of our parents," "the set of goods relevant to a Nation" and so on. However, is this what heritage is all about? In other words, as an archaeologist, I was trained and taught that my function is to preserve the heritage, but at the same time there was never room to reflect how that preservation would be. For example, over which basic principles we define heritage? What is its true social function?

As I mentioned, before on my professional training there were no discussions about the origin of heritage, but nevertheless I was trained to know and recognize it. Heritage are composed with four basic features:

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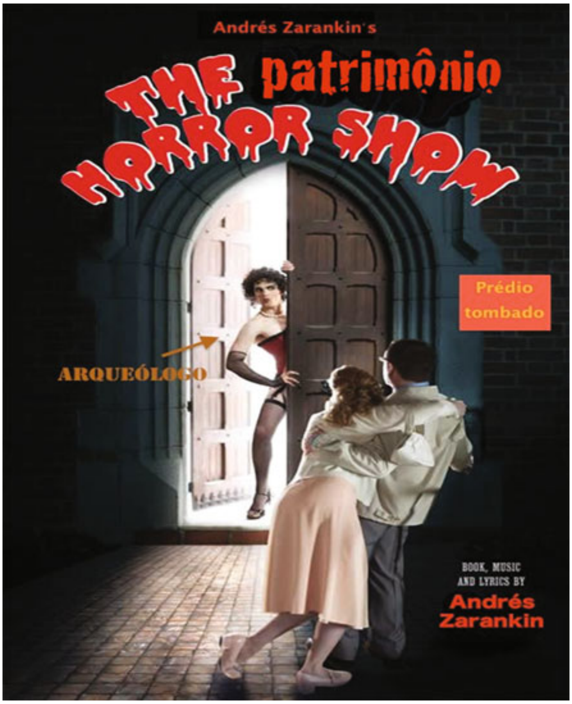

Fig. 5.1 Poster of the lecture SAB-Sul 2014

(1) Ancient;
(2) Valuable;
(3) Concerning persons or events relevant to national identity;
(4) The more monumental, the more important.

A couple of hours sitting to write the conference and three cans of Coca-Cola later, I was still in front of the computer without having written a single word. At that time—the second semester of 2014, I was living outside of Brazil, as a visiting researcher at Boston University (BU), in the United States. Because the inspiration did not come, I decided to do something productive instead and check my e-mails. As a temporary member of the Department of Archaeology of BU, everyday I receive information about activities which take place at the university. Interestingly, this day I received a mail that caught my attention: it was a request of one Professor of the Department of Archaeology to spread to the rest of the colleagues an e-mail with information from a meeting at the Metropolitan Museum in New York, where the Secretary of State of the United States, John Kerry, congratulated and awarded another professor of the BU for being one of the greatest supporters of Iraq and Syria's historical heritage preserve. In a letter Kerry has written, he guaranteed that the civilized world could be calm and confident, because EE.UU government had the GPS locations of archaeological sites in the region, to warrant they would not bombard and destroy.

When I finished reading the e-mail, I thought: I can translate his speech as "Dear archaeologists, you can rest assured because we will bomb the whole country, annihilate men, women and children, but the archaeological sites (heritage of humanity) will be preserved." And we, archaeologists, celebrated this as a great triumph!

A feeling of indignation began to emerge in me. Suddenly, my fingers began to move typing on the keyboard, the ideas appeared moved by anger.

5.1 "The Heritage Horror Show"

What to forget?

A starting point for thinking about heritage is to reflect what are the discourses we build on what we cannot forget? Obviously, this question unties another: what things can we actually forget? And in turn: who decides what to remember and what to forget? (Huyssen 2003)

It is clear that archaeologists, from a passive position that reproduces and guard the idea of heritage built by the system, do not decide anything; they simply fulfill their function as agents that contribute to the reproduction of power.

Heritage is also a form of memory construction. Therefore, in order to continue thinking its relationship with Archaeology, we first need to go further a little more about the concept of memory and its bond with discourses and narration.

5.2 Memory

Currently, the concept of memory is discussed by several researchers in social sciences (Connerton 1989; Graves 2010; Hirsch 1995, 1997; Ricoeur 1984; Sarlo 2005 and Yates 2007). Memory is a concept that can be associated with both, the possibility to remember something that occurred in the past, and the ability to save experiences in our own body-mind or other material devices (Jones 2007 and Sonesson 2007). These ideas share a close relationship, since the more remembrances (or memories) exist, the richer the past reconstruction can be.

The memory can never offer a complete view of the past. On the contrary, it consists of a series of fragments or traces from where a particular view of the past is generated. Subsequently, the fragments are arranged and connected in a narrative sequence—which does not necessarily differ from the structure of an essay (Crites 1997; Potteiger and Purinton 1998 and Ricoeur 2004).

The concept of narrative gives relevant results in studies about memory. It is associated to the fact that the narrative involves the human capacity of representing the complex experience of time (Ricouer 1984). Through the narrative, not only we can build linear successions of events; but we can also define a present, a past, and a future. In this structure, memory exceeds references linked to the past. This is due to the fact that the memory is generated in the present and assumes a projection for the future.

The memory can acquire various expressions. Within the framework of this study, it may be interesting mentioning the concepts of "personal memories" and "post-memories". According to Connerton (1989), personal memories are intended to retract us into our own life story. Reached this point, it is worth considering that —even if we are talking about our own experience—the memory often produces a rupture that makes us wonder, is really something I have lived? (as if we were spectators of what happened to another person). For example, when we see us in an old photograph, we may come to ask ourselves: "this was me?"

Different from personal memories, the "post-memories" include remembrances associated with the life stories or memories of other people. According to Hirsch (1997), who coined the concept, the post-memories are no more than memories of previous generations, who lived the events in question. These end up being narrated by their descendants or other persons, who report—without excluding their own interpretations and perspectives—what has been transmitted to them at some point. In this sense, Sarlo (2005) claims that the post-memories are remembrances produced by others, which ultimately end up generating a history of stories.

All the memories—personal or post-memories—need help from traces or fragments to remain active. Generally, the traces can be constituted in a material form (in the case of objects, structures, and landscapes) and/or immaterial (in the case of remembrances).

Yates (2007) analyzed the ability of people to effectively memorize data and events. In this way, she highlighted the use of "agent images" as a mnemonic resource. For Yates (2007), agent images are the traces with greater impact in the constitution of memory (for its abundance, intensity and duration). Their agency, precisely, resides in their generative capacity.

The agent images are a result of sensory experience. For this reason, they stimulate emotions in a way simpler than any other data type. Emotions (love, hate, joy, angst) have a privileged role in the constitution of subjectivity, ensuring the durability of remembrances, at least when they are not repressed (Narváez 2006).

Earlier, it was mentioned that agent images do not include only immaterial vestiges, such as the remembrances. They also include contents which we can define as material. For some decades, Archaeology has been defined as the study of the social world through material culture (Hodder 1982 and Tilley 1989). The material culture becomes meaningful as actively and dynamically participates in the network of social relations and carries various senses (Beaudry et al. 1991 and Little and Shackel 1992). Taking into account that this study starts from an archaeological view on "heritage," I propose to use examples centered on material aspects of memory to develop my critical argument.

5.3 Memory, Materiality and Heritage

Some researchers believe that the objects can form a sort of extrasomatic record of memory (Almeida 2005). That said, we can affirm that the objects are only extrasomatic (or extracorporal), from the point of view that they go beyond the physical body boundaries. However, they cannot be considered external to the subject from the moment that they can be embodied, that is, integrated to the body schema (Warnier 2001). As we become familiar with things, we can acquire a practical knowledge of those things (Bourdieu 1999 and Merleau-Ponty 1993 [1945]). This knowledge certainly includes traces or vestiges of memory.

The objects connect us with the past in different ways. Some evoke people and situations, without necessarily having been created or linked explicitly to this purpose (Kwint 1999). In these cases, the presence of only certain sensory qualities takes us to another time when we experienced similar traits. Meanwhile, several objects represent, in themselves, commemorative acts (Shackel 2001 and Williams 2006). Thus, they make present people and events which we hope will be remembered. Without doubt, in both cases, the materiality of the world gives durability and effectiveness to the memory.

Some objects only have meaning to certain individuals or small groups, such as the case of those of personal or family ownership (Hirsch 1997). Other objects refer to socially relevant events to a larger number of people (Nelson and Olin 2003 and Williams 2006). Meanwhile, a third group includes objects selected by the elite as a strategy of construction and consolidation of dominant ideologies.

In all these cases, objects are the material representation of a memory that needs to be preserved, and this importance is what gives them the heritage character. To clarify these ideas, I chose examples of heritage analysis that can handle this kind of material memories turned into legacy.

5.4 Cases of Analysis

I. Institutional heritage: great men versus sealers in the history of Antarctica in the nineteenth century.
II. Social heritage: memories of the military dictatorship.
III. Personal heritage: the photographs in my parents' house.

5.4.1 I. Institutional Heritage: Great Men Versus Sealers in the History of Antarctica in the Nineteenth Century

The first example that I would like to address has to do with the construction of Antarctic history and the material heritage which supports it. Traditionally, as it happens in any other place, the history of Antarctica was built from the characters considered of “historical significance,” linked to national interests. Within this conception, they are considered historic heritage, therefore, the material remains associated to those who are considered “heroes” are preserved (e.g., captains, explorers, scientists, among others). In contrast, other stories associated with the participation of ordinary people in the occupation of Antarctica are forgotten and silenced. Sealers and whalers, groups that have pioneered this continent, have never been considered important by the official history, though they have left a large and diverse amount of material remains scattered in the South Shetland Islands and in the mainland, which until recently had not been included in the conservation agenda of Antarctica’s cultural heritage.

5.4.1.1 The Construction of Antarctic Historical Heritage

In 1970, the need to preserve historic sites was included on the agenda of the world community about Antarctica. During the seventh meeting of the Advisory Board of the Antarctic Treaty, was reached an agreement that created a list of sites and historical monuments for the continent.

The criteria set for the historical site declaration can be viewed in Senatore and Zarankin 2011 (p. 53):

> A) a particular event of importance in the history of science or exploration of Antarctica occurred at the place; B) a particular association with a person who played an important role in the history of science or exploration in Antarctica; C) a particular association with a notable feat of endurance or achievement; D) be representative of, or Antarctica; E) bear particular technical, historical, cultural or architectural value in its materials, design or method of construction; F) have the potential, through study, to reveal information or to educate people about significant human activities in Antarctica; G) bear symbolic or commemorative value for people of many nations.

Currently, there are 84 historical sites that are protected by the Treaty and therefore cannot be placed in danger by human activities, removed or destroyed.

A few years ago, along with Ximena Senatore, I analyzed the listing of places and objects listed as historical (Senatore and Zarankin 2011) and it was interesting to note that there is none related to sealer groups, and there are only two that refer to places associated with extractive activities. Hence the question: from this heritage, which are the stories we try to preserve and which we try to delete?

It is clear, for the Antarctic case that hegemonic positions have been the ones that only care about preserved a heritage that allows building an Antarctic history around heroes excluding ordinary people. Also without elements showing how capitalism has approached this territory, interested only in exploiting its resources without caring about the destructive consequences of these unplanned policies, as well as the infrahuman conditions under which the sealers worked.

5.4.1.2 Antarctic Archaeology and the Rewriting of History

The historical archaeology has been characterized, since the mid-1990s, as a way to give voice to those groups without stories. From this principle, 20 years ago, we initiated a project[1] to study the earliest human occupations in Antarctica (Zarankin and Senatore 2005, 2007). Since 1995/96, we conducted several expeditions in such a way as to find a lot of archaeological sites from the beginning of the 19th century.

Our archaeological studies have focused mainly on the South Shetland Islands. The object of interest has been the presence of sealer and whaler groups in the nineteenth century. Companies sent boats with crews of various backgrounds dedicated to the exploitation and marketing of products of marine mammals carried out on a global scale. These trips, motivated by obtaining furs and oils, extended the known boundaries and incorporated new landscapes and experiences to the modern world.

As I mentioned, the project focuses on building stories from those who were not included in the *Master Narratives* of Antarctica. In some jobs, we focus on the discussion of the role of archaeology as responsible for building a plural and multivocal history (Zarankin and Senatore 2007). Our archaeological research on the sealer-whaler presence has allowed questioning certain principles of the official story (Senatore and Zarankin 2011), leaving aside the history centered on "extraordinary" events by pioneer heroes, with precise dates and disconnected from the processes that give them meaning. In the context of early nineteenth century, we have considered the arrival of human beings to Antarctica as part of a process of capitalist expansion (Senatore and Zarankin 1999 and Zarankin and Senatore 2005). In other words, Archaeology has an interest in those who had a less visible role in Antarctic history, including sealer and whaler groups as new protagonists. The systematic study of the material remains as the main source of information has allowed offering innovative perspectives on these stories, generating information about unknown aspects of everyday life of the first people who lived temporarily in Antarctica (Zarankin and Senatore 2007; Senatore et al. 2008). In this way, incorporating new players and focusing on the small stories of everyday life, archaeology began offering an alternative look at the most known and widespread stories of the Antarctic past.

Currently, the results of these studies are contributing to generate a change, still very tenuous, in books and papers on the history of Antarctica, however, other researchers are joining this cause to build an alternate history of this continent (Madisson 2014) (Fig. 5.2).

[1]This project is currently part of an international agreement among Brazil, Argentina, Chile, Australia and United States (Stehberg et al. 2007, 2008; Pearson et al. 2008, 2010 and Zarankin et al. 2007).

Fig. 5.2 Heroes remains versus the ordinary people

5.4.2 Social Heritage: Memories of the Military Dictatorship

In this second example, I propose to reflect on some issues concerning the construction of places of memory (Nora 1984 in Graves 2010: 1), kind of heritage sites, taking as case analysis some spots associated with the military dictatorship in Buenos Aires, Argentina (Zarankin and Salerno 2012). I assumed that the materiality of spaces can contribute to shape and upgrade the memory of historical events (Funari and Zarankin 2006, Ganz 2008 and Ruibal 2008). The experience of certain places generates ideas and sensations that can be ordered in a narrative sequence about the past (Almeida 2005; Oliveira 2000 and Potteiger and Purinton 1998). The idea is to observe the way in which the spaces for memory—especially those sanctioned by the government—meet (or not) the purpose for which they were appointed.

In the case of the last military dictatorship in Argentina, the people killed, the survivors, their stories, the remains of the detention and death places are presented as fragments that refuse to disappear. It is through them that, currently, we try to bring to the present certain memories and build a new base of consensus on Argentinean's history.

The proliferation of institutionalized spaces for memory in the city of Buenos Aires (and also in other regions of Argentina) is, without doubt, part of a process of rewriting the official story in contemporary Argentina. Huyssen (2003) states that these types of places have the potential of building and/or strengthening narratives about public memory. In this process, the materiality of sites refers to the strength of experiences and emotions. Therefore, a key question is whether these spaces actually contribute to build and/or strengthen a critical memory about the dictatorship and its repressive strategies.

In a previous study, Melisa Salerno and I (Zarankin and Salerno 2012), discussed the effect that different types of spaces for memory produce in people. It is possible that the places that have the greatest impact are those that have emerged in the context of the dictatorship and still linger. Some of the major examples are the former clandestine detention centers—CCDs—and the spaces of resistance during the regime, such as the circular route of parade around the *Pirámide de Mayo* of Mothers in Plaza de Mayo. These sites feature a direct link with the past for being in

Fig. 5.3 CCD and the scarf drawing of Mothers of Plaza de Mayo in Buenos Aires

the same places where facts developed. They were initiated by the force of past practices and succeeded to project themselves in the present through new acts (Fig. 5.3).

In the case of CCDs, the perversion of illegal detentions and crimes established as a common exercise of the dictatorship were followed by a process of denunciation, appropriation, and resignification of spaces. As for the space of parade of "*Madres de Plaza de Mayo,*" the continuity of meetings managed to legitimize them as a symbol of struggle.[2] Both CCDs and scarfs of Plaza de Mayo take us to another time and face us with the question—especially for those who did not directly live the facts—of how they would feel if in those circumstances. Meanwhile, protagonists of the history (survivors and family members) may meet again with the past and rebuild their identity from new perspectives.

Other existing spaces (i.e., parks, street names, monuments, commemorative plaques, among others) were mostly created during the democracy, post-dictatorship (Fig. 5.4). Their materiality is not a product of repression or resistance acts developed in situ, in the past. For this reason, they must perform another type of effort to generate memory from the present. In most cases, they do not carry senses or emotions with the same intensity as the CCDs. Their presence and features appear to be primarily—although not exclusively—associated with government decisions to create a false idea of commitment with human right support.

Huyssen (2003) affirms that, on some occasions, state intervention generates an "excess" of memory policies. This has several edges or consequences. According to Huyssen (2003), authorities very often try to substitute the effective fulfillment of justice with the support of memory policies. One possible interpretation of this situation is that, often, the easiest way that politicians find to satisfy the demands for historical repair is to build monuments, hang reminiscent plaques or rename streets

[2]Around the main monument in Plaza de Mayo square, it was panted several draws of the scarf every member Madres de Plaza de Mayo use on the head as symbol of their identity and fight.

Fig. 5.4 Street named after the founder of the group Madres de Plaza de Mayo (kidnapped/missing) in Buenos Aires

and squares. The construction of a commemorative "heritage" of victims and crimes can be a strategy to mask coward impunity policies.

5.4.3 *Personal Heritage: The Photographs in My Parents' House*

The last example I will discuss happened inside my parents' house (where I lived for over 15 years trough 80 and 90s). The house is located in the city of Buenos Aires, and in the 1980s it was listed and declared as a building of architectural value. Built in the 1940s by a Spanish architect, from an award-winning project, all its materials were imported from Spain (Fig. 5.5). Because of its history and architectural features—of Arabic influence—it was declared "heritage" by the city government, and no change could be made without the authorization of the

Fig. 5.5 Facade of the house

Comisión Nacional de Museos, Monumentos y Lugares Históricos [National Commission of Museums, Monuments and Historical Places].

Frames on ceilings, Hispanic literature-themed tiles, religious drawings and an aesthetic that recalls the *alcázares* in the Iberian Peninsula are part of the house ornamentation (Fig. 5.6). It is not my interest to talk about the house itself, but about a phenomenon that happens in its interior and allows me to reflect on the idea of heritage from another perspective. I am referring to the process of proliferation of photographs in all rooms of the house.

Personally, I have noticed that as people get older, different family photos begin to multiply and cover surfaces in their own homes. So, I decided to do an experiment, an archaeology of the photographic landscape of my parents' house. For this, I started from some basic variables of archaeological research: identifying the photograph content and looking for patterns.

(1) Creating a photo classification model (groups, individual, children, grandchildren, parents, residents, etc.).
(2) Spatial location of the place of photography.
(3) Hierarchy of space (public, private, semi-public).

The result was very interesting and showed clear intentional patterns in the distribution of photos and, therefore, in discourses they built. Thus, in public spaces (such as kitchen, dining room, etc.), the vast majority of photographs picture are of the grandchildren, that appear in individual or group photos (together or with my parents). In semi-public spaces, such as the desk, and the living room, there are photos of whole family, and in the today "empty bedroom", pictures of the person who use to live there (each of the brothers and sisters). Finally, the most private area of the house, my parents' own bedroom is the one with mostly "old" photographs of various stages of their lives (such as graduation, marriage, trips, etc.), and also photos of their parents and grandparents, along with pictures of friends from the past.

These images are at the same time memories of a past, and also elements for legitimating their identity and place in the present. Therefore, the choice of each

Fig. 5.6 Details of the house interior

Fig. 5.7 Detail of photos in public, semi-public and private places. A time travel

photo and their location conform "semiconscious" discourses, both for strengthening their self-identity as to show visitors who they are (Fig. 5.7).

It is a sort of time travel, in which they wake up every day in their past (and when moving around the house, they cross, first, a close past, to finally arrive at the present (space with grandchildren photos). At bedtime, they do the same travel in the opposite direction, from the present to the past (Fig. 5.7).

If these photographs tell stories about who they are, how to conform and constitute their family, their past, their present, from which the "official story" is legitimized, why, then, not thinking of the photos as a kind of individual/family heritage, part of a constitutive and dynamic discourse (photos can be changed or exchanged places) of identity? In the specific case of my parents, their own story does not make sense if not inserted inside another family history, which has a past, a present and a future.

On the contrary, for the system, the heritage is the house, the only one that should be preserved simply because an architect says it has "architectural value," while the rest (the stories inside the house) have no importance. But is it really not important?

5.5 Cross-Dressed Heritage

Heritage can be assimilated by the agent images mentioned by Yates (2007), as well as a form of post-memory of Hirsch (1997). In our society in general, decisions about what is heritage, as well as what is not, are mostly assignments of the States, which have created heritage policies functional to their interests and, generally, contrary to the ones valued by ordinary people.

Returning to the example of my parents' photos, we can think that heritage is this, the arbitrary selection of fragments "relevant" to the construction of legitimation discourses in the present. When I refer to arbitrary, I am saying that heritage does not exist as an essential category, as something given and therefore cannot be questioned. On the contrary, the heritage is "created" in function of specific interests, ideologies that naturalize it and turn it into "sacred" places or things, to the point that it becomes more important than people themselves. As Alejandro

Haber says (personal statement), how can it be that, in a given region, studying and preserving archaeological remains is a priority while the current population is totally forgotten by the system?

My idea with this article was to show that there are several competing memories and, as archaeologists, we have to position ourselves politically and ideologically to fight those which allow the reproduction of domination policies, reinforcing other memories and heritages.

Within this context, I wish Archaeology contributes to generate an acute sense that any order is false, nothing is in the place it is supposed to be and everything seen as truth is no more than a cross-dressed fraud. Archaeology needs to punch us, since it is precisely the power of the shock that take us out of the comfort, make us questioning of our certainties, and forces us to evaluate how delusional our beliefs are.

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Chapter 6
Dialogue and Preservation: Considerations About Contract Archaeology in Brazil (or, the Way It Works, and the Way It Does not)

Astolfo Gomes de Mello Araujo

Abstract This chapter presents a critical discussion on the current standards regarding the protection of Brazilian archaeological heritage and the main results from their application. The discussion is carried out by an analysis on the role of the National Institute for Historical and Artistic Heritage Preservation—IPHAN and the archaeological companies for the archaeological data collection and preservation. From this discussion, we argue that there is an erroneous routing of these issues, inasmuch as IPHAN has been increasingly slow in the process, and only concerned with the knowledge spreading as "Heritage Education". Paradoxically, agents do not seem to realize that there can be no knowledge spreading without knowledge production, as well as the role of archaeology companies in this area has proved to be scarce. In this process, we point out that the academic archaeology, which is really responsible for the knowledge generation, is increasingly placed in the backstage.

Keywords Archaeology · Heritage · Contract archaeology · Brazilian heritage standard

Between September 2014 and March 2015, the community of Brazilian archaeologists was in an uproar. There was the leak of a document to be issued by the National Institute for Historical and Artistic Heritage Preservation (thereafter IPHAN) , the Federal law-enforcement organ responsible for the preservation of the archaeological heritage. This document, which would be later known as Normative Instruction 01/2015 (thereafter IN 01/2015[1]), provided for the entire legal process related to the preservation of the archaeological heritage in environmental licensing

[1]Instrução Normativa 001, de 25 de março de 2015, available at: http://portal.iphan.gov.br/uploads/ckfinder/arquivos/Instrucao_normativa_01_2015.pdf.

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processes. Immediately, there was a manifestation of the Public Attorney for the Defense of Justice Heritage of Minas Gerais, Marcos Paulo Miranda, who attacked the document vehemently.[2] The IPHAN, in turn, reacted batting (to some extent) some of the criticism. The fact is that the document was being gestated without proper transparency, which caused understandable outrage of the archaeological community, many archaeologists were afraid of losing their jobs, which effectively will not happen.

What exactly says this document, and how it differs from previous standards? I will try to summarize it as best as I can, of course applying my own experience and point of view. Such is definitely a boring activity, but we cannot deny that it is important to know the law, if only to swindle it, as some do. I will return to this point later.

Basically, IN 01/2015 strips IPHAN the power to "meddle" in each and every environmental licensing process. With the previous standard, which was Ordinance 230, IPHAN was part, automatically, of the environmental licensing process. Now, it has to be invited to manifest. If not invited, IPHAN can still manifest itself and ask to be included, but this is case by case. An interesting point is that, from the onset, to be able to be evaluated by IPHAN, you need to have the area of the enterprise in a "shapefile". I do not know what this is. I imagine it is one of those geographic information system file formats. A map with good old geographical coordinates or UTM is not enough. A masterpiece of bureaucracy. However, this "new" secondary role of IPHAN in the environmental licensing process is not something the IN 01/2015 created; The Normative Instruction just followed what was approved by the Interministerial Ordinance 419, October 2011,[3] which had already taken this power of IPHAN, along with the National Foundation for the Indian Welfare (FUNAI), Palmares Foundation (related to slave descendants), etc. Let us not disrupt President Lula´s/Dilma´s "Program for Acceleration of Economic Growth" (PAC), please.

Also, according to the letter that IPHAN issued in response to Public Attorney Marcos Paulo Miranda, Ordinance 230 of IPHAN was an "infra-legal standard" that did not guarantee the obligation of IPHAN's presence in the environmental license. What they did not mention is that now we are in the same situation, because IN 01/2015 is also an infra-legal standard and does not guarantee anything. But before nobody knew it! If formerly IPHAN was automatically part of the environmental licensing, now it is explicitly written that IPHAN should be invited to manifest itself.

However, an undeniable advantage of the Interministerial Ordinance 419 is that it provides deadlines. IPHAN should issue a decision within 90 days. I know of colleagues who have come to wait 2 years for the publishing of a miserable archaeological digging permit. Guess what happens? The archaeological excavation

[2] Miranda, M.P. 2014. "O Fim da Arqueologia Preventiva", available at: http://www.cedefes.org.br/?p=politica_detalhe&id_afro=12462.

[3] Portaria Interministerial no. 419, de 26 de outubro de 2011, available at: http://www.palmares.gov.br/wp-content/uploads/2010/11/portaria-419-11.pdf.

is done anyway. Nobody can wait 24 months for a simple “ok”, especially when there are tractors and hundreds of workers waiting in the field. When the permit is published, archaeologists say “thank you”, but the work has been done a long time ago. This kind of slowness is extremely delirious for IPHAN´s image, as one can imagine, and was probably one of the reasons Interministerial Ordinance 419 was issued.

6.1 Contract Archaeology in Practice: The Role of IPHAN and the “2012 Mistake”

Well, enough of legislation. Let us think about what happens in practice today in relation to contract archaeology. Until recently, some Regional Superintendencies of IPHAN, including the 9th at São Paulo State, accepted the so-called “noninterventive diagnostic”. It was a way, in my view legitimate, to expedite an extremely time-consuming process. Instead of waiting months for an authorization of IPHAN, it was possible for the archaeologist to visit the site of implementation of the project and issue a preliminary report. If the place was absolutely destroyed, for example, a factory yard deployed in a place where it had been made a deep cut on the ground with rock outcropping, and where they intended to carry out an expansion of the built area, the archaeologist could say that the archaeological potential was null. With this, it was saving a lot of time, paper, and money. Lest anyone think that the archaeologist could eventually provide a false diagnostic, to see that this alternative would not be necessarily favorable to the rogue archaeologist. In fact, an archaeologist earns a lot more money “saving” a site or “monitoring“ an area than saying that there is nothing worth of saving. In any other situation, the noninterventional diagnostic would say “yes, it is necessary to carry out an archaeological survey,” and yes, this would require a project and all the paperwork involved. Even in these cases, with the necessity of a proper survey and excavation project, the figure of the noninterventive diagnostic at least gave to the entrepreneur the impression that something was being made. However, IPHAN revoked it in December 2012, as a kind of Christmas gift, by means of a memorandum.[4] No more noninterventional diagnostic. The rationale was that without a *project*, the IPHAN technicians could not say that an area had archaeological potential or not. I beg your pardon? A project is just an idea of what you want to do in the future. It is not a report or an assessment. What happened in sequence, at least in São Paulo, which is the state where most contract archaeology is done, was an

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[4]IPHAN—Memorando Circular 14/2012, de 11 de dezembro de 2012, available at: http://www.der.pr.gov.br/arquivos/File/Meio_Ambiente/Legislacao/Memorando_14_2012_IPHAN.pdf.

endless line of research projects to be implemented in areas where they would be absolutely unnecessary, followed by a huge delay in publication of excavation permits, given the small cadre of professionals to judge these projects. To make matters worse, there is a rule that requires IPHAN technicians to approve the sending of charcoal samples abroad for dating. Geologists send samples at ease, but charcoal from an archaeological site is considered National Heritage that is sacred. In short, the entrepreneur would wait months for the archaeologist to go out in the field one day, make some holes, and state the obvious. This gets really bad because if we make the role of devil's advocate, booking market or corporatism is suggested. From the entrepreneur′s point of view (and engineers are generally not dumb), to postpone civil works in a totally reworked area because of the supposed presence of archaeological sites seems just a way to ensure archaeologist′s jobs. It seems that we have a confusion between job creation and the real purpose of the law. *The purpose of the law is not to create jobs but to ensure the protection of the archaeological heritage.*

What was the impact of this combination of delays and bureaucracy? A general dissatisfaction with IPHAN, but we know that unhappy archaeologists and small entrepreneurs are the least of it. When the Capital is dissatisfied, it is where the problem starts. And the worst is that the Capital was not totally deprived of reason. Worse, things considered "urgent" as the hydroelectric plants of Belo Monte and Jirau, or that "white elephant" called São Francisco river transposition, received VIP treatment and had passed through the "fast lane". Now we know that a massive corruption scheme was behind such works.[5] The rest of us, plain academic archaeologists, were waiting.

In my view, IN 01/2015 was aimed to try to remedy this situation (no doubt due to considerable pressures). But remember that this situation was enhanced by the elimination of noninterventive diagnostic, and this decision was made by the same IPHAN that now was required to edit the IN 01/2015.

Now, according to IN 01/2015, the enterprises were classified by levels, from I to IV, and one called N/A, which is "not applicable". N/A is exactly what would be called a noninterventive diagnostic in a disturbed area, i.e., the norms do not apply in such cases. It does not need all the bureaucratic proceeding. What about Level I? Level I does not need anything but a term where *the entrepreneur certifies that he will suspend works if he finds an archaeological vestige* (!). It is the equivalent of saying that there is nothing in the place. At least in the case of the good old noninterventive diagnostic, an archaeologist would visit the place to say it. It was way better than N/A or Level I. In sum, ironically, we now see the coming back of the noninterventive diagnostic, stronger than ever, even if it was demonized by the same IPHAN in 2012.

