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PRESERVAÇÃO EM SISTEMA:
Patrimônio mundial entre as Américas e a Europa

PROTECTION IN SYSTEM:
World Heritage between the Americas and Europe

Tese de Doutorado apresentada à

Universidade Presbiteriana Mackenzie [PPGAU (Programa de Pós-Graduação em Arquitetura e Urbanismo)]

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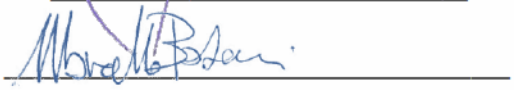
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Mariana de Souza Rolim

PROTECTION IN SYSTEM:
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Ph.D. Thesis

Sao Paulo; Ferrara | 2017

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ABSTRACT

Protection in system: World Heritage between the Americas and Europe

In 1972, the World Heritage Convention was signed. The act institutionalized the idea of a heritage that belonged to the mankind, which was visualized years before, after World War I. Even before that, architects, historians, archaeologists, antiquaries were inserted in a network for the heritage protection. With the Convention, such network has reached new momentum. However, the idea of a universal heritage has intrinsic contradictions, as well as the actions for its protection. Along with the impasses caused by globalization, a cultural tourism that sometimes presents itself in a predatory way, and innumerable cultural differences, how can we establish efficient and effective cooperation? From sites on the World Heritage List, located in the Americas and Western Europe, we sought evidence of this cooperation throughout history, followed by actions taken in different scenarios and times, seeking to establish a preservation network. With a horizontal overview, such facts and actions shows us a possible path: to understand protection in a system, and in an integrated way.

KEY-WORDS:
Protection. World Heritage. International cooperation. Unesco.

RESUMO

Preservação em sistema: patrimônio mundial entre as Américas e a Europa

Em 1972 era assinada a Convenção de Proteção do Patrimônio Mundial. O ato institucionalizou a ideia de um patrimônio para a humanidade, que começou a ser visualizada anos antes, após a I Guerra Mundial. Ainda antes disso, arquitetos, historiadores, arqueólogos, antiquários atuavam em uma rede em prol da preservação do patrimônio. Com a Convenção, tal rede ganhou nova projeção. No entanto, a ideia de um patrimônio universal tem contradições intrínsecas, bem como as ações para sua preservação. Em meio aos impasses causados pela globalização, a um turismo cultural por vezes predatório e a inúmeras diferenças culturais, como estabelecer uma cooperação eficiente e efetiva? A partir de sítios presentes na Lista do Patrimônio Mundial, localizados nas Américas e na Europa ocidental, buscamos indícios dessa cooperação ao longo da história, seguida de ações realizadas em diferentes cenários e épocas procurando estabelecer uma rede de proteção. Com um olhar horizontal, tais fatos e ações nos mostram um caminho possível: entender a preservação em sistema, e de forma integrada.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE:
Preservação. Patrimônio mundial. Cooperação internacional. Unesco.

RIASSUNTO

Tutela in sistema: Patrimonio mondiale fra le Americhe e l'Europa

Nel 1972 è stata firmata la Convenzione per la tutela del patrimonio mondiale. L'atto ha istituzionalizzato l'idea di un patrimonio per l'umanità, un processo che era già stato avviato anni prima, dopo la prima Guerra Mondiale. Ancor prima di questo riconoscimento ufficiale, architetti, storici, archeologi e antiquari si erano riuniti in una rete per la tutela dei beni culturali. Con la Convenzione, tale network ha guadagnato nuova visibilità. Tuttavia, l'idea di un patrimonio universale ha contraddizioni intrinseche così come le azioni per la sua tutela. Tra l'impasse causata dalla globalizzazione, da un modello di turismo culturale a volte predatorio, oltre che dalle innumerevoli differenze culturali, come stabilire un programma di collaborazione efficiente ed efficace? A partire dall'analisi di quei siti inclusi nella lista del patrimonio mondiale, presenti nelle Americhe e in Europa occidentale, si cerca la prova della esistenza e della riuscita di questa cooperazione lungo il corso della storia. Si seguiranno le azioni che son state condotte in virtù di questi accordi all'interno di diversi contesti e tempi e che hanno cercato di stabilire una rete di protezione per i beni culturali. Attraverso uno sguardo orizzontale, questi fatti e azioni ci mostrano oggi un possibile percorso: capire la tutela del patrimonio culturale attraverso una logica di sistema e una modalità integrata.

