

# LANDSCAPE AND STRATEGIES IN THE PATRIMONIALIZATION OF THE MATERIAL CULTURE AND NATURE IN SERRA DA CAPIVARA-PI

## PAISAGEM E ESTRATÉGIAS NA PATRIMONIALIZAÇÃO DA CULTURA MATERIAL E DA NATUREZA NA SERRA DA CAPIVARA-PI

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### ABSTRACT

This article approaches the fields of cultural heritage, environmental protection and archeology to discuss the landscape and the archaeological sites and understand their conceptions and practices, taking as a case study the Serra da Capivara's patrimonialization. In a broader approach, we highlight the meanings attributed to the landscape in the Brazilian heritage narratives since the institution of heritage preservation. In a restrict approach to the theme, we study the narratives used in the protection and management of Serra da Capivara. Bibliographic review and analysis of the heritage narratives in public records, anchored by polysemic notion of landscape, allow us to observe a tension between two perspectives of arguments that justify it. On the one hand, the perspective that considers man integrated with nature as an interactive element and, on the other, the perspective that considers man detached from nature.

KEYWORDS: Landscape. Heritage. Archaeology. Nature.

### RESUMO

Este artigo percorre os campos do patrimônio cultural, proteção do meio ambiente e arqueologia para tratar a paisagem e os sítios arqueológicos e compreender suas concepções e práticas, tendo como estudo de caso a patrimonialização da Serra da Capivara. Em uma abordagem mais ampla, destacamos os significados atribuídos à paisagem nas narrativas patrimoniais brasileiras desde a instituição da preservação do patrimônio. Em uma abordagem restrita ao tema, estudamos as narrativas usadas na proteção e na gestão da Serra da Capivara. Revisão bibliográfica e análise das narrativas patrimoniais em documentos públicos, ancoradas em noção polissêmica de paisagem, permitem observar uma tensão entre duas perspectivas de argumentos que a justificam. Por um lado, a perspectiva que considera o homem integrado à natureza, como elemento interativo e, de outro, a perspectiva que considera o homem separado da natureza.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE: Paisagem. Patrimônio. Arqueologia. Natureza.

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## 1. INTRODUCTION

The Serra da Capivara National Park (Portuguese acronym: PARNA SC) was implemented by Decree No. 85,548, of June 5, 1979, with an area of approximately 129,140ha in the northeastern semi-arid region of Piauí. Its territory currently covers the municipalities of São Raimundo Nonato, João Costa, Colonel José Dias and Brejo do Piauí. It is bordered by two geological formations, the Maranhão-Piauí sedimentary basin and the peripheral depression of the São Francisco River, with mountains, plains and steep valleys that encompass Caatinga, Cerrado and Mata Humid vegetation areas (Figure 1). It has more than 1,200 archaeological sites with predominance of rock inscriptions, mostly paintings, and four caves, with a history of human occupation resulting from geological and climatic events in Brazil and Latin America. (FREIRE et al., 2017).

2 Our general objective is to affirm the importance of the articulation of two heritage categories: archaeological asset and landscape. Both are present at the initial moment of the institutionalization of heritage preservation in Brazil, in 1937, with the establishment of the Institute of National Historic and Artistic Heritage (Portuguese acronym: IPHAN) and the promulgation of Decree-Law No. 25/1937.

Institutional interest in these heritages is manifested by the creation of the **Archaeological, Ethnographic and Landscape Registry Book** and the practice of its protection by inscription in this book. After eighty years, IPHAN has elected only 33 properties registered exclusively for their landscape value and 17 archaeological assets, not including the urban complexes associated with the values provided for in the other books. Small numbers compared to the architectural and urbanistic assets inscribed in the **Artistic and Historical Registry Book**, prevalent in the trajectory of the federal agency.

Regarding the **Archaeological, Ethnographic and Landscape Registry Book** Decree-Law no. 25 states that “the things belonging to the categories of archaeological, ethnographic, Amerindian and popular art, as well as those mentioned in the