[5] See, for instance: http://www.socioambiental.org/pt-br/dossie-belo-monte; http://www.oestadonet.com.br/index.php/regional/item/7925-uma-bolha-de-corrupcao-na-hidreletrica-belo-monte.

6.2 Were Archaeologists Going to Lose Their Jobs?

Does this mean that archaeologists will go unemployed? Never! The Level II, which would be applied to various types of enterprises that are theoretically less destructive, implies the presence of an archaeologist in the field, which will be "monitoring" the work. It is the good old "monitoring": days and days of the complete boredom, watching the bulldozers in action, or stand seeing workers planting seedlings. The effectiveness of this type of activity is, in my opinion, extremely questionable from the point of view of the preservation of the archaeological heritage. It is not possible to find a buried archaeological site in these conditions, without a systematic subsurface prospection, and without sieving the earth, just revolving the soil with a shovel, except in the case of monstrously dense sites, or funeral urns, or built structures. Housing projects between 6 and 30 ha are in this category, as well as plantations and reforestation between 101 and 1,000 ha. It makes little sense. Why does not a housing development project under 30 ha need a decent archaeology survey project, with test-pits, auger holes, sieving, etc.? A housing project has a definite impact in the subsoil, regardless of the size of the area. It means a lot of earthworks, street opening, sewage ducts, posts for electric line, and finally, houses will be built upon it. On the other hand, why an area of planting or reforestation, of any size, needs archaeology? It is just a plowed tract with seedling planting activity. Especially in São Paulo, all such land has been cleared and plowed, if not in the mid-nineteenth century, certainly in the early twentieth century. It is not reforestation that will destroy the site. The growth of eucalyptus, pine trees, or sugarcane will not damage the subsoil more than the growth of roots from native trees. Again, as the devil´s advocate, one can eventually say that the idea is more related to extract money from the agribusiness and ensure jobs for archaeologists than to provide good archaeological preservation measures. A team of archaeologists losing their time and effort in this activity could well be digging holes in a housing development area under 30 ha.

What ends up happening with this "monitoring" , now called "accompaniment" ("acompanhamento"), is that the entrepreneur has to be paying at least one archaeologist, but more commonly a team of archaeologists, for weeks or even months, for an action that in itself is not effective for the preservation of the archaeological heritage. Admittedly, if a site is found in these conditions and the archaeologist send the word "stop the machines", does someone believe there will be scope to preserve the site? No. What will happen is a hasty collection of whatever is there. I do not say that monitoring is never necessary, but there are cases where it is not absolutely necessary, and the entrepreneur would rather pay than have problems with the progress of the work. But from an ethical point of view, the archaeologist should assess the situation and, if necessary, refuse to do the monitoring. A North American colleague of mine did this, claiming that monitor an area where there was no reason to do it would be anti-ethical and would represent a kind of extortion upon the entrepreneur, but the developer chose to pay to have no problems, and other archaeology company ended up doing the monitoring.

The result is that five archaeologists were paid during several days without doing anything, seated inside a car. It is not that they were lazy, just the fact that there was nothing to do.

Environmental impact studies do not have as a primary goal creating jobs. It is well known that some absolutely immoral archaeologists present extremely low prices for their work, win a bid, do a survey, find (or plant) something in the field and, instead of digging it all or propose the in situ preservation, appeal for monitoring. Thus, they shall be paid for months to do nothing.

It is not my goal to keep scrutinizing and criticizing the IN 01/2015. It brought some improvements over previous standards, and brought back the idea of reducing bureaucracy, establishing in practice the old noninterventive diagnostic, which makes sense. It is not perfect, but can be changed if necessary (I hope).

In my view, three topics should be prioritized in terms of contract archaeology: well done archaeological survey, in situ preservation, and dissemination of data. Regarding this last point, as will be seen, my view differs from the normal stance. I do not mean speeches and pamphlets, but the actual dissemination of knowledge in the academic community. It is from here that this material may be better known to the general public.

6.3 Mo´Better Archaeological Surveys

Starting with the first point, if the archaeological survey is well done, and if there is any site on a given area, it ends up being detected. If it is not detected by a matter of probability, because no test pit or auger hole hit a piece, it is something that is beyond human control. There is no exhaustive and infallible archaeological survey, but if the job is well done, the probability of detecting a site if any site is present is fair. Once you have done this survey, you can say if there is a necessity of any excavation or not. No need to pay someone to watch tractor work.

Once the archaeological material is detected, there will be an evaluation of the informative potential. I have worked in a place where we did hundreds of auger holes every 30 m, detected a small flake 1 m deep, then made several other holes around, and did not find anything. Not content, we opened a 2 m × 1 m trench exactly on the spot where the flake was found, and there was nothing. Obviously, in this case, it is not necessary to perform an archaeological dig. Even if we had found some more flakes, the only relevant information would be in terms of chronology. The result would be "found some flakes to 1.20 m deep, charcoal dated at 5000 years." No need for other actions.

6.4 In Situ Preservation: Being Bolder

However, some cases are different. Very dense sites, or very old, or sites in areas where we have almost no data, could well be preserved in situ. This is especially true in the case of housing projects and linear projects such as transmission lines and pipelines. It is perfectly possible to slightly modify a design to let the archaeological site within a public square, or divert a transmission line, or the location of an electric tower, or to make a gas pipeline not to pass exactly over an archaeological site with high informational potential, *if the archaeological survey is done in proper time*. For this to happen, there must be timely actions from the archaeologist and from the entrepreneur, and timely answers from IPHAN. These kinds of sites cannot and should not be excavated to exhaustion. They should be left where they are. If after the end the work one wants to go back and dig properly, it is another story.

In the case of dams, there is also a hysteria regarding the "rescue" of the sites, but I think we should be bolder. A flooded area does not necessarily represent the destruction of the site. It was never shown that a site is destroyed if it is flooded. In fact, we can even imagine that the opposite occurs. Perhaps a flooded site suffers from over-preservation, that is, it will take a few hundred years before anyone has access to it again. Is this really a problem? Is it really necessary to hasty dig the sites and fill technical reserves with materials whose study is unlikely to yield much, given the quality of the record? Even if the record is wonderful, every archaeologist knows that there is nothing with more informative potential than a site that was not excavated. All excavation implies the destruction of evidence. It would be better to get good samples, including dating samples, and leave most of the site preserved and at peace under water. Once I proposed it to a team that was working on a large dam in Central Brazil. There was a rock shelter full of rock art right on the riverbank. This shelter was going to be flooded away. I proposed: as it will be flooded, why not try to put some kind of polymer sealant on top of the paintings, and tie a buoy with a chain to mark the location of the shelter? When the water rises, this would be a floating guide, and the condition of the paintings could be monitored by divers. It could be a pilot study to see the role of water in the paintings, and the role of different polymers in their protection. This could serve to think about protective actions in the future, since dams will continue to be built and there will always be shelters with cave paintings. But no, this kind of innovation takes work. The cost would be no problem, since the state-owned company spent more money on other things infinitely more expensive. Buying some polymers and tying a buoy would be nothing in comparison. Too bold, too innovative.

In fact, my own experience is that in situ preservation is the most difficult thing to achieve for the sole reason that the IPHAN itself has proven refractory to the idea. I do not know if this attitude has changed, but several years ago I had an experience that to me seemed to be hitting a wall. I was a technician at the Department of Cultural Heritage, São Paulo City, for many years and once had a problem related to a prehistoric site with lithic material found at Morumbi, one of the neighborhoods with the most expensive square meter in the city. The fact that this place still existed was a miracle. It had been detected by a German-born engineer who worked on the implementation of a housing development in the 1970s. He not only realized that there was flaked material in the place but also collected pieces and made a sketch of the location. Later he donated a box full of archaeological material, with the sketch to the Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology/USP, where today I work. This material was in technical reserve for many years, until Dr. Dorath Uchôa mentioned its existence. I went after the box, which was a real coffin, and I found this little treasure: a few hundred lithic pieces and a map showing how to get there. The streets had no name, but there was a reference to a sports club. Finding the location of the club, it was only following the street. To my utter amazement, the site was a vacant lot! It was a large outcrop of flint, with thousands of flakes and cores everywhere. Because of the uniqueness and the possible antiquity of the place, I believe that would be the most important site of the municipality. After that, to make a long story short, there was an excavation with the collection thousands of pieces and the definition of testimony block. It all seemed more or less well until the (very dishonest) owner sold the land to a third party without warning there was an archaeological site on it. This third party destroyed almost everything, had house foundations in place, etc. A team of archaeologists was hired, did some survey, and issued a report saying that the site was totally destroyed. After the work was done I, as a technician, went there, opened a 1×1 survey and found that about 4 m^2 of the site were still intact. In negotiation with the IPHAN, I argued that those poor and precious 4 m^2 should stay there. There was no point in digging them because it would have to be done in a hurry, and the result would be a few more hundred kilograms of material in technical reserve. That small tract of land should stay there, under a concrete slab with an information plaque, even under a house, to be (re) discovered by someone 150 years or more from now. It would be better than producing a few more crates of flakes. All in vain, IPHAN did not want any site in that location, neither the owner. They hired the same team to excavate the remnant 4 m^2. There is no Morumbi lithic site anymore. Problem solved.

Here comes another example. In 2012, a colleague who works with contract archaeology asked me to coordinate a survey in a large, high-end housing development project. This area had, so far, only had information about ceramic sites, despite the great urbanization and a large number of contract archaeology work on roads. In the area of the housing project, we found two sites with flaked stone located on the tops of two hills. It was totally unexpected, especially since the material was buried more than 50 cm, despite being near the watershed. It was supposed to be very old, in addition to constitute totally unprecedented data.

Once the presence of these two sites was reported, the entrepreneur opened a bidding for so-called "rescue" (which is a horrible name, as if the place were someone´s hostage. Hostage from whom? From the ground?). I told my colleague that as my academic interest fell into Paleo-Indians, and since the sites were potentially old, I would give up my fees to coordinate the excavation. She would only have to pay the technicians. Well, not even with this condition she could beat the price requested by the competitor, and therefore the excavation of the sites was carried out by another team. After a couple of years, the entrepreneur came into new contact with my colleague, very upset, and said that he was feeling cheated, because the other contract archaeology company found a much denser site than expected, the excavations were taking too long, they were asking a series of financial additives, and everything was much more expensive and time-consuming than anticipated. In short, the entrepreneur wanted my colleague to continue the excavation. I told her that I was still interested but my first action would be to ask for a meeting and propose the immediate stop of the excavations, with the housing plan modification and deployment of a public square in the place of the site. Simple like that. The site not only had more than 8000 years, as it had a lot of arrowheads. It was, without a doubt, one of the most important sites of São Paulo state. Well, given that message, the entrepreneur chose to continue with the previous company. The site was totally excavated, and today there is a road cut of more than 10 m depth through which an avenue stands. All these problems between the entrepreneur and the archaeologists were brought to IPHAN. Apparently, nobody thought about the possibility of in situ preservation. Problem solved.

The panorama that we have in terms of the mitigation of impacts in the archaeological record in Brazil is that everything must be excavated. Certainly, it seems appropriate for everyone. From the entrepreneur's point of view, the archaeological site ceases to be a legal impediment and becomes a lot of boxes in a technical reserve. The entrepreneur will never have to worry about that. From the point of view of the public heritage management organs, the in situ preservation means more work because it entails monitoring to ensure that the sites are not going to be destroyed, either intentionally or unintentionally. When a site is destroyed, the Public Ministry sues the IPHAN. From the archaeologist's perspective, you gain more money digging the whole site than digging just a sample and proposing the in situ preservation. Besides, the archaeologist feels compelled to please the entrepreneur who, as we have seen, prefers to get rid of it as quickly as possible.

6.5 Scientific Outreach

Finally, my last point concerns the dissemination of knowledge raised by contract archaeology. In my view, the transmission of this knowledge is a total failure. The idea that the obligation of educational initiatives is enough to ensure public outreach is a distortion. The educational initiatives are important, insofar as they affect the surrounding people's work and the workers involved but, in terms of science communication, it is insignificant. The same goes for those flyers, brochures, and so on, to be distributed in schools. All right, it is cool, but it is more of the same. They are something like this: "Here in the region, we have traces of people who hunted and collected, as well as people who had agriculture. These hunters lived here around X one thousand years (guess an age), and potters groups appeared around 2000 years (educated guesses based on data from elsewhere)." In sequence, a picture of an arrowhead, some pottery, a groundstone axe. After this, a section entitled “The work of the archaeologist”, with some photos showing people kneeling on the dirt in an area full of interwoven strings. The reader probably should think, “huh?”.

True knowledge outreach can only be done, first, if there is good old publication in scientific journals. It is from there that archaeologists and non-archaeologists can make sense of the mountain of data being generated, which continues to be buried in cryptic reports found in IPHAN or the State Secretary for the Environment, without the slightest disclosure policy, despite the legal requirement that these data should be publicly available. Although there are digital versions of these reports, one can hardly find something on the Internet. They compose a huge pile of “gray literature” that amounts to nothing. With good (or not so good, but at least *any*) scientific publication, including analysis and dating, the educators could really provide good quality outreach. The way things are now, this simply cannot be done. So, instead of asking for talks, booklets, and pamphlets, IPHAN should ask for publication of the data, or at least to make the reports available in digital media. This would ensure a real public outreach.

Unfortunately, IPHAN treats academic archaeology as if it was contract archaeology. The most obvious difference is that the first is not for profit. But there is an even more important difference: in the case of contract archaeology, an archaeological survey/excavation project is formulated by an archaeologist, but the only approval is given by the entrepreneur regarding the financial viability. There is no judgment of scientific merit. The project is sent this way for IPHAN on behalf of the archaeologist as a physical or corporate entity. In this case, IPHAN technicians really have to look into the project and check its technical feasibility. For this case, IPHAN publishes a “research permission”.

For academic archaeology, although the project is also produced by an archaeologist, it is presented to IPHAN by an *institution*. In this process, the project passes by (at least) two judgements: first by the institution that sends it, because in this case the presentation of the project by IPHAN is institutional, not personal; and second, more importantly, it passed the scrutiny of anonymous referees attached to the granting agency which finances the project (CNPq, FAPESP, etc.). In this case, it makes no sense that IPHAN should worry about the scientific merit of the project, but only about minor technical aspects, such as where is the research area, or where the archaeological material is going to be stored. Indeed, in this case, IPHAN publishes a “research authorization”, because it goes under the auspices of a research institution, and not on behalf of a physical/legal person. Thus, the bureaucracy regarding the approval and publication of research authorizations, linked to academic projects, should be much smaller, within decent deadlines and without straining the technicians of IPHAN, which already have enough work to do. However, it is not uncommon for an academic researcher to wait for months for the publication of a research authorization, as if the academic researcher were in the same business as a contract archaeologist, under the same rules and objectives. The law is clear when it makes a distinction between academic and contract archaeology but, in practice, everybody goes to the same vault. IPHAN should consider that, at the end of the day, the real archaeological knowledge is being generated by the good old academy, who (tends to) publish results more often and in widely available ways. To ensure that academic fieldwork research can be done quickly and smoothly should be IPHAN´s major concern, in order to provide data educators can use in their outreach efforts.

6.6 Some Final Thoughts

6.6.1 Who Is the Boss?

One thing that needs to get into people's heads, and that maybe IPHAN should make it clear, both for the entrepreneur and for the archaeologist, is that ***the archaeologist is not working for the entrepreneur***. The archaeologist is paid by the entrepreneur, there is a contract, etc., but he is ***rendering a service to the government, more precisely to the licensing agencies***. The entrepreneur, in this case, is only the person who transfers the money to the archaeologist. It is not the archaeologist´s boss. Unlike an engineer or an architect, who effectively work for the entrepreneur, the archaeologist is outside the professional circle responsible for the planning, preparation and implementation of the work. He is working for the licensing agencies (or, ultimately, for the society who pays the taxes), who wants to know if the work will destroy or not archaeological sites. If the mindset is that of a relationship between employer and employee, of course the archaeologist feels obliged to please those who are paying. But in fact, this relationship does not exist. This confusion gets to the point where archaeologists sign contracts stating that the archaeological information is classified! This is absolutely against the law, but people feel compelled to sign, and IPHAN apparently does not intervene. No data coming from contract archaeology shall be considered as classified, unless perhaps the exact location of the sites, in order to avoid looting. There is no point in signing a contract with such clause.

6.6.2 Is This the Boss? (or, a Tragic-Comic Note)

To finish up, going back to that issue of law and how to circumvent it, once I was in an audience made up of hundreds of people at the end of a Brazilian national archaeology conference, and I heard firsthand from the mouth of a high-ranking representative of IPHAN, the following phrase: "the law? Now, this mystery…" That was the answer when somebody in the audience questioned about the fact that he stated to the members of some indigenous group that "any representative of a Native American group could excavate archaeological sites located on their land, by the time they wanted, when they wanted and without having to be archaeologists".

I thought, “but wouldn´t they need IPHAN´s authorization? Or at least some archaeologist to supervise the work?” Apparently not. The IPHAN representative thought the law was a mystery. That was great news for me, since part of my DNA is Amerindian, mitochondrial Haplogroup B. Poor strictly European-descendant colleagues, would have to bow to the law…

Chapter 7
Ruins of Engenho São Jorge Dos Erasmos as a Case Study: World Heritage Nomination in the Context of Hyperinflation and Depredation of Cultural Properties

Rodrigo Christofoletti

Abstract The chapter aims to discuss the chances of the Brazilian National Monument Ruins of Engenho São Jorge dos Erasmos (the current Advanced Base of Culture and Extension of the University of São Paulo, in Santos—São Paulo State) of winning the status of World Heritage site. We carry out the discussion in such way to providing a critical reflection on the heritage conception in the Western World, and the relevance of new heritage as a chance to reassessing the demands and needs of the contemporary. From this discussion, we highlight the exceptionality contained in such case concerned to heritage. This exceptionality resulted from successive episodes related to the beginnings of a unique period in the history of humankind. Thus, such heritage figures as an iconic representative of the ethnic and cultural connection between Amerindian/African from the beginning of American colonization and also a part of the major movement that will end up originating the capitalism in the future. Moreover, we emphasize that more important than the proposition itself, the path taken for its eventual attainment may help to further the stories and memories linked to such heritage, which will certainly help to understanding the fact that, the destruction by awkward causes and the configuration of extremism from all sorts of nature should not suppress the spreading of preservation policies, but instead strengthen the request for safeguarding.

Keywords Ruins of engenho são jorge dos erasmos · Museums · Archaeology · World heritage · Historical heritage

Considering the destructive reality of locations from different regions of the globe regarded as World Heritage sites—especially in the Middle East due to the strength of political-paramilitary groups, such as the self-nominated Islamic State (ISIS),—

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any discussion on the creation of a new World Heritage seal of approval holds a lot of subjectivism. Such events made the heritage matter something beyond the simple need for conservation of material or immaterial cultural traditions of humankind. In the Western world (Poulot 2009, 98), the understanding that heritage means the continuity of one people's culture, or simply a set of their characteristics, contributed to the approach of this concept in a more comprehensive way: the core of such meaning overcame the classification of mere human construct, being referred as *cultural property* by many.

Criteria started being used in the protection of World Heritage sites, such as documents like Heritage Charters and also merit selections (tentative lists of local, regional and global heritage), with the objective of employing a set of predominantly universal propositions. However, the strength of drastic destruction put at stake the humanist dimension proclaimed by these documents, as moments of social upheaval lead to social commotion. This logic makes it necessary for us to understand why at this point of history there are still retrograde actions such as the ones practiced by certain groups of people. Knowledge on the preservation of World Heritage historically had a very troubled formation path. It was only in the 50s, in international conferences, that it was possible to develop wider understanding about it when UNESCO defined that cultural heritage comprised architectural monuments, archaeological sites, old objects and structures with historical, cultural and artistic value; properties that represented cultural sources of a society or social group.

However, UNESCO did not concentrate the ownership of these properties. The protection of cultural heritage has become the main task of States interested in owning properties with this seal. This means that each country is responsible for taking care of its properties to make sure it will be included in the list and therefore be worthy of differentiation.

Considering the complex framework in which the concept of *heritage* is placed in the international scope (hyperinflation and depredation), this text aims to raise preliminary discussions on a hypothetical case study: the chances of the Monumento Nacional Ruínas Engenho São Jorge dos Erasmos [Brazilian National Monument Ruins of Engenho São Jorge dos Erasmos] (the current Advanced Base of Culture and Extension of the University of São Paulo, in Santos, state of São Paulo) of winning the status of World Heritage site. First, this is a case study with no prescriptive pretension of serving as reference for future nomination files, despite the fact of it approaching the process to this end. This is a projection that might be used in the future to subsidize further research of similar nature. To do so, this discussion will be carried out based on two documents: the *Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention*, published in 2011, and the *World Heritage Resource Manual—Preparing World Heritage Nominations*, published in 2013—both available on the World Heritage Centre website, an organization associated with UNESCO.

There is no doubt that developing a World Heritage nomination takes time and effort. Such nomination refers to what is called o*utstanding universal value* of properties, which presupposes that this process should not be mainly motivated by opportunities of economic development. It is very important to approach the economic potential of properties, but exclusively focusing on this premise can decrease the chances of nomination.

In this sense, the World Heritage Committee, responsible for selecting the list of World Heritage nominations, recognizes the o*utstanding universal value* of a property if it meets one or more of the criteria designated by this Committee according to the Operational Guidelines (paragraphs 77/78): to be considered of o*utstanding universal value*, first the property must follow the integrity and/or authenticity conditions and have an adequate system of protection and management to ensure its care.

As shown in preparation documents, there are several different ways of preparing a nomination. However, some advisory bodies consider that there are some basic principles behind promising nominations. In this text, we will present the ones that seem fundamental for us in the consolidation of this proposal by the Brazilian National Monument Ruins of São Jorge dos Erasmos. The preparation of a nomination file (a very detailed document on the claims and on the properties' potential) can take years, comprising the establishment of appropriate support mechanisms, the gathering of confirmatory material, consultation to the ones interested, legal assistance, and especially the formation of a Committee responsible for the documents that go along with the nomination text.

7.1 What Was This Place Before and What Is It Now?

Among the sugar-producing units held in Capitania de São Vicente, we highlight the one previously nominated "Engenho do Governador" that ended up being known as "Engenho dos Erasmos" since the Schetz family from Antwerp has bought this piece of land. According to Paul Meuers, a Dutch researcher, the Engenho São Jorge dos Erasmos was active until the eighteenth century; throughout this period, it produced sugar cane for export in addition to "rapadura" and "aguardente" for domestic consumption. However, over this century it is possible to note the decay of the property. For the production of sugarcane and its by-products, in addition to the factory itself, the Engenho also comprised administrative and residential units, including dependencies for slaves ("senzalas"). According to Stols, the written documentation says that a Engenho consisted of "[…] a very large house with six flights of stairs, a "senzala" also containing a smithy, ramparts and two houses covered with good and strong roof tiles […] all these houses stand at a similar height and are really close to each other, in a way that no other farm could be more secure".

There are some divergences regarding the date when the Engenho São Jorge dos Erasmos would have been built. Historians such as Maria Regina da Cunha Rodrigues and Pedro Taques de A. Paes Leme point out the old Engenho do Governador as being the first one from Capitania de São Vicente (1533). Francisco Martins dos Santos says that it was the second one (1534–35) and Basílio de Magalhães and Paul Meurs believe that the Engenho of Erasmos was the third project of this type to be built in the region. After the decrease in sugar cane production, the ruins of the ancient Engenho were forgotten for more than three centuries, having to survive inclement weather and abandonment (Image 7.1).

Image 7.1 Ruins of Engenho São Jorge dos Erasmos

Only in 1943, the land where the ruins were located was purchased by Otávio Ribeiro de Araújo, who decided to divide the property and donate the Engenho São Jorge dos Erasmos to the University of São Paulo (USP) in the year of 1958.

In the same year, Luís Saia, head of the 4th District of the Board of Directors of Historical and Artistic National Heritage of Brazil, reported to the president of the Special Committee of Engenho São Jorge dos Erasmos that he had carried out a prospection and defined the architectural party as "Azorean model, of real type and moved by water" (Saia 1978). However, it is important to highlight that this Engenho is the one and only copy in the Brazilian National territory of times when sugar were essential for business and the economy of the colony.

Since the donation to the University, the successive decades were marked by the requalification of the space for historical, archaeological, and architectural research. Currently, the Brazilian National Monument is not only the oldest physical remnant of the Portuguese presence in the American continent, being also a paradigmatic space dedicated to heritage preservation and education projects open to the public of all ages.

7.2 What Characterizes a World Heritage Site?

If the heritage concept comprises material and immaterial elements, these being natural or cultural, from the past or the present, in which a particular group of individuals recognize their identity, a *World Heritage site* is something or a place considered of great value for everyone, regardless of its location or intrinsic characteristics.

For Antonio Blanc Altemir, the notion of World Heritage implies "the recognition of the existence of common and superior interests considered more important than the immediate and particular objectives of the States" (Altermir 1984, 202). According to Guido Fernando Silva Soares in the preface of the work of Fernando Feliciano, the first one to study the World Heritage seal of approval in Brazil: "these properties belong to humanity, because any foreigner, young or old, who looked at these constructions would have to recognize the geniality and universality of the human spirit that is present wherever there is its most typical manifestation: the construction of its history and habitat" (Soares, Apud Silva 2013, 24).

The extent of the notion of heritage here used "comprises from historic monuments to oral and popular traditions, underwater treasures to parks and reserves of natural lands, ruins, among others, showing how current this reflection is and proposing actions regarding heritage protection" (Werthain, Apud Lanari Bo 2003, p. 9). In this sense, joining the list of World Heritage Sites is important not only for the recognition of the value of a certain property, but also because it would mean that it will be able to rely on UNESCO's financial and legal protection. Following this concept, to be included in the list of World Heritage Sites, properties must be of outstanding universal value when it comes to history, art, sciences, conservation and natural beauty—a criterion that is very difficult and vague by definition (Choay 2001, p. 78).

These criteria carry the Western understanding of value dictated by the European history and its creations. Following these criteria, countries such as Italy and Spain stand out among those with the highest number of registered properties. The high concentration of European and American cultural properties in the list of World Heritage Sites compared to the scarce number of properties from other areas of the globe, such as the ones from the African and Asian continent, calls our attention to the close relation between economic power and protection.

Being elected one of the World Heritage Sites is currently seen as a clear vector of transformation and visibility, considering it triggers development with sustainable international tourism and public policies that imply the commitment of administrative authorities—this way resulting in benefits (of small, medium and large scale) to the population of the place—which certainly would only be applicable if some of the organizations that administrate the properties would be willing to ensure its care. There is need to have in mind that the World Heritage seal of approval does not only mean fame and honor, but also several responsibilities.

In the past decade, UNESCO developed strategic objectives known as "the five C's", which are prescribed the following actions: (1) reinforcing the **Credibility** of the World Heritage Sites list; (2) ensuring the effective **Conservation** of World Heritage properties; (3) promoting the development of effective **Competences** in State parties; (4) increasing public awareness, participation and support for World Heritage by using **Communication** and (5) enhancing the role of **Communities** in the nomination of the World Heritage Convention.

Currently, among the "five Cs", permanent communication, emphasis on communities and, above all, the development of effective competences of State parties remain as the most important actions of the entity. This way, the ownership of World Heritage sites must respect the sovereignty of the State in question; despite the similarities and/or possible differences of interests or opinions on management and preservation of properties, there is need to ensure the organs responsible for the maintenance of cultural properties are doing their job. State parties must be fully aware of the legal elements they have to consider to make sure the list is well managed. In Brazil, at least three decades ago, the Brazilian Institute of Historical and Artistic Heritage [Instituto do Patrimônio Histórico e Artístico Nacional (IPHAN)] has been building a solid credibility as an indicator of cultural properties. For this reason, the following steps (from the potentiality diagnosis of properties to its inclusion in the tentative list) deserve special attention.

7.3 Tentative List of the State Party

Each country that is part of the Convention indicates a list of possible properties that have the potential to become a world heritage site. The tentative list of cultural properties is an instrument of strategic importance at service of the World Heritage

Committee. This is a selection of properties that can be nominated to the World Heritage list and State parties (i.e., signatory countries of the organization) are encouraged to come up with new lists every decade. The stages of this long journey must be included in a short and feasible schedule. Under no circumstances, the desire of obtaining the seal of approval must represent an individual whim rather than a consolidated collective proposal that comprises the heritage as a common good to all. As affirmed by Salvatore Settis, the most competent critic of Italian heritage legislation currently: "*Impossibile conjugare il bene comune in prima persona!*" (Settis 2014, p. 56).

In two recently published books: *Paesaggio, Constituzione, Cemento—il bataglio del ambiente contra il degrado civile, e Azione populare:* In *Cittadinni per i bene comune*, the Italian archaeologist draws attention to the fact that a policy not that is not committed to common properties usually ends up encouraging the prevalence of particular/private ones. This might be one of biggest concerns of Committees that ask for the World Heritage seal of approval. Discussions contained in studies as the one by Settis provided us essential tools to a deep understanding of heritage preservation both locally and internationally. For this reason, it is common to see some of the points contained in Settis' studies in solid and well-documented nominations.

Once the Intergovernmental Committee of Protection to World Cultural and Natural Heritage or simply Committee of World Heritage cannot consider a nomination to the World Heritage Sites list if properties are not included in the tentative list of their respective State parties, which is a mandatory requirement to achieve the seal of approval.

It is known that a tentative list is a list containing properties located in the territory of each State party that are considered likely to be nominated to be included in the World Heritage list. Therefore, State parties must add to the tentative list the names of the properties they consider a cultural and/or natural heritage of *outstanding universal value* they intend to nominate in the upcoming years [Articles 1, 2 and 11 (1) of the World Heritage Convention]. Tentative lists are a useful and important planning instrument for State parties, the World Heritage Committee, Secretarial and Advisory Organizations, as they serve as an indication for future nominations.

In Brazil, the Brazilian Institute of Historical and Artistic Heritage grants exclusive guidelines to the first stage of nomination. In the country, there are state superintendencies that feed Brazilian tentative lists periodically. According to the work developed by IPHAN and Itamaraty/Ministry of Foreign Affairs in the process of institutionalization of material and immaterial Brazilian heritage; their projection and international validation ranged in the past four decades, from a shy and even silent position to effective interventions and dialogues with the States.

