

# Presentation

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## **M**emory and Cultural Heritage in São Paulo: multiple dimensions of a relationship in transformation

A memory vector, the cultural heritage, after the Second World War, mainly since the 1980s, has been a field in continuous and rapid transformation due to changes, especially in the way memory – together with history - have been understood and faced.

Since the end of that war, the so-called “crisis of modernity”, as we know it today, is the heir of an impasse situation, characterized by multiple questions about the social, economic and cultural conditions that modernity, and its fundamental concepts – “constant progress”, “dominant reason”, “neutral technique”, mechanicism, among others –, presented to the world, whether on the capitalist or socialist side. The movement against the Vietnam War, the Prague Spring, May 1968 were undisputed events of a worldwide change of attitude, questioning the values that

modernity (or at least a certain kind of modernity) was trying to impose on humanity.

However, instead of the disruption that seemed forthcoming, the so-called processes of economic globalization –resulting from the collapse of the socialist world, the end of the Cold War, the triumph of the market system and the business and economic neoliberalism that began in the 1980s – led to greater flexibility, mobility and internationalization of capital, producing the intensification of the processes of centralization and concentration of capital in a few hands. Wealth left production - and nations - to settle in the world of finance, stocks, stock exchanges, futures markets, globalized economy, offshore, tax havens, money laundering - and, from this totalizing position of the rich world simulacrum, the real world was displaced.

The speech of State disqualification as a provider of physical and institutional infrastructure or as a representative of the collective interest,

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legitimized new social forms. Neoliberal policies were sustained by the dismantling of the welfare State, the concentration of capital and income, and the unsustainable prolonged indebtedness to finance consumption, while the center of gravity of social production shifted from industry to services (deindustrialization and outsourcing).

In this context, “truth”, as a positive instance of modernity, ceased to have any value, became relativized as all other aspects of society. The “devaluation” of truth was first accompanied by relativism about truth itself, that initially began to have various interpretations (including in the field of science, post Einstein) to later, finally, end up with no value. Any tradition could be used or reused to inform about the state of society.

This change in social paradigms would inexorably influence the appropriation of memory. As one of its vectors, it is well known as the field of cultural heritage has expanded since the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. More than that, the fragmentation of the contemporary world – which has replaced the compartmentalization of the modern world, as noted by Milton Santos (2000) – has been represented by Pierre Nora’s “places of memory” (1984), which well translate the fragmentation of the memory use in a world with no rituals.

The valorization of memory, that intensifies since the 1980s, is precisely related to the feeling of loss of a world whose solid foundations crumble in the air (Berman, 1982). As Halbwachs (1990) has

already revealed, society remembers memory in times of loss; an answer to the need for temporal continuity of the human being:

The advancement of communication technology and the fast pace of daily life remind the individuals the fact that they always live the same historical time, the present, and disrupt the sense of continuity previously perceived between past-present-future. Thus, we seek to overcome the rupture with the past, which originated the insecurity regarding the future, imaginary dimension of time, where the expectations prior to this one are fulfilled. (RODRIGUES, 2008, no page number)

The spread of “heritage appreciation” throughout the world over the last decades (CHOAY, 2001, p. 237) reveals precisely the moment when society is no longer what it was, but does not yet know what it will be. The loss of traditional forms of artifacts, whether architectural or urban, of the doings and knowledge that begin manifesting in the Enlightenment period, in the 18<sup>th</sup> century (TAFURI, 1985), grow bigger in the last third of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. At this time, society sought memory as a means of valuing specific cultures and recognizing various identities.

In Brazil, the Federal Constitution of 1988 well reflects this moment of expansion of the concept of cultural heritage and enhancement of the memory and identity of the various social groups, shifting the attribution of value from the state to society.

The right to memory, initially advocated in the late 1980s and 1990s, finds a complex and contradictory field of action today. If, on the one hand, heritage preservation agencies are threatened by conservative instances that seek to weaken these institutions, on the other, society resists by means of actions that claim the right to memory. More than resisting, these actions point out new paths. Paths that show the change in values that society has been giving to memory. As a lived experience, as a social practice, memory has been used to relocate old and pending cultural issues under new perspectives, such as those related to social groups less represented in official choices of cultural heritage:

Finally, from the last quarter of the last century onwards, the pragmatic character of memory dominates. From a knowledge tool to ethical criteria and a powerful weapon of claim and political action, it is now subject to a multivariate analysis of disciplines. Political practices, especially the ones related to identity, replace the knowledge function. (MENESES, 2018, p. 2)

Of a political nature, the fields of memory and cultural heritage demand caution to avoid manipulation, trivialization or even mystification of concepts and values. On the other hand, places of memory – unlike places of history (Nora, 1993) – have played a significant role in the construction and enhancement of identity, since they constitute a representation that mobilizes certain social groups, not only through individual but also collective memory. Memory and heritage

have been used in the search for resignifications of social places.

This new dimension of memory values requires, therefore, great care in addressing these issues. The production of knowledge about memory and cultural heritage, in this situation, is fundamental for the understanding of an increasingly dynamic field that, as previously more static, was almost exclusively based on the choices of the official institutions, responsible for identifying and protecting this heritage.

It is in this context that the 26<sup>th</sup> edition of *arq.urb* Journal is inserted, thematic edition on memory and cultural heritage in São Paulo. The articles of this edition feature recent approaches that reflect the new dimensions, issues and challenges of a changing relationship such as the one that unites memory and cultural heritage in this early 21<sup>st</sup> century. The articles refer to multiple aspects of this relationship, seeking new readings on social meanings, Afro-Brazilian memory and religiosity, the natural, urban, industrial and local heritage, the perception of the resident, the issue of the surroundings of landmarked properties, as well as queries regarding pictorial representation and the construction of memory. These diverse dimensions respond to the changes highlighted herein.

An edition built from various approaches, mainly from professionals in History and Architecture and Urbanism. However, there are different views from

the technical staff from preservation agencies, to university researchers, as well as from the civil society organized in the form of a collective of professionals from diverse areas.

In these approaches, there is no separation between tangible and the intangible. Places are always unique and their meanings multiple.

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# Editorial

Edite Galote Carranza\*

**H**eritage is the theme of arch.urb 26 in a special issue. Revisiting this theme is timely, especially in 2019, when the field of Architecture, Urbanism and Design from CAPES (Coordination for the Improvement of Higher Education Personnel) brought together the country's research elite, proposing action integrated with the objectives of the *Re|Thinking World Report on cultural policies: creativity for development 2018*, launched by UNESCO. This world report addresses the role of culture in sustainable development and sets goals and strategies for meeting the goals of the 2030 Agenda. Thus, the field of Architecture, Urbanism and Design values sustainability and the sustainable development goals, including: SDG 11.4 – strengthening efforts to protect and safeguard the world's cultural and natural heritage. In this sense, this issue brings a contribution from Brazilian researchers.

The organization of this thematic edition with its nine articles was carried out by researcher Andréa de Oliveira Tourinho, co-editor of arch.urb and

professor of the Graduate Program in Architecture and Urbanism at the São Judas Tadeu University.

**The recognition of the cultural heritage of African origins – landmarking and registration of traditional sites in São Paulo**, authored by Elisabete Mitiko Watanabe - Master's candidate in History from the Pontifical Catholic University of São Paulo - and Heloisa de Faria Cruz – graduate professor in the History program of the Pontifical Catholic University of São Paulo. The article addresses new discussions on landmarking tools. The author reflects on the preservation, appreciation and visibility of sacred places of Afro-Brazilian culture, which are legitimate legacies of our multicultural, mixed and syncretic identity. The article is inserted in the recent context of recognition and appreciation of assets linked to the history and memory of black populations by the Council for the Protection of Historical, Artistic, Archaeological and Tourist Heritage of the State of São Paulo, and contributes to the appreciation and promotion of the diversity of expressions in

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accordance with the objectives of the above-mentioned World Report.

**The landmarking of natural areas by the CONDEPHAAT: mark of innovation and memory of São Paulo's heritage institution (1976-1995)**, authored by Felipe Bueno Crispim, PhD candidate in History at the University of Campinas, shows the innovative actions of the Council for the Protection of Historical, Artistic, Archaeological and Tourist Heritage of the State of São Paulo, which adopted landmarking as a resource for preservation of natural areas and landscapes between 1976 and 1995. The article brings the issue of safeguarding natural areas by the preservation of cultural heritage agencies and problematizes the issue in current and future contexts.

Manoela Rossinetti Rufinoni – Professor of the Department of Art History and the Graduate Program in Art History of the Faculty of Philosophy, Languages, Literature and Human Sciences of the Federal University of São Paulo. **The article From building to territory: the urban industrial heritage in the trajectory of the CONDEPHAAT (1968-2018)** delves into the enlargement of the concepts of urban industrial and environmental heritage, and their property and urban relations, along the work of the Council for the Protection of Historical, Artistic, Archaeological and Tourist Heritage of the State of São Paulo. The author verifies the practical use of landmarked properties concepts and process analysis, including: the Luz Station, the Campinas Station, the Cachoeira

Paulista Station, the Barracão Station, the Paranapiacaba Railway, the architectural set Kaigai Kogoyo Kabushiki Kaisha, the São Martinho Spinning and Weaving Company, the Gasômetro Industrial Complex and Casa das Retortas, the Gessy Industrial Company's Old Factory Buildings, the Paulistana Brewery, the Brás Trolley Car Station, and the Carioba Industrial Complex.

On industrial heritage, the article **Weaving the history of São Paulo: textile factories as cultural heritage**, authored by Deborah Regina Leal Neves – PhD candidate in History at the University of Campinas – deals with the result of the research carried out for the preservation of six textile factories, which culminated in the landmarking of four of them by the Council for the Protection of Historical, Artistic, Archaeological and Tourist Heritage of the State of São Paulo. The author brings the emergence of the first textile industries in the state to supply the coffee agro-export sector: jute bags, cotton bags and cords in the late nineteenth and first decades of the twentieth century. She also looks at key aspects of industrial architecture in its early days, such as: the building system, legislation, and the “British Manchester style” prevalent in the research examples. The author carefully analyzes six landmarking processes: *Nossa Senhora da Ponte* Textile Factory, in the city of Sorocaba (1881); Brasital Factory and *Vila de Operários - Società per l'Esportazione e per l'Industria Italo Americana*, in the city of São Roque (1890); Taubaté Industrial Company, in the city of Taubaté (1891); Argos Industrial Factory, in the

city of Jundiaí (1913); Japy Factory, in the city of Jundiaí (1913); *Nossa Senhora Mãe dos Homens* Textile Factory, in the city of Porto Feliz, (1924). The author contextualizes factories as important documents of the early industrial architecture, state economic and technological development, and record of factory work environments. It should be noted that the author highlights the importance of preserving such spaces as a record of the memory of free and salaried work environments, which became places of conflict and dispute in the First Republic.

With the publication of **Views on the Freguesia do Ó, social participation and the construction of values in the city**, the journal *arq.urb* innovates. The article is authored by a working group Sao Paulo's Heritage Education Network (REPEP), a group which brings together members of higher education institutions, civil society and the community. The text partly follows the conventions of the scientific article and is a first-person account in some parts. The innovative form is accompanied by a democratic, horizontal approach, where members of the group of distinct cultural capitals report their experiences of community activism, in favor of preserving heritage of that neighborhood. The activism of the group resulted in a formal request from the Department of Historical Heritage to review the landmarking of Núcleo Original of the Parish of Ó, with the aim of including the View from the Belvedere of Ó, the historic view of the *Tietê* River floodplain hill. Thus, the article fulfills the important role of establishing

links between popular and erudite cultures leading to the reflection of the academy, because it brings the yearnings and desires of citizens regarding culture and democracy: tangible and intangible preservation of the city. In this sense, the journal *arq.urb* acts in line with the objectives of the World Report and “re-thinks” the scientific genre.

**The city starts where you live! Relations between memory, identity and territory in neighborhoods that have CEUs' headquarters**

authored by Elaine Aparecida Jardim – architect and urbanist, a Diploma in Image Discourse Analysis and a M.A in Museology from the University of São Paulo – is a record of a fruitful experience. The author reports the actions of the project *My neighborhood, my city: you are also part of this story*, a political-pedagogical experience carried out by the city of São Paulo's Department of Education. The project was made during the celebrations of the 450th anniversary of the foundation of the city of São Paulo, which sought to include the “local memories” of neighborhoods in the headquarters of the Unified Educational Centers – CEUs. The author talks about methodology, oral history registration of the neighborhood residents, systematization of the textual and iconographic documentation, and exhibitions. The experience brought the public power and community closer together and gathered a rich collection about the neighborhoods in the outskirts of the city. In other words, that educational experience refers to the very sense of preserving the city's memory as heritage for future generations.

**Inhabit the present, build the past: oral history and heritage in the modern residential complexes in São Paulo** authored by Flávia Brito do Nascimento – professor in the undergraduate and graduate programs of the Faculty of Architecture and Urbanism of the University of São Paulo – is a research based on the oral history of the residents of the housing complexes built by the Retirement and Pension Institutes (IAPs). The researcher and scholarship students from the Unified Scholarship Program of the University of São Paulo interviewed about fifty residents, almost all belonging to the first generation of families living in those complexes. Based on data collection, the author discusses topics such as preservation of the tangible heritage of architectural complexes, issues related to intangible heritage (i.e. records of residents' memories), their relationships with their houses and their neighborhoods. The work is a sensitive cross-disciplinary and cross-cutting approach.

**Surroundings of listed heritage and challenges between legislation, technique and urban values** authored by Mariana Kimie da Silva Nito – PhD candidate at the Faculty of Architecture and Urbanism at the University of São Paulo. The article deals with the preliminary results of the research on the role of the surrounding by urban policies. The researcher analyzes the theme in its interfaces with the city and its importance in the preservation process of properties and discusses their role in urban public policy during a specific period. The author informs few effective advances have been implemented compared to landmarked

properties despite their importance. To clarify, the author gives the example of the landmarking process of the Teatro Oficina that was preserved as an intangible cultural asset of the city of São Paulo, in the three instances – city, state and federal, and yet its surroundings remain an undefined territory. The author carefully analyzes the legal aspects that involve the process of the Teatro Oficina (Uzina Uzona) and issues of the surroundings, especially the fate of an empty land in the adjacent lot disputed for decades.

**The Foundation of São Vicente, the biography(s) of a painting (1892-1939)** authored by the historian Eduardo Polidori Villa Nova de Oliveira – BA in History and MA in Museum Studies from the University of São Paulo – presents the results of his research on the iconic work of painter Benedito Calixto, which today is part of the Museu Paulista's collection of the University of São Paulo. The article shows the trajectory of the work, from the antecedents, such as the artist's education and his transit among the members of the elite of the city of São Vicente in the state of São Paulo, to the significant details in its production for the celebrations of the 400th Anniversary of the Discovery of Brazil, the canvas exhibition strategies, and the critical opinion. The main objective of the article is to analyze the multiple narratives that involved painting along its trajectory, such as: the political use of painting by the Commemorative Society, the construction of an "official view" of discovery, the reproductions of the painting in photographs of magazines, books, postcards and, above all, the way the public



museum acts and disseminates the “political-imaginary” conceptions through consecrated works.

Of the nine articles gathered here, six of them are the result of research carried out in public university graduate programs (USP, UNICAMP and EFLCH-UNIFESP); a research paper in a private university graduate program (PUC-SP); an article on research by the São Paulo State preservation agency, by the institution’s technical staff; and an article with innovative experience of social integration – university and civil society.

Together, the articles bring important reflections on heritage with different approaches. They record the commitment of Brazilian researchers to safeguard the tangible, intangible, and natural assets of our society. The quality of the articles gathered in this well-selected selection by Andréa de Oliveira Tourinho, co-author of arch.urb and expert on the theme, brings the necessary, deserved and day-to-day light to the concept and good heritage practices.

**Enjoy!**





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

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## 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 UPPH<sup>1</sup>, 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*.

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.

## 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”<sup>2</sup>. 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 20<sup>th</sup> 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 total<sup>3</sup>, two registrations of intangible heritages and 125 studies on heritages to be listed<sup>4</sup>.

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 SPHAN<sup>5</sup>, 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 18<sup>th</sup> 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](http://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 Paulo<sup>6</sup>), natural areas (Juréia and Serra do Japi<sup>7</sup>), buildings related to the immigration process (Japanese Cemetery – Alvares Machado; Immigrant Inn – located in the city of São Paulo<sup>8</sup>), and even heritages related to cultural practices (Picinguaba Indian Village located in the city of Ubatuba<sup>9</sup>). 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 Bohan<sup>10</sup>, 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 Paulo<sup>11</sup> between 1890 and 1930, and the affective memory related to these places as well. Hospitals such as Vicente Aranha Sanatory<sup>12</sup> (in the city of São José dos Campos), Juquery Hospital<sup>13</sup> (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 Cruzes<sup>14</sup>)

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 environment<sup>15</sup>.

In addition, the registration of House of *Dona Yayá* (in the Bela Vista neighborhood, São Paulo<sup>16</sup>), 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 20<sup>th</sup> 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 multicultural<sup>17</sup>.

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 neighborhood<sup>18</sup>. Only *Terreiro Alê Ixé Obá* and *District of Cafundó* were listed specifically for their relationship with African-Brazilian culture<sup>19</sup>.

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 Silva<sup>20</sup>, 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* listed<sup>21</sup>, 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 1990<sup>22</sup>.

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 CONDEPHAAT<sup>23</sup>. 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://fcptsite.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 modified<sup>24</sup>.

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 Ribeira<sup>25</sup> (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 wrote<sup>26</sup>:

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 3551/00<sup>27</sup>.

In 17<sup>th</sup> 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 IPHAN<sup>28</sup>, 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 IPHAN<sup>29</sup>, 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)<sup>30</sup> 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 unanimously<sup>31</sup>. 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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# The landmarking of natural areas by the CONDEPHAAT: mark of innovation and memory of São Paulo's heritage institution (1976-1995)

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## Abstract

This article focuses on the landmarking of natural areas by the CONDEPHAAT - Council for the Protection of Historical, Artistic, Archaeological and Tourist Heritage. It discusses the potentialities and limits of landmarking in the preservation of natural landscape in all its aspects between 1970 and 1990, when most actions were developed by this agency in the state of São Paulo. It also proposes the landmarking of natural areas should be discussed as a current issue, in constant interdisciplinary dialogue as an indispensable debate in the renewal of studies on preservation, and especially under the responsibility of cultural heritage.

**Keywords:** Landmarking; CONDEPHAAT; Natural Heritage.

## Introduction

**T**he preservation of natural areas as cultural heritage is an interdisciplinary challenge that implies parting with classical paradigms of Brazilian's preservationist practice. One of these paradigms is the idea, wrongly widespread over the time, that preservation agencies should not be responsible for nature protection. To overcome this challenge, this text debates the experience of the Council for the Protection of Historical, Artistic, Archaeological and Tourist Heritage – CONDEPHAAT in the protection of natural spaces, to demonstrate its current importance and feasibility as preservation practice.

This study understands São Paulo's heritage institution as a current issue and source of unceasing debates between intellectuals, organized civil society, and different ideological groups. It also considers the landmarking of natural areas by the CONDEPHAAT as technical-

scientific memory and innovative preserving practices innovation in the state of São Paulo.

A brief critical overview of the “meaning of being” of nature as heritage is presented in the trajectory of the federal policy of cultural heritage preservation, subject discussed by Mongelli (2011), in detail Magalhães (2015) and Pereira (2018). After that, we analyze the landmarking of natural areas in São Paulo between the 1970s and 1990s. Its characteristics are considered groundbreaking for the enlargement of the landmarking concept as defined since its creation in 1937, for the protection of natural spaces upon the recognition of scientific and ecological values based on a geographical approach of landscape. A singularity of São Paulo's heritage institution is present in this innovation: the influence of the academic concepts in the definition of the CONDEPHAAT's guidelines. Members of

this agency are members of São Paulo's state university – University of São Paulo, UNESP and UNICAMP in the fields of Architecture, History, Geography, Archaeology, Ethnography and Social Sciences (RODRIGUES, 2000) since 1975.

The guideline of our investigation is centered in the idea that landmarking of natural areas by the CONDEPHAAT needs to be incorporated in São Paulo's technical-scientific memory. This will renew the debate about the role of natural heritage preservation agencies in nature preservation, a current and urgent discussion.

### **Heritage and Landscape in the Brazilian preservation policies**

The protection of natural spaces by cultural heritage preservation agencies in Brazil is provided in the decree-law 25 from 1937, responsible for the creation of landmarking and organization of the National Historical and Artistic Heritage Service – SPHAN<sup>1</sup>. The government should protect natural monuments, sites and landscapes, as registered in the Historic Environment Record – HER:

Art. 1<sup>st</sup> The national historical and artistic heritage is constituted by the set of tangible and intangible property existing in the country and whose conservation is of public interest, either by its connection to memorable facts of Brazilian history, or by its exceptional archaeological, ethnographic, literature or artistic value.

§ 1<sup>st</sup> The properties referred to in this article shall only be considered an integral part of the national historical or artistic heritage after being inserted, separately or grouped, in one of the four Historic Environment Record, which is referred in article fourth of this law.

§ 2<sup>nd</sup> The natural monuments, as well as the landscape sites, which must be conserved and protected by the remarkable features with which they have been endowed by nature or managed by human industry, are equally subject to the landmarking and the property referred to in this article (BRASIL, 1937).

The artistic and historical values of natural monuments, sites and landscapes would be defined from its capacity of equating to human artifice, for its natural characteristics such as “remarkable traits gifted by nature” or as a result of the human action on natural space “managed by nature”. Parts of the national territory where the human presence was not too prevailing or noticeable could be landmarked in the sites and landscapes whose “natural trait” was gifted by nature.

It was believed heritage was related to history of art, aesthetics and visibility. It understood nature through the look of an observer – a State's agent, whose discretionary power identified and legitimized the historical and artistic values capable of justifying the landmarking. In addition, when it came to natural elements, it should

1. Organ created by law 378 of January 13, 1937, during the changes in the Ministry of Education and Public Health. In 1946, it changed its name to Board of National Historical and Artistic Heritage, and its name changed between 1970 and 1979 to National Historical and Artistic Heritage Institute. Between 1980 and 1990, it was called National Service of Historical and Artistic Heritage (SPHAN), sharing its responsibilities with the Pro Memory National Foundation (FNpM). Both were extinct in 1990, when the Brazilian Institute of Cultural Heritage (IBPC) was created. In 1994, under the Ministry of Culture, it was once again called National Historical and Artistic Heritage Institute (IPHAN), which is the current denomination.

mandatorily meet the demands of exceptionality and scenic beauty.

The procedures of identification and appreciation of cultural properties in the first years of heritage institutionalization in Brazil had major influence of the French legislation. Its principles were a model to many legislations about preservation in Europe and in Latin America. In France, the Historical Monument Law of 1913 protected the natural monuments and sites of artistic, historical, scientific, legendary or picturesque character<sup>2</sup>.

The philosopher and landscape scholar, Anne Cauquelin (2007), says that the 1930's definition of "site" and "landscape" by the French Ministry of Public Education and Fine Arts highlights ambiguity. The definition has two opposite objects of the landscape notion: the built ordering and the eternal principle, a perfect equivalency between art and nature:

(...) on the one hand, carrying back the landscape as the only way of making it visible, on the other hand, unfolding it leading to the nature's unalterable principle, erasing the idea of its possible construction. Well-marked confusion in the notion's flow of "site", "environment", "ordering" or "integration". Because the ones who want to safeguard the landscape's nature as primitive data, are also engaged to protect "sites" from a certain historical and cultural memory. The "site", which stays there, designated both the monument (this arc, this old town, and this

vestige) and the singular geological form that intervened in a natural environment. In this point of view, the landscape is a "natural monument of artistic character"; the forest, a "gallery of natural frames, a green museum". (CAUQUELIN, 2007, p. 40-41)

To beyond the influence of the French heritage protection laws, the decree law 25/37 was based on Mário de Andrade's preliminary draft, from 1936, by the request of the Minister of Education and Health, Gustavo Capanema. As indicated by Chuva (2009) and Fonseca (2009), in his act of heritage's institution, Andrade understood the notion of art as a unifying concept of a National Artistic Heritage idea as:

(...) all works of applied, popular or erudite art, be it national or foreign, belong to public authorities, to social organisms and to national or foreign Brazil private residents divided into eight categories – archaeological art, Amerindian art, popular art, historical art, erudite national art, erudite foreign art, national applied arts and foreign applied arts. (ANDRADE, 1980, p. 90-92)

The landscape is seen as part of one or more art categories established by Andrade always as an expression of the human mind:

(...) certain places of the nature, which floristic, hydrographic or any other expansion be definitively determined by the Brasis' human industry, such as lake cities, channels, villages, roads, grottos etc. (ANDRADE, 1980, p. 92)

2. <https://www.vie-publique.fr/politiques-publiques/politique-patrimoine/chronologie/>

Ribeiro (2007) says Mário de Andrade's idea of landscape was subordinated to ethnography, a construction of the popular art in a wide sense. Through the landmarking of landscapes, the material properties printed in the space by collective work, unassociated from what it considers as erudite art, could be recognized as heritage and be preserved. (RIBEIRO, 2007, p. 71) The final text published in November 31, 1937, as decree law 25, had significant alterations of scope and content about the imminent artistic character of the national heritage as established by Mário de Andrade's preliminary draft. The Decree chose the notion of "historical and artistic heritage" and created, at the National Service of Historic and Artistic Heritage – SPHAN, the Archaeological, Ethnographic and Landscaping. It established a political place registration of natural spaces as national heritage, although its concepts and definitions were not precise.

Besides this, the landscaping heritage did not find a clear definition during the establishment of a collection of cultural properties landmarked by IPHAN. Since 1937, the criteria used for the registration of properties in the Archaeological, Ethnographic and Landscaping Historic Environment Record was tough. At this place, the typologies of natural properties related to the national world and to the non-built environment were supposed to be reunited (RIBEIRO, 2007). As affirmed by Magalhães (2015), the landscaping

heritage protected by the IPHAN until 1950 would have been selected upon a signed agreement, in 1938, between the agency, then directed by Rodrigo Melo Franco de Andrade, and the National Museum, whose president was Heloisa Alberto Torres. This partnership made great part of the registered properties in the Archaeological, Ethnographic and Landscaping Historic Environment Record be identified based on natural sciences' criteria such as botanic and anthropogeography, in the scientific key, anthropological-botanic and not necessarily landscaping. (MAGALHÃES, 2015, p. 222)

Besides this agreement established through the action of members of the National Museum such as Raimundo Lopes and Alberto Childe in the IPHAN's Consulting Board, in 1980 a partnership of the agency with the Brazilian Institute for Forestry Development Ministry of Environment's Environment autarchy, would be signed to make a General Guideline to the Rio de Janeiro Botanical Garden's area. The General Guideline Plan standardized the cooperation of the two agencies of revitalization and modernization of the Rio de Janeiro Botanical Garden. It established a regime of strict, intense and mutual collaboration between the parts in the making of projects and investments in restoration, conservation and protection of historical, archaeological and landscaping sites in the conservation units managed by the Institute (PEREIRA, 2018, p. 63).

The new agreement made possible the cooperation between two agencies that had been historically distant because of the legislation, although they protected the natural spaces on a complementary and non-conflicting way. After this innovation, the Natural and Archaeological Heritage Coordination, under the direction of the architects Carlos Alberto Xavier and Carlos de Moura Delphim, was extinct in 1990 because of the Brazilian Institute of Cultural Heritage and reorganized only between 2009 and 2013 under the denomination of General Coordination of Natural Heritage (PEREIRA, 2018, p. 63)

In the national scenario, the marginality and lack of definitions about the protection of natural spaces by the preservation policies are highlighted. Because of that, a debate on the case of São Paulo and its peculiarities regarding the national scenario is proposed.

### **The landmarking of natural areas by the CONDEPHAAT**

In her PhD thesis in human geography *The construction of the natural heritage*, Simone Scifoni (2006) conducted a pioneering study about the landmarking of the *Serra do Mar* mountain range, in the state of São Paulo. The study presents the role of the *Serra do Mar* in the production of the geographical space in the northern coast, characterized by the increase

of urbanization. The preservation of the *Serra do Mar* is attractive to the real estate market of vacation houses renting and to the maintenance of São Paulo's spatial division of labor. (SCIFONI, 2006, p. 5)

The author's analysis shows the trajectory of the term natural heritage in the list of the World Heritage Site by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) to the natural spaces recognized since 1972 with the recognition of exceptionality and universality's values. The natural heritage concept gains more dynamism and expressivity in the preservation of local experiences – when used to reference the fights of populations and communities to nature's preservation, a socially appropriated nature that is lived in the daily life of social groups. (SCIFONI, 2006 p. 115)

The CONDEPHAAT's experience is found in the preservation of natural areas, landmarkings that would become paradigmatic not only by the unprecedented use of geographical concepts in the identification and valuing of natural areas, but also by the landmarkings being almost always requests of the civil society and of the São Paulo's scientific community. The heritage is a place of expression of the citizen practices during the country's political opening and re-democratization (CRISPIM, 2016).

The geographers from the University of São Paulo and the architects of the Faculty of Architecture and Urbanism from the same university started to work in the CONDEPHAAT in 1976. They built a conducive environment to the emergence of safeguard practices under the geography's view and the valuing of typologies still not contemplated by landmarking: the ones of different ethnic origins, the heritage of African and Indigenous origins and the architectural styles of the 21<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries with special attention to the eclecticism. (RODRIGUES, 2000)

In this innovative scenario in conceptual terms and of dialogues between environmentalists, geographers and architects through the heritage field, favorable conditions were created related to the emergence of an idea of natural heritage originated from the geography's concepts of landscape and territory, and that for a first time influenced the heritage field. The landmarking was a tool of the territory management and the land tensions characteristic of the natural areas, especially those bordering the great urban centers. (CRISPIM, 2016)

Since the landmarking was the only Brazilian legal instrument that made possible the recognition of the public interest above the private without the expropriation consequence, geographers such as Aziz Nacib Ab'Saber designed guidelines for the preservation of large natural areas. The idea was that the natural environment conservation is possible through the social uses and the cultural, scientific and ecological values in these areas. In these areas, the human presence fits the high spatial selectivity such as the mountain ranges

the *Serra do Mar*, the *Serra da Cantareira* or even the *Serra do Japi*, surrounded by medium and big-sized cities in process of expansion of their urban areas since 1950. (AB'SABER, 1986)

At these places, Ab'Saber thought, the landmarking could allow development and preservation to walk together. Even with the long time human occupation –small settlements, family farming, *caçara* (local inhabitants) communities, indigenous villages and *quilombos* (settlement of people with African origin), – it would be possible to preserve nature as cultural, scientific and ecological reference and memory of the different groups that formed the Brazilian society. That is, the natural areas as culture documents.

Nothing more worthy of being subscribed in a country's records of basic natural heritage than the spaces of its exception landscapes. Its most delicate and representative ecological tissues. The remaining terrestrial or marine ecosystems. Everything that is not part of topographic and landscaping banality, underlined by any type of ecological and biotic exceptionality deserved, since the beginning, a legal protection by any kind of statutory filling. For that, the preservationist imagination was very fertile, resulting in the typology of landmarking instruments: national parks, state parks, City parks, forest reserves, biological reserves, ecological stations, sanctuaries and wild life preservation areas. Besides the indigenous reserves that constitute in some type of natural and anthropological space defended by the own Constitution. (AB'SABER, 1986, p. 7)



The use of landmarking to the preservation of natural areas had very clear and delimited specific criteria. It dismissed the landmarking to the preservation of areas of hard monitoring and distant from urban areas that affect the biodynamic of the ecological, hydrological and physiographical processes. In addition, it was dismissed in spaces with another preservation legal policy, as long as it is suitable to safeguard the space.

Paradoxically, the most suitable spaces for landmarking are located near areas with human intervention, subject to a strong and irreversible pressure from the real estate speculation (...) It is not by other reason that the Atlantic façade of São Paulo on sectors not very distant from the big city had been pioneering in efforts for the landmarking of some basic natural heritage: the *Serra do Mar*, *Juréia*, *Pedra Grande*, *Cantareira*, *Jaraguá*, *Boturuna* and *Cabeceira do Rio Tietê*. (AB'SABER, 1986)

### **The CONDEPHAAT, between geography and heritage**

The CONDEPHAAT had nine representative chairs<sup>3</sup> and later enlarged its councilors' body, since 1976 by the decree 7516/76. Representatives from the departments of History of Architecture and Geography of the University of São Paulo, State Commission of Fine Arts, and National Conference of Bishops of Brazil (CNBB) totalized thirteen members.

The enlargement of the councilor's body happened because of the increasing need of specialized work in the heritage field since the 1970s. In 1974, a report of the activities organized by the CONDEPHAAT's executive secretary Ruy de Azevedo Marques pointed that the selection criteria was amateur and interfered in the renovation of the agency's practices. (RODRIGUES, 2000, p.55)

It was believed that the scientific knowledge of the history of architecture and geography would enable the adoption of objective criteria to the selection of cultural properties. It reveals the theoretical and technical complexity of heritage far beyond academic knowledge could gain social coverage and cultural dimension to the society. These beliefs became partially viable since 1975, when the CONDEPHAAT started to integrate the Department of Culture, Science and Technology that replaced the old Department of Culture, Sports and Tourism. Its first head, the bibliographer and industrialist José Mindlin, was the one who tried to answer the demands pointed by Ruy de Azevedo Marques in his report. (RODRIGUES, 2000, p. 55)

The Council's enlargement happened in May 1976, during Nestor Goulart Reis Filho's management. The posts of the History of Architecture and Project Aesthetics department from the Faculty of Architecture and Urbanism were occupied by Benedito Lima de Toledo and Aziz Ab'Saber, representing the Geography Department of

3. State Department of Culture, Sports and Tourism; University of São Paulo's History and Pre-History Departments; Institute of Architects of Brazil – São Paulo Section. São Paulo Metropolitan *Curia*, Board of National Historical and Artistic Heritage; Historical and Geographical Institute of São Paulo (IHGSP) and Brazilian Historical and Geographic Institute (IHGB). (RODRIGUES, 2000)

the Faculty of Philosophy, Letters and Human Science. It was a renovation period of the agency's practices when academic knowledge and international discussions about preservation gained ground and allowed new points of views to new preservation objects.

The ideas of "cultural heritage", "natural heritage" and "cultural asset" became part of the everyday life of the field of preservation in Brazil. These ideas were consolidated internationally and became recurrent in the 1970s, in the UNESCO 17<sup>th</sup> General Conference hosted in Paris, November 1972, when the concepts of cultural and natural heritage were defined in the World Heritage Committee.

Regarding environmental policies, the Human Environment Conference took place in Stockholm, Sweden, in 1972 a landmark in the worldwide environmental awareness emergency (MCCORMICK, 1992, p. 53). In Brazil, this Conference favored the establishment of the Special Agency of the Environment (SEMA), founded in 1973 and directed by jurist Paulo Nogueira Neto. This agency divided the work with the Brazilian Institute for Forestry Development (IBDF) and nowadays it is incorporated by the Chico Mendes Institute for Biodiversity Conservation (ICMBio) from the Ministry of the Environment. (NOGUEIRA-NETO, 2009)

The international context and the environment discussions echoed in the cultural heritage agencies. Until today, the classical separation

between nature and culture according to the UNESCO 17<sup>th</sup> General Conference of 1972 that defined natural heritage exists:

Natural features consisting of physical and biological formations or groups of such formations, which are of outstanding universal value from the aesthetic or scientific point of view; – geological and physiographical formations and precisely delineated areas which constitute the habitat of threatened species of animals and plants of outstanding universal value from the point of view of science or conservation; – natural sites or precisely delineated natural areas of outstanding universal value from the point of view of science, conservation or natural beauty. (UNESCO, 1972, art. 2)

A specialization course was designed by museum specialist and art historian Hugues de Varine-Bohan in the Faculty of Architecture and Urbanism of the University of São Paulo. The course remembered the heritage preservation practices with innovative concepts of culture, environment and preservation (RODRIGUES, 2000).

The "1974's course", as it is known, was promoted after the "1970's Brasília Commitment", that established specialization courses about cultural heritage and restoration of works of arts as priority through partnerships between the preservation agencies and universities. (NASCIMENTO, 2016, p. 207)

In the CONDEPHAAT, a new work perspective with innovative heritage definitions came up. These definitions understood the preservation

as a value assignment practice that denied the idea that cultural properties had immanent values which should be recognized by the technical look of the preservation agencies, originated from an erudite vision of culture:

Among continuous contradictions, the CONDEPHAAT would adopt new protection objects, an unprecedented concept of preservation action that placed man as last agent, as culture producer. Under the influence of Aziz Ab'Saber, representative of the University of São Paulo's Geography Department, the landmarking began to be adopted as a way to protect the environment and, on that line of thinking, heritage would be understood as an improvement in quality of life (RODRIGUES, 2000, p.80).

The preservation of natural areas guided São Paulo 'heritage. The monumental scale and the conception of landscape nook attributed to nature from its tourist potential gives way to geographical scale from which scientific and ethical values are attributed to nature as a vector for quality of life and environmental balance. This shows the alarming devastation of the natural resources.

### **The formulation of specific guidelines for the protection of natural areas**

As the representative of the University of São Paulo's Geography Department, Ab'Saber presented the text later published in the department's journal:

We have tried with effort to deal with the complex questions involved in a line of thinking that holds a search for rational criteria, objective enough to try to help the preservation of the remnants of a destroyed and disfigured nature. And then, minimizing the flaws of territorial space basic organization, considering the benefit of all São Paulo's inhabitants and social groups. In a contingency of high land appreciation and sensible reduction of available and non-compromised spaces, the development of a selective policy becomes indispensable to enable the protection and permanence of some significant frames of the nature on the inside of the São Paulo's landscape and ecological universe. (AB'SABER, 1977, p. 24)

In the Guidelines the intention was to synthesize key concepts as total space and landscape to preserve São Paulo's natural heritage. The text established three action levels: firstly, critical and ecologically strategic areas related to the biosphere filters were prioritized; secondly, the exception landscapes (hills of slight land relief, rocks' seas, and caves, etc.), and finally, the substitution landscapes such as city nurseries, gardens and parks with tourist and recreational purposes (AB'SABER, 1977, p.24).

Part of the mountain range *Serra do Mar* in São Paulo, the *Serra do Japi* and many other areas bordering São Paulo's great urban centers were suitable critical areas, what gave them priority in the execution of the natural areas policy. Then, CONDEPHAAT designed a reference framework of São Paulo's landscapes to safeguard actions between the 1970s and 1980s.

