



The recognition of the cultural heritage of African origins – Landmarking and registration of traditional sites in São Paulo.

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1. UPPAH - Unity of Preservation of the Historical and Artistic Heritage. The Unity was established in 2006 by the decree, and it provides the CONDEPHAAT with technical and administrative support for the decision made by the institution.

Abstract

Amid the recent recognition of assets linked to the history and memory of black populations by the heritage preservation agency in the State of São Paulo, *Conselho de Defesa do Patrimônio Histórico, Artístico e Turístico do Estado de São Paulo* (CONDEPHAAT), the present article discusses issues about the adequacy of usage of landmark instruments and of registration in the identification and protection of Afro-descendent territories as cultural asset, based on technical studies on *Candomblé* and *Umbanda* sites conducted by UPPH¹, that guided decisions made by CONDEPHAAT. This work seeks to contribute to the discussion on the importance of preserving these spaces, as they are material supports for the African-Brazilian culture in São Paulo.

Keywords: Cultural heritage. CONDEPHAAT. *Candomblé*. *Umbanda*.

Introduction

This article discusses the protection of traditional territories of African culture, based on the experience of the technical instruction of landmarking orders from six sites linked to the practice of the African religions *Candomblé* and *Umbanda* in São Paulo, between 2017 and 2018.

The orders were protocolled separately in different times and signed by the leaders (and owners) of *terreiros*, along with an extensive documentation and anthropological reports. From initial discussions with these researchers and the *terreiro* leaders, the Heritages listed African Territories Traditional Territories Working Group was established. This article is the result of discussions in the process of technical instruction of orders to landmark these places.

The studies on these themes show the policy regarding landmarking of historical and cultural heritages in our country is based on the prevalence of Eurocentric heritages. Only recently, still quite

timid, they have included the cultural heritages with African origins, what is a sign of the valorization of this heritage. As Fonseca defines, “meeting the demands of people who had been marginalized by the cultural policies until that moment”². The heritages related to popular tradition and also to Indian and Afro-Brazilian cultures have been included in the national cultural repertoire since the last decades of the 20th century.

The diversification of goods indicated to integrate the national historical and artistic heritage can be interpreted as a field for the affirmation of new collective identities, which use cultural goods as material and symbolic references (FONSECA, 1996; p. 158). In addition, society’s increased participation in landmarking orders to a limited extent. (Fonseca, 1996; p. 58).

In São Paulo, the work of CONDEPHAAT regarding these issues was also slow, focusing on the landmarking of the Church *Nossa Senhora*

2. The proposal regarding the development of the working group was made by the researchers Pedro Neto and Vagner Gonçalves da Silva to discuss collectively with the civil, religious, academic and state society the ways to register the heritages effectively.

dos Homens Pretos, and the neighborhood of São Benedito, which originated from a community constructed by runaway slaves (known in Brazil as *quilombos*), and have one single *terreiro*. Only in very recent years, in the 2010's, other heritages were studied by the institution, such as social clubs for black people, quilombos and *terreiros*. In addition, the state law 57,439/11, regarding the registration of intangible heritages, provided us with new possibilities to take that kind of action.

The place of the heritages of African origins among the heritages recognized by CONDEPHAAT.

CONDEPHAAT is the state institute responsible for the recognition of the cultural heritages of this state. Over 50 years of existence, it has 499 heritages listed in total³, two registrations of intangible heritages and 125 studies on heritages to be listed⁴.

Among these heritages, there are institutional buildings (forums, chambers, jail houses, and schools), churches, farms, houses historical centers, natural areas, railroads, hospitals, quilombos, shrines of African-Brazilian religions, clubs, cinemas, etc., that were recognized for different reasons, although they are all related somehow to the history of the city of São Paulo.