The Brazilian Ministry of Foreign Affairs (or Itamaraty) is responsible for coordinating the several internal positions to achieve harmony, particularly in the case of the Convention of 1972 and its agreements and resolutions. Cultural relations in the international field aim to provide greater understanding among different people. In the diplomacy field, culture is one way of creating an adequate environment to understanding by the exchange of ideas, experiences, and heritages. Aware of their position in the formulation and implementation of heritage proposals, IPHAN and Itamaraty are consolidated partners in the maintenance of the seal of approval that UNESCO granted them.

This way, nominations must respect the following order of prepositions to succeed: (a) IPHAN/State superintendence election of properties to include in the tentative list; (b) superintendence analysis of election feasibility; (c) guiding to the central superintendence, in which the nomination request will be assessed according to its relevance and value. If judged appropriate, the plea is registered in Brazilian indicative list.

After all the stages, nominations will be ready to undergo phase two, a very detailed and comprehensive phase that heads to the World Heritage Seal. However, to contribute to the establishment of a representative, balanced and credible World Heritage List, State parties are invited to consider if their properties are already well represented in the list and in the case of the answer being affirmative, avoid presenting new nomination proposals [Resolution approved by the 12th General Assembly of State Parties (1999)]. It does not seem for us that this is the case of Brazil, a country where at least until the present moment (2015) holds 19 World Heritage sites from a total of 1031. Next, we will address the discussion on the specificities of this second stage:

As shown by Silva (2013, p. 94), the World Heritage list is not just a simple inventory of natural and cultural properties. It was first created to call the attention of the public opinion on the need for preserving properties considered of *outstanding universal value*. Appreciating specialness is one of the fundamental premises of this Committee. To be included in the World Heritage list, properties have to prove *outstanding universal value*, meet at least 10 of the criteria imposed by the International Committee, besides having to follow integrity and authenticity conditions and fill protection and management requirements.

Therefore, there is a minimum of six indicatives of significance and exceptionality: (a) *outstanding universal value*; (b) at least one criterion of absolute importance among the ten listed; (c) relevant conditions of integrity and authenticity, and (d) requirements on management and protection; (d) perception of preservation of buffer zones; and (f) comparative analysis to justify the special aspects of the property.

In the case of the Brazilian National Monument Ruins of São Jorge dos Erasmos, the identification of their exceptional qualities and attributes, i.e., elements associated with its o*utstanding universal value*, will have to consider two distinct categories of analysis: the Engenho is considered a monument and an archaeological site at the same time.

In its widely known text called *Document/Monument*, Jacques Le Goff carries out a careful analysis on the several types of historical production overtime, discussing the relation between document and monument, considering both of them as part of a same body: a reference to the relations men had with the past, the monument acquires the status of historical evidence. Therefore, from a historian's perspective, a monument is the starting point to get to know a historical fact.

By turning it into a current document, we give a new meaning to the past. (Le Goff, 1984, p.96)

The concept of a monument designed by the Venice Charter comprises isolated architectural creation, as well as the environment in which it is inserted. A monument is inseparable from the environment and the history of where it is located. Hence, we acknowledge the value of monuments as modest works that with time acquire cultural significance (Gasperini, Apud Silva 2013, 55). This idea ended with the concept of musealization of monuments, especially in the urban area, no longer being a source of contemplation but a something that is actually useful to society.

The eventual election of the Brazilian National Monument Ruins of São Jorge dos Erasmos to the World Heritage site should consider the premise of "voluntary perpetuation", respecting one of the only architectural remains of a relevant historical period to the formation of Americas, but also as witness of a period of transformations in the *modus vivendi* of those who lived in this place. This way we conclude that the nomination to the seal of approval not only aim to protect the material property, i.e., the sugar mill, but also its *spiritu loci*, stories, experiences, and memories that are part of one of the oldest ruins of Engenhos from the American continent.

7.4 Understanding the *Outstanding Universal Value* of the Brazilian National Monument Ruins of Engenho São Jorge Dos Erasmos and Nomination Criteria

To be considered of *outstanding universal value* means having a cultural and/or natural significance so extraordinary that it transcends national borders and becomes equally important for the current and future generations of humankind. In this sense, both the *World Resource Manual* as the *Operational Guidelines* highly recommend that a *Declaration of Outstanding Universal Value* be prepared in a very solid and rigorous manner way before the writing process of the nomination file starts. This declaration is mandatory to achieve successful nominations.

The *Declaration of Outstanding Universal Value* must describe potential properties of universal value with the objective of giving information on its protection, conservation, management, and monitoring. The Declaration must be able to explain the value and the attributes of properties to decision-makers, politicians, and the general public. After having ensured its place in the tentative list, the next step requires even more effort, in addition to the constitution of a synergistic team that guarantees the compliance of the next steps. It will be essential to diagnose if the knowledge on properties is enough or if there is need to do more research on it. In the case of the Brazilian National Monument Ruins of Engenho São Jorge dos Erasmos, it is possible to note that this would be the first problematic item of a list of concerns. Until the potential properties of *outstanding universal value* are established and justified, it is not possible to develop other aspects of the nomination. To further the knowledge on the old Engenho becomes a fundamental task to the consolidation of nominations.

Despite being unique and presenting several characteristics that make it electable, problems from sparse and unorganized documentation will have to be minimized from a set of research to be carried out with international files (public and private) that certainly will help expanding the limits of knowledge acquired on the old Engenho.

Therefore, the first question to be answered is: after recognizing the outstanding values of this property, would the general information on the Ruins of the Engenho São Jorge dos Erasmos be enough according to World Heritage nomination standards? If the answer were yes, which characteristics would be chosen to be included in the nomination file? If the answer were no, which cultural elements should be preserved and/or discovered to be considered of useful to future nominations? Possible answers to this double question will guide the purpose of the next steps.

After understanding of outstanding values of properties, the first item to be highlighted concerns the selection criteria that will be used to evaluate the properties. This stage is one of the most important because it will define the bases in which heritage will be identified. Currently, there are ten identified criteria for nomination to World Heritage Site and properties must fit in at least one of them. Criterion II will be the focus of this nomination because it puts together elements that feature great significance to this heritage, distinctions that might help qualifying and quantifying its history and that also make it the protagonist of the initial episodes in the history of Brazil and of the American continent, as well as its connections with Europe.

We highlight *en passant* some characteristics that justify this criterion as a way of representing its most essential distinctions; at this point there is no need to worry about analytical insights that would be carried out when (or if) the nomination text were sent to analysis. This way, to be approved in criterion II, properties must "represent a clear exchange of human values over time or within a cultural area of the world that contributed to the development of architecture or technology, monumental arts, urban planning or landscape design" (UNESCO 2013, p. 37).

As suggested by the *Manual*, the keyword for this criterion is "exchange of human values". That is the case of the old Engenho São Jorge dos Erasmos, the only remaining in a certain degree of authenticity and preservation compared to Engenhos built in the first decades of the sixteenth century in the island of São Vicente, in the Southeast region of Brazil. This place promoted and registered the exchange of human values resulted from ideas that influenced other areas; these ideas originated in three different sources in which it is possible to identify actions from part of already adapted Natives and European colonists and, later with African slaves, condition that evidenced cultural fusion and adaptation to places considered emblematic given its nature in the formation of the new continent, of its economic system and identity.

Researchers of this former Engenho attested over the past five decades several characteristics that allude to its exceptionality as an iconic representative of the ethnic and cultural connection between Amerindian/African, both serving as witness of this unique copy dated from the beginning of American colonization. In this sense, Engenhos come up as the first urban regular settlement (Ferlini 2012, p. 45; Schwartz 1988, p. 98), establishing the mode of production that founded the economic and social bases not only from Brazil but also from the American continent at the beginning of the 16th century. These ruins are included in the great movement that will end up originating capitalism in the future, figuring a representative monument of a vast company of colonial export. Knowing this process contributes to the understanding of the origins that comprise this space/heritage and it also helps explaining its relation with system that resembles the capitalist ideal. Therefore, these characteristics meet the exceptional nature of the typology of this property, illustrating a significant stage in the history of the American continent.

Compared to the other existing criteria, this criterion refers to associations that may not represent tangible impacts on properties, despite being evident. The problem is: to what extent the exceptionality of the Brazilian National Monument Ruins of Engenho São Jorge dos Erasmos is associated with another type of event that is considered of exceptional importance by itself? To what events the Engenho would be associated with? It is known that the process of building, maintaining and using the Engenho São Jorge dos Erasmos, while agricultural manufacturing represented the result of a period when almost all the areas of the globe have been explored, populated, and integrated by European colonialism. Using the mercantile capital as a vector of development, expansion, and dissemination of knowledge, European modern man, born during Renaissance, ended up advancing in decades what has not been done in centuries. Due to his restlessness, he headed to remote lands to employ and generate more capital. In a dominant process, people were engaged in the production of wealth. Native Amerindians and Africans were enslaved to work in the extraction of precious metals, in the harvest of fruits from the earth, and in agricultural disputes.

Ending in the third decade of the sixteenth century, in a historical context of several transformations, this Engenho has evidence of the time it had been built both in visible and invisible structures. As a sugar manufacture, it followed the standards determined by European trade and the needs of the time, a time when tropical genres represented a great and extremely profitable demand for its sellers since it were naturally nonexistent in the old continent. Its establishment and edification followed the needs of its products: it was located by a river (it ended up having the same name of the Engenho) that flows into an estuary, easing the access to the port of the village of Santos, where the production could be shipped to Europe. Installed in the Western slope of the massif that divided the island of São Vicente, founded over a "sambaqui" with a rear and wide-ranging view; the waterfalls and vegetation cover of the slope of the hill provided, respectively, hydraulic power to the water wheel and wood to the furnaces. From the heritage left overtime, it is possible to understand the importance of geography as a determining factors for colonists to get to choose that place. The imposed choice is evident to take the South Coast as a starting point for the development of the first effective core of Portuguese colonization in America.

As a manufacture and proto factory (Christofoletti and Leite 2010, p. 34), the Engenho São Jorge dos Erasmos represented one of the earliest forms of production organization in Portuguese America; with the capital invested, it was possible to incorporate Native Americans and Africans in the making of sugar, developing production activities in the colony for more than three centuries. Heir of everything of contemporary at the time, geographic intelligence of natives together with European expertise helped creating the epic adventure printed in the remnants of this old Engenho of sugarcane, because of its architectural asset or constitutive geography or even its little explored underground. Hence, the Engenho São Jorge dos Erasmos, despite seeming incipient machinery, proved to be important not only regarding sugar economy—when it comes to the Capitania de São Vicente or the colonial system—but also referring to a new way of operating the world. (Siqueira et al. 2014, p. 68)

Therefore, the exceptionality contained in the Brazilian National Monument Ruins of Engenho de São Jorge dos Erasmos is directly associated with the succession of episodes that represent the beginnings of a unique period in the history of humanity: the awakening of men in a new time (Ferlini et al. 2013, p. 16).

7.5 Final Considerations

In a context of hyperinflation and heritage depredation, the understanding that properties should mean the continuity of the culture of a people, or a set of its characteristics, still leaves space to the expansion of the meaning of such word. We understand that the idea of considering the Brazilian National Monument Ruins of São Jorge dos Erasmos a World Heritage site is a chance to revise the knowledge on this space and develop its potential as the central part of decisive moments of our identity. Most importantly than this proposition, the path followed by its eventual achievement can contribute to the deepening of stories and memories associated with this heritage. In the twenty-first century, while we see advances in democratization of knowledge, we also see retreats in the elimination and preservation of artifacts and constructions that resemble human trajectory. Depredations, war crimes, and religious extremism favor the stealing of cultural properties with the objective of selling them to the black market, and also aiming to achieve systematic destruction and social hypersensitivity on loss and forgetfulness. We cannot ignore that Western countries share the guilt in these atrocities, first for having gathered fanatics to overthrow discretionary governments and also for being an advantageous receptor of illicit traffic of cultural properties, which today is one of the most profitable in the world. To fight the indiscipline generated by lack of feeling of belonging, there is a long and narrow but quite possible solution: knowing to preserve, preserving to make it last, making it last to share. Human beings have been realizing that sharing duties, as well as the sharing rights can help in the consolidation of a less destructive society more inclined to accept plurality. To think about World Heritage in this mess is the same as waving a flag of hope among stares of a watchful humanity lost between depredation and the production of new heritage.

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Part III
Natural and Landscape Heritage

Chapter 8
Natural Heritage: Quantitative Evaluation of Landscape Scenic Values

Jorge Rabassa

Abstract Landscape is part of the natural heritage and it has scenic, esthetic and economic values, both from the point of view of tourism and recreation, as well as in terms of the social access to the contemplation and use of such heritage. Scenic values are in fact, natural resources, and as such, high scenic values are scarce, and thus, valuable. In the case of scenic values, it is necessary to apply techniques of quantitative evaluation of such resources, which are closely related to the geomorphological characteristics of the studied region, to use these results in decision-making and priority ranking processes. This paper presents various techniques of quantitative evaluation which may be applied at the local and regional level. A case study in Tierra del Fuego is herein described.

Keywords Natural Heritage · Quantitative Evaluation · Geotourism · Landscape

8.1 Introduction

Landscape is part of our natural heritage. In ethical terms, it should be considered as much appropriate to save a species from extinction, or an eco-community from its degradation, as to preserve a certain type of landscape or landform, which may possess scenic values, from its destruction, its environmental pollution or its blockage from society access to it.

An almost infinite landscape variety exists, as a result of land modeling by a variety of endogenous agents (such as tectonics, volcanism, or the occurrence of lithological types of different behavior toward erosion) and exogenous processes (physical, chemical, and biological weathering, fluvial, marine, glacial, aeolian,

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cryogenic, and mass movement). The cited processes may act separately or simultaneously.

Quantitative evaluation of landscape esthetic values has been performed since many decades ago, and the classical papers by Linton (1968), Leopold (1969a, b), Coates (1971), Morisawa (1971), as well as the pioneer review by Cooke and Doornkamp (1974) should be cited. More recently, these topics have been widely developed by many authors, among whom Halstead (1984), Kent (1993), Willis and Garrod (1993), and Ellingston et al. (2010) must be quoted.

8.2 Geosites, Geoparks, and Geotourism

Migón (2015) pointed that "Geotourism" is frequently considered as a synonym of "geological tourism," thus implying a primary interest on those aspects typically associated with the Earth Sciences, such as rocks, minerals, paleontological findings, and primary matters and their exploitation. However, the occurrence of spectacular geomorphological landforms and landscapes has a significant influence upon the people decision about where they want to go and what they want to see. Thus, the geomorphological sites are naturally placed within the core of "Geotourism", which allows the construction of a plurality of initiatives.

According to Migón (2015), the meaning and the concept of Geotourism may be approached from two different perspectives. Firstly, and following the general explanation by Hose (2012), the focus may be found in the circumstances permitting the tourists to enhance their experiences beyond the simplest level of esthetic appreciation. Thus, the interpretation of scientific facts becomes essential and the interest sites need to be adequately explained. Secondly, it should be emphasized that a "geotourist" is somebody who is primarily motivated by the observation of the Earth's natural heritage and/or the physical exposure of the geological and geomorphological acting processes. These two viewpoints may suggest that better information may be of interest to the tourists, even though they may not fully understand at first hand the acting processes that modify the surface of the planet. However, the motivated geotourists will expect precise and more adequate information about the geology and geomorphology of the site. Nevertheless, this condition implies also the explanation offered is better adjusted to the needs and expectations of these groups of tourists, which may not be necessarily identical. It may also be suggested that it is more promising to focus on more specialized subjects such as the history of the rocks or the tectonic structures, using a physical landscape easy to understand as a starting point, and not the other way around. Thus, the explanations for the tourists may dodge the regular academic order of a presentation in geoscientific terms, which would be from geotectonic characteristics and early geological periods until reaching the present-day landscapes.

In a geomorphological context, Migón (2015) stated that the challenge is to move the static representation of landforms toward their evolution in time, with the superposition of landform generations, of varied origin and age. The phrase "History behind the scene" is particularly appropriate. There may be different manners of telling this history, from printed materials with good illustrations to interpretation centers, information panels, virtual guiding, special talks, and guided tours. According that the geomorphological landscapes vary in nature and age, there is not a precise formula to tell a successful history. The goal may be easier to achieve in spectacular mountain scenarios or along high-cliff coasts, where the clear expression of the landforms and their spatial patterns allow it and favor it. It is much more difficult to share this message in lowland landscapes or when there are covered by forest or grassland, although they may be record a fascinating geomorphological history, such as volcanism, glaciations, or sea level changes. Finally, telling the history of landscape evolution may need to find appropriate locations for large scale, direct observation ("viewpoints") that should dominate the surrounding territory, so as to permit the understanding of the problem. Thus, besides the typical "geosites"focused on individual objects, good observation locations with regional vision must be identified, developed, and managed.

All landscapes, with no exclusion, even those of maximum geomorphological homogeneity and/or scarce relative relief (Halstead 1984; Beasley et al. 1986; Ready et al. 1997; Rosenberg and Loomis 1999) present particular scenic values and what really matters is that their social appreciation is what determines such values. The existence of values implies the need of defining their nature and to establish their magnitude in quantitative ways. In many cases, explicit numerical or hierarchical expressions may collaborate, have influence or limit the decision-makers in responsible authorities, establish priorities and determine strategies for landscape preservation.

8.3 Landscape as a Touristic Resource

The basic problem for the analysis of landscape as a touristic resource is who is in charge of establishing exactly what a scenic value is, and which methodology is used to do it so. The Geography of Tourism cannot be today discriminated from Economic Geography and the Geography of Natural Resources (Clark et al. 2000; Baumol and Blinder 2003). In economic terms, things value for what people is willing to pay for them. The value of scenic resources may be estimated only based on their demand. The risk that may occur when using an analysis exclusively oriented by geomorphological criteria is that the researcher settles a framework of what is actually valuable and what is not, based uniquely in his/her criteria or personal experiences. For instance, the Perito Moreno Glacier (Glaciers National Park, Province of Santa Cruz, Argentina) has an immense scenic value, which justifies that people is willing to pay much to be able to visit it. But it may happen that the situation could be the opposite, that because there are enough people willing to pay large amounts to get to the glacier, this is the actual cause that it effectively has a great scenic value. Cultural circumstances may be forcing this situation. What can be observed is that undoubtedly tourists are eager to pay large sums to reach this glacier, because it is a site of very high "**exceptionality"** or "**uniqueness**" ($E_{xc,}$ U; Leopold 1969a, b). This parameter indicates, in this case, that there are not many glaciers in the world, at middle latitudes, and therefore, moderate climates, which occurs with such spectacular and accessibility conditions, that it is needed to walking down to the glacier, instead of climbing the mountain to it. That is, the Perito Moreno Glacier is a site with very few substitutes in the entire planet. This concept of "value" is not necessarily the same as that used by economists, but both concepts would most likely show high statistical correlation. Simply, it must be established which the people preferences are in terms of landscape and which the motivations for their elections are.

8.4 Quantitative Evaluation Techniques of Landscape Scenic Values

Several quantitative techniques for the evaluation of landscape scenic values exist. In this paper, a summary of these techniques will be presented. Moreover, criteria will be discussed for (a) individual site evaluation, (b) evaluation of scenic variables in surficial terms, with a regional vision, and (c) evaluation based upon the landscape perception by potential users of the scenic resources.

8.4.1 The Leopold Method: Individual Site Evaluation

Leopold (1969a, b) developed a very interesting technique based on site evaluation, to be able to quantitatively represent esthetic and scenic features of a certain site, and to objectively compare them with other alternative localities for a specific purpose. The basic principle in Leopold works is based upon the following hypotheses:

(a) the existence of unmodified, natural landscapes provide benefits to society;
(b) a unique or rare landscape has a greater value for society than another one, more common and frequent, and
(c) the unique qualities that enlarge the value of a landscape are those that exhibit conditions of esthetic, scenic, or social values.

Three types of factors were selected to represent the esthetic qualities of a certain site: physical, biological, and of human interest. Leopold (1969a) sustained his analysis on 46 selected factors in their descriptive categories. Such number of factors is neither absolutely necessary, nor exhaustive, and it can be reduced, expanded or modified, according to the personal criteria of the investigator.

The value of each of these factors may be determined in an appropriate numerical scale, for instance, from 1 to 5, where the higher values represent the most favorable conditions from a scenic point of view. In some factors, categories may be established by means of precise measurements, whereas in others, only qualitative appreciations are valid. It must be taken into consideration that the factors proposed by Leopold (1969a) do not necessarily include all those relevant to human perception, and of course, such perception varies with social, cultural, and economic circumstances. The other problem present is that the treatment of the factors may be not identical and thus, it implies a strong personal component from the observer point of view.

8.4.2 The Concept of Uniqueness of a Scenic Resource

A very important concept proposed by Leopold (1969a, b) is "the uniqueness ratio" (Ur) of a site, which is proposed as the reciprocal of a certain number of sites which share a particular evaluation number of a certain specific factor. Let us assume, as an example, that the following problem is being analyzed: a list of 20 different cities in Patagonia is considered in terms of the presence of glaciers and their accessibility in locations close to town. The researcher is willing to know which of them have such attribute and in which magnitude, for instance, because a certain public investment is needed for a chairlift for touristic purposes and the available funds are enough for only one city. Ushuaia, Tierra del Fuego, the southernmost city in the world, has a cirque glacier (the Martial Glacier) located in a position very close to downtown, and tourists may even walk to the glacier and return to their hotels in daytime, without major physical effort, or special equipment or transportation means. Thus, Ushuaia is assigned, in this case, a value of maximum hierarchy, that is, 5. There are no other Patagonian cities with such exceptional characteristics. For instance, San Carlos de Bariloche (province of Río Negro), Villa La Angostura (province of Neuquén), El Bolsón (province of Río Negro), Esquel (province of Chubut) and El Calafate (province of Santa Cruz) have glaciers in short distance, but in all cases it is necessary transportation services to get to them. The value assigned to these cities would be, for example, or a lower hierarchy, perhaps 3 or 4 in the chosen scale, depending upon the case. Contrarily, Comodoro Rivadavia, Trelew, Puerto Madryn (the three of them in the province of Chubut), Río Gallegos (province of Santa Cruz) and other 10 Patagonian cities included in this list are located hundreds of kilometers away from glaciers, thus making the accessibility of the tourists to these glaciers is almost impossible from these destinations, unless several days and large amounts of money are spent in transportation. These localities receive in our example a minimum hierarchy value, that is, = 1.

Applying the definition of "uniqueness ratio" (Ur; see above) to the city of Ushuaia, since this locality is the only one with the highest hierarchy value, the following equation is obtained:

Ur = 1/1 = 1 (maximum value)

Ushuaia, then, has a very high value for this factor (as stated above) and certainly it will be a locality preferred by those tourists that are willing to have such experience, that is, a simple access to a glacier, in a very short time, with additional cost close to zero.

The cities of the second group have a value of Ur = 1/5 = 0.2, whereas those of the third group are assigned a value Ur = 1/14 = 0.07. This last value is of course very low and it is then possible to objectively quantify that the cities of this list will have a very poor interest to those people who may be interested in visual perception of glaciers.

These criteria may be applied to great number of variables of touristic and/or environmental interest, particularly those related to natural heritage.

The Uniqueness Ratio may be presented also as the result of dividing the total number of localities (N), which are being analyzed and the number of times (n) that a certain physiographic characteristic occurs in the group of studied localities.

Thus:

Ur = N/n,

where N is the total number of sites or localities under study, that is, the analyzed universe, and n is the number of localities that actually display the selected attribute.

If the ratio Ur tends to 1, the attribute that is under revision will have a very low relative value, because in this case, there would be many localities sharing such attribute. Nobody is willing to pay greater amounts in transportation and residence expenses to go to a site where the selected feature is not accessible.

However, if the ratio Ur is a large number or, moreover, tends to infinite if the chosen universe is too big, this indicates that the selected feature is unique, or almost unique, depicting very few localities which share this feature in the given universe, that is, the analyzed region.

Although Ur is, by definition, a parameter focused on one single attribute, Leopold (1969a, b) suggested that it can be used as a parameter based upon multiple factors, thus obtaining average values for the physical, biological, and social interest factors, adding at a time all these three magnitudes and obtaining accordingly a summation of the Ur values of a certain number of sites in a given region. Thus, Leopold applied a complex parameter, which could be named as "Integrated multiple Uniqueness Ratio" (Urim), taking into consideration several attributes of physical characteristics at a time. This new index represents several components in a wider manner, but its nature carries the implicit problem of relative assessment of the cited attributes. It is obvious that not all considered factors have the same relative value according to social perception, and that it is neither acceptable that physical, biological, and social interest factors might be added in a direct or equivalent manner.

Nevertheless, when applied within limited criteria, this concept allows the determination if a certain locality has various, multiple scenic values, of diverse nature, which when added may provide a scenic value which is greater than any other locality studied, that could perhaps present only a unique scenic value, whereas the rest of the attributes may be too common in the studied region.

The other problem that appears in this case is that this methodology has been applied to sites, specific places within a larger landscape. However, it is not easy to assume that it may be used in more extended areas or in regional overviews.

Leopold methodology is attractive because it is based in parameters of easy identification and measurement and provides clear, understandable, quantitative and semi-quantitative results. It is also very important that the technique may be applied to any aspect of the landscape or the environment that the researcher may consider pertinent and useful.

8.4.3 The Linton Method: The Regional Overview

Linton (1968) proposed a methodology for the evaluation of the scenic resources of the landscape, based upon areal differentiation, which implied a regional vision, unlike the Leopold method, which is based upon the study of sites. The Lindon method is founded on:

(a) scenic elements that expose their influence to the spectator reactions;

(b) spatial variations of such elements which may be represented in maps, and

(c) various categories that may be exposed in a value hierarchy.

The method gives special attention to the landscape landforms and its use by humans.

One of the most important aspects of this proposal is the use of quantitative parameters and thus, of objective nature, being the most relevant the local relief (the difference of maximum and minimum elevations in a chosen cartographic grid). This is a parameter of very easy acquirement using the Digital Elevation Models (DEM) which were not available in times of the original Linton paper. In addition to local relief, and always using cartographic grids, the DEMs allow the acquisition of slope values, absolute relative elevation (elevation difference between contiguous quadrangles, slope orientation, presence of stream channels of varied magnitude, deepening of the valleys and hypsometric distribution of the landscape. For each one of these parameters, hierarchical values can be ascribed according to the criteria and judgment of the researcher, which necessarily implies some degree of subjectivity. These values being established, rating of the studied scenic values can be calculated and mapped.

Linton method has strong connections with the methodology of geomorphological mapping and the diverse techniques of Quantitative Geomorphology.

8.4.4 *Method of Personal Responses to the Natural Scenery: The Use of Polls and Surveys*

Although it is reasonable to consider that the determination of scenic values of the landscape may be in itself an objective of scientific nature, it is obvious that the utility of this methodology is directly related to its application to tourism industry. Thus, the reaction of the tourists when facing a certain landscape attribute is fundamental to establish its value in economic terms.

In this context, landscape itself or its specific history loose terrain in the objectives of the valuation process. What counts is the perception of the landscape user, which depends upon not only of the landscape nature, but mostly on the psychology, education, culture, economic position and sensorial and personal experiences of the consulted observer. Thus, the response of the actual tourist to the real landscape or the potential tourist to an image representation of it is necessarily quite complex and the result of a large number of variables. However, this methodology implies that different groups of consulted people will reply to these scenic stimulations in different manners.

This methodology is based upon the consultation to tourists, either real or potential by means of polls or surveys, which may be very different, depending upon the researcher decisions and his/her experiences and specific interests. The shape and contents of polls and surveys will not be considered in this paper, since they belong mostly to the field of sociology and not to geomorphology. A regular format in this kind of studies is the exhibition of series of photographs of the investigated landscapes to groups of potential social users, which may have similar or different characteristics. The responses of those who have been interviewed are based upon individual perception and the assignment of scenic values according to pre-prepared scales, following the researcher criteria.

It is clear that this methodology has the enormous advantage of the incorporation of the social appreciation of the landscape. However, the subjectivity that implies the selection of criteria and the images chosen by the researcher cannot be ignored.

8.5 A Case Study: "a Survey of Touristic Resources from the Point of View of Ecotourism in Tierra Del Fuego, Argentina"

María Laura Borla (1995) completed the inventory of touristic resources along the road system of Argentine Tierra del Fuego from the ecotourism point of view. Her analysis, as well as the results obtained in the polls to tourists, allowed the establishment of a hierarchy for these resources. Specific tools were designed, the ecotouristic resources were classified, including the landscape, and methodologies for their study, classification, and rating were defined. Borla (1995) presented a theoretical framework that sustains her work and the information was offered in specific files designed with this purpose, preparing maps, sketches, and sections, including appropriate photographs for the topics in discussion. The surveying of ecotouristic resources was performed considering the natural landscape as the most important ecotouristic resource and dividing it into three component classes: abiotic, biotic and anthropic resources. This work did not include the urban landscape, since it was not taken into consideration in the original objectives.

The study area was divided in 48 sectors, which were included into a hierarchy by means of quantitative indicators. From the obtained values, 14 landscape units were defined and 3 categories of sectors were determined, concerning the development of ecotouristic activities: (1) sectors with optimal conditions; (2) sectors with poorly favorable conditions, and (3) sectors with unfavorable conditions. The sectors with optimal conditions are those that have already established regulations for its use, as theTierra del Fuego National Parkand the Harberton Estancia (= ranch). The work of Borla (1995) determined the need to extend the protection and management conditions of other areas to those under study, so as to prevent the touristic surcharge and preclude its degradation. Borla (1995) concluded that the alignments defining these parameters should be focused taking into account the spatial limitations of the resource and the scenic preferences of the ecotouristic demand.

8.6 Conclusions

The analysis of the available information presented in this paper shows that quantitative evaluation (and even, perhaps, the semi-quantitative one) of the landscape and the determination of its scenic values should be considered as a fundamental tool in the technical assistance of those people who are responsible for decision making which may be related to the protection of natural heritage, and particularly, the scenic values of the landscape. None of the herein presented techniques may cover by itself the ample universe of possible circumstances, but an adequate combination of some or most of them may facilitate the assignment of political and/or economic priorities to the preservation and development of scenic resources of the landscape. An objective and reliable evaluation of these resources would not be achievable if the specific studies do not contemplate in their design the characteristics of the site, the regional scope and the human perception of the landscape.

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Chapter 9
The Concept of Landscape in Geography and the Landscape as Heritage

Luciene Cristina Risso

Abstract This chapter aims to present the concept of landscape in Geography through a historical approach. The discussion is handled by the study of the contributions and results from this science area to the debate of cultural landscape embraced as heritage. From this discussion, we argue that Geography can provide a major contribution to the dialogue on heritage issues, not only by concepts but with methodologies which unify Nature and Culture. Thus, we point out the great significance of the geographic concepts for understanding the landscape as a concept and category concerning to heritage.