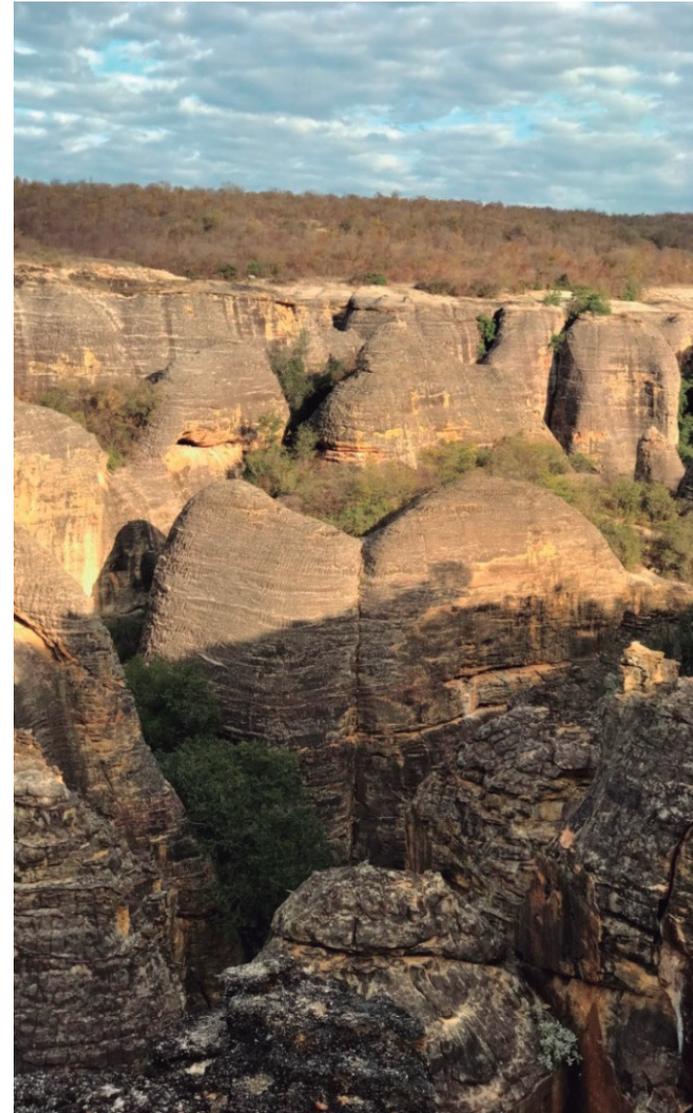


Figure 1 – View of one of the valleys of Parna SC during drought, showing the relief and contrast of the vegetation between the plateau, drought, and the valley floor, green

paragraph 2 ° of the mentioned art. 1 ° (BRASIL, 1937, p. 2). It equates with the assets of the first article, as the object of the preservation “the natural monuments, the sites and landscapes of remarkable feature endowed by nature or managed by man”. That is, natural landscapes are added as objects of the protection provided for in the first article of the decree, equating them with cultural landscapes, but independent of them. In this sense, it differs from Mário de Andrade’s stance in his draft bill for cultural heritage, which provided for the preservation of landscapes always integrated with folk, archaeological and Amerindian art (RIBEIRO, 2007).

The approach of these two heritage in IPHAN is done in various ways. The advent of Law No. 3924 of 1961 (BRASIL, 1961), which provides for archaeological and prehistoric monuments, seems to have fulfilled the expectation of protection for this category of assets, with less rigor than the preservation listing. The first legal provision and its subsequent regulation protect archaeological sites and monuments from destruction by economic exploitation. They regulate archaeological research and excavation at these sites and may admit, to those threatened by potentially destructive endeavors, the rescue of archaeological remains. The further release of the areas from these sites to the developments is also a possibility, which could lead to irreparable losses for the rupestrian records.

From the 1960s, there is also a growing concern with the landscape values of urban and rural areas<sup>1</sup>. The inscription of Serra do Curral, in Belo Horizonte, made in 1962 and justified by the natural landscape values, amid the controversy related to the exploitation of iron ore, inaugurated the attention focused on the natural heritage. However, it was in the 1970s that it added new assets to the **Archaeological, Ethnographic and Landscape Registry Book**, with the inscription of the celebrated rocky outcrops and hills of Rio de Janeiro and more.

<sup>1</sup> The historical and artistic values were preponderant in the arguments for the preservation listing of these assets characterized by sets of buildings or human interventions on the environment, with their inscription in the respective **Historical Registry Book and Artistic Registry Book**.

The growing worldwide ecological concern, manifested during the twentieth century, results in Brazil, with the constitution of 1988, in the adoption of instruments of nature and culture protection in the area of environmental policy. This policy also elects the landscape and the archaeological asset as objects of patrimonialization. The archaeological remains or assets taken *in situ* are approached within the integrating notion of the landscape, which broadens and approximates its domain with the notion of the environment, according to the theoretical contributions of various disciplines, such as geography, history and archeology itself.

In this text, we analyze the process of patrimonialization of both culture and nature, posed as the challenge of the 21st century and permeated by ambiguities and conflicts. The process involves two fields regulated by specific laws, procedures and rituals conducted by scientists, intellectuals and agents committed to building references to the memory of the groups that constitute Brazilian society and to conserving nature. The analysis is made from the perspective of man integrated with nature, in continuous interaction of the organism and the environment as opposed to man separated from nature, in an anthropocentric and utilitarian posture (MEYER, 2008).

According to Meyer (2008), the conceptions that separate man from nature always present it as an object that includes the scenery and the landscape. In most of the meanings used, the enjoyment, extraction, domain, control and use of natural resources are not part of “living together”, reveals the rupture of interaction with the natural world, in an attempt to distinguish man from other beings. The author observes that nature is treated in the dialogues with the cowboys in Guimarães Rosa’s work as a subject and not as an object of exchange and commodity. Meyer emphasizes the intertwining of culture and nature and the important role of literature and creative imagination in the ecological debate.