Although they cannot cover the demands from all the social groups in the city yet, the landmarkings made by CONDEPHAAT are a new way to see history, according to new historiographic trends since 1960's (Fenelon, 1993; p. 73):

(...) Broadening the knowledge and establishing new fields for research. That broadening have led to the emergence of countless new subjects to be studied, such as the social situation of cities, the social situation of women, the social situation of the families, the social study of crimes, the social situation of children, the education, among others, and all of them deserve a place in the broader field of Social History and cultural themes.

The perception of the social aspect of the cultural heritage occurred gradually, but it can be noticed for the changes in the criteria used in the analyses of the heritages and for the changes in the kind of heritages listed by CONDEPHAAT over time.

The state institution was established in 1968, with the same goal and with the same mindset of the institution then called SPHAN⁵, the institution from which it is derived. This goal was to protect the heritage to construct the national identity. As a result, the first heritages listed date from the 18th century and their style was neocolonial. The same was done by CONDEPHAAT at first, and properties related to Brazil's Empire and

3. That is the official number of heritages listed. But it is important to highlight that, very often, a registration made includes hundreds of items. That is the case of *Centro Histórico e Bairros*. In that case, the total number of heritages listed are estimated to be around 3,000.

4. Source: www.CONDEPHAAT.sp.gov.br and lists for internal use of the Unity of Preservation of the Historical and Artistic Heritages, that provides CONDEPHAAT with technical and administrative support.

5. Current IPHAN.

economic cycles (RODRIGUES, 1996, p. 179), as they are both architectonic documents with noble tradition, because they are somehow related to great heroes of the past.

From this point of view, the first registrations made by the institution followed what Walter Benjamin (2012), called “history of the victors”, and this trend includes – in theory – the memory of people who are not mentioned, although played an intrinsic role in the historical process.

As an example, we should assume that, when a coffee farm is listed, that registration includes – at least in theory – the memory of the black people who worked there, and the cruelty of slavery. But that is never mentioned. The technical reports are frequently about the process of registration and tell us about the biography, the lineage and the political achievements of the landowner, the architectural style of his house, the location of the farm within the state, and its role in a specific economic cycle.

Slaves are only mentioned (if at all) when it is registered how many they used to be (a high number of slaves means that the farm was very prosperous). The slave quarters and the pillory, if still exist at the time of the registration, are seen as merely details, that only points out how the farm is preserved, what is used to emphasize the importance of the registration. From that point

of view, slavery is seen as a natural fact in that context, and no reflections are made about this matter.

Our Constitution has broadened the concept of heritage. Nevertheless, the list of heritages listed by CONDEPHAAT shows other kinds of heritages already listed by the institution even before the Constitution was enacted. The preference for monumental heritages was still present. During the 1970's, the institution listed many heritages seen as an example of the new perspective: school (Institute Caetano de Campos – located in the city of São Paulo⁶), natural areas (Juréia and Serra do Japi⁷), buildings related to the immigration process (Japanese Cemetery – Alvares Machado; Immigrant Inn – located in the city of São Paulo⁸), and even heritages related to cultural practices (Picinguaba Indian Village located in the city of Ubatuba⁹). All heritages mentioned were listed before the approval of the current National Constitution, but the conservative view was still predominant.

According to Rodrigues (2000, p. 73), that change of perspective occurred up to a point because of a course promoted by CONDEPHAAT, IPHAN and by the Department of History of Architecture of the University of São Paulo, in 1974. Many foreign specialists took part in it, including Varine Bohan¹⁰, who made a new interpretation about the concept of heritage, considering it as: “a cultural

6. Process 00610/75.

7. Processes 00306/73, 20.814/79 and 22.366/82.

8. Processes 00496/74 and 20.601/79).

9. Process 20.130/76.

10. Varine Boham directed the International Council of Museums (ICOM), an organization affiliated to UNESCO, between 1965 and 1974.

product composed by three types of dimensions: the environment, the knowledge and everything produced by humans, which means, the cultural heritage”. In addition, it may be important to mention that, in 1982, thirty-three architects and eleven historians were hired, effective permanent technical staff in CONDEPHAAT, allowing the institution to expand its activities

RODRIGUES (2000; p. 128), points out the following:

By getting in touch with the philosophy of Walter Benjamin, and by taking part in many discussions, some of them with a technical character, the technical staff began to realize the relation between landmarking and memory; (...)