Keywords Natural heritage · Landscape · Cultural heritage · Cultural geography

The word landscape appeared on the book of Psalms to describe all the beautiful sights of Jerusalem, such as the Temple of Solomon, castles, and palaces (Naveh and Lieberman 1984).

Geography created landscape as a concept during the nineteenth century. Today, revisited by various fields of human knowledge, it has many meanings. The path I want to take in this article, however, to contribute to the discussion, aligns itself with conceptual geographical contributions in the past and in the present.

The word landscape (Landschaft) was introduced as a scientific term in the ninteenth century by Humboldt, a great naturalist. He defined it as "the character of the Earth region" (Naveh and Lieberman 1984: 4).

Afterwards, Friedrich Ratzel introduced culture as a key factor of human geography and for the first time the term cultural geography was used (Culturgeographie). In his book "Anthropogeographie" (1880), he presented the concept of landscape in a different way, including for the first time culture in the landscape, although he proposed a limited concept (Darwin's influence) by mistaking it for the artifacts used by man to conquer his environment (Claval 2001: 22). He started from the following assumption: "relationships that man create with his

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environment and the problems that come from his mobility depend on techniques that he had mastered" (Claval 2001: 21. Our translation).

Another important geographer in the culture—landscape discussion was Otto Schlüter (1872–1959). For him "the mark made by man in the landscape constitute the fundamental object of all researches" (Shlüter 1952–1954, 1958, apud Claval 2001: 24. Our translation). Both for Ratzel and Shlüter, however, the concept of culture was limited because of Darwin's influence, which ascribed exclusively to tools and techniques used by man in the conquest of his environment, not considering "(…) almost every time the attitudes and beliefs" of peoples (Claval 2001: 27).

The research of Siegfried Passarge was also relevant to the study of landscape. In 1913, he used the expression "geography of the landscape" (Landschaftskunde), demonstrating that the landscape is "everything the eyes can see" (Claval 2001: 29. Our translation). His compared analysis of landscapes became a model in Germany and in other countries. The study of the landscape centered on cultural facts dominated German geography since the 1920s until the 1960s (Claval 2001: 29).

Germans are responsible for the different concepts of natural landscape (Naturlandschaften) and cultural landscape (kulturlandschaften). However, was Carl Sauer who presented the terms natural and cultural landscape to American Geography (Risso 2008). He was the precursor of the recovery of landscape studies, when he founded the geography graduate school at Berkeley in 1922. His thoughts spread all over the world, thus favoring the creation of many courses of "cultural geography" (Holzer 2008: 137).

For Sauer (1998: 23) the landscape must be considered "as a sum of general characteristics", where the structure and function are determined by integrating and dependent forms. The natural landscape is for him the one that reproduces shapes and objects from nature, which exists with or without man, whereas the cultural landscape defines itself as the one that is a result of man–nature relationship. He considered only material culture either in his concepts of natural landscape as cultural landscape. (Sauer 1998: 29).

From these concepts, Sauer's disciples Wagner and Mikesell (2003: 35–36) affirmed that the landscape is "a long period legacy of natural evolution and many generations of human effort."

On the other hand, the French school from the early twentieth century and Paul Vidal de La Blache, its more important exponent, considered the landscape as the relationship between the environment and human societies, starting from Ratzel's concepts, but introducing the concept of lifeways. According to Claval (2001: 33) "(…) The concept of lifeways allows one to take a synthetical look at techniques, tools or ways of living of different civilizations."

Claval (2001: 33) explains that La Blache's ambition is "(…) to explain the places, and not to focus on men (…), but the analysis of lifeways shows how the development of the landscape mimics the social organization of work."

Culture as understood by La Blache and Ratzel is “that which mediates the relationship between man and his environment, and humanizes the landscapes” (Claval 2001: 35. Our translation).

The concept of landscape from the perspective of traditional geography lasted until approximately the early 1940s. After that, many currents or scientific points of view emerged, opposed to the empirical and descriptive method, e.g., the New Geography, the Humanistic Geography (or Humanistic Cultural Geography), the Critical Geography, and the New Cultural Geography.

The New Geography was based on systems theory (Bertalanffy 1937), according to which the world was then understood as a system. The Russian school of geography stands out with Sotchava (1971) who created the concept of geosystem. Other exponents are Bertrand (1971), Tricart (1977), and Troll (1971). The complexity of this systemic point of view within geography is very fertile and each author has created his own theory and method with unique concepts of landscape and geosystem.

In the 1960s, the Humanistic Cultural Geography was developed in a search for philosophy and rejecting the positivist method. This approach did not take the same path of Sauerian cultural geography (classical) because it sought to “distinguish itself from those who used positivism as method” (Holzer 2008: 146).

The concept of landscape was revisited by Humanistic Cultural Geography. It took into account the subjective aspects of the landscape by analyzing its meaning (Claval 2001 apud Risso 2008: 71). The classics were revisited and discussion of ideas advanced from there, favoring an intense debate (Risso 2008). The major exponent of this trend in geography is Yi-Fu Tuan (1976, 1980). Other cultural geographers have chosen diversified historical-dialectic methods of analysis: it was called New Cultural Geography, whose major exponent is Cosgrove (1984), who created the concept of symbolic landscape.

Therefore, after the introduction of the concept of landscape, we may say that geography can contribute a lot to the conceptual and methodological discussion in heritage studies. And can go further, with the authors from both Cultural Geography and Humanistic Cultural Geography, with discussions on subjective, evaluative and identity issues, and with cultural mapping; and also with authors from New Geography, who make landscape inventories and mapping. It is pertinent thus to use the landscape as a category in heritage studies integrating nature and culture, tangible and intangible assets, objective and subjective values, and their mapping.

9.1 Landscape as Heritage

The concern with the world heritage began in 1972, with the first Convention for the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage held by UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization-1945).

According to Ribeiro (2007: 38. Our translation) "from the beginning, is noted an antagonism between cultural and natural categories" (…) "from two separate movements: one that cared about natural sites and another that fought for the conservation of nature."

Changes began with the discussions about natural and cultural heritage, and also with discussions about conservation and sustainability. In this context, "cultural landscape as a category began to be considered more seriously by UNESCO" (RIBEIRO 2007: 38. Our translation).

According to the current list of UNESCO, there are 1,031 assets: 802 cultural assets, 197 natural assets and 32 natural and cultural assets (UNESCO 2015a).

Landscape was internationally considered as heritage only in 1992, by the World Heritage Convention. Therefore, UNESCO was the first institution to officially accept landscape as world heritage.

Consequently, for the first time the landscape itself was regarded as an asset "valuing all interrelations existent there", being that before the landscape was considered an asset, but associated with the natural or cultural heritage such as ambiance, beauty and aesthetics (RIBEIRO 2007: 40).

This was a new position for conceiving "the protection and management of cultural heritage, aimed at overcoming the dichotomies (between natural and cultural, tangible and intangible heritage), but it is still a challenge.

Besides, it was an advancement toward integrating natural and cultural aspects, introducing immaterial values and appreciation of sustainable practices, and became the first international legal instrument for protecting cultural landscapes, understood as "combined works of nature and humankind." For UNESCO (1992: 1) cultural landscapes are:

> […] cultural properties and represent the "combined works of nature and of man" designated in Article 1 of the Convention. They are illustrative of the evolution of human society and settlement over time, under the influence of the physical constraints and/or opportunities presented by their natural environment and of successive social, economic and cultural forces, both external and internal.

UNESCO (1992: 2) Divides Cultural Landscapes in Three Main Types

(i) The most easily identifiable is the clearly defined landscape designed and created intentionally by man. This embraces garden and parkland landscapes constructed for aesthetic reasons, which are often (but not always) associated with religious or other monumental buildings and ensembles.

(ii) The second category is the organically evolved landscape. These results from an initial social, economic, administrative, and/or religious imperative and has developed its present form by association with and in response to its natural environment. Such landscapes reflect that process of evolution in their form and component features. They fall into two subcategories:

- A relict (or fossil) landscape is one in which an evolutionary process ended at some time in the past, either abruptly or over a period. Its significant distinguishing features are, however, still visible in material form.
- A continuing landscape is one which retains an active social role in contemporary society closely associated with the traditional way of life, and in which the evolutionary process is still in progress. At the same time, it exhibits significant material evidence of its evolution over time.

(iii) The final category is the associative cultural landscape. The inscription of such landscapes on the World Heritage List is justifiable by virtue of the powerful religious, artistic, or cultural associations of the natural element rather than material cultural evidence, which may be insignificant or even absent.

To be considered as such, there are ten criteria for value assignment and they must contain exceptional value to enter the list of world heritage (UNESCO 2015c):

Selection criteria

(i) to represent a masterpiece of human creative genius;
(ii) to exhibit an important interchange of human values, over a span of time or within a cultural area of the world, on developments in architecture or technology, monumental arts, town-planning, or landscape design;
(iii) to bear a unique or at least exceptional testimony to a cultural tradition or to a civilization which is living or which has disappeared;
(iv) to be an outstanding example of a type of building, architectural or technological ensemble or landscape which illustrates (a) significant stage(s) in human history;
(v) to be an outstanding example of a traditional human settlement, land-use, or sea-use which is representative of a culture (or cultures), or human interaction with the environment especially when it has become vulnerable under the impact of irreversible change;
(vi) to be directly or tangibly associated with events or living traditions, with ideas, or with beliefs, with artistic and literary works of outstanding universal significance. (The Committee considers that this criterion should preferably be used in conjunction with other criteria);
(vii) to contain superlative natural phenomena or areas of exceptional natural beauty and aesthetic importance;
(viii) to be outstanding examples representing major stages of earth's history, including the record of life, significant ongoing geological processes in the development of landforms, or significant geomorphic or physiographic features;
(ix) to be outstanding examples representing significant ongoing ecological and biological processes in the evolution and development of terrestrial, fresh water, coastal and marine ecosystems and communities of plants and animals;

(x) to contain the most important and significant natural habitats for in situ conservation of biological diversity, including those containing threatened species of outstanding universal value from the point of view of science or conservation.

The cultural landscape is a tipology of cultural heritage, and in the list until 2015 there were 88 cultural landscapes and 4 cross-border landscapes (92 cultural landscapes. Refer to Table 9.1).

According to Figueiredo (2013), the cultural landscape "did not replace the category of natural and cultural heritage" and "does not exclude the possibility of registering assets of exceptional importance, according to natural and cultural criteria. In such cases, its outstanding universal value should be justified in the two criteria categories" (Figueiredo 2013: 89. Our translation).

The concept adopted by the European Landscape Convention (ELC), signed in 2000 in Florence, Italy, is an advancement, starting with the very concept of landscape (without the distinction between natural and cultural landscape) understood as "a part of the territory, as perceived by the people, whose character is the result of the action and interaction of natural and human factors" (Article 1-a-European Landscape Convention 2000).

Another advancement is the concept of landscape not only be applied to exceptional landscapes, as is the case of UNESCO main criterion, but include everyday life and degraded landscapes (Article 2—European Landscape Convention). It is accepted that European landscapes are a common resource and that it is important to cooperate for its protection, management and planning (Preamble to the European Landscape Convention 2000).

According to Ribeiro (2007: 55) "it is also about the effort of building an European identity through the recognition and appreciation of its landscapes." The author also points out that "the goal is to track changes that will occur, recognizing the great diversity and the quality of the landscapes that will be inherited, striving to preserve and even enrich this diversity and quality."

Therefore, there are many European countries implementing the principles of ELC and exchanging experiences and methodologies (Article 6—B-2 of the European Landscape Convention 2000).

According to Florêncio Naranjo (2005) Switzerland, France, and Italy stand out in their experiences in landscape management. Switzerland and France inspired this discussion. Switzerland has a solid legal basis on nature and landscape protection and has a "estrecha vinculación entre paisaje y ordenación del território" (Naranjo 2005: 9).

France stands out with its landscape associations and elaboration of landscape plans and bills.

Today, "Suiza e Itália han liderado la CEP y sus políticas y propósitos son quizás los más ambiciosos en la actualidad" (Naranjo 2005: 8). Italy has "(…) el concepto de paisaje tal como lo entiende la Convención puede representar una gran oportunidad para recuperar el sentido patrimonial profundo de la totalidad del territorio" (Naranjo 2005: 9).

Table 9.1 Cultural landscapes—UNESCO (2015b)

Afghanistan	1. Cultural Landscape and Archaeological Remains of the Bamiyan Valley
Andorra	2. Madriu-Perafita-Claror valley
Argentina	3. Quebrada de Humahuaca
Australia	4. Uluru-Kata Tjuta National Park 1
Austria	5. Hallstatt-Dachstein/Salzkammergut cultural landscape 6. Wachau cultural landscape 7. Fertö/Neusiedlersee cultural landscape
Azerbaijan	8. Gobustan Rock Art Cultural Landscape
Brazil	9. Rio de Janeiro: Carioca landscapes between the mountain and the sea
Canada	10. Landscape of Grand Pré
China	11. Lushan National Park 12. Mount Wutai 13. West lake cultural landscape of Hangzhou 14. Cultural landscape of Honghe Hani rice terraces
Colombia	15. Coffee Cultural Landscape of Colombia
Cuba	16. Viñales Valley 17. Archaeological Landscape of the First Coffee Plantations in the South-East of Cuba
Czech Republic	18. Lednice-Valtice Cultural Landscape
Ethiopia	19. Konso Cultural Landscape
France	20. Pyrénées-Mont Perdu 21. Jurisdiction of Saint-Emilion 22. The loire valley between Sully-sur-Loire and Chalonnes 2 23. The causses and the Cévennes, Mediterranean agro-pastoral cultural landscape 24. Nord-Pas de calais mining basin
Gabon	25. Ecosystem and relict cultural landscape of Lopé-Okanda
Germany	26. Garden kingdom of Dessau-Wörlitz 27. Upper middle rhine valley 28. Muskauer park/park Mużakowski 29. Bergpark Wilhelmshöhe
Hungary	30. Hortobágy National Park—the Puszta 31. Fertö/Neusiedlersee cultural landscape 32. Tokaj wine region historic cultural landscape
Iceland	33. Þingvellir National Park
India	34. Rock shelters of Bhimbetka
Indonesia	35. Cultural landscape of bali province: the Subak system as a manifestation of the Tri Hita karana philosophy
Iran (Islamic Republic of)	36. Bam and its cultural landscape 37. The Persian Garden
Israel	38. Incense Route—Desert Cities in the Negev

(continued)

Table 9.1 (continued)

Italy	39. Costiera amalfitana 40. Portovenere, cinque terre, and the Islands (Palmaria, Tino and Tinetto) 41. Cilento and Vallo di Diano National Park with the Archeological Sites of Paestum and Velia, and the Certosa di Padula 42. Sacri monti of piedmont and lombardy 43. Val d'Orcia 44. Medici villas and gardens in tuscany 45. Vineyard landscape of piedmont: Langhe-Roero and Monferrato
Japan	46. Sacred sites and pilgrimage routes in the Kii mountain range 47. Iwami ginzan silver mine and its cultural landscape
Kazakhstan	48. Petroglyphs within the archaeological landscape of tamgaly
Kenya	49. Sacred mijikenda kaya forests
Kyrgyzstan	50. Sulaiman—too sacred mountain
Lao People's democratic republic	51. Vat Phou and associated ancient settlements within the champasak cultural landscape
Lebanon	52. Ouadi qadisha (the Holy Valley) and the forest of the cedars of god (Horsh Arz el-Rab)
Lithuania	53. Curonian spit 54. Kernavė archaeological site (cultural reserve of kernavė)
Madagascar	55. Royal Hill of Ambohimanga
Mauritius	56. Le Morne cultural landscape
Mexico	57. Agave landscape and ancient industrial facilities of tequila 58. Prehistoric caves of Yagul and Mitla in the central valley of Oaxaca
Mongolia	59. Orkhon valley cultural landscape
New Zealand	60. Tongariro National Park
Nigeria	61. Sukur cultural landscape 62. Osun-Osogbo sacred grove
Norway	63. Vegaøyan – The vega archipelago
Palestine	64. Palestine: land of Olives and vines – cultural landscape of Southern Jerusalem, Battir
Papua New Guinea	65. Kuk early agricultural site
Philippines	66. Rice terraces of the Philippine cordilleras
Poland	67. Kalwaria Zebrzydowska: the Mannerist Architectural and Park Landscape Complex and Pilgrimage Park 68. Muskauer Park/Park Mużakowski
Portugal	69. Cultural Landscape of Sintra 70. Alto Douro Wine Region 71. Landscape of the Pico Island vineyard culture

(continued)

Table 9.1 (continued)

Russian Federation	72. Curonian spit
Senegal	73. Saloum delta 74. Bassari Country: Bassari, Fula and Bedik Cultural Landscapes
South Africa	75. Mapungubwe cultural landscape 76. Richtersveld cultural and botanical Landscape
Spain	77. Pyrénées—Mont Perdu 78. Aranjuez cultural landscape 79. Cultural landscape of the Sierra de Tramuntana
Sweden	80. Agricultural landscape of Southern Öland
Switzerland	81. Lavaux, vineyard terraces
Syrian Arab Republic	82. Ancient villages of northern Syria
Togo	83. Koutammakou, the Land of the Batammariba
Ukraine	84. Ancient City of Tauric chersonese and its chora
United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	85. St Kilda 86. Blaenavon industrial landscape 87. Royal botanic gardens, Kew 88. Cornwall and West Devon mining landscape
United States of America	89. Papahānaumokuākea
Vanuatu	90. Chief Roi Mata's domain
Viet Nam	91. Trang an landscape complex
Zimbabwe	92. Matobo Hills

source http://whc.unesco.org/en/culturallandscape/

The author emphasizes also the role of other European countries such as Norway, Romania, Croatia, and Slovenia in the implementation of policies and management of the landscape. Norwegian direction of cultural heritage created an Atlas of regional landscapes and a system of indicators of landscape quality.

Another interesting case is the experience of the Netherlands, because "practicamente todo el paisaje holandês es de origen humano" what (…) "implica la presencia y manejo de los elementos naturales del paysaje" (Naranjo 2005:8).

Spain has a growing matter regarding landscape, in what concerns autonomous communities such Catalonia, Valencia, etc. Naranjo (2005), however, criticizes the central action of the State, which, according to him, has a "baja intensidad de actuación política"(Naranjo 2005: 10).

Brazilian Federal Constitution conceptualizes cultural heritage, emphasizing that: "Brazilian cultural heritage are material and immaterial assets, taken individually or as a group, with reference to identity, action, and memory of the different groups that created Brazilian society" (Brasil 1988 article 216. Our translation). Cultural Heritage includes:

I—the forms of expression;

II—the ways of creating, making, and living;

III—the scientific, artistic, and technological creations;

IV—the works, objects, documents, buildings, and other spaces for artistic and cultural manifestations;

V—the urban complex and sites of historical, landscape, artistic, archaeological, palaeontological, ecological, and scientific value.

This cultural heritage is protected by 1988 Federal Constitution, which in article 215 states that "The State shall ensure to everyone the full exercise of cultural rights and the access to the sources of national culture, and it will support and encourage the appreciation and dissemination of cultural manifestations" (Brasil 1988. Our translation).

According to Ribeiro (2007: 110. Our translation) "the way the landscape has been treated as cultural heritage varied considerably over the seventy years of federal public management of this heritage in Brazil." The landscape was considered at first as the panorama, surrounding of another cultural asset, but it has only recently been considered a cultural and heritage asset (post UNESCO).

IPHAN, the National Historic and Artistic Heritage Institute, created in 1937 is the federal institution responsible for heritage protection. Regarding the landscape specifically, IPHAN acknowledged the cultural landscape and established the seal only in 2009, through decree 127 (IPHAN 2009).

Decree 127 (2009) acknowledges "the cultural landscape and its elements as cultural heritage and advocates its protection." It also established Brazilian cultural landscape seal, based on worldwide acknowledgment of cultural landscapes, and asserts "that its adoption puts Brazil among nations that institutionally protect all factors that comprise landscapes" (IPHAN 2009. Our translation).

According to this decree, Brazilian cultural landscape "is a unique portion of the national territory, representing man's interaction with his environment, to which human life and science imprinted or attributed values" (Article 1) and "is declared through seal established by IPHAN, through specific procedure" (IPHAN 2009 Article 2. Our translation).

According to Ribeiro (2007: 111) working with the landscape is a "possibility of appreciating the integration between material and immaterial, cultural and natural, among others, in which lies the richness of the heritage approach through the cultural landscape."

As for the application criteria of the Brazilian cultural landscape to enter UNESCO world heritage list, it is necessary to justify the landscape peculiarity, according to UNESCO criteria.

As for IPHAN (2009), to obtain the seal, nominations of cultural landscape must prove the landscape peculiarity. Decree 127 did not established the criteria, fell to each dossier accumulate evidence, because all landscapes are cultural, so the main objective is to identify unique landscapes, and, for that, it is necessary the creation of dossiers that provides a well-grounded justification.

A landscape may receive the title of UNESCO or the seal of Iphan, because they are two different spheres of action.

Table 9.2 List of Brazilian cultural heritage (until 2015)

Titles	Type	Year
1. Historic town of Ouro Preto	Cultural	1980
2. Historic centre of the town of Olinda	Cultural	1982
3.Ruins of São Miguel das Missões	Cultural	1983
4. Historic centre of salvador	Cultural	1985
5. Sanctuary of bom Jesus de matosinhos in congonhas do campo	Cultural	**1985**
6. Iguaçu national park	Natural	1986
7. Brasilia	Cultural	1987
8. Serra da capivara national park	Cultural	1991
9. Historic centre of São Luís	Cultural	1997
10. Historic centre of the town of Diamantina	Cultural	1999
11. Discovery coast atlantic forest reserves	Natural	1999
12. Atlantic forest south-east reserves	Natural	1999
13. Central Amazon conservation complex	Natural	2000
14. Pantanal conservation area	Natural	2000
15. Historic centre of the town of Goiás	Cultural	2001
16. Cerrado protected areas: chapada dos veadeiros and emas national parks	Natural	2001
17. Brazilian atlantic islands: fernando de noronha and atol das rocas reserves	Natural	2001
18. São Francisco square in the town of São Cristovão	Cultural	2010
19. Rio de janeiro: Carioca landscapes between the mountain and the sea	Cultural	2012
Total: 19 assets	12 cultural and 7 natural	

source UNESCO (2015b). http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/1100.Org: Luciene C. Risso

According to Scifoni[1] the advantage of having the seal in Brazil is that it is developed by designing public policies to local development and preservation of memory. As for UNESCO, the advantage is to attract international tourism and economic resources, investments, regarding to the visibility that the title gives.

There was not any asset registered as natural and cultural heritage in Brazil until the present date (2015). Brazil has 19 assets, 12 cultural assets and 7 natural assets (Table 9.2). The highlight is the country's first title received for Rio de Janeiro cultural landscape: "Rio de Janeiro: Carioca Landscapes between the mountain and the sea."

Discussions about the recognition of Rio de Janeiro as a Brazilian Cultural Landscape "took more than ten years" (Figueiredo 2013: 112. Our translation). The author gives more details:

[1]Information provided by e-mail, May 29, 2015.

> […] In 2003, the International Union for Conservation of Nature (IUCN) and the ICOMOS did not accept the registration, but ended up suggesting the inclusion in the cultural landscape category. A new document was drafted then, introducing the Carioca landscape. The document was reject many times, however, had to be rewritten to "settle" or, more precisely, to avoid the inclusion of urban areas and the "development issue." Therefore, when it was approved in 2012, the historical center was removed and the elements of the Carioca landscape valued and appointed included natural elements of great expression, together with monuments and landscapes intentionally created by man, in addition to its immaterial importance (Figueiredo 2013: 113. Our translation).

The most important Carioca landscapes are located from the South Zone to the west point of Niterói, encompassing the Maciço da Tijuca, Corcovado, Pão de Açúcar, Morro do Pico, Jardim Botânico and public parks. It includes seaside landscapes such as Flamengo park, Copacabana beach, and the entrance of Guanabara Bay with its historical fortress and boardwalk (IPHAN 2015).

The cultural landscape of Rio de Janeiro was based on three characteristics that gave it the exceptional value of cultural landscape (UNESCO criteria i, ii and vi, IPHAN 2015).

About the prize awarded, Figueiredo (2013: 114) affirms that "this is an historic victory for IPHAN (…) but, for that, it had to reduce the cultural landscape of Rio de Janeiro to what was more acceptable from an Eurocentric point of view." IPHAN promoted a wider debate, which included "urban areas, historic center and even the slums "favelas" in the discussion, still in progress, on the Seal of Brazilian Cultural Landscape of Rio de Janeiro" (Figueiredo 2013: 114. Our translation).

Rio de Janeiro officially listed as a UNESCO World Heritage Site as a cultural landscape was important because this landscape was recognized and legitimized and it is an instrument for asset protection. Understanding of cultural landscapes, however, especially by UNESCO, must overcome dichotomies and, moreover, need an open debate on these issues.

On the other hand, the European Landscape Convention is an example for other countries, regarding heritage preservation and management based on sustainability principles.

9.2 Critical Considerations on the Criteria Used in the Heritage Debates and Its Relationship with Geography

The concepts of landscape adopted by UNESCO and by the European Landscape Convention are derived mainly from geographers' ideas.

UNESCO use of the adjective cultural in landscape is similar to Sauer's (1998) concept, which seeks to comprise human interaction with nature, acting upon the natural landscape.

This observation was also made by Ribeiro (2007: 112), regarding UNESCO subcategory concerning the landscape that evolved organically, which "has in itself a very strong Sauerian origin, through the evolutionary and historicist perspective, giving emphasis to the way man has built a determined landscape over time."

This landscape subcategory type, according to Fowler (2003 apud Figueiredo 2013: 93/94) represented 60% of the cultural landscapes inscribed from 1992 to 2002, besides, they were mostly rural.

This proves that the old concept of landscape is still preponderant and as a category susceptible to criticism. This Sauerian point of view makes a dichotomy (nature-culture) possible, which refers to Classical Cultural Geography, put aside by Humanistic and Cultural Geography.

In this regard, Figueiredo (2013: 88) criticizes UNESCO practices regarding cultural landscape, because "the new category has not proved itself yet as the supposed alternative path of connection, as the main conceptual guidelines of the term recommend, although some progress was made."

Geography considers the adjective "cultural" used for landscapes a redundancy, because the landscape comprises natural and cultural factors; talking thus of cultural landscape would ratify dichotomous ideas. Natural landscapes are filled with a cultural universe and the outlines of cultural landscapes are the natural universe. Aforementioned natural landscapes, part of the Brazilian cultural heritage, prove that there is no contradiction between culture and nature from the legal point of view.

Practices developed by UNESCO since it adopted the concept and category of "cultural landscape" still create some dichotomies, mainly because the concept of landscape still refers to places with low human intervention, i.e., to natural factors. It is agreed with Anne Cauquelin (2007: 99) when she says that the landscape, in many cases, can be translated as nature: "[…] The imperative 'Look, this is a landscape' could be translated by 'See how everything in nature is connected, admire the harmony that is manifested here'." The author emphasizes that "whatever the presentation that the landscape gives me, it will be necessary, for me to believe in it, that these reference elements appear" (CAUQUELIN 2007: 143. Our translation).

These points of view are very rooted in our Western culture, and one sees that at times in UNESCO actions the integrating mentality, loses ground to the symbols of the natural, of the rural and of the assets untouchable condition. On this subject, Figueiredo (2013) mentions the case of the cultural landscape of the Dresden Elbe Valley in Germany, removed from the World Heritage list in 2009:

> […] Appointed in 2004, it was removed because of a controversy regarding the construction of another bridge across the river to reduce heavy traffic in the central area. According to UNESCO, the bridge would interfere too much on the landscape, deconstructing some viewing angles of that Western ideal of landscape (…) The case of Dresden was taken as exemplary, since the local government challenged UNESCO when it decided to consult the population, through a plebiscite, asking the people's opinion whether to build the bridge and reduce traffic or remain as a World Heritage site. The people preferred the bridge. Only two assets have ever been removed from the list – the other, a natural heritage (Figueiredo 2013: 108. Our translation).

As for the concept of the European Landscape Convention, it innovates by introducing the subjectivity issue into landscapes. In face of this singularity, many definitions of landscape from cultural discussions in geography are now considered in landscape management projects.

Ribeiro (2007: 112) associated the Convention's concept only with the proposals from the Berkeley School, due to some elaborations of atlases and landscape typologies, however, it happened that the Convention's concept and examples of application suggested systems of references and methodologies with the people's participation, mappings to identify landscapes and use of many definitions of distinct landscapes (Cultural Geography, Landscape Ecology, among others).

An example is the case of Portugal in the work "The landscape in the revision of the PDM: guidelines for the implementation of the European Landscape Convention within municipal." Although adopting the Convention's concept of landscape, there are other possibilities, e.g., the definition of landscape units according to the "principles of multi-functionality of the landscape, and the proposal of guidelines and recommendations for its management" (Abreu et al. 2011: 9. Our translation).

In Brazilian experiences of IPHAN, associated with the concept adopted by UNESCO, there are other definitions of landscape, which contribute to the use of the landscape as a category. In practice, the Institution has a broader vision than UNESCO, with teams conjecturing to unite cultural and natural elements, material and immaterial. It is a challenge presented to strategies and limits of using this term as an instrument of heritage preservation.

Therefore, it is necessary greater advancements regarding the landscape as world heritage by UNESCO, as a concept and category, especially on imagistic ideas of what would be the cultural landscape, appraising the natural, the rural and the untouchable condition of assets.

As for the cultural landscape in Brazil, its recognition is unparalleled, because Brazil can have a great importance in the World Heritage list for having many live cultures (folk cultures) that remain underrepresented. On this subject:

> […] A study on the List held by ICOMOS from 1987 to 1993 revealed that Europe, the historic towns, the religious monuments of Christianity and the « elitist » architecture (opposed to vernacular architecture) were overly represented in the World Heritage list, whereas live cultures, and especially the so-called "folk cultures" are underrepresented (IPHAN 2008:43. Our translation).

Consequently, as recognizing a cultural landscape means identifying and assigning values linked to landscapes, it is essential to understand heritage from an integrated point of view.

9.3 Final Considerations

The critique of the UNESCO concept means not to just remove the cultural adjective, but overcoming the classic Sauerian ideas, because today there is a more fecund and innovative debate in geography about the landscape.