We seek to highlight the thesis that distinct notions of landscape anchor the heritage narratives used in the practices

and theoretical foundations that guided the conduct of federal policies of cultural heritage and the environment: integrated, in a mediation between culture and nature; antagonistic and conflicting, sometimes grounded in culture and sometimes in nature. To achieve this goal, we analyze the ambitious theme of interdisciplinary research developed in the Serra da Capivara: "Man in southeast Piauí, from prehistory to the present day. The interaction between man and the middle"<sup>2</sup> (BAIÃO FILHO, 2013, p. 3). Forty years ago, its creators carried out research, featured the role of protection and continued to participate in the management of a large territory in southeastern Piauí. Researchers' performance has impacted and has been changing life in this region, often replacing the state as agents of cultural heritage and environmental agencies.

## 2. THE LANDSCAPE IN ARCHEOLOGY

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The theme of archaeological research developed in southeastern Piauí suggests an interaction of man in the middle, which points to an approximation with the landscape, mentioned explicitly in titles of works developed and disseminated in the scientific environment (PESSIS; MARTIN; GUIDON, 2014). The inferences in this sense demand to explore the archaeological thinking about the landscape in a historical perspective that emphasizes the temporal cut of the researches carried out in the region. Thus, we have more properly raised the hypothesis of an integrated approach to landscape in the Serra da Capivara research. We can also extend this hypothesis to the patrimonialization and management of the preservation of the Serra itself, given the great participation of research archaeologists in the protection and management of the existing heritage.

The understanding of the relationship between landscape and archeology undergoes changes with the advent of the procedural and post-procedural schools. From the second school, Leroi-Gourhan has great influence on the Serra da Capivara research,

<sup>2</sup> Theme of the archaeological research project presented to IPHAN for authorization under the coordination of Dr. Niède Guidon in the Serra da Capivara region, in compliance with Law No. 3924/1961 (BRASIL, 1961).

as we will see later. Among the changes brought by these schools are the broader approaches to the object of study of landscape archeology. Early studies are influenced by systems theory and focus on the relationship between the environment and society. These studies also seek to understand the implications of this theory on the economics and subsistence of human groups, such as those carried out in fundraising and forest management areas. The possibilities for landscape research in archeology grow with the changes in approach of the discipline (LINO, 2012).

Knapp and Ashmore (1999) note that archaeologists' preoccupation with the human past has long been in dialogue with their interest in space and thus landscapes. Archaeological thinking about the nature of the landscape has changed significantly. The landscape, in a minimalist view, is the backdrop where archaeological remains are traced. From the economic and political point of view, they are sources of resources, refuges and risks that influence the actions and living conditions of man. However, the most recent contributions to the notions of landscape consider their social and symbolic aspects: "[...] the landscape is an entity that exists by virtue of being perceived, experienced and contextualized by people" (KNAPP; ASHMORE, 1999, p.1).

The perceptions of the landscape of Parna SC by the people who work there, inhabit the place or just visit or know it point to a diversity of views and a changing landscape. Knowing these visions and confronting them with policies to protect cultural heritage and the environment aims to understand how we deal with landscape changes in Brazil. European practices, according to the European Landscape Convention (ELC), enable comparisons with Brazilian practices and meanings. The ELC, through its *management*, proposes "to guide and harmonize the changes resulting from social, economic and environmental processes" (CONVENÇÃO..., 2005, p. 3, emphasis added).

Knapp and Ashmore (1999) also point out, in the various existing archaeological approaches to landscape, two opposing perspectives. On the one hand, the landscape is theorized as a passive background; on the other, it is an active entity in

complex human relationships. According to these authors, archeology, notably that of settlements, focused on space and landscape, but it was seen as a passive or culturally determined background. Now the landscape is seen as an active and complex entity relative to human lives. The second perspective is a consequence of the expansion of interpretative analysis beyond isolated sites, involving human traits "in and between *loci*" in so-called "places of special interest". Thus, from 1992 onwards, different perspectives (without site, external, distributional archeology) and various approaches to landscape archeology result.

We agree with the reflection of the above-mentioned archaeologists on the polarization of perception and interpretation between nature and culture, which only makes the study of past landscapes difficult. In addition, we would add this difficulty to the study of landscape from any other disciplines, which we use in this work. It is evident then that regardless of traditional views, the landscape is a mediation between nature and culture, which rejects any interpretation as exclusively natural or cultural. For Knapp and Ashmore (1999, p. 21), landscapes "are integral part of Bourdieu's *habitus*, the routine social practices within which people experience the world around them". However, in addition to *habitus*, in inhabiting the landscape people perform activities that order, transform, identify and memorize the landscape, which only manifests itself as such from the creation and experience of space by people, that is, its perception as a place. This sense of place, as well as the involvement of people with the world around them, has a relationship of dependence on their historical conditions (KNAPP; ASHMORE, 1999).

The varied landscape references sometimes emphasize the natural dimension of the landscape through the geomorphological, ecological, hydrological aspects, among others; sometimes emphasize the cultural dimension through the technological, organizational and cosmological aspects. Is the overcoming of the duality of the two approaches, which affects both archeology and other sciences, that is, the landscape as a mediation between

culture and nature, manifest in the research, patrimonialization and management of Serra da Capivara?