From that occasion on, the history of the daily life, of work, of education and of health in our country began to be told by the heritages listed as well.

Therefore, at that time, 137 schools built during the First Republic were listed. The aim was to preserve the memory of the public policy set up in São Paulo¹¹ between 1890 and 1930, and the affective memory related to these places as well. Hospitals such as Vicente Aranha Sanatory¹² (in the city of São José dos Campos), Juquery Hospital¹³ (in the city of Franco da Rocha), retirement homes, isolated shelters for people with Hansen’s disease (in the cities of Guarulhos, Bauru, Itu, Casa Branca, and Mogi das Cruzes¹⁴)

were listed to recognize the importance of public institutions regarding health care, but also the memory of the patients who were stigmatized because of their illnesses (tuberculosis, madness, and leprosy). Mountain ranges, islands, hills to preserve the national memory regarding the environment¹⁵.

In addition, the registration of House of *Dona Yayá* (in the Bela Vista neighborhood, São Paulo¹⁶), a material symbol of the history of Sebastiana de Melo Freire which portrays the situation of women in the city of São Paulo and of the way mental disturbed people were treated in the early 20th century.

Heritages with African origins were still put aside, and few of them were listed. Until 1990, heritages directly or indirectly related to the African-Brazilian culture were listed by CONDEPHAAT and:

- Chapel Nossa Senhora do Rosário dos Homens Preto de Ivaporunduva - Eldorado (Process 18.942/74);
- Church São Benedito - São José dos Campos (Process 20.993/79);
- Church Nossa Senhora do Rosário dos Homens Pretos de Penha de São Paulo (process 18,942/74).
- Slave Cemetery – in the city of São José do Barreto (process 00496/74).

11. Process 24, 929/86, CONDEPHAAT listed 123 out of the 137 schools mentioned.

12. Process 23.370/85.

13. Process 24.601/86.

14. Processes 33.189/95, 28.728/91, 72.097/14, 72.140/14 e 72.143/14 respectively.

15. The most representative registration regarding a natural area was the one regarding Serra do Mar, which was the process 20,868/79.

16. Process 21.955/82.

- *Terreiro* Axé Ilá Obá (related to African-Brazilian religion) – in the city of São Paulo (process: 26,110/88).
- District of *Cafundó* – in the city of Salto do Pirapora (process 26338/88).

The tombs related to the African descent culture are represented mostly by its religious aspect. SILVA (2005) points out that religion became a form of resistance to Catholic domination imposed by white people, when black people sought to reconcile their practices with the elements of Catholic doctrine, giving rise to various religions, such as *tambor de mina e pajelança* (state of Maranhão), *Candomblé* (state of Bahia), *xangô* (state of Pernambuco), and *batuque* (state of Rio Grande do Sul). Some of them disappeared over time, but some are still practiced, adapted to the current social dynamics.

According to Silva (2005, p.50):

The site of *terreiro* was associated to the fight of black people against their slave condition, both for its organization and for its religious aspect, as it promoted the belief on magic, which was shared by people who had, in addition to the condition of subordination, the hope in transforming these conditions.

After the emancipation, *terreiros* started to be used for other purposes, mainly for black people to socialize with each other. Back then, they

sought relief in their religion, as life was extremely difficult for them. In addition, the influence of African culture in the current Brazilian culture is undeniable. That fact can be noticed in the popular festivals (carnival, *maracatu*, *afoxé*, *festas de largo*, and *congadas*), in many fields of art and aesthetics (*samba*, *capoeira*, literature, and movies), in the Brazilian culinary (*feijoada* and *acarajé*). In brief, in the composition of an *ethos* which is recognized as a Brazilian and African cultural heritage in our national identity, which is naturally multiethnic and multicultural¹⁷.