**Natural Areas landmarked by the CONDEPHAAT (in chronological order)**

Landmarked asset	City	Resolution	Historical Environment Record (HER)
Jequitibás' Grove	Campinas	09/04/1970	Archaeological, ethnographic and landscaping
Monções' Park	Porto Feliz	20/03/1972	Historical
Lorena's Road, Victor Dubugras' monuments and surrounding woods' area	Cubatão e São Bernardo do Campo (Estrada Velha de Santos)	11/08/1972	Historical
Varvitos' Quarry	Itu	18/03/1974	Archaeological, ethnographic and landscaping
Independence Park	São Paulo	02/04/1975	Historical
City Nursery and Eduardo Navarro de Andrade Museum	Rio Claro	09/12/1977	Archaeological, ethnographic and landscaping
Juréia's Massif and Green rive	Iguape	25/07/1979	Archaeological, ethnographic and landscaping
Morro Grande Forest Reserve	Cotia	02/06/1981	Archaeological, ethnographic and landscaping
Luz Garden	São Paulo	08/08/1981	Archaeological, ethnographic and landscaping
Trianon Park	São Paulo	13/05/1982	Archaeological, ethnographic and landscaping
José Pedro de Oliveira Foundation Forest Reserve	Campinas	03/02/1983	Archaeological, ethnographic and landscaping
Picinguaba Residential Units	Ubatuba	01/03/1983	Archaeological, ethnographic and landscaping
Jaraguá State Park	São Paulo	04/02/1983	Archaeological, ethnographic and landscaping
Serra do Japi, Guaxinduva and Jaguacoara	Jundiaí, Cabreúva, Pirapora do Bom Jesus	08/03/1983	Archaeological, ethnographic and landscaping
Serra de Atibaia or Serra de Itapetininga	Atibaia, Bom Jesus dos Perdões	06/07/1983	Archaeological, ethnographic and landscaping
Serra da Boturuna	Pirapora do Bom Jesus and other cities	04/08/1983	Archaeological, ethnographic and landscaping
Cantareira State Reserve and City Nursery	Caieiras, Mairiporã, São Paulo e Guarulhos	04/08/1983	Archaeological, ethnographic and landscaping
Botelho Hill	Guarujá	01/08/1984	Archaeological, ethnographic and landscaping
Serra do Mar and Serra de Paranapiacaba	Apiá e demais municípios	06/06/1985	Archaeological, ethnographic and landscaping

Landmarked asset	City	Resolution	Historical Environment Record (HER)
Monduba Hill, Pinto Hill and Icanhema Hill	Guarujá	10/12/1985	Archaeological, ethnographic and landscaping
Aclimação Park and Adjacent Green Areas	São Paulo	02/10/1986	Archaeological, ethnographic and landscaping
Jardins District	São Paulo	23/01/1986	Archaeological, ethnographic and landscaping
Modernist House	São Paulo	20/10/84	Historical
Paranapiacaba Railway Complex	Santo André	30/09/1987	Historical
Quilombo Village	Guarujá	22/10/88	Archaeological, ethnographic and landscaping
Haras São Bernardo	São Bernardo do Campo	09/03/1990	Archaeological, ethnographic and landscaping
Tietê River Source	Salesópolis	21/02/1990	Archaeological, ethnographic and landscaping
Pacaembu District	São Paulo	14/03/1991	Archaeological, ethnographic and landscaping
Serra do Guarau and Prainha Branca Village	Guarujá	18/12/1992	Archaeological, ethnographic and landscaping
Ibirapuera Park	São Paulo	25/01/1992	Archaeological, ethnographic and landscaping
Moutonnée Rock	Salto	18/12/1992	Archaeological, ethnographic and landscaping
Tangará Country House	São Paulo	06/04/1994	Archaeological, ethnographic and landscaping
People Park	São Paulo	03/06/1995	Archaeological, ethnographic and landscaping
Islands, islet and slabs	Bertioga, Caraguatatuba, Itanhaém, Santos, São Sebastião e Ubatuba	24/03/1994	Archaeological, ethnographic and landscaping
Fernando Costa Park	São Paulo	11/06/1996	Historical
Colony Crater	São Paulo	20/08/2003	Archaeological, ethnographic and landscaping
Juquery Hill and Olho d'água Peak	São Paulo	13/10/2004	Archaeological, ethnographic and landscaping

Font: List of landmarked assets by chronological order- CONDEPHAAT, available at: [www.cultura.sp.gov.br](http://www.cultura.sp.gov.br). Access in April 18, 2019.

The landmarking of the *Serra do Japi* (1983) and the *Serra do Mar* (1985) are examples of innovation in the CONDEPHAAT'S preservation practice. The geomorphology justifies natural environment protection in its dynamic relation with the urban centers (DETONI, 2016). Among the methodological innovation, it highlights the landmarking of the Rio Claro City Nursery (1977), now called Edmundo Navarro de Andrade State Forest. At this place, the references to the acclimatization of eucalyptus and the inhabitant's quality of life were valuing criteria. The landmarking criteria joined technical-scientific memory related to the fruition of eucalyptus culture landscape as demanded by the population (PINTO, 2018).

The resolution of the *Serra do Japi's* landmarking highlights scenic beauty as one of the values that would justify its preservation:

The area comprised by the *Serra do Japi*, the *Serra Guaxinduva* and the *Serra Jaguacoara* are landmarked. These are important topographical and geological accidents from Jundiaí's mountain ranges, that with great scenic and landscaping value have the multiple condition of tropical nature's genetic bank, of a "castle" with radial drainage waters, an ecological area hydraulically critical, a mosaic of ecosystems. This area represents flora and fauna, and a mountaineer space for quality of life of São Paulo's interior plateaus, subject to strong urbanization and industrialization. The landmarking is based on criteria of high-level spatial selectivity, with

the concern for an organization induced in the space, capable of balancing preservation and development. (SÃO PAULO, 1983, Art. 1º)

The use of geographical scale as a justification for its preservation is remarkable in the landmarking of the *Serra do Japi*. As a mosaic of ecosystems and mountain range spaces that regulates the quality of life in the city of Jundiaí, the *Serra* should be preserved because of its relationship with society and cultural heritage (CRISPIM, 2016).

This argument is used for the landmarking of other mountain range through territorial planning, considering the city as structural axis of the preservation practice. Thus, the 1985 Resolution of the *Serra do Mar's* landmarking in São Paulo shows the growth of the action in terms of scale and social coverage:

Article 2 - The regional set to be landmarked presents the condition of tropical nature's genetic bank, gifted of representative ecosystems in terms of fauna and flora, along with its great geological, geomorphic, hydrological and landscaping value. It is a region working as regulator space to the maintenance of the environmental qualities and hydric resources of the coastal region and immediate reverse of the São Paulo Atlantic Plateau. The *Serra do Mar's* scarp, once a climate refuge to the humid costal tropical forest, is today the last remnant of São Paulo's original forest coverage, essential to the stability of the local high slopes,

unfit for agricultural activities thanks to its great ecological vulnerability, subject to the greatest rainfall impacts known in the country. (SÃO PAULO, 1985, Art. 2º)

The *Serra do Mar's* landmarking, whose process had been opened in 1979 by the representative of University of São Paulo's Geography Faculty at the CONDEPHAAT, José Pereira de Queiroz Neto, signaled the clashes and efforts of articulation between the CONDEPHAAT and the environment institutions responsible for the management of a set of parks and reserves all over the *Serra's* extension. The landmarking as a tool of integrated management of these spaces:

The landmarking mainly seeks to articulate and consolidate the multiple initiatives of the public power that has been creating many parks, reserves and protected areas throughout this area, of the highest importance for the nature preservation and maintenance of environmental quality. (SÃO PAULO, 1985, Art. 2º)

In the case of *Serra do Mar*, the landmarking happened on the protection areas already existent such as the *Serra do Mar's* State Park, conservation unit of integral regime instituted in 1977 by the Special Department of the Environment (SEMA). This agency was created in 1973 in the Ministry of Internal Affairs and had the same function of the Brazilian Institute for Forestry Development. These two agencies merged into the current Chico Mendes Institute for Biodiversity Conservation (ICMbio), linked to the Ministry of

Environment. (RIBEIRO; ZANIRATO, 2008) In São Paulo, in 1983, the State Environment Council (CONSEMA) was created. Later, in 1986, the State Department of Environment, the agencies responsible for managing the São Paulo's conservation units from the prerogatives of article 193 of the 1989's State Constitution and of the Brazilian Forestry Code.

The creation of conservation units, as they generated the expropriation of big lands, causes the removal of long time human settlements in natural areas such as the *caçara* (local inhabitants) communities, the remaining *quilombos* (settlement of people with African origin), and the indigenous villages in the *Serra do Mar's* limits. In this scenario, the landmarking could become an alternative (as per decree law 25/37) since it does not imply in expropriation.

Thus, it is noteworthy that the role of CONDEPHAAT in nature protection developed immediately prior to the emergence of the first institutions dedicated to the protection of the environment in São Paulo.

The document *Subsidies for a landscape systematization plan of the State of São Paulo* published as Service Order number 1/1982 established a conceptualization for landscape that would consolidate the agency's action guidelines for the preservation of natural areas.

The landscape corresponds to the global character of the natural components articulated in a determined spatial and temporal context. It cannot be confused with “natural resource” that applies economic harnessing. It is possible to consider the term landscape as a summary of different arrangement and the different interaction processes of natural components (SÃO PAULO, 1982, p. 17).

The 1982's Guidelines represent the summit of a discussion about natural heritage in the CONDEPHAAT. Geography is protagonist and capable of referencing preservation practices, specially related to the concepts of landscape and territory in the domain of cultural action, even though the sources about the context of this document are scarce.

The landmarking process 20868/79, of the *Serra do Mar*, is a reference to the establishment of a working group in natural areas supposed to write operational guidelines to safeguard the natural areas. This group started their activities in November 1980, under the direction of Lea Goldenstein, geographer and councilor of the University of São Paulo's Geography Department at the CONDEPHAAT. The group was composed by Gil Sodero de Toledo, referred by the University of São Paulo's Geography Department, Manuel Carlos de Oliveira, referred by the São Paulo's Geological Institute, Maria Lagaspe Vieira, referred by the Forestry Institute, and Rodolfo Ricardo Geiser and Ricardo Oneken, both referred by the Brazilian Society of Landscaping. (SÃO PAULO, 1979, fls. 35-36)

The Guidelines highlight the precise definition of action criteria that involved many elements

of the natural world in its relationship with social dynamic:

Art. 1 – Landmarking should consider:

A) Remnant forms of native vegetation, specially the areas where this vegetal coverage is threatened of imminent extinction;

B) Secondary vegetation forms with scientific value or scarcity of original forms;

C) Areas with geological monuments or geomorphological and pedological particular features;

D) Areas whose landscape maintains a balance of the environmental system, assuring the maintenance of wellsprings (geological and geomorphological particular features);

E) Areas considered a habitat for rare animal species;

F) Landscapes as examples of anthropic action, made through managements that consider the preservation of territorial space and of local social structures;

G) Every landscape, be it modified or not by the anthropic action, characterized by its expressivity, rarity and exceptional beauty, and by what it represents in terms of tourist, social and scientific interest.

Scifoni (2006) states the influence of the academic debate on the French geography's concept of landscape is noticed in CONDEPHAAT's



definitions in 1982 based on George Bertrand's (1978) work, a remarkable French geographer scholar of the landscape as complex geo system. He views landscape as a phenomenon subscribed in history, a product of social history, moved by forces from the production system that defined its content through the material production; an economical and cultural product integrated to a social system. Landscape does not get tired of showing up and of working as an ecological system. (Bertrand, 1978, p. 253 apud SCIFONI, 2006, p. 48)

Other references to the French geography can be found in the process 20868/79, of the *Serra do Mar's* landmarking, what demonstrates the capillarity of the debate established between geographers in the instruction of processes and design of landmarking resolutions. In 1985, during the establishment of final criteria for the preservation of *Serra do Mar*, an inter-agency commission was suggested to manage it, along with the Department of Environment and the State Basic Sanitation Engineering Company (CETESB), and the following works were mentioned in the technical studies and opinions throughout the process:

Bertrand, Georges. *Paysage et Géographie des Pyrénées et du Sud-Ouest*, Tome 39, Fasc. 3, Toulouse, 1968 p. 249-272;

Erthart, Henri (1967) *La genèse des sols en tant que Phénomène géologique. Esquisse d'une théorie – géologique et géochimique. Exemples d'application*, Paris, 2 ed., 1967 p. 177. (SÃO PAULO, 1979, fl. 128)

In 1983, when the demand for studies of the landmarking of natural areas in the CONDEPHAAT increased, conditions for the establishment of a Natural Areas Team as supporting center for the Technical Service of Conservation and Restoration was favored. The interdisciplinary team was made up of geographers, agronomist engineers, biologists, and other agents responsible for managing the landmarked landscape heritage and proposing new actions of this same nature (SCIFONI, 2006, p. 149).

The legacy of Aziz Ab'Saber favored teamwork because of the "Guidelines for a preservation policy of the São Paulo's natural reserves" (1977) while he was the agency's councilor and president. Between November 1982 and March 1983, Aziz Ab'Saber brought the CONDEPHAAT's technical staff to meet the demand of technical and academic specialized knowledge. (CRISPIM, 2016 p. 172)

Between 1983 and 1995, the team was composed by professionals from many different areas in a collective effort of resistance and

conceptual renovation of the São Paulo's heritage practices. The first team was composed by only four members: the geographer Wilson Morato, the biologist Sueli ngelo Furlan, and two anthropologists, José Guilherme Cantor Magnani and Virgínia Valadão. After 1986, the biologist Francisco de Arruda Sampaio and the geographer Luis Paulo Ferraz joined the team. From 1988 to 1995, the biggest crisis in its activities - as stated by Scifoni (2006), the ecologist Roberto Varjabedian, the geologist Maria Cristina Scalope, the biologist Denis Euri, and the geographers Simone Scifoni, Antônio Carlos Sampaio, Eliane Del Vecchio and Rodrigo Cerqueira Nunes joined the team. (FURLAN, 2018, p .67 e SCIFONI, 2006 p. 49)

The extinction of the natural areas team, in 1995, by deliberate and authoritarian act of the state's government, resulted in the abandonment of the preservation of natural areas, even if the specific reason for this decision is still unknown. The agency lost its technical capacity related to natural heritage demands. According to Scifoni (2006), this shows deregulation and exclusion of natural heritage, denying the historical represented by the incorporation of this concept into heritage-related practices. (SCIFONI, 2006, p. 157)

When nature is no longer a cultural heritage, it also loses its dynamic character as memory support to the different groups that formed the territory, losing sight of the historical character

of the landscape's construction. According to Furlan (2018), the landmarked natural areas "represents the permanence set of nature's times and culture's times that interest the society" on a broadly (FURLAN, 2018, p. 71), according to Ab'Saber (1977):

The general principle of the natural area protection, according to the landmarking articles of association, was to protect the landscape as total space of remnants with the cultural marks, protecting what should not have been "erased" by the sovereignty of the exclusively economic interests that, thanks to the market's acceleration, quickly eliminates the slow, significant and relevant landscapes. The contemporary acceleration eliminates the historic, geomorphic, biogeographic and cultural marks. It was a vision strongly innovative to the heritage and of the bond with living culture, the more alive as possible. (FURLAN, 2018, p. 74)

The search for the construction of preservation policy between 1970 and 1990 is a chapter of the São Paulo's heritage institution expressed in the actions of many agents among the CONDEPHAAT's technical staff and councilors, and in fights of the civil society fights. The civil society saw the bases of a democratic State in the right to the urban and natural environments.

Landmarking, legal entity historically associated with the preservation of built heritage, acted as a possible direct intervention on the scale of values attributed to the territory in which cultural value

would enable the construction of social pacts for the preservation of the landscape. Thus, the loss of conceptual references and the memory of actions since 1976 with the “Guidelines for a preservation policy of the State of São Paulo” (Ab’Saber, 1977) - including the work of other advisors representing the geography field such as Augusto Humberto Titarelli, José Pereira de Queiroz Neto and Lea Goldenstein -, produces a questioning space in the history of space when it comes to memory underground, always tends to resurface challenging old paradigms of the field of cultural heritage.

Therefore, the actual character of the reflection about protection of nature by cultural heritage preservation agencies is still present in the memories of the CONDEPHAAT, in the decision making to safeguard the natural spaces noticed and reflected in the history of different groups that built the society. The landmarking of natural spaces, considering the term landscape as an enunciation resource of new heritage concepts, is a thermometer of the democracy strengthening and of the full exercise of the right to memory and quality of life established in the 1988 Constitution. Resuming the debate about the feasibility of its application is a way of fighting the dark ages that Brazilian public policies live.

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## From building to territory: the urban industrial heritage in the trajectory of the Condephaat (1968-2018)

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### Abstract

The breadth of the concept of industrial heritage, ratified by the *Nizhny Tagil Charter* (2003) and the *Dublin Principles* (2011), highlights the urban and territorial dimension of the testimonies of industrialization as one of the main challenges to be faced by preservation actions. By analyzing a selection of administrative legal processes of the CONDEPHAAT (Council of Defense of the Historical, Archaeological, Artistic and Tourist Heritage of the State of São Paulo, an organ created in 1968), a gradual perception of urban dimension in studies on the preservation of industrial heritage has been identified since the mid-1970s, despite the limitations of landmarking originally intended for the protection of isolated buildings. From the analysis of some administrative legal process of preservation of São Paulo's industrial heritage, the main aim is to emphasize the presence and breadth of the urban and territorial issue along the CONDEPHAAT trajectory and highlight the ways of understanding urban relations inherent in industrial heritage in each historical period and the possibilities for deepening this recent debate.

**Keywords:** Industrial heritage, Cultural heritage preservation policies, State of São Paulo.

## Introduction

**R**eferred by the Nizhny Tagil Charter (2003) and the Dublin Principles (2011), the breadth of the industrial heritage concept highlights the urban and territorial dimension of the industrialization testimonies as one of the main challenges to be addressed by protection actions<sup>1</sup>. The issue is not just about the physical interference of large structures in a given locality, which drives urbanization processes or transforms pre-existing landscapes from the occupation of extensive areas. We should consider actions, flows and forms of use of the city triggered by the industrial activity in addition to this immediate tangible dimension. This is an aspect sometimes still identifiable in urbanization even after its closure. These identifiable aspects are based on the careful observation of the remaining structures, memories, and representations built from this legacy in today's city.

The definition of industrial heritage in international documents, such as the Nizhny Tagil Charter (TICCIH - The International Committee for the Conservation of the Industrial Heritage, 2003) and the Dublin Principles (ICOMOS and TICCIH, 2011), supports this analysis. In the Nizhny Tagil Charter, the industrial heritage is defined as “the traces of industrial culture that have historical, technological, social, architectural or scientific value” with structures and infrastructures destined to productive activities, such as “buildings and machinery, workshops, factories, mines, processing and refining sites, warehouses, production centers, transmission and use of energy, and means of transportation”. These structures are also related to the workers and the surrounding community's daily life “as the places where social activities related to the industry, such as dwellings, places of worship or education are developed.” The guidelines of the document

1. This article recreates and deepens discussions of a paper presented at the 3rd Scientific Symposium of Icomos (International Council of Monuments and Sites) in the city of Belo Horizonte, state of Minas Gerais (Brazil) on May 8th-10th of 2019.

include the documentation related to the industrial heritage and “to the intangible records involved in the memory of humanity and their traditions”. A considerable expansion of this definition has been noticed and it directly incorporates the intangible dimensions of industrialization according to a more recent document, the Dublin Principles. In addition to the tangible testimonies of industrial activities, the concept starts to include “technical knowledge and practice, the organization of work and workers, or a complex legacy of social and cultural actions resulted from the industrial influence on the community life, which have triggered crucial organizational changes in entire societies and in the world”.

In both definitions, there is a certain emphasis on built structures, architecture, and architectural techniques. Yet, these aspects are seen as supports of social, cultural, and memorial relations relating to the world of work and emphasizing heritage values of the testimonies of industrialization manifested in diverse tangible and intangible dimensions. On the one hand, the establishment of factories attracts workers and drives the construction of residences and the emergence of local stories and equipment focused on leisure, education, worship. In other words, the establishment of a factory provides new functions, flows, everyday events, and urban memories. In contrast, industrial sites promote complex functional connections between

buildings and equipment at different levels. For example, structures geared to the supply of water and energy or also those associated with logistics, such as railways for receiving raw material or production flow in a network of connections that can reach territorial dimensions. The industrial building is considered only a small cog of a complex system and it may be incomprehensible if people disregard other elements to understand urban and anthropological dynamics associated with production and work in today’s city. The same happens with other elements such as the representation and memories built around this system over time that relate the past with the present in the modern city. Studies aimed at appreciation and protection of the industrial heritage must pay attention to this complex issue.

Industrial sites have a spatial composition strongly related to the development of the local productive activities and work relations; whether these sites are spaces focused on manufacturing or transportation systems such as railway structures. These industrial sites bring together several buildings and production spaces, built at a different time and with distinct architectural styles. These buildings reveal industrial expansion, new technologies, and their presence in the surrounding urbanization. Sometimes, a single isolated industrial building may represent unique values. In many cases, these buildings are a network of industrial or non-industrial



buildings related to manufacturing in many cases: warehouses, industrial buildings, working villages, maneuvering areas, equipment, facilities for water and energy supply, etc. (RUFINONI, 2013, p.192). The surroundings of these industrial sites, focused on other functions such as dwellings, should also be carefully checked because urban plots were consolidated in these areas due to the presence of the factories. The buildings of these areas keep the homogeneous volume and are horizontality responsible for the spatial configuration of the landscape and urban tradition of many industrial neighborhoods. Antonio Parisella (2000, p.52) views the special characteristics of the spatial, constructive and historical configuration of industrial buildings and emphasizes twofold requirements for the assessment of these buildings as cultural heritage, protection actions and reconversion of use:

The first requirement concerns the building individually and the straight and specific relations between its original use and the possible assumed use. [...] The second requirement concerns the understanding of the double of the system of relations that the building horizontally assumed within the organized urban space where it was situated (neighborhood, zone) and vertically within manufacturing sector.

Based on this guideline, the need to assess carefully the formal, social, and cultural characteristics of neighborhoods occupied or influenced by industrial activity is highlighted,

such as the division of land and the architectural styles, functions and uses in each location. In many cases, it is possible to notice specific spatial planning for the fulfillment of productive functions that affect the whole composition of the building, whether in the distribution of industrial buildings or the location of working villages and other urban equipment in the surrounding area. The importance and cultural relevance of industrial sites are strongly related to the concern for these specific characteristics, the understanding of the tangible, spatial, social and memorial qualities that shape this scenario. As Meneguello (2012, p.82-83) stated, “these assets relate to each other in complex linked networks (such as railways and all associated assets) and their isolated preservation is insufficient to understand the network of raw material, production, and flows responsible for defining the industrial activity”.

Understanding this spatial complexity has been pointed out as one of the main difficulties in preserving the industrial heritage. This is not a recent concern. The issue was raised by Ulpiano Bezerra de Meneses (1988, p.68-73), who highlighted the importance of forms of space composition in the assessment of industrial sites at the *first National Seminar of History and Energy* in the 1980s. According to the author, no sampling of “significant structures” of an industrial site - isolated elements - would be able to represent its documentary and, mainly,

2. State Law number 10,247 of October 22, 1968. The law deals with the competence, organization, and functioning of the Condephaat that was established by article 123 of the State Constitution and other measures.

3. In this regard, the Venice Charter (1964) and the Declaration of Amsterdam (1975), among others were cited. The Declaration of Amsterdam seeks the “integrated preservation”, a method aimed at multidisciplinary and interdisciplinary participation of preservation and the integration between the protection initiatives, practices and norms arising from urban and territorial planning (CURY, 2000; RUFINONI, 2013, p.135-165).

4. Urban Environmental Heritage Preservation Program. Condephaat’s Documentation Center, 1976 (mimeo), Case Number 20,025 / 76, Condephaat’s Protocol Section.

its formal and aesthetics value. The corruption of this spatial dimension would misrepresent unique formal compositions, completely disregard any possible aesthetics attributes, and compromise the historical understanding of the entire system of productive activity. For the author, individual preserved industrial structures would be merely “symbolic carcasses”.

It is possible to notice a gradual perception of this complexity in studies aimed at the preservation of industrial assets in the trajectory of the CONDEPHAAT (Council for the Protection of Historical, Artistic, Archaeological and Tourist Heritage). The CONDEPHAAT is a state agency of the Department of Culture of the State of São Paulo<sup>2</sup> established in 1968 to identify, protect, and preserve the tangible and intangible properties of the cultural and environmental heritage of the state of São Paulo. This perception is found from the late 1970s onwards, despite the difficulties related to the limits of landmarking itself – originally intended for the protection of individual buildings. The historiography of the agency shows a gradual conceptual opening in urban preservation studies from that date. That opening would take place in discussions about new objects of protection considering heritage as a cultural fact in which humanity is the main target of preservationist actions, or these actions would consider the built environment as a cultural fact and a space of social relations.

Preservationist ideas followed the discussions on the international scene observed since the late 1960s through a broader understanding of the concept of heritage with its cultural, environmental and urban dimensions<sup>3</sup>. As explained by Rodrigues (2000, p.79-80), this attitude coincided with the emergence of demands from society itself in this debate when the issue of heritage preservation gained momentum as a social right.

In this period, in the work of the CONDEPHAAT the debate around the idea of “urban environmental heritage would involve the built tangibility and “social and cultural aspects in all buildings including recent buildings” (apud RODRIGUES, 2000, p.61)<sup>4</sup>. This debate has developed even if the legal means for heritage protection were still linked to landmarking.

Discussions about the concept of urban environmental heritage emerged in urban management state agency of the government of São Paulo and with the engagement of different professionals, especially those working in preservation (RODRIGUES and TOURINHO, 2016, p.80). These discussions have provided the way for the urban preservation of environments and urban and territorial planning actions. The debates explained these spaces in a broader perspective focusing on their social, cultural, memorial and symbolic constitution and gave public value to the preservationist practice

considering the buildings protected in the present and the daily life of the citizens (RODRIGUES, 2000, p.66).

According to Ulpiano Bezerra de Meneses, one of the most active professionals in this debate, urban environmental heritage can be defined as “a system of socially appropriate objects thought to be appropriate representations of the urban environment” (MENESES, 1979, apud RODRIGUES, 2000, p.66)<sup>5</sup>. Meneses focuses his on the relationship between artifacts and subjects, not only on the building. He prioritizes the recognition of the social appropriation of space as a decisive stage in the attribution of values to tangibilities understood as “supports of meanings” and not only as “symbolic constructions”. We therefore identify common elements between Meneses’ arguments about the concept of urban environmental heritage in the 1970s and those that would be part of his reflections on the preservation of industrial heritage years later, as seen. The systemic particularities of the heritage of industrialization discuss the breadth of the concept of built heritage and the mechanisms needed to protect it, considering the relationship with the urban environment and the socio-cultural appropriation of space, from building to territory.

In the analysis of the landmarking processes of some industrial heritages listed by the CONDEPHAAT, we have noticed urban and

territorial issues in several reports, sometimes attaching importance to the heritages either for its role in inducing the urbanization of the surroundings, or for its insertion in the landscape and to the promotion of particular urban daily life<sup>6</sup>. These concerns, however, did not even offer effective tools to preservation in this broader dimension. With no intention of reaching a definitive conclusion, we will now comment on some processes in which the urban and territorial dimension of the industrial heritage was considered by technical staff and councilors in their reports in defense of preservation. In our analysis, these processes were considered, on one hand, as administrative documents with methodologies and criteria of the preservation agency; and, on the other hand, historical sources to understand the issues involved in the attribution of values to certain heritages, and in the construction of narratives related to them.

In the case of railway heritages, the appreciation of this heritage is often associated with its relationship with the development and growth of cities, as well as to the immediate physical and symbolic link with the issue of mobility, idea of arrivals and departures and opening new paths at urban and regional level. The careful observation of the urban and territorial characterization of these heritages, in contrast, has intensified significantly since the 2010s, from the study entitled “Railway Heritage: lines

5. SÃO PAULO (Estado). Secretaria de Negócios Metropolitanos, Emplasa. **Comunidade em debate:** patrimônio ambiental urbano. São Paulo, 1979.

6. We emphasize the brief analysis of landmarking processes in this article is not intended to be exhaustive or conclusive. The selection of heritages was based on the frequency urban and territorial issue were mentioned in the case file.

7. As a result of this methodology, dozens of railway complexes were listed, located in the cities of: Franco da Rocha, Jaraguá, Rio Grande da Serra, Varzea Paulista, Caieiras, Turkeys, Ribeirão Pires, and Jundiáí (landmarked in 2011), and Santos (2018), on the São Paulo Railway route; Vinhedo and Louveira (2012), Valinhos, Piratininga, and Sumaré (2013), along the Cia Paulista's railway route; Andradina and Araçatuba (2012), along the Brazilian Northwest Railroad; Botucatu (2012), Piraju (2013), Chavantes and Avaré (2016), Sorocaba and Ourinhos (2018), along the Sorocabana Railway; Piquete (2014) and Cruzeiro (2015), along the Brazilian Central Railroad; Pindamonhangaba (2017), at the junction between the Central Railways of Brazil and Campos do Jordão; Jaguariúna (2016) and Águas da Prata (2018), on the way of the Mogiana Railways Company; and Caetetuba (2018), on the path of the Bragantina Railway. We also highlight the landmarking of the residences and locomotive depots of the Federal Railway Network (RFFSA), in the city of Araçatuba (2012).8. Informação STCR-159/76 assinada por Carlos Lemos, 13/08/1976, Processo n. 20.097/76, fl.85-86.

and railway stations of the State of São Paulo”, conducted by the Study Group of Inventory of the Historic Heritage Preservation. This study has subsidized preservation actions aimed at railway complexes in their functional complexity, in their relationship with the surroundings and with the regional reality that it helped to compose and consolidate. In some regions, the railway area has reached territorial dimensions, with geographical references, connections between cities and sociocultural practices at different levels. The question is pointed out by Martins, Cardoso and Andrade (2012, p.52):

These routes (railroads) not only qualified communication, boosting economy, but engendered culturally homogeneous regions, defined by societies with their own characteristics. In a way, they modeled the respective regions, specific architectural parties, cultural practices and linguistic units that marked the respective landscapes and the societies constituted there. [...] “I am from the region of Vale”, “I was born on Paulista Avenue”, “I come from Mogiana”, “I lived in Sorocabana”, are expressions of their residents, concerning economic stages and networks of cities with their own identities and common denominators.

Unlike the previous selection criteria, the most recent railway-related landmarking show the overall character of the railway facility. They preserve stations and complexes, where they exist, and name the heritages as Railway Complexes or Complexes. It shows the heritage

significance of the relations between the various units built in the same set, key feature of industrial and railroad heritages<sup>7</sup>.

In previous railroad landmarking in the state of São Paulo, in contrast, we observed a clear preference for stations considered in isolation, associated with “a picturesque and nostalgic memory of the old train stops” (MARTINS et al, 2012, p. 55) and valued above all for its architectural or constructive exceptionality. In some railway sites dating from the 1980s and 1990s, the mention of the urban and territorial dimension associated with railway structures was noticed, but preservation is focused on the station building considered in isolation, suggesting a perspective of urban relations. The arguments and considerations in several reports, however, indicate a gradual expansion of this perception.

In the landmarking of Luz Station and Campinas Station, the allusion to the concept of “urban environmental heritage” as one of the main arguments for preservation is found. The architect Carlos Lemos mentions three reasons for the landmarking of the Luz Station. The first reason is the station as a witness of the coffee cycle and the expansion of industrialization between the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Second, it is the role of the station in the reading of our city – its importance in the composition of the landscape and the intelligibility of that

urban space, considering it “an important and undisputed participant reference element of São Paulo’s urban environmental heritage”<sup>8</sup>. Finally, the techniques employed and the architectural qualities of the building (Figure 1).

a striking reference of the city”, referring to the evident urban development announced by the railroad, envisaging a “future metropolitan area” in Campinas. On the territorial occupation of the state railway structures, Murillo Marx justifies:

The landmarking process of the Campinas Station presents similar considerations regarding the urban issue. In addition to the historical and architectural interest, Murillo Marx’s technical advice on the landscape importance “the set is

a) Undisputed historical interest to witness the railway park undertaken by the pioneer capitalist in the implementation of the railways that subverted the traditional occupation of São Paulo’s territory.



Figure 1. Luz Station, in the city of São Paulo, state of São Paulo. Source: Vanessa Kraml’s collection, 2016.

8. Information STCR-159/76 signed by Carlos Lemos, 08/13/1976, Case n° 2097/76, p.85-86.

b) Architectural interest due to the size and care of an early eclecticism in our lands by its romanticism in the picturesque volume, already in the material and techniques employed.

c) Notable landscape interest for all the residents of the city of Campinas and outsiders, as the set is a remarkable reference in the city, which has lost so much in its past, advances rapidly towards a metropolitan future<sup>9</sup>.

construction of important buildings, such as the City Theater. Interestingly, both the initial technical advice and the Council's final decision underscore the importance of the station as a witness to the process of occupation and development of Vale do Paraíba region, as all the railway buildings had been considered of little artistic and architectural interest<sup>11</sup>. (Figure 2).

In the final decision of the Council, the station was listed as a “monument of historical-architectural interest, linked to the construction of the railways, as a drainage factor of coffee production in our state”, finally considering the building an “important milestone in urban environmental heritage<sup>10</sup>. In both processes, from the Luz and Campinas Stations, we observe the same concept of trajectory from discussions of the agency at that time.

In addition, in the landmarking process of the *Cachoeira Paulista* Station there is a reference to the influence of the railroad in the composition of a “peculiar urban environment” as it increased commercial activities, and attracted workers, artists and artisans who contributed greatly to the local urban configuration. The initial technical advice cites the contribution of engineer Newton Bennaton himself, author of the station project and several residences in the city, as well as the presence of great Italian architects, such as Brás Império and João Vitelli, responsible for the



Figure 2. *Cachoeira Paulista* Station in the state of São Paulo. Source: Indira Ferreira Faria's Collection, 2016.

9. Report signed by Murillo Marx on the opening of the landmarking process at the Campinas Railway Station, 11/20/1978, Process n° 20,682/78, p.27.

10. Council decision, 07/21/1980, Process n° 20.682/78, fl.108. Our emphasis.

11. Technical opinion of Antonio Luis Dias de Andrade, on the Opening of the Tipping Process of the Cachoeira Paulista Train Station, 9/15/1981, Process n° 20,316/77, p. 23 and Council Decision, D.O.E. 4/23/1982, p.33.



Figure 3. *Barracão* Station, in the city of Ribeirão Preto, state of São Paulo. Source: Luis Gustavo Pereira Ferreira's collection, 2012.

12. Technical Opinion of Regina Pontim and Opinion of Counselor Eduardo Corona, Case nº 21,364/80, p. 7-9.27.

A similar situation is observed in the *Barracão* Station landmarking process, in the city of Ribeirão Preto. They argued that it had the architectural and constructive characteristics similar to those of other Mogiana Company stations, cultural importance for the community, besides being located in an urbanized area, representing an important witness to the local urban and social history (Figure 3)<sup>12</sup>.

These issues were slowly incorporated into the arguments and justifies landmarking, following the increase of civil society participation in the opening of processes and in movements for the defense of these properties. The landmarking of the Paranapiacaba Railway, in 1987, pointed to this direction. The landmarking request was encouraged by popular movements for the defense of local heritage, with associations and

representatives of public agencies concerned with the increasing degradation of the village and its surroundings<sup>13</sup>. The legal protection covered an entire perimeter and included buildings and other rail properties, considered from its relation with the natural and anthropic environment. The “Rail Village, the High Part, railroad and records, landscape surroundings of the *Serra do Mar* mountain range landmarked. In the latter the drainage watersheds that of the *Mogi* River and the cities of Rio Grande da Serra or *Jurubatuba* rivers, headwaters that supply the urban cities are found”<sup>14</sup>.

Carlos Lemos was concerned with the need to study and appreciate railway properties as part of a larger set. He warned against the loss of meaning of landmarking single buildings. Besides the immediate reference to the preservation criteria analyzed by the economic cycles in the current historiography – or even by the architectural exceptionality, what was common in preservationist actions of the time –, his concern shows the perception of a narrowed correlation between railway properties and territorial drawings, an important element to understand industrial heritage. The issue is quoted in a few processes, such as the ones of the Luz, Santa Rita do Passa Quatro and Campinas Stations. This issue shows the booming of a debate in the agency’s internal discussions at the end of the 1970s. In the technical advice related to the

landmarking of the Luz Station, Lemos highlights the need of studying it along with other properties related to the coffee era, the observation of a whole context destined to transportation, storage, commercialization and exportation<sup>15</sup>. The issue had already been tackled in the agency, as noticed in the landmarking process of the Santa Rita do Passa Quatro Station:

Once again, however, we recommend the need of a landmarking plan that guides us in the sense of what is to be landmarked or not inside the state. [...] If one of the norms is the landmarking of cultural properties that make reference to many economic cycles – to coffee, for example –, we should landmark everything that is related to it, and then the inclusion of the railroads that took the green gold to Santos would be justified. From now on, it is possible to notice that a single station, without its rails and trains, means nothing unless it has exceptional conditions of architectural interest, as in the case of the Mayrinque Station, a Dubugras’ ouvre<sup>16</sup>.

Years later, the issue is emphasized again in the landmarking process of the Campinas Station:

It is about the eclectic construction that symbolizes the 20th century coffee architecture, and that we consider worthy of landmarking. However, once again, we judge a landmarking criteria as fair as it might apply to other stations and railways, be it storehouses or bridges that represent all the effort of coffee yield to Santos Harbor<sup>17</sup>.

13. In this article, the analysis of the Paranapiacaba Railroad landmarking, in the city of Santo André, will not be deeply discussed because of the complexity of the matters involved, which are beyond our scope.

14. Process n° 22209/82; Res. SC-37, 09/30/1987.

15. Information STCR-159/76 signed by Carlos Lemos, 08/13/1976, Landmarking Process of the Luz Station, no. 20,097/76, p.85-86.

16. Technical advice by Carlos Lemos, 08/03/1976, Process n° 00.467/74, p.20.

17. Technical advice by Carlos Lemos, 06/06/1979, Process n° 20,682/78, p.50. Emphasis added.



Even if, in that moment, these issues had not been effectively incorporated into the landmarking resolutions (generally centered in isolated buildings, such as the stations), based on the given examples, it is possible to notice that the problems related to rail heritage preservation in its urban and territorial dimensions were already a contentious issue in the 1970s<sup>18</sup>.

The issue of urban discussions goes beyond the domain of railway universe and appears in landmarking processes of buildings and sites of other industrial typologies. In the landmarking process of the architectural set *Kaigai Kogyo Kabushiki Kaisha*, known as KKKK, the building's importance to the urban development of the city of Registro was highlighted as one of the main arguments for its preservation. The sheds for rice beneficiation were placed on the margins of the *Ribeira* River in the 1920s, in a sparse urbanized area close to the river point. Its cooperative warehouse never attracted a great number of workers, but the manufacturing activity allowed the increase of urban functions and city development, what was highlighted in the landmarking process<sup>19</sup>.

The importance of the manufacturing set in the urban landscape development appears in many processes. One of them is the São Martinho Spinning and Weaving Company, an architectural set that defines the historical,

cultural and urban identity of the city of Tatuí<sup>20</sup>. Also, the Francisco Matarazzo United Industries, in the city of Marília, with great industrial set extension and importance in the local urban development<sup>21</sup>. We can mention the Gasômetro Industrial Complex and Casa das Retortas, a set that guided the modernization of the city of São Paulo, and was a reference mark to the landscape of the neighborhood of Brás<sup>22</sup>. The old Vila Mariana Slaughterhouse was a pioneer and “prompt agent of the region’s urban development”<sup>23</sup>. The São Paulo’s City Market is referred to as one of the greatest *ouvres* made between the 1920s and 1930s and that would have transformed the city aspects, next to the Martinelli Building and the Tamanduateí<sup>24</sup>. Similar arguments were also observed in recent processes, such as the landmarking of Gessy Industrial Company’s Old Factory Buildings, in the city of Valinhos, 2016, that considered the “relevant role” of the industrial set as “spatial reference in the development of the city’s landscape”<sup>25</sup>. The landmarking of Fratelli Maciotta Mill’s Building, in the city of Ribeirão Pires, 2018 highlights the relevant industrial landscape formed by the relation between the building and the railroad<sup>26</sup>.