The reference to the term landscape comprises nature and culture; materiality and immateriality; objective and subjective values; identity and belonging.

Geography can contribute a lot to the debate on heritage, not only with concepts, but with methodologies to unify Nature and Culture. The New Geography or Systemic Geography, the Humanistic Cultural Geography and the Cultural Geography are great trends in geography for mapping landscapes and value issues, both material and immaterial.

For Cultural Geography and Humanistic Cultural Geography issues of landscape symbolism, landscapes as perceived by people, researches on "traditional" populations and value issues can contribute to the debate, after all, to be heritage landscapes people gave them value.

Understanding thus the concepts discussed in geography is essential to comprehend the landscape as a concept and a category.

A dialogue opens up between geography and heritage studies, aiming at changing paradigms, overcoming dichotomies regarding the landscape, both in its theoretical concept and in practice.

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Chapter 10
Cultural Landscape in Brazil: Legal Instruments and the Challenges of Protection

Simone Scifoni

Abstract The contemporary experience of protection of cultural landscapes in Brazil points to an innovative path within the cultural heritage preservation policies. It is no mere reproduction and application of the category introduced by UNESCO, in 1992, under the World Heritage List. On the contrary, the studies and actions that have been developed, in addition to the legal basis that was established in 2009, point to a conception of public policy that encourages citizen participation and that focuses, preferably, on seeking to foster social development, ensuring the permanence of social groups in their localities, through the valorization of culture and heritage conceived in an integrative manner, integrating nature, buildings, archaeological records, and intangible manifestations. In this sense, this article aims to present the history of the institution of the legal protection instruments for this category of heritage—the cultural landscape—, as well as present an overview of the actions undertaken so far and, mainly, discuss the concept, the limits, and the challenges currently posed by recent changes in institutional policy.

Keywords Cultural landscape · Heritage policies · Preservation · Cultural landscape seal · Cultural policy · Iphan

10.1 Introduction

In the context of cultural heritage preservation institutions in Brazil, the discussion about the category of cultural landscape is relatively recent. The same can be said regarding the creation of the relevant legal regulation, since, in the federal sphere, it occurred only in 2009, with the introduction of Ordinance No. 127 of the National Historic and Artistic Heritage Institute (Iphan[1]).

[1]Iphan is the federal agency responsible for the protection of cultural heritage since its creation in 1936, as a Service of the National Historic and Artistic Heritage, Sphan.

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Nevertheless, the federal legislation that established the cultural heritage protection in the country, in 1937, already referred to a very close term—thus establishing as subject to preservation and, therefore, to landmarking[2] —, the "landscapes." One may think that such legislation originated the current category of cultural landscape; however, in analyzing the landmarkings carried out under such classification of landscape, it is noted that this is not exactly the same object and not the same type of approach. In fact, it was the 1988 Federal Constitution, in its 216th article, that created possibilities so this experiment of protection of Brazilian cultural landscapes could be made effective.

Adoption of this new category in Brazil took place under the influence of international practices that were occurring internationally. Among them, it should be noted the creation of the category of cultural landscape by UNESCO, as part of the World Heritage Convention, in 1992, and the establishment of Recommendation No. R(95)9 and of the European Landscape Convention, by the Council of Europe, respectively, in 1995 and in 2000.

In this sense, the aim of this article, initially, is to explain how, in Brazil, the legal protection of this category was organized, a purpose to which a new instrument was created, called seal (*chancela* in Portuguese). The objective is to distinguish specific contents of the landmarking of sites or landscape sets from that which is understood, currently, as cultural landscape. We must also clarify that this instrument of cultural landscape seal—created by Ordinance No. 127/2009—brings changes in relation to the study and legal preservation procedures in effect since 1937. Thus, the overall presentation of the experiences of studies developed under this category has the intention of highlighting the innovative character of a heritage policy, which has as its central pillars its democratization, expansion of representativeness in national territory, and social integration.

The second issue to be addressed here concerns the conceptual discussion on the very term *cultural landscape*, which currently appears in the World Heritage List—after UNESCO established it as a category of cultural heritage in 1992. When creating this new designation—under the justification that it provides an integrative view of the elements of nature and culture, as explained by Ribeiro (2011)—the world organization adopts a concept originated in traditional positivist geography. Thus, in order to discuss the concept, it is necessary to seek theoretical foundation in important works such as Carl Sauer, in which the author readdresses the original proposition of German geographers about natural landscape and cultural landscape, overcoming their dichotomy and explaining that they are not two different objects, but two contents of the same object: the landscape.

Finally, the third issue discussed here concerns the reflection about current limits and challenges of cultural landscape protection in the context of recent changes in

[2]Landmarking (*tombamento* in Portuguese) is the designation given by federal legislation (Decree-Law No. 25, 1937) to the legal instrument of cultural heritage protection. Landmarking implies both recognition of the importance of properties as heritage and prevention concerning their destruction, demolition, or mutilation. On the other hand, according to the decree-law, repairs and restorations are allowed, as long as previously authorized by the agency.

the conduct of public policies for heritage in the country. If in the previous decade, 2000–2010, it was observed a broadening of horizons for heritage preservation, with new instruments created, such as Decree No. 3551/2000, which established mechanisms for protection of intangible heritage, in addition to the cultural landscape seal and significant increase in the number of landmarkings, especially of historical centers, on the contrary, the 2010–2015 period shows a decrease in actions, with interruption of studies on cultural landscape and possible revision of the seal ordinance. The purpose here is to highlight the likely losses resulting from the regression of this public policy.

10.2 Organization of Legal Protection: From Landscape Site to Cultural Landscape

As aforementioned, Decree-Law No. 25/37 created the possibility of landmarking "landscapes of notable feature," distinguishing two elements that constitute this important condition: natural phenomena or human agency.

The first case comprises mountains, grottoes, caves, lagoons, islands, or vegetation reserves as examples of landscapes landmarked due to their aesthetic, ecological, or scientific value, resulting from natural processes and dynamics. Among these, *Serra do Curral*, landmarked in 1960 by the federal agency. It is a rock mass of iron ore, considered geographical landmark, natural environment, and climate filter of the city of Belo Horizonte, capital of the state of Minas Gerais.

As product of human agency, an example is the old downtown area of Cachoeira, Bahia, landmarked as architectural and landscape ensemble in 1971. The landscape aspect, in this case, concerns the role of the physical site that gave the urban center an expressive aesthetic quality: the village, located in a valley along a curve of the Paraguaçu River, is surrounded by slopes of hills and short hills, where there are brooks and streams that, for many years, were the physical borders of the location and, until very recently, supplied the inhabitants with drinking water.

As can be observed in these two examples, designation as *landscape* covers a variety of objects of different types: from a hill or mountain range—which could also be classified as natural heritage—to that which was considered complement of urban groups, the natural surrounding that confers status of aesthetic quality. But in the end, the landmarking of that which appears as *landscape* is not different from other types of heritage, whether isolated buildings or ensembles. From the point of view of methodological procedures or from the point of view of value assignment and management, they are the same form of public action on heritage.

Noteworthy here, the category of cultural landscape, as established by the federal agency, in Brazil, brings other points of view and treatment of the issue, which should not be confused with these previous experiments of *landscape* presented here. The path that led to the formulation of this new view regarding the heritage will be described here based on the presentation of internal documents of the

Fig. 10.1 Tea factory shimizu

agency, which show clearly how a new instrument of protection and a new category of heritage were devised founded on the challenges posed by the concrete experience.

10.3 First Studies and Creation of Legal Corpus

The study that is at the origin of this new view is called National Immigration Routes (Iphan 2011a) and was the first proposal of cultural landscape seal developed by the agency, from 2003/04, in Santa Catarina, based on a large inventory conducted in municipalities that received immigrants from Germany, Italy, Poland, and Ukraine. The study enabled observing that the preservation of cultural heritage, predominantly of rural origin, would not be eminently accomplished within the framework of Iphan; it was necessary to create mechanisms of valorization and promotion to ensure the permanence of social groups in these rural areas, given the strong pressure from factors such as urbanization and industrialization. Thus, different spheres of the government—municipalities, state government, and ministries—started to act in conjunction in order to seek social and economic sustainability through the generation of jobs and income, factors that guarantee the maintenance of life in the countryside.

That is how, based on this project, it was outlined the central axis of the procedures involving the cultural landscape seal: the establishment of a **protection network** from the idea of shared management of the heritage. It is founded on the recognition that the preservation of cultural landscapes involves not only buildings, but also the environment where various social groups live and work on a daily basis, as well as their traditions, customs, and typical expressions. Therefore, this is a task that must be shared among different subjects: the various spheres of the government (municipal, state, and federal), in several of their segments of public policies (culture, education, tourism, agricultural development, fishery, among others), in addition to civil society, formed by residents of the locations where NGOs, social movements, and the private sector operate.

In the 2007–2008 period, several institutional documents were produced[3] based on the experiment developed in Santa Catarina and on the way of tackling the challenges that the work presented. Such documents were the basis for the legal regulation for institution of the cultural landscape, which was configured in Ordinance No. 127. It indicated both the need of creating what would be the new instrument of protection, in the form of cultural value seal, and also the new category of heritage to be protected, the cultural landscape.

> The urban and rural spaces that – throughout the national territory – can be granted the seal as cultural landscape are those in which human experience or human science left marks or recognized values, making them support of the scenarios, knowledge, and achievements that exemplify, single out, or make exceptional the interaction between man and the natural environment. (Iphan/Depam/ 2007a, p. 3)

Some innovative aspects in the design of this policy must be mentioned:

(a) the concept of cultural landscape as part of the national territory, a selected portion that includes unique relationships between social groups and the nature;
(b) the need of establishing the protection network, involving public authorities and society, through the creation of channels of participation and social dialogue in the drafting of the proposal itself;
(c) the understanding that the seal coexists with changes in the landscape, since culture is dynamic; however, the transformations must be integrated with ways of sustainable social and economic development, respecting the preservation of the attributes identified as of worth. In this sense, the cultural landscape seal differs from the category of the same name created by UNESCO, since this organization uses very strict criteria of authenticity and integrity. An already much debated is that of the title of Dresden, in Germany, taken by UNESCO due to the construction of a new bridge over the Elbe River (Figueiredo 2014).

These three aspects mentioned above clarify the difference between the experiences of landmarking of that which was considered *landscape* and the approach of cultural landscape. In the first case, the conception of landscape studies is not based on a selection of space, on the contrary, it is treated as a merely complementary

[3]The documents are: Paisagem Cultural—Proposta de regulamentação (Iphan/Depam; July 2007a); Carta de Bagé or Carta da Paisagem Cultural (Iphan; August 2007); Carta da Bodoquena or Carta das Paisagens Culturais e Geoparques (Iphan; September 2007); Proposta de Política Nacional de Paisagem Cultural (Iphan/Depam; May 2008), and Reflexões sobre a Chancela da Paisagem Cultural (Iphan/Depam/Coordenação de Paisagem Cultural 2011).

issue; on the other hand, in the cultural landscape, the definition of a territorial selection is an initial and essential element, since it is the way of conceiving the object. Another difference is that the landmarking, including that of a landscape, with very few exceptions,[4] is a procedure conducted discretionarily, without social involvement or participation in decision-making; on the other hand, the cultural landscape calls for the creation of communication channels because the goal is to promote the shared management between different subjects. Finally, another differentiating factor is the more rigid character of landmarking, which can prevent changes to the landscape, while the cultural landscape assumes that culture is dynamic and subject to reappropriations and transformations.

Ordinance No. 127/2009 introduces the specific legal foundation of the cultural landscape; however, another document was essential for its preparation. The Carta de Bagé or Carta da Paisagem Cultural, published in August 2007, was the product of a technical-scientific meeting promoted by Iphan, in conjunction with several academic and public sector segments in Rio Grande do Sul, and can be considered the first document of public access and agreed upon widely regarding the protection of the cultural landscape. Importantly, in this document there is the proposition of a new legal instrument, in the form of certification, which subsequently is redefined as seal. It is important to note the content of the 6th article, as this explains that the certification must have “value of legal protection.” This is an important statement, which contradicts the view that the seal is a weak instrument, which effectively does not protect the cultural asset.

10.4 The Innovative Aspect: Cultural Policy with Social Commitment

Analysis of the studies developed by the agency on cultural landscape shows, additionally, another fundamental characteristic of this new policy has gone unnoticed by the authors that discuss the theme: actions geared towards the heritage can and should be formulated with the social commitment of improvement of living conditions and valorization of local contexts. As defined by the Carta da Bodoquena (Iphan 2007b): the cultural landscape, in last instance, relates more to people than to things, because the premises of conservation and preservation must meet human needs, whether of knowledge or of belonging to a culture and a place.

From this point of view, the following cultural landscape studies were conceived: National Immigration Routes, in Santa Catarina; the Brazilian Boats project, which worked in unique coastal contexts of the Brazilian naval heritage, such as the village of Elesbão (Amapá), Pitimbu (Paraíba), Valença (Bahia), and Camocim (Ceará); and the projects involving riverside and fishery communities such as the

[4]Exceptions are the cases of the landmarking of the Historic Center of Iguape (2009) and of the Japanese Immigration Assets in the Ribeira Valley (2010), both in the state of São Paulo in Brazil.

Vale do Ribeira, in São Paulo, and the São Francisco River Mouth, in Sergipe and Alagoas.

The Brazilian Boats project, for example, sought to identify little-known places of the Brazilian coast in which naval carpentry techniques still remained in the daily life of isolated social groups, in situation of high-pressure of disappearance because of the modernization that has replaced the wooden boats with other industrial materials, such as fiberglass or aluminum. In addition to the traditional know-how of naval carpentry, these coastal contexts combined artisanal fishing and intangible manifestations that are alive in the social fabric. Thus, the seal was intended not only for an inventory of places and uses, but for a diagnosis of the situation of survival, the basis for implementation of safeguard actions that resulted in the strengthening of this traditional use, combined with public actions for the improvement of living and working conditions. (Iphan/Depam/Coordenação da Paisagem Cultural 2011)

In this same social perspective, it should be noted the Vale do Ribeira Cultural Landscape study, from 2007. It is a region with rich potential of heritage, but that, during the 20th century, remained outside the economic valorization processes conducted through the modernization of railroads and industrialization, in São Paulo. Known for its poverty rates and the absence of public policies, the region also had remained out of the map of heritage landmarked by the federal agency, which highlights the social significance of the proposal. From the point of view of territorial selection and conception, the landscape was thought based on the relationship between social groups and a central element: the Ribeira de Iguape River.

> Thus, the study is founded on the concept of the Ribeira de Iguape River as an element of mediation in the construction of identity, culture, and regional history. A relationship that is (re)signified in time, surpassing the initial sense of livelihood, of means of transport, and of means of communications to become, contemporarily, the element around which the collective memory is founded. Ribeira de Iguape is a manner of cultural corridor, via which goods, objects, and material values were transported and exchanged, in addition to ways of life, traditions, techniques, knowledge, information. A corridor that connected intangible and tangible flows essential for the social production. (Nascimento and Scifoni 2010, p. 35)

The cultural diversity and richness in the Vale do Ribeira region is related to the different social groups that historically have lived there, among them *caiçaras*, *quilombolas*, riverine populations, and indigenous peoples. The region is also important for having constituted the first nucleus of Japanese immigration in the country, where the colonists pioneered the development of cultivation of Assam tea and of reeds, in addition to having left as heritage a vernacular architecture that combines Japanese techniques and local knowledge, as observed in Figs. 10.1 10.2, 10.3, 10.4.

In this sense, the study for the seal in the Vale do Ribeira region sought to highlight the heritage richness and potential, promoting the valorization and protection of heritage as a way to promote the improvement of socioeconomic conditions in the region. (Iphan 2009).

The Dossier of the Vale do Ribeira region was completed in 2009, indicating a perimeter of protection and general guidelines that were built in conjunction with

Fig. 10.2 First Assam tea seedlings, planted in Brazil, located in the municipality of Registro. Photos of the author, 2008

Fig. 10.3 Episcopal Anglican Church, the first to settle in the country

Fig. 10.4 Church of St. Francis Xavier, saint of devotion of Japanese settlers, installed on the hill next to the Ribeira de Iguape River. Photos of the author, 2008

various local partners; however, to date it has not been submitted to final deliberation. In 2012, the project was nominated as a semi-finalist of the Water and Cultural Heritage Award, of the National Water Agency (ANA).

Another study focusing on riverine and coastal communities and was that of the São Francisco River Mouth, whose obtention of subsidies for Dossier of Seal was finished in 2014. The area was chosen due to the uniqueness of the ways of life of local communities, marked by the encounter of fresh and salt waters that produced this river mouth's physical exceptionality. Among the final recommendations, it is noteworthy the strategic role conferred to heritage, as a vector of improvement of living and employment conditions.

> The future of the São Francisco River Mouth Cultural Landscape is strongly connected to the value of the heritage as the mainstay of a new economy. The landscape is an ally in this process, as it represents the memory of a society's collective expression, an organically built social product, hence a heritage tied to the historical dimension. Furthermore, it only exists through the materiality of the territory. Therefore, its heritage value is also tied to the spatial dimension. (Iphan 2014a p. 222)

10.5 Cultural Landscape and the Conceptual Problem

In creating a new category within the World Heritage List, from 1992, UNESCO employed a concept from traditional German geography, conceived between the late 19th and early 20th centuries; the concept of cultural landscape (Ribeiro 2007). The intention here is neither go back to the origins and nor reaffirm the contents involved in the first definition of the term, since it was linked to positivist postulates, currently outdated. The intention, first of all, is to understand how this term is developed within a segment of geographical science, the cultural geography, and what is its strict content.

In the history of geographical thought, it is acknowledged the role of German geographers in the creation of the concepts of natural landscape and cultural landscape, treated as distinct and separated objects or things, as explained by Jean Tricart (1982 p. 13/14):

> According to the German geographers usually based on natural sciences, the landscape consists of several concrete elements of the environment: topography, plants, soil. However, they do not register modifications made by man and, if applicable, they distinguish between the natural landscape (Naturlandschaft) and the cultural landscape (Kulturalandschaft), which may have nothing of natural.

Carl Sauer, in 1925, would overcome these dichotomous concepts, which he did with a text entitled *The morphology of landscape*. Sauer was the founder and leading exponent of cultural geography. In this text he says that which many still do not understand about the two terms, natural landscape and cultural landscape. He clarifies that these are not two distinct objects, but two parts of an object that is unique, the landscape.

The landscape, according to the author, is an integrating concept, in his words "a bilateral unit," which contains two dimensions. One is natural, that is, the physical site, the sum of all natural resources or the "first half of the landscape content," which he calls the natural landscape. The other half of the landscape concerns the facts of human culture, the forms of use of the natural substrate, a dimension that the author calls a cultural landscape. (Sauer 1998)

> The objects that exist together in the landscape exist in interrelationship. We affirm that they constitute a reality as a whole that is not expressed by a consideration of the component parts separately, that the area has form, structure, and function and hence position in a system and that it is subject to development, change, and end. (Sauer 1998, p. 22)

It is clear that they are not separate realities, as if they existed individually, but parts of the same landscape, dissected by the view of the geographer. The sense of separation of the single object into two layers, parts, or halves, as the author says, is related to the research method he proposes: the morphological method, which focuses on systematically organizing the landscape contents, which arranges the phenomena, integrating them into a structure.

What is crucial in this discussion is that—in overcoming the German thought that defined such concepts as two different objects—Sauer resignifies the terms, which according to the cultural geography of the time could no longer be seen separately, but as parts of a whole.

However, UNESCO established this new category in 1992, hindering this understanding and worsening even more the misunderstanding, which reinforced the idea of the existence of an autonomous cultural landscape, an object itself. The irony is that the purpose of the international organization in establishing this category was just the opposite, that is, to recognize the importance of works that are conjugated product of human beings and nature.

In order to stay true to the concepts and their contents, it is considered that UNESCO should have used the concept of landscape, for inclusion of this new category in the context of the so-called cultural heritage. Nevertheless, by choosing to define the term landscape, UNESCO erred into two troubled paths: on the one hand it disregarded the conceptual overcoming by Carl Sauer, regressing to the traditional view of German geography, which takes the cultural landscape out of the whole of which it is part; on the other hand, it committed a tautology, since every landscape is a cultural object, in essence.

Although created in 1992, entries under this new category were few in number, during this first decade of 1990, with only 16 titles conferred by UNESCO. From 2000, the situation changed, with a total of 63 titles of cultural landscape conferred. The year that presented the highest number of entries was 2004, with 13 entries in the World Heritage List. In the case of Brazil, the country succeeded in obtaining its first entry in 2012, with the title "Rio de Janeiro city, landscapes between the mountain and the sea." (Figueiredo 2014).

Despite the conceptual problems raised here, the data above show that the cultural landscape is established in the sphere of actions for cultural heritage preservation as an experiment already consolidated, making innocuous any attempt to rethink the concepts employed. However, it is always worthwhile to remind the historicity of the concepts that are at the origin of the institutional practices.

In addition, conceptual problems remain, becoming even more complex, in the separation between theory and practice. Among other international documents dealing with the subject, we recall here the Recommendation R(95)9, drawn up by the Council of Europe, in 1995, which, in addition to using the term landscape, also includes another designation, "areas of cultural landscape," as specific and delimited parts of landscapes. The same Council of Europe, in 2000, established the European Landscape Convention, document that employs, this time, only the concept of landscape.

The variety of the terminology used by the international organizations for the same object and that has been defined without the incorporation and the contribution of scientific production, in their specific fields, has shown that the conceptual problem of cultural landscapes is still far from being solved.

10.6 Final Considerations: Limits and Challenges of a Policy in Context of Changes

> Currently, Cultural Landscape Seal model projects are developed all regions of the country and their application will be of great importance in the policies that effectively think culture and cultural heritage as **foundations of the human condition, of citizenship, and of the construction of a better country**, and able to identify in itself values that can lead into future paths that are always better. (Dalmo 2011, p. 19). Our emphasis

Despite the innovations that the cultural landscape seal brought to heritage policies in Brazil, whose contributions can be measured based on the documents prepared, but also on the content of the dossiers, studies, and proposals developed in several regions of the country, from 2013, it is observed a slow and continuous process of paralyzation and reflow in the activities related to this topic. In the agency's official website, today, there is no information about these projects that were presented previously, so that, for a researcher who begins to address this issue, many doubts remain about what was effectively carried out.

After a relatively short period—2006 to 2011—of significant advances in the field of cultural heritage, with the opening of new work fronts, increasing the number of landmarkings, with the development of regulations for internal procedures, and with the organization of administrative aspects, the current moment points to a deviation that jeopardizes the achievements of recent years.

According to the Iphan Activities Report for the 2011–2014 period, there was an institutional decision to suspend the continuation of the various cultural landscape studies that were being carried out. The rationale for such decision, as noted below, would be the fact that the seal studies had not been completed, given the extent of the work and efforts required for its progression.

> Due to requiring agreements with local and regional entities, in addition to demanding a wide gamut of local development actions – such as fostering of the production of cultural base, promotion of tourism and use of land—, the complexity of the Cultural Landscape Management procedure caused all processes already started to not be completed. This

> liability led, in 2013, to the decision of suspending temporarily the instruction of the Brazilian Cultural landscape certification processes, which was reported and approved by the Advisory Board during its 75th Meeting, in May 2014. At the same time, it was observed a need to move forward in the production of a diagnosis of the processes and of the situation in relation to the territorial portions surveyed, as well as of the efforts started in order to obtain agreements. (Iphan 2014b, p. 24)

As can be apprehended from this new moment of public policies, the cultural landscape seal is no longer part of the priorities of the federal institution and also it is no longer considered important and with an innovative character, as previously acknowledged. In the report of the period indicated above the item concerning this topic is as brief as possible. The paralyzation is justified, but in the information, figures, tables, charts, or maps there is no indication of the ongoing studies and, also, no mention of advances or limitations. On the contrary, in items relating to other instruments of preservation such as landmarking, register of intangible heritage, register of archaeological assets, or recognition of rail heritage, there is much characterization in data and information. Absences suggest much about intentions that were not revealed in the text of the report.

Here the aim is to make a brief discussion regarding the cultural landscape studies, indicating the major losses.

Firstly, it is noted the frustration of expectations encouraged in the communities involved, with the promise of a heritage identification and protection policy founded on the premise of dialogue, of listening, of exchange of ideas, and of social participation. The decision to halt that is not taken in conjunction with partners corresponds, specifically, to unilateral disruption of dialogue.

Additionally to frustration due to the cessation of a policy of dialogue and collective construction of heritage, the paralyzation appears as loss of credibility and end of a relationship of trust established in the municipalities in relation to the federal agency, which ultimately reinforces that view, historically constituted, of discretionary, vertical, and authoritarian policies.

It should also be remembered that the paralyzation means a waste of human and material resources invested in the projects, which due to their specific characteristics require a "long time of duration," the time to build relationships of trust with the subjects involved. Relationships that, once undone and discredited, hardly return to the same condition.

On the other hand, the effect of discontinuity of policies grows more deleterious, considering projects that were geared towards contexts and realities that are socially excluded from the official map of heritage, in relation to which the intention was to promote social valorization through identification and protection actions. These are popular groups, underappreciated in their heritage, historically devalued as subjects, invisible in national memory, as are those partners involved in the projects: riverine populations, artisanal fishermen, *caiçaras*, *quilombolas*, impoverished peasants, immigrant settlers.

Internally to the agency, from the point of view of professionals who were involved in these studies, the paralyzation can be seen as discouraging, since the work done for the seal cannot be seen only as eminently technical, bureaucratic, cold, and supposedly neutral; it is also the construction of relationships, social ties, and local dialogues that are deeply enriching for their professional training.

Considering this context of losses and limits, the major challenge for the cultural landscape projects is how to continue to invest in strengthening the relationship established with civil society in the localities, lest the efforts carried out during this period are not rendered devoid of significance. Only through local protagonism it is possible to overcome the limits and weaknesses of heritage preservation, since preservation is intended to benefit these groups. Therefore, they have legitimacy to claim the presence of public policies.

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Chapter 11
Traditional Populations and Political Activism in the Belo Monte Dam Construction

Angelita Matos Souza

Abstract This article presents a critical discussion on issues relating to the Belo Monte Hydroelectric Dam Complex (UHE Belo Monte) construction in the region of Altamira, State of Pará, Brazil. The discussion is carried out by an analysis on the development and relevant policy effects over social struggles from traditional peoples against the Belo Monte Dam construction. From this discussion, I point out to both civilizational potential and barbarian dimension involved in the Belo Monte construction, emphasizing that only popular mobilization can partly turn losses into social gains. Within this context, the traditional communities reinvent themselves face to the impacts of the work, incorporating new dimensions in order to conserve goods, knowledge, and ways of life.

Keywords Belo Monte Dam · Traditional communities · Social struggles · Brazilian economic policy · Environmental conservation

11.1 Introduction

Brazil, as other South American countries, after facing the debt crisis in the 1980s, and going through neoliberal reforms in the 1990s, started the twenty-first century with government experiences that can be considered "post-neoliberal", or at least not predominantly neoliberal because they were more interventionist. And an important dimension of the inflection operated in the economic policy of Partido dos Trabalhadores (PT—Workers' Party) government, in the sense of greater state interventionism, resides in large infrastructure projects. The Belo Monte

This article corresponds to the written version of our exposition at the *I Simpósio Internacional: Patrimônios* (1st International Symposium: Heritage), which occured at UNESP, Ourinhos-SP, in 2015, being the oral presentation version of the previous study (Souza 2015).

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Hydroelectric Dam Complex (UHE Belo Monte) is one of these projects and surely the most controversial construction carried out by PT's government, opposed by environmentalists worldwide because of the social and environmental impacts involved. Its construction began in 2011 on the Xingu River, in the State of Pará, in the Brazilian Amazon, with Altamira as the main city.

Location of UHE Belo Monte

Available at: https://site-antigo.socioambiental.org/esp/bm/loc.asp

In this text, we would like to point out relevant policy effects in the field of social struggles undertaken by traditional peoples against the Belo Monte Dam construction, indicating in this introduction the core of *environmental* criticism to state policies of economic growth by means of large infrastructure constructions, present in the debate on virtually all large enterprises in South America, especially those in the energy sector. The assumption made is that economic growth is harmful to the environment, either directly, via infrastructure constructions which destroy nature and traditional ways of life, or indirectly, via social inclusion through consumption.

In the center of environmentalist criticism it is possible to identify the opposition between what could be considered an "anthropocentric" view of the world, focusing on material needs of the human species, and the "biocentric" approach which values all biodiversity. As Igor Fuser wrote, analyzing the Bolivian and Ecuadorian cases:

There is a strong identity of thought among the opponents to the Bolivian highway through the TIPNIS (Isiboro Sécure National Park and Indigenous Territory) and those who try to prevent oil exploration in Yasuní [Ecuador]. Both postures articulate from the conception that nature (Pachamama) is sacred and therefore its preservation is imposed as a supreme criterion over any project that seeks justification on behalf of human welfare or economic development. The

Uruguayan Eduardo Gudynas condemns in emphatic terms the "anthropocentric utilitarianism", which sees the use of natural resources as a condition for economic growth. He associated this view to the current ecological unsustainability scenario on a global scale; such view must be replaced by a "biocentric" approach where the central idea is that all natural species have the same "ontological" right to life, without the existence of any hierarchy that prioritizes the needs or human objectives. In this approach, all biodiversity—human or not—is equally important. (…) This implies, among other things, *the rejection of economic growth* as a reference on state policies, because it is a goal (always according to this view) intrinsically associated to devastation of the environment (Fuser 2014, our translation, emphasis added).

In Brazil, Viveiros de Castro can be considered an exponent of this perspective. In an interview to the newspaper *El País* (2014), the anthropologist condemned what he called a posture liable to be called "*growthist* and centralist", marked by a completely anthropocentric view of the world, characteristic of the "Old Left", with its mind still in the nineteenth century, as would be the case of the *left* in power in Brazil, represented at the time by PT, which for Castro is nationalist and without worldview. "They [this left] see Brazil in the world when it comes to the market. Now, when it comes to the planet as home to the species, the place where we live, they don't even care".

In addition, the relationship between export of primary products and large infrastructure projects is commonly condemned; in the Brazilian case it is seen as a kind of neocolonial regression compromising the economic future in the country. The problem would be both external vulnerability involved and the social and environmental price embedded in the *re-insourcing* process of the economy, related with the commodities boom.