For black people who decided to profess the Catholicism, the catholic church provided conditions for them to profess their faith. By stimulating the establishment of brotherhoods, and *Irmandade de Nossa Senhora do Rosário* the most famous of them all. Therefore, the African culture had some influence in Catholicism in Brazil as well. *Nossa Senhora do Rosário* was not only a church, but also became a large charity institution for black people, and its participation in the process of emancipation was very active.

The cultural heritages related to the African-Brazilian culture were tools for resistance against domination in their origins, and their permanence, as heritages officially protected, can make the landmarking of that history possible and a way to recognize its importance.

17. For further information about the influence of the African-Brazilian religions in the Brazilian Culture, see Amaral e Silva, 1996; 2006; Prandi, 2007; Silva, 2013. The information is also available in the website <http://www.doafroabrasileiro.org/DoafroaoBrasileiro.html>

Nonetheless, it is important to mention that, by analyzing the processes of landmarking, we can see clearly that not all the heritages were listed because of its history and its relationship with the African culture. Some of them were listed because of its architecture. Its relationship with the history of black people in our country is not even mentioned in the reports. That is the case of both the churches *Nossa Senhora do Rosário dos Homens Pretos*, in the cities of Eldorado and São Paulo, in Penha neighborhood¹⁸. Only *Terreiro Alê Ixé Obá* and *District of Cafundó* were listed specifically for their relationship with African-Brazilian culture¹⁹.

About this point, Benjamin (2012, p. 243) highlights: “we can only see the past as a flash image from the moment we recognize it”. Therefore, if people related to the history of the heritage are not identified during the process of registration, the landmarking of the heritage is not complete, once the history of the heritage is not registered, although it is preserved materially. Anyway, that landmarking, even partial, allows new interpretations in the future, perhaps even for a project of restauration which is not possible if the heritage is not officially preserved.

Afro-descendant House of Worship <i>Dambala Kuere Rho Bessein - Rua dos Amoritas, nº 629</i>	SANTO ANDRÉ
Santa Bárbara <i>Terreiro de Candomblé - Rua Ruiva nº 90</i>	SÃO PAULO
Headquarters of <i>Ilê Afro Brasileiro Ode Lorecy - Rua Madureira, nº 165 and Rua Monte Alegre, nº 12</i>	EMBU DAS ARTES
Holy shrine <i>Tatá Percio do Battistini Ilê Alaketu Ase Ayra - Rua Antônio Batistini, nº226</i>	SÃO BERNARDO DO CAMPO
<i>Ilê Olá Omi Ase Opo Araka Cultural Center - Al. dos Pinheirais, nº 270</i>	SÃO BERNARDO DO CAMPO
Umbanda National Sanctuary - <i>Estrada do Montanhão, s/nº</i>	SANTO ANDRÉ

This table was made up by the authors.

18. Processes 18.942/70 and 20.776/79.

19. Processes 26.110/88 and 26.336/88.

Instruments for the landmarking of the cultural heritage: the landmarking and registration of *terreiros* of *Candomblé* and *Umbanda*.

After a long time during which no landmarking order for *terreiros* was received, between 2017 and 2018, six landmarking orders for *terreiros* were protocolled; five of them for *terreiros* of *Candomblé* and one for a *terreiro* of *Umbanda*.

The study of most of the heritages listed started from the analysis of the anthropological reports written by professor Dr. Vagner Gonçalves da Silva²⁰, from the department of Anthropology of the University of São Paulo, along with professionals from the technical field of UPPAH. They are represented by the historian Elisabete Mitiko Watanabe, the leaders of the *terreiros* listed²¹, the social scientist José Pedro da Silva Neto, who proposed the registration of *Terreiro Santa Bárbara*, and has given a great contribution to this study. The leaders of *Terreiro Axé Ilê Obá*, listed in 1990²².

With this aim, the Heritages listed African Territories Traditional Territories Working Group was established. The group organized eight technical meetings. The first one in the headquarters of IPHAN, others in the *terreiros* to be listed, and the last one in the headquarters of CONDEPHAAT²³. Many debates about the landmarking of that kind of heritage took place, considering the current

concept of heritage and the common practices performed in these cultural sites.