Other than the importance in the landscape, another aspect was the participation of industrial capital in the urban expansion, a fact quoted in the Paulista Brewery’s process, in the city of Ribeirão Preto (Figure 4)<sup>27</sup>. The beer fabrication

18. To learn more about the preservation policies of rail heritage in the state of São Paulo, see: OLIVEIRA, 2010, p.179-203; OLIVEIRA and MORAES, 2017, p.18-42.

19. Opinions by Ulpiano Bezerra de Meneses and José Pedro de Oliveira Costa, Process no. 22,261/82.

20. Process nº 31877/94; Res. SC-61, de 10/30/2007, OFFICIAL GAZETTE 12/28/2007, p.40.

21. Process nº 26030/88; Res. SC-46, 12/18/1992, OFFICIAL GAZETTE 12/19/2007, p. 25.

22. Process nº 46,662/03; Res. SC-20, 03/26/2010,

OFFICIAL GAZETTE 05/12/2010, p.35.

23. Res. 7, 03/04/1985, OFFICIAL GAZETTE 05/05/1985, p.9.

24. Opinions by Silvia Ferreira Santos Wolff, Marly Rodrigues and José de Souza Martins, Process nº 26,399/88.

25. Res. SC-128, 12/19/2016, OFFICIAL GAZETTE 12/21/2016, p. 55.

26. Res. SC-13, 02/26/2018, OFFICIAL GAZETTE 02/27/2018, p. 32-33.

27. Process nº 39684/00; Res. SC-52, 10/01/2007, OFFICIAL GAZETTE 10/04/2007, p.52.



Figure 4. Paulista Brewery, in the city of Ribeirão Preto, state of São Paulo. Source: Luis Gustavo Pereira Ferreira's collection, 2012.

occupied big terrains and changed the local urban configuration thanks to the great extent of its installations and to real estate investments of the Paulista Brewery owners, mainly in the *XV de Novembro* Square, as the revamp of an old hotel and the building of the Pedro, the Second Theatre and of the Meira Júnior Building. These buildings nowadays form the São Paulo Block, an eclectic set landmarked by the CONDEPHAAT in 1993<sup>28</sup>.

In the case of the Brás Trolley Car Station, in the city of São Paulo, landmarked in 2008, the urban dimension of the set is highlighted – with the trolley car as a modernization symbol, bringing new perspectives of sociability and urban familiarity. In this process, the study of the trolley car station could join a bigger set of properties in the same neighborhood, to avoid the landmarking of isolated buildings and to show new understandings of the Brás neighborhood's

28. Process n°  
29840/92. Res. 26,  
12/15/1993, OFFICIAL  
GAZETTE 12/16/1993, p.53.

architectonical collection. The opinion showed the quick degradation of the surroundings and suggested that the protection measures of the station had to guide this understanding<sup>29</sup>, even though it had not been done.

In the 2010 processes (for instance, the Carioba Industrial Complex in the city of Americana in 2013) the arguments in the landmarking resolution value a set of buildings that “synthetizes the industrial lives through the equipment built there”<sup>30</sup>. Thus, the landmarking tried to unite the manufacturing complex with its functionality and relation with its surrounding urban dynamic – such as in the landmarking of railway properties by the CONDEPHAAT, in this same period. The equipment directly related to the industrial production were also landmarked, such as the weaving sheds, the power plant the school, the church, leisure activities sites and healthcare facilities for the workers and houses linked to the manufacturing complex. In this same way, the characterization as “the last textile industry that maintains the set in the city of Jundiaí” was one of the reasons for the preservation of the built complex, in the landmarking resolution of the Argos Industrial Buildings, its day care center and worker’s village, published in 2017<sup>31</sup>. The following items were landmarked: the spinning, production, mechanical workshops, cotton storage, storehouse, filter, gatehouse, chimney buildings, daycare center and the Argos Village, formed by the Workers Houses. The set was inserted in the resolution because of “the labor relations

were bigger than the manufacturing environment, impacting the workers’ social relations”. In addition, the buildings “are important to the maintenance of the industrial labor memory [and] of fundamental relevance to the understanding of the São Paulo History”. This quote agrees with the definition of industrial heritage found in the Dublin Principles, as mentioned.

In this brief explanation, it is possible to observe in many technical opinions the multiple dimensions of industrial heritage. Still, it is known the available protection mechanisms do not accomplish these specificities and values effectively after legal protection. With the legal tool, landmarking is limited to the tangible protection of buildings or built sets. By adapting the analysis of Italian scholar Gaetano Miarelli Mariani to the Brazilian reality, it is possible to notice the preservation of these properties whose heritage values surpass the dimension of the building and invade the city and territory. The properties have functions, uses and social characters, but lack analytical methodologies and practical tools of protection that go beyond the external, visible and tangible aspects. In fact, we found ourselves before cultural properties, “results of practical activities that tend to make a *living art*, a *making art* and that, in the accomplishment of these purposes, give life to forms and, consequently, to aesthetical values” (MIARELLI MARIANI, 1993). This heritage must be apprehended, valued and protected not only based on formal values, but also based on its testimonial importance and role in the making

29. Opinions by Marly Rodrigues in June 1997 and October 2005. Process no. 28,682/91.

30. Res. SC-021, 05/09/2013, OFFICIAL GAZETTE 05/22/2013, p.68-69.

31. Res. SC-065, 12/19/2017, OFFICIAL GAZETTE 12/22/2017, p. 57-58.

of a structure that is not only physical, but also memorial and sociocultural.

To assure the accomplishment of these values in the preservation of industrialization heritage, other protection measures complementary to landmarking would have to be built and spread, with the participation of the civil society and other groups of public administration, in state and city levels to promote actions proposed by preservation agencies. These findings suggest several courses of action for preservation of city urban plans: researches on urban and territorial scales, heritage education in cities, development of supporting programs to manage landmarked properties, follow-up of its transformation, tax cut and operational benefits. This information can be used to develop targeted interventions aimed at collective participation in the maintenance and promotion of heritage, which have been long discussed, but are still distant from practice.

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# Weaving the history of São Paulo: textile factories as cultural heritage

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## Abstract

This article presents a research on six textile factories located in three different administrative regions of the state of São Paulo between the late 19<sup>th</sup> century and the 1920's. These buildings, devoid of their original function since the 1980's, were recognized as cultural heritage by CONDEPHAAT (Council for the Protection of Historical, Artistic, Archaeological and Tourist Heritage) after citizens who compromised in keeping alive multiples memories requested their landmarking. Based on criteria developed by the technical staff of the Cultural Heritage Department, four plants were declared State's Cultural Heritage. These are relevant samples to understand working relations, industrial architecture, and urban, economic and technological development of the textile sector – the most powerful in the country at that time. Currently, these buildings are used with other functions, giving a new meaning to their presence in landscape and in the collective imagination, sparking a debate on how to integrate old structures into the new needs of contemporary cities.

**Keywords:** Industrial Heritage. Textile Factory. Recognition of Cultural Heritage.

1. A Guerra de Secessão foi desencadeada nos Estados Unidos da América em decorrência de uma tentativa separatista dos estados do Alabama, Carolina do Sul, Flórida, Geórgia, Louisiana, Mississippi e Texas, seguidos por Virgínia, Arkansas, Carolina do Norte e Tennessee para formar os Estados Confederados da América. A região, de característica predominantemente agrária, em especial o plantio do

algodão, tabaco e cana-de-açúcar, se opunha à abolição da escravidão de pessoas negras, mão de obra nas fazendas. A tentativa de criar um novo país levou a uma guerra civil que durou cinco anos, com a derrota dos confederados e a morte e desaparecimento mais de 620 mil pessoas. O plantio de algodão ficou bastante prejudicado durante o conflito, favorecendo o plantio e o comércio em outros países, como o Brasil.

**T**he industrial activity in Brazil is late when compared to European or even American countries – specially because of the Methuen Treaty among other legal devices of the Crown. It was only by the end of the 19th century that the first industrial developments started in the country, mainly after the Proclamation of the Republic (1889). Until then, there were only very precarious and isolated activities, local and with no economic efficiency.

The industrial activity was mostly boosted by the coffee trade, many times associated to foreign capital, through direct investment or bank loans. Textile factories prevailed in the Brazilian industrial landscape, favored by the rail network implemented in the late 19th century and the American Civil War (1861-1865)<sup>1</sup>. São Paulo was one the main locations where this industry developed (PRADO JUNIOR, 2012; DEAN, 1971).

The importers had an essential role in the development of a national industry since factories depended on imported items (equipment, metal structures, mechanisms, etc.) Knowledge of the market and the access to credit and production flow channels enabled many importers to convert their agencies into industrial companies. That happened in face of the growth of domestic manufacturing and the new possibilities in the field, which was inexistent until then.

In São Paulo, the profit from the planting and the coffee trade was chiefly responsible for the resources needed to the implementation of the first industries (to meet the needs of coffee production, such as jute bag factories). That is the reason why incorporated companies (S.A.'s) became a more frequent way of establishing a company. In 1907, it was responsible for 58% of the capital from the industries. It favored the centralization of big industries' capital in this state (DE DECCA, 2004, p.146).



Historiography demonstrates cotton was one of the main circuits of coffee's productive chain. It was a traditional agricultural activity in São Paulo and in other regions, specially the North and the Northeast. However, it was of small scale and manufactured in simple fabric (cotton, linen and jute) used to make rustic clothes, lace, nets, ropes, and sacks. These were made in spindles, spinning machines and manual looms, which were operated by artisans or weavers at small workshops in the cities. It had been, until then, an activity mainly related to subsistence economy rather than the main stream Brazilian economy (TEIXEIRA, 2007).

The propitious and available natural resources were added to the state's economic conditions, what made possible the hydraulic and electric generation of energy. Thus, when it comes to industrial geography, two crucial elements can be highlighted to understand the factory locations: railroads (transport of raw-material, finished goods, machinery, and immigrant workers) and rivers, used as transportation, energy sources and industrial debris ' deposits, specially from tanneries, paper-mills, and textile factories.

The state of São Paulo's market consumed both luxury and popular goods and helped the development of small and big factories, the latter ones numerous in the countryside. The rating criteria of the size of analyzed companies was

given by Belanga (2006, p.51) and associated with PEARSE's (1921, p.210) study. These were incorporated in the study at UPPH (Brazilian's Historic Heritage Preservation Unit):

The size of the companies was defined by the following denominations: **small sized**, companies whose capital was smaller or equal to 30 *contos de réis*, with 1 to 10 employees and driving force until 25 horsepower; **mid-market**, companies with capital between 30 and 200 *contos de réis*, 11 to 100 employees and driving force of 26 to 100 horsepower; **big-sized**, companies whose capital was bigger than 200 *contos de réis*, with over 100 employees and driving force above 100 horsepower.

It was identified big-sized companies were predominant, as well as the complete separation between capital and work. In this sector, workers were submitted to the dynamic of the factory machinery. That was the reason why the relations between employers and employees, and capital and worker, were also analyzed. Ribeiro emphasizes textile companies installed in the last three decades of the 19th century used weaving machines, whose structure provided uniformity to the productive system. Workers secured a secondary position, acting only as an operator and no longer as a productive agent (RIBEIRO, 1988, p.32). This is what Marx named as "alienation of labor". It occurs when men lose their tool and productive power, becoming just another gear of a whole ample and mechanized system. To

address production needs, workplaces changed from small workshops or improvised rooms to big spaces suited to the accommodation of both machinery and workers, along with energy, mechanical and hydro electrical sources.

The large textile industry represented the most advanced side of the capitalist relations of production in Brazil. It was highest indexes of capital concentration sector, work force, and driving force by production unit, besides reaching the highest rates of production value. In 1928, São Paulo concentrated 64% of the invested capital and 60% of the workforce; the countryside held 40% of these, mostly working in cotton industries (LOUREIRO, 2006, p.39).

The study of textile factories also showed the labor movement initiated in these places is significantly important for the recognition of labor rights that still endure. As the greatest part of the manpower in the industries was in the textile sector, worker's unions and associations in this sector demanded and advanced labor relations. On the opposite of what is usually imagined, "(...) far from a State's gift, labor rights had to be 'weaved' in the everyday reality by workers themselves" (LOUREIRO, 2011, p.281).

The shaping of São Paulo's working class specially happened because of the Land Law (1850) that made it easier for foreigners to purchase lands

in the country. That way, those who had financial condition to obtain lands formed colonies, where other foreigners – specially Italians – and Brazilians were settled. With the downfall of crop production, the essentially rural manpower starts to migrate to the city in search of work in the factories joining the immigrants from Europe to the urban area. According to Hardman and Leonardi (1991, p.141),

In 1912, according to the State Labor Bulletin, 6,044 out of the 10,184 textile workers of the State's capital were Italian, 824 Portuguese, 338 Spanish, 210 Syrian, 50 German and 13 Japanese. There were other 862 foreigners, what made the immigrants represent 82% of the textile workers. As for native Brazilians, they were a minority with 1,843 workers (18%).

Part of these foreigners had come from factories, and along with Brazilian workers, developed free ideas with mostly socialist, communist and anarchist inspirations. So, in the early 20th century, the first workers' unions and associations were created to claim rights. That happened because of the conflicted relationship between workers and employers, which was specially motivated by three reasons: the long working hours – on average of 12 to 16 hours –, the predominantly woman and child labor – whose payment was lower –, and unhealthy and hazardous installations. The inappropriate conditions led workers to organize themselves more and more every time until 1907,

when a new law guaranteed the right to freedom of association, assuring unions would not be controlled by the State.

Due to this organization, the great strikes of factory workers of the 20th century had mostly textile workers as leading characters. The 1907 and 1910 strikes and the 1917's Great Strike, which started in the streets of Brás district (in the city of São Paulo) and intensified after the death of José Martinez, anarchist worker born in Spain. Around 400 workers of the textile factory *Cotonifício Crespi* decided to go on strike after the board of directors rejected their request of a salary raise of 15 to 20% and the extension of night work (BIONDI, 2009). This strike reached unimagined proportions, mobilizing at least 50,000 workers – or 12.5% of São Paulo's population at the time. Literature sees it as a paradigm in the history of workers' organization. If there was little organization before, from then on workers and unions developed a consistent structure, a solid mobilization network between different factories and of different categories, managing to apply pressure on the business groups.

After the 1917 Strike, workers organized the Proletarian Defense Committee – led by anarcho-syndicalists –, the specialized worker press (HARDMAN; LEONARDI, 1991), the Popular Committee Against the Exploitation of Under Aged Workers – to combat child maltreatment

–, and the Workers on Textile Factories Union (UOFT). The latter was the main responsible for claims like better wages and working conditions and woman and child labor regulation, besides the official recognition of the workers' associations right to represent workers through the Collective Labor Agreement.

The industrialists' reaction to the workers' organization was the creation of the São Paulo Industrialists Spinning and Weaving Center, supported by the press and the Government, mainly through repression forces. This combination of the industrialists' and State's interests resulted in a tough and organized repression of the workers' movements – specially with the establishment of DOPS (Department of Public and Social Order) in 1924 – until they had been “disciplined” at the New State. However, the strength of unions resisted and were relevant until the 1990's, when work relations were significantly changed.

A major difficulty to build the history of the workers' movement in each factory is in the available sources to design the technical reports which justify the opinions sent to the Council. There are some collections of workers' newspapers and other documents available digitally in São Paulo State's archives, the Edgard Leuenroth Archive (AEL-UNICAMP), the CEDEM-UNESP, the CEDEC-PUC and the CECULT-UNICAMP.

Through these collections directly related to the labor movement, it is possible to have an idea of the claims and working conditions. Literature is vast and relied on reports from the Ministry of Labor and employers' documents that report on the businessmen's view of claims and actions to curb strikes. But the analysis of labor mobilization at each of the factories under study at the UPPH has been severely hampered, either by the time available to present conclusive report, the resources – material, human and financial - available for research, or even the availability of sources. Thus, the study was based on broad analysis of the most striking mobilizations of the São Paulo's textile workers and each individual report presented specific references of each industry as they were found, considering the information on this industry is not homogeneous.

Given the importance of the textile industry in the constitution of São Paulo's society, it is possible to understand the population's commotion to the closures of major factories in the 1970s and 1980s. The closure of these large industrial complexes, increased layoffs, bankruptcies and losses to creditors and workers bequeathed to the cities large properties that were not part of the daily life anymore. These properties were abandoned and became an urban problem. These places remained for decades in the landscape and in the collective imagination, raising great affective value in the inhabitants of neighborhoods or cities where they are installed.

In order to prevent the erasure of the memory – as the industrial complexes were threatened with demolition to make way for avenues or commercial and /or residential developments that would not make use of the current construction –, civil movements, even of former employees of these factories, demanded the preservation of these buildings from the CONDEPHAAT. These building, in most cases, had been the only working places of their lives and families. Motivated by the absence of heritage preservation practices in their cities due to the absolute lack of political strength or legitimacy of city's landmarking agencies, the last alternative was concentrated in the state agency, which had some prestige and certain independence from local political and economic dynamics.

The congruence between period of activity, location, importance in the economic development of the state and significant number of requests to landmark textile factories, made the UPPH Inventory Study Group consider these industries as a group to be analyzed under the same parameters to identify the relevance of preservation at state level. Thus, the study as a thematic set also served as an inventory of the textile past of the state of São Paulo, expanding the knowledge of this sector widely approached by academic studies, landmarking, but so far unrecognized as cultural heritage in some key industrial cities, such as São Paulo and Sorocaba, for example.

2. In RJ (Rio de Janeiro): Cometa Factory and worker's village, Petropolitana Company Factory and São Pedro de Alcântara Factory (Petrópolis) and Gunpowder Factory and its old gate (Rio de Janeiro); in BA (Bahia): Matoim Mill and Freguesia Mill (Candeias); in MG (Minas Gerais): Patriótica Iron Factory (Ouro Preto); PB (Paraíba): Tito Silva Wine Factory (João Pessoa); in MA (Maranhão): Santa Amélia Factory (São Luís); em SP (São Paulo): Sesc Pompeia (São Paulo), Amaya Tea Factory, Kawagiri Tea Factory and Shimizu Tea Factory (Registro); in PI (Piauí): Butter and Cheese Factory (Campinas do Piauí).

3. Ruins of Rio Quilombo's Mill and Ruins of Erasmos' Mill (Santos); São João de Ipanema Real Iron Factory (Iperó); Ruins of Lagoinha's Mill (Ubatuba); Casarão Do Chá (Mogi das Cruzes); Corumbataí Hydroelectric Usin (Rio Claro); São Luís Textile Factory (Itu); Vila Mariana's Slaughterhouse,

Vila Maria Zélia, Gasômetro's Complex, Francisco Matarazzo United Industries, Minetti and Gamba Mill, Labor Textile Factory, Italian-Brazilian Silk Textile Factory, Matarazzo Mill (São Paulo); Kaigai Kogyo Kabushiki Kaisha (Registro); Destilaria Central (Lençóis Paulista); Santa Helena Carpet Manufacturer (Jacarei); Francisco Matarazzo United Industries (Marília); Santa Adélia Factory and São Martinho Textile Industries (Tatuí); Cervejaria (Brewing) Paulista (Ribeirão Preto); Swift Armour Factory (São José do Rio Preto); Vila Carioba Factory, Vila Operária and Energy Usin (Americana); Brasital Textile Factory (Salto); Piracicaba's Central Mill (Piracicaba); Farming Exhibition Venue (Barretos); Gessy Lever Factory (Valinhos), Lidgerwood Factory (Campinas) and Old Salt Factory - Molino di Semoli Fratelli Maciotta (Ribeirão Pires) besides the four textile factories addressed by this article.

Despite the general importance of industry, especially textile for the Brazilian economy, industrial heritage has been object of recent and modest preservation, started at federal level with the landmarking of the Ipanema Royal Iron Factory by the IPHAN (National Historic and Artistic Heritage Institute) in 1964, nearly thirty years after the service was established. Preservation of these industrial equipment is still in its early phases: IPHAN recognizes only 14<sup>2</sup> properties of this nature as cultural heritage and, except for the Sesc Pompeia (a cultural and leisure center located in the district Vila Pompeia, São Paulo) – recognized more for the intervention of the architect Lina Bo Bardi than for the industrial activity –, most of them had its activities shut down already in the 19th century, linked to the imperial period.

On the other hand, the state of São Paulo, Brazil's largest industrial exponent in the 20th century, has a wide and diversified range of preserved industrial buildings other than those discussed here. Excluding railroad-related properties (stations, courtyards and workshops), CONDEPHAAT listed 34 industrial-related properties by 2018<sup>3</sup>, of which 12 are directly related to the textile activity – or 35% of the listed buildings. Of all industrial properties analyzed by CONDEPHAAT (currently 77 processes, including ruins), 20 are related to the textile industry, accounting for 26% of the total.

The textile factories studied from 2010 to 2014 at UPPH are from the late 19th century and the 1920's, considered by Stein (1979) as the “golden age” of the textile industry. From this study, it was possible to classify this period in two phases: the first between the end of the 19th century and 1910; the second, from 1910 to 1925, is the consolidation period, when the textile production experienced an economic downturn. Among the common points there is the factories' plant size, which occupy large lands in towns. The production process, divided into several stages, demanded large spaces – for air circulation, lighting and accommodation of machinery and workers. A great part of São Paulo's factories was composed by spinning and weaving cotton making it into yarns, from which the fabric was made. Others, in a smaller scale, were only weaving factories, so they bought the yarn – domestic or imported – to produce fabrics.

The architectural solution to comply with the 1894's Sanitary Code (SÃO PAULO Decree n° 233 of 03/02/1894) was supposed to supply the lighting and ventilation problems, which were solved with the construction of ridge vents, sheds with movable windowpanes at the shadow side and, in some cases, artificial ventilation. Historiography tends to divide the physical form of the factories into two styles: “Brazilian colonial” and “British Manchester style” (HARDMAN; LEONARDI, 1991, 133-134). The authors explain these styles in the following way:

- a) *Colonial Brazilian style*: factories built during the Empire, similar typology to the big houses on farms, with cotton production in their own land, the rural and industrial capital in the same activity. For instance, the factories São Luís (Itu, 1869), São Bento (Jundiaí, 1874), and São Martinho (Tatuí, 1881);
- b) *British Manchester style*: factories in late 19th century to the 20th century with brick façade, plane symmetry and sober structure. It is also featured by different buildings, some of them with two or three floors. As examples, the factories Brasital (Salto) and Labor (São Paulo);
- b 1) German style: exposed bricks, high and compact buildings with two or more floors and small windows. As an example: Carioba Textile Factory (Americana).

Another definition was added regarding the construction of factories after the 1920s, in which the standardization of elements and the use of concrete and prefabricated materials allowed the rapid modification of the use of buildings. They have few lateral vents and natural ventilation, an attempt to decrease the lighting incidence on the cotton fiber, what would harm the product. This is a characteristic of Argos Industrial S.A., in Jundiaí, that had early 20th century's Manchester style buildings combined with others from the 1940's. Its oldest part was demolished for the duplication of an avenue.

The number of processes under study at GEI reveals the predominance of "Manchester" characteristics, for two possible reasons: great

part of the factories was built already in the Republic and after the 1894's Sanitary Code, which demanded a minimum space of 8m<sup>3</sup> to each employee, electric illumination, annual painting, water supply, sewage and bathrooms (one to 20 employees). After 1925, the studied buildings were part of an enlargement of the preexistent installations.

The assessment of each request was based on criteria broad enough to cover the diversity of the state and of the industrial activity itself. This assessment limited recognition as a heritage to some industries by electing representatives metonymically. The criteria were always from the state perspective and in line with the guidelines recommended by The International Committee for the Conservation of the Industrial Heritage (TICCIH), especially the ones in the Nizhny Tagil Charter:

- Technical/technological pioneering: the textile industry was spread over the country and concentrated in São Paulo. Therefore, the adopted criterion to define importance is the pioneering technique used either in equipment (technological) or in the work of man (technical) that triggered changes in the textile industry. In a nutshell, one that has added to the method used.
- Insertion in the economic scenario: identify the relevance to the development of the sector. The number of spindles and looms, the use of electrical or steam equipment, productive ca-

capacity, horsepower (HP), and its importance to the economy (number of employees, volume of capital invested, performance in other activities – such as oil production, for example –, well-established presence through the territory, exclusive production of a product).

- Labor mobilization: strikes, movements, labor rights, unions, changes in the relations between employee and employer (or capital), that represented milestones and changes in the history of labor.
- Technological or products innovation within its context, the use of different techniques or equipment, or even products' innovation, what gives the company a spotlight in the state's context.
- State Policy Representative: state capital investment in industry; connection with industrial incentive policies, settlement, schools/vocational training courses, state investment in the primary sector for the promotion of the industrial sector, etc.
- Promoting changes in the habit/culture/daily life of the workers and the geographical context. When the industry uses new equipment in previously underserved locations, labor migration from other locations that changes the cultural identity of the place, with cultural changes such as theaters, forms of social organization, etc.;
- Urban architectural criteria considered for the choice of goods: importance in the urban configuration, prominence in the landscape, and differentiated building systems.

The sources used to research about each one of these factories were: newspapers' publications, minutes of meetings, Official Gazette of State and Union, pictures from historical collections, documents filed in the São Paulo State Board of Trade, workers' documents and specialized literature. After analyzing the sources, it was observed that there was a common movement in most studied industries: the transformation of an initially privately held industry to an incorporated company (S.A.). This constitution enabled the increase of capital through shares and loans at low-rate in banking institutions. This is because the S.A.'s are required by law to annually publish annual reports carried out after rigorous audits, providing greater security and transparency about the company's financial situation. This way, the banking institution can offer credit at a rate according to its results and payment capacity. The companies' constitution was determinant for its continuity through the decades, due to the increase in production capacity, modernization of installations and technology, making the state of São Paulo the largest industrial power of the country.

A summary of the research from the study made by GEI between 2010 and 2014, resulting in the landmarking of four out of the six analyzed textile factories is presented. It is important to point out all the processes are in the UPPH headquarters and can be accessed by appointment.



Figure 1. Nossa Senhora da Ponte, 1924. Source: Pedro Neves dos Santos, Sorocaba Historical Museum's collection.



Figure 2. Closed factory. Source: Deborah Neves, 2010.

### Process 58349/08 - Nossa Senhora da Ponte Textile Factory – Sorocaba (1881).

The oldest factory among the studied units, founded by Manuel José da Fonseca, represents an important change in the textile technology as it pioneered the use of herbaceous cotton for spinning fabric, during the height of American Civil War. It was strategically installed on the margins of the Sorocaba Railroad and the Supiriri stream, ensuring production and water runoff for boilers and hydraulic pumps – machines were imported from Curtis Sons & Co., of Manchester.

The workforce was mainly of women and children – because they were less expensive –, who made rustic fabrics like long cloth and denim with a great number of striped and checkered because printed were non-existent.

The analysis of the textiles pointed out that the Nossa Senhora da Ponte may not have been one of the most important factories in the state and not even in the city of Sorocaba, as it was overshadowed by the magnificent economic performance of the S.A. Votorantim or even of the Santa Rosália Textile Factory. Yet, the Nossa Senhora da Ponte is the most preserved factory that maintains an unrivaled relationship with Sorocaba's landscape – neighboring the railroad, whose complex was listed in 2018. The factory is currently occupied by Shopping Pátio Cianê





Figure 3. Aerial view Source: IGC (Instituto Geográfico e Cartográfico), 1939/1940.



Figure 4. Two Vila's houses. Source: Deborah Neves, 2014.

(a shopping mall), in reference to the business group that purchased the Nossa Senhora da Ponte Factory in the 1940s. The landmarking was passed in 2017 by Resolution SC-63 of 12/19/2017, published in the Official Gazette of 12/23/2017, pp.56-57.

**Process 59254/09 – Brasital Factory and Vila de Operários - *Società per l'Esportazione e per l'Industria Italo Americana* – São Roque (1890).**

Founded by the Enrico Dell'Acqua, the company was pioneer in the city of São Roque, in the cotton producer Manuel Lopes Oliveira's land, the same cotton supplier of the Sorocaba's *Nossa Senhora da Ponte* Factory. Located in the foot of a hill, the factory was served by the channelized *Aracaí* stream's water, which flows through the interior of the factory plant, feeding a turbine and a steam engine– imported from Milan and still present in the building– that generated driving force for all looms. The hydraulic system also feeds a sophisticated program of firefighting built with English equipment from the company Mather & Platt Co., of Manchester, England.

The architectural and engineering solution are the major highlights. It also had mainly Italian workforce and weaving, with no spinning sector. This water turbine movement system is similar to the one at New Lanark Mill and Cotton Factory, in



Figure 5. The company's view, 1960's. Available at: <http://www.almanaqueurupes.com.br/portal/textos/colonistas/o-pu-e-o-puxao-de-orelhas/>

Scotland, which dates back to the 18th century and is now considered a World Heritage Site. This is what makes São Roque's factory unique in the state of São Paulo, and possibly in Brazil. Recently, the factory had its wood floor. Another highlight of São Roque's Brasital is the full presence of its working-class village, built between the 1940's and 1950's, currently inhabited by descendants of the factory workers and in excellent condition.

The landmarking was decided by the CONDEPHAAT in 2014 and still awaits the approval of the Secretary of Culture.

#### **Process 30006/92 – Industrial Taubaté Company – Taubaté (1891)**

Founded as a Joint Company in 1891, the company is classified as big-sized, with capital originated from many sectors and specially for its location in an essentially rural town, which has a strategic position between the North coast, the cities of São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro, and the *Central do Brasil* Railroad.

The company's head was Félix Guisard, a man of entrepreneurial vision who searched for technological innovation. He constructed the factory's plant radially to optimize the process, its own hydroelectric plant for energy self-sufficiency, and the importation of German machinery for power generation. Business

management techniques were based on a vision of the workers' welfare. Because of the factory, social facilities were built, such as school, health center, football stadium, residences for part of its employees, and a holiday camp in the coastal city of Ubatuba.

The layout of its buildings followed a logic of rational development, following the precepts of urbanism. The plant was set up in a suburban area, but close to the city -next to the *Central do Brasil* Railroad line and not far from the city station. Even so, this region reversed the logic of central importance.

Currently, the art deco office building, built in the 1940s, is the headquarters of the Taubaté City Hall. This language was reflected in the façade of three other older buildings, which were added with vertical friezes, with visual unity in the circular square that bears the name of director Félix Guisard. Older buildings have Manchesterian and brick-like features. Two blocks were demolished in the 1970s. In addition to the City Hall equipment, two buildings belong to the University of Taubaté (Unitau), which hosted the second edition of Docomomo, held in 2000.

The landmarking was approved in 2017, by Resolution SC-69 of 12/19/2017, published in the Official Gazette of 12/23/2017, pp.54-55.



Figure 6. Offices' building. Source: Deborah Neves, 2012

**Process 31605/94 - Argos Industrial – Jundiaí (1913)**

Inaugurated in 1904 thanks to the capital of Italian (Aleardo Borin and Luiz Trevisoli) and German (Ernest Diederichsen) businessmen, Argos was settled in an area served by the São Paulo Railway, Ituana Company, Paulista Company and a stream, and was supplied with electricity. The city was already an important textile industry hub in the state of São Paulo.

The construction of the factory took place continuously, especially in the 1910s and with

further expansion in the 1940s, which shows two well-marked physical aspects. The most primitive buildings are erected with self-supporting bricks and feature shed at a steady pace. The most recent and most preserved buildings are made of concrete with art deco elements. Importantly, a significant part of the oldest building was demolished by the City Hall in the mid-1990s, for road expansion and urbanization of the area, which would be converted into a square. However, the duplication of the avenue did not advance over the land area and the square was never built. It resulted in a large parking area decorated by the fabric dyeing boiler chimney.



Figure 7. Aerial image of the Argos factory. Source: Mingo Gasparai, published in Manchete Magazine, n.802, September 2<sup>th</sup>. 1967

Argos stands out in the landscape for its large size and large occupation and is responsible for much of the urban layout of Vila Arens neighborhood. Its three working villages extend over six blocks and have features of a set of houses. Also noteworthy is the presence of the buildings that housed the day care center and the school for the employees' children, who today belong to the City Hall and for educational purposes.

Although the reason for the landmarking is the building, the day care center and part of the houses

that make up the working village, the Council considered that the request should be filed, since part of the factory had been demolished. A citizen filed an appeal that resulted in the reversal of the previous decision. Note that this is the last textile factory in the city of Jundiaí, extremely important in the state.

The landmarking was approved in 2017, by Resolution SC-65 of 12/19/2017, published in the Official Gazette of 12/23/2017, pp.57-58.



Figure 8. Argos' remaining's perspective. Source: Deborah Neves, 2012.

**Process 65641/11 - Japy Factory, Jundiaí (1913).**

The Japy S.A. Factory was inaugurated in the 1910s, when the textile factories were consolidated as profitable industries due to import substitution, aggravated by the First World War. One of its founders is businessman and Senator Antonio Lacerda Franco. The Japy S.A. Factory was a corporation and was linked to a group that controlled other service and industry companies, forming a conglomerate.

The building was built prior to the establishment of the company. It was not possible to precise – probably in 1913 since there is a record of a water supply contract between the factory and the Jundiaí City Council dated from 07/22/1913. The building was characterized by the extension on a large land near the railroad and by the single pavement in self-supporting bricks marked by the rhythm of the sheds. Its simplicity is justified by the fact that it is just a textile factory, without spinning sector, unusual for a company of the size of Japy.

The factory was especially marked by the management of José João Abdalla from the 1940s, commonly known as “the bad boss”. This was a result of non-payment of labor rights and non-fulfillment of its financial obligations, and the use of government for private benefit. The factory closed down due to its mismanagement in the 1970s, when the building was occupied



Figure 9. Frontal and lateral façade views. Source: José A.C.Zagato, 2011.



Figure 10. Lateral view of the textile factory. Source: Deborah Neves, 2013.

by supermarkets. In 2011, a residential building contractor bought the land and demolished a significant part of the factory— prior to the GEI’s request for landmarking— one of the reasons why the landmarking request was not filed.

**Process 47329/03 - Nossa Senhora Mãe dos Homens Textile Factory, Porto Feliz, (1924).**

The *Nossa Senhora Mãe dos Homens* Textile Factory was founded in 1924 as an incorporated company and had small shareholders and two main ones: Antônio Emygdio de Barros and José Emygdio de Barros, two well-known politicians in São Paulo.

It was not one of the state’s largest factories, even though it was the only textile factory in the city of Porto Feliz, but is considered a big-sized company thanks to its capital and production force. Not surprisingly, the main shareholders were Emygdio de Barros’s family: Antonio and his father, Jose, as well as big industrialists like Sylvio Brand Correa (one of the founders of Construtora Camargo Correa), and even companies (like Kortenhaus Stummel & Comp. –machines for the textile industry, and Elias João Habice & Filhos - merchant, representative of Westinghouse in Brazil, partners of the Crédito Cooperativo). Other individual shareholders, such as Antonio Martins de Sampaio, Francisco Souza Moraes, Antônio Eulálio de Camargo, and the Pires de Almeida and Almeida Portella families, were involved with cotton farming. A number of shareholders were

members of the São Paulo Republican Party – including José Augusto Pereira de Rezende, Antonio Emygdio de Barros’ brother-in-law, and the party’s president in the city of Botucatu. The São Paulo Republican Party was responsible for the presidential election of Brazilian former presidents: Prudente de Moraes, Campos Salles, Rodrigues Alves, and Washington Luís.

It is a company born with the capital of the political and financial elite of the countryside of São Paulo, which is not dependent on the textile factory for its subsistence. It was a commercially profitable activity in the early decades of the twentieth century and so it attracted their investment. The factory had the interest of the shareholders: the city’s cotton growers, machine importers, bankers, capitalists, and politicians. The textile factory had several aids from the Porto Feliz City Council for the purchase of machines and even for tax exemption.

What is truly interesting is the fact of a textile factory was founded by large owners of capital, in a city with no factory tradition and little expression in cotton culture at a time when the textile industry as a whole was experiencing an economic downturn. It is also worth researching the motivation of the group of capitalists so important in this endeavor and the power relations they had with public and private entities, as well as the important political connections. Besides having important names of the São Paulo Republican Party, the *Nossa Senhora Mãe*

*dos Homens* Textile Factory brought together one future Governor – Adhemar de Barros – and the family of another one – Luiz Antônio Fleury Filho. The business connections of the main partners are also an important and should be analyzed more deeply.

The factory's plant is simple and divided into three blocks with inner streets, today forming the streets of *Porto Feliz*. In this aspect, it strongly resembles the Italian-Brazilian Silk Textile Factory, located in Brás district, in the city of São Paulo, in a smaller scale. There is now a shopping mall in the building where once was the weaving, a market in the one where was the spinning, and the City Hall in the building of the Employee Cooperative building.

Due to the non-compliance with the evaluation criteria, the owner of the shopping mall had to pay a fine because of the damage to the factory and to the city's landscape and cultural heritage.

### **Conclusion**

We consider the preservation of four of the six factories studied makes an important contribution to the history of São Paulo, with examples of extreme relevance to architecture and especially to the history of the state, without impeding its use by new activities.

After the landmarking, the commitment of the parties – state and owners – must be the guarantee of maintaining these buildings not only as individual and isolated examples, but their understanding as part of a complex system that has decisively structured the country's economy and only make sense as a set. Each one has its own peculiarities and distinct aspects of the textile enterprise in the state. They are important documents for the understanding of the history, economy, architecture and urbanism of the cities and the state of São Paulo.

The consolidation of a policy of valorization of heritage is a greater challenge than the act of landmarking itself, insufficient to guarantee its integrity and importance to society. The establishment of public and private recognition and valorization policies, such as the establishment of cultural routes, as well as a commitment to include such places in city planning. Landmarking should be seen as a tool inspiring respect for the building and its capacity for multiple evocations. This may overcome the mistaken idea of a “freezing” built by unfamiliarity with the legislation and even by a lack of city preservation agencies, which have been corrected over the years through workshops and technical assistance.

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## Views on the Freguesia, social participation and the construction of values in the city

Sao Paulo's Heritage Education Network (REPEP)\*

*Text translated by Laís Domingos under the supervision of Nivia Marcello.*

\*An educational group of professionals from several fields of knowledge, such as educational and cultural segments, that works since 2013. The group received Honorable Mention in the 2nd Learning with Culture Seminar from the Culture and Extension Department of the *Universidade de São Paulo* (USP). Currently, this group works independently from the University of São Paulo (USP) with a horizontal self-management system and voluntary work without the provision of services.

### Abstract

The *Freguesia do Ó* (Parish of the Ó) is today an important reference to understand the history of the city of São Paulo from the perspective of urban growth and sociability built-in occupation beyond *Tietê River*<sup>1</sup>. This is a phrase of a text written by an architect and urban planner, in other words, how we could start writing about the neighborhood. However, our proposal is to present different voices about the Freguesia that have found in heritage a commonplace. Together, we formed a Working Group (WG) of the Sao Paulo's Heritage Education Network (REPEP) that has had regular meetings since 2015 to design educational actions and proposals for valuing local heritage, either by reviewing the listed heritage resolution or in defense for a space of local memory. Thus, we produce texts about our relations with the *Freguesia of Ó* and how we identify with this heritage. In this paper, after introducing the work of the WG, we expose the individual texts aiming to build a written dialogue. Although we do not represent the totality of different urban subjects, we hope to demonstrate the power of a work produced through social participation, including the different meanings and narratives that exist in the heritage of the Parish of Ó.