When it comes to power consumption, according to Bermann (2011, 2012), six sectors would consume 30% of the energy produced in Brazil and only two would be more linked to the domestic market: cement and chemical industry. The other four would be aimed particularly at exports: steel, primary aluminum, ferroalloys, and cellulose. For the author: "The Belo Monte Dam Complex, gigantic construction, at enormous costs, very serious environmental and social consequences, next to the Jirau and Santo Antonio Dams on the Madeira River, are examples of the obsession with gigantism (…) at the expense of environmental and social concerns" (2012, p. 17, our translation).

In the same vein, according to Castro (2014), the economic policy bill of PT's governments—aimed at fast growth, granting some income to the poor without messing with the rich's wealth—would be paid mainly by nature, with destroyed forests and water exported through commodities to China in the form of ox, beef, and soy. The country would be "eating the most important not to touch the rich's pockets", he says. Now nature is paying back: "Drought, typhoons, hurricanes, floods,… And the hardest part has not even reached Brazil yet".

It is certainly difficult to take a stand in this debate, especially when considering the progressive governments' urgency in promoting economic growth. These governments, such as PT in Brazil, MAS in Bolivia and Correa in Ecuador—which face strong opposition from the dominant forces and the media under their control or influence. If the economy does not grow, the opposition gains strength and it starts to be difficult to maintain the power and/or continue practicing social policies, therefore these governments end up prioritizing fast political solutions, such as the *options* for large infrastructure constructions (Souza 2015). As Fisher (2014, p. 133, our translation) wrote: “Revenues generated by these investments are essential for center-left governments to maintain their social programs that have improved the conditions of the majority of the poor and created a base of political support”.

From this perspective, although it is clear that the *options* are delimited by political arrangements involving the ruling classes’ interests, politically the economic growth combined with income distribution policies seems better than the *growthist* absence of logic, which could preclude the continuity for a longer time in these governments, considered progressive. In the current Brazilian situation, with the unjustifiable impeachment of the democratically elected President, what seemed bad may worsen in what concerns the rights of traditional peoples.

Furthermore, it is not possible to ignore the gains in public services infrastructure; in the sanitation area, the construction of sewage and water supply in Altamira are practically completed and the city, which lived for years without sanitation, is about to receive a comprehensive sewerage system. Thus, there are grounds for satisfaction including from an environmentalist angle, because as Castro (2014) said, lack of sewage is an environmental problem in the same way as is the deforestation in the Amazon.

Finally, as Harvey (2004) states, the plot of development is quite complex, connected to the problem of uneven geographical development (Harvey 2013), and produces concrete possibilities of qualitative jumps within the scope of insurgent movements and economic history. It is worth noting, in the light of Harvey’s analysis (Harvey 2011), the connection of the “socioecological network of life” in local scale, with the process of capitalist accumulation in national and global dimension—for example, the construction of hydroelectric power plants connected to the global demand for commodities. On the other hand there is the articulation of popular local struggles with national political struggle and international organizations: for example, local insurgency against the construction of power stations in Amazonas, its connection with the achievements of rights for indigenous peoples in the Citizen Constitution of 1988 and the cosmopolitan evolution of local-national movements of resistance to the UHE Belo Monte.

In this sense it is important to portray the movements of resistance to the construction of the power plant as expressive of contradictions of every developmental policy, based on the construction of large infrastructure constructions, generating undeniable political and infrastructure progress and a huge range of social and environmental problems. The central idea to be herein presented is that Belo Monte, as other great infrastructure constructions, contributes to the emergence of political activism, especially the *avant-garde* aspect of this movement. However, men make history in circumstances not chosen by them and, if in the 1980s, political activism was able to *stop the dam*, it would not be repeated in this beginning of century.

11.2 From Kararao to Belo Monte

The construction project of the Belo Monte Power Station dates back to the period of military dictatorship, passing by the episode occurred during the *First Gathering of the Indigenous Peoples of the Xingu* in the city of Altamira in February 1989, when an indigenous woman touched with her machete the face of the government authority who defended the project, at that time called project *Kararaô*, which provided for the construction of six major dams along the Xingu River with the flooding of approximately 20,000 km^2, reaching many indigenous lands.

As Cohn (2014, p. 28) notes, Belo Monte is nothing new, but the continuity with adjustments of project *Kararaô*, aborted by international pressure and by the large gathering of indigenous peoples in Altamira in 1989, which influenced in the very difficulty in obtaining external funding for the project, temporarily shelved. The name change, according to Sevá Filho (2014), occurred due to opposition from the Kayapo people:

[Kararaô] visibly angered the Kayapós for being a "nom de guerre" and also the "surname" of a group of relatives installed right on the delta of Iriri river. The then Director of Eletronorte promised to give it "a white man's name"… *Belo Monte* was chosen. He did not know, and hardly anyone makes the association, but it is a mythical expression from the hinterland culture, one of the names of Canudos and Antonio Conselheiro's geography in the interior of Bahia. Not by chance, the migrant people remember that when they name new places: the settlements of Santo Antonio do Belo Monte, on the left bank of the Xingu, and Belo Monte do Pontal, on the right bank, where travelers of the Trans-Amazonian Highway from Anapu to Altamira take the ferry to cross the river (Sevá Filho 2014, p. 176, our translation).

After the Altamira gathering, the project would be again cogitated in the government of Fernando Henrique Cardoso (1995–2002), marked by strong energy crisis, to be finally taken over by the government of Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva (2003–2010) and transformed into the main construction of PAC (Growth Acceleration Program) in the first Dilma Roussef's government (2011–2014). But from *Kararaô to Belo Monte*, the objective of building dams in the Amazon would pass through sensitive changes, among them the adoption of run-of-the-river hydroelectricity in Belo Monte, the reduction of the area to be flooded, and ambitions decreased with some projects of power plants canceled (Jarina, on the Xingu River, and Cachoeira Seca, on the Iriri River).

Therefore, if the "Brazilian environmentalism" differs from the "classical" movements, the latter being more focused on technical and administrative issues, while the Brazilian one would value the cultural heritage of peoples and forest communities and their traditional knowledge (Fleury and Almeida 2013), it is certain that in the battle against Belo Monte compensations were achieved by means of technical–administrative–legal arrangements. Given the circumstances and existing conditions, that is what could be achieved in practice, yet with much struggle since conditions established for the environmental license have been constantly violated. Therefore, it is important to understand:

(…) why indigenous peoples and their allies have been unable to repeat the success of the late 1980s, when a combination of domestic pressure and international protests could block megaprojects as the hydroelectric plant that was supposed to be built in the Xingu. While the predecessor project of Belo Monte, the *Kararaô* dam, for example, was stopped by the indigenous peoples' mobilization, their environmentalist allies in Brazil and abroad, and the decision-making process of the World Bank and its responses to global political appeal, the opposition nowadays seems less effective. (Fisher 2014, p. 129, our translation)

According to Fisher (2014), the answer must come from the broader political and economic context that is decisive to the possibilities for success of protests. Thus, "although Belo Monte and *Kararaô* projects look very similar, the general context of their deployment presents large contrasts", with the limited expressiveness of the Amazon in the national economy in the late 1980s replaced by increasing interest in the region due to agricultural and mineral exports. Before, policies for the Amazon were much more driven by geopolitical concerns than by the national trade balance. "At that time, about 5% of the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) came from national legal Amazon, while in 2009 the proportion of GDP in the legal Amazon stabilized at approximately 8% and promises to grow with the global demand for basic resources such as iron", increased the Brazilian dependence on exports of basic products. (Fisher 2014, pp. 131–132, our translation)

However, the author warns.

Focusing exclusively on the contribution to GDP, however, underestimates the impact of globalization on policies of the region. Some of the new trends, with which the indigenous peoples and their allies should be alarmed in addition to the strategic importance of the region, include: the global reach of large companies involved (mainly the private company Companhia Vale do Rio Doce), the centrality of energy costs in strategic competition among businesses and, finally, the preponderant role that profits from extractivism currently have in the budgets of Latin American governments. (Fisher 2014, p. 131, our translation)

The objective of the Growth Acceleration Program (PAC) from PT's governments largely relates to the creation of physical conditions for the extractive industries thrive, the power supply and its cheapening is fundamental not only to the spheres of production/circulation, but to the competitive insertion into the world economy. The ability of popular resistance, regardless of the wide national and international network of support, is much more limited in face of the power of large corporations and governments' dependence on primary products exports. "However, this does not mean that the process is immune to political pressure, but only that the field of clashes has changed, and changed in a way that is not necessarily favorable to theBrazilian Indigenous peoples" (Fisher 2014, p. 135, our translation).

Surely the struggle waged against the dam was able to achieve, aided by the structure of political opportunities, the imposition of limits on the barbarism dimension of development, which is not little, especially at the periphery of the system, under the garrotte of extractive imperialism. But despite all contrary mobilization, the dam became reality with the Growth Acceleration Program (PAC), by the hands of the government led by a political party which in the constituents sessions of 1988–89, responding to national and international pressure, battled for the rights of indigenous populations. However, once in power, this very party ignored these peoples' right of being heard and respected regarding any policy affecting their territories.

11.3 Belo Monte, Social Conflicts, Gains And Losses[1]

In this topic, rather than taking a stand in the debate between "anthropocentrism" *versus* "biocentrism", it is interesting to enhance the possibility of movements around Belo Monte promoting rupture of the political isolation in which the traditional peoples were inserted, as well as the ability of popular movements to stop the destructive character involved in the construction of the power station. In other words, it might be interesting that traditional peoples have been rescued from isolation and become *international* agents, resisting through auto-transforming processes, turning into neo-traditional or neo-conservationist peoples (Cunha and Almeida 2009).

In this sense, the *First Gathering of the Indigenous Peoples of the Xingu* was decisive, the episode of the machete blade to José Antônio Muniz Lopes's face, the Director of Eletronorte, resonated internationally, from Altamira to the world. According to the Social-environmental Institute (ISA 2014), the gathering brought together 3,000 people, of which 650 were natives from various parts of the country, being organized by indigenous leaders—Paulo Paiakan, Raoni, Marcos Terena, and Ailton Krenak—and civil society entities. There were authorities present, in addition to the Eletronorte Director, the President of the Brazilian Institute of Environment and Renewable Natural Resources (IBAMA), the Mayor of Altamira, federal deputies, 300 environmentalists, around 150 journalists and celebrities as the English singer Sting.

The event ended with the launch of the National Campaign in Defense of the Amazon Rainforest and its Peoples, the Indigenous Declaration of Altamira and a greeting message from singer Milton Nascimento. For ISA (2014), the Altamira gathering is considered a milestone in the history of social-environmentalism in Brazil. And it should be recalled that the gathering took place in the wake of commotion caused by the murder of Chico Mendes in 1988, leader of a pioneer movement in the articulation of political struggle in defense of rubber-tappers with environmental concerns.

[1]Following, we have basically reproduced our previous text (SOUZA, 2015, our translation).

Available at: http://m.memorialdademocracia.com.br/publico/image/3603

From the Altamira Gathering, according to Fleury and Almeida (2013), there would be an evolution in the social movements' field associated with the stance of environmental preservation, with the dawn of the adjective *social-environmental* and the "Brazilian environmentalism", which, according to the authors, would have little in common with the "classical" environmental movement, focused on technical and administrative issues. The "Brazilian environmentalism" would spotlight forest peoples and communities as protagonists of essential knowledge for what would be propagated as sustainable development, especially from the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development, held in Rio de Janeiro in 1992.

As we understand, environmental movements related to traditional peoples have emerged as *avant-garde*, in the sense of being *ahead*, not against the development but in defense of the most modern in this sense: sustainable development. The man–nature relationship, which is characteristic of traditional peoples, has been changing in a way that even populations who were not culturally conservationists started to join the environmental conservation cause. Cunha and Almeida (2009), in a text worth reading, revisit the definition of "traditional peoples", arguing that:

In a surprising ideological about-face, the traditional peoples of the Amazon, who until recently were considered as obstacles to "development", or at best as candidates for it, were promoted to the front line of modernity. This change occurred basically because of the association among these populations and traditional knowledge and environmental conservation. At the same time, indigenous communities formerly scorned or harassed by frontier neighbors, suddenly became models for other dispossessed Amazonian peoples (Cunha and Almeida 2009, p. 277, our translation).

According to anthropologists, "traditional peoples" must be now understood as a category consisting of political subjects willing to "form a pact: commit to a series of conservationist practices in exchange for some sort of benefit and, above all, territorial rights". The definition would not necessarily comprehend traditionally conservationist populations, but subjects in "auto-constitution process" (as conservationists) in the political struggle, inserted into the world economy (we would say: they are no longer isolated), process in which even the populations "culturally conservationists are, nevertheless, and in a certain sense, neo-traditional or neo-conservationist" (Cunha and Almeida 2009, p. 300, our translation). And:

The traditional peoples are no longer outside the central economy, nor are they simply on the world system periphery. Traditional populations and their organizations do not deal only with farmers, loggers, and prospectors. They became partners of central institutions such as the United Nations, the World Bank and the powerful NGOs of the "First World" (Cunha and Almeida 2009, p. 289, our translation).[2]

In the battle against the Belo Monte dam, a series of meetings among social organizations, indigenous leaders, environmental entities, and local associations occurred in the beginning of this century, challenging the construction of the power plant project with protests, seminars and open letters to the responsible government authorities. Besides these expedients, a complex court battle was being waged, at first regarding environmental licensing processes for the power plant and, more recently, concerning the non-fulfillment of conditions involved in licensing agreements. There are many instances and entities covered: the Supreme Federal Court, the Public Prosecutor's Office, Federal Regional Courts and civil society organizations such as ISA, Greenpeace, Coordination of Indigenous Organizations of the BrazilianAmazon (COIAB) and Indigenous Missionary Council (CIMI) (Fleury and Almeida 2013).

Despite all legal actions and mobilizations, a previous license was issued by IBAMA in February 2010. In April of that same year, the auction for concession of the dam complex construction took place under many protests and tons of manure dumped by Greenpeace activists at the entrance of the National Electric Energy Agency (Aneel), where the auction was held. In early 2011, a partial license authorized the installation of the construction site of Belo Monte dam, which allowed deforestation and assembling camps in the farms Pimental and Belo Monte. In June of the same year, IBAMA published the concession of the license for installing the construction site, effectively authorizing the start of the power plant construction.

The action did not cool the conflicts and new legal actions against this enterprise entered in progress. The social movements did not accept the *fait accompli*, following with resistance and mobilization strategies to prevent the continuation of the construction, with emphasis on the Xingu + 23 meeting, parallel to the Rio + 20

[2]We conceive traditional peoples as compromised with environmental conservation in exchange for some sort of benefit, including the forms of existence and resistance of indigenous, quilombolas, riparian people, fishermen, peasants, artisanal miners. However, when we refer specifically to the indigenous populations they will be named accordingly.

Conference in 2012, where the buses of the Xingu River were occurring (Fleury and Almeida 2013).

Among these social movements, the highlight is the resignation of Movimento Xingu Vivo para Sempre (Xingu Alive Forever Movement), a collective that aggregates more than 100 entities, formed in 2008 amid the rupture with local social movements linked to PT. *Xingu Vivo*, as it is known, brings together persons belonging to different movements (Women's Movement, Student Movements, Black Movement, among others), being supported by national non-governmental organizations, such as the Social-environmental Institute (ISA), and international ones such as *Amazon Watch* and *International Rivers*.

Historically connected to Xingu Vivo, there are entities linked to the Catholic Church, notably the Indigenous Missionary Council (CIMI) and the Territorial Prelature of Xingu, where the leadership of Bishop Erwin Krautler stands out. Since 2009, the Movement of People Affected by Dams (MAB) is also present in the region, "differing from Xingu Vivo by the strategies adopted, partnerships and, as their representatives like to reinforce, by the Marxist-Leninist reading of the problem of dams" (Fleury and Almeida 2013).

There have been many conflicts and they include indigenous populations, small farmers, riparian people, and fishermen, residents of Altamira suburbs, supported by the above-mentioned entities, among others. A major force would be the Public Prosecutor's Office (Ministério Público Federal—MPF), which have firmly acted to guarantee the fulfillment of conditions aimed at indigenous populations—especially in the housing field. In the words of the Public Prosecutor's Office Attorney, Thais Santi (2014), the "terrifying" world of Belo Monte, "where the Law does not limit", in which "everything is possible", would be occurring, since 2012, a real "indigenous ethnocide".

The Emergency Plan, created to strengthen indigenous communities once the Basic Environmental Plan (PBA) would take longer to be implemented, and would have brought, according to Santi (2014), catastrophic effects, with the Emergency Plan serving basically as the co-opting of indigenous with consumer goods, destroying their ways of life in order to weaken them:

[…] The tribal chief's house has a plasma TV, leaders are losing legitimacy within the community. [He] gets a *voadeira* [fast boat] that is worth 30, sells for 8. (Santi 2014, our translation)

There are several issues brought forward by the Prosecutor regarding the compliance with the indigenous conditions, housing and introducing inappropriate eating habits, alcoholism, violence, debility/weakening of the National Indigenous Foundation—FUNAI (instead of the promised strengthening), with the advance of indigenous lands invasion and deforestation. Even the power of social movements would be limited, since currently they cannot even approach the construction site of Belo Monte because there is a court order forbidding it, although Santi (2014) recognizes that social movements "are a hallmark that makes Altamira unique and Belo Monte a paradigmatic case".

On the other hand, the praised power of the Public Prosecutor's Offices (MPF) is also relativized by the attorney, especially for the domain of facts, because courts tend to consider unfeasible the intrusion into government policies decisions and would highly take into account the expenditures already made, the jobs created, summing up, the fait accompli. There would still exist an indistinctness between private and public (Norte Energia S.A. & State), and the prospect of gold exploration in the region by Canadian Belo Sun must aggravate the problems in that territory marked by a sort of "state of exception" (Santi 2014, our translation).

However, the "state of exception" is a reality in Brazil (in the world, judging by Giorgio Agamben's study), especially in the poorest regions, Belo Monte may have introduced new elements to the situation, but it must also have met the Law to some extent because of international repercussion of the construction. We need to analyze all of the phenomena involved in the policies/projects of development; in this sense, Belo Monte serves us as illustration of what we would name as a society in movement around the construction of the dam since its initial proposals, in a space where civilization advances and barbarism coexist, process in which they are social agents linked to traditional ways of life (*e pur si muove*) that curiously, contributed to the defense and dissemination of the most modern in terms of development proposals.

11.4 Conclusion

We have disserted about the Belo Monte Dam to address the issue of development and relevant political effects. Not under any circumstances aiming to defend the construction of the power station, but advocating an understanding that takes into account the complexity of factors involved in major infrastructure projects, identifying interesting political effects and believing that only popular mobilization has the power to partly transform social harm in social gains. Thus, since the *First Gathering of the Indigenous Peoples of the Xingu*, environmental movements related to traditional populations have emerged to what would be the most modern in the developmental field: in defense of the sustainable development.

The positivity of this movement in the modernizing historical processes cannot be disregard, since historically the capitalist development progresses through controversial and very contradictory relations between the actual mercantile-capitalist set of values and the modern values, which are not mercantile-capitalist, translated into the ideas of equality and freedom, citizenship, social justice, solidarity. These are two types of logic, entwined, that act in historical processes motivating social action, with the second set of ideas/values and the social movements that they foster, achieving, to some extent, the imposition of limits to the destructive movement guided by the first set (Mello and Novais 2009).

The reasons that led to the construction of the Belo Monte Dam certainly respond to the first field of interests and values, but undoubtedly the enterprise encountered limits in the second dimension, process in which the *traditional* is positively reinvented. However, if in the 1980s the political movement around the project was successful in *stopping the dam,* at the beginning of the century, under the impact of agricultural and mineral exports in the national trade balance, everything changed.

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Part IV
Industrial and Rail Heritage

Chapter 12
Museums from São Paulo and Railroad Memory

Davidson Kaseker

Abstract This chapter aims at discussing Brazilian railway heritage, taking into account the São Paulo State as a study case. Throughout its history, São Paulo's railway heritage has experienced countless setbacks as the same way its memory has, except for certain initiatives, suffering since 1950s, when the country chose to prioritize the road transport matrix, which resulted in a continuous process of scrapping. In the last decade, such abandoning picture has been reversed, through blogs, websites, and almost two hundred theses and dissertations on this issue in São Paulo State public universities. From this discussion, we give prominence to the railroad memory reinvention by railroad museums as a social process which enhances the identity and cultural heritage turned into an inheritance, not only from its melancholic and nostalgic dimension of a past which will not return but mainly as a crucial component to build the future.

Keywords Museums · Railroad memory · Thematic networks · Heritage · Material culture

Historical studies have been considering the importance of objects and spaces—or "site of memory", the concept of Nora (1993), as constitutive elements of collective memory. Since the broader concept of historical heritage, according to Choay (2006), has also included industrial heritage as object of cult of memory, a few decades ago a growing interest has been seen in Brazil in the preservation of railroad transportation memory regarding its economic, technological, and social aspects.

At the end of 1980s, the Ministry of Transportation planned a project aimed at the preservation of transport memory in Brazil, named PRESERVE. The project, that soon became a program, had the primary aim of gathering memory of the origin of means of transportation of the country, through the preservation of equipment

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considered to be historical and representative of each one. The proposal was to build a National Museum of Transportation located in Brasília (DF); however, the initiative was not implemented.

Of all sectors of administration indirectly responsible for the related areas, railroad was the one that proficiently embraced the proposal through Rede Ferroviária Federal (RFFSA) (Federal Railroad Network), a state-owned national railroad company, considering the nature of the project and its objectives. The program contributed to the preservation of historical and memory railroad heritage, not restricting to only wagon and locomotive. PRESERVE actions extended to thematic accomplishments related to architecture, engineering, iconography, literature, and railroad culture.(Prochnow, 2014)

When RFFSA was reformulated, due to governmental initiative aiming its denationalization, the program was slowly weakened, until it ended permanently. With the extinction of RFFSA, initiated in 1999 and concluded in 2007, movable and immovable properties considered not operational, including museological sites, which public utility companies that took over railroad transportation in the country had no interest in, were later transferred to IPHAN, which became responsible, without any budget increase, for the preservation of this vast heritage, including locomotives, wagons, carriages and other equipment, such as crane, for example, as well as furnishings, and assets such as clocks, bells, telegraphs and documents. A significant part of this collection, in the meantime, was misdirected and/or informally incorporated by museological institutions, kept in bureaucratic departments as heritage assets or simply appropriated by collectors.

The Brazilian railroad heritage only became object of a cultural valuation process enacted by Law 11.483/2007,[1] pursuant to article 2016 of the Federal Constitution of 1988, as reference to the Brazilian railroad memory. This law, with respect to cultural heritage legacy by RFFSA, establishes that "Instituto do Patrimônio Histórico e Artístico Nacional—IPHAN (Historical Heritage and National Artistic Institute) shall receive and manage movable and immovable assets of artistic, historical and cultural value originated by the extinct RFFSA as well as to enforce its storage and maintenance." In the 2nd paragraph of Art. 9th, the law establishes that:

> The preservation and dissemination of Memória Ferroviária (Railroad Memory) formed by artistic, cultural and historical railroad heritage will be promoted upon:
>
> I – construction, creation, organization, maintenance, amplification and *museum*, library, archives and other cultural organizations, equipment as well as its collections. (Emphasis added)
>
> II – conservation and restoration of buildings, monuments, public areas, and other sites originated by extinct RFFSA

[1]BRAZIL. Law n 11.493/07, May 31st, 2007. Provides about revitalization of the railroad industry, modifies provision of Law no 10.233, June 5th, 2001, and provides other actions. Diário Oficial da União (Union Official Journal). Brasília, DF. Available at http://www.planalto.gov.br/ccivil_03/_ato2007-2010/2007/lei/l11483.htm. Acessed on 01.20.2016.

With the purpose of the preservation of Brazilian railroad heritage, since the enactment of the aforementioned law, IPHAN became responsible for compiling an inventory, in Brazilian territory, of cultural assets part of railroad heritage. With the aim of adopting actions of preservation and dissemination of the Brazilian railroad memory, this attribution comprehends examples of railroad yards and esplanades part of the transportation system, tools and machinery, museological collection and documents collection of RFFSA. The law, as already mentioned, did not set budget resources for the financing of these activities, except, among others, by means of raising resources by Programa Nacional de Apoio à Cultura (Culture Support National Program)—PRONAC. Consequently, due to low budget, RFFSA's railroad museums established by former PRESERVE, are, in most cases, closed, or extinct, impeding public access to historical collection that documents the evolution of railroad transportation in Brazil.

Since 1970s, the initiative of entities such as Associação Brasileira de Preservação Ferroviária (Brazilian Association of Railroad Preservation)—ABPF permitted the safeguard of invaluable icons of our railroad memory. Ferrovia Paulista S.A (São Paulo Railroad Company) (Fepasa) also contributed to the preservation by creating sites such as the Museum of Companhia Paulista, in Jundiai, and its precious library. There are also other museums established and kept by other institutions, some dedicated to railroad memory, among others, where railroad heritage objects are only a part of its collection. There are other hundreds of historical museums located in old railroad stations, which ownership was transferred to municipalities through a program established by Secretaria de Patrimônio da União (Secretary of Union Heritage), responsible for coordinating, controlling and guiding activities of appropriation of not operational properties from extinct RFFSA.

In the State of São Paulo, it is impracticable, yet pressing task, to measure the contribution of railroads that are part of the history of São Paulo and were fundamental for economic development, especially for agriculture expansion in the State, being for decades the main transportation for goods within the territory. With around 150 years of history, São Paulo's railroad network is currently approximately five thousand kilometers long, is privately controlled, and is operated by Ferrovia Centro-Atlântica S.A, MRS Logística S.A and América Latina Logística Malhas Paulista e Oeste.(Ghirardello, 2002)

At the country's railroad peak, in 1940s, São Paulo had 17 railroad companies that, together, totaled 8,622 km of rail. Throughout its trajectory, São Paulo's railroad heritage suffered several setbacks in the same way its memory did, going through a deterioration process since 1950s, when the country opted to prioritize highway network.

Among preservation actions that constitute honorable exceptions, there is the Arquivo Público do Estado de São Paulo (Public Archives of the State of São Paulo), which preserves text, iconographic, and cartographic documents that tell the story of the railroad and engage in activities aiming the dissemination of the collection and exploring the possibility of using these documents in schools, providing educational proposal based on the railroad theme to be developed by teachers. It is also worthy to highlight the project Memória Ferroviária (1869–1971), developed since 2012 by Condephaat in partnership with Unesp and financial aid of FAPESP. The project is coordinated by Prof. Dr. E. Romero de Oliveira (UNESP/FCL, Campus of Assis) and is composed by the research group "Cultura e Sociedade" (Culture and Society), its primary goal is to elaborate an inventory of industrial heritage connected to railroad system of São Paulo, prioritizing the ones from Jundiai, Rio Claro, Campinas, Sorocaba, and Mairinque.

The Project Memória Ferroviária is the continuation of an ample work distributed in time that add to the results of previous projects, as "Memória do Povoamento" (Settlement Memory) (2007) and "Memória Ferroviária" (2009–2011). Important results have been reached, with the development of a GIS (Geographic Information System) platform, an inventory of documents about railroad from São Paulo—in which the database has 19,391 items, and a terminology system that can produce an industrial railroad thesaurus. Along the same lines of academic activities, it is important to mention the master dissertations and doctorate thesis carried out by University of São Paulo (USP) and University of Campinas (Unicamp), especially the Laboratório de Arqueologia Pública (Public Archeology Laboratory), responsible for Jornadas do Patrimônio Ferroviário (Railroad Heritage Journey).

Beyond the almost two hundreds of thesis and dissertations on the theme at public and private universities, being nearly half developed at universities in São Paulo, on the last decade the concern for preservation of railroad heritage, as well as railroad history, has been the subject of several publications in books, blogs, and sites, besides newspapers and magazines showing the growing interest in this topic in Brazil.

In this regard, joining efforts in favor of the preservation of São Paulo's railroad memory, the Grupo Técnico de Coordenação do Sistema Estadual de Museus de São Paulo (GTC SISEM-SP) (Technical Group of Coordination of the Museum System of the State of São Paulo), authority of Secretary of State of Culture which congregates and articulates the museum of the State of São Paulo with the aim to promote institutional qualification and strengthening in favor of preservation, research, and dissemination of São Paulo's museological collection, has been providing actions to technically qualify teams that work at museums, as well as actions of technical assistance, access to publications and financial aid by ProAc Museus publications directed to the preservation and dissemination of collections. In 2015, SISEM-SP carried out an articulation action of railroad museums, aiming to create a theme network, in the Programa de Modernização de Museus (Museums Modernization Program).

The goal is to encourage the preservation of museological collections related to São Paulo's railroad that, since the end of nineteenth century, which paved the way for the advancement of modernity in the countryside of the State, not only as a modifying and shaping element of urban landscape, as well as a transition system for wage labor, which broaden the view of symbolic dimension of train and railroad, in general associated with a privilege of Brazilian precaptalist economy—"railroad is progress" (Zambello 2005)—expanding its horizon to reach worker's social and human dimension that, in successive generations, participated in its (de)construction, forming an imaginary with which bonding, still nowadays, strongly mobilizes São Paulo's society.

The end product called Projeto Museus e Memória Ferroviária (Project Museums and Railroad Memory) was the formulation of an electronic portal that could combine in one website[2] reference information of São Paulo's railroad museums. From the diagnosis that relative data of the railroad museums needed more visibility, simplifying the access for researchers and the public in general, a proposal for creating a portal that should act as virtual display for dissemination of railroad museum, turning wider the amplitude of information produced by them. The portal will display textual information, facsimile of written documents, images of objects from the collection, iconography, cartography and a database with technical data files, and theoretical studies available for download. It will allow the exchange of information through intranet among professionals from these museums and, by a channel of communication with the public it will provide information for researchers, students, and public in general.

The proposal is to provide several different services, focusing on the institutions it represents, following a hierarchical standardization of information to simplify user's reading, taking them faster to their destination. A chat enables the possibility to develop dialogs in real time with several individuals at the same time, attracting people of different ages and characteristics around the world. Another important tool to promote interactivity is secured by the creation of a blog to publish news in real time and to display links for websites with similar themes.

At first, the responsible leaders of railroad museums which are opened to the public in the State od São Paulo were contacted so that they could join the initiative. This group is formed by, Museum of Companhia Paulista, from Jundiai, opened on March 9, 1979 as Museu Ferroviário Barão de Mauá (Railroad Museum of Barão de Mauá) and then reopened in 1995 with new museological information; o Museu Ferroviário Regional de Bauru (Regional Railroad Museum of Bauru), opened on August 26th, 1989; Museu da Estrada de Ferro Sorocabana (Railroad Museum of Sorocabana), opened in Sorocaba on November 29, 1977; Museu Ferroviário de Indaiatuba (Railroad Museum of Indaiatuba), opened on October 1st, 2004; Museu Ferroviário de Araraquara (Railroad Museum of Araraquara), opened on August 26th, 2011 and o Museu Ferroviário de São Simão (Railroad Museum of São Simão), opened on November 11, 2011.