The anthropological reports and the debates made by the working group was essential to the formulation of the technical report entitled “*Candomblé* in São Paulo – A study about the landmarking of *Terreiros*”, attached to the processes 81,174/18 to 81,179/18. These reports presented the history of these religions in São Paulo, and reflections about the registration and landmarking as important instruments to the recognition of these heritages and the dynamics of the *terreiro*.

The debates about that kind of registration are not so recent. They were already promoted during the studies of *terreiros* conducted by IPHAN in the 1980's. This gave rise to the landmarking of *terreiro* Casa Branca Engenho Velho, located in the city of Salvador, in the state of Bahia.

The most important question that we had to face then was whether or not the registration would affect the activities regularly performed in the *terreiros*, because all the interventions in the site had to be approved by the institution which protects the *terreiro* and all the bureaucratic issues.

Approval orders involve the design of architectural projects and descriptive memorials of interventions. For the *terreiros*, this meant just

20. The anthropologist Vagner Gonçalves da Silva participated in the first landmarking order for a *terreiro* in the city of São Paulo, the *terreiro* of Axé Ilê Obá (1987), Gonçalves da Silva and a team of researchers wrote the anthropological reports of the *terreiros* of *Santa Bárbara* (2005 and 2016), *Ilê Olá Omi Ase Opo Araka* (2016), *Ilê Afro-brasileiro Ode Lorecy* (2014) and *Umbanda* National Sanctuary (2017). He conducted the complementary analyses for the updated reports about Casa Dambala Kuere Rho Bessein (2016).

21. The leaders of the *terreiros* at that time were: Pai Dancy (Afro-descendant House of Worship Dambala Kuere Rho Bessein), Mãe Pulquéria

(*Terreiro de Candomblé Santa Bárbara*), Pai Leo (Ilê Afro Brasileiro Ode Lorecy), Mãe Luzinha, Mãe Gui, Mãe Daniela, Pai Giba e Pai Carlinhos (Holy shrine *Tatá Percio do Battistini Ilê Alaketu*), Mãe Carmen, Pai Karlito and Pai Claudio (Ilê Olá Omi Ase Opo Araka), Pai Ronaldo, Maria Aparecida and João Rodolfo (*Umbanda* National Sanctuary).

22. Currently led by Mãe Paula.

23. For further information, please visit: <https://fcpsite.wixsite.com/fcpt/single-post/2018/02/05/Grupo-de-Trabalho-Territórios-Tradicionais-de-Matriz-Africana-Tombados-de-São-Paulo-é-criado>, written by Pedro Neto.

buying materials and renovating, often using the labor of the members of the *terreiro*. Also, landmarking can bring possible constraints of interventions, for example, total demolition of buildings to build a new one. This understanding is based on the legislation on landmarking, which aims to prevent the property from being modified²⁴.

Another question is about if the landmarking is really an effective tool to protect that kind of heritage, once the heritages with African origins had an ordinary architecture, and the evaluation of the landmarking orders is traditionally based on criteria such as originality, monumentality, and rarity.

On that question, the historian Marly Rodrigues, in her report about the quilombola (which means derived from a quilombo), community of Vale do Ribeira²⁵ (our emphasis), highlights that:

The so-called remnants of the original quilombos were, in general, built up in a different historical context: from the perspective of their physical space, **they are similar to other villages located in the country, and do not outstand among them physically. Their difference and importance resides on what remained of the resistance and of the ancient African-Brazilian culture**, no matter if it can be noted in the physical space, or in the daily habits, or in the relationship with religion and playful things.

About the *terreiros*, she wrote²⁶:

The physical constitution of the *terreiros* does not follow any architectural pattern, although there are some spaces commonly found in these places, such as: barracks, rooms for the manifestations of *orixás*, rooms for initiation, external settlements, sacred traces, sacred wells, etc. Therefore, their architecture is designed according to the size of the area, the available resources, and the needs of the group. As a conclusion, their architecture is defined by practical needs, without any aesthetics consideration.