## 2.1. THEORETICAL AND METHODOLOGICAL ASPECTS IN THE SERRA DA CAPIVARA RESEARCH

In the 1970s, two archaeological research philosophies prevailed in Brazil, implemented by foreign scientists invited by local institutions to collaborate in specialized training: one of American influence with the National Archaeological Research Program (Portuguese acronym: Pronapa) and the other of France through the Franco-Brazilian Mission. The latter was present in the state of Minas Gerais and in the northeast region.

The lack of professionals to deal with the destruction of the archaeological collection had originated a movement led by intellectuals<sup>3</sup>, which had already succeeded in enacting specific legislation in 1961, but still lacked the human resources to implement it. Then courses and internships were created, highlighting the PRONAPA project, carried out by the collaboration between IPHAN and the Smithsonian Institution, between 1965 and 1971, which aimed to conduct quick prospection and testing to draw a picture of Brazilian cultures. The museum Emilio Goeldi of the state of Pará and isolated researchers from the South and Northeast participated in the project. Other Brazilian institutions, such as the National Museum, Paulista Museum, UFSC Museum of Anthropology and USP Prehistory Institute, continued their research based on systematic site excavations, which generated a division in Brazil and Latin America between the school propagated by the American couple Clifford Evans and Betty Jane Meggers and the other schools. In 1970, the complementarity of the two research approaches led some teams to try to keep prospects parallel to systematic excavations, such as the Brazilian Archaeological Institute (Portuguese acronym: IAB) and the federal universities

<sup>3</sup> Noteworthy in the movement are Paulo Duarte, politician from Sao Paulo and creator of the USP Prehistory Commission, later Institute of Prehistory, the anthropologist L. de Castro Faria, from the National Museum and José Loureiro Fernandes, from the University of Paraná.

of Minas Gerais and Piauí, the latter under the coordination of the archaeologist Niède Guidon (PROUS, 1992).

In addition to the Evans, the couple formed by geographer Joseph Emperaire and archaeologist Annette Laming played an important role in the formation of Brazilian archaeologists in the 1960s. The first inspiring works on ceramics and the second on lithic material. Moreover, in the 1970s, the interest in rock art through systematic surveys with structuralist interpretation converged with the theories of Annette Laming-Emperaire and Leroi-Gourhan, being those of the Franco-Brazilian Mission, carried out from 1973 onwards, the more complex. The mission, formed by a group from the *Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique*, carried out research in Minas Gerais, in partnership with the National Museum and the Federal University of Minas Gerais (Portuguese acronym: UFMG) and, in Piauí, with the Paulista Museum and Federal University of Piauí (Portuguese acronym: UFPI), both oriented by Annette Laming-Emperaire (PROUS, 1992).

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Leroi-Gourhan's idea of comparative ethnography arises in a context nurtured by anthropology and orientalism, triggering an ethnological approach applied to prehistory. His school emphasizes the record, the technique of pickling in large surface excavations, the research of relationships more relevant than the object; works with ethnological and anthropological contributions; identifies the synchronic time, the sociological space of a given moment. Postulates that the maintenance and reproduction of conservative aspects of social groups allow their identification by the types of artifacts, in their functionality and duration, imprinted by the "operative chain" in their technical gestures, without neglecting the role of the environment in this production (MOHEM et al., 1990 *apud* REIS, 2004).

Interdisciplinary research carried out in Serra da Capivara, which studies the paleoenvironment and landscape changes through the stratigraphy of different types of archaeological and paleontological sites, is essential to understand the interaction of man and landscape over time, consolidating the interdependence

of archaeological and paleoenvironmental research (PESSIS; MARTIN; GUIDON, 2014).

As for this influence of the environment on man, it is inevitable to associate it with the premise of the French geographer Paul Vidal de La Blache, for whom "the history of a people is inseparable from the area in which it inhabits" (Ribeiro, 2010, p. 40). Ribeiro notes the non-explicit and relevant role of Paul Vidal's tradition, which merges with ecology in the construction of the UNESCO cultural landscape idea, established in 1992. Perceived influence even in the justification of some inclusions in the World Heritage List within this category. Vidal de La Blache founds a geographical knowledge distanced from cause and effect relationships and his work is considered the founder of the "Possibilism" current of thought, as opposed to the "Geographical Determinism" of the German geographer Friedrich Ratzel.

The greatest influence of Leroi-Gourhan in Brazil, however, deriving from structuralism, is in rock art, which is also present in the works of Annette Laming-Emperaire, with the contrast of hypotheses from structural analysis of rock art with ethnographic information (REIS, 2004). Guidon, in preface to Anne-Marie Pessis's book **Images from Prehistory**, de Anne-Marie Pessis, highlights: "Following the line of thought initiated by Leroi-Gourhan, Anne Marie Pessis goes further, reflecting on the etiological dimensions of communication and the ability of apes to apprehend images" (PESSIS, 2013, p. 12).