PAROLE-CHIAVI:
Tutela. Patrimonio mondiale. Collaborazione internazionale. Unesco.

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Portuguese version

Beauty will save nothing and no one, if we cannot save the beauty. And with beauty culture, history, memory, economics. In short, life.

Salvatore Settis

But I know one thing: my path is not me, it is another, it is the others. When I can fully feel the other I will be saved and I will think: here is my port of arrival.

Clarice Lispector

INTRODUCTION. About heritage, protection and something more

We are on the eve of the 180th anniversary of the French Historical Monuments Commission, the 80 years of the Brazilian Institute of National Historic and Artistic Heritage (Iphan) and the 45 years of the creation of the World Heritage List. That is, heritage protection is a relatively new field and, as such, still faces numerous challenges. From the recent destruction of cultural property by terrorist groups, earthquakes and the illegal sale of archaeological objects to the debate on the impact of tourism in historic centres, there is a melancholy feeling in 2017 that we are always late, rushing to save something.

It is true that the concern for the protection of some kind of heritage has always existed. As we know it today, protection actions - and their mechanisms of action - have become institutionalized in Europe, in small actions from ancient times, passing through the Renaissance until the French Revolution, when - with force and definitively - several actions culminated in the creation of the Historical Monuments Commission, in 1837. Other events also contributed to the process, notably the Industrial Revolution in England. In those moments, common elements were sought not only from the history of a people, but from the Nation, a concept that consolidated itself throughout the process.

While the first protection actions considered isolated historical monuments - which would be the milestones of this or that particular group -, in the course of the twentieth century the idea of heritage has expanded considerably. Today the object of safeguarding can be the same monument, entire cities, great extensions of natural areas up to intangible, immaterial forms of expression of a community.

This process took place during an intense debate, most of which was driven by events that threatened – or even destroyed – a particular cultural property (as was the case with the two World Wars). As a result of this debate, official structures for the

protection of heritage were created. In addition, the historical monument that once told the history of a people, took on new dimensions: that of being world heritage. In this way, an informal network of cooperation that already existed was formalized, motivating the creation of international institutions and mechanisms of protection.

It was the existence of this network - inserted in a scenario where there is still so much to do to guarantee a full protection - the motivator of the present research. How to work together for the protection? How to deal with different realities and different technical formations, seeking a balance in these actions of protection?

Heritage and protection.

These two words are now used in contexts so distinct that they seem to be concepts very consolidated, of general knowledge. However, they may acquire different meanings depending on the sociocultural environment in which they are transmitted, especially when one considers how these words appear in other languages. From this perspective, the first point to clarify is what are the concepts that are considered in this research.

Culture, cultures... It is not possible to hear the word 'heritage' and not think about culture. In his *Palavras-chave* (*Keywords: a vocabulary of culture and society),* Raymond Williams identifies the word 'culture' as one of the most difficult word to define[1]. From its origin - connected to the act of cultivating or worshiping - up to present understandings, when the word was linked to a historical development and reached meanings directly associated with different intellectual thoughts. From his research, the term culture will be considered in three categories:

> (i) The independent and abstract noun that describes a process of intellectual, spiritual and aesthetic development, beginning with 18th C; (ii) the independent noun, whether used in a general or specific way, indicating a particular way of life, whether of a people, a period, a group or humanity in general [...] (iii) the independent and abstract noun which describes the works and practices of intellectual activity and, particularly, artistic activity. Often this seems to be the

[1] The American Melville Jean Herskovits (1895-1963) presented more than 200 possible concepts for culture, within a movement that thought the concept of acculturation (see in particular, *Man and his Works - Cultural Anthropology*, of 1948).