Those characteristics do not highlight neither the monumentality, nor the existence of original aesthetic characteristics of the heritage. The argument, then, would be in favor of landmarking the *terreiros* as intangible heritage. This act does not imply administrative restrictions on property rights and does not establish the physical protection of property. Consequently, approval of interventions in real estate is not mandatory, and any agency action must safeguard the practice there.

It can be concluded the registration of *terreiros* as intangible heritages would be the best solution. The question is not that simple, though. IPHAN continued to list the areas for landmarking even after the decree 3551/00²⁷.

In 17th November 2011, the decree 57,439/11 established the criteria to be used by

24. Artigo 134 do Decreto Estadual 13.426/79.

25. Processos 68.971/13 a 68.977/13, de estudo de tombamento de áreas quilombolas localizadas nos Municípios de Eldorado e Iporanga.

26. Estudo Temático “O Candomblé em São Paulo – Estudo de Patrimonialização de *Terreiros*” constante dos Processos 81.174/18 a 81.179/18.

27. Institui o registro de bens culturais de natureza imaterial pelo IPHAN.

CONDEPHAAT to recognize the intangible cultural heritages, and it was based on federal laws. That decree defines what can be registered, including places, according to the first article, and defines the concept of place, that could be applied to physical spaces:

The intangible heritages of the state of São Paulo will be recognized by the Registration of Cultural Heritages, according to the federal and state legislation, and according to this decree.

§ 1st The cultural heritage of the state of São Paulo is composed by all the ways of expression, and the ways of creating, making and living, the skills and techniques based on tradition, transmitted through generations, or between groups, manifested individually or collectively, that are references to the identity, to the action, to the memory, that are, after all, manifestations of a particular social and cultural identity.

(...) 4. spaces in which collective cultural practices have been reproduced.

According to IPHAN²⁸, the Book for Registration of Places was designed to:

(...) Markets, open-air markets, sanctuaries, squares where collective cultural practices are found or reproduced. Places are those sites with a particular importance for the local community, where different kinds of cultural practices are performed. They can be everyday practices or exceptional ones. They can also be official or non-official ones. We can define them as places that are focus of the social life in a locality. Their characteristics are recognized and often

represented in symbolic representations and narratives. Those places are part of the sense of belonging, memory, and identity of the social groups.

Therefore, by registering the *terreiro* as a place, we would consider that the cultural value is the practice of *Candomblé* by that social group, in that site, what can lead to the idea that the practice can be performed at any site, even if it is totally different from the *terreiro*, as long as they carry out the rituals on which the *Candomblé* is based. That could also lead to the idea that the rituals can be performed in a totally different building in the same space.

When analyzing the places registered by IPHAN²⁹, we can notice the registrations are usually made upon collective places much larger than a *terreiro* of *Candomblé*. In addition, the listing shows that there are no places of the same practice registered more than once, which is not the case with landmarking.

Based on the discussions in the working group and the readings on the subject, it was understood the *terreiro*'s space, with all its compartments, is closely related to rituals, that is, **there is no *Candomblé* without a *terreiro***. The *Candomblé* needs a specific space to be practiced, prepared and consecrated. It is not possible to separate practice from place. As Silva (1995, p. 174) explains:

28. <http://portal.iphan.gov.br/pagina/detalhes/122>.

29. According to IPHAN official site, the following place have been listed: Iauaretê Waterfall – Sacred Place of the Indigenous People of the Rivers Uaupés and Papuri (located in the state of Amazonas); Feira de Campina Grande; Feira de Caruaru and Tava, reference for the Guarani peoples (located in the city of Missões, in the state of Rio Grande do Sul).