Other museums that have important collections will be contacted with the perspective to join the initiative on a second stage. This group, among others, is formed by Museu Tecnológico Ferroviário da Vila de Paranapiacaba (Technological Railroad Museum of Vila de Paranapiacaba) and the dynamic museums of Campinas e Jaguariuna, all managed by ABPF-SP.

Museums that have railroad collections, such as historical and city museums, will later be invited to join the initiative, as well as museums located in railroad

[2]Available at www.museusferroviariospaulistas.net.

stations, even if, besides the building itself, they do not have any museological collections.

More important, yet, is the objective of this project, developed in partnership with ACAM Portinari, which will hand over the portal's content management to a group formed by railroad museum representatives, adding to the action a coresponsability factor directly performed by the museums.

This is not an isolated initiative, on the contrary, it is intended to add to public policies undertaken by government agencies (IPHAN, IBRAM, Arquivo Público do Estado, CONDEPHAAT, UPPM/SEC) articulated with civil society to recover railroad heritage, aligned to several actions.

12.1 Theme Network

The museum scenario evolves in a fast rhythm in the contemporary world, a phenomenon that evidences deep transformations that are not limited to occasional actions. In Brazil, during the last two decades, whether by the creation and execution of structuring public policies or by investment by museums in forming and expanding audiences, the industry has been highlighted as cultural reference in the field of memory mediation and plural identities. However, the acknowledgement of museums as cultural equipment of social mobilization poses new challenges. It is known that the museum industry is still very heterogeneous, with different stages of institutional maturity and, consequently, with specific and diversified needs that require attention.

The emergence of networks directed to museum integration corresponds, to an effort to increase the field of action of development mechanisms of museum institutions and because of that have been mentioned as an essential resource to tackle with challenges caused by diversity and multiplicity of the area's needs.

"The network is expandable, may include other networks." André Parente (Parente 2010, *apud* Mizukami 2014) states that "we are a network of networks (multiplicity), each network refers to other networks of different nature (heterogeneous), in a self-referring process (autopoiesis)", remembers Mizukami (2014). It is essential to potentialize, therefore, the possibilities of other public and private museums in the strengthening process of São Paulo's theme museum network. Strengthening occurs, above all, when individuals of different natures and institutional scales articulate horizontally, each one as a part, able to connect with the whole.

Art museums, science and technology museums, historical museums, image and sound museums, ethnographic and archeological museums, house museums, city museums and railroad museums, among others, have specificity thematic that unites them, as well as transversal themes that place them into a wider museology. With this understanding, the incentive to thematic networks is one of the directives of Plano Nacional Setorial de Museus (National Museums Sectoral Plan) and is one of strategic goals of Sistema Estadual de Museus de São Paulo (SISEM-SP).

To promote the establishment of integrated networks of mono-themed museums, supported by public power with the aim to strengthen and amplify museologic development, in practice means to articulate among museums exchange of information and share effort to carry out joint exhibitions, workshops, courses, cultural actions, conferences, and scientific events that meet specific demand of each type of museum.

For the Technical Group of Coordination of SISEM-SP, this is a strategic challenge to strengthen its own system. Besides incentive to getting closer and having interinstitutional dialog are presented as priorities discussion and formulation of work methodology that contemplates continuous actions and fidelity/commitment of museum's teams. For railroad museums, it includes to produce the (ac)knowledgment of our society's history, as well as technologies, work relations, and cultural traditions developed by railroad.

Strengthening the railroad museum network includes, therefore, promoting the formation of a preserving conscious, result of the comprehension of the value of cultural heritage in general and railroad heritage in particular, leading to vast, and collective actions of several social segments. More than that, it requires betting on resignificance of the railroad collection on a contemporary point of view, putting it back on the agenda of debate 5.

More recently, federal and state government announced railroad projects for São Paulo. While the Union bets on high velocity trains to connect Campinas, São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro, the State expend its efforts on regional trains to connect the capital to Santos, Sorocaba and Jundiai. These initiatives, as others aiming for the expansion of tourist trains lines kept by Companhia Paulista de Trens Metropolitanos (CPTM) (São Paulo State Company of Metropolitan Trains), have been a matter of political mobilization of members of parliament of São Paulo and, in spite of economic recession, continue to demand investments for the potential that they represent as vectors to recover economic growth.

In 2015, in fact, the railroad industry presented positive data. According to data from Associação Brasileira de Indústria Ferroviária (ABIFER) (Brazilian Association of Railroad Industry), the volume of wagons for cargo transportation increased 18% in comparison with last year's forecast, with delivery of 4,708 units. With regard to locomotives, the volume delivered in the year was 110 units, 22% above the forecast, also higher than the 80 locomotives delivered in 2014. On passenger's sector, car delivery decreased 20% in comparison with the forecast, with total volume of 337 units. This number includes subway, monorail, and light rails.[3]

For these results, railroad industry's representatives believe the sector will remain stable, despite the crisis. For the next year, it is estimated production and delivery of 4000 wagons (50 for export), 100 locomotives (10 for export), 473

[3]Available at http://www.abifer.org.br/Noticia_Detalhe.aspx?codi=19223&tp=1. Acessed on 01.18.2016.

carriages and light rails (72 for export). Revenue estimative, in turn, should remain at the same level as in 2015, around 5.5 billion of reais.

Relaunched on June, the Frente Parlamentar em Defesa da Malha Ferroviária Paulista (Parlamentar Front in Defense of Railroad Network) contests the fact that, despite its world importance, railroad transportation is only in third place in importance in Brazil. The purpose that mobilizes this group is the effort to turn São Paulo into a role model for the country's railroad system, not only regarding cargo transportation, but also concerning passenger's transportation and not only in metropolitan areas.

Questioning these issues is the museum's role that adopts a privileged position in the contemporary world as a place where matters of the postmodern society are debated. The relation between railroad and urban development, in fact, has been widely researched as sign of the strengthening of the State of São Paulo from the trinomial: coffee culture, railroad expansion and population growth, having a highlighted role "in the formation and growth of cities increasing populations and the demand for services and commerce, encouraging exchange, shortening distances, changing the notion of temporality and introducing speed as permanent data in the ways of life established by the advent of capitalism." The railroad materializes the triumph of technic and incorporates it in the urban quotidian, creates new characters, and is essential to the organization of the labor world".[4]

Ulpiano Bezerra de Meneses (1985/1986), to reiterate the museum as a place for debate of historical problems that affect the territory, defends that "the museum should not mistify the past nor diminish social contradictions". It cannot "live in its own world, in a bright and aseptic past", said Jorge Hardoy, urbanist and historian of the urbanization in the Americas when participated in 1972 of Mesa Redonda of Santiago of Chile, about the theme "The importance and development of museum in the contemporary world'.[5]

Disturbing issues as delinquency, housing crisis, water shortage, violence, social tension, real estate speculation, and urban mobility, according to Meneses, should be part of the reality operated by the museum next to traditional themes considered harmless. How can we talk about the educational role of the museum if education is not seen as a formation process of critic conscious?

In this reasoning, Meneses states, the museum has to take the city itself (as form, as a place for social forces actions and as image". In this regard, railroad museums

[4]Lanna, Ana Lúcia Duarte. Cidades e ferrovias no Brasil do século XIX—algumas reflexões sobre a diversidade dos significados sociais e impactos urbanos: Jundiaí e Campinas. (Cities and railroad in Brazil in the XIX century—discussion on social significance and unban impacts: Jundiai and Campinas).

Available at http://unuhospedagem.com.br/revista/rbeur/index.php/shcu/article/viewFile/883/858. Acessed on 01.20.2016.

[5]Mesa redonda sobre la importancia y el desarrollo de los museos en el mundo contemporáneo: Mesa Redonda de Santiago de Chile, 1972 (Round table discussion about the importance and development of museums in the contemporary world)/José do Nascimento Junior, Alan Trampe, Paula Assunção dos Santos (Organización)—Brasília: Ibram/MinC;Programa Ibermuseos, 2012. v.1; 235 p.; 31 cm. ISBN: 978-85-63078-26-1.

share some aspects and similarities with city museums, and like those, are also being challenged by postmodern society, who asks for commitment in the "process of democratization, of resignificance and of culture appropriation", as Mário Chagas explains:

> This is not just about democratizing access to museums, but democratizing the museum itself comprehended as technology, work tool, strategic resource for new, creative and participative relation with the past, the present and the future (Chagas 2011).

For the railroad museums, as a last resort the democratization of museums would go through the appropriation by the "railroad family", a group formed by railroad workers, former railroad workers and aggregates, people that take pride in saying that rust run through their veins. Who does not have a grandfather, a father or acquaintance that once was a railroad worker?

The multiple possibilities of use of the museum converge to a common denominator: the museum is always a place that establishes institutionalized intermediary connections between individual and objects, physical or immaterial. The museum is, in a manner of speaking, the proper place organized to collect objects, preserve them, classify them, study them, exhibit them, and communicate them to the public, from which it is appropriated through multiple forms of enjoyment: daydream, esthetics gazing, affection expansion, ludic exercise and, as Meneses emphasizes, in this multiplicity, there is one in which the museum should constitute as innate trait: knowledge. "In museums, objects turn, all, into documents, i.e., objects that assume as primary role the one of providing information, even if, for that, they lose the use they were conceived for or what defined their trajectory" (Meneses 1984/1985).

For what and for whom museums need to innovate its practices? How can museums function as places of appropriation and development of creative and collective processes? What is its role in forming citizens for living in full democracy and with ability to be a part of global cultural dynamics?

Specifically, for railroad museums, the challenge of expository discourse is to reconcile the celebration of characters, evocation and memory of its protagonists from the biographic and historic bond these characters stablish with their time and territory. Thus, the conception of a railroad museum should not privilege only the nostalgic reverence through objects now considered historical, but to expand for the reference to historical problems inherent to the vectors of meaning and value that are given as material expressions that reproduce the conflicts and social conditions that allows ac(knowledge) the structure, the functioning and, overall, the changes of society.

Beyond the intrinsic value of its collections and the importance of the educational role of railroad museums as a place for knowledge creation and cultural enrichment, it is necessary to acknowledge and emphasize, yet, its importance as leisure activity that attracts both locals and tourists. In fact, Brazilian museums have been improving technically and their infrastructure, becoming even more an attractive destination in tour itineraries.

Strengthening the connection between tourism and cultural heritage, Vasconcellos refers to the museum's social role by demonstrating that this type of institutions allows cultural exchange between tourists and locals. The interest in cultural exchange stimulates tourism growth increasing the demand for cultural products that, if adequate, may contribute to improving quality of life.

According to Vasconcelos (2006), "in first place, we should acknowledge that the museum may turn into an instrument to strengthen and question identities and community integration, promoting tolerance, mutual respect and cultural diversity acceptance". Aware of their social role, however, museums may become tools to create new alternatives for social and economic development, locally, regionally or nationally. Supported in cultural diversity, social inclusion and innovation, institutions may use their aggregation nature to promote courses, fairs, meetings about local knowledge, to articulate between different groups the incentive to produce different goods and with the local brand.

From the conviction that heritage, in all its complexity deriving from the confluence of several natural, cultural and historical factors, is an essential resource for development, it is what Conselho Internacional de Museus (ICOM) (International Museum Council), since 1971, started to stimulate new ways of conceiving museology that they consider heritage, to beyond cultural and historical value, an inheritance that belongs to the capital of developing community.

At the limit, we are talking about the right to railroad memory and the acknowledgement of right to undertake the reinvention of railroad museums as a social process that values identity and cultural heritage turned into inheritance, not only by its melancholic and nostalgic dimension of a past that will not return, but overall as a vital component to reinvent the future.

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Chapter 13
Memory and Place: Railroad Villages of the Railroad Company Noroeste Do Brasil (CEFNOB)

Rosio Fernández Baca Salcedo

Abstract This chapter presents the relationship between the memory and the Railway Villages of the Railroad Company Noroeste do Brasil (EFNOB). This discussion is carried out by a bibliographic and iconographic research as well as "in situ" surveys and interviews. The houses of the railway villages were built by EFNOB between 1907 and 1950 and later handed over to the employees while working at the company. The results highlight that such architectural complex represents the memory, the identity, the ways of living and building in this period. After the EFNOB extinction, the houses were sold to private persons. Through this research, we point out the significance of such historical and architectural heritage as strengthening for preservation by the Council for the Defense of Historical, Archaeological, Artistic and Touristic Heritage (CONDEPHAAT).

Keywords Railroad memory · Material culture · Railroad villages · Architectural heritage

13.1 Introduction

On November 15, 1905, the works of CEFNOB—Railroad Company Noroeste do Brasil—the station, the offices and the workshops begin in Bauru. CEFNOB was to come to power in 1910, and in November 1914, the Minister of Roads and Public Works suggested its expropriation, which was signed only on September 12, 1917 (Ghirardello 2002). The headquarters of the administration now called *Noroeste* was transferred from Rio de Janeiro to the city of Bauru, adding to its economic and political importance. With the new administration of the railway, the new station was also built and inaugurated on September 19, 1939 (Neves 1958, pp. 99, 124).

In view of the high number of workers (engineers, civil servants, and production workers) who arrived in Bauru to work for the Company, Vila Noroeste, and Vila

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Dutra were built. The typologies of their houses and their location corresponded to the occupation in the administrative structure hierarchy of the company.

The Railway Villages express historic, cultural, technological, political, architectural, and urban events. In addition, they constitute the individual memory and especially the collective memory, formed by social groups, spatially and temporally located. For Menezes (1992, p. 10), memory is “like a mechanism of recording and retention, a deposit of information, knowledge, experiences.” Still, memory can be understood “as a social construction and image formation necessary for the processes of constitution and strengthening of the individual, collective and national identity” (Menezes 1992, p.22).

And when these events are configured in space, architecture becomes its materialized expression that can be experienced, read, and remembered. Ruskin (2008) points out that we can live without architecture, “and worship without it, but we cannot remember without it.” Therefore, we must fight against oblivion, preserving the railway villages, which leads us to preserve collective memory, identity, heritage, and avoid forgetting its historical, architectural, and cultural importance.

In this context, the purpose of this work is to approach the CEFNOB railway villages in Bauru based on the memories of the ex-workers of the company, in a bibliographical and iconographic research.

13.2 The Administrative Structure and the Work at EFNOB

The organizational chart of the EFNOB administrative structure expressed the division of labor and also represented the hierarchical levels of command.

> In the Departments, there were the Managers, in the Sectors and Sub-Sectors, the Coordinators; below them, the operational employees (…). The EFNOB Director was located in the First Division, maximum rank in the company hierarchy; above him, only the Minister of the Federal Government, and above him, the President of the Republic (Amaral 2014).

“The departmentalization of work activities, as well as its hierarchization, gave shape to the company’s offices—furniture design, office layout, project and construction of the headquarters building—a typically Taylorist space” (Amaral 2014). The EFNOB Organization Chart, between 1917 and 1957, corresponded to four departments that constituted the administrative structure.

The departments, called divisions, were subdivided internally into sectors and subsectors. The First Division was directly subordinate to the board of directors. This department was composed by the Supervision, the Secretariat, the Warehousing, the Health Service and Accounting Sectors. The Second Division dealt with Rail Traffic and Complaints. The Third Division covered the Works and Production sectors. The Fourth Division brought together the Locomotives, Repairs, Deposits, and Cars.

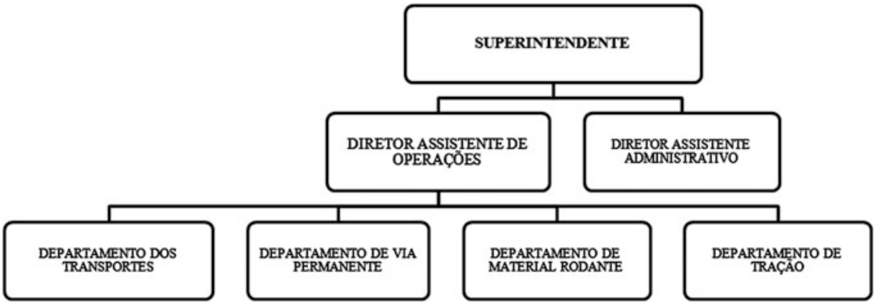

Fig. 13.1 Organogram and flow chart of the Noroeste do Brasil Railroad—EFNOB (1957). Source: Author

In 1957, the creation of the Federal Railroad Network (Law Number. 3,115, dated March 16, 1957) brought almost two dozen public railway companies from Brazil to be incorporated into EFNOB. In 1969, the Network was divided into four regional systems (the EFNOB network constituted the Central-South regional) and in 1976 they were divided into 10 Regional Superintendencies. "The organization chart of EFNOB, which already was not simple, became even more complex" (Amaral 2014).

The new ranking of work at EFNOB maintained the direction of the company in charge of the Superintendent and the following Departments were created: General Secretariat, Legal department, Operation Assistant, Public Relations, Operations Assistant Director, and Assistant Director of Administration (Fig. 13.1).

The location and typologies of the houses from the railway villages corresponded to the hierarchy of work in the organization of the administrative structure of EFNOB, thus defined: the house of the Superintendent, Director of the company; the houses for the engineers who corresponded to the engineers of the Departments of Transportation, Permanent Roads, Traffic, Rolling Stock, Traction and Commercial, for the Assistant Directorate of Operations; the houses for the administrative employees who corresponded to the Assistant Directorate of Administration; the houses for the Station Agents located in the different stations of the company; and the houses for the workers.

In order to achieve an efficient administration system, EFNOB had to take all measures aimed at "the best recruitment and selection of technical and administrative personnel and the perfect adaptation of all employees, whatever may be the nature of their functions and position in the hierarchical scale" (Azevedo 1950, p. 160).

Bolivar Roberto Coelho, a former EFNOB worker, reports that hiring employees for EFNOB was carried out "through a common strategy at the time: employees' acquaintances and relatives used to be appointed to fill vacancies. To be the son or brother of a railroader was an important reference for the company and for the candidate."

Also, on the work of EFNOB officials and workers, Bolivar Roberto Coelho points out that "The managers and engineers knew things on paper, while the effective hard work, the pain, to discover and solve problems, get their hands dirty with grease and meet deadlines, was up to laborers like him".[1]

Regarding job stability, Adelmo Gonçalves Veloso,[2] Ex-laborer of EFNOB, points out that "railway companies presented themselves as providers of excellent jobs, with good remuneration, guaranteed payment at the end of the month and stability, which a private company did not offer." However, in some interviews with Losnak (2004) with former employees of the company, they reported on the manual labor of the laborers and pointed out that the salary received from the company was not sufficient for the maintenance of the family, having to develop extra work outside office hours. Therefore, the laborers worked beyond eight hours a day, having little time to rest and put back their energies and to stay home with their families, which harmed their family life.

The beginning and end of the work day at EFNOB were marked by the company's whistle and this marked the pace of the employees' work, but also the pace of other people's activities in the city. In this regard, Célio Losnak (2004) points out:

> My father worked in the NOB and RFFSA workshops for about 20 years. We knew when he should leave home for work and when he was coming back, as a loud whistle blew through the neighborhood marking the beginning, the intervals, and the end of the workshop workers' day. At the end of the working day, a multitude of men spread through the streets and gradually disappeared through the road network of Vila Falcão (Losnak 2004, p. 27).

In this context, for the quality, permanence, and control of the work of both the employees and the laborers, the railway company implemented some collective equipments such as "first aid to the injured in its eight medical posts, treatment in the five existing dental offices, therapeutic medication and surgical interventions in the hospitals of Araçatuba and Aquidauana, as well as in the Sales Gomes Sanitarium of Bauru" (Azevedo 1950, p. 168), besides building schools, railway villages, etc.

13.3 The EFNOB Railroad Villages

Habitation is a differentiated property that presents a range of characteristics concerning its quality (functional, comfort, construction type, duration, equipment, etc.), its form (individual, collective, object of integration in the set of (rent, owner, tenant, etc.) (Castells 1982, p. 179).

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[1](apud Losnak 2004, p. 38).

[2]Adelmo Gonçalves Veloso, a native of the rural region between the states of Minas Gerais and Rio de Janeiro, came to Bauru brought by an older brother, started working for Noroeste in the 1940 s in the heavy work of assembly of steam locomotives in the workshops From NOB (apud Losnak 2004, p. 39–40).

Habitation is the place, the house where one lives, the dwelling where man stays most of his day, therefore, it must provide comfort, security, warmth, privacy, tranquility. Its internal space should also provide the necessary area to house the furniture for the activities of sleeping, resting, cooking, personal hygiene, washing, socializing with family members and/or friends, among others.

The essence of living is to live with satisfaction in places or architectures with technologies adapted to social service, comfortable, safe, healthy, integrated in the architectural context, adequate to the physical–geographical conditions and the cultural reality of its inhabitants (Salcedo 2011, p. 163).

The quality of the habitation is not limited to the living space; it also encompasses the neighborhood, where collective equipment (school, hospital, parks, etc.), collective transport, basic commerce (warehouse, bakery, market, supermarket, etc.) and infrastructure should be the developed through the activities of family members.

With regard to the habitations linked to EFNOB, these can be defined in two ways: the houses built for the workers of the contractors contracted by the company for the construction of the railway lines, and those properly built by the company known as railway villages.

13.4 Housing for Contractor Workers

The construction of the EFNOB railway line was carried out by contractors. Between 1905 and 1914, the company EFNOB contracted the contractors for the construction of the railway line (Moratelli 2009, p. 42, 62), and was responsible for the manpower used in the construction of the line. In this way, the company was free of the hiring of permanent workers to build this activity. Therefore, even before the operation of the Noroeste railroad, construction of the line had already provided enormous profitability to merchants, engineers, contractors and subcontractors, among others.

Attracted by the offer of work in the construction of the railroad and the expectation of improving their living conditions, workers arrived daily in Bauru, trains from Sorocabana, loaded with rails to the Northwest of Brazil (Moratelli 2009).

The line construction workers lived in temporary camps along the line, living in poor working conditions, subject to endemic diseases, long hours of work a day, clashes with Indians, even the growing number of workers dying.

> Exploitation of the workforce was a good deal to contractors. Wages paid to workers could be low provided the region had a labor supply greater than demand, or if the recruitment process perfectly matched its cost and outcome. In addition, payments to workers were made after a long period of work or even after the completion of the contracted contractor. This condition enabled contractors and the railway company itself to expropriate the workforce even more (Moratelli 2009, p. 41).

Close to the workplaces there were warehouses that traded at high prices, foodstuffs, and utensils to the workers. "More than a profitable commercial establishment, the weapon also served as an instrument to keep the workforce at the construction site by permanently posting negative balances to the workers." (Moratelli 2009: 41). These conditions tied the workers to the contractors.

13.5 Noroeste's Railroad Villages

In order to attract and retain the engineers, workers, and technicians who would work for the company, EFNOB built collective equipment and residences that would create conditions for its permanence in the company; thus, warehouses, sanitary stations and hospitals were built, stadiums, railway villages, among others.

For the spatial organization, types and location of the railway villages, the company followed the system of industrial production: "the watchful eye of the chiefs finds correspondence in that of watchmen and neighbors; the orderly rows of machines, in the regular distribution of houses; the hierarchy of professional categories, in the differentiation of habitation." The company also obtains control over the work and the domestic activity of the worker assigning habitation.

> The search for control of the company on activities outside the work of workers reflected, on the one hand, the logic of control and time of general coordination of activities to industrial production; On the other hand, it indicated a search to shape and standardize the behavior of the worker, finding a parallel in the repetitive character of industrial production, which allowed him to reproduce the same model indefinitely with uniformity and precision (Finger 2008, p. 82).

In this Taylorist system, efficiency prevailed as an activity and time of work execution. Thus, being the houses near the workplace would have the rapid displacement of the worker to the place of work and its availability when requested by the company.

With regard to the types of houses, these corresponded to the occupation of the employee in the hierarchy of the company's administrative organization. For this, EFNOB configured three types: isolated houses, twinned houses and row houses, characterized by location regarding the workplace, by the implantation in the lot, by the materials and finishes used in the construction, the privacy, the needs program and the internal distribution of the rooms.

The isolated houses were intended for the company's most senior staff (chief engineers, station managers, and senior administrative officials), "were large and served a more complex needs program, thus counting on a greater number of dependencies. They used to be located in the center of large lots, with balconies, gardens and backyards" (Finger 2008, p. 83).

The twin houses were intended for intermediate employees. In the case of EFNOB, these houses were intended for administrative officials and workers. Implanted in pairs in smaller batches, "they presented a greater simplicity, both in relation to the program, and to the aesthetic finish (…). In many cases these typologies had frontal porches and lateral gardens" (Finger 2008, p. 83).

On the other hand, row houses, in general, were set up at the edge of the railway line on land near the station.

> The choice of continuous buildings made it possible to save material, depending on the walls in common, and space, since the lots were divided into narrow strips. They had a restricted number of rooms, generally limited to a living room (living space), a kitchen and some rooms, all positioned to receive natural light, with openings on both sides (front and back), which allowed an efficient cross-ventilation (Finger 2008, p. 84).

The EFNOB, when building the villages, had hygienic, aesthetic and economic concerns, as stated in Noroeste's Report (1921):

> The Road will not be able to have good and stable personnel for its services until it can offer them, with fair and punctual salaries, good facilities for residence, with relative comfort and hygiene. In this way we began the construction of the workers' houses at the points where their fault was most felt, obtaining for this Your Excellency's approval of types that seek to harmonize aesthetic, economic and hygienic requirements. (Noroeste's Report 1921, p. 15–16).

Hygienic concerns at the end of the nineteenth century were requirements of the State of São Paulo, which, through Decree Number 233, of March 2, 1894, established the Sanitary Code.[3] With regard to "habitations in general," the regulations expressed: height of houses that "should never have more height than the width of the streets, except when they are out of the alignment of the streets, or in the case of construction or reconstruction in narrow and old streets." The thickness of the walls should be at least 30 cm, it forbids alcoves, the sleeping quarters should not be less than 14 cubic meters free for each individual, all compartments should whenever possible have "openings to the outside, opening onto the street, gardens or interior courtyards so as to receive direct and diffuse light and reflected light, if not exceptionally, and in rooms not intended for the continuous residence of the inhabitants or dormitories," the bedrooms should be kept away from the compartments intended for installation of the kitchens. Kitchens and bathrooms should have a smooth and impermeable coated floor and walls should be impermeable at least to a height of 1.50 m above the ground.

The Sanitary Code of the State of São Paulo influenced the creation of the Codes of municipal positions. The construction of the railway villages followed the Municipal Laws of Bauru (1906, 1913, 1929 and 1947) regarding the implantation in the lot, the spatial organization of the rooms, the use of the construction system and house finishing. Also, "the lots complied with the requirements of the

[3]The State of São Paulo through Decree No. 233, March 2, 1894, establishes the Sanitary Code with regulations for: squares and streets, the houses in general and the collective houses; hotels and pension houses, houses of the poor classes, the unhealthy houses; factories and workshops, theaters, public feeding; bakeries, taverns and restaurants, butcher shops, markets, slaughterhouses, water supply, stables; bathrooms, barbers and hairdressers; wash houses, latrines and public urinals; sewage, hospitals and maternities; morgues; street accidents; cemeteries; immediate precautions against epidemic and communicable diseases; vaccination and revaccination.

Fig. 13.2 Location of Vila Noroeste's Villages and the Central Station. Source: Google Maps, June 2015. Organization: Author

legislation regarding the 88 by 88 per meter regular grid layout, including the squares" (Constantino 2006, p. 242).

The EFNOB railroad villages in Bauru included Vila Noroeste and Vila dos Operários or Vila Dutra.

13.6 Vila Noroeste

Vila Noroeste comprised the house for the Superintendent, the houses for the engineers, and the houses for the administrative staff. The village was located in the block bounded by the streets: Primeiro de Agosto, Nóbile di Piero e Azarias Leite. When EFNOB was in operation this street was closed and its access was made through the gate located at Primeiro de Agosto Street Fig. 13.2.

13.7 Superintendent's House

The Superintendent, Director of EFNOB, worked in the First Division Department, the highest rank in the company hierarchy. This position was delegated by the Minister of Federal Government and/or President of the Republic.

The referred house of the Superintendent in Bauru was part of Vila Noroeste, being located at Primeiro de Agosto Street, 2–31, in the Center of the city of Bauru, at the block between the Nóbile Di Piero and Azarias Leite Streets, near the former Noroeste's station building (Figs. 13.3 and 13.4).

Fig. 13.3 Superintendent's House, 1928. Source: Brasil (1928, v. 1)

Fig. 13.4 Superintendent's House, 2012. Source: Authors' collection (2012)

The house was built with an excellent construction standard in 1925, set back from the boundaries of the lot, with a built area of 542.50 m^2 and a land area of 1,785.40 m^2. The house was situated in the center of the lot. It was accessed through a gate, and walking from the front garden to the side porch, one would find themselves in the living room which led to the dining room, from where a corridor that gave access to two dormitories with a bathroom, two more rooms and the kitchen could be accessed.

13.8 Engineers' Houses

The one-story houses and two-story houses built to an excellent standard for EFNOB engineers were located at Nóbile di Piero Street no 31, 32, 33, 34 and 35 of Vila Noroeste. These houses were built between 1907 and 1950, to house the headquarters of EFNOB's senior engineers, who were the heads of the Departments of: Transportation, Safety, Permanent Road, Traction and Rolling Stock (Sanches 2015).

The engineers who were to live in the houses were chosen by the Superintendent and stayed in the house while they were on the post, paying a token rent that was discounted on the payroll (Ribeiro 2015).

The lots ranged from 529.49 to 832.78 m^2 and the built areas ranged from 284.88 to 394.41 m^2 (Sanches 2015). The one-story houses and the two-story houses were set back from the lateral and front boundaries of the lots, with refinements of a high construction standard. Single-story houses could be accessed from their front; a large garden led to the balcony, and from there, one would reach the rooms, which in turn gave access to the bedrooms and bathrooms, to the dining room, to the kitchen and to the staircase to the upper deck. The upper deck housed a bedroom, closet, intimate room, dresser, and a bathroom. The farms, too, could be accessed through the front. The large garden led to the balcony which in turn led to the living room, dining room, kitchen, bathroom, and staircase. On the upper deck the bedrooms and bathroom were located (Figs. 13.5, 13.6, 13.7 and 13.8).