### 3. MATERIAL CULTURE AND LANDSCAPE IN SPEECHES OF PATRIMONIALIZATION

In the middle of the twentieth century, nature is perceived as fragile and its resources, necessary for human life, are perceived as finite. Both nature and human artifacts must henceforth be protected in accordance with the values assigned by each society. UNESCO in the 1972 World Heritage Convention contemplates the patrimonialization of nature and cultural property. In Brazil,

the 1988 Constitution, in its Article 225, prescribes that man should have the right to an “ecologically balanced environment”. By Article 215, the “State shall guarantee to all the full exercise of cultural rights and access to sources of culture” and Article 216 defines a comprehensive concept of cultural heritage. The narratives to justify the patrimonialization of an extensive area in southeastern Piauí, rich in prehistoric cultural attributes and natural resources, find favorable context and legal backing.

The integration between the three fields – cultural heritage, environmental protection and archeology – in the treatment of the Serra da Capivara landscape is the common thread for understanding their conceptions and practices. We raise the first noticeable aspects in each of these fields in the patrimonialization of this landscape, which reiterate or rule out this integration. We start by identifying the resources and how they are mobilized in Parna SC’s specific protection process.

The archaeologist Niède Guidon having started her raids on the Serra da Capivara in the early 1970s and noting the extraordinary concentration of testimonies of the ancient presence of man in the region, especially cave paintings, obtained funding and cooperation from other scientists with the French Government to form a team within the Franco-Brazilian Mission, responsible for the first research work. According to Borges and Santana (2015), in these field incursions, inhospitable conditions for the preservation of the regional ecosystems were verified, mainly due to the agricultural activities and the hunting. The growing threat of destruction of rock records led Niède to make the request to the then governor of Piauí, Dirceu Arcoverde, for the creation of the national park in the region.

The Serra da Capivara is perhaps the most emblematic example of the articulation of these two categories of heritage inscribed in the **Archaeological, Ethnographic and Landscape Registry Book**, in 1993, despite the particularities of its registration in this book. A late inscription and imposed externally and, later, since its international recognition as a cultural heritage of humanity – for its rich collection of rock inscriptions – is earlier.

The international title was won in 1991 because, in addition to meeting the criteria<sup>4</sup> established by the 1972 World Heritage Convention of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), the Brazilian Government had already ensured its protection by creation of PARNA SC, an integral conservation unit under the responsibility of the former Brazilian Institute of Forest Development (Portuguese acronym: IBDF), later the Brazilian Institute of Environment (Portuguese acronym: IBAMA) and, later, the Chico Mendes Institute for Biodiversity Preservation (Portuguese acronym: ICMBIO). It is a list of national heritages of international interest, organized and structured around the National States, which indicate the candidacy and are later responsible for their management through a patrimonialization based on a nation-building discourse (RIBEIRO, 2010).

The preservation listing is devalued by the world title and protection as a national park; it is little mentioned in scientific documents and tourist advertisements. This devaluation generates confusing interpretations, as occurred within IPHAN itself, which even published on its website that PARNA SC is a natural rather than cultural world heritage, as actually recognized by UNESCO.

The form of protection chosen *a priori* by interdisciplinary scientists, protagonists in their postulation to the Brazilian Government, effected in 1979 with the creation of a conservation unit in the form of a national park, rather than the preservation listing, suggests conclusions and points out developments. Could this choice explain or, at the very least, reinforce the context so unrepresentative of the records of archaeological assets and landscape in the book created for this purpose? Little use has been made of this book until the 1970s. To what extent the interaction or relationship of dependence between the archaeological asset and the landscape, ultimately

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4 The UNESCO Advisory Committee defines the criteria for the inscription of goods on the World Heritage List. These are regularly reviewed by the World Heritage Committee to reflect the evolution of the World Heritage concept.

culture and nature, are crucial in the establishment of certain forms of protection inserted in Brazilian heritage and / or environmental policy in recent decades and turn from the twentieth to the twenty-first, when the country lived a process of redemocratization? What is the perspective of this relationship between nature and culture in these two policies and how do they articulate? Overlap, complementarity or interaction?

The speech below may initiate the answers sought and suggest other questions. It is part of a documentary produced by the Unesco Representation in Brazil and was made by the archaeologist Niède Guidon, coordinator responsible for Parna SC's archaeological research and co-management at the head of the Fumdham (Museum of American Man Foundation), which has been conducting interdisciplinary research in the southeastern region of Piauí for 40 years.

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This is what we are trying to develop here since the Inter-American Bank has done a study on the economic issue of the region, how to achieve economic and social development. So they drew attention to the fact that farming here would never be a definitive solution, because the soil is very shallow, salty, full of stones and we have very large droughts. I have been here five years without rain, haven't I? So, they recommended investing in tourism, because we have a fantastic *archaeological heritage* and we have a *landscape* that is beautiful (SERRA..., 2013, 31: 08 min.- 31: 40 min., emphasis added).