**Keywords:** Freguesia do Ó; Heritage Education, REPEP (Sao Paulo's Heritage Education Network).

## Introduction

The Sao Paulo's Heritage Education Network (REPEP) is a group of educators established in 2011. REPEP is an open network that brings together those interested in working and reflecting on heritage education. The group supports the meeting of people from different segments of culture and education. There was a consolidation of REPEP as a meeting network outside university<sup>1</sup>, through the participative definition of principles and legislation. Civil society groups joined the REPEP bringing the need for training and action from 2014. It is important to point out it is not the service provision; all work is voluntary. For this reason, we work with the collective development of our activities.

We received members of the *Brasilândia* Memory Point and the Portal do Ó in one of the network's open meetings with civil society groups. The members of both groups wanted to discuss and proposed educational actions to preserve the

view of the Parish of Ó. Because of our interest of some REPEP's members, we formed a Working Group (WG) that operates autonomously, but is linked to the network's Management Board. The Working Group of *Brasilândia Ó* started its activities in 2015. Since then, we have met to consider the educational actions and proposals for the local heritage appreciation, either by revising the neighborhood's listed heritage (Resolution Number 46/92 of the City Council for the Preservation of Historical, Cultural and Environmental Heritage of the City of São Paulo – CONPRESP) or in defense for a space of local memory.

In this article, we learn about the journey of WG of *Brasilândia Ó* in a non-sequence narration of our activities in the territory. As we seek to strengthen the group level and present ourselves as a collective, we put forward a multiple-author article<sup>2</sup>. Each item of the article reveals personal

1. REPEP is originally linked to the *Universidade de São Paulo* (USP) and the Centre for Cultural Heritage Preservation of USP. Currently, both institutions are only REPEP's partners (ANTONINI; NITO; NEVES, 2019).

2. The article was organized by Mariana Kimie Nito and revised by Alberto Luiz dos Santos. Both are postdoctoral fellows of the National Council for Scientific and Technological Development (CNPq) and the Foundation for Research Support of São Paulo - (FAPESP).

views of the members currently most involved in WG actions and explores their trajectory as a part of REPEP (Sao Paulo's Heritage Education Network). The questions and items we formulated for each member guided the writing and we respect the text style of the respective authors. Our purpose was to develop a written dialogue as proof of the power of debate on cultural heritage regarding the different speeches and professional experiences. Thus, we hope to provide reflections on social participation through educational actions in the construction of a democratic cultural heritage.

### **From *Brasilândia* to the *Freguesia do Ó*, a territory and many memories**

By Leandro Silva<sup>3</sup>

The preservation of memory and the valorization of the *Brasilândia's* struggles, a district in the northern zone of the city of São Paulo, was the best way to integrate actions between the youth and more mature individuals to strengthen the identity of the neighborhoods, their struggles and their achievements in access to water, housing, early childhood education, etc. These actions also focused on narrowing down violence based on round table discussions held in various entities and schools in the region.

Actions already existed in the region, but they were not structured as an organization. The

emergence of the *Brasilândia* Memory Point contributed to the “unification” of these activities from 2009. The project of the Brazilian Institute of Museums (IBRAM) examined *Brasilândia* and 13 other pioneering initiatives throughout the country. For two years, the leaders of the territory had the opportunity of exchanging experience with other museum initiatives in neighborhoods in the outskirts of different cities nationwide, such as *Coque*, in the city of Recife; *Jacintinho*, in the state of Ceará; *Taquaril*, in the city of Belo Horizonte; *Terra Firme*, in the city of *Belém* do Pará; *Estrutural*, in the Distrito Federal, and among others. These exchanges intensified the group's work, which had two tasks: the memory we would like to strengthen, and the one we would like not to remember. From these actions, we developed the First *Brasilândia* Memory Point Exhibition “*Brasilândia's* Villages and Gardens”, regarding the initials of the neighborhoods of the district. And the exhibition was presented at the Luiza Saete State School, located in the district *Vila Penteadado* in 2010.

*Brasilândia* Memory Point 's management team received technical support from IBRAM, which held workshops, cataloging and follow-up visits throughout the preparation of the exhibition. Cecília Angileli, a master's student at the Faculty of Architecture and Urbanism at USP (*Universidade de São Paulo*), produced nine plates for the event. She presented the stories

3. Journalist, with a diploma in Production and Television Management, and a parishioner of Our Lady of the Expectation (Mother Church).

of some neighborhoods, their main struggle aspects, and also the development of the district in recent decades. This work went through the entities and some schools that participated in this project and left the legacy of appreciation of their local stories and references. After this exhibition, some leaders continued their work in their entities, since the purpose of the Memory Point was to stimulate the accomplishment of this work in several entities, multiplying the work instead of having only one reference.

In mid-2012, a new group is established in the *Freguesia do Ó*, a neighborhood near *Brasilândia*, and fight for the preservation of *Nossa Senhora do Ó Square*, listed heritage by Conpresp (Municipal council of heritage preservation) in 1992. The early years of work consisted of raising awareness and mobilizing the local community and local companies. In 2014, the work gained momentum when the city undertook a reform in the square and removed the Portuguese mosaic flooring, a dozen centenary stone flooring and the historic heritage of the Brazilian troops, (veterans in the Paraguay war). The reason for the management was the FIFA World Cup in Brazil. One of the official events was supposed to be held in the neighborhood, the Fan Fest, but it did not happen. This action left the public property damaged and caused an important mobilization of residents, entities, and local companies in defense of the square.

We sought technical support from the reference given by other heritage preservation initiatives to improve the actions. We found out REPEP (Sao Paulo's Heritage Education Network), which was fundamental for the strengthening of these actions and the inclusion of new partners, such as Our Lady of the Expectation Parish (listed by the Resolution number 46/92 of the Conpresp in 1992). The church had undergone a thorough restoration funded entirely by parishioners, who promoted raffles and other fundraising activities. A new demand came with the support: the preservation of the view of the church located on a hill, on the right bank of the *Tietê* River. This demand motivates the work of the leaders with the management of REPEP. In 2017, the *Brasilândia Ó* Working Group finalized a report supporting the church as intangible heritage. The proposal was formalized in 2019, after two meetings at the DPH (Department of Historical Heritage). At this moment, an evaluation request is made for the extension of the listed heritage perimeter to suggest a feedback limitation and other precautions to preserve this neighborhood's urban landscape. The discussion also caused a request to transform the square and region into a TICP (Territory of Interest of Culture and Landscape), a measure of São Paulo's Strategic Master Plan.



Figure 1. View from the Belvedere of Ó, on the wall with posters designed during educational activities of the RECEP's workgroup during the Heritage Day with posters, old maps, and identification of places that can be recognized in this landscape. Photo: By Mariana Kimie Nito, 2019.

4. Holds a B.A. in Social Science from the *Pontifícia Universidade Católica de São Paulo* (PUC-SP) and is technical staff at CEPAM (Center for Municipal Studies and Research). A resident of the Parish of Ó.

### **Strengthened friendships and urban projects**

By Kleber Silva Jr.<sup>4</sup>

I will briefly write about the beginning of my participation and the developments to this day.

My first contact with the Memory Points Program (PPM) was through Leandro Silva. My sister Beth introduced him to me during the election of the Guardianship Council. Silva was already a counselor and Beth would be the candidate that year.

Regarding activities of the Church, Silva was the leader of the Youth Ministry, Beth was a catechist of Christ in the Mother Church of the Parish and I am a former Salesian student of Dom Bosco (the Saint of Youth).

After Beth's election, we began to think of actions that went beyond childhood and youth, including the Memory Point program and more effective engagement in the subway issue for the Parish and *Brasilândia* regions. Coincidentally, the IBRAM staff (based in Brasília) contacted Silvia inviting him for a meeting regarding the Memory Points Program (PPM).

I participated in three meetings of the Memory Point program: in the cities of Brasília, Natal, and Belém. In these meetings, we resumed contact with other members of the Memory Points Program and I could better understand their objectives. We discussed how to resume the program in the region in the meetings after each event.

At the same time as the Memory Points Program's meetings, the Our Lady of the Expectation of the Parish of Ó Church was partially interdicted with scaffolding to fix the main ceiling that was about to collapse. We relied on community actions, under the leadership of Father Carlos Ribeiro, to restore this centenary church.

Since the 1990s, we have heard about the construction of a subway line that would service the districts of *Freguesia do Ó* and *Brasilândia*. Not everyone knows, but this subway project for the region has taken shape thanks to the distinguished Father Noé Rodrigues. Father Noé Rodrigues, as a great regional leader, was always invited to attend meetings with public officials and politicians and he had contact with the newly-started *Brasilândia's* subway project on one of these occasions. Because of a busy schedule inside and outside the church, Father Noé Rodrigues assigned one of his trusted friends and partners, teacher João Mota to follow up this subway issue. João Mota was able to gather people and bring associations, entities, communities, interest groups resulting in the establishment of Pro Subway Parish/*Brasilândia* Forum responsible for gathering more than 40 different groups.

On December 18, 2013 (*Nossa Senhora do Ó* day), a contract was signed between the group of construction companies MOVE-SP (Odebrecht, UTC and Queiroz Galvão) and the state government for the construction of Line 6 Orange of the subway. In February 2016, former mayor Fernando Haddad signed the decree of the new subway line as part of the city's urban planning (a public asset) in the Master Plan approved in 2014 (FERRAZ, 2016).

Since the “subway issue” was brought up in the region, there are two points of concern: (1) which buildings would be expropriated and (2) how much would the property be appreciated.

Construction companies are not committed with the neighborhoods where they launch their projects. It is just a math thing: how much will be spent on construction minus how much the profit from selling the apartments. The greater the difference in this calculation, the more interest there is in the project. The neighborhood will be occupied by the construction of buildings.

These competing subjects (Memory Points Program, restoration, and subway) provided the reflection: What is the use of renovating the Mother Church if we are walled up by future buildings

after the construction of the subway? This is how we began the mobilization for preserving the view of the Mother Church.

In one of the meetings of the Memory Points Program, we invited IBRAM consultant, João Paulo Vieira (from the Cearense Museum Network), to visit our church. Impressed by what he had seen, João Paulo understood our concern for the future and referred the teacher Simone Scifoni to guide our actions for preservation.

While looking for teacher Simone, we came across REPEP (Sao Paulo’s Heritage Education Network). Immediately, we spoke our purpose: the preservation of the view of the *Freguesia do Ó*’s Mother Church.

That is pretty much what happened...

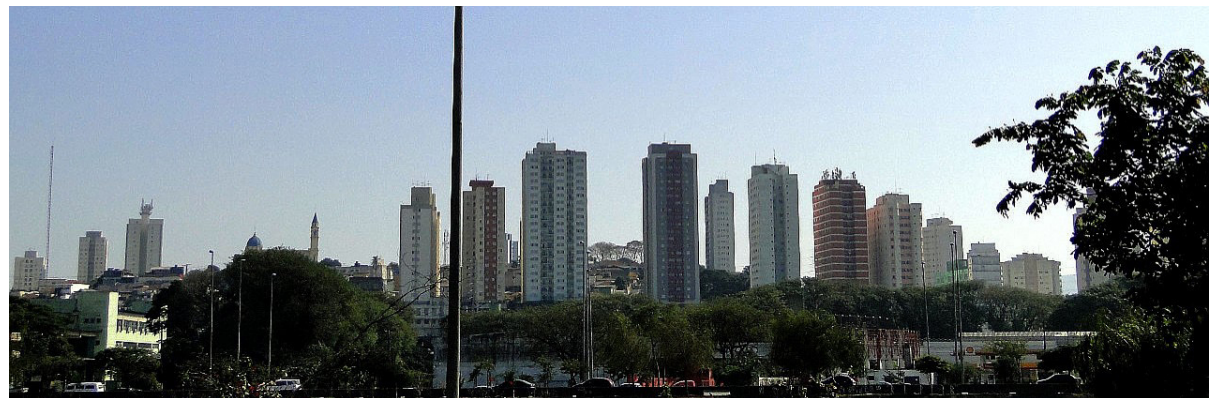


Figure 2: View from the *Marginal Tietê* freeway, where the Mother Church of the *Freguesia* can be seen between the vertical buildings. Photo: By Kleber Silva Jr, 2014.



## Urban heritage and educational actions

By Mariana Kimie Nito<sup>5</sup>

Discussions about the architectural and urbanistic cultural heritage have considerably advanced in recent years and have brought other possibilities and challenges in the construction of values and their preservation. Among the positive aspects, social participation has shown a way in the inclusion of other meanings and different types of properties with the perspective of social inclusion in the memory narrative, which is built through the protection of heritage or the understanding of social uses associated with it. This idea of heritage is based on the Federal Constitution of 1988 that asserts cultural heritage “are bearers of reference to the identity, the action, the memory of the different groups that constitute the Brazilian society”.

On the other hand, inequality between this broad understanding of heritage and the preservation actions of the government agencies can be found. This happens mainly in tangible preservation often based only on aesthetics aspects, unique to the history of art and architecture, that occur in the moments of recognition and the management of heritage in its urban dimension. The dialogue between daily and specialized knowledge is ignored. (SANT’ANNA, 2014; MOTTA, 2017).

I experienced this complex situation of preservation actions while working on my Master’s program in Cultural Heritage Preservation of the National Institute of Historical and Artistic Heritage (IPHAN) between 2013 and 2015 at the São Paulo Superintendence. During this period, I developed a research on the preservation buildings through its relations with the city. The study focused on the notion of ambiance, in its development of the concept of visibility, and in the inclusion of other urban values to promote the preservation of cultural heritage (NITO, 2015). According to jurist Sônia Rabello (2009, p.112-113):

The ambiance protection of listed heritage will value its view and its understanding in the urban space. From this point of view, not only buildings reduce its visibility, but any work or project incompatible with an experience integrated with the listed heritage. Therefore, the concept of visibility has expanded to ambiance, which is the harmony and integration of the listed heritage in its vicinity, without absolutely excluding the visibility.

According to Ulpiano Bezerra de Meneses (2006), the concept of visibility and ambiance are not defined as “neighborhood guardianship”, but it means to preserve the listed heritage through neighborhood urban laws. It is the city that empowers the values attributed to cultural heritage.

5. Architect and urban planner, a Ph.D. candidate at the *Faculdade de Arquitetura e Urbanismo da Universidade de São Paulo* (FAUUSP). Mariana works in the field of heritage with a focus on cities, memory, and education. She holds an interdisciplinary M.A. in Preservation of Cultural Heritage from the National Institute of Historical and Artistic Heritage (IPHAN). She has been a member of REPEP’s management board since 2014, and of the *Minhocão’s* Working Group against gentrification and *Brasilândia Ó*, both since 2015.

This need to the view preservation of the *Freguesia do Ó* made the group of the *Brasilândia* Memory Point and Portal of Ó present their purposes at a REPEP meeting in late 2014. The speech of their members clarifies their search for the real visibility focused on the daily appreciation of the residents and visitors of the neighborhood. This perspective updates and expands the importance of listed urban heritage in the 1990s.

The REPEP group's first visit revealed the different perspectives of heritage preservation with contemporary uses (REPEP, 2015). Thus, we started the *Brasilândia Ó* working group, a 12-member group with residents, heritage researchers, and professionals. Our objective was to review the listed heritage resolution (Resolution Number 46/92) of the Parish of Ó by the City Council for the Preservation of Historical, Cultural and Environmental Heritage of the city of São Paulo (CONPRESP).

The revision was concerned with the verticalization of the area between the listed heritage zone and surrounding region near the *Tietê* River floodplain. The constructive potential of the region was stimulated by the inauguration of subway line 6 Orange and the *Arco Tietê* (urban project foreseen in the Strategic Master Plan of São Paulo 2014 and the zoning law 16,402 of 2016). The law revision of this listed heritage required technical work, but we did not make those without educational and

participatory actions. Activities were collaborative and suggested with local public schools and in public spaces for residents and visitors of the neighborhood before the project plan.

The first proposal devised by the working group was a cultural competition called "Where's the Heritage?" in 2015. The idea was to campaign in defense of local heritage with different actors. Based on walking educational tours, photos and drawings of the different heritage of the neighborhood would be identified and recorded. Each script would be supervised by a group member and teachers who would stimulate reflections through a discussion about the city, old photos and maps, and local memory records. We included a heritage education background of teachers and knowledge about the city of São Paulo in the proposal. The project was presented at five local public schools, but we could not get support for the lack of compatibility with the school schedule, its size, and also for the lack of feedbacks from the school.

At the public school *Manoel Preto*, we could devise an activity during the 80-year celebration of Early Education in the city of São Paulo. Among the commemorative activities of the school, we developed an activity with the theme "How do I see my neighborhood?", in which children and adults drew what they liked best in the neighborhood and what could be improved.

Participants highlighted the need for more leisure areas, the local's old water tank, the different uses of the square according to the time and days of the week, among other issues. Despite the participants' interest in the work of the working group at the end of the workshop, we had no new members because of the time of our meetings, but we kept in touch with some of them online.

With REPEP's participation in the organization of the 1st São Paulo Heritage Day promoted by the DPH (Department of Historical Heritage), we proposed a walking tour with three itineraries: the founding of the *Freguesia do Ó's Núcleo Original* (occupation in the 16th century), the square of the first church *Nossa Senhora do Ó* and the context of the Bushmen (twentieth century, especially school equipment and infrastructure, water tank); and finally, the concepts of ambience, sociability and landscape in *Nossa Senhora do Ó Square* and *Mirante* (Belvedere of Ó). The itinerary was done twice with neighborhood residents and people who did not know it.

In the 2<sup>nd</sup> Heritage Meeting in 2016, we proposed specific educational activities for the *Mirante* (Belvedere of Ó), where it is possible to visualize the western region and urban elements of downtown São Paulo due to the 40-meter topographic difference from the *Tietê* River from the south side of the *Nossa Senhora do Ó's Square*. We identified visible places and regions that tell the

history of São Paulo from visual devices during the workshop. Through this activity, it is possible to identify the importance of the Parish of Ó as a referential landmark to the city. This suggested the revision of the law of Parish of Ó's listed heritage.

The study was developed together with the organization and the educational activity. This study was collectively done with different knowledge of the group in the Parish's meetings. The law revision consists of the enlargement of the surrounding area of the Parish landmark (from southern area until the *Tietê* River floodplain) from the regulation according to the topographic profile of the *Freguesia do Ó*. The technical proposal was guided by two aspects: maintaining the view of the Mother Church as a reference of the São Paulo's urban landscape and ensuring the contemplation of the city from the listed heritage (REPEP, 2017b). At the end of 2016, the study was completed and presented in a meeting to DPH technical staff who suggested some modifications.

In 2017, there were attempts for new meetings with DPH and partnerships with public schools in the region due to the recommended changes in the listed heritage law revision (REPEP, 2017a). However, the WG lost strength and its actions were very sparse until the end of 2018 due to lack of feedback and reduction of the number

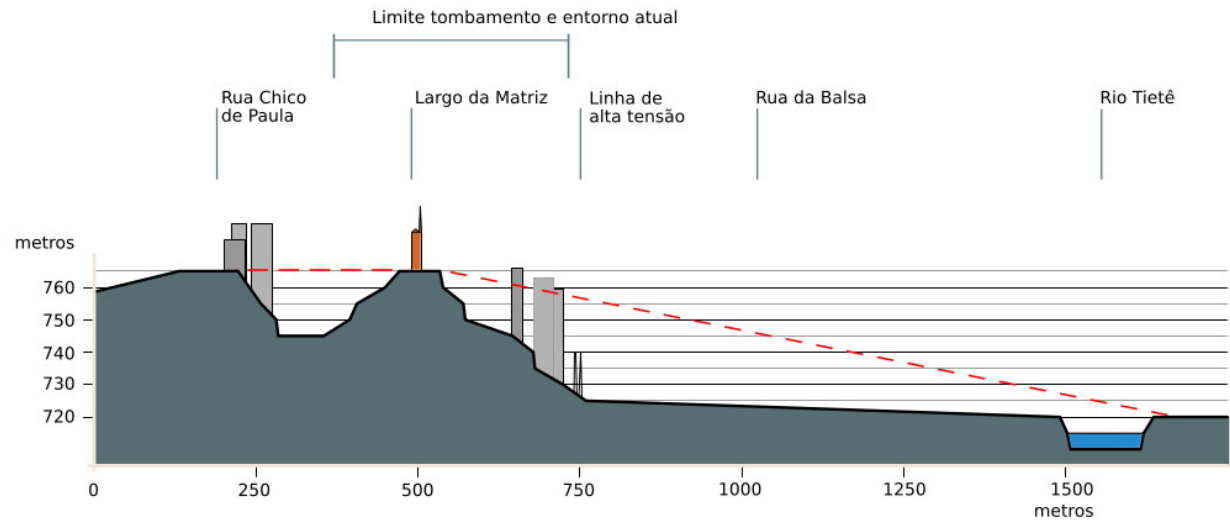


Figure 3: Topographic profile of the relationship of the Parish of Ó and the Tietê River with the existing buildings that hide the view at some points. Source: REPEP (2017).

of members. At the end of 2018, new members joined the group bringing other demands for preservation of the region's memory.

This year we were finally able to file the revision study completed in the DPH in 2017 (SEI Case Number 6025.2019/0008647-9), as well as meetings with new members of Repep's Working Group and with the government. We participated in events such as Heritage Debate in the Parish and proposed new educational actions at the Heritage Day in 2019. We mainly expanded the meanings of our work as a working group through dialogue with the floodplain soccer groups; strengthened the relationship of the

neighborhoods of *Água Branca* and *Freguesia do Ó* for the preservation of the Santa Marina Glass Factory; helped to protect the *Festa do Divino* (local religious celebration) as intangible heritage; a memory location for the physical collection of the Portal do Ó and old images stored without public access.

The actions of the WG, both in the struggle for the view preservation of the *Freguesia do Ó* and increase of its activities, indicate another appreciation of the urban and tangible heritage with possible actions for the city preservation with social uses and the civil society participation. With Repep's work we could say that the

development of the heritage concepts according to the Federal Constitution of 1988 is not far from reality. I dare say that it is in practice, in the complex actions of our urban experiences that we experience such concepts. And yet, I believe heritage policies should go beyond concepts, having them as reference, to implement actions that collectively produce knowledge and promote the transformation of reality.

### **Heritage and Territorialities of the Parish of Ó** By Alberto Luiz dos Santos<sup>6</sup>

Neighborhood life and the appreciation of cultural heritage are daily aspects deeply promoted. The contemporary memories and living practices – involving places, cultural expressions, and forms of sociability - have great potential to awaken the recognition of certain tangible and intangible heritage in social groups as belonging to cultural heritage.

This understanding contains two points that should be highlighted. The first concerns neighborhood life in the context of a contemporary metropolis in which neighborhood relations, meeting, and sociability in the streets, squares, and other public spaces seem to reduce every day. This is the fragmentation of space in the metropolis, a process in which: “whole neighborhoods have been uncharacterized and destroyed by the needs of uncontrolled expansion from the capital

accumulation that reproduces the metropolitan space by changing references and behaviors.” (CARLOS, 2007, p. 36-37).

Contemporary neighborhood life can only be understood as a constant transformation of certain social relations and material references sometimes on the way to total dissolution. The remaining neighborhood sociabilities strengthen the current context and become enlightening references to think of a more democratic and humanized metropolis, attentive to its social bases. Preserving and intensifying such sociability becomes a political dispute, which is not explicitly revealed and has fruitful possibilities.

The second point concerns cultural heritage. The widespread understanding in society about what constitutes or should constitute a protected cultural heritage. The assertion made in the first paragraph is valid only if the understanding of heritage recognizes the intersubjectivity that surrounds cultural assets. In this sense, the unfolding of neighborhood life acts as a multiplier of valuation processes. Daily processes that consecrate squares, houses, churches, soccer fields, among other places of sociability as heritage from values that are developed collectively. This involves symbolic meanings and expressions, even if it does not make up the protection system’s listed heritage processes (FONSECA, 2005), such as councils, departments, and research institutions.

6. Geographer with a degree from *Universidade Estadual de São Paulo* (UNESP), M.A. in Geography from the University of Campinas (UNICAMP) and a Ph.D. candidate in Geography at the University of São Paulo (USP). He has been a teacher in elementary education since 2008 and his research has explored the field of Urban Geography and Cultural Heritage since 2012. He studies relations between samba (a Brazilian dance) and local soccer. Alberto tries to understand the sounds of popular soccer places in the city of São Paulo. He has been a REPEP and *Brasilândia Ó* working group member for five years.

This debate is important to the author of this text. Born in the neighborhood of the Parish of Ó. For me, *Nossa Senhora do Ó's Square and Old Church's Square* are reference places for the enjoyment of memory that promote significant moments mainly related to childhood and adolescence. My relationship with the *Núcleo Original* of the *Freguesia do Ó*, listed by CONPRESP, involves uses, forms of apprehension and relationship with these cultural heritage that are spread by narratives ranging from formal education to local knowledge and memories between friendships and family relationships.

In conclusion, I understand the cultural heritage of the Parish from the dimension of the living, which transcends and promotes theoretical and methodological choices made when the *Núcleo* was a study object in the Geography Master's Program (SANTOS, 2014). Moreover, I reflected in this text if such experiences in the *Nossa Senhora do Ó's square* were not motivating, albeit unconscious, of my professional and academic choices. I am a geographer who has always sought to involve the cultural dimension in analysis that privilege the economic and political sphere of the social production of urban space".

I briefly share the legacies of this dissertation in line with the values listed by CONPRESP as a reason for the preservation of the *Núcleo Original* of the Parish of Ó through Resolution Number 46/92.

Historical, architectural, landscape, environmental, affective value... Between 2012 and 2014, I tried to synthesize how the prior studies of listed heritage resolution reached these values and how they are tensioned by the contemporary dynamics of the metropolis, especially in the sense of the economic uses of space and the advance of real estate speculation. The main conclusions were about diversity leading the debate between cultural heritage and territoriality. This is a field of geography that helps us think about the relationships of identity and affectivity of subjects with space. In conclusion, I speak of the processes of space appropriation when I speak of territorialities which, as Seabra (1996) states, appreciating the use and not the exchange, the work and not the economic product. I was able to get closer to the various social groups inserted in the daily life of the *Núcleo Original of the Freguesia do Ó* that appropriate the square space and attach value to cultural heritage.

The various territorialities cited were analyzed throughout the research and organized by their contents: times and weekdays in which they manifest themselves; alternate uses of public spaces and commercial establishments; age and income groups; residential origins (residents and visitors); among others. In this point of view, the values of the listed heritage cultural assets were revealed: if *Nossa Senhora do Ó's*

square, for example, was preserved as a meeting place for family and friends for some groups. On the other hand, this square inserted in the listed area was considered as a place for the weekend party, romantic encounters, outings, relaxation, and fun, among others. A square is also a place of entertainment and sport, among bocce ball, dominoes and skateboarding, and the experiences of other social groups.

This diversity was present in the other listed cultural heritage and refers to all the values cited as a reason. Thus, my choice was to expose such diversity and discuss its tensions in its content, sometimes conflicting and excluding, that involves residents and visitors of the neighborhood. I concluded that such territorialities can be considered as the very cultural heritage of the *Freguesia do Ó* besides and a key to understand the heritage appreciation. That is an asset connecting tangibility and intangibility with a plural use of public space and symbolic contents. It involves memory and contemporary issues of local social groups.

Since 2015, I have shared and reflected on this understanding with the practices, debates, and interventions of the Sao Paulo's Heritage Education Network (REPEP). I was able to better understand the issue of the view, mainly related to environmental and landscape values by being

part of the *Brasilândia Ó* Working Group of REPEP, whose legacy is the guiding thread of the dialogues in this article.

Seeing and understanding the metropolis, in its western and central regions from *Nossa Senhora do Ó Square*. Seeing and understanding the hillock of the Parish of Ó from small “cracks” of the vertical metropolis in points scattered throughout the neighborhoods of *Lapa*, *Água Branca*, and the Parish of Ó. Working with REPEP, the landscape shows a significant dimension of cultural heritage, as this “seeing and understanding” involves multiple dimensions.

Now, looking at *Nossa Senhora do Ó's Square* from *Marginal Tietê freeway*, for example, means perceiving a place that was socially constituted in 1580, the 16th century, the “[...] oldest Paulista village after São Paulo.” (PRADO JUNIOR, 1998, p.73 my emphasis). It means having the concrete dimension of a street and building layout that transcended later centuries involving processes such as the constitution of *sesmarias* (plots of land), the founding of chapels, the consolidation of defensive functions linked to the *sertão* (“outback”) troops, the conformation of farms and popular allotments (already in the 20<sup>th</sup> century) among other relevant processes of space production and urbanization of São Paulo.



Figure 4. View from the *Tietê* River floodplain towards the Parish of Ó's hill (where you can see the Mother Church) in 1952. Source: AB'SABER (2007, p.160).

These is a wide range of socio-spatial dynamics that unfolded in the complex geomorphological condition of the right bank of the *Tietê* River. Ab'Saber (2007, p.165) analyzed the pre-Devonian thought of the region, formed by shales and granite, and the characteristics of its sedimentary cover, and stated that:

While, on most of the left bank of the valley, it is necessary to walk several kilometers to reach levels above 2,460 feet, on the right slope. There are steep slopes of access to the hills, right after the floodplains, and hills of the secondary spikes of the surface of São Paulo (2591 - 2657 feet), linked to the *Serra da Cantareira* mountain range.

Such a geomorphological condition promoted with socioeconomic dynamics over the centuries has resulted in a unique spatial conformation. In this space, the urban and rural alternated discontinuously between slopes, hills, and with the largest agglomerations in the latter. It was a "city" that borders the churches and chapels established on top, a recurring process of the Portuguese colonization model. From this point of view:

From the city of Guarulhos to the Parish of Ó, the ancient settlement of the hills and high hills beyond the *Tietê* River surprisingly followed the same style. Almost all the small nuclei, formed there until the 19th century, was established on the soft top that was just shaped after the *Tietê* River floodplains. (AB'SABER, 2007, p.169)

The historical condition is perceived in this view from and to the *Núcleo Original*. We guarantee the population the right to culture by preserving it. If I highlight the geographical and geomorphological issues, certainly the colleagues of GT *Brasilândia Ó* emphasize such importance with other specificities, addressing issues such as ambiance, visibility and neighborhood guardianship of the listed heritage. In this article, real estate speculation and the verticalization of the cultural heritage key is confronted in a dialogical and plural way culminating in the proposal of a dossier for the expansion of the *Núcleo's* listed heritage of the Historical Heritage Department of the city. The vertical towers model is deregulated from private housing provision. It impacts life in the metropolis, contributes to speculation and also puts pressure on cultural heritage and its social uses.

I close this reflection with a relevant demand for the continuation of group dialogues: the way some "consecrated narratives" in the process of valuation of heritage are incorporated, especially when the adjective "historical" is used. When Caio Prado Junior stated that the *Nossa Senhora do Ó* village is the oldest in São Paulo, he made it explicit that it was based on colonization and the beginning of the settlement. According to the author, I ask: how can one think of this hill beyond colonization? How to emphasize its importance – and its permanent importance as a



reference in the urban landscape – going beyond the history of sesmeiros (owners of plots of land), farmers and “explorer” groups? Considering the widely recognized tensions and violence of indigenous groups during colonization, it seems relevant to me to research and unravel if they would no longer have led to the confirmation of this “Original Nucleus”, through other uses of space. Finally, this knowledge demands more discussions, further studies and researchers, such as archaeologists. Here is an interesting question for upcoming meetings... Discussions are coming!

### ***D'Água Branca to the Ó***

By Gilberto Tomé

In 2013, I came to live in the *Água Branca* neighborhood and got to know the train station of the same name, which is between the neighborhoods of *Barra Funda* and *Lapa*. I was surprised to find that from the train line of this station we could see the old church of the *Freguesia do Ó*, on its beautiful hill, framed by the *Serra da Cantareira* mountain range.

The city of São Paulo is vertical and decreases the broader horizons at the pedestrian level, I found in it a remarkable church from there, a few kilometers away. I learned a little about the history of the neighborhood and *Santa Marina* Avenue, the first link between *Água Branca* and

the northwestern region of the city in a first Internet search, through *Portal do Ó*<sup>8</sup>. Máximo Barros (1977) in his book about the *Freguesia* of Ó calls this avenue “Caminho de Manuel Preto”, a pioneer who occupied part of this region in the 16<sup>th</sup> century.

I collected historical images of these places and took many photos of the spaces, with centenary views of our urban history, colonization, the factories after the construction of the railroad in the 19<sup>th</sup> century and reaching the incipient (and irreversible) current verticalization process.

Known as the *Tietê* River floodplain, the history of the occupation of its space, including local soccer, with its many fields and teams.

It was then that I met the *Santa Marina Atlético Club* (a soccer club), founded in 1913 by *Santa Marina* glass company workers in the neighborhood of *Água Branca*. The club has over a century of history recorded in its precious photo collection, which presents not only its events but also images of the old glassware that dominated the region.

I began to walk with some of my neighbors and colleagues from different fields (theater, visual arts, history, and architecture) from *Guaicurus* Avenue – in front of the Fraternal Union building, where *Santa Marina* Avenue also begins – until

7. Born in São Paulo, B.A. in Architecture from the *Universidade de São Paulo* (USP) in 1992, works with graphic arts and develops projects related to the city's memory, focusing on landscape transformations ([www.gilbertotome.art.br](http://www.gilbertotome.art.br)).

8. The *Portal do Ó* is available online: [www.portaldoo.com.br](http://www.portaldoo.com.br). Accessed: August 28th, 2018.



Figure 5. Picture of the last walk with the REPEP working group in an educational activity during the Heritage Day in the background is the Lady of Ó Church seen from the neighborhood of *Água Branca*. Photo: By Kleber Silva Jr, 2019.

9. Technical Advisor of Union Chemicals SP, former professional soccer athlete, and resident in the *Freguesia do Ó*.

the *Nossa Senhora do Ó*'s. It was an expedition to draw and take pictures of the landscape. These various walks yielded many images, which I later gathered in a kind of iconographic album of *Santa Marina Avenue*, an artist's book edited and printed through a project contemplated by the State Culture Department's Cultural Action Program in 2016.

The combination of these images with other recent photos of mine is a reflection on the transformations of São Paulo's landscape, how they are (or not) drawn and how they determine our daily lives. Some century-old views, such as *Nossa Senhora do Ó Church* from *Água Branca*, may disappear as the neighborhood's horizon is disrupted by verticalization, spurred by master plans and other legal mechanisms such as the *Água Branca Consortium Urban Operation*. This makes some of the identity of our landscape or the "spirit of the place" disappear.

I made this large-format album as a "poster book" so that it can circulate as a book, where the images will relate to the page-turning or as posters inserted in public spaces. The images from this publication titled "*Freguesia do Ó: Journey, Road, Avenue*" were exhibited in February 2018 at *Água Branca* train station (line 7 Ruby) and can still be seen on the departure and return platforms returned to the São Paulo landscape from which they came.

The intention to record a moment of the city (more specifically from the hill) matched with the action of a group I met throughout this project: REPEP's *Brasilândia Ó Working Group*. I identified in this group the struggle for the preservation of a historical reference in São Paulo's landscape and wanted to collaborate by making available the images of my research to the cause: a surrounding expansion of the *Nossa Senhora do Ó Church*, where there will be a greater control of the height of new buildings to prevent them from blocking the view of the hill and the church from the *Tietê River* bank. The well-founded project, forwarded to DPH (Department of Historical Heritage) / PMSP in 2019.

I believe that my project will have a better citizenship action by joining this group that aims at concrete actions of full citizenship in defense of São Paulo's landscape. It is essential now to follow the unfolding of these actions in the troubled political, economic and cultural scenario we are living. May we continue this fight without dissipation.

### Football and the struggles for the *Freguesia do Ó*'s heritage

By Rui Cesar Primo<sup>9</sup>

My relationship with the neighborhood, beyond the aspects of daily living, was built and strengthened by the practice of soccer which

was a crucial element of leisure and sociability of the neighborhood and also of connection and integration between neighborhoods.

The soccer field was a space for children, young people, adults and the elderly, where communication between people happened for every reason: friendships, agreements, gossips, and even business trades. Memory also spread there through stories and contact with the elderly.

I played in a traditional local soccer teams, such as *Sobrados*, *San Remo* and *Alvi Verde*, all from the Parish and others from the neighborhood of *Vila Brasilândia* as *Mocidade Brasileira*, *Santa Cecília* and *Tiro ao Pombo*.

The soccer team called *Sete de Setembro* of the *Freguesia do Ó* is the third oldest in the city, from 1913. *Sete de Setembro* was established on the banks of the *Tietê* River and still exists.

Exactly, where I currently live was the *Paulista* Field that existed from 1920 to 1940 and where the families of the Parish of *Ó* gathered to watch the games and have picnics.

I remember my mother saying that I could live in a soccer field because I liked this sport. Ironically, it happened.

Someone has said that the nature of a place in the history of its formation and the Parish of *Ó* have a potential and a vocation for its historical



Figure 6: Picture by artist Salvador Ligabue of the soccer field in the Parish of *Ó*. Source: Collection of the Salvador Ligabue Culture House.

and cultural characteristics of blending the old and the new, the modern and the traditional as a tourist attraction. The *Freguesia do Ó* kept its identity and memory, just as many cities in Brazil do and many other cities outside Brazil.

*Nossa Senhora do Ó's* square can qualify as a territory of tourist interest and as an economic place for bringing together historical and cultural, commercial and gastronomic (pubs and restaurants) and religious ("*Festa do Divino*" festival) aspects. The neighborhood of the *Freguesia do Ó* is the third oldest district of the city and the only one that kept the name of *Freguesia*.

When I was in the City Participatory Council of the *Freguesia do Ó - Brasilândia* with other colleagues of the Council, we defended projects that valued the memory of the neighborhood as the qualification of the *Nossa Senhora do Ó's* square as Territory of Cultural and Landscape Interest of the City (TICP), the expansion of Salvador Ligabue Culture House with the design of a collection / museum of memories of history Parish of ò in the Salvador Ligabue Culture House on site incorporating the municipal property next door that today is a military unit.

We also fought against the removal of the Portuguese mosaic floor from *Nossa Senhora*

*do Ó* Square and the disappearance of the historic landmark in honor of the veterans in the Paraguay War. There is a lawsuit filed by us on the Environmental Prosecutor's Office still in analysis in a work from 2013 and disputed by the population.

I approached Leandro Silva in matters related to the defense and protection of the neighborhood's historical heritage, such as the disappearance of the church's historical landmark in the contested work when I was the coordinator of the Participatory Council. We obtained the installation of at least one replica of the heritage area, as the original was not found through the Public Prosecution Service.

Leandro Silva has had an interesting work at *Brasilândia's* Memory Point. After a while, he told me about the work of *Brasilândia* working group linked to REPEP, with Kleber, Camargo, and others with the proposal of widening the perimeter to preserve and enhance the view of the Mother Church.

He informed me about the performance of the group and I found it incredible because I have always thought people should be interested in discussing and fighting for the appreciation of the historical heritage of the neighborhood and the city.

I have also been to REPEP meetings with members of other working groups and it was great. I met other essential works around the city. I understood the perspective, ability, and sensitivity of the members of this REPEP Working Group, through which I have learned a lot and integrated myself into these struggles that I believe.