The *terreiros*, even considering that they do not need a special temple in its site, have the remarkable characteristic of dividing its physical spaces in many cosmological concepts related to the notions of sacred and profane, related to the mystery, related to religious secrets, and mainly related to the religious power. That is because, in *Candomblé*, **the spaces and the objects** the practitioners are locus of axé, what is to say, vital force that can be preserved, transmitted and manipulated. The *terreiro* is considered a living being that has to be honored from time to time with the appropriate sacrifice (which is called “to feed ari-xá” – which is a point located in the central part of the barrack – or “to feed *cumeeira*” - A point in the ceiling located exactly above the ari-xá. The place, sacred that way, is seen as an extension of the axé of the orixá that protects the *terreiro*.

The *terreiros* of *Candomblé* are and have always been places for the landmarking of memory. That can be noticed by its peculiar religious system, that demands a mandatory reverence to the ancestors, the mark of a certain place “inhabited” by a divinity and even the landmarking of the rituals and of the language of each “nation”. In addition, the relationship of the community, the goers of the site, with the *terreiro* has a deeply sacred aspect. That is really the only place in which worship can only take place there, for in its symbolic center is buried the axé of the house - the set of objects and organic material that represents and fixes the divine force without which communication with the world of *orixás*, *voduns* or of the *inquices*, nothing can exist. Hence, the fundamental importance of preserving space for the continuity of religious manifestation

In addition, many *terreiros* built in cities are now references for the memory of the African-Brazilian culture. These are places that have already seen as an intrinsic part of the landscape in a specific part of the city. This way, regardless of the way they are currently being used, they are historical landmarks built during the process of occupation of the city. Many other heritages have had different uses over time, but they are still cultural references.

As a last argument in favor of the landmarking as intangible heritage, not the registration, there is a fact that landmarking prevents the total demolition of buildings, a guarantee of permanence of use. For the current leaders of the Houses, landmarking is also a guarantee of permanence of the practices in the place and of the memory of all the effort to build the place.

We should also mention that, anyway, the *terreiros* of *Candomblé* are mainly supports for the collective memory, as Sant’anna (nd; p. 9)³⁰ highlights:

During the discussion of the working group, the advocacy of landmarking was unanimous among the *terreiro*’s leaders, themselves interested in the order for protection of their homes. As it is well known, the owner himself rarely orders the landmarking of the property, for fear of restrictions and loss of economic value.

30. That article was written by Márcia Sant’Anna, who took part in the debates regarding the federal legislation about the intangible heritages and directed the Department of Intangible Heritage of IPHAN.

People usually think that, once the government is in charge of protecting the heritage, the use of the area for the practice of *Candomblé* is guaranteed. This logic, although incorrect, was common in the various meetings. Landmarking is seen as an important form of protection that restricts the economic exploitation of the property, limiting other uses, and has consolidated legislation. The registration still presents difficulties of use in São Paulo, due to the absence of more precise regulations.

Anyway, current *terreiro* leaders are well aware of the importance of the succession process in maintaining on-site practices. As emphasized in the discussions of the working group: “CONDEPHAAT drops the ridge, but it cannot destroy it”. Below we have some pictures of the heritages listed:



Figure 1. Façade of terreiro Ilê Olá Omi Ase Opo Araka. Located in the city of São Bernardo do Campo. Photographer: Adda Alessandra Piva Ungaretti.



Figure 2. Façade of terreiro Ilê Alaketu Ase Ayra. Located in the city of São Bernardo do Campo. Photographer: Adda Alessandra Piva Ungaretti.



Figure 3. Façade of terreiro Ilê Odê Lorecy. Located in the city of Embu das Artes. Photographer: Adda Alessandra Piva Ungaretti



Figure 4 .Façade of terreiro Santa Bárbara. Located in the city of São Paulo. Photographer: Adda Alessandra Piva Ungaretti

We have not adopted the same procedure in the case of the *Umbanda* National Sanctuary, once that religion has a different relationship with the physical space in which it is practiced. The technical report about the process 81,179/18 tells us about the history of *Umbanda* in São Paulo and debates about tools for landmarking. The anthropological reports written by professor Dr. Vagner Gonçalves da Silva were also considered.