In the above statement, the landscape associated with tourism is firstly highlighted as a reality perceived empirically by the sense of sight, in a way external to the observer. Segundo Corbin (2001), According to Corbin (2001), in a detached way and in an expectable attitude, once subjected to the primacy of vision, which had already interrupted its polysensory reading since the Renaissance. From the perception of the landscape, which translates it into space perceived by a "coup of sight" (CORRÊA, 2013, p. 58), derive its most common synonyms, based on common

sense: scene, panorama and image. This form of perception only suggests the complexity of its varied approaches, which can be extracted in the institution of Serra da Capivara as heritage.

In 1986, researchers from the former Franco-Brazilian Mission created the non-governmental organization Fumdham, which has since been active in the research, protection and management of Parna SC's heritage. In 1990, the Fumdham drafted a management plan proposal. Although this plan was used as an information base for dossiers that postulate both the world and national cultural heritage title, it has never been officially accepted and assumed by the environmental agency. Parna SC only had this management instrument recently approved, in July 2019, which concludes by consulting the ICMBio website.

According to the 1990 Management Plan (INSTITUTO ..., 1992a), the attributes of the area that led to the creation of Parna SC are sorted according to three categories: environmental, cultural and tourist. In the first figure, the preservation of the varied landscapes – mountains, valleys and plain – of the two border geological formations and the Caatinga biome. The following category highlights the concentration of archaeological sites, with the predominance of cave paintings and engravings and traces of human presence with very old dating, in a wealth and variety of manifestations: hunter-gatherer outdoor sites (camps and villages), villages of ceramist farmers, occupations in caves or shelters, burial sites etc. In the third category there are "[...] landscapes of surprising beauty, with privileged observation points [...]" (INSTITUTO ..., 1992a, p. 24), considered as resources for ecological and cultural tourism, with emphasis on contemplation, proposed since the conception of the park (Figure 2).

In the dossier submitted to the UNESCO World Heritage Committee, prepared by IBAMA and Fumdham, the landscape also appears as justification for the title of World Heritage in two of the criteria postulated as natural values:

iii- represent remarkable natural phenomena or areas

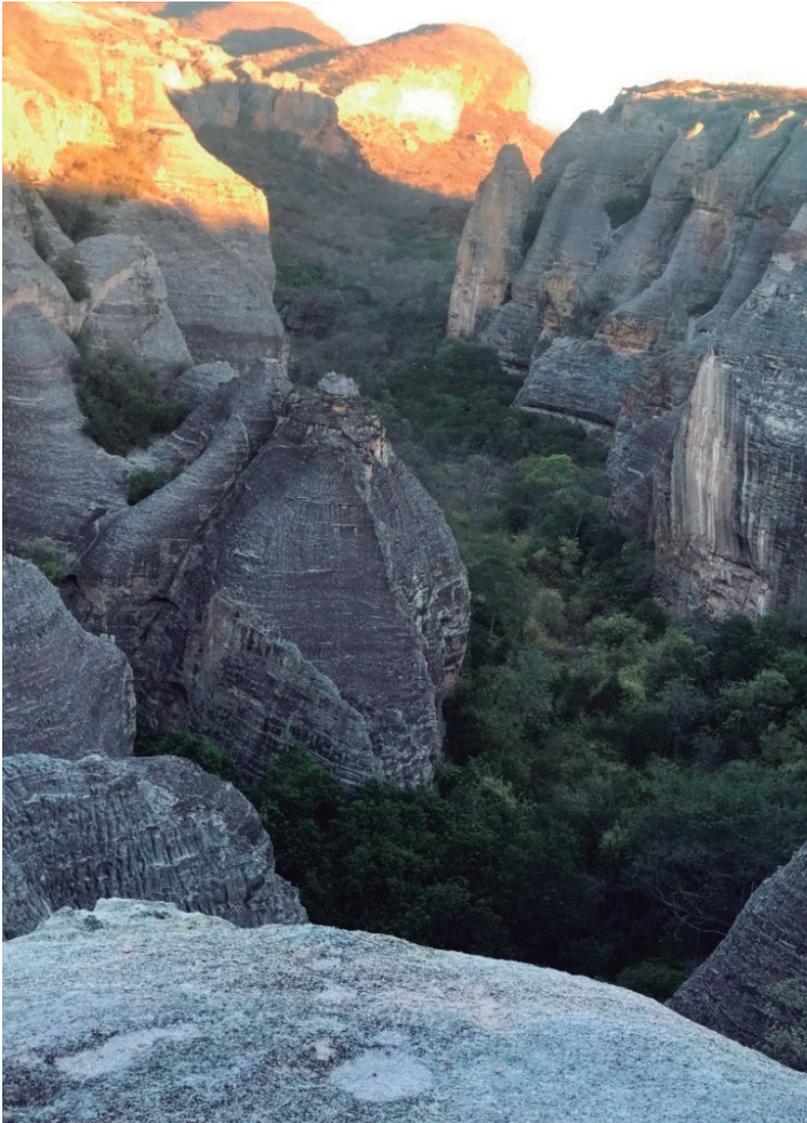


Figure 2 – View of the Baixão das Andorinhas in Parna SC, São Raimundo Nonato, late afternoon, from an observation point for landscape contemplation.

of outstanding natural beauty and aesthetic importance. It contains beautiful landscapes displaying unique rock formations sculpted by the erosion of rain to form cauldrons, slopes opening and cliffs of *cuestras*.

iv- contain the most representative and important natural habitats for the *in situ* conservation of biological diversity, including those in which endangered species that have an Outstanding Universal Value from the point of view of science or conservation survive. Serra da Capivara is recognized as one of the few protected areas within the caatinga biogeographic province, which includes an endemic vegetation type in northeastern Brazil. There are unique species of animals unknown elsewhere (INSTITUTO..., 1992c, p. 95).