### Conclusion

The different parts of this article have brought fundamental elements to understand the workgroup itself without corporate etiquette. It was an exercise of expression and deeper knowledge about the opinions and individual works that came together in these educational actions. The texts showed different professional fields and writing styles, different approaches to the field of heritage, as well as some points of disagreement and conflicts, to be worked on. We also identified the points of view on heritage in the meeting between technical, academic and daily knowledge, showing that it is possible to work collectively and articulate those knowledges.

The perspective currently presented by WG *Brasilândia Ó* makes it clear heritage education does not happen as a simple action and is a process in which time and engagement are required. It is also noticeable the different flows of people who participated in the group increased the size and scope of actions, a native characteristic to the model of functioning in networks. The more

members and the more diverse the opinions, the greater the wealth in the exchange of knowledge and energy to propose new actions. However, there is a limit to what a network, such as REPEP, can do. The new demands of WG *Brasilândia Ó* seem to be moving towards other actions that take place outside REPEP, forming another local institution that could maintain a partnership with the network.

Finally, the article presents some dimensions of heritage education and its capabilities in the transversality of possible actions between the identification, preservation, and valorizing of cultural heritage through the collective and continuous production of meanings and experiences.

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# The city starts where you live! Relations between memory, identity and territory in neighborhoods that have CEUs<sup>1</sup> headquarters

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## Abstract

The project *My neighborhood, my city: you are also part of this story*, which resulted in the CEUs' first phase inaugural exhibits between 2003 and 2004, was conceived by the city of São Paulo's Department of Education as a memory project for the outskirts of the city. Developed in the celebration of São Paulo's 450th anniversary (1554-2004), the project fulfilled a twofold objective: to highlight the connections between the city's local history and "the wide history of the city". The project aimed to include local memories in the city of São Paulo's school curriculum and favored the positive appropriation of the new school space by the population around it, recognized as a building agent of the city. To emphasize these objectives, we inverted the history's narrative from downtown to the outskirts, according to the premise "the city begins where you live". The narrative was based on the residents' statement, which address the connections between memory, identity and territory, as well as the definition of memory referential, from a different perspective from those of the policies guiding heritage processes.

**Keywords:** Memory project for the outskirts. CEUs. São Paulo's capital city

1. This article is based on the reflections that I developed in my M.A. dissertation, called *My neighborhood, my city: the CEUs' inaugural exhibitions and the São Paulo outskirts' urban representations* in 2017 at the University of São Paulo's Museology Interunit Graduate Program, under the supervision of Prof. Paulo César Garcez Marins.



### **Relations between memory, identity and territory in the neighborhoods that have CEUs headquarters**

My children know the local history. Everything that we have today, the street light, it has been about three years that we went there and fought for all of this [...] To give you a clearer idea, for us to have water, here in the neighborhood, it happened the same thing, we had to face the governor, deputy who called themselves owners of the area... [...]. People, sometimes, think: “not everything comes from heaven...” [...] Around 1994, a person showed up here named Salim... He was the one who started to sell land to the people. [...] Here there were only dirt roads, shacks, and a total poverty. In 1996, we received an ownership repossession to the former owners, the true owners. [...] When we got here, there were about 80 families [...] we were treated like thieves, as we were the worst thing in the world. (Antônio, CEU Paz, 2004)

**T**he excerpt is the report of one of the residents from the neighborhood Jardim Paraná, in the outskirts of the neighborhood Vila Brasilândia, located in the São Paulo’s north area. In this neighborhood, the 19th CEU was built and

inaugurated in April 2004. This report is part of the interviews’ transcripts, conducted by the project *My Neighborhood, My City*: You are also part of this story. The project was conceived by the city of São Paulo’s Department of Education and developed by the company Expomus, between 2003 and 2004, as the inaugural action of the first 21 CEUs.

The project has gathered and reflected on neighborhood memories and led to the inaugural CEU’s exhibitions. The beginning of the project was marked by a field research with oral history records and collection of documents and iconographic material from residents and local entities. The Project took place during the 450th anniversary of São Paulo (1554-2004) and was structured to gather and reflect on neighborhood memories, and the problem of the city’s construction guided researchers who sought to connect local histories and official historiography,

to understand the dynamics of each territory and the way the outskirts of the city converse with the downtown.

The objective of the article is to address the content of these oral history records to highlight the relations between memory, identity and territory in the narratives of the residents interviewed. The residents' narrative will be converted into expository discourse, organized according to the premise: "the city begins where you live", which marks the inversion from the downtown to the outskirts.

The exhibitions fulfilled the goal of the CEUs inauguration, the implementation of these new facilities is also observed, integrated to an intervention plan in the city territory, which involved as much actions in the downtown areas as in the outskirts. Finally, the pedagogical dimension of the project is highlighted, according to the proposal of inclusion of local memories in the school curriculum, as a strategy of production of knowledge about the city, and in the perspective of the school as a memory center of the territory.

### **Narratives of life as values to be passed on to other generations**

Data obtained through interviews with the residents, between 2003 and 2004, during

the development of the field research of *My neighborhood, my city* were transcribed and organized in 21 notebooks, one for each CEU, totalizing 1,105 pages (EXPOMUS, 2004b). In this process, the inaugural exhibitions project gathered an important collection about the constitution of the neighborhoods in the project with residents' narratives, documentation, and images collected in the field

The analysis of the interviews' transcripts with the residents shows the narratives about the space appropriation and its transformation into a city. These reports mix the public and private spheres. The elderly resident's speech are marked by the "pioneering" of the space appropriation, through expressions such as "this was all bush", followed by "today is a city". The residents' pride with the development of the place they helped built is evident.

Such narratives highlight the process of urban transformation as the result of successive struggles, from land ownership, actions for infrastructure improvements to the conquest of public facilities, showing the transformation of that space: the first bus line, the construction of a bridge, flood containment works. These include pharmacies, banking facilities, supermarkets, chain stores, bars, soccer fields, churches, party venues, and neighborhood associations. All of

that is understood as the result of collaborative and daily struggles, which are configured as material references of local memories.

It is important to remember that the references are very different from those traditionally recognized as memories or government protection heritage. The concepts of landmarking these places are traditionally based on the concepts of antique and do not apply here. These places are seen as recent, “commonplace” and ever changing. For the residents, however, the logic of cultural value is in the relationship of places with work, their social relevance associated with the improvement of material conditions and capable of supporting social relations.

Social relations, in this case, are understood as intangible references of memory, because they give meaning to daily life, as the basis of survival in the outskirts neighborhoods, through which the feeling of belonging to a social group is constituted. According to Magnani (2004, p. 34), it is about recognizing the outskirts’ resident in the context of their social practices and the existence of sociability networks as “forms of self-preservation, of association - without which social life, in its multiple dimensions, would have long been impossible in the megalopolis scenario.”

The report by João Vitalino, a resident of the neighborhood Jardim Três Corações / Grajaú, in São Paulo’s south area, where CEU Três Lagos (2003) was built, emphasizes the importance of the social networks that Magnani talks about. His narrative also discusses the existence of a “colony of relatives” that supported him when he arrived in São Paulo, as well as friendship and configuration of the “community” that struggles to solve common problems, where he became a local leader:

From the Northeast, everyone migrates to São Paulo. When one comes, everyone does the same. And we stayed here, and here we are [...] my story... [...]. I came by a flat bed truck<sup>2</sup>, when the road from Bahia to Rio de Janeiro was still unpaved. [...] I came to *Cidade Ademar* neighborhood because I had relatives in the south area. And where there are relatives, you know, we form a “relative colony.” That is where there is support, because strangers don’t welcome us very well.

[...] Then I came to *Jardim Três Corações* neighborhood and bought a bar. It has been 32 years. [...] We had a house and nothing else. The rest were only plantation. The streets were unpaved, there were only bushes, constructing sites, a few buses, just nothing. The rest was only plantation.

Of course I wanted to come here, this was the right place. It did not have anything, so I could make money and grow my business. I knew here was going to flourish, and it did.

2. The flat bed truck has very uncomfortable wooden seats and a canvas covering.

If I like it here? I really love it. If you say to me move out, I will not. I started a family here, this is everything I know, I don't have any problems living here.

[...] Everyone gets along so well here. How could I ask for more? Money does not bring people's happiness. With what I make, we can live, what is good is to have this tranquility.

[...] We are 740 thousand residents, counting the neighborhoods of *Parelheiros*, *Cocaia* and *Varginha*. There are many people, we are a community living together, seeing and listening.

I take part of the participatory budgeting. I am very engaged with the subprefecture, which is a department in the city hall, showing all the local problems. If we have any problem, I will point it out and solve it. (João Vitalino, 2003)

In addition to the role of social networks as an element of personal support and territory organization, João Vitalino's report also shows a common fact, which is the experience of transition between rural and urban especially among older residents and older neighborhoods. In neighborhoods already consolidated at the time of the construction of the CEUs, the urbanization process took place from the subdivision of old rural properties, or around the housing complexes and working-class districts located on the edge of the urban area, characterized by economic and social integration. In view of this, urban development was institutionalized, but precarious.

However, in the newer neighborhoods, which were still in the process of being built when the CEUs were introduced, the narratives still dealt with the struggle for land tenure, the acquisition of housing and basic infrastructure. Such was the case of the neighborhood *Jardim Paraná* (CEU, 2004), an occupation of an environmental protection area in the mountain range *Serra da Cantareira*, in 1993, by homeless people living in slums located in the neighborhood *Vila Brasilândia*. This case explains the recurrent eviction of the population to increasingly extreme areas of the city. These evictions make it difficult for residents to organize and to establish leadership, as well as stable links with the territory, as residents often live in temporary housing.

In older neighborhoods, the organization of residents and leadership took place between the 1970s and 1980s in the field of social movements, with the support of churches, unions, and political parties. Such groups were able to achieve significant improvements for these currently well-structured neighborhoods. In such cases, reports of a past of struggle, but also of prosperity, are common, and some of these narrators are recognized local leaders, making evident the identity constructions linked to the territory and the pride they show in describing the place they helped to build.

An example of these constructions is the report of Antônio Ermírio, resident of the neighborhood *Jardim Três Corações/ Grajaú*, which reveals a territorial domain and a discourse of power, and he describes himself as a benefactor of the neighborhood, together with the public power.

When I arrived, there were only 10 residents living here. I have been a resident since 1962 and an owner since 1966. I came from the neighborhood of *Santo Amaro* to live here, that is the love I have for the neighborhood *Três Corações*.

We arranged a committee to pave the street. Then we brought social service to the local population. Social work is about to look for improvements for everything in the neighborhood, along the city hall and the state.

The greatest pleasure that I have is to please the people. I will only leave this place to go to the cemetery, I saw this place grow, and now it is a city. I still look for improvements, the people are very humble, but it is not a needy population. There are some poor areas; it is true, but not all the city. While I am still alive, I will fight for this place. (Antônio Ermírio, 2003)

After talking about the residents' commission to achieve improvements for the neighborhood, Antonio Ermírio introduced himself as a member of a group of residents and showed how he stood out in this group. In addition, he quoted his participation in a group of local leaders and eventually took on the protector role of that area.

This construction represents three distinct times: the past and the configuration of the community; an intermediate time where he excelled as leader along with other group members; and the present time, in which his leadership condition is consolidated. Invested in this position of leader and presenting himself as a local protector, Antonio Ermírio is the head of his area. As Font & Rufi (2006, p. 38) observe, "the place provides the fundamental means by which we give meaning to the world and through which we act," thus, "when we 'live' places, we create identities. To speak of place, therefore, is to speak about identity".

Thus, we can identify a common element to the narratives. As an example, the claim of a social and political space of action linked to the construction of the territory where these social agents are inserted as participants of social, individual and collective representations. In contrast, when adopted as the basis of the expository discourse of *My neighborhood, my city*, they assume a communicative character of the values shared by the group.

To build the expository discourse, the affective link with the place and the inclusion of the neighborhood as part of the city were defined as the values to be evidenced in the composition of the panels. Thus, the team responsible for organizing the exhibition used the identification of these same values as a criterion to select the

interviews. The purpose was that younger people could perceive the older residents especially the leaders, as role models to be followed. In this perspective, the current problems of the neighborhood were “challenges to be overcome” by the group, which now included the youngsters in the continuous exercise of struggles and achievements.

Likewise, as the inaugural action of the CEUs, *My neighborhood, my city* placed residents into the CEU’s space and set the new equipment in the landscape, imposing it as a civic landmark, especially when defining the school as a center of local memories. Finally, it placed the neighborhood into the larger space of the city.

***My neighborhood, my city as the inaugural action of the CEUs.***

Constituted from a dialogue between professionals from the field of education, museology and anthropology brought together by Expomus, the project *My neighborhood, my city* approaches the relations between memory, identity and the constitution of the territories in which the CEUs were located. It was necessary to understand the insertion of the new equipment in the daily life of the neighborhoods and to build up conditions for it to be positively appropriated by the local population. CEUs should also be included in the

local reference index, and recognized as an effort by that management to provide quality public facilities to the outskirts of the city.

Therefore, it is indispensable to relate the project of the inaugural exhibitions to the implementation of the CEUs, above all, as part of a strategic plan of urban development and intervention in the city’s territory. Such plan involved simultaneous actions in the central and outskirts neighborhoods, added by the critical recognition of the city as a fragmented territory, marked by socio-spatial segregation and defined by the center-working-class suburbs semantic opposition.

According to the former mayor of São Paulo Marta Suplicy’s city administration (2001-2004), the outskirts was defined as a territory of exclusion, constituted in the absence of public power and neglected by previous administrations. The implementation of the CEUs must be understood in the context of a political discourse supported by affirmative actions of social, citizenship inclusion and as an act of urban planning. In this sense, the option of building the CEUs with a centralizing monumental architecture with a great impact on the local landscape was able to mark the presence of the city public power in the outskirts as a turning point of urban policies, representing the symbolic insertion of the outskirts in the metropolis’ political territory.

The implementation of the CEUs was formalized through an Urban Operation and constituted as an action coordinated by the city's Department of Education in collaboration with the Department of Culture and the Department of Sport and Leisure, which involved all government's social sectors. In addition to their functions as multifunctional equipment for education, culture, sport and leisure, the CEUs fulfilled the objective of acting as centers of convergence of government social policies and vectors of development of the territories in which they were inserted. In the field of culture, the CEUs should act as an attraction to local manifestations, while inserted in the cultural circuit of the city.

Despite the symbolic pretensions of the architectural design of the CEUs, its monumental character, of great impact on the local landscape, also caused strangeness and distrust on the part of the surrounding population. In order to achieve an urban intervention policy, the new equipment had to be favorably appropriated. On the other hand, the realization of the CEUs as a local development center was conditioned to the understanding of the dynamics of the territories where this equipment was inserted and which the public power intended to act. It was, therefore, a double appropriation.

The conception of an inaugural action founded on a neighborhood memory project was conceived,

with the objective of embracing such internal dynamics within the territory and, during the celebration of the city's 450<sup>th</sup> anniversary, to understand how the neighborhoods converse with the downtown. The expectation of the city administration was that the participation of the residents, as previously discussed, could favor such positive appropriation.

The choice to promote the field research through the exhibitions was based on the ambition that residents would feel portrayed and honored by the government. On the other hand, it was intended that they would be able to perceive the concrete and symbolic links between the city's history and the dynamics of the constitution of the CEUs' headquarters, then recognized as building agents of the city that celebrated 450 years of its foundation.

Within the political-pedagogical project (SME \* P5.1 / 60A), this initiative gained a broader dimension, since the contents produced for the exhibition should be absorbed and developed in actions in the classroom. The theme of local memories would be integrated into the curriculum of the city's school system, making each student a researcher in their territory and a producer of knowledge about the city. The inaugural exhibitions should be replaced by others developed in each CEU.

### **The inversion of the narrative axis: “the city begins where you live”**

The text presented in the opening panel of each of the CEU exhibitions corresponds to an inversion of the construction of the city. As can be seen in the following transcript, after presenting the official version of the city, founded in 1554 by Jesuit priests, the school *Pátio do Colégio* as its landmark in the downtown; it states, “the city begins where you live”.

On January 25<sup>th</sup>, the city of São Paulo will celebrate its anniversary. It has 450 years of history, since Fathers Manuel da Nóbrega and José de Anchieta built the small Jesuit school on the *Piratininga* River plateau, where the city began. Today São Paulo has more than 10 million inhabitants. The city is so large that in order to manage it, it was necessary to build 31 subprefectures in different regions of the city.

This is the map of Sao Paulo. For you, a citizen of São Paulo, the city starts where you live. This is your neighborhood. You are also part of its story. (EXPOMUS, 2004b, p. 1)

Through this symbolic operation, the outskirts was highlighted and integrated into the city’s territory. From this point on, the expository discourse, constituted by the past-present-future articulation, proceeded with the narrative of the history of neighborhood formation as the result of collective struggles in the achievement of

space and for better living conditions. Along the same lines, urban problems were presented as “challenges to be overcome”. The same narrative also highlighted local leadership as “people who make a difference” and then invited younger people to pursue these achievements.

The construction of this new image for the neighborhoods and the city itself, through the recognition of their territorial diversity, implied the recognition of the contribution of multiple social subjects involved in the construction of the capital city, from the concentration of knowledge and cultures brought by migrants and immigrants from all over Brazil and the world. In this sense, the construction of these new looks on the city found the materialization of the discourses of social inclusion in the CEUs and the expression of affirmative and identity policies linked to the territory in their inaugural exhibitions.

This inversion of the narrative axis of the city, from the downtown to the outskirts, was complemented and detailed by the proposal to include the theme of local memories in the school curriculum of the city school system. Such inclusion, understood as the pedagogical dimension of the inaugural exhibitions, defined the school as a privileged space for the production of knowledge about the city, based on the dynamics of the territory.



### **The pedagogical dimension: school as a center of local memories**

The inclusion of the theme of local memories in the school curriculum, proposed an inversion of the axis also, in the production of knowledge about the city. The pedagogical dimension of *My neighborhood, my city* conceived as an element for reflection and detailing of the exhibitions was through its own instructional material, composed of two different books for students and teachers. In this sense, the purpose of the activities was to enable students to reproduce the methodology employed in the field research that gave rise to the exhibitions. According to the report produced by Expomus, the workbook allowed students both to learn the process of organizing exhibitions and developing elements related to identity and a sense of belonging to the place:

By coming into contact with the contents that the workbook introduces and being invited to participate as characters of this story, the young reader becomes not only co-authors of the small books they are composing, but also can recognize themselves as agents of their own story. Using writing, drawing and collage to express the perception of their own reality, as well as their worldview and their search for future paths, these young readers can express perceptions, sensations and emotions, sharing values, ideas, projects, and dreams. (EXPOMUS, 2004a, p. 4)

The instructional material made possible the production of narratives based on different supports and media, according to the age group, ability and preference of each student. Due to budgetary limitations, a single workbook was produced to cover an age group corresponding to elementary and middle school, which, ranges from six to fourteen years old. The teacher's book was designed to circumvent the problems of an instructional material produced in these circumstances, with suggestions of activities for different age groups and from the perspective of different school subjects.

Given the complexity the project's symbolic purposes, the effective development of the pedagogical dimension of *My neighborhood, my city* depended much more on the continuing education of teachers and other professionals involved in the teaching/learning process. Yet, this did not occur in any phase of the process. Education specialists followed up the project design and development, but schoolteachers were not called upon to participate.

As a result, the pedagogical dimension of the project, though understood as its main condition and as the most emblematic aspect of *My neighborhood, my city* was overshadowed. From 2005, the project was discontinued after the end of Mayor Martha Suplicy's term.

Still, the inclusion of local memories in the school curriculum is linked to the principles of integral education and it guided the conception of the CEUs and its inaugural exhibitions. In view of this, the experience of *My neighborhood, my city* has not been lost at all. Since 2017, the city's Department of Education has developed a new project by the Coordination of CEUs and Integral Education (COCEU), called *CEU, memories and action*.

The new project is based on teacher education and other professionals involved in the teaching-learning process in the current 46 units of CEUs. Such project adopts *My neighborhood, my city* as one of its references, along with other relevant projects in the schools. The current project is different from the centralizing nature of the inaugural exhibitions project as it encourages the development of activities defined in each unit of the CEUs because of internal negotiations within the territories.

The text of this new project stresses CEUs' character (SME/COCEU, 2017, p. 1) as "integrating and integrated spaces" and defines their objectives as "to build, to rescue and to organize the memories of the equipment and their surroundings". Therefore, the text explains, "it will be necessary the articulation and integration of employees, residents, students, and regular visitors". In this context, the CEUs are understood

as "privileged spaces for reflection on the city's surroundings and the places where they are located" and then define them as "reference centers of memory of territories".

Later, it stresses that is the responsibility of all individuals the "engagement with their stories", as well as the "need to make the user an author and protagonist". Thus, the purpose of the project is to foster "links of meaning and meanings of local tangible and intangible collections", to contribute to the "São Paulo's population history".

Thus, the current project is the desired insight of *My neighborhood, my city* expanding its reach as proposed by its pedagogical dimension without its centralizing character.

### **Final considerations**

In the context of heritage policies, the project *My neighborhood, my city*, is one of the most important cultural initiatives by the city public sphere, especially for its unprecedented nature of recording memories of outskirt neighborhoods. Throughout its course, between 2003 and 2004, the project gathered a rich collection of oral history record, textual documents and iconographic material about the surveyed neighborhoods. Despite its ambiguities and weaknesses, the exhibitions produced a narrative that broke the hegemonic discourse of the city that emphasized

the protagonism of its elites, The exhibition promoted the inclusion of new builders in the discourse about the city.

The inversion of the narrative axis – from downtown to the outskirts – the definition of memory references are equally emblematic of this museum project. Such disruptions and interpretative inversions are important elements for the reflections on the city, understood by Ulpiano Toledo Bezerra de Meneses (2003, p. 258), as “an object of broader and more complex knowledge than any collection or document that can refer to it”.

The neighborhood memory project in the inaugural CEU exhibitions is still innovative because it defines the school space as the site of a museum action, greatly expanding the possibilities for interaction between the museum experience and the school are places for the production of knowledge and the circulation of values. The museum-like action and education were understood as part of a public policy of urban memory that pointed to a new way of acting in the territory, recognizing and promoting social transformations.

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## Inhabiting the present, building the past: oral history and heritage in São Paulo's Modern housing complexes

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### Abstract

This paper aims to discuss cultural heritage and the place of memory in the housing complexes built by the Retirement and Pension Institutes (IAPs) in the City of São Paulo in the 1940s and 50s. Based on an oral history project featuring residents of these complexes, we discuss the construction of the past and its meanings in the present, in light of the architectural and urban transformation processes in the city. To what extent are the housing complexes considered cultural references by these social actors? How would we think about perpetuating these buildings for future generations, in light of the constitutional requirements for expanding what is considered as cultural heritage? The residents' perceptions, considering their past and present experiences, have shown deep connections to the historical housing programs promoted by the IAPs in Brazil, whether in their appropriation or criticism. From the oral history, this paper intends to discuss the life trajectories in the housing complexes and their relationship with modern-day preservation practices.

**Keywords:** Oral history, Social housing, Retirement and Pension Institutes

## Introduction

This article is part of the debate on the expansion of research on social housing and cultural heritage in Brazil, and intends to present the oral history research conducted with residents of housing complexes built by the Retirement and Pension Institutes (IAPs) between the 1940s and 1950s in São Paulo and the surrounding metropolitan area<sup>1</sup>. In an unprecedented way, we conducted fifty interviews with residents of the housing complexes focusing on life stories, forms of dwelling and work, urban history and the meanings of cultural heritage.

this perspective, it is important to understand the housing complexes as part of historical and urban processes and, as such, as plausible housing and quality of life solutions. The preservation of housing complexes has been a major challenge for the administrators, resulting in a broader understanding of historical relationships of the dwelling experience, the State's capacity to supervise and manage these spaces, and the need to establish a dialogue with residents in the quest for collective constructions of meaning for heritage.

The Federal Constitution (1989) legally transformed the principles applicable to cultural heritage in Brazil, to include expressions that go beyond grandiose landmarks and a wide range of cultural themes. Where fundamental and in-depth technical knowledge (from outside) intersect with local experiences and values is where new, solid bonds can be created, allowing the housing complexes to remain for future generations. In

It is important to problematize the preservation of social housing in Brazil and Latin America, mobilizing the recent critical literature on identities and alterity in contemporary cultural heritage (HARRISON, 2013), aiming at overcoming the colonizing perspective of preservationist discourses through memory and everyday life experiences. To that end, it is crucial to build arguments, actions, debates, and disputes about

1. This work included the research assistance of *Faculdade de Arquitetura da Universidade de São Paulo (FAU-USP)* undergraduate students Pedro Felix and Danilo Ferreira, fellows of the *University of São Paulo*, Unified Scholarship Program between August 2015 and August 2016. (Nascimento, august 2016)

the preservation of heritage, in a critical manner and together with the civil society.

Smith (1995) used the term “authorized heritage discourse” to describe the practices that developed from the 1960s onwards for European heritage, supported primarily by UNESCO. The designation of heritage is based on practices and self-reinforcing expertise that is allowed to speak about heritage (thus the term authorized discourse). This discourse of authority over heritage creates and legitimizes the concept of heritage and determines who can speak about it and its meanings.

Authorized heritage discourse focuses on aesthetically pleasing objects that current generations must care for and protect for future generations, and became the basis of heritage practices after the 1960s. Thus, it builds senses of identity that are based largely on the past. In this process, there is a significant emphasis on materiality as the carrier of meanings that are naturalized and treated as intrinsic. Heritage passively manifests itself in the discourse of materiality, in a tendency to refuse contradictory arguments. Historian Ulpiano Meneses (2009) also draws attention to the naturalization of cultural heritage valuations in Brazil, with engagements that are often passive to materialities and a tendency to exclude contradictory or contentious discourses. However, immaterial heritage in Brazil comprised other concepts from the 2000s onwards that, in many aspects, helped to place subjects

at the center of valuation in heritage policies. By revolving around the concept of “cultural reference”, subjects and their significances can ascribe meaning to social practices as well as to any pre-existing characteristics. Still according to Meneses (2017), this has made overcoming the false dichotomy of material/immaterial an even greater challenge, leaving the built heritage encapsulated in aesthetic discourses and creating the need to repopulating heritage.

Debates for the landmarking of modern housing legacy trigger a reflection on the “authorized heritage discourse” (SMITH, 2006) uttered by experts. While many of the housing complexes are disregarded due to assessment of their aesthetic-stylistic values – which are often the basis of heritage valuations –, their permanence and preservation actions create the possibility of expanding the field of heritage and going beyond the authorized interpretative framework. In Brazil, the intellectual involvement of modern architects with heritage policies and the interlacement of architectural historiography and selective actions have hindered the preservation of social housing buildings. (NASCIMENTO, 2016) In the case of social housing, the historiographical legitimacy made possible by the expanded research agenda and the acknowledgment of modern housing by authors such as Cavalcanti (1987), Bonduki (1998), Antunes (1997), Aravecchia-Botas (2016) and Bruna (2010) and especially by the Social Housing Pioneers Research Group coordinated by Bonduki have not been enough to validate



preservation discourses. The historiography of the last 20 years implicitly corresponded to the “canonical version” of the history of Brazilian architecture. There are questions over whether recent heritage-making practices have been able to overcome these ties with historiographical legitimacy. To what extent have we been able to push the preservation of modern architecture beyond the writing of history and in a way that is more receptive to the practices and representations of social subjects in their valuations and meanings?.

Investigations into the cultural and social history of architecture in Mexico (by Graciela de Garay), Argentina (by Rosa Aboy) and France (by Michel and Derainne) use oral history accounts provided by residents to show how much social subjects get involved with the housing project. So many years after the buildings were first occupied and the social housing program was discontinued, the objects, the memories and the materials remain. Dialoguing about life in the housing complexes, with the methodological contributions of oral history, helps problematize and scale the impact of modern projects in the life of workers and the meaning of the dwelling models in the daily routines and the historical processes experienced by residents of the housing complexes. And at the same time, these conversations trigger a reflection on the interests and conditions of social housing preservation in contemporary cities, as part of the history of work and workers in Brazil.

### **Housing complexes and preservation: the place of social subjects**

Numerous housing complexes were built throughout Brazil as part of the country's public housing policies between the late 1930s and early 1960s. The State managed and organized housing for the working class until the 1960s when, until the official housing policy was replaced with the National Housing Bank (BNH), which held other formal and ideological conventions. Between 1930 and 1964, there was great diversity in the housing complexes built in Brazil, with no prevailing style for the projects. The wide range of housing complexes featured varying typological, technological, urbanistic and theoretical approaches. One of these productions were buildings placed inside the consolidated urban tissue, such as the *Japurá* (designed by Eduardo Kneese de Melo) and the *Anchieta* (by Roberto Bros.) in São Paulo. Other constructions were a large block of flat-structured buildings between green spaces and detached houses such as the *Realengo* and the *Vila Guiomar* (designed by Carlos Frederico Ferreira), spectacular and exceptional solutions such as the *Pedregulho* housing complex and massive productions of the IAPI complexes: *Bangu*, *Moça Bonita* and *Penha* in Rio de Janeiro. All these buildings are important and have a significant urban impact, regardless of whether they were designed by renowned architects or inside government offices. (KOURY, 2019)

Research into the preservation problems of Brazilian housing complexes has shown that there is a diverse array of factors taken into account for conservation decisions. Preservation depends on a positive interplay between several factors, which may be the degree to which the project was built to design specifications, its form of occupation, or the bonds of affection established by the residents, which may lead to more incisive actions. The prevalence of one of these factors can be a positive or a negative influence on the conservation or architectural characterization of a housing complex (NASCIMENTO, 2016, Chapter 8).

At this moment, however, we are interested in discussing more than just physical preservation as an end in itself, but to think about the bonds of memory and belonging that the residents built with the dwelling spaces. The State built housing complexes as part of a policy for workers. Studies carried out by Ngela Castro Gomes in the 1980s showed that workers played a key role in building the authoritarian state of the Vargas Administration, as well as the dichotomy in the role of society in the shaping of authoritarian states (ROLLEMBERG & QUADRAT, 2010). The question is: which standards of domesticity of the modern, national, unionized worker who was willing to meet the demands for social order shaped by the logic of work were met by the private sector? How did the relationships between the State, residents, production of architectural structures and mediation by social workers occur? These are questions that promote

the current understanding of the leading role of residents in the construction of their stories and, consequently, allow us to think about preserving these buildings.

Research has shown the essential role of residents in the appropriation of modern homes and in the assimilation, rejection or resistance to the proposed ways of life, whether in the domestic spheres and in the social, cultural and sporting activities taking place within the estates. (NASCIMENTO, 2016) The collective living experience that resulted from the government programs led to forms of social organization and produced very strong and lasting experiences, constantly narrated and reinterpreted by residents. Currently, the use of dwelling spaces is lined with memorial meanings, full of stories of residents' appropriation of their modern homes and of collective living spaces, evidencing the strength of state-sponsored programs at that time and the fertile field of research on the social history of housing, which is still largely unexplored.

The ongoing study aims to understand the relationships between the role of social agents and the buildings through appropriation, resistance or rejection of the modern dwelling. The research process consisted of field visits to the selected groups and oral interviews. The interviews were conducted with residents able to establish memories of their ways of life at the time the housing program was implemented, in the 1950s. Almost all respondents belong to the



Figure 1. The *Mooca* Housing Complex, 2016. Source: Flávia Brito do Nascimento.



Figure 2. The *Vila Guiomar* Housing Complex, 2016. Source: Flávia Brito do Nascimento.

generation of the first families who received a unit from the IAPs.

A questionnaire was drafted with semi-structured questions and some key points to establish guidelines and relationships between reported memories and historiographic data. The interviews addressed issues such as the acquisition and moving dates, the procedures in the acquisition process, the requirements proposed by the IAPs, and how the selection process was announced to the public. There were also questions of a socioeconomic nature, regarding the number of family members, how they were accommodated in the rooms of the house, information about the furniture and its arrangement. These questions aimed to understand the context surrounding the daily lives and the household dynamics of these families, by analyzing the role played by each of their members. For the most part, the interviews were held in the residents' apartments at the housing complexes.

### **Housing complexes in the city: urban and social trajectories**

Of all the housing estates built between 1940 and 1950, the study focused on five complexes located in the cities of São Paulo and Santo André, in the metropolitan area, where it was possible to have access to the residents. Three of the complexes were built by the Industry Workers' Retirement Institute (IAPI) – *Vila Guiomar*

in Santo André, *Mooca* in the namesake working-class neighborhood in São Paulo, and *Várzea do Carmo* in the Glicério neighborhood in São Paulo. The other two buildings were built by the Bank Workers' Retirement Institute (IAPB) – *Nove de Julho* in the Itaim Bibi neighborhood and *Santa Cruz* in the Vila Mariana neighborhood, both in São Paulo. The industry workers who moved in the first three buildings had a higher educational and income levels than the bank workers. While all of these buildings were part of a broader workers' housing program of the Vargas Administration, there are important differences to point out regarding program organization, the resident population profile and architectural styles.

The three housing complexes promoted by the IAPI – *Mooca* (Figure 1), *Vila Guiomar* (Figure 2) and *Várzea do Carmo* (Figure 3) – are part of the institute's first foray into housing and, in their materiality, represent the ideas and actions taken on this issue at the time. Founded in 1936, the institute became the largest social security body in the country, a position it held until being absorbed by the National Institute of Social Security (INPS) in 1966. Like the other Retirement and Pension Institutes, the IAPI aimed to provide social security to its members, and promoted social housing as a way of investing its resources. IAPI played an important role in the modernization of public administration, and was one of the first public agencies to use civil service exams. As the leading promoter of social housing



Figure 3. The *Várzea do Carmo* Housing Complex, 2015. Source: Flávia Brito do Nascimento.

in Brazil, the institute created an Engineering Department and staffed it with several architects and engineers (many of them hired through civil service exams). The main creator of the IAPI housing program was the Rio de Janeiro architect Carlos Frederico Ferreira. Having graduated from the National School of Fine Arts (ENBA), Ferreira became influenced by modern architecture after attending the International Congresses of Modern Architecture (CIAMs), and decided to apply to the concepts of construction streamlining, serialization and standardization to the IAPI housing program. The *Realengo* building complex, designed by Ferreira in Rio de Janeiro in 1938, was the first housing project planned and built by the IAPI. It combines the various dwelling forms and experiences available at the time, with apartment buildings, detached houses, and several different construction streamlining techniques. After this inaugural experience, the IAPI tried out other arrangements, hiring professionals from outside its technical staff – who were naturally still required to follow its technical guidelines (BONDUKI & KOURY, 2014, p. 15-101; ARAVECCHIA-BOTAS, 2016).

The housing complexes in São Paulo in which we carried out our oral history project were designed and built in the first years of the institute, before it had a full technical staff in place or any guidelines for its dwelling models. In some cases, the public body used private architects to execute the projects. The first such case is the *Várzea do Carmo* complex, designed by Atílio Correa Lima and his staff. The four-story flat building

was designed in 1938 and offered three-bedroom units. It was followed by the *Anchieta* (designed by the Roberto brothers in 1941) and the *Japurá* (by Eduardo Kneese de Mello in 1942) buildings, which were not included in the study due to its architecture style and occupation characteristics, as well as the lack of access to residents. (ARAVECCHIA-BOTAS, 2016)

The *Vila Guiomar* (designed by Carlos Frederico Ferreira in 1942) building in the city of Santo André, São Paulo, is one of the largest housing complexes studied, with 1,411 residential units distributed across flat buildings and single-family homes in a large plot of land. Finally, there is the *Mooca* building, designed in 1946 by Rio de Janeiro architect Paulo Antunes Ribeiro, who carried out other projects for IAPI. This complex features flat buildings among vast green spaces. All the housing complexes included in the scope of the research were located in areas that were industrial neighborhoods in São Paulo at the time.

The Bank Workers' Retirement Institute had different characteristics from the IAPI, which are reflected in its housing program. Created for bank workers, which was seen as a prestigious career in the 1940s and 50s, the institute usually built single-tower buildings in more central areas of the city, popularly known as “banker's buildings”. The São Paulo complexes used in his study have different design characteristics, as they consist of serial buildings featuring several housing units, as is the case with the *Santa Cruz* building designed by Marcial Fleury de Oliveira.



Figure 4. The *Nove de Julho* Housing Complex, 2016. Source: Flávia Brito do Nascimento.

The *Nove de Julho* Housing Complex (1945) is a three-tower building designed by the staff of the Bank Workers' Retirement Institute (Figure 4). Both of these buildings were located in areas that represented the city's urban expansion boundaries at the time of construction (BONDUKI & KOURY, 2014, p. 179-233).

With the exception of the *Várzea do Carmo* Housing Complex, the urban ensemble surrounding the projects has changed drastically since construction, a process that has become even more pronounced in recent years. Their locations have appreciated significantly, with upscale apartments and commercial properties changing the neighborhood and the ways in which the city is occupied. The *Várzea do Carmo* Housing Complex is the only one that did not have its surroundings targeted by real estate appreciation or undergo significant appreciation. Located in the *Várzea do Tamanduateí* neighborhood, in the East Zone of São Paulo, the *Várzea do Carmo* Housing Complex is surrounded by expressways and public facilities, such as the INSS (Social Security) office building, close to downtown, near a historic hill in the *Tamanduateí* River floodplain. Although some newer, more luxurious buildings have sprung up around them, they are few and only border one side of the complex, which is rather large. The area has not become a housing neighborhood, but residents nonetheless feel a strong sense of place identification, and mention this as an affective and real estate value.

In *Mooca*, deindustrialization led to the closure of several factories, where relatives of the housing complex residents worked. Factories were sold and demolished to build upscale gated communities. The working-class neighborhood in the photo featured on the brochure for the complex, with the smokestack in the background, is now surrounded by high-rise luxury buildings. The change in urban landscape has also changed the profile of the residents of the housing complex. (RUFINONI, 2013)

A similar situation took place with the *Nove de Julho* housing complex, consisting of three tall towers that share a common garden. The opening of *Nove de Julho* Avenue, which became one of the main thoroughfares in the city, split up the complex and led to a real estate boom in the neighborhood. The Itaim Bibi district is currently one of the most high-end neighborhoods in the city because of its upscale residential buildings and vibrant commercial centers. Residents reported that this neighborhood was barely occupied and was considered to be in the city's outskirts in the 1940s and 1950s.

At the *Vila Guiomar* complex, in Santo André, the real estate appreciation of the surrounding neighborhood has been even more pronounced. Due to its size, the complex has become an urban island in the midst of a middle-class neighborhood in the city, located in close proximity to the city's downtown, near the City Hall Square and the train station. (COSTA, 2015; SILVA, 2018)



Figure 5. The *Santa Cruz* Housing Complex, 2015. Source: Flávia Brito do Nascimento.

The *Santa Cruz* Housing Complex (Figure 5) is located in the *Chácara Klabin* neighborhood, on the banks of the *Ipiranga* Stream, which has been channelized to give way to *Ricardo Jaffet* Avenue. When the complex was built, the river was open and along its banks there were industrial facilities such as the *Arno* factory and a garbage incinerator, both of which were recently shut down. (CANDRO, 2017) The land in this district was owned by the *Klabin* family, which subdivided the neighborhood and built some of their private houses on the higher ground, such as the *Modernist House*.