Fig. 13.5 Two-story houses da Vila Noroeste. Source: Azevedo (1950)

Fig. 13.6 Residence no. 33. Source: Ribeiro (Março, 2015)

Fig. 13.7 Residence no. 34 na Vila Noroeste, 2013. Source: Sanches (March 2015)

Fig. 13.8 Residence no. 35 na Vila Noroeste, 1960. Source: *Revista NOB* (no 290, 1960)

13.9 The Administrative Staff's Houses

The houses for administrative staff were located at Nóbile di Piero Street, numbers 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, and 12 of Vila Noroeste, in the city of Bauru (Fig. 13.9).

The typologies of the single-story houses were simple, twinned, built in masonry, recessed from the sidewalk and the lateral boundary of the lot, a typically industrial typology. The houses were built in 1921, and later in 1924 were renovated to meet the Sanitary Code (Silva 2015). After the reform of the nine houses, they had a front porch, a small garden surrounded by a low wall and a wooden gate leading to the house. All houses could be accessed through the main entrance. A path with hydraulic floor led to the balcony which on its turn led to the living room; through the living room, two bedrooms and also the kitchen could be accessed. The kitchen led to a hall which led to another bedroom and bathroom; also from the kitchen, an external corridor that led to the yard could be accessed, where a covered area can be found (Fig. 13.10).

All houses in Vila Noroeste were built with brick and lime masonry. On the roof, there were wooden structures and scissors, and the clay tiles were laid on the slats. The covering of the Superintendent's house and the engineers' houses featured

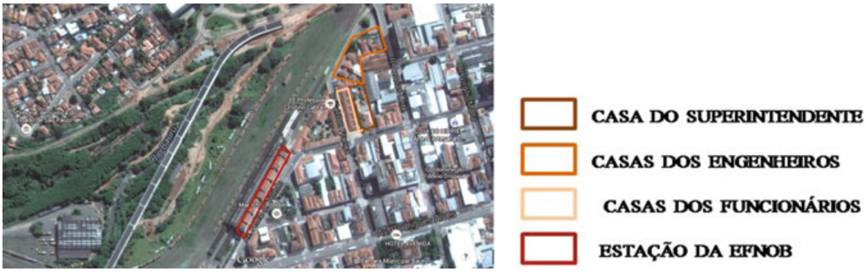

Fig. 13.9 Vila Noroeste: location of the Superintendent's, Engineer's and Administrative Staff's houses. Source: Google Maps Map, June 2015. Organization: Author

Fig. 13.10 Village of the Administrative Staff. Source: Author's Collection (Janeiro 2016)

several attic dormers. The houses of the administrative staff, however, had gable roofs.

Regarding the finishes, all the rooms had wooden floors and lining, except for the kitchen and bathroom. In the houses of the engineers and the Superintendent the walls of the kitchens and bathrooms had finished with decorative or white tiles and the floors were of ceramics. On the other hand, the floors of the kitchens and bathrooms of the administrative staff's houses were of hydraulic tile resting on slats and the walls covered with white tile.

All the windows in the rooms had wooden shutters, frames of wood and glass. Both the Superintendent's house and the engineers' houses had ample rooms, and the finishes of the floors, linings, frames, bathrooms, and kitchens were made of materials of high construction standard. The houses of the administrative staff had simple finishes, in addition to smaller rooms than the houses of the engineers and the Superintendent.

13.10 Vila dos Operários

Vila dos Operários was built according to two modalities: housing settlement produced by private investments and destined to the rental market and the housing set up by companies for their employees, which is the case of EFNOB.

Companies have expanded worker housing policies for the following reasons: (i) worker surveillance, often building them close to the workplace; (ii) to obtain the return of money to the company, since those who would later pay for the houses were the laborers themselves, directly or indirectly; (iii) work efficiency, and (iv) control over the life of the laborer, monitoring and shaping it according to the needs of the company (Villar 2005, p. 54).

13.11 Presidente Dutra Village

The Presidente Dutra Village, located in Bauru, far from EFNOB, was built in 1947 to meet the housing needs of the workers. According to Gabriel Pelegrina:

> The village was built on a land bought by Colonel Lima Figueiredo who was the administrator of NOB at that time and the owner of the land was Mr. Salvador Fillardi. The incorporation of the neighborhood by the railroad company had a great electoral objective, because the Colonel put the name of the neighborhood in honor of the president of the time, President Dutra, and at the same time applied for federal deputy and was elected. The neighborhood was located far from the train station, isolated from the urban core, and included a special train - with two wagons - to bring laborers to work and their children to school (Dos Santos 2008, P. 70).

The row houses were deployed from the front, side, and back of the lot, built simply, with masonry of bricks, wood cover and ceramic tile, wooden doors. The houses were built according to eleven types, and the programs covered living room, kitchen, bathroom, and dormitories (Fig. 13.11).

Vila Dutra's houses were temporarily leased to the laborers, who remained in it during the time they worked for Noroeste, the value of the rent being deducted from their salary. The existing equipment included the church and a school.

13.12 Degradation of CEFNOB Buildings

In 1957, the S. A Federal Railroad Network expropriates the former EFNOB, opting for the name of RFFSA. In the following years the railroad, like the whole national railroad system, lives its slow agony motivated by the competition with the automotive vehicles, by disastrous administrations and by the state disinterest in direct investments. In the 1990s, RFFSA was privatized and Novoeste was granted its concession, and in 1998 Novoeste was merged with Ferronorte and Ferroban. In

Fig. 13.11 Vila Dutra. Source: Author's Collection (Janeiro 2016)

2002, new transformations took place, emerging in Novoeste from Brazil, until in 2006 there was a merger of Novoeste do Brasil and Brasil Ferrovias with América Latina Logística, ALL, which now only manages car transport on the line. After the extinction of EFNOB, the station and workshops were abandoned, the houses of Vila Noroeste and Vila Presidente Dutra were sold.

Adelmo Gonçalves Veloso, former laborer of Noroeste, expresses his indignation at the decadence and abandonment of Noroeste's buildings:

> The other day I went to the workshops and was horrified. I should not have even gone there. Because sometimes I would see the station building, though I would not notice it. But there in the workshop, it is a tremendous thing (…) it's a crime what they did with the railroad (…). This is a crime in a country like ours. No one was made responsible for that. Everything was abandoned! (…) Don't even get me started on the station! It looks like a graveyard! Worse than a graveyard, because graveyards are cleaner, tidier, more beautiful. I was very sad about it all.[4]

At present, the old house of the Superintendent and the houses of the engineers are in good and regular condition; however, the houses of the administrative staff and those of Vila Dutra have been mischaracterized and are in a very poor state of repair. All homes were sold.

13.13 Landmarking

In view of the importance of the architectural set of the EFNOB, in Bauru, in the local, state and federal context, and of the historical cognitive, aesthetic formal, pragmatic or affective use of the buildings, the Bauru Railroad Park was considered a landmark by the Council of CONDEPHAAT and published in the Official Gazette

[4](apud Losnak 2004, p. 108).

of the State on April 8, 2000 and later rectification published in the Official Gazette of the State on June 24, 2009, consisting of: Contiguous Office Buildings and Assistance Department to the east side of the station and located to the Primeiro de Agosto street, block 1, and the Nóbile Di Piero street, block 1; Set of the EFNOB Staff Village, formed by the following properties: House of the Superintendent, at Primeiro de Agosto street, number 2–31; Houses of the Engineers, at Nóbile Di Piero street, numbers 31, 32, 33, 34, 35; Houses of other Employees, at Nóbile Di Piero street, numbers 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8. (CONDEPHAAT, Process no. 30367, p. 46–47).

However, the approval of the Bauru Railway Park as a landmark realized by the CONDEPHAAT Council was not homologated by the São Paulo State Secretariat, and this overturning was not effective. The municipality of Bauru filed an appeal on this process of landmarking and awaits a new decision for the landmarking of CONDEPHAAT.

13.14 Final Considerations

The set of movable and immovable properties of the extinct CEFNOB constitutes the industrial property of Bauru and includes the Office Buildings and the DAF, Central Station Building, and the respective platforms; buildings of the workshops (Professional Training Center, located in block 1 of Alfredo Maia Street, Office Building of the Workshops, built around 1970; buildings of the Central Mechanics Workshops, among others, and the laborers villages of EFNOB (House of the Superintendent, House of Engineers, House of Administrative Staff and Houses of employees at the edge of the line).

The typologies of the houses of the railroad villages (Vila Noroeste and Vila Dutra) and their location corresponded to the hierarchy of work in the organization of the administrative structure of EFNOB. Vila Noroeste (home of the Superintendent, Engineers 'and Employees' houses) was located near the EFNOB Station to facilitate the rapid movement of staff and their availability when requested by the company. Both the Superintendent's house, built in 1925, and the Engineers' houses, built between 1907 and 1950, were built to a high standard. The houses of the Administrative Staff, built in 1924, and the houses of Vila Dutra, built in 1947, were single-story, simple, twinned, built in masonry, with typically industrial typology. The houses of the EFNOB Villages in Bauru express the social, economic, political, and technological organization of the company.

Most of the houses in Vila Dutra have been renovated, enlarged, and uncharacterized. For the House of the Superintendent, the Houses of Engineers, numbers 33, 34 and 35, and the Houses of Administrative Staff, numbers 1 and 2 that are still preserved, it is recommended that they be fully recorded. In relation to the other houses of Vila Noroeste that underwent reforms in their fronts and interiors, the landmarking of the fronts only and the volumetry are recommended.

Due to the importance of EFNOB in the economic, social, cultural and urban configuration of the city of Bauru, the influence on the formation of the cities of western São Paulo and transportation in general, as well as the configuration of the Railroad Villages, a Collective memory and a "railroad" identity that must be valued and respected to preserve history for future generations.

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Chapter 14
Bauru EFNOB Industrial Heritage

Nilson Ghirardello

Abstract In this chapter, we will discuss the research carried out with the support of São Paulo Research Foundation (FAPESP) and Council for the Defense of Historical, Archaeological, Artistic and Touristic Heritage (CONDEPHAAT), which deals with the former Northwest Railway of Brazil—EFNOB, headquartered in Bauru/SP and whose architectural complex constitutes a significant historical heritage for the both São Paulo and Mato Grosso do Sul States, as well as for the urban growth of the city. Our research work lasted 2 years and involved professors of the São Paulo State University (UNESP), comprising the major theme as Industrial Architectural Heritage and three thematic nuclei: Administrative Work Organization; Recreation and Culture; Inventory and Documentation.

Keywords Industrial heritage · Railroad memory · Architectural heritage · Digital heritage

14.1 Introduction

The Estrada de Ferro Noroeste do Brasil (Northwest Railway of Brazil—EFNOB) was created in 1905, and Bauru had its zero kilometer because it was the last city of the western region of São Paulo with a railway station, the newcomer Companhia Sorocabana (Sorocabana Company) (Matos 1974). EFNOB had its architectural complex steadily expanded until the 1970s, creating a set of buildings of the most extreme relevance in the urban space (Ghirardello 1992). Some of these constructions are among the top ones in Brazil in their categories, due to its size, language, and advanced technologies for its time. EFNOB, before being a railway company providing goods and people transportation, was a large wagon maker in the 1920s, with a significant economic impact on the city and region after the

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construction of huge General workshops. Roughly, it is a comparison with what would happen in the 1950s and 1960s, in relation to vehicle assemblers in the ABC region, responsible for thousands employees' jobs, movement of significant amounts of money, the emergence of specialized workforce, and a strong trade union movement.

The Estrada de Ferro Noroeste do Brasil (Northwest Railway of Brazil) has been a cause of studies for at least 15 years (Ghirardello 2002). Its historical significance to São Paulo and Mato Grosso do Sul States are unquestionable because of the economic aspect of coffee and Yerba mate transportation from São Paulo and Mato Grosso do Sul, respectively (Azevedo 1950). In addition, the creation and urban development of many cities emerged from their railway stations, occupying an entire region of São Paulo and Mato Grosso do Sul states, which were isolated from the rest of the country before.

The architectural complex resulting from more than 100 years between EFNOB opening and Rede Ferroviária Federal S.A. (Federal Railroad Network—RFFSA) closing in 2007, and the examples aforementioned are an integral part of the urban landscape of Bauru (Fig. 14.1), considered to be more relevant historically, and attested by Conselho de Defesa do Patrimônio Histórico, Arqueológico, Artístico e Turístico (Council for the Defense of Historical, Archeological, Artistic and Touristic Heritage—CONDEPHAAT), which opened a preservation process for the set.

The research performed between 2012 and 2014, aimed to inventory, identify, select, analyze, and propose guidelines to protect the representative cultural heritage of EFNOB in Bauru, highlighting its importance to the country and facilitating the municipality partnerships for its use, maintenance, and preservation.

Fig. 14.1 Google earth image showing the old EFNOB complex, in Bauru urban grid: Central station, offices, village of employees, and workshop sets, and the railway yard in the middle. Website accessed on August 13, 2013

Our research proposal was divided into a main topic core called Architectural Heritage and other three complementary. Each of the cores used researches developed by IC FAPESP scholarship students, and also graduate students. Thus, aiming to expand the knowledge of the railway, and its preservation within the São Paulo region, and forming academic and technical frameworks:

A—Architectural Heritage Core: Central station, Landing stage, Platforms, Offices, Workshops sets, and Employees village set of EFNOB. Coordinators: Professor, Ph.D. Nilson Ghirardello, and Professor, Ph.D. Rosio Fernandez Baca Salcedo.

B—Research Core of Administrative Organization of the Work: Coordinator: Professor, Ph.D. Cláudio Amaral.

C—Research Core of EFNOB—Recreation and Culture: Coordinator: Professor, Ph.D. Paulo Masseran.

D—Research Core of Memory and Virtual Information Center of Industrial and Railway Heritage of EFNOB. Coordinator: Professor, Ph.D. Samir Hernandes Tenório Gomes.

The methodology consisted of seven stages: theoretical approach, documentary research from primary sources; field research; data processing, redesign of projects; results' analysis; in some situations, guidelines to protect the cultural heritage, and documents scanning in the Memory and Virtual Information Center of EFNOB Railway Industrial Heritage.

EFNOB-Bauru project KM 0, also aimed foreign researchers' participation led by Professor, Ph.D. Julián Sobrino Simal, of Seville University, besides other Fapesp research projects focusing on the railway, as those coordinated by Professor, Ph.D. Eduardo Romero de Oliveira (Project n° 2009/53058-0), named *Memória Ferroviária: (São Paulo 1868–1971)*, and another started in 2012, as an extension of the first, named *Patrimônio Industrial do Estado de São Paulo: Inventário e Reflexão*, (Project ProAC—The State Secretariat of Culture). Link http://www.bv.fapesp.br/pt/pesquisador/9002/eduardo-romero-de-oliveira/.

The research results have been published in national and international scientific events, and soon will be in journals and books.

A documentary and cartographic database have been created, available at the website http://www.faac.unesp.br/#1408,1408, where you can find the study developed by the group. The ***I Colóquio sobre Salvaguarda do Patrimônio Arquitetônico e Urbano*** (I Conference on Protection of the Architectural and Urban Heritage) was also performed in Bauru, in September 2013, and the ***XII Congresso Internacional de Reabilitação do Patrimônio Arquitetônico e Edificado (CICOP)—A dimensão cotidiana do patrimônio e desafios para sua preservação*** (XII International Congress of Architectural and Built Heritage Rehabilitation (CICOP)—The heritage everyday dimension and challenges for its preservation), organized in October 2014, by the group members. Hence, we believe the project has reached the goals, going beyond in some of their indicators. See below a brief of the main researches performed in both thematic cores of our proposal.

14.2 Main Topic Core

14.2.1 Architectural Heritage

14.2.1.1 Central Station, Landing Stage, and Platforms

Abstract of the research: The EFNOB central station in Bauru was built based on a project designed in 1935, being inaugurated in 1939 (Fig. 14.2). With almost 10,000 m^2, it is considered one of the largest railway stations within the interior of Brazil. By President Getúlio Vargas order, from its inauguration, and due to its huge dimensions, it became the headquarters of EFNOB and São Paulo and Sorocaba Company in town. It is of an Art Deco language, preceding in typology, the Central do Brazil, in Rio de Janeiro, which was inaugurated a few years later. It has a huge landing stage in reinforced concrete, the first in the country with this new technology, replacing the imported metallic structures.

The research shows the Northwestern Brazil's central station history, and in addition, it also shows other non-executed projects and their architectural languages. Based on what was built and in non-executed projects, it identifies each administration profile, and how each project definition was inserted in a world architectural context.

The station was decisive for Art Deco language dissemination in the city, imitating their ornamental elements and details on several other buildings, particularly the commercial ones, which should show the "modernity" image.

Due to RFFSA closing, the station building was given to the Rail Workers Union, an exchange rate for labor debt. After years, the City Council bought it, in partnership with the City Hall. Nowadays, it has no restoration, but is partly in use, focusing on culture.

Fig. 14.2 EFNOB's Central Station picture, from the 1940s. Archive of the Railway Museum of Bauru

14.2.2 Workshops Set

Abstract of the research: Built in the 1920s, the largest workshops are formed by a semicircular recess and diverse industrial-modulated sheds. This huge complex was used for wagons and locomotives in operation, but especially for assembling them. Wagons base, the so-called Truck's, was purchased from the United States and Europe, and on it, wooden wagons were built for diverse purposes: restaurants, first-second class passengers, cargo, post office, offices, and among others. The set was considered a large wagons factory complex for exclusive use of EFNOB, which had a technical school for labor training. Currently, the set is abandoned and almost unused. The Empresa ALL, the current concessionaire, occupies only the semicircular recess for administration office, as well as the diesel engine workshop.

General workshops of Bauru (Figs. 14.3 and 14.4) were built in the western region of the city, bordering and expanding the railway yard. They are arranged on the left of the railway (toward Bauru-Corumbá), totaling 35,150 m^2, and using initially 12,000 m^2 for construction. They are divided into three major sections:

Workshop A—Adjustment, covering the construction and adjustment of machines, and assembling of mechanical devices parts of control or fastening. They are equipped with milling cutters, shaping machine, bench lathe, and machining and casting devices.

Workshop B—Electricity, deals with all systems and electricity-powered devices, such as dynamos, alternators, and generators, from both trains and the railway.

Fig. 14.3 Facade of part of EFNOB General Workshops, opening picture at the 1920s. Railway Museum of Bauru

Fig. 14.4 EFNOB General Workshops and the original uses of their sheds. *Source* (D'almeida 2014)

Workshop C—Carpentry, which deals with all trucks transformation work in diverse types of wagons and cars, carrying out works in wood (carpentry and joinery) as well as upholstery and other finishing.

Office Buildings

Abstract of the research: The proposal aimed the historical and architectural survey of the buildings, where were located the old offices of the Northwest Railway of Brazil, besides a historical-comparative insertion between European industrial-iron architectural models (treaty) embedded in tropical countries.

Located next to EFNOB station, the buildings in question, which form a triangular design with a garden in the Center, covered diverse roles over the years, according to changes occurred in the administration and constructions succession of the company, since the creation of the first building of the set in 1905.

Since the cradle of the railway history occurred in the set of four buildings (erected at different times) (Neves 1958), there is no doubt about their architectural values. They are the urban historical record, reporting to an era of prosperity, and defining the main economic sector of the city, since the railway emerging to late 1950s.

The research begins with projects of offices contracted by *Compagnie Générale de Chemins de Fer et de Travaux Publics*, and sub-contracted to Empresa Construtora Machado de Mello (Construction Company). Nowadays, they hold cultural and administrative functions as the Railway Museum, the RegionalMemory Center, the old RFFSA administer, and the Railway Service Department.

The objects of study are the oldest structures of the railway complex, their historical value aggregated to a great importance due to peculiarities in the construction and deployment, involving details concerning to thermal comfort of the offices.

EFNOB/BAURU, Km 0: Residential architecture of the administrative employees' village.

EFNOB/BAURU, Km 0: Residential architecture of the engineers' village at Nóbile Di Piero Street: nº 31, nº 32, and nº 33.

EFNOB/BAURU, Km 0: Residential architecture of the engineers' village at Nóbile Di Piero Street: nº 34, and nº 35.

EFNOB/BAURU, Km 0: Documentation and guidelines for protection of the Superintendent House.

Abstract of the research:

The research aimed to inventory, identify, select, locate, document, analyze, and propose guidelines for protection of the listed architectural heritage, all built by EFNOB (Salcedo 2004).

Methodology:

(a) Documentary research: to inventory, identify, and document (historical, iconographic, constructive system, metric, finishing, details) from primary sources the architectonic heritage of EFNOB.
(b) Work on the site, which consisted in inventorying, identifying, documenting (metrology, photography, construction system, finishing, and materials conservation status), and locating the current architectural heritage buildings.
(c) Redesign in AutoCAD the projects that correspond to the initial construction and the current building designs containing interventions (extensions, building improvement, or restore).
(d) Analysis of the buildings storing condition and materials or pathologies;
(e) Proposals for guidelines for EFNOB architectural heritage protection.

Results: With historic, metric, iconographic, finishing, building materials conservation conditions, and guidelines for their protecting documentation, we intend to:

(i) Assist in the preservation process ofEFNOB heritage, both by the State Agency, CONDEPHAAT, and by the National one, the Instituto do Patrimônio Histórico e Artístico Nacional (Institute of National Historic and Artistic Heritage–IPHAN).

(ii) Give conceptual and documental bases for studies and project proposals for buildings restoration and rehabilitation (ICOMOS 2004).

(iii) Contribute to EFNOB railway architecture studies.

(iv) Assist in architectural heritage preservation area protection with the Bauru's Master Plan.

The set occupies a block next to the station, sheltering originally the Superintendent, engineers, and EFNOB employees' residences. EFNOB row houses are located in Nóbile Di Piero Street, numbers 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, and 8. Built at the beginning of the railway construction, in 1905, they are currently featureless, keeping although the original volume. The set has been used as administrative employees' residence since EFNOB deployment. Because of the substandard housing in the city during this period, the railway decided to build the village to its employees.

The railway superintendent's house was built in the 1920s, in eclectic typology. It is located on the same block of engineers and other employees' residences, at 1° de Agosto Street. All those who managed the EFNOB had lived there. It is a large house with basements, in the middle of a large lot, which originally had furniture and household items for the superintendent family use.

The engineers' residences were built in the 1920s, located at Nóbile Di Piero Street, numbers 31, 32, 33, 34, and 35; occupying large lots. The set of residences consists of houses and two-storey houses, in different architectural typologies, but all with an excellent constructive pattern, with various indoor environments.

All houses in the village were sold, by RFFSA administer, to diverse private owners, part of them, former occupants.

14.3 Other Thematic Cores

Administrative organization works in EFNOB offices

The Northwest railway offices of Brazil and Taylor's theory

Abstract of the research: This research, focused on the railway in Brazil, began with the following hypothesis: was there a close relationship between EFNOB administrative structure and the Scientific Management Theory of Frederick Winslow Taylor?

To verify this hypothesis and the presentation of this report, the study considered the period between 1917 and 1936, aiming to find the Scientific Management Theory in EFNOB organizational structure (Amaral 2011). The activities departmentalization, as well as their hierarchization, occupied the offices—furniture design, layout of offices, design, and construction of the headquarters building—which is typical Taylor. Besides EFNOB, other railways made use of Taylor's Theory—also known as—as, for example, São Paulo Railway Company from 1928.

EFNOB is a state-owned company established for agricultural production and animals' transportation from the interior of São Paulo and Mato Grosso, toward the port of Santos-SP. It exercised the geopolitical function of populating these territories, supported by the dream of joining the Atlantic Ocean to the Pacific Ocean. A fact that never happened, although the railway has reached Bolivia.

Through readings of spaces of its Headquarters, located next to the Bauru rail yard, we intended to demonstrate Taylor influence in EFNOB office space design.
EFNOB/BAURU, KM 0: activities and spaces for recreation and culture. Mapping and study on movie theaters, clubs, theaters (1935–1960).

Abstract of the research: The research aimed to study the architectural projects, the buildings, the history, and cultural and recreational activities of movie theaters, theaters, clubs, associations, recreational lounges, that directly or indirectly emerged by the urban growth generated by railways deployment, especially the EFNOB, in Bauru/SP. The period of interest is between 1935 and 1960, from the heyday when the EFNOB Station was being built, until the period in which the railway presented the first decline signs, as well as the downtown and its recreation and cultural activities. Thus, during the first 6 months of research, a mapping and survey of recreational and cultural activities, in Bauru, and the set of buildings, built or used for this purpose, was performed based on documents, iconographical, bibliographical, and hemerographical analysis such as pictures, drawings, plans, and designs, found in local museums and libraries.

Continuing the survey in the second half-year, a mapping, verification, and selection of the remaining buildings collection was carried out, as well as its systematization and the remaining iconographic collection, aiming to evaluate its preservation and protection.

The report presents a literature review on the topics, the results obtained, organized in files per buildings, with written and scanned content, and conclusion.

EFNOB, BAURU—KM 0: Activities and spaces for recreation and culture. A case study on São Paulo Theater.

Abstract of the research: The research had as an object of study an analysis of São Paulo Theater in Bauru/SP, from a hemerographic, cartographic, documents, and iconographic survey, aiming to study relevant issues, since the project's conception until its disappearance. In addition to the formal and spatial analysis of the architectural set, it is also important to approach on political, economic, social, and cultural issues involved in this project, relating it to the urban context resulting from the deployment of the Northwest Railway Company of Brazil –EFNOB. The study on São Paulo Theater is important because it was the main amusements and entertainment public space of the city for 30 years, since its inauguration in 1923. Despite not being effectively built by EFNOB, it stands out in front of other recreation spaces because it became a social meeting center of workers and senior officials of the railways, due to its sized and urban reference value.

EFNOB/BAURU- Km 0: Activities and spaces for recreation and culture. Mapping and study on movie theaters, clubs, and theaters (1906–1935).

Abstract of the research: This research aimed to investigate—through studies, surveys, selection, and systematization—all clubs and associations, theaters, and recreational lounges, emerged during the construction and consolidation of the railway network in Bauru/SP, directly or indirectly linked to the Northwest Railway of Brazil history, and to provide material in such a way that the community can identify itself as constructor of this history, contributing to its appreciation and preservation. The period of interest is from 1906 to 1935, looking for diverse administrative moments of the railway, as well as the new buildings, its functions and activities.

The research was performed from December 2012 to February 2014—with a break in June, July, and September 2013—and was divided in two parts. Beginning with the first 6 months of study carrying out surveys of all recreational and cultural activities of Bauru, during the period in question, performing mapping of a set of buildings used for this purpose, based on documents, bibliographies, iconographic, and hemerographic references obtained from museums, research centers, historians, and local libraries. The second part is related to the other 6 months of research, where mapping was performed through systematization of the collection, designing location maps, comparative iconography between existing buildings with their original versions, and verification of non-existent or inconsistent data.

Memory and Virtual Information Center of Industrial and Railway Heritage of EFNOB.

Documentation and access to EFNOB information

Abstract of the research: One of the objectives of this topic was the creation, organization, and dissemination of documentary and cartographic collection of EFNOB industrial railway heritage of Bauru, based on new access technologies, through the construction of a digital database. This strategy made possible the creation of the Memory and Virtual Information Center, a digital network through which the storage and recovery of bibliographies and cartographic bases and documentary sources of this collection are guaranteed. Our research subsidized the creation of a documentary and cartographic database with search engine, publicly available in electronic website www.faac.unesp.br/#1408,1415, besides hosting the link www.projetomemoriaferroviaria.com.br, of the *Memória Ferroviária* (Railway Memory) project (FAPESP Process: 12/11259-2), linked to textual and cartographic documentation produced by São Paulo Railways of São Paulo and Jundiaí Company Museum, and Archive of São Paulo State. Thus, our work has ensured the storage and recovery of digital documents in order to meet informational needs of users, incorporating the concept of information in the network.

During the research period, there were recognition and identification of the main documents, outlining a profile and topological definition of documents through registration forms. Thus, the most relevant information were collected and selected according to the specifications indicated by the spreadsheets, in order to better characterize and classify the textual and iconographic documents researched. During the research process, not all documents were removed from bundles, packages, boxes, or bound volumes. In the end, we had a documentary volume way beyond expected, but also a more accurate perception about the EFNOB collection in Bauru. In this context, 4208 documents have been estimated in the collection. In the end, 1411 documents were indexed in the Memory and Virtual Information Center website, subdivided as follows:

Documents typology	Quantity		Type of file
	Set	Subset	
Yearbooks	06	31	PDF
Circulars	03	10	PDF
Official federal gazette	02	754	PDF
Technical school	06	06	PDF
Pictures	43	54	JPG
Glossaries	02	12	PDF

(continued)

(continued)

Documents typology	Quantity		Type of file
	Set	Subset	
Newsletters	14	14	PDF
Legislation and decrees	06	25	PDF
Historical books	12	12	PDF
Technical books	15	15	PDF
Maps	35	40	PDF
Plants	08	08	JPG
Processes	01	62	PDF
EFNOB protocol	05	75	PDF
Financial system resources	02	02	PDF
Newspapers records	01	23	PDF
General records	11	11	PDF
EFNOB personal report	09	34	PDF
Annual reports	21	21	PDF
Total	**202**	**1209**	
Grand total			

Ps.: The number of files is because the content of each is not necessarily regarded to a single book or document, and the set of which it belongs, for example, the Official Federal Gazette is a subset with 754 books, but there is only one cataloguing data with all information about these documents; however, with different dates and periods.

14.4 Conclusions

EFNOB/BAURU, KM 0 project aimed to inventory, identify, select, locate, analyze, and propose guidelines for EFNOB cultural heritage protection, in Bauru. It involved a great number of DAUP/FAAC teachers, focusing on a relevant and common research topic. Similarly, we could count with a great number of students who developed works of IC, via FAPESP, PIBIC/CNPq, Final Project for the Course—TFG (*Trabalho de Finalização de Curso*), and even volunteering, as well as students of the newly created Master programs in architecture and urbanism. The proposal also brought UNESP from the local community, because during the project period, many articles in journals, broadcast, and radio station helped to disclose the need ofEFNOB preservation. Due to public opinion pressures in the face of constant media disclosure of the group's proposals, we had great participation in City Hall decision in assuming the general workshops set for future use of people, as well as theEFNOB station. Researches developed and briefly presented in this communication are being disclosed through the organization of the book, commemorating the centenary of EFNOB opening, where, there will be the research results.

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