However, the technical assessment of the International Union for Conservation of Nature (IUCN)<sup>5</sup> does not accept the justification based on natural values presented by the Brazilian Government for the designation of PARNA SC as a world heritage site. Notes that there is little information on these values and their management and considers them secondary to cultural values, pointing to the analysis of the latter by the most decisive International Council on Monuments and Sites (INSTITUTO... c, 1992, p. 98). Therefore, the final recommendation of ICOMOS indicates the inscription based on the criterion “iii- constitute a unique or at least exceptional testimony of a cultural tradition or a living or missing civilization” (UNITED..., 2008):

The shelters in the Serra da Capivara National Park are exceptional testimonies of the oldest human communities that populated South America and preserve the oldest examples of rock art on the continent. In addition, the deciphering of the iconography of these rock paintings, which is being performed gradually, reveals important aspects of the religious beliefs and practices of these peoples (INSTITUTO..., 1992c, p. 90).

<sup>5</sup> The IUCN and the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) are World Heritage Committee advisory organizations that establish criteria for the inclusion of assets on the World Heritage List.

Figures 3 and 4 show some of the exceptional testimonies covered by criterion iii. Until the 1980s, this criterion referred to properties that were considered “a unique or at least exceptional testimony of a disappearing civilization” (UNITED..., 1980). It was restricted to rare and ancient archaeological sites. In the 1990s, it has the definition that contemplates living civilizations and traditions, as well as the disappeared ones, with emphasis on immaterial assets and the incorporation of continuing cultural landscapes. The framing in this criterion demands the exceptionality of antiquity and the rarity of a vanished tradition, as in Serra da Capivara. Or living tradition, such as the Sukur cultural landscape in Nigeria, which was later inscribed in 1999, which has maintained the tradition of land use in particular for centuries.

The legal opinion of the IPHAN Federal Prosecutor’s Office concerning the application of the preservation to Parna SC (INSTITUTO ..., 1992b), homologated in 1993, holds a dual position. In the opinion prepared before the application is submitted to the decision of the Advisory Council of Cultural Heritage<sup>6</sup>, it is recommended that it should preferentially rely on the public areas of Parna SC, but for their landscape values and not for their archaeological values. This position is justified by the fact that Law No. 3924/1961 is more appropriate for the protection of archaeological sites, which require deeper interventions resulting from the research method, changing the features of the sites. Therefore, they do not comply with the preservation rules provided by Decree-Law No. 25/1937. Thus, it considers the preservation listing for the landscape surrounding the archaeological sites and the protection of Law No. 3924/1961 for them, unaware of the richness of the region’s cave inscriptions, the main cultural attribute that motivated its worldwide recognition..

From the context of the protection of Parna SC, it is understood the importance of visual perception in the enjoyment of the landscape, also used as a form of convincing / seduction for the protection of the area (Figure 5). The objects selected to

<sup>6</sup> Council consisting of nine representatives of public and private institutions and thirteen representatives of civil society, appointed by the IPHAN presidency.

constitute the heritage, according to Gonçalves (1996), are submitted to preservation actions for the purpose of exhibition and contemplation, in a way of conceiving the knowledge authenticated by the exhibition as a visual representation.

#### 4. FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

When we examine the circumstances of Serra da Capivara’s patrimonialization in the context of environmental policy, at a time when Brazil still lived under the regime of military dictatorship, there is an imposition of models. The creation of Parna SC, in 1979, as an integral nature protection unit, is understood as “the maintenance of ecosystems *free of alterations caused by human interference*, admitting only the indirect use of their natural attributes” (BRASIL, 2011, p. 5, emphasis added). Law No. 9,985, of July 18, 2000, regulating Article 225 of the Federal Constitution and establishing the National System of Nature Conservation Units (Portuguese acronym: Snuc), provides in its article 11:

The National Park has as its basic objective the preservation of natural ecosystems of great ecological relevance and scenic beauty, enabling the accomplishment of scientific research and the development of activities of environmental education and interpretation, recreation in contact with nature and ecological tourism (BRASIL, 2011, p. 10).

It has the “basic objective of preserving nature, being only allowed the *indirect use of its natural resources* [...]” (BRASIL, 2011, p. 9, emphasis added) and assuming the ownership of its territory by the Union<sup>7</sup>. It thus denotes a perspective of the separate nature of man that excludes man from the present and alienates traditional communities, as was the case with the Zabelê community<sup>8</sup>. Because of the concern with ecology and

<sup>7</sup> See paragraphs 1, 2 and 3 of article 11 of Law No. 9985/2000 (BRASIL, 2011, p.10).