The less valued part of the land was used for industrial and housing purposes. One of the city's largest slums, known as *Vergueiro*, developed in the river's floodplains and remained there until the 1970s, when its residents were removed. The *Santa Cruz* housing complex was relatively isolated from the city, with no public transportation serving the neighborhood. That meant the bank workers had resort to shuttle buses to commute to work in the downtown area. Shopping was reduced to small greengrocers and the store of the *Bank Retirement Institute*, as one resident tells us<sup>2</sup>:

(...) it was all uninhabited, there was nothing. What was around? Ranches. Ranches all around. Well, what did we use to do around here? On Saturdays, my dad, my mom and I, sometimes my sister, we used to go shopping at the market in *Ipiranga*, because there was nothing here. Yeah, this was a farm here, in front of the *Santa*

*Cruz* Hospital. Do you see the *Modernist House*, have you ever heard of the *Modernist House*? (...) that's the main house of the farm owned by the *Klabin* family, who owned this huge piece of land. There was nothing else here, no schools, no stores. My dad was one of the first people who came here, and they went to *City Hall* to demand that an elementary school be built here. (Respondent VL, February 10, 2015, *Santa Cruz* Housing Complex)

The removal of the slum and the subdivision of the *Chácara Klabin* neighborhood changed the neighborhood's real estate market and brought a new profile of residents in the 1990s. The arrival of the *Green Line* Subway in the 2000s, connecting the district with *Paulista* Avenue, consolidated the change process. The immediate impact of the subway station, which is less than 500 meters from the complex, caused the units to appreciate in value and led to the construction of new residential buildings. This once nearly rural area (with factories, but also ranches owned by Japanese immigrants) is now served by a subway and large avenues that provide immediate access. (CANDRO, 2017; IMBRONITO, 2016)

The city changed and so did its dwellings, in its forms of appropriation, domesticity and family structure. What was once a dwelling condition "of its time" now becomes a dwelling "of another time", in which its ways of working and living have changed radically. The industrial and bank workers who shaped their life experiences in the housing complexes and their meaningful

2. The identity of respondents was not disclosed.

industrial or bank identity are now part of the past. (ARAVECCHIA-BOTAS, 2016) As Madeleine Ribérioux (1992) has pointed out, working life and its everyday senses are as important as industrial production spaces. In this sense, the expansion beyond the strictly architectural boundaries in the valuation of what may be the modern or industrial heritage, must consider the living spaces. (NASCIMENTO & SCIFONI, 2015)

The descendants and the residents of the housing complexes studied still nurture a strong sense of identity, which, which were not only their parents' but also their own. Through the memories, we were able to understand how the house is an important anchor for these subjective experiences. Despite all of the transformations that have taken place, the house and the complex are a the materialization of the previous existence that gives it meaning in the present and connects the commercial heritage to the affective and cultural heritage. The land inherited from the family is part of the common lived experiences.

### **Living in the present: memory, oral history and housing complexes in temporality**

If the city of São Paulo has changed a lot from the period of the construction of the complexes until the 2000s, if the professions that connected the residents have also become extinct or changed, many of the original residents and/or their descendants remain continue to live in the buildings. One of the key goals of the oral

history project was to understand how residents incorporate past experiences into their present lives, and how they resignify the historical place of dwelling.

As already mentioned, one of the distinctive features of the Brazilian housing complexes built between the 1930s and the 1950s is the profile of the resident population.. Although many of the units were sold by the original residents (after new rules took effect in the 1970s), the social configuration, the identity and memory bond still resembles those from the past. The complexes are occupied by workers associated with the Institute that built them. After the first contacts were made in person or with the help of social media, other residents appeared.

In her classic study on the memories of old people in São Paulo, Ecléa Bosi (1994) shows how remembering is a task that involves the dynamics of the present and the tensions between what one wants to forget and what one wants to remember. As a social category, older people remember the past as part of their social role in the present. The interviews were conducted with the residents who moved to the complexes as children or young people and today are generally over sixty years old. The function of memory, at the end of a long life, is to ascribe meaning to our existence. Interviews were conducted with residents who moved to the complex as children or young people and are now generally over sixty years old, by which time the IAP housing program has

been extinct for over 50 years and they are retired. The move to or birth in the housing complex and the passage of time and life experiences are interspersed with the nostalgia of lost childhood, but also with the pride of living there today, with their own history and its historical meanings in the present. This seemed to be a major theme of the general feeling about housing. Today's residents are historically aware of their place and associate such pride to this history.

The oral history project aimed to work with a different historical source from those already used to study housing complexes. Through the memories and experiences of the residents, we sought a historical understanding of these places. The aim was not to extract an alleged truth from the story, which would be impossible, but to learn about the experiences and memories of places that are important to people, from the people who have lived in these places. After extensive historiographical studies on the complexes, knowing the social role of residents in the housing history is essential. The subjectivity of the historian's work and its sources, and the direct, even contradictory and supposed "untrue" testimonies, are an additional source of research. (FERREIRA, 2002) With the definitions of history and memory, where history is an intellectual form of knowledge, a cognitive operation, and memory is in the field of social representations (MENESES, 1992), the oral accounts provided us rich possibilities for understanding the social history of housing and of workers in São Paulo.

Historians have used oral history with criticism and caveats since the mid-twentieth century, but it is unavoidable as a historical source. Oral history is widely used in national historiographical practice, especially because of the growing attention paid to memory themes in contemporary society. (FERREIRA, 2002) Oral sources have contributed to write the history of excluded people, helping them to build identities and movements for the right to memory, as well as helping in the field of public history. However, oral history remains an unexplored field in architecture and urbanism, especially in the face of experiences already carried out in other countries such as Mexico, Argentina and France. (GARAY, 2002, 2004; ABOY, 2005; MICHEL, DRAINNE, 2005)

To carry out the research, we used sources that could explore the depth of material life in housing complexes from the perspective of residents – lower- and middle-class workers. We sought to understand the ways of living in the housing complexes by taking a critical approach towards the sources and by confronting the different perspectives on the working class, government interference and the workers' own opinions on their homes. As Roger Chartier (1988) has shown, "the ways a specific group appropriates an intellectual purpose or a cultural form are more important than the statistical distribution of that purpose or form". According to Meneses (1992), memory has the condition of a social fact: it is a product of the present, responsible for meeting



the demands of the present historical time. Therefore, the memory cannot be rescued, as if it were in some dark corner, waiting for the right time to surface.

The majority of respondents are mostly from the first generation of residents. They were born in the complex or moved there while they were still children. Their parents held various industrial jobs, such as lathe operators, weavers, bodyworkers, production manager or inspector, technical education teacher, or even book dealers. On the other hand, bank workers worked in the banks of downtown São Paulo. Both bank and industry workers used to live in rentals, which they found to be precarious, both physically (small, shared bathroom, in villas, etc.) and/or socially (shared with relatives).

My father's family lived there in *Belém* and my mother's too, closer to *Mooca* but still in the Italian neighborhood. They got married and moved into a one bedroom with a kitchen for a short time in *Belém* too. (Respondent CR, 03/12/2016, *Mooca* Housing Complex).

The move to the housing complexes was seen as a material improvement for the family. The move to the complex was a material improvement for the family. In that sense, respondents mention mostly their mothers' reactions (more space or autonomy), because they were themselves children at the time. They reproduced the familiar lines and narratives about the history of their dwelling. Even though they were small, one-,

two- or three-bedroom apartments for families with three to four children are not a problem, given the previous living conditions. The material conditions of the house are a material gain:

When my mom lived in São Joaquim neighborhood, she lived in those little houses with one bedroom and a kitchen! It didn't matter that it was far, it was ugly... it was mine. That dream of owning a home. When she got here she said, "The first thing I saw was the wind". Her house is on the corner. That way she was able to hang the cloth diapers out to dry (Respondent PC, 02/29/2016, *Várzea do Carmo* Housing Complex).

Renting in previous houses was also seen as precarious housing. However, the respondents mention that, at the IAPs, housing was neither free nor cheap. The rent is remembered as being akin to a mortgage payment. But public housing built for the workers was rented and was owned by the IAP, which managed the tenants, from the selection process to the organization of community life, in some cases with the help of social workers. The social workers were actively involved in various facets of life, both privately and publicly, especially in the IAPI housing complexes.

Housing built during the New State regime were more than just a shelter: they were intended to educate workers. In some cases, the administration of the units was much more than a bureaucratic formality: it was based on such

convictions and was carried out in concert with social work with the active participation of social workers. To a greater or lesser extent, depending on the location and when the projects were completed, the IAPs were very much involved in the administration. (NASCIMENTO, 2008) In the housing complexes of São Paulo, there is no recollection of the social work carried out by the Institutes. They are only mentioned when residents talk of the office where they would go to pay the rent. At the *Mooca* IAPI, this office was in one of the apartments in the complex. The IAPI provided security (with two security guards doing the rounds at night) and cleaning for the buildings. Other than that, there is no mention of the Institute interfering with the.

In the 1960s, the direct administration of the complexes by the institutes, which were essential to the broader project of Brazilian worker ideology – came to an end. With the end of the IAPs and the creation of BNH, the houses were put up for sale, signaling the end of the social project. The residents had to organize themselves into condominiums, and this process determined whether the blocks would be kept together or split up. Respondents report that the purchase process was quite seamless: the amount of rent paid was used towards a down payment. The State's own housing project, which might not have been so clear to residents since it was mostly their parents who had signed the lease agreements, ended up being left aside. After so many years of occupation and the end of the

public housing program, the objects, materials and their memories remain. The fact that the houses were passed down through the family is fundamental. The physical transformations that may be disconcerting to architects and scholars are seen as more natural and even necessary for residents. It drew our attention the fact that the residents saw the changes that took place as necessary, such as the placement of a gate around the perimeter of the *Mooca* and *Santa Cruz* housing complexes. This increased security and was seen as unavoidable in light of the changes that have come, often without warning (Respondent FC, 11/07/2015, *Santa Cruz* Housing Complex). For residents, these physical changes are less significant when compared to what they have lost, such as salaried work, community and family life. Less than the memory of a project or of the moment of construction, residents have their own experience of life and of the temporality lived as affection and valuation parameters.

Community life is always referred to as something very positive. All residents fit into a relatively similar profile: young nuclear families. A few families, usually widows, did not fit into that description, as the institutes required proof of family formation. The family member signing the lease agreement had to be married. Childless couples received one-bedroom apartments (as was the case in the *Mooca* housing complex) and larger families were given two-bedroom units or even double apartments. The typological variation of the complexes and houses were

planned to match family growth and/or different sizes. Today, family size difference also serves the same purpose. Many older people, especially widows, live in small apartments on the ground floor of *Mooca* Housing Complex.

Even with the end of the State's housing management project, there were associations that offset the tone for other residents, showing them how to properly live in the complexes. This is a fundamental link that connects people to the past in the complexes. Residents' associations organized various activities, such as parties, carnivals, film screenings, June festivals and soccer championships. Socializing is the most mentioned aspect of a long-lost past. In the *Mooca*, *Santa Cruz* and *Vila Guiomar* complexes, residents created associations to organize social activities on premises. These were independent actions by the residents, with no mediation from the Institutes (Respondent CR, 10/17/2015, *Santa Cruz* Housing Complex; FS Respondent, 11/07/2015, *Santa Cruz* Housing Complex).

The free space was the first thing mentioned by residents when they recalled their childhoods in the complexes. With the exception of the *Nove de Julho* complex, which has high-rising towers, all other housing projects consist of buildings of up to five floors spread out over a large parcel of land. Laid out in parallel, without any fences or gates, the buildings left large, open areas between them, which became occupied with gardens and playgrounds. The absence of cars and parking

lots and even trees, which were few in the newly built complexes, left large open spaces that children claimed as their own. In the memories, the housing complexes are a child's realm, with kids of all ages spending the day around the complex and its surroundings, the working-class neighborhoods of São Paulo.

(...) it was all open, there was a large garden in the middle and there was a playground for the kids behind it. They all had one, the construction company did it themselves, with swing sets and slides. Most residents had five or six children! (...) Because the kids did it, they wouldn't stay in the apartment. They would go down and stay in that huge area, playing, riding their bikes, playing ball. It was crazy! (Respondent PC, 02/29/2016, *Várzea do Carmo* Housing Complex)

Wow, I used to go play on the street. I think the parents would open the front doors and say: Go! The parents used to do just like that. (Respondent CR, 10/17/2015, *Santa Cruz* Housing Complex)

At the *Santa Cruz* Housing Complex, there were also accounts of services available, such as a market where residents would buy basic goods at low prices, and a medical and dental clinic. Elementary school is an important memory in the *Nove de Julho* Housing Complex. The school was an integral part of the housing program. In *Santa Cruz*, the school was a separate building that was widely used by the community to promote other social activities. In the complex, bank workers managed to create a condominium for all blocks, ensuring their unity.

As a result, the gate was installed around the whole complex, and not for each building individually. In other complexes, the condominiums were created individually for each block, which resulted in the isolation of each building and the progressive privatization of semi-public spaces, such as gardens and squares, as was the case in *Mooca*. (FRASSON, 2000, p. 182-191) The city of São Paulo was a big star in the interviews. The city blocks next to the complexes and even the neighborhood were intensely lived by the residents and are remembered in detail. They reminisce of a city with some rural characteristics, with rivers flowing freely and naturally, where residents were able to play and deal with the floods, with small farms where they would buy food, outdoor areas where people walked, played or did daily chores like drying clothes (Respondent FS, 11/07/2015, *Santa Cruz* Housing Complex; Respondent MR, 09/30/2015, *Mooca* Housing Complex).

Right here in São Paulo, where I am, *Mooca* was considered a suburb. And there was a river here on Caçandoca Street. When I was a child, the river was free-flowing and it was all mud there. When we were kids, we swam in the river... The kids swam in the river. (Respondent RJ, 10/03/2015, *Mooca* Housing Complex)

These references build a city that was lived on a daily basis, far from the financial and industrial center, but deeply connected to it. As bank and industry workers, residents lived in the working city, but geographically their children and themselves lived on the boundaries of this central area. As already mentioned, the complexes were

pioneers in occupying certain parts of the city. Worker's housing was built in places of little value, which is evidenced in the oral history.

The city was not segregating, but welcoming and provided rich experiences, such as contact with nature and life in freedom. Traumatic or even critical memories of collective life rarely came to light in interviews. The memories of a happy past are not necessarily associated with a negative view of the present. Dwelling serves as an anchor for memories that are always reinterpreted. Past conflicts are ascribed new meanings. Traumas are forgotten and erased (POLLAK, 1989). Disagreements, inconsistencies, and even unhappiness emerged when the interviews were compared side by side. Even the floods that would devastate the *Várzea do Carmo* Housing Complex were seen in a positive light (Respondent PC, 02/29/2016, *Várzea do Carmo* Housing Complex).

Displeasures or displacements are mobilized in the memories of the role played by the mother, wife or daughter. But they are almost never protagonists of family existences and memories. The father's job, the city of São Paulo, friends, parties, soccer games, open spaces and the house, are recurrent themes. But when asked about women's leisure or other activities beyond housekeeping, respondents hesitate and mostly claim that caring for so many children and the home left little time for anything other than sewing or the radio (Respondent RJ, 10/03/2015, *Mooca* Housing Complex).

The most intense process of transformation of housing buildings coincides with the end of the institutes and the sale of the units, a moment of great change in urban life in the country and in São Paulo. The accelerated urbanization of the state capital, the growth of the suburbs and the metropolis place the house complexes in another urban setting, more inserted in the formal city and near the center. Nearby rivers are channelized, large avenues are opened, public transportation starts to come closer to home. Such changes are naturally viewed by residents as part of life changes. Gates to protect houses and the replacing gardens with parking lots are seen as necessities imposed by life. It seems to us that the aging or transformation of the complexes occurred with the aging of the people themselves (Respondent RJ, 10/03/2015, *Mooca* Housing Complex).

In some cases, the timing of the interviews (2015-2016) coincided with the return to collective living, in which residents in their old age or middle age share their accounts of life and of belonging to the history of working-class housing. The interviews showed the importance of housing projects developed by the State in the 1940s and 1950s and, above all, the sense of identity between the residents and these models.

In conclusion, it is also worth noting that, in some of the cases, transformations or threats led to an increased sense of belonging or a movement for preservation. In *Mooca* Housing Complex, the

sale of the park area to a private entrepreneur threatened the unity of the complex. The specter of losing the popular open space area and of having a high-rise among the surrounding buildings left residents shocked. The landmarking request to the CONPRESP (Municipal Council for the Preservation of Cultural Heritage of the City of São Paulo) showed how much residents had bonds of affection with the spaces of the complex. When asked if she had ever thought that the complex was a landmark, a resident replied "Look, we were forced to think!". The complexes emerged in the memories of the residents and in the demands for preservation as cultural references of a history of work, socialization and daily life. With the focus away from the object itself and its architectural values, the residents presented their memories and sensibilities, and were able to turn the spaces into heritage as part of their working, social and daily lives. Oral history can show us how significant their experiences were and how they mobilize their affections and emotions for heritage. Indeed, repopulating heritage proved to be necessary.

The tense valuations of the *Mooca* Housing Complex are a good example of the complexities of the heritage agenda expansion, despite the increased knowledge of architecture and urbanism history. The residents requested its landmark designation at the municipal level due to the possibility of the open area used as a park being sold and of buildings being built in its place. The city's approval and subsequent designation

show that the heritage authorities were sensitive to social demands. City landmarking indicates the valuations of the residents and justifies it also “considering the identity and affective bonds that residents of *Mooca* Housing Complex have with the place where they live, understood as a place of memory of industrial workers in the region”. Technical studies, based on recent historiographic production, defended their preservation. But in the end only the buildings were preserved, and a height limit for new buildings was determined – i.e., the open area sold will have its use restricted, but not prohibited due to its heritage value. The architectural understanding prevailed over the urban concepts in valuing the cultural asset (Resolution 18 / Conpresp 2018).

It would be essential to think of the housing complexes based on the literature advances, but also from the residents' appropriations, the values, tensions and criticisms of the dwelling experiences. If in the historiography of international architecture, the death of architecture itself has been narrated with the demolition and degradation of housing developments, in Latin America the issues seem to go down another path. Built for certain types of workers, the housing complexes are now incorporated into the urban fabric of cities, but hardly appropriated as part of the social history of work and workers. Housing remains one of the fundamental themes of our cities, which are with various forms of precarious housing. Even in the Latin American context, in which countless modern social housing projects

were built, the attempts to perpetuate this legacy to future generations were still timid.

Understanding the existence of a broader project in which the complexes are inserted creates important affective bonds for preservation. So many years after the buildings were first occupied and the social housing program was discontinued, the objects, the memories and the materials remain. Collecting accounts of life in the housing complexes, with the methodological contributions of oral history, helped us problematize and scale the impact of modern projects in the life of workers and the meaning of the dwelling models in the daily routines and the historical processes experienced by residents of the housing complexes.

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## Surroundings of listed heritage and challenges between legislation, technique and urban values

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### Abstract

Built heritage protection in Brazil has included preservation through its environment from its beginning. Neighborhood, settings, surrounding or buffer zones are some of the names for the same concept regarding the surrounding area of listed heritage and subject to restrictions of usage and occupation to induce preservation through its immediate space. This paper aims to analyze the surroundings of listed heritage and their interfaces with the city, approaching the challenges in its conception as a preservation instrument. Therefore, we initially present how the concept of surrounding was conceived as part of an urban policy by national heritage policies. Then, we explore legal matters and relations between heritage with urban planning of the surroundings of *Teatro Oficina*. Finally, we investigated the surroundings of listed heritage as a theme in the Urban Intervention Project (PIU in Portuguese) Central Sector of the city of São Paulo. This city urban project has heritage as one of its main objective. Thus, this paper contributes to the reflections on how surroundings of listed heritages can be articulated with urban management, becoming a policy of preservation of cultural heritage.

**Keywords:** Heritage. Urban Planing. São Paulo.

## Introduction

The protection of cultural heritage built in Brazil has included preservation of its surrounding from its beginning. Neighborhood, setting, surrounding area or buffer zones are denominations for the same tool, used by preservation institutions, legislations and heritage charters. That concept refers to the area that surrounds heritages, subject to restrictions of use and occupation, and preservation is justified for the relation of the heritage with its immediate space.

That concept was incorporated into Article 18 of Decree-Law Number 25/1937, being codified in the legal text as an area in which one could disturb the *visibility* of the heritage. Other meanings and values have been incorporated into its scope to enable the broad preservation of buildings over time and by jurisprudence, including its ambiance, historicity, and the social uses of the place where buildings are situated.

The surroundings of listed heritages has not reached a consensus in the preservation

institutions, despite being part of the legislation since 1937 and in the existing conceptual development. There is no general agreement regarding their interpretation, form of perimeter delimitation, and norms (MOTTA; THOMPSON, 2010; MENESES, 2006; NITO, 2015). In addition, the surroundings of listed heritages are not widespread and exploited as a preservation instrument. This complex issue can be observed in conflicts between preservation and urban planning, regarding the delimitation and the application of norms in urban areas.

This paper is the result of the first reflections of a current doctoral research about the role of surroundings of listed heritage as an agent of transformation and preservation in urban management<sup>1</sup>. We have also incorporated current repercussions on the surroundings of heritages listed in the city of São Paulo to contribute to this issue of this journal. Therefore, we aim to analyze the surroundings of listed heritages and their relationships with the city, discussing challenges

1. Doctoral research is funded by a grant from the National Council for Scientific and Technological Development (CNPq in Portuguese). The research focuses on policies implemented by IPHAN regarding surroundings in urban areas between 1970 and 1990, in the cities of Belém (State of Pará), Pelotas (state of Rio Grande do Sul) and Rio de Janeiro (state of Rio de Janeiro), whose surroundings of listed heritages were defined as part of the local urban management.

in their conception as a preservation instrument. We started with conceptual definitions and how it became a tool that is considered in the urban policy within the Institute of National Historical and Artistic Heritage (IPHAN in Portuguese). Then, we explore legal matters and the relationship of heritage with urban planning from the possible interpretations of the surroundings of *Teatro Oficina*. Finally, we analyze how heritage and its surroundings have been seen in the Urban Intervention Project Central Sector of the city of São Paulo, a project that has been developed by SP Urbanismo, a public company supporting the City Development Agency. We aim to contribute to the debate on the possibility of qualifying the preservation of cultural heritage through its urban relationship.

### **The surroundings of listed heritages as a tool of urban policy**

At the beginning of Brazilian preservation practices, interventions in the neighborhood were focused on the preservation of historical monuments. This period is characterized by numerous legal clashes generally favorable to IPHAN (MOTTA, THOMPSON, 2010). The motion of countless lawsuits to embargo constructions around listed heritages developed jurisprudence to apply the concepts of neighborhood and visibility in the legal text.

According to Sant'Anna (2015, p.285-286), from that moment on: “the constitutionality of the

limitation of property rights” was consolidated regarding the surroundings of heritages in order to protect their ambiance. The institutional competence of the institutions responsible for the delimitation and regulation of the surroundings; and the consolidation of the “*concept of visibility as ambiance of the heritage*, aimed to protect its understanding in aesthetics and historical terms and not only in optical or visual terms” (emphasis added). Regarding the broad interpretation of the concept of visibility reduction, the jurists Sônia Rabelo (2010) and Hely Lopes Meirelles (2005) also support this concept less literally, associated with the harmony of the whole, contributing to the understanding of the cultural heritage in the urban space. Therefore, the term *ambiance* is used to designate the multiple possibilities for the preservation of cultural heritages by their surroundings (NITO, 2018).

From the 1950's and 1960's, IPHAN's practices regarding the surrounding have been related to the broadening of the concept of heritage. The strengthening and diversification of the use of the surroundings were established, with the possibility of promoting sustainable development and quality of life (MOTTA; THOMPSON, 2010). IPHAN sought to articulate its preservation policies by sharing responsibilities with other governmental institutions, even though not systematically.

With greater articulation and meaning, IPHAN's policies approached surroundings as “buffer

zone” and “ordination zone” to protect against the growth and verticalization of cities, with urban parameters and integrating heritage with urban planning. That police was reinforced internationally, and the relevance of urban plans as preservation instruments was included in documents such as the Declaration of Amsterdam (1975); the UNESCO’s Nairobi Recommendation (1976), and the Icomos Washington Charter (1976).

At this time, the surroundings were an alternative for preservation which was compatible with urban management. The preservation of surroundings was “a preservation proposal without listing” (ARNAUT, 1984), that is, there was a preference for using the surroundings to protect urban areas without using listing for the whole area or site. The decisions to define the surrounding areas were also based on the demands of organized groups from civil society in search of quality of life and in contrast to the excessive verticalization and densification resulting from the appreciation of urban land (MOTTA; THOMPSON, 2010).

These actions, along with the process of redemocratization in Brazil, made possible the use of the surroundings as a preservation instrument, which stimulated an intense institutional investment in the 1980s, with reflections on the delimitations and practices made until then. Then, IPHAN promoted theoretical and practical discussions in two seminars that resulted in a method for action in 1983 and specific

administrative procedures (Ordinances 10 and 11, 1986) to make processes more effective, clear and transparent to society.

By assuming a strategic role as a preservation tool and urban transformation, its use is effective beyond the appreciation of listed heritages. This perspective was enhanced by severe criticism and implications arising from the practice of listing urban areas since the 1970’s (SANT’ANNA, 2015. p. 288). The surroundings were associated with terms such as integrated conservation, preservation zones and urban ambiance, placing them as an alternative for preservation from the perspective of urban management.

At that time, some technical studies were conducted based on the idea the surroundings are instruments that do not restrict the urban expansion, but they are a tool for its ordering and harmonic integration of preservation with urban planning (MOTTA; THOMPSON, 2010). As an example, the processes of regulation regarding the church *Igreja de Nossa Senhora do Desterro* and the hill *Morro da Conceição*, in the city of Rio de Janeiro and the church *Igreja do Carmo de Goiás* in the state of Goiás. In contrast, during the study to define the surrounding area some heritages were listed to ensure the qualifying aspect of a previously protected heritage. This is the case of the Architectural Complexes on the avenues *Avenida Nazareh* and *Avenida Governador José Malcher*, both situated in the city of Belém, in the state of Pará, and the central

area of the square *Praça XV* and its surroundings in the city of Rio de Janeiro.

Investments in the surroundings, methodological administrative procedures in response to the widespread use of the surroundings did not streamline the processes, but ended up limiting the use of the tool (SANT'ANNA, 2015; MOTTA; THOMPSON, 2010). We emphasize the implementation of the surroundings was also not linear and, concomitantly, the literal use of visibility continued to be used, favoring aesthetics issues. Supported by the favorable jurisprudence, sometimes it was decided not to delimit and standardize the intervention criteria. According to Sant'Anna (2015, p. 286), such a procedure "made the manipulation of these concepts [neighborhood and visibility] quite flexible and able to meet the most varied and unpredictable situations".

From 1990 to the early 2000s, little progress was made due to a number of factors such as institutional restructuring in the face of the political environment and the lack of human resources after retirement and lack of civil servant examinations. Currently, there are few nationally listed heritages with defined and regulated surroundings. This scenario is no different from what happens in other governmental heritage preservation agencies, such as in São Paulo.

The fragile relationship of the heritage with the city occurs in the approval or rejection of new

projects and conservation works, in which each case is discussed individually in technical reports and meetings in preservation agencies. Very often the proposals of constructions and changes in the surroundings end up defining it, although its delimitation and its norms are not discussed.

At international level, the emphasis on the surroundings is established with broader specificities as an integrating factor of tangible and intangible aspects that contribute to the meaning and character of the heritages listed by the 2003 Intangible Heritage Convention of UNESCO and the Declaration of Xi'an, 2005, from Icomos. This last statement deals exclusively with the surrounding theme and was the result of the debate on the preservation of heritage of cities in developing countries, with the production of unequal urban space. In these international documents, visual perception, landscape and formal aspects of the surrounding of the listed buildings, social and economic dimensions are highlighted as significant elements to enhance the preservation of the heritages:

The setting of a heritage structure, site or area is defined as the immediate and extended environment that is part of, or contributes to, its significance and distinctive character.

Beyond the physical and visual aspects, the setting includes interaction with the natural environment; past or present social or spiritual practices, customs, traditional knowledge, use or activities and other forms of intangible cultural

heritage aspects that created and form the space as well as the current and dynamic cultural, social and economic context. (ICOMOS, 2005).

We have to relate the visibility of listed heritages as social enjoyment, a broader and richer conception, because it concerns an articulated set of perceptive, cognitive, mnemonic and affective actions, with the qualitative adjective value possible by the surrounding instrument (MENESES, 2006). The surroundings of listed heritages do not constitute an end in itself, once their existence is important to understand cultural heritage, maximizing its protection and recognition, conferring ambiance and testimony that the city can bestow. The surroundings of listed heritages and urban policy pose other problems for their legal implementation, conceptual interpretation of the city today. As part of an urban policy, it is still a complex challenge for preservation and urban management institutions.

### **Surroundings of *Teatro Oficina***

The surroundings of *Teatro Oficina* have been discussed for nearly 40 years and was one of the reasons for requesting federal listing, as we analyze later. There are numerous projects presented, documents and opinions from preservation agencies, different opinions from the media and civil society, as well as conflict of interest in the occupation of an empty land in the adjacent lot. In addition, we also highlight the singularities of the personalities involved which became more complex.

In spite of this trajectory, the sources and the history of the debates about the surroundings of *Teatro Oficina*, we will focus, in this article, on analyzing the conceptions of preservation by the surrounding instrument and its interfaces with the city through two aspects: what the heritage institutions understand as surrounding with the appreciation in its listing, specifically by IPHAN; and the relationships and legal matters of heritage protection and urban planning. We take a further look at the issue, overcoming the deadlocks of disputes in the surrounding lot.

Firstly, it is noteworthy that *Teatro Oficina* is listed by three governmental instances but the surroundings are neither defined, nor regulated with guidelines about the occupation of the area. The first listing was in 1983 by the state agency, the Council for the Protection of Historical, Artistic, Archaeological and Tourist Heritage (CONDEPHAAT in Portuguese), by Resolution number 6/83, in which the theater is classified as a historical heritage, a symbol of the theatrical language of modern theater. Its surroundings were defined by a radius of 300 meters, generic delimitation and restricted to all heritage protected by the CONDEPHAAT in the terms of the Article 137 of the Decree 13,426/79. This parameter of delimitation of the areas surrounding the state-listed heritage was revoked in 2003 by Decree Number 48,137, and is now defined according to the specific characteristics of each heritage<sup>2</sup>.

2. On the website of CONDEPHAAT the e area in the *Teatro Oficina* is still projects a radius of 300 meters. Available on: <<http://condephaat.sp.gov.br/benstombados/teatro-oficina>>. Accessed in: June 5<sup>th</sup>, 2019.

We emphasize the delimitations of the surroundings of *Teatro Oficina* by CONDEPHAAT coincides with the surroundings of four other properties listed in the same governmental agency: *Casa da Dona Yayá*, *Escola das Primeiras Letras*, *Castelinho da Brigadeiro*, and *Teatro Brasileiro de Comédia*. This means that the definition of the surroundings could and should be made from the confluence of these listings, composing an urban area with common guidelines in which the analysis of interventions would be subject to the preservation of the ambiance of heritages.

At the city level, Article 10 of the Law 10,032 / 85, in the City Council for the Preservation of the Historical, Cultural and Environmental Heritage of the City of São Paulo (CONPRESP in Portuguese), provides the delimitation of the enclosed space of listed heritages, considering its ambience, visibility and harmony. In 1991, CONPRESP listed *ex officio Teatro Oficina*, from the recognition of CONDEPHAAT, a process that included 88 other cultural heritages with no definition of the surrounding area. Yet, the surroundings of the theater were protected from 1993 onwards due to the opening of the process of listing the *Bela Vista* neighborhood, where *Teatro Oficina* is situated. The neighborhood was listed in 2002, by Resolution Number 22, valued for its historical and urbanistic importance, the urban layout and the subdivision of the soil; its structuring elements of the urban environment, such as streets, squares, historical buildings; geomorphological conformations of certain occupations; current

mixed residential, cultural, and business use, the tourist potential, and the resident population.

IPHAN listed the theater in 2010 and recognized its historical narrative of the theatrical action associated with the building and its architectural qualities. Its national listing also did not include the delimitation of the surrounding area, which was not subsequently regulated. The fact that the heritage institutes privilege different aspects of valorization by the listing does not exempt them from the definition of the surroundings, be it a common area or even of different dimensions, although it is the same city. Thus, some disputes arise over the overlap of actions between preservation agencies and those responsible for urban planning.

But the difference between the instances does not put them in competition. When it comes to recognizing a property as a cultural heritage, there is no hierarchy of importance between the institutions, each recognition is in a relationship of equality. Different recognitions are possible by constructing narratives, interpretations and meanings about cultural heritages that may differ or agree. Above all, it is about the same cultural heritage and city. According to Sônia Rabello (2010, p. 41), the challenge is the understanding and harmonization of each state's autonomous and compatible performance.

Defining a surrounding area from federal or state caution raises discussions about the interest of

the city. For Rabello, what can happen in case of divergence between preservation and urban planning is the suspension of effectiveness, not the revocation of city rules. It is informed the City Statute (Estatuto da Cidade, em português) “did not exclude, remove, or eliminate the incidence of other public interests in the city, which is mandatory in its place, its planning with wide repercussions in its planning” (2010, p. 42).

In CONDEPHAAT and CONPRESP, there is a greater concentration of documents because every intervention in the surroundings of listed heritages is submitted to the councils for deliberation, after a technical report is issued. This procedure for reviewing interventions does not occur at the IPHAN Council. The technical staff of the state’s agencies approve the interventions. The analysis of surrounding projects and the minutes of the meetings indicate how different institutions analyze the theater’s surroundings, which requires further study.

For discussion of this paper, we use the minutes of the 64th meeting of the IPHAN Advisory Council of June 2010, which has the decision to list the *Teatro Oficina*. These minutes have suggestions and reports of counselors based on the appreciation of the heritage and its relationship with the city and the neighborhood in which it operates despite not reaching a definition of surroundings.

According to the minutes of the Advisory Council meeting, the IPHAN President at that time, Luiz Fernando de Almeida, suggested the listing of *Teatro Oficina* is a major element for “a city qualification project” (2010, p. 53). The president supports the struggle for guaranteeing the cultural quality existing in São Paulo, specifically in the neighborhood where the theater is located. He concludes, in his speech, the listing is not the only tool of this process. Could the surroundings contribute to the preservation of that heritage?

The opinion of Jurema Machado (reporting counselor of the listing process) states *Bixiga* neighborhood is inseparable from the theater, because it contributes to the interpretation of “its history, values and meanings, as well as the trajectory of its protection” (p. 56). Thus, it presents that the vitality of the theatrical practices made at the *Teatro Oficina* is the result of the fertile environment that of the past and present, citing other theaters in its surroundings (IPHAN, 2010, p.62 and 63). Machado highlights the building’s glazed element that connects directly with the neighbor’s plot, the *Minhocão* bridge and the intense pedestrian flow in a popular neighborhood near downtown.

She comments about the importance of the neighborhood of *Bixiga* from its urban occupation and other cultural practices established there as the *samba*, nightlife with various pubs, restaurants, and popular festivals. Her report reveals the urgency of thinking about the



relationship between the buildings, the uses and the existing cultural diversity associated with the theater, because “both the theater can be taken as a key element of a rehabilitation process, and the preservation of the neighborhood values is essential to vitality of the *Teatro Oficina*”(IPHAN, 2010. p. 70). Her opinion is praised and appreciated by other counselors. So could the surroundings be a preservation tool of the theater that reaffirms its relationship with the city?

One element that specifically concerns the surroundings is the empty lot adjacent to the theater which is greatly emphasized, and whose interests and problems of occupation are also mentioned. Counselor Ulpiano Bezerra de Meneses suggested the expropriation of the adjacent lot. This suggestion is reiterated by Counselor Luiz Felipe Andr es as a political decision, in which it would be possible the national recognition of the architectural importance and completion of the architectural project planned for the theater.

The adjacent lot could also be subject to listing. This was the initial suggestion, as we can see from the title of the cautionary request: *the federal listing of Teatro Oficina and its surroundings as a work of urban art*. However, at no time was this relationship suggested or debated, perhaps because of the lack of materiality of the lot in question. It is noteworthy the lot is closer to the theater which does not mean that it is more relevant than the rest of the neighborhood. It

is clear the dispute of existing interests and the people involved overshadows the entire urban value of *Bixiga* neighborhood which also contributes to the preservation of *Teatro Oficina*.

Finally, the President of IPHAN suggested the surroundings should not be delimited as a strategic move to enable greater negotiation capacity on possible interventions: “leaving the delimitation of the surroundings for further study, which would increase our negotiation power” (2010, p. 73). He reiterated possible political action of the heritage with other instances, making the concept of surroundings flexible and, from another perspective, not strong enough to enable such articulation.

A concrete delimitation proposal suggested by the Department of Material Heritage and Surveillance (DEPAM in Portuguese) was presented: an area corresponds to a visual cone from an architectural element of the theater building, the 150 m<sup>2</sup> glass “big window” with 45° opening and extending over a range of approximately 20 meters on the west side of the building. In this surrounding design, a certain literal visibility prevails from the listed building, encouraged by its architecture, but clearly not based on its relationship with the city. An architectural element of great value to be preserved in isolation is highlighted, as stated by DEPAM’s Director Dalmo Vieira Filho:

Considering the significance of the existing openings in the project, it is proposed an

immediate environment in order to preserve and guarantee this relationship between internal and external space. The proposal is limited to a cone, which is twice the width of the lot occupied by *Teatro Oficina* (IPHAN, 2010. p.42).

From this determination of surroundings, the cultural and urban values highlighted earlier in the discussion about the relations of *Teatro Oficina* with the city and the *Bixiga* neighborhood are completely forgotten. At the end of the report, Jurema Machado endorsed DEPAM's proposal, but at the end of the discussions on the theater's listing counselor Machado agreed with the decision not to define the surroundings, because:

by protecting surroundings in the sense of protecting only what one can see through the window, we could be impoverishing the issue. Perhaps it is better not to have a defined environment, because each intervention proposal should be negotiated with IPHAN in parallel. (IPHAN, 2010. p.73)

The architect Lia Motta in her text *Urban Heritage and its Social Uses* (2017) tells us about the difficulties of working with the idea of cultural reference with architectural and urbanistic heritages, the importance and the challenge of working with the category "places in the recognition of Brazilian intangible heritage". Places – as a category in the field of heritage – are understood as spaces of importance because they concentrate cultural practices rooted in the daily lives of social groups. Motta (2017) highlight

social use is not recognized from the materiality of places, they are only supports of cultural practices. In contrast, materiality and form are also aspects of the social and cultural life of groups, used and appropriated in the daily lives of groups.

The limitations of this point of view emerged in the process of listing the *Teatro Oficina*. Listing is defended in the preservation of values that do not translate materially, because the building has been greatly modified. The architect Dalmo Vieira Filho argued there is no obligation of "material permanence" when linked to a historically constructed action (IPHAN, 2010. p. 43 and 44). Luiz Fernando de Almeida stressed the struggle for the preservation of the theater is the limit of the listing and there were no grounds for the recognition of the intangible heritage.

Counselor Jurema Machado said the permanence of theatrical practices "with renewal, permanence in the bond with the present, with the place, with the Earth – as in Canudos – and with the city. The building and its insertion explain much; they are both cause and consequence" (IPHAN, 2010, p. 63). The counselor also stated there was an internal debate of IPHAN regarding the possible registration of *Teatro Oficina* as intangible heritage, but its long-lived cultural fact is materially represented in the building.