Figure 5. Façade of Casa de Culto Dambala Kuere Rho Bessein Located in the city of Santo André. Photographer: Adda Alessandra Piva Ungaretti.

We conducted the research and found that the sanctuary is one of the only physical spaces linked to the memory of *Umbanda*, maintained to the present day. It is a cultural reference that emerges in Rio de Janeiro around 1920, comes to São Paulo at the end of that decade and leaves its marks in São Paulo's memory. For example, the daily practices of society, such as magic rituals, wearing accessories for protection and jumping over seven sea waves at the end of the year, etc.



Figure 6. Entrance of Umbanda National Sanctuary. Photographer: Adda Alessandra Piva Ungaretti.



Figure 7. Valley of Orixás. Photographer: Adda Alessandra Piva Ungaretti.

The site was inaugurated in 1960 and it is administrated by the Regional Federation of *Umbanda*. It is located in environmental protection area. Its use was granted by the Santo André City Hall. The place is formed by several spaces of *terreiros*, images of saints (associated with the *orixás*) as well as natural spots such as waterfall, lakes, woods, trails, where the practices of *Umbanda* and *Candomblé* followers are performed.

Just like in *Candomblé*, the collective practices that happens in the site are more important than the monuments and other edifications built there. Nonetheless, in this case, we opted for registering the heritage as an intangible one, in the category of place.

Umbanda does not necessarily have a sacred relationship with the site where it is practiced. The *gira* (the ceremony) can happen even if the *terreiro* is another one, or if it is under some kind of renovation. This fact will not affect the rituals. There are *terreiros* of *Umbanda* established in the 1960's, even though they are not references for the history of *Umbanda*, according to our research. The *terreiro* of Pai Ronaldo de Linhares, who is considered an important historical figure in the history of *Umbanda*, is not considered an important site for the memory of that cultural practice in the city of São Paulo. The *terreiros*

founded by other historical figures like Pai Jaú, Pai Jamil do not have their *terreiro* addresses known either.

The most remarkable references of *Umbanda*, differing from *Candomblé*, are popular festivals and public demonstrations, just like *Festa de Iemanjá*, that takes place in Praia Grande, a city in the coast of the state of São Paulo, and historical figures related to the establishment of that religion in São Paulo, that are called decans of *Umbanda*.

Therefore, there is a need to protect the collective demonstrations that take place in this space, in order to preserve them, more than just the space and the elements that compose it. The owners of *terreiros* have been trying to guarantee *Umbanda* to be practiced in appropriate sites and its landmarking since the 1960's, taking measures to landmark this natural area that was once a quarry, along with the government of the city of Santo André, which can be a plan of landmarking in the future.

Based on that point of view, the registration of the shrine as an intangible heritage was proposed. Those techniques were sent to CONDEPHAAT and approved unanimously³¹. They still have to be analyzed by the Secretary of Culture and Creative Economy, for their recognition to be consolidated, what happens with the publication of this resolution of registration.

31. Minute of the meeting n° 1948, organized by CONDEPHAAT.

Conclusion

The central issue in this article – the preservation tools applied to the *terreiros* – does not end with the conclusion of studies carried out for the official recognition of these assets. Both the landmarking of *terreiros* and the registration of the sanctuary were considered the most appropriate. Issues on how to value the memory and history of African-based social groups, beyond the formal act of landmarking and registration remain. According to SANTANA (nd; p. 10):

Preservation organisms are largely indebted to the material and intangible cultural heritage of African descent in the New World. Recognition of the importance of this heritage – religious, artistic, literary or musical manifestations – is just beginning.

Paradoxically, for the preservation agencies the work ends with the recognition and that the valorization comes down to analyzing intervention projects of landmarked sites. The essential issues surrounding the practice of the registration of intangible heritage, especially with regard to safeguarding and social participation, may bring some fresh air about other ways of thinking and acting on cultural heritage.

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