<sup>8</sup> Community removed from Parna SC and subject to precarious compensation. Ownership of land by community members originates from occupation resulting from the demand for native maniçoba for rubber manufacturing between the late 19th and early 20th centuries.



Figure 3 – Panoramic view of the Boqueirão da Pedra Furada site, in Parna SC, showing the continuous wall with diversity of cave paintings and part of the archaeological excavation where records of human occupation from various periods were found and the oldest traces of human occupation on the American continent.



Figure 4 – Panoramic view of the panels with anthropomorphic and zoomorphic paintings of Boqueirão da Pedra Furada, depicting life scenes of missing civilizations..



Figure 5 – View of Pedra Furada, one of Parna SC's postcards, which becomes the backdrop of an outdoor stage for cultural events.

the protection of the environment, it does not allow human interference, but the insertion of the man from the past in the landscape, through the protection of the vestiges of his material culture.

In 1991, UNESCO's recognition of Parna SC further worked on the dichotomous approach between culture and nature, whose values are evaluated by different organisms, IUCN and ICOMOS. The notion of landscape integrated with cultural and natural assets and its use by various disciplines will result in the adoption, in 1992, of the category of cultural landscape protection in the World Heritage Convention (RIBEIRO, 2010). Its preservation listing also uses different legal grounds for the protection of the archaeological heritage under Law No. 3921 of 1962, and the surrounding natural landscape by Decree-Law No. 25 of 1937.

The preservation of Serra da Capivara was certainly one of many that challenged the ambivalent way in which Brazil and UNESCO themselves treated the relationship between culture and nature, despite the expansion and diffusion of the concept of heritage in the 1960s. The tight way of treating cultural and natural heritage by different organisms, demarcating their respective areas and with little effort in their connection, still persists in the Brazilian scenario. Some slight approximations between the two heritages were mainly caused by the archaeological and immaterial heritages in the context of environmental licensing. There was a greater effort by IPHAN in establishing the title of the cultural landscape in 2009, considered the perfect category for the integration between material and immaterial heritage, nature and culture. This new category of heritage is defined as "a peculiar portion of the national territory, representative of the process of interaction between man and the natural environment, to which life and human science imprinted marks or assigned values" (INSTITUTO..., 2009, p.35). However, the cultural landscape as a heritage category continues to pose major challenges, as it is dependent on the participation and conciliation of the interests of numerous actors.

For its part, the World Heritage Convention continued for a long time, classifying these two heritage sites separately. In the specific case of Parna SC, considering only cultural criteria for its inscription on the World Heritage List, despite the Brazilian indication as mixed heritage, diminished the importance of the strong imbrication of the material culture traces of past human communities with its surroundings, leaving it in the background. In 1992, the year following Parna SC's inscription on the World Heritage List, the cultural landscape is added as a category on the list, defining it as a representative of "the combined work of nature and man ... under the influence of physical determinants and / or opportunities presented by their natural environment and the successive social, economic and cultural forces, both internal and external" (UNITED..., 1992).

However, by 2005, the title candidate goods are still selected on the basis of six cultural and four natural criteria separately. From then on, they are met in ten indiscriminated criteria as a way of breaking their prolonged dichotomy, indicative of the difficulty of assimilating the changes made in 1992 by the World Heritage Committee itself, chaired by Eurocentrism.

Cauquelin (2007) observes the important performance of the landscape for the staging of the natural elements: water, earth, fire and air, which are separately invisible and are taken over and assumed as a whole by the art of framing and composing. Its significance goes far beyond the aesthetic label by ensuring "the frameworks of a common perception" (CAUQUELIN, 2007, p. 10) and uniting in one vision the various sectors of environmental policy.

Corbin (2001) notes that geographers evoked the landscape to describe it by the most obvious, which imposed itself with morphology and ecology. Thus, an objective science and the notion of landscape defined by its materiality long dominated until the complex intervention of philosophers, sociologists and anthropologists. In short, it can be concluded as one of the results of this intervention that "landscape is a way of

experimenting and appreciating space” (CORBIN, 2001, p. 9, emphasis added). However, the author notes that its reading varies according to individuals and groups. The way of looking has been continuously changing since the Renaissance and its historicity must be highlighted:

The notion of panorama, like the mechanics of the gaze that determines the admiration aroused by the English garden, belongs to history. But the landscape is not reduced to a spectacle. Touch, odor, especially hearing, are also important for the apprehension of space. All the senses contribute to construct the emotions it provides (CORBIN, 2001, p. 9, emphasis added).

The term landscape is extremely polysemic; it is appropriated in different ways by art and various fields of knowledge. Landscape was a category used as a decisive argument in the discourse of Serra’s patrimonialization by scientists and technical agents of environmental preservation and cultural heritage. Knowing the meanings attributed to it in the Brazilian heritage narratives since the institution of heritage preservation and, in particular, the narratives that were selected to legitimize the protection institution and the management practices of Serra da Capivara, is still one of the objectives of this research. No less important is to highlight what changes with patrimonialization: to know the varied local and national perceptions of the region’s image arising from its institution as heritage.

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