Vieira Filho pointed out in the study of the listing by DEPAM, the value is not only attributed to

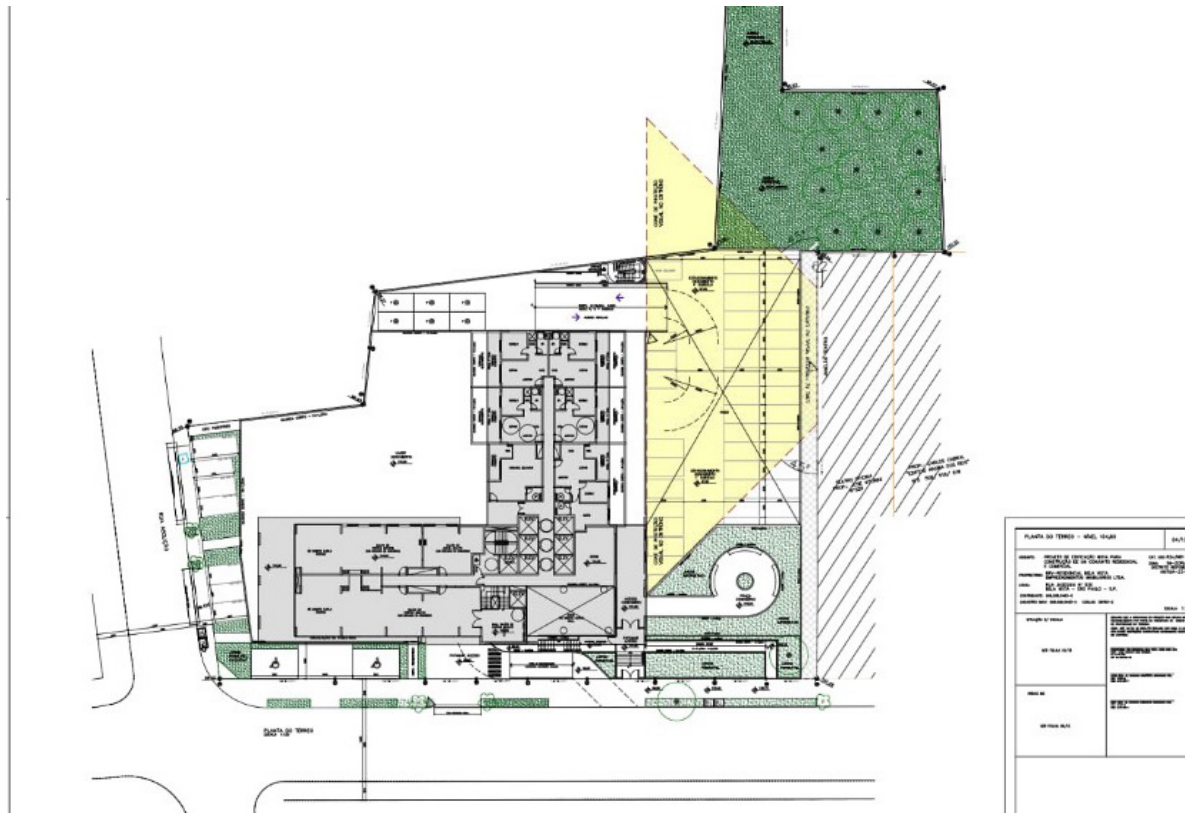


Figure 1. Floor plan of a project to occupy the surroundings of *Teatro Oficina*, in yellow the visual cone that conforms the surrounding area. Available on: <https://diplomatiq.org.br/no-bixiga-teatro-oficina-luta-pelo-ultimo-chao-de-terra-livre/>. Accessed on: Jun. 24th 2019.

the materiality of the heritage, but also to the “theatrical historical practices” (IPHAN, 2010, p. 44). In the definition of the surrounding area proposed by DEPAM, only one aspect of the architectural quality of the heritages is preserved through the surroundings. This indicates the discussion on the possibilities of dimensioning the listing through practices and meanings does not reach the debate about the instrument of the surroundings. During the delimitation of the surroundings, social practices are detached from the urban material base. There is no link between the tool or heritage with the city, cultural references and urban values. Difficulties in linking “the meanings of places from their materiality” arise at this moment. (MOTTA, 2017. p. 92).

The window is the material representation of the theatrical language that opens to the city, but is the relation of the city to the theater limited only to the window? Which city is brought to the theatrical scene? What other urban meanings can be associated to enhance the preservation of the theater beyond its architectural aspects?

This was the surrounding proposal as indicated in the article from the magazine “Le Monde Diplomatique” in June 2018, although the surroundings of the *Teatro Oficina* had not been defined by the listing and were not yet regulated by law. The proposal from the visual cone of the window was the one that prevailed (Figure 1) and determined the approval of one of the projects for the lot adjacent to the *Teatro Oficina* by IPHAN

agency in São Paulo. The architectural technical response prevailed among so many possible values. We employ Laurajane Smith's (2006) concept of authorized discourse of heritage associated with the privilege of monumentality and the technical/scientific values used in the definition of the surroundings, in the case of the theater. The maintenance of these discourses justifies the creation of "*significant barriers for active public negotiation about the meaning and nature of heritage, and the social and cultural roles that it may play*" (SMITH, 2006. p. 44). The definition of the surroundings only by the visual cone reiterates the place of heritage as a field of preservation of technical and architectural aspects.

The voices and theatrical practices, the cultural potentialities and the social life are placed as something not relevant to the preservation of *Teatro Oficina* by the surrounding. This fact shows how cultural preservation is still a challenge for the practices and for the use of the surroundings as a instrument. These are actions corroborating with the maintenance of *the social view of memory*, according to heritage cannot incorporate other values, such as the socially attributed meanings, weakening the social understanding of "urban heritage as a cultural reference" (MOTTA, 2017, p. 93).

There is space for different interpretations and discretionary actions on the interfaces

of heritage with urban planning, in a scenario without delimitation and regulation by the preservation agencies about the intervention in the surroundings. This is what happened in the case of *Teatro Oficina*. In addition, in the following years, we missed the opportunity to construct a surrounding instrument that considers different stakeholders, urban and heritage management bodies with the civil society concerned, to analyze the city's relations towards preservation.

The confluence of interests on the surrounding occupation generate political pressures from all sides, especially from city governments. For Sônia Rabello (2010, p. 45), the sense of the City Statute to submit planning to the protection of cultural heritage implies the obligation to establish minimum guidelines for the protection of heritage and its surroundings, and to respect the rules in urban management.

On that issue, we must not forget that the surroundings of *Teatro Oficina* has a strategic location, easily accessible to downtown São Paulo, where the law encourages the verticalization of the area, without discussing listed heritage. The listed heritage is incorporated into the São Paulo urban planning only as isolated points in the city, from the Special Areas of Cultural Preservation (ZEPEC in Portuguese), which exclude the surroundings of listed properties from urban legislation. These factors corroborate the region's interest and dispute over real estate capital.

Tonasso's (2019, p. 178) research on urban planning and preservation in São Paulo between 1975 and 2016 reveals a disarticulation of city urban policies towards preservation:

These [preservation agencies] heavily demanded under these circumstances are under pressure from all sides, but it must be borne in mind that every situation passes, on a much larger scale, through city planning and land use control by the city management.

City management was also addressed during the 64th meeting of the Advisory Council on the listing of the theater. Counselor Jeferson Dantas Navolar agreed with Jurema Machado's opinion on surroundings. The counselor suggested the city should choose the neighborhood of *Bixiga* to apply the instruments of *transferring the right to build and urban operation*. We can see an interest of the city's urban management, but the relationship of heritage with the city is unclear. The relationship ignores the use of the surrounding area as an urban instrument in the region.

By suggesting the relationship between the theater and the city be resolved by urban planning instrument, the preservation agency exempts itself from thinking about the relations of preservation of the build heritage with the neighborhood. Could the cultural practices of *Bixiga* – which “can only exist there and must be preserved” (IPHAN, 2010, p. 70) – be incorporated

from the materiality of their surroundings as they are linked with the *Teatro Oficina*?

We believe the surrounding area of *Teatro Oficina* could indicate for the municipality to use such instruments there. Jurist Sonia Rabello explains that the municipality do not have an obligation to incorporate the rules of other states into local laws, but this does not exempt them from observing the rules to make compatible with all public interests about the same cultural heritage (2010, p. 43). Part of the surroundings of the *Teatro Oficina* is part of an urban project currently under public consultation and is dealt with in the following section of this article, broadening the reflections on how urban planning has faced the heritage issue.

From the discussions around the *Teatro Oficina*, some contradictions and boundaries between preservation and urban planning are evident. On the one hand, heritage bodies await the application of urban tools, on the other, urban management treats listed heritages as obstacles, isolated objects of the city. Likewise Meneses (2006, p. 41) notes the difficulty of incorporating the social dimensions of the city into preservation practices, but urban policies also move away from heritage issues, and in the hope of the “utopia of unified legislation and practices”. Increasingly, it is an isolated act.

3. The Urban Operation Center is a tool that has been foreseen and is under constant debate since the 1988's Master Plan.

4. The thematic linking property issues and real estate production are opposite factors, since the real estate market presents risks to heritage preservation. Property and real estate production are debated together, as the transfer of the constructive potential of the listed property is considered in the urban project as a tool that stimulate heritage preservation.

5. São Paulo City Hall has already presented a similar solution in the Analysis of *Água Branca* Consortium Urban Operation (OUCAB) through Article 9, item VII, of Law Number 15,893 / 2013, "Survey of the Cultural Heritage in the Perimeter of the Consortium Urban Operation, including heritages of a tangible and intangible nature". The Law also provides a budget for research to identify and preserve those properties that could be lost by the City Hall through OUCAB.

### **Heritage and surroundings of properties listed in the Urban Intervention Project Central Sector**

The Urban Intervention Project (PIU), in City Decree 56901 of 2016, is a tool of the Article 134 of the São Paulo Strategic Master Plan, Law 16,050 of 2014, which is linked to urban planning and restructuring tools in Metropolitan Structuring: Consortium Urban Operations, Urban Concessions, Urban Intervention Areas and Local Structuring Areas. This is an urban project that promotes programming for a long-term urban restructuring.

Among the initiatives of the city's Urban Development Agency, through SP Urbanismo, there is the PIU Central Sector which is under construction to revise and implement the Urban Operation Center Law<sup>3</sup>, covering São Paulo downtown and parts of *Consolação*, *Liberdade*, *Belém* and *Mooca* neighborhoods. The cultural heritage is presented as one of the structuring perspectives of the project along the environmental, social housing and mobility perspectives. Currently, the PIU Central Sector is in its 2nd phase of public consultation which consists of the presentation of the project under development. In this article, we reflect on how heritage and the theme surrounding of listed heritage builds were presented at a public hearing held on August 6, 2019, on Historical Heritage and Real Estate Production<sup>4</sup>.

Firstly, it should be considered that due to the dimension of cultural heritage in the central region of São Paulo, its conservation and appreciation should not be made from isolated buildings. The project incorporates the Zepec perspective of urban planning to the city's listed heritages by zoning. However Zepec excludes the surrounding areas of listed heritages, consequently the PIU Central Sector also ignores them. Moreover, the urban project does not consider cultural heritage in its broad dimension, that is, unprotected cultural heritages.

The PIU Central Sector is a governmental action that stimulates the transformation of the territory. This transformation which implies demolitions, with irreversible risk to tangible and intangible heritages with references to the memory, action and identity of the Brazilian society (under Article 216, Federal Constitution). For this reason, the governmental action should include the identification of heritage not protected by the State<sup>5</sup>, but it is part of a set of cultural references in the daily life of the residents of the city of São Paulo. Such investigation could also indicate the relations of the buildings already listed with the city, suggesting boundaries of surroundings not included in the project and those not implemented by the preservation agencies. Thus, this would allow the incorporation of other urban values in the valorization of cultural heritage, promoting an urban project more related to urban preexistences.

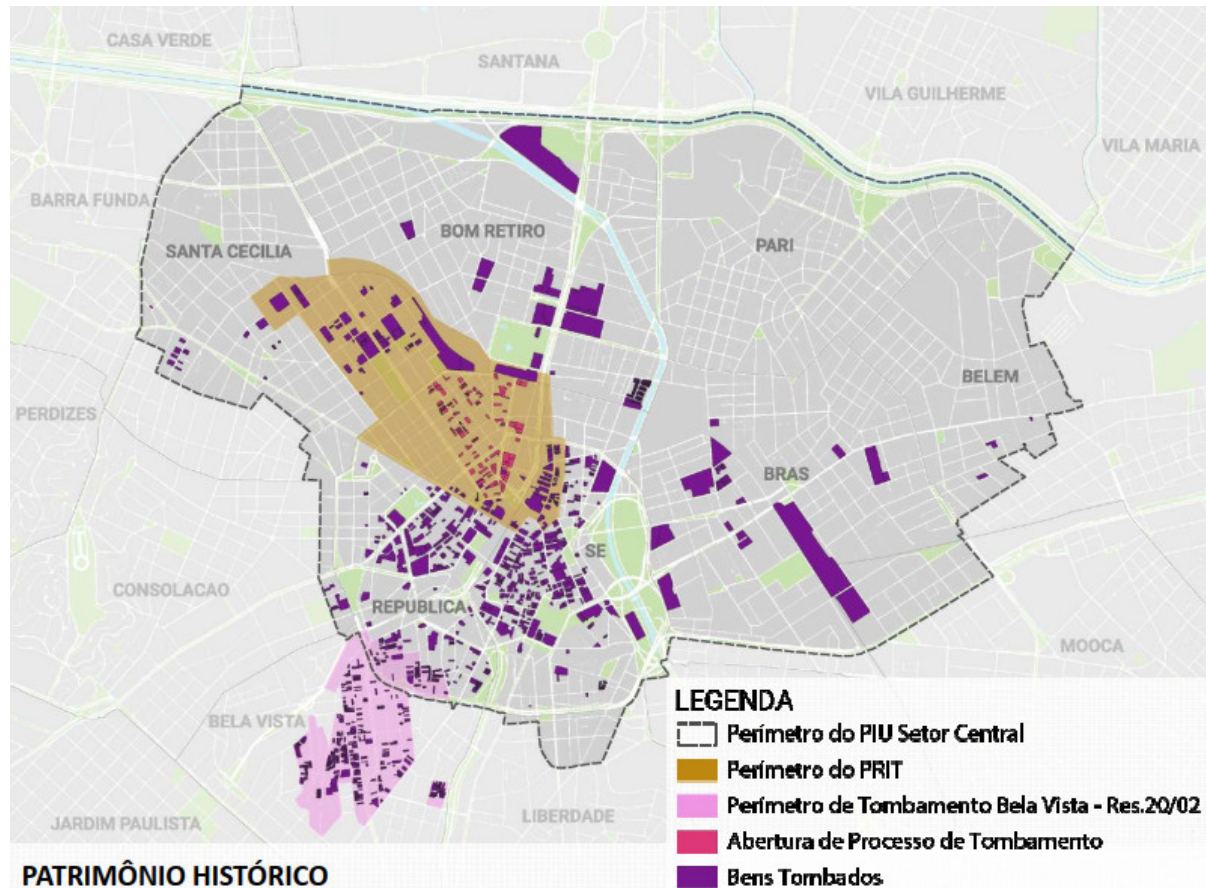


Figure 2. Map of the heritage guarded and study of listing in the perimeter of the PIU Central Sector, with emphasis on the delimitation of PRIT. Available on: [https://gestaourbana.prefeitura.sp.gov.br/wp-content/uploads/2018/07/PIU\\_setor\\_central\\_apresentacao\\_2019\\_08\\_06.pdf](https://gestaourbana.prefeitura.sp.gov.br/wp-content/uploads/2018/07/PIU_setor_central_apresentacao_2019_08_06.pdf). Accessed in: August 20<sup>th</sup>, 2019.

Two tools were specifically addressed to the heritage perspectives of the PIU Central Sector, the transfer of constructive potential and the Listed Building Requalification Perimeter (PRIT). The transfer of the right to build is not discussed in this article, as it requires further detailed analysis of its application in São Paulo (PERETTO, 2017).

The PRIT is made by observing the high incidence of listed properties in the process of being listed by CONPESP and CONDEPHAAT, considering high soil occupation but low density (SÃO PAULO, 2019). Based on this, the PIU Central Sector establishes specific rules in PRIT because of the appreciation and highlighting of listed heritages. The PIU relates the parameters proposed by CONDEPHAAT to the desired population density in the project (serving low-income families and maintaining business activities).

Among the premises presented about PRIT, there is a concern with the ambiance to be preserved, but also the possibility of transformation. This way, the PRIT delimitation proposal resembles the conceptual definitions of the surroundings of listed heritage, when viewed as part of an urban policy. Although, we emphasize that the notion of ambiance presented is restricted to the built ambiance, architectural and urban. Therefore, the proposal disregard the broad conceptualizations and understandings, in which the term ambiance is associated with the surrounding instrument, in the inclusion of physical and social aspects (NITO; 2015 and 2018; RABELLO, 2010; MOTTA; THOMPSON, 2010; SANT'ANNA, 2015).

Reinforcing this similarity with surrounding instruments, among the aspects presented by PRIT is the appreciation of visual axis and the volumetric of the blocks, forming a relationship between the listed heritage and the new constructions. Such parameters are often used in the regulation of listed areas and their surroundings. It is understood heritages are not isolated, but are part of a territory that values and preserves the built cultural heritage, maintaining and qualifying the morphological ambiances of the heritages. This potential is not being tapped into the incorporation of existing surrounding areas as an instruments of the PIU Central Sector.

On this issue, at the public hearing one of CONDEPHAAT's technical staff, architect Antonio Zagato said the inclusion of the surrounding areas in the PIU Central Sector was suggested to avoid irreversible transformations in the ambiance of the other properties in the area. Zagato's opinion reminded the public internal discussions that may not have been part of the hearing due to time availability and compliance with the law.

According to Zagato<sup>6</sup>, the Integrated Urban Environmental Requalification Perimeters (PRIAU) would be the way to incorporate the surrounding areas of listed heritage in the PIU Central Sector, which would then enable a rubric and instrument to ensure the preservation of ambiances, similar to that proposed in PRIT. The architect stressed the importance of thinking about the qualification

of the ambiance by allocating a specific budget line for this purpose. In this way, the frustrations of isolated investments only in build heritage would not be repeated. This fact occurred in the restoration of the old Julio Prestes station, that happen in the project region, in which the actions taken did not integrate the urban environment.

Based on this information, regarding the PRIAU, in the online consultation of the PIU Central Sector, we present contributions for the inclusion of this specific instrument appropriate to the surroundings of listed heritages in the region delimited for the urban project:

[...] C. The article contained in the PIU Central Sector, the development of a tool similar to the propositions of the Listed Building Requalification Perimeter (PRIT), but specific to the surroundings of the listed properties, with the following wording:

Article XX - The regulated surrounding areas of listed buildings and the listing perimeters of urban and architectural complexes located within the perimeter of the PIU Central Sector, as determined by the preservation agencies, shall constitute the Integrated Urban Environmental Requalification Perimeters – PRIAU.

Paragraph 1: The PRIAUS must be designed to project formulated under the guidance and supervision DPH / SMC, whose main objective is to qualify the areas above described, by treating it as an integral unit of the respective spatial perimeter delimited and contained in the Act.

6. Informação verbal durante audiência pública do PIU Setor Central, na ETEC Santa Efigênia, no dia 06 ago. 2019.

7. As contribuições foram elaboradas por mim em parceria da Rede Paulista de Educação Patrimonial (REPEP) e do Instituto de Arquitetos do Brasil, departamento de São Paulo (IABsp), instituições que represento.



Paragraph 2: PRIAUS must receive, through a specific item, set at a budget percentage of 5%, from the specific Fundurb Central PIU account for the formulation and implementation of projects under the PRIAU. (GATTI; KIMIE; OTERO, 2019).

If incorporated into the PIU Central Sector, the surrounding areas could articulate with urban management and receive other preservation tools such as the transfer of constructive potential. Such articulation would be a breakthrough in the integration between heritage and urban policies. Cultural heritage is one of the four argumentation anchors of the PIU Central Sector. With a fixed percentage of investments defined by law, it would not meet the intentions of the current governing board, with convenient interventions and electoral purpose and not for preservation purposes. From August to November 2019, the 3rd and last phase of the design of the PIU Central Sector is scheduled, with a public hearing over Historical Heritage and Real Estate Production scheduled to take place in mid-November.

### **Conclusions**

The surroundings of listed heritages, when considered as a preservation instrument, when existing in the urban environment inevitably fits into urban management. Thus, the articulation of urban and heritage competences and policies is necessary to better manage public interests. To ignore the surroundings of heritages listed in urban management is to lose a dimension of listing,

ignoring the urban value, preexistences and cultural references, and generating conflicts with the institutions responsible for the preservation. Failing to establish the delimitation and standardization of the surroundings, in addition, to ignore such potential for preservation, also deprives the opportunity for effective integration with city urban management.

Although the concept of surroundings is imprecise for the institutions, we must not ignore its existence and, who knows in practice, we can transform the reality in which heritage is between errors and disputes, based on the experience of its application of the preservation policy, and also as part of an urban policy. We tried to contribute to the construction of “a new social memory of what the value of urban and material heritage is, [...] which points out ways to value and preserve cities” (MOTTA, 2017, p. 111). In addition, it is also necessary to regard the surroundings of listed buildings as a heritage preservation policy, especially if we consider the number of properties without regulated areas:

This allows the surroundings to be an important field of action, not only to enhance preservation, but also to reestablish a relationship of institutional rapprochement with the public power and civil society in the cities where the buildings are located, not only as an operational understanding of the surroundings, but as an opportunity for an instrument of public policies that corresponds to existing social demands. (NITO, 2015. p. 277).

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Central, abr. 2019. Disponível em: <[https://participe.gestaourbana.prefeitura.sp.gov.br/arquivos/setor-central-2/NT\\_PRIT.pdf](https://participe.gestaourbana.prefeitura.sp.gov.br/arquivos/setor-central-2/NT_PRIT.pdf)>. Acesso em: 20 ago. 2019.

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## ***Fundação de São Vicente, the biography(ies) of a painting (1892-1939).***

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### **Abstract**

This article reconstitutes the multiple appropriations of the trajectory of the painting *Fundação de São Vicente*, by Benedito Calixto, which has been in the collection of the *Museu Paulista* since 1900. To this end, the conditions of its production and inauguration during the 4th Centenary of the Discovery of Brazil, the political uses of the painting by the Commemorative Society, the process of its acquisition by the State of São Paulo’s government and how the painting was exhibited during the administrations of Hermann von Ihering (1894-1916) and Afonso Taunay (1917-1946) at the *Museu Paulista* are presented. Examples demonstrating how the public museum manages and diffuses political-imaginary conceptions from historical paintings are discussed.

**Keywords:** Benedito Calixto. *Museu Paulista*. History Painting.

1. I refer, for example, to the book *Villa de Itanhaém*, 1895, and São Paulo's Captaincies, 1915. About Benedito Calixto's career as an artist and intellectual, cf. ALVES, C. F. *Benedito Calixto and the construction of the republican imagination*. Bauru: EDUSC, 2003.

2. *Correio Paulistano* newspaper, May 27, 1883, p. 01: (...) The most excellent Mister Viscount of Vergueiro deigned to visit the most intelligent young man, going up to his chambers examined some completed works (...) Then he invited him to have lunch with him in days, and to take the completed works to be examined by Victor Meirelles, and to present him also to this patrician of ours so that he, as a master, would give his authoritative opinion on the matter. (...)”.

3. *Atelier de MM. Boulanger et J. Lefebvre*, Fonds de l'Académie Julian (1870-1932), Archives Nationales, Pierrefitte-sur-Seine, França.

4. Cf. infra.

## I.

**B**ene Benedito Calixto de Jesus was born in *Itanhaém*, São Paulo coast, Brazil, in 1853. His contributions as a painter and historian are indelible marks of the cultural heritage of the State of São Paulo: in museums, in the decorations of churches of the capital and the countryside, in the private collections and, not less important, in the historiography of the first two decades of the twentieth century, when he actively published on various topics about the City of *São Vicente*'s history and the State of São Paulo<sup>1</sup>.

Calixto worked on the interior decoration of Teatro Guarany invited by Manuel Garcia Redondo. His work was appreciated, recognized and recommended to Viscount Nicolau José de Campos Vergueiro, who offered to pay for his studies in Paris. Between 1883 and 1884, he had contact with the burgeoning art scene of the French capital, becoming a frequent visitor to the Louvre Museum, the Versailles National Museum

and the Notre-Dame and Sainte Chapelle churches. (ALVES, 2003, p. 90)

A newspaper of the time reports that the Viscount of Vergueiro closely followed Calixto's<sup>2</sup> studies and advancements, first at the Jean-François Rafaëlli's studio and then at the *Académie Julian*. The artist enrolled in the studio directed by Jules Lefebvre (1834-1912) and Gustave Boulanger (1824-1888), where he got his formation as a painter<sup>3</sup>.

In addition to paying for his studies, Vergueiro introduced him to Victor Meirelles, then a professor at the Imperial Academy of Fine Arts who had come to Paris to exhibit the second version of *Combate Naval de Riachuelo* (oil on canvas, 420 x 800 cm, 1883) at the Salon of 1883. From this meeting, Meirelles - the author of *Primeira Missa no Brasil* (oil on canvas, 268 x 356 cm, 1860) - becomes a definite reference in his work<sup>4</sup>.

But in 1881, two years before leaving for France, Calixto made two small oil paintings with historical themes: “Porto das Naus” (50 x 75 cm) and “Desembarque de Martim Affonso de Souza” (47 x 73 cm), depicting scenes immediately prior to the foundation of Captaincy of São Vicente in 1532.

Contact with the antique collections of the Louvre Museum aroused enough interest in Calixto that, returning to Brazil in August 1884, wanted to extend it to the colonial history of Captaincy of São Vicente – the paintings mentioned above<sup>5</sup> show the painter’s interest in the subject. That is why, in 1888, he searched the archives of the Convent of *Itanhaém*. The extensive and thorough research of the documents, made always with a detailed and precise description, supported the writing of “*Villa de Itanhaem*” (*Villa de Itanhaem*), the painter’s first historiographical work, published in 1895.

The first part of the book is dedicated to exploring and discussing the founding of the villages of São Vicente, Santo André da Borda do Campo, São Paulo de Piratininga, Santos and *Itanhaém*, especially from the works of historian and brigadier José Joaquim Machado de Oliveira and Gaspar da Madre de Deus, chronicler and Benedictine friar<sup>6</sup>. This concern of Calixto, however, is not only explained by a search for scholarship, but as a way of asserting himself symbolically as an intellectual and authority over local history.

Calixto sought to disseminate this work: the acknowledgment on the front page reveals his efforts to consolidate his insertion, sending the book to the jurist and intellectual João Mendes de Almeida (1831-1898) and to the director of the Statistics and Archives Division of the State of São Paulo, Antonio de Toledo Piza e Almeida (1848-1905), responsible for organizing the official publication of historical documents and an active member of the Historical and Geographic Institute of the State of São Paulo since November 1894.

In addition to historiographical production, Calixto had worked out another plan since at least 1892. The painter found a solution to consolidate himself as an agent of ongoing symbolic construction, to exalt and recollect the participation of southern coastal cities in the formation of São Paulo: the founding of the Captaincy of São Vicente by Martim Afonso de Souza in 1532<sup>7</sup>. In view of the context of the new republic and the need for symbolic affirmation of the political elite, institutions were founded aimed at the production and universalization of knowledge – the Teacher-Training School, the Brazilian Historical and Geographic Institute and, above all, the *Museu Paulista*.

Besides exalting the participation of São Paulo in the formation of Brazil during political reconfiguration, he earned a historiographical position by the viscount of São Leopoldo in the initial context of the Brazilian Historical and Geographic Institute (of which he had been a

5. CALIXTO, Benedito. *Villa de Itanhaem – second settlement founded by Martim Affonso de Souza. Historical studies on its founding, its development, its decay and its current state*. Santos: Typ. do Diário de Santos, 1895, p. III-IV: “(...) contemplating those treasures and monuments [from the Louvre Museum], I developed a taste for the study of bygone eras.”

6. Idem. I refer to the books *Historical Picture of the Province of S. Paulo* (1864) and *Memoirs for the History of the Captaincy of São Vicente*, today called *S. Paulo*, from the State of Brazil. (1797).

7. NEVES, Cylaine Maria das. *A Vila de São Paulo de Piratininga. Fundação e Representação*. São Paulo: Annablume; FAPESP, 2007; FERREIRA, Antônio C. *A epopeia bandeirante: letrados, instituições, invenção histórica* (1870-1940). São Paulo: Editora UNESP, 2002; FERRETTI, Danilo José Zion. *A Construção da Paulistanidade: identidade, historiografia e política em São Paulo* (1856-1930). Doctoral Thesis in Social History, University of São Paulo, São Paulo, 2004.

7. NEVES, Cylaine Maria das. *A Vila de São Paulo de Piratininga. Fundação e Representação*. São Paulo: Annablume; FAPESP, 2007; FERREIRA, Antônio C. *A epopeia bandeirante: letrados, instituições, invenção histórica* (1870-1940). São Paulo: Editora UNESP, 2002; FERRETTI, Danilo José Zion. *A Construção da Paulistanidade: identidade, historiografia e política em São Paulo* (1856-1930). Doctoral Thesis in Social History, University of São Paulo, São Paulo, 2004.

founding member), and wrote that the “history of São Paulo was the history of Brazil”<sup>8</sup>.

In 1892 Calixto received a complimentary letter from Victor Meirelles about his plan to represent the episode of *São Vicente*: Meirelles attached a *esquisse* that illustrated his suggestions, followed by Calixto with some precision. Although he could not have a usual *séance de correction*, as he had seen at the Parisian school, Calixto followed the suggestions to validate his project as his first large-format historical painting.

Even though he had carefully planned the composition; Calixto did not get the resources to fund the painting and also seemed to have made no effort to secure a particular order. According to Jacques Thuillier, the destinations of large-format compositions were the large buildings of public administration or, based on the 18th century French tradition as a paradigm –history museums<sup>9</sup>.

In order to strategically negotiate the inauguration of the painting, Calixto had to wait almost a decade, when preparations for the 4<sup>th</sup> Centenary of the Discovery of Brazil in the small city of *São Vicente* began. This is what we will see next.

## II.

Organized by the “Commemorative Society of the 4<sup>th</sup> Centenary of the Discovery of Brazil”<sup>10</sup>, the celebrations planned the inauguration of a public

monument at Largo 13 de Maio (now *Praça 22 de Janeiro*), an archaeological and artistic exhibition, a photograph exhibition of the coast and other locations in the state of São Paulo and popular night parties.

In the Articles of the Association, there was no intention to order a painting by the association. On April 8, 1899, the Commemorative Society asked the people of the State of São Paulo to send financial resources to celebrate the history of São Paulo and to commission a “historical panorama representing the founding of the Captaincy of *São Vicente*”<sup>11</sup>.

Calixto sold the work for 10:000\$000 (ten *contos de réis*), but his work went far beyond painting, he was responsible for designing the Commemorative Society’s visual identity (for example, its letterhead) and decorating the halls and streets where there were events<sup>12</sup>.

In the afternoon of April 20, 1900, the “*Fundação de São Vicente*” was inaugurated during the opening of the “Historical and Archeological Exhibition”. The opening was witnessed by the authorities of the cities of Santos and *São Vicente*, the press and representatives of the Commemorative Society, beginning the commemorative program of the Discovery of Brazil. (Figure 01)

The following day, the exhibition was open for public viewing. The painting was in the first room,

8. PINHEIRO, José Feliciano Fernandes. *Anais da província de São Pedro do Rio Grande do Sul*. Rio de Janeiro: Imprensa Nacional, 1839. p. 31.

9. THUILLIER, Jacques. *Le problème des ‘grands formats’*. IN: *Revue de l’Art*, n. 102, 1993

10. The “Commemorative Society of the 400th Anniversary of the Discovery of Brazil ” was a private association that organized the Discovery celebrations. The political and commercial elite of the cities of Santos and *São Vicente* were part of this association, especially the entourage of state senator Jose Cesario da Silva Bastos, the family of the owners of the newspaper *Cidade de Santos*, founded

on August 29, 1898. Bastos led the Paulista Republican Party in Santos, occupying the Senate in the 1890s. Another prominent member of the association was pharmacist Jose Ignacio da Gloria, a press entrepreneur who founded, in September 1899, the *Vicentino* newspaper. Gregório Inocencio de Freitas, a traditional politician, was acclaimed president of the association and presided over the *São Vicente* City Council at the time, as well as a coffee commissioner in Santos.

11. *O Estado de S. Paulo newspaper*, April 8th 1899, p. 01.

12. *Cidade de Santos newspaper*, April 21th 1900, p. 01.



Figure 1. "The Founding of São Vicente" (oil on canvas, 385 x 192 cm, 1900), Calixto. Collection of Museu Paulista.

13. In 1900, the company Fratelli Secchi had been in operation for four years. It was one of the four food manufacturers founded by Italian immigrants in the 1890's in the state of São Paulo. Cf. CENNI, Franco. *Italianos no Brasil*. 3. ed. (1. ed. 1960) São Paulo: Edusp, 2003, p. 256-257.

14. *Cidade de Santos*, April, 21st 1900, p. 02

with objects that, at first glance, were at odds with a history painting: an "ant killer" invented by Dr. Luiz Pereira Barreto, "operating chair" by Dr. Desidério Stapler, "pasta" manufactured by Fratelli Secchi<sup>13</sup> and patented "ferolite mosaics" by Amilcari Lusverdi in Argentina and Brazil<sup>14</sup>.

Lusverdi, about whom we did not find information, was not the only exhibitor there to use this referencing feature. If Calixto did not need to prove the authorship of the painting he exhibited, he needed to legitimize it. For this reason, he attached the "opinion letter of the great Brazilian painter Victor Meirelles" to it, with its laudatory



function, converting his appreciation into a reputation for the artist<sup>15</sup>.

Art and technique seemed to be completed to the extent that inventions can be understood under the metaphor of the republican desire for progress and historical painting as a celebration of origins. Thus, a visual and material connection is established between past and present, making the bond between colonial and republican men as eloquent as overcoming the former by the latter. This was the appeal that José Ignacio da Gloria made in the newspaper *Vicentino* in the issue of April 3rd of that year. He bestowed upon himself the responsibility of promoting the arts and industries, “*the main well-being of the people,*” intended to be followed by his readers<sup>16</sup>.

In the first room of the “Historical and Archaeological Exhibition”, from the descriptions of the newspapers, there was the concern of self-promotion by the exhibitors and their inventions, products, or works of art. Although Calixto had planned all the decoration for the festivities – and even the public monument – he did not seem to have been an exception to us. At the age of forty-six, the painter moved among the local elites and had already had one of his large-format canvases bought by São Paulo’s republican government, although he still needed to consolidate his artistic reputation as a history painter and intellectual. Hence, the strategic inauguration of “Fundação de São Vicente” during the 4<sup>th</sup> Centenary of the

Discovery of Brazil, using the centripetal force of its publicity by the State of São Paulo.

This strategy, if seemingly exaggerated, is best understood by considering what was planned for tomorrow: April 22. Being the official date of celebration of the discovery of Brazil, it was the heart of the festivities in the city of *São Vicente*.

### III.

A month before the commencement of the commemoration, Commander João Manuel Alfaya Rodrigues had met with Colonel Fernando Prestes de Albuquerque and Dom Antonio Candido de Alvarenga, President of the State and Diocesan Bishop, to invite them to participate in the program<sup>17</sup>.

These two authorities (civil and religious) were present especially on April 22, each having a notorious participation in the activities. In the morning, Bishop Dom Antônio Candido de Alvarenga celebrated the Mass and, in the afternoon, after attending the banquet offered by the Commemorative Society to the special guests, they would go to the Panthéon, where the historical event would take place.

The procession was one of the main programs planned for the 4<sup>th</sup> Centenary of the Discovery of Brazil: in chronological order, followed a procession of characters from all periods of

15. *Cidade de Santos*, April, 21st 1900, p. 02.

16. *Vicentino*, April 3rd, 1900, p. 01: “(...)By instinct, lovers of the arts, and by principles devoted to industry, which we regard as one of the main wellsprings of the well-being of the people and as a great incentive for moral progress, we will be concerned with the advancement of the arts wherever possible. The most appropriate driver we have. We think it is a good time to appeal to the arts cultists and the workers to help us with their contest for the exhibition that will be installed in the People’s School building in this city.”

17. *Cidade de Santos*, March 24th, 1900, p. 01.

Brazilian history. His narrator, Carlos Escobar, was an excellent speaker and had already given his lectures at the invitation of the Commemorative Society in 1899. He was also a teacher of the Cesário Bastos School Group in Santos and had collaborated with columns in various newspapers in the 1890s.

As a speaker, his role was highly honorable, lending his scholarship to those present with the narrative that accompanied the theatrical performance. Carlos Escobar narrated the expedition of Martim Afonso and the founding of the Captaincy of São Vicente in 1532 with greater care. But unlike earlier and later episodes, when his speech had only the staging to illustrate his speech, Carlos Escobar showed the painting inaugurated by Benedito Calixto<sup>18</sup>.

Reproduced in both the *Vicentino* and *Santos city* newspapers, Escobar drew attention to Martim Afonso de Souza's alliance with the Tibiriçá-led tribe through the Portuguese castaway João Ramalho. Opposing concord, there was Piquerobi: everything "divinely" represented on Calixto's canvas, "exposed in the People's School". Already in this solemnity (restricted to the authorities and guests of the Commemorative Society), the historical painting was noted for its potentiality in communicating and approving an official view of the past of the city of São Vicente and, by extension, of the state of São Paulo.

This reference to the work, moreover, was in line with Calixto's self-promotion strategy in relation to the São Paulo's elite. In addition to the inauguration of the painting, the commemoration of the 400th Anniversary of the Discovery of Brazil also gave it great visibility, because local elites were able to engage the main regional authorities to be present there.

If Escobar's speech motivated the procession's spectators to visit the painting at the Historical and Archeological Exhibition, it was the *Vicentino* newspaper, in a special edition of May 1900, which reproduced its image for the first time. (Figure 2) Calixto had used an excerpt from the painting as the letterhead of the stationery used by the Commemorative Society, which can be seen in a letter signed by Gregory Innocencio de Freitas. (Figure 3).

This practice is also repeated in the *Vicentino* newspaper, whose upper part was, since the first edition<sup>19</sup>, illustrated by the drawing of the monument (also inaugurated on April 22nd) from Largo 13 de Maio (Figure 4), with drawing and ornamentation signed by Calixto. (Figure 5)<sup>20</sup>.

It would not be an exaggeration to understand Benedito Calixto as the architect of the commemoration of the Discovery in São Vicente. If the event was intended to protect the interests of the members of the Commemorative Society,

18. *Vicentino*, May 3rd, 1900, p. 07-13.

19. *Vicentino's* first issue was published in August 29th, 1899.

20. O *Estado de São Paulo* newspaper, August 15th, 1899, p. 01: "The Commemorative Society of the 400th Anniversary of the Discovery of Brazil, founded in the city of São Vicente, sent us a drawing of the monument that it intends to erect in that city in 1900. (...) The project is executed by architect Mr. Florimond Colpaert, and drawings of Mr. Benedito Calixto. (...) The monument will be placed in the Treze de Maio square, in front of the coastline of São Vicente and will be inaugurated on April 22nd, 1900".

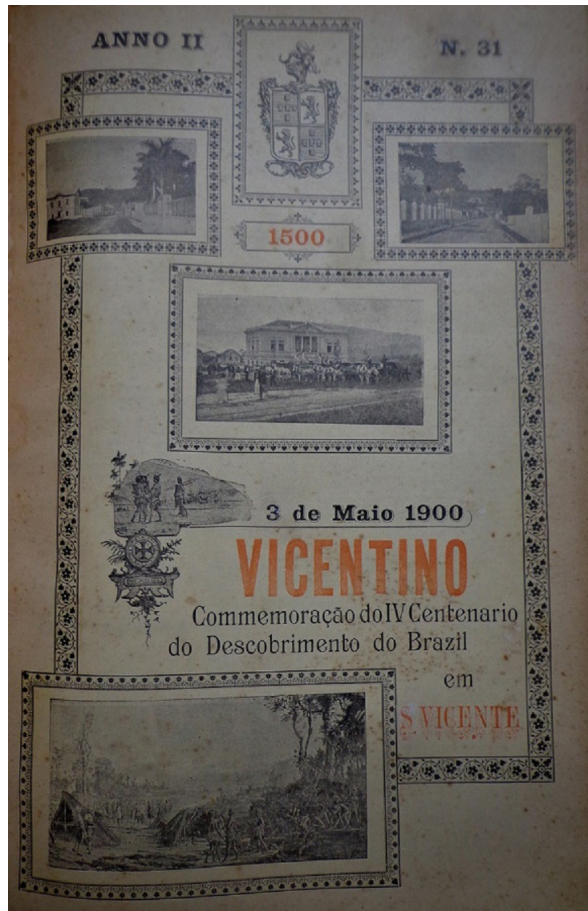


Figure 2. Front of the *Vicentino* newspaper, May 3rd, 1900. Collection of the Humanitarian Society of Commerce Employees Library in the city of Santos.



Figure 3. Letter of Inocencio de Freitas to the Office of the Presidency of the State of São Paulo Office of the Presidency of the State of São Paulo, April 11th, 1900. Public archive of the State of São Paulo.



Figure 4. Monument of 4th Centenary of the Discovery of Brazil.



Figure 5. Upper part of the *Vicentino* newspaper. Collection of the Humanitarian Society of Commerce Employees Library in the city of Santos.

Calixto knew how to build a strategy to consolidate his credibility and notoriety that, although centered on the “São Vicente Founding”, passed through the design of the arts and the decorative program of the festivities.

Proof of this is the mention made to Calixto by Carlos Escobar, consolidating all the theatrical performances sequentially staged in the historical procession by the actions of the members of the Commemorative Society. The grandiloquent tone nominally honored the achievements of its principal collaborators. So Calixto appears as the “thinking ahead” of the association, having his name cheered alongside notorious participants, such as José Ignácio da Glória and Alfaya Rodrigues<sup>21</sup>.

Recalling the historical examples – from the Egyptian pyramids, the Roman triumphal arches and the Parisian columns – Escobar understands that the Commemorative Society, then “educated

by the centuries”, contributes to future generations. The closing paragraph deserves full reproduction, as it appeared to readers of the *Vicentino* newspaper in May 1900:

The Commemorative Society honored its ancestors, and drew the attention of our contemporaries to our history. But its members will pass like shadows; and in a hundred years’ time only the inspired brush of Calixto and the magical melting pot of João Niel will tell the agonies of the patriots’ immeasurable dedication. And those to come will say, “Our grandparents remembered their ancestors. Let us send them also on the wings of a kiss a fervent prayer”<sup>22</sup>.

In Escobar’s perspective, the efforts of the Commemorative Society were not only forgotten because of Benedito Calixto and João Niel, artificers of the association’s memory: representatives of the arts and industry, the monument and historical painting would be the protagonists of state participation of São Paulo in the history of Brazil, but, above all, of the participation of *São Vicente* in the historical formation of the São Paulo’s territory. Also the symbolic need that this public commemoration represented so that the elites of the cities of Santos and *São Vicente* could project themselves into the consolidating republican regime.

This propaganda is observable beyond the context of Calixto to inaugurate the “Founding of *São Vicente*”. As we have shown, the painting was readily appropriated during 400th Anniversary

21. *Vicentino*, May 3rd, 1900, p. 06: “Benedito Calixto was the thinking head of the Commemorative Society (...).”

22. *Vicentino*, May 3rd, 1900, p. 07.



Figura 6. *Revista da Semana*, January of 1902. Collection of the Humanitarian Society of Commerce Employees Library in the city of Santos.

23. *Revista da Semana* magazine, special edition, January of 1902. Collection of the Humanitarian Society of Commerce Employees Library in the city of Santos.

24. *Revista da Semana* magazine, January of 1902, p. 36: "He currently resides

in São Vicente, who, with the richness of his history, has offered that exquisite painter subject for paintings of great artistic value. The various works published in this issue are a shining proof of Benedito Calixto's poignant talent and undeniable merit."

of the Discovery of Brazil, illustrating both the speech of Carlos Escobar to the authorities of the State of São Paulo about the commemorative edition of the *Vicentino* newspaper.

The power of the painting surpassed its on-site display and this initial environment. Therefore, it is important to pay attention to the process of reproduction and circulation of the image of painting, to understand the self-celebratory intent of the cities of São Vicente and Santos in the late nineteenth century. In this sense, the first example is the special edition of the magazine *Revista da Semana*, published in January 1902 and dedicated to the city of Santos<sup>23</sup>.

#### IV.

At the end of the nineteenth century, urban progress was the propaganda of the southern coastal cities of São Paulo. Anatolio Valladares, journalist of the magazine *Revista da Semana* responsible for the story, noted the progress during his month-long stay, impressed by the urban and port reforms that the city of Santos had been undertaking through sanitation, lighting, transportation, the "secular monuments" and by the "buildings of modern construction".

In forty-one pages, the magazine *Revista da Semana* reproduced two hundred and twelve images, a figure that shows a deliberate intention to visually impress the reader: they recorded the

public places, buildings (facades and interiors), monuments and various portraits of personalities - among them Benedito Calixto<sup>24</sup>.

In contrast to the praising photographs of the modernity and progress of the city of Santos was the image of the painting "Founding of São Vicente". The correlation between the screen and the other images present in the magazine *Revista da Semana* is similar to that constructed by the exhibition in the "Historical and Archeological Exhibition". (Figure 6)

If the mechanical inventions of the exhibitors who shared the first room with Benedito Calixto were representatives of São Paulo's industry, the "modern construction" as described by Anatolio Valladares represented the progress of the urban life of the city of Santos at the dawn of the twentieth century. In this sense, a new meaning is attributed to Calixto's painting, no longer restricted to the promotion of the artist as a legitimate local representative of the arts, nor to celebrate the expedition of Martim Afonso, but to the representation of the city per se at the moment of its founding.

This disagreement (that is, using an artistic representation of the founding of São Vicente to commend the material progress the city of Santos) is best understood if we take into account the alignment of local elites around Cesário Bastos – speaker of the Commemorative Society, and which, at that time, intended to celebrate the

beginning of the colonization of the territory from the south coast of São Paulo.

“Refounded” by the Republic in the nineteenth century booklet, the cities of Santos and São Vicente sought to affirm, by instrumentalizing history as a symbolic resource, “(...) all their material progress and all the superiority of their spirit in the three domains of the arts, science and letters (...).”, raising visibility with the presidency of the State of São Paulo and, by extension, of the Republic – then directed by the coffee farmer and politician Manuel Ferraz de Campos Salles (1841-1913)<sup>25</sup>.

The modernization represented by urban public works, monumental furniture, architecture and urban redesign showed the colonial founding marked by pacification between the parties and the welcoming, harmless and irresistible natural landscape to the imminently political action.

In the background of the composition, Ulpiano Toledo Bezerra de Meneses noted the main nucleus of biographical characters is surrounded, on the other planes, by symbolic supports without fixity, witnessing their semipermanent character, although they foresaw human occupation. (MENESES, 1990, p. 42-43).

The founding is restricted to a political agreement and shows the immateriality of the colonial city and, at the same time, informs the projective level where the republican city is inserted. This is

shown much less as a continuity of this colonial past than by understanding this context as an opportunity for a fresh start from the communion between man and the inhabited territory.

Another example of this process is the postcards in circulation in the early twentieth century. Fraya Frehse’s study of photographs reproduced in postcards of the time, with the city of São Paulo photographed, points to the striking contrast between an urban landscape marked by both colonial and modern buildings. If they advocated a yearning for progress, they also witnessed the coexistence of social differences beyond the “mismatch of historical times.” (FREHSE, 2000)

A mapping of postcards illustrated by themes relating to the progress of the southern coastal cities of Sao Paulo also shows this. For example, an 1897 card was illustrated with the image of the railway linking Santos to the capital; another, from 1902, brings a panorama of the urban landscape of Santos and, five years later, a third and last example promoted the ongoing sanitation works in that city. (GERODETTI and CORNEJO, 2001, p. 11; 14; 184).

Calixto witnessed the changes in the cities of the southern coast with great attention. His paintings accurately documented the transformations of the port and urban landscape between the 1870s and 1890s, and as Caleb Faria Alves noted, it is from this angle that we can understand how the painter examined his concerns artistically.

25. *Revista da Semana magazine*, special edition, January of 1902. p. 05.



Figure 7. Postcard, 1902. Author's collection.



Figure 8. Postcard, 1902. Author's collection.

26. Christian Metz defines as discourses and practices that self-complementarily condition visual experience in historically situated circumstances and aligns with Meneses's methodological proposal. The latter understands that "iconosphere" as one of the integral dimensions of "visual"

and which together with the "visible" and the "vision" help map and observe the scopic regime. MENESES, Ulpiano Toledo Bezerra. *Visual sources, visual culture, visual history. Provisional balance, precautionary proposals. IN: Brazilian Journal of History.* São Paulo, v. 23, nº 45, 2003, p. 30-31.

In his representations of the port of Santos made between 1875 and 1898, Calixto marked the course of the modernization process. In "Port of Santos" (oil on canvas, 32 x 56 cm, 1875) the activities on the quay are daily and point to the communion between the time of man and nature. In the "View of the City of Santos" (oil on canvas, 146 x 290 cm, 1898), they are already combined with the ongoing modernizations, with the disappearance of the trapiches (warehouses) and the once dominant warehouses incorporating the image of a rapidly developing city (ALVES, 2003, p. 208-211).

It is not surprising that Calixto's work was used in postcard illustrations, as he was one of the artificers of the images of the city of Santos, of the interests of commercial elites, as noted by C. F. Alves (2003) and Gerodetti and Cornejo (2001). The projection of the idea of harmonious and cordial progress was transferred to the canvas "Fundação de São Vicente", the artistic representation of the historical scene aimed to encourage the iconospheric environment in formation<sup>26</sup>.

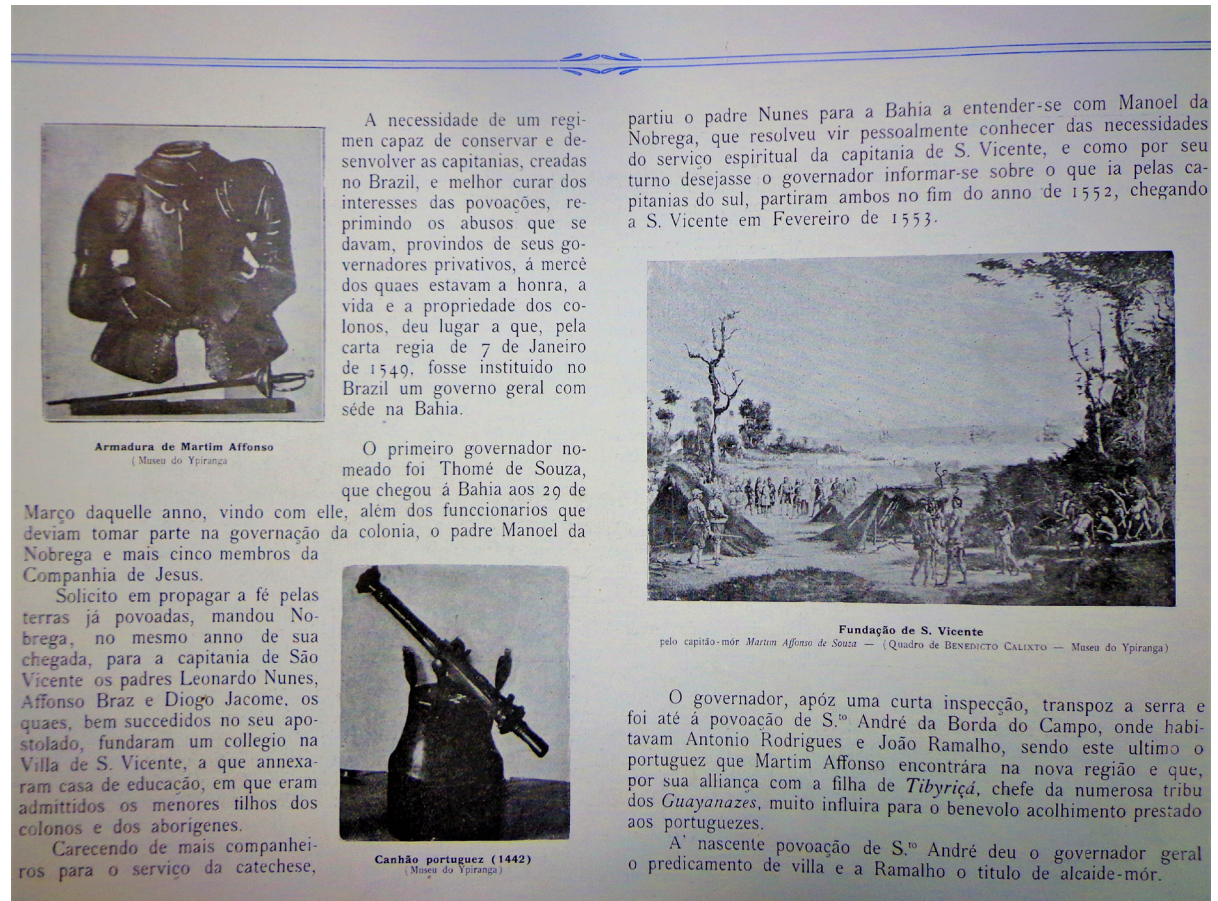
Printing the image of the painting on the postcards was intended to exalt and publicize Calixto's artwork. However, the potential of spreading a visible and apprehensive image must be considered, to show progress and modernity in the projection of a solemn local history and, therefore, to be seen and celebrated.

The first postcard features a colorized photomechanical reproduction, by José Bidschovsky, from the studio in the city of Piracicaba "Vienna Photographia" (Figure 7). The second, also from 1902, reproduces photographs of the main symbols of the 4<sup>th</sup> Centenary of the Discovery of Brazil: the public monument and the painting (Figure 8).

Titled "Remembrance of Saints," the postcard helps to observe how the Commemorative Society's symbolic-visual discourse surpassed the festivities of the city of São Vicente, boosting it as a memory place that reached other places. The images on this card recall what Carlos Escobar mentioned: having power to transcend time and what the members of the Commemorative Society did: the painting "Fundação de São Vicente", by Calixto's brush, and the monument created by the "magical melting pot of João Niel"<sup>27</sup>.

Finally, a final example: the booklet "Old São Paulo and Modern São Paulo", launched due to the commemoration of the 350th anniversary of the founding of São Paulo, "(...) with many engravings and a short historical summary of the main buildings or biographical data of remarkable figures whose portraits are published"<sup>28</sup>. (Figure 9)

Over sixteen pages, this inaugural volume reproduced, as it had two years before the magazine *Revista da Semana*, a photographic series of architecturally monumental public

Figure 9. *São Paulo Antigo e São Paulo Moderno*, 1905. Public Archive Collection of the State of São Paulo.

27. Cf. above.

28. *Old São Paulo Antigo and Modern São Paulo 1554-1904*. São Paulo: Vanorden & Cia, vol. 01, 1905, capa.

29. *Idem*, p. 11.

30. *Idem*, p. 13.

buildings, such as the Government Palace<sup>29</sup>, built in 1898, and colonial, such as the Church of Carmel and the Venerable Third Order<sup>30</sup>.

The narrative on the history of the founding of São Paulo began precisely on the founding of the Captaincy of *São Vicente*, in 1532, in addition to the observable changes in the city in the process

of modernization. A proof of this is the painting “O Primeiro Desembarque de Pedro Álvares Cabral”(oil on canvas, 330 x 190 cm, 1900), by Oscar Pereira da Silva, named as “Desembarque de Martim Afonso de Souza”.

The Vanorden Publishing House chose to reproduce the print of Martim Afonso de Souza



31. Letters of Hermann von Ihering to the Secretary of the Interior, November 12th, 1900, Archive collection of the State of São Paulo.

32. The “payment dispute” is well understood from the correspondence exchanged between Calixto, the first secretary and the treasurer of the Commemorative Society. The painter claims payment for the painting and attests to having fulfilled the functions assigned to him by listing them in detail. Cf. to the Letter from José Leite da Costa Sobrinho to Benedito Calixto, July 25, 1903; Letter from Antonio Militão de Azevedo to Benedito Calixto, July 25, 1903. Cf. Dossier Benedito Calixto – Fundo IHGSP/APESP.

33. Annals of the Chamber of Deputies of São Paulo, 1905, p. 621; Annals of the Senate of the State of São Paulo, 1905, p. 571.

38. About this transfer and the consequent formation of the initial nucleus of the Pinacoteca of the State of São Paulo, cf. NERY, Pedro. *Art, homeland and civilization. The formation of the artistic collections of the Museu Paulista and the Pinacoteca of the State of São Paulo. (1893-1912).*

*Master's Dissertation, Graduate Program Interunits in Museology, University of São Paulo, 2015.*

35. Among the historical portraits, six were commissioned from Benedito Calixto less than a year after the “Founding of São Vicente” at the Museum: “Dom Pedro I”, “Father José de Anchieta”, “José Bonifácio de Andrada e Silva”, delivered in 1902, and “Father Bartolomeu de Gusmão”, “Domingos Jorge Velho” and “Vicente Taques Góes Aranha”, “Sergeant Major of Itu”, delivered the following year. On the portrait of Domingos Jorge Velho, cf. to MARINS, Paulo Cesar Garcez. In the woods with poses of kings: the representation of bushmen and the tradition of European monarchical portraiture. IN: *Revista do IEB*, n. 44, fev. 2007; PITTA, Fernanda Mendonça. *Brushes write the story in the “Teatro da Memória” - Benedito Calixto’s artistic, intellectual and political work in the commissioning of historical portraits of the Museu Paulista (1900-1906). Report not published by the author, thankful for making it available.*

and the coat of arms of his family in the front pages of the booklet. Following are images of three objects: an armor that was said to have belonged to the navigator, a gunboat used during the expedition under his command and, finally, the image of the “Founding of São Vicente”. The images inform the reader about the expedition of Martim Afonso, aspect previously unheard of.

In the *Vicentino* newspaper of May 1900, in the postcards and in the magazine *Revista da Semana* in 1902, the “Fundação de São Vicente” was an aid to the images that propagated Benedito Calixto’s desire for southern coastal modernization to achieve greater artistic projection. In the booklet *Old São Paulo and Modern São Paulo* there was an important change in the history of painting: there, it was not only the work of Benedito Calixto, but as a painting of the *Museu Paulista*.

## V.

The incorporation of the “Fundação de São Vicente” into the *Museu Paulista* collection was, a priori, the result of a donation to the Presidency of the State of São Paulo by the Commemorative Society. The canvas arrived at the Museum, accompanied by Benedito Calixto, on November 10, 1900 and, by the painter’s will, was placed in room B-11, and began to be displayed next to the paleontology and mineralogy collections<sup>31</sup>.

The Association had agreed with Calixto to pay him ten contos de réis for painting and decorative

services. Nevertheless, that was not what happened, and five years after the end of the celebrations, he had not yet been paid<sup>32</sup>.

This caused the painter to petition the House of Representatives, where he claimed that he still owned the painting and had the right to have it back. The dispute was effectively resolved in December 1905, with the discussion of the Budget Law for the following year, with the payment of five *contos de réis* to the painter, incorporating the “Founding of São Vicente” canvas to the public heritage of the State of São Paulo forever<sup>33</sup>.

Along with the acquisition, José Cardoso de Almeida, the Secretary of State for Home Affairs and Justice, sent Hermann von Ihering a list of fourteen paintings that should be immediately transferred from the *Museu Paulista* to the Gallery of Paintings. of the Liceu de Artes e Ofícios<sup>34</sup>.

“*Partida da Monção*” (oil on canvas, 640 x 390 cm, 1897), by José Ferraz de Almeida Júnior (1850-1899), e “*Primeiro Desembarque de Pedro Álvares Cabral*” were transferred, leaving only “*Fundação de São Vicente*”. It is concluded that this painting was acquired by the São Paulo’s government specifically for the *Museu Paulista* collection, joining historical portraits<sup>35</sup> and “*Independência ou Morte*” (oil on canvas, 760 x 415 cm, 1888).

The immediacy of the reproduction of the image of “*Fundação de São Vicente*” in the *Vicentino*

newspaper, the magazine *Revista da Semana* and postcards can be seen in the light of the symbolic need that painting represented for the celebrating of São Paulo's south-coast elite. In our interpretation, the sending of the canvas as a donation to the state government and, subsequently, its exhibition at the *Museu Paulista* shows the intention of the members of the Commemorative Society to consolidate their symbolic place in the state of São Paulo from the visibility of the colonial past of the city of *São Vicente*. It also interested Calixto because it was the opportunity to have his first historical painting on display at the only museum in the state of São Paulo at the time)

The *Museu Paulista* was the legitimate receiver-diffuser of the visible desired by the Commemorative Society, according to Meneses (2003, p. 30). The painting, in addition to exposing the colonial past of the city of *São Vicente*, was also a bridge between the members of the Commemorative Society and the state government. And Calixto had been the artificer of this connection: it was up to the people of São Paulo to remember their origins: the Captaincy of *São Vicente*, founded by Martim Afonso de Souza on January 22<sup>nd</sup>, 1532.

We demonstrate that the process of remodeling the cities of the south coast of São Paulo and the city of *São Vicente*'s 400th Anniversary of the Discovery of Brazil were the epicenter of this symbolic need. The image of the "Founding of

*São Vicente*" was a response to this process, which, although linked to the *Museu Paulista*, is also observed from its context of production and inaugural exhibition.

This ends in the booklet *Old São Paulo and Modern São Paulo*. There is a new meaning that seems to recover the definition initially conveyed by the Commemorative Society during the 4<sup>th</sup> Centenary of the Discovery of Brazil.

By being associated with images of other objects in the historical collection, such as the armor of Martim Afonso and the culverin (and even the painting by Oscar Pereira da Silva - mistakenly titled, as "Landing of Martim Affonso"), the "Founding of *São Vicente*" is incorporated into the iconosphere<sup>36</sup> of historical representation and linked to institutional life. In time, this armor and the culverin were sent by the *Museu Paulista* for the Historical and Archeological Exhibition. Almost a "manifest destiny", the painting had been inaugurated around objects belonging to a collection to be incorporated a few months later<sup>37</sup>.

In 1905, five years after the opening of the canvas during the 400th Anniversary of the Discovery of Brazil, Calixto had composed the representation of the founding of the city of *São Vicente*, whose representational force was seen during that first five-year period. Not surprisingly, the Chamber of Deputies has definitely incorporated it into the *Museu Paulista*'s historical collection, keeping it there. This is what we will see next.

36. Cf. Meneses (2003, p. 15), the "iconosphere" is a "set of images that is or is socially accessible", and which we take here as a direction of the intended analysis. Note the agency of the screen "Founding of São Vicente" in two distinct iconospheric environments, not necessarily mutually exclusive, but also complementary, being the first from the celebrations of the city of São Vicente and the second belonging to the collection of the *Museu Paulista*.

37. *Vicentino* newspaper, May 3rd, 1900, p. 11: "Museu Paulista - Armor of Martim Afonso de Souza - 16th Century Artillery Piece (culverin) (...)."

## VI.

38. Cf. the Guide for the Museu Paulista collections, the mineralogical collection was on display in cabinets 49 and 50 and contained "(...) samples of the most interesting minerals from Brazil and also from various other countries": Meteorites, oil shales, marbles from the city of Sorocaba and the "(...) collection of ores and products from the Ipanema iron factory, state of São Paulo". Finally, the paleontological collection was organized in cabinets 48 and 51: in the first, there was the Mesosaurus Tumidus fossil, Mesozoic fishes, dendrites and petrified tree trunks, while in the other figured "(...) numerous fossils of the copies of the famous reptiles Plesiosaurus, Mystriosaurus and Ichthyosaurus are especially interesting." See Ihering, Rodolpho von. (ed.) Guide for the Museu Paulista Collections. São Paulo: Typographia Cardozo Filho, 1907, p. 102-104.

39. E. g. Ana Cláudia Fonseca Brefe: "This is the case, for example, of the canvas "Founding of São Vicente", by Benedito Calixto, arranged in room

B11, dedicated to mineralogy and paleontology. In addition to stones and fossils, the screen also shares space with small pictures representing geysers and landscapes of ancient geological times as can be seen from the description of the room in the Guide for Collections ". The *Museu Paulista*: Afonso Taunay and the National Memory (1917-1945). UNESP Publisher, Museu Paulista of USP, 2003, p. 90, no. 04. The author seems in line with the impressions left by Taunay: (...) *Another fact demonstrates the abandonment in which the so-called "historical collection" was. It is difficult to explain, for example, why it had been a canvas depicting the founding of São Vicente being placed above a mineral cabinet in the mineralogy and geology room, almost four meters above the ground. Nothing or almost nothing at the Museu Paulista was reminiscent of São Paulo's past.* " TAUNAY, Afonso Teixeira d'Escragnole. Activity Report for the Year 1917, p. 15-16. IN: Public Archive of the Museu Paulista, P5, D33.16 and D.33.17.

Even after the transfer of the Art Gallery to the Liceu de Artes e Ofícios in December 1905, the "Founding of São Vicente" remained in room B-11 of the *Museu Paulista*. Among those acquired for the collection, it was the only large-format historical painting remaining in the Museum's halls – except of course, "Independência ou Morte", located in the Hall of Honor. (Figure 10) Figure 10. *Museu Paulista* Exhibition Rooms, according to the 1907 Guide. *Museu Paulista* Library Collection.

A priori, Calixto's choice is strange; after all, room B-11 had been designated by Hermann von Ihering to display the ore and fossil collections. In the Guide for the *Museu Paulista* collections, they appear divided between the cabinets 48, 49, 50 and 51. The "Fundação de São Vicente", a "beautiful piece of art" that represented "(...) the arrival of D. Martim Afonso de Souza who, in 1532, founded the city of São Vicente.", Shared

the walls with some images of geysers and" (...) landscapes of ancient geological times"<sup>38</sup>.

Understanding the relationship between this painting by Calixto and the other objects in room B-11 has been an uncomfortable challenge for recent historiography. The historian used the perspective of Afonso Taunay – Hermann von Ihering's replacement and critic of his management – as an argument to note that the screen's allocation was occasional and that it shows some disdain of the former director for the Museum's historical collection<sup>39</sup>.

According to what we could learn from the description of the exhibition, room B-11 represented the processes of formation and occupation of the São Paulo's territory from natural and human history, in which rocks, fossils and historical painting produced relational and mutually complementary meanings. This was in

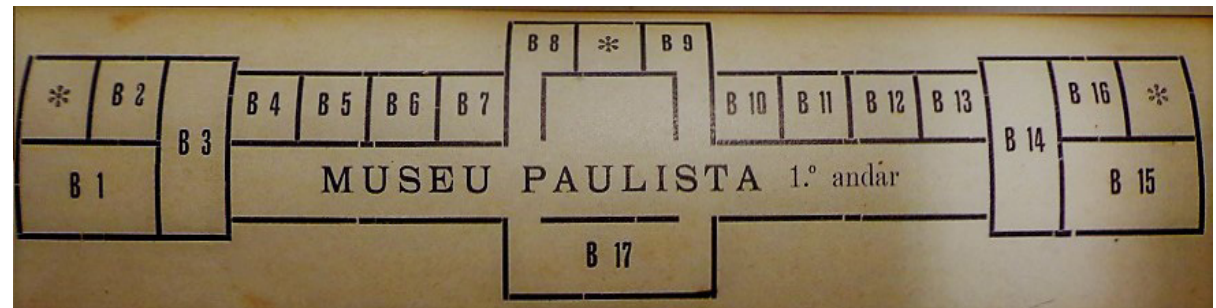


Figura 10. Paulista Museum exhibition rooms, according to the 1907 Guide. Collection of the Paulista Museum Library of USP.



Figure 11. “Fundação de São Vicente” in room A-10, 1937. Collection of the Paulista Museum Library of USP.



Figure 12. “Ensaio Geral das Bandeiras Paulistas” in room A-10, 1937. Collection of the Paulista Museum Library of USP.

line with what was foreseen in Article 2 of Decree No. 249, which characterized this institution as “(...) South American museum, intended for the study of the animal kingdom, its zoological history and natural and cultural history of man<sup>40</sup>” and 19th century museums, which sought to consolidate a “natural history of man”. (ALENCAR ALVES, 2001, p. 139).

The “Fundação de São Vicente” remained on display in room B-11 until 1917, when Afonso Taunay, then the interim director of the Museum, reworked the exhibition and gave it new meaning<sup>41</sup>. After inaugurating room A-07, where he exhibited the botanical collections, in September 1917, Taunay organized the first exhibition room of the historical collections under his management: room A-10, of “colonial cartography”, inaugurated on December 24 of that same year. (Figure 11 and Figure 12)

Taunay placed the “Fundação de São Vicente” next to the portraits of José de Anchieta and Bartolomeu de Gusmão, both by Calixto, and placed the large-format painting in the center. It can even be inferred that the painting had a certain mastery over the arrangement of the exhibition of room A-10. That would be more evident when the “General Letter of the Paulista Bushmen” was positioned in front of it, creating a meaningful relationship where the episode of the founding of the city of São Vicente would compose the process of historical occupation of the territory, an anteroom of the bushmen epic.

40. Decree No. 249 of July 26, 1894, Chapter 01, Article 2.ALESP’s Historical Collection.

41. On the management of Afonso Taunay (1917-1946), cf. BRIEF, op. cit. and OLIVEIRA, Cecília Helena de Salles (org.). *The Museu Paulista and the management of Afonso Taunay: Writing of History and Historiography, 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries*. Sao Paulo: Museu Paulista, 2017.

in room A-12, and “Founding of São Paulo”<sup>47</sup>, in room A-15 received this same prominence in their respective descriptions. This finding helps us understand the strength of the path of the image of the “Founding of São Vicente”. To do so, we will use two examples that seemed the most significant.

The first concerns schoolbooks from 1916, with the publication of “My Motherland” by João Pinto e Silva. In the following years, other publications also used Calixto’s painting to illustrate the episode of the founding of the city of *São Vicente* in 1532: Rocha Pombo’s “History of Brazil” (1918), Creso Braga’s “Brief History of Brazil Lessons” (1922) and “History of Brazil” (1932). These are examples that deserve attention for helping to spread and crystallize this historical painting as an “official vision” of one of the main episodes in the history of Brazil. Finally, it should be noted that, being the book “My Motherland” an exception, the others came into circulation after the inauguration of room A-10 at the *Museu Paulista*.

The second example takes us to 1932, when the 4th Centenary of the Founding of the city of *São Vicente* was celebrated. José Torres de Oliveira, the president of the São Paulo Historical and Geographic Institute and other prominent members (including Afonso Taunay), had petitioned the federal government to mint coins and print commemorative stamps. Having judged the meritorious occasion, “(...) The founding,

The documents and geographical charts, the later insertions of objects and historical portraits in room A-10 - such as Alexandre de Gusmão and José Maria da Silva Paranhos, the Baron of Rio Branco – show, at last, that this process of territorial formation had been realized as an essentially diplomatic conquest, by the peaceful meeting between Portuguese and indigenous people, as suggested by the canvas of Benedito Calixto.

Afonso Taunay worked for the next two decades to realize the new proposal for the Museum and, in addition to engaging in commissioning paintings and sculptures from renowned artists of the time<sup>42</sup>, requested that the painting “Departure from Monsoon”, sent to the Liceu de Artes e Ofícios in 1905, return to room A-9 of the Ipiranga Monument<sup>43</sup>.

The director documented the final stage of this redesign in the *Museu Paulista*’s Historical Section Guide, providing summary descriptions of the objects displayed in each room. Keeping in mind the “Founding of *São Vicente*” again, renamed there as “Landing of Martim Afonso in the city of *São Vicente*, in 1532”, Taunay draws attention to its popularity, “by the continuous reproductions that are made of them”<sup>44</sup>. This description was not a privilege of Calixto’s paintings: other large-format historical paintings, such as “Independence or Death!”<sup>45</sup>, exhibited at the Hall of Honor, and “Primeiro Desembarque de Pedro Álvares Cabral em Porto Seguro”<sup>46</sup>,

42. Luigi Brizzolara, Adrien van Emelen, brothers Henrique and Rodolfo Bernardelli, Jose Wash Rodrigues, Domenico Failutti, Alfredo Norfini, Oscar Pereira da Silva and Benedito Calixto himself are examples of artists chosen by Taunay.

43. Taunay requested in 1929 that the “Monsoon Departure” return from the Pinacoteca. Next to it, it also received two others: “Pedro Álvares Cabral’s First Landing” and “Founding of São Paulo” (oil on canvas, 340 x 185 cm, 1907), both by Oscar Pereira da Silva, placing them, respectively, in rooms A-09, dedicated to the monsoons, A-12, of old iconists from São Paulo and A-15, to the past of São Paulo. Regarding the return of these works to the Museu Paulista, cf. to MONTEIRO,

Michelli Cristine Scapol. São Paulo Founding, by Oscar Pereira da Silva. Trajectories of an urban image. Master’s dissertation – FAUUSP, 2012, p. 104-105.

44. TAUNAY, A. T. d’E. *Guide of the History Section of the Museu Paulista. Official Press of the State of São Paulo*: São Paulo, 1937. p. 73.

45. TAUNAY, op. cit., p. 63: *The superb architecture, so characteristically palatial and dynastic, ennobles the presence of Pedro Americo’s large canvas: “Independence or Death!” famous painting, certainly one of the most popular in our country, and the target of countless pictorial and sculptural reproductions.*

46. Idem, p. 80.

47. Idem, p. 88.



Figura 13. The 700 réis stamp had. Source: Eduardo Polidori.

48. *Journal of the Historical and Geographic Institute of São Paulo*. Vol. XXIX. *Commemorative Conferences of the 400th Anniversary of the Founding of São Vicente, 1532-1932*. São Paulo, 1932, p. 261-265.

49. Commemorative Series of the 400th Anniversary of the Colonization of Brazil. Stamp Notice 1932-001.4. Collection of the Post Office Museum. Retrieved: October 9, 2017.

50. Case 139-T-38: *Landmarking of the Museu Paulista collections (15/04/1938)*. Collection of the Institute of National Historical and Artistic Heritage – Superintendence of São Paulo.

in 1532, of the municipality of *São Vicente*”, describes the decree, “(...) marks the beginning of colonization in Brazil” being “(...) worthy of special celebration”<sup>48</sup>.

Commemorative stamps were circulated during the month of June 1932, with values ranging from 20 to 700 réis and reproduced the map of the Captaincy of *São Vicente*, the effigies of João Ramalho, Tibiriçá; Martim Afonso de Souza, Dom João III and. The 700 réis stamp had an adapted version of the “(...) famous canvas of the landing of Martim Afonso de Souza, in the bay of *São Vicente*, painted by the famous Brazilian B. Calixto (...)”<sup>49</sup>. (Figure 13)

These two examples reinforce the popularity mentioned by Taunay in the 1937 Guide. In our interpretation, this commemorative stamp issued by the federal government, together with textbooks was crucial in expanding the circulation of the painting’s image and crystallizing its symbolic representative potential beyond local and regional links. It was necessary to requalify and project its potential to the national level due to the decline of the Republican Party with the 1930’s revolution.

It can be observed there are distinct and concomitant trajectories of the image of the work throughout the first four decades of the twentieth century, causing the image to travel through the local, regional and national spheres. The *Museu Paulista* was consolidated as the largest public

museum of history, an agent and an agency of the diffusion of a historical consciousness from São Paulo’s experience in national change through its collection.

The following year, the publication of the Guide of the Historical Section of the *Museu Paulista*, the newly founded National Historical and Artistic Heritage Service (SPHAN), directed by Minas Gerais lawyer Rodrigo Melo Franco de Andrade (1898-1969), initiated a policy of heritage. In the state of São Paulo, this policy was precisely aimed at landmarking the historical, artistic, archaeological and ethnographic collections belonging to the *Museu Paulista*<sup>50</sup>.

In an effort by the elites of the cities of Santos and *São Vicente* to obtain projection in a still fragile and recently republican São Paulo, the painting “*Founding of São Vicente*” is incorporated into the collection of the *Museu Paulista*. For almost two decades, together with the work “*Independence or Death!*”, it celebrated the “founding” São Paulo’s episodes of the Brazilian nation, in the colony and in the Empire. In 1917, Afonso Taunay reworked this narrative, giving it a new meaning by inserting it in an exhibition that privileged the historical-diplomatic process of formation of the Brazilian territory and in which it linked the founding of the village of *São Vicente* to the Bushmen Movement.

These distinct paths of appropriation map the biographies of this painting. At the beginning of

the twentieth century, it served to support the propaganda of the urban modernization projects of the elites of the southern coastal cities and the capital. From the 1910s, it was inserted in Afonso Taunay's exhibition, as part of the official visual repertoire and reproduced in textbooks and on one of the commemorative stamps of the 400th Anniversary of the Founding of *São Vicente* – or the “beginning of Brazilian colonization”.

The “Founding of *São Vicente*” belongs to the *Museu Paulista* and became part of the national heritage in 1938. As we have seen, its image had been widely spread over the previous decades, a process that confirmed its potential as a place of memory.

The *Museu Paulista* inaugurated, on January 23rd, 2007, the exhibition “Images recreate history”, curated by Paulo César Garcez Marins, on display until 2013. This exhibition was an important episode of the institutional history of the “The Founding of *São Vicente*” started, as we saw, in 1900 because it was in line with curatorial research that sought to understand the role of historical paintings in the diffusion and creation of the political imaginary about the history of Brazil,

Located in the “Imagine the Beginning” room in conjunction with the “The Founding of São Paulo” and “Pedro Álvares Cabral's First Landing in Porto Seguro”, paintings by Oscar Pereira da Silva, the “The Founding of *São Vicente*” was seen as a production that aimed to consolidate an “official

vision” of the past during the First Republic. The exhibition showed information about the processes of its creation and its incorporation into the Museum's collection and examples of its reproduction in textbooks, among other media.

This paper aimed to establish hypotheses about historicity, especially the specificity of Calixto's work analyzed in relation to the interests to which they responded, in addition to mapping and identifying the reproductions of your image.

This paper aims to contribute to dimension the multiple reaches and forces of the representations of history from the biography of the painting. This is a fruitful exercise, and also part of an ongoing process that considers the dimensions of production, circulation and symbolic consumption throughout the twentieth century.

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