> most widespread sense today: culture is music, literature, painting, sculpture, theatre and cinema. (Williams, 2007, p. 121)

It will also be considered culture as a way of reading history, as Roger Chartier defined it: "Cultural history, as we understand it, has as its main objective to identify how, in different places and at different moments, a given social reality is constructed, thought, given to read"[2]. We live within cultural systems, and being aware of these differences is the first step to take when considering actions to be developed in cooperation, together.

Along with culture - as the lifestyle of a people or period - arises the question of heritage. The origin of the word is associated with family properties, and is still used today in the same way in relation to legal aspects. In the Age of Revolutions, from the perspective of the English historian Eric J. Hobsbawm[3], but especially with the French Revolution, we seek the heritage of a nation, often in conjunction with the creation of that nation's identity itself. Françoise Choay defined heritage as follows:

> The expression designates a property destined to the usufruct of a community that has expanded to planetary dimensions, constituted by the continuous accumulation of a diversity of objects that congregate by their common past: works and masterpieces of the fine arts and applied arts, works and products of all the knowledges and *savoir-faire* of human beings. (2001, p. 11)

However, before arriving at the current idea of heritage, one spoke only in historical monuments. Choay distinguishes 'monument' from 'historical monument'. For her, a monument is "something that brings to mind something," that is, "anything that is built up by a community of individuals to recall or cause other generations of people to recall events, sacrifices, rites or beliefs"[4]. The historical monument, however, is not created as such, but is "constituted *a posteriori* by the converging looks of the historian and lover

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[2] In *A história cultural* (Rio de Janeiro: Difel, 1998, p. 17).

[3] Launched in 1962, *The Age of Revolutions: 1789-1848*, by the English historian Eric J. Hobsbawm began the trilogy that told the story of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. In this volume he presented how the world was transformed radically from the French and industrial Revolutions (here was consulted the publication São Paulo: Paz e Terra, 2010).

[4] Choay, 2001, p. 18.

of art, who select it in the mass of existing buildings, among which monuments represent only a small part"[5].

Throughout the 1960s, the word 'heritage' replaced the 'historical monuments'[6]. This movement began in France and was consolidated in the Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (Unesco), held in November 1972. At that moment, the distinction between simply 'monument' and 'historical monument' ended. According to the Convention, cultural heritage can be monuments, collections or sites, and presents monuments such as "monumental architectural, sculpture or painting works, archaeological elements or structures, inscriptions, caves and groups of elements having a universal value from the point of view of history, art or science". It is this definition of heritage that will be considered here.

Having taken this consideration, we go back to Choay, when referring to the management of historical monuments:

> The conservation project, from which the notion of historical monument cannot be dissociated, supposes by definition two specific instruments: on the one hand, a *jurisdiction* that gives the project its institutional status; on the other hand, a constructive, solidary and tributary discipline of the new historical knowledge, and since then called *restoration*. (2011, p. 22)

From this perspective, we come to the question of protection. Since heritage has importance to a particular culture, it must be preserved. Here, the concept of protection will be adopted as presented by Beatriz Kühl[7]:

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[5] Ibidem, p. 25.

[6] Idem, 2011, p. 27. The author, however, notes the exception that this condition did not apply to England: "Whereas, since the establishment of effective protection of 'antiquities', its new statute was marked by a lexical creation, 'historical monument' in France, *kunsthistorische Denkmal* in the German-speaking countries, in Great-Britain the same word, 'heritage', continued to encompass both the notions of 'monument' and 'historical monument' in a current and unambiguous way to designate what should be protected. Heritage may at first glance seem synonymous with '*patrimoine*': it will be noted, however, that in the respective contexts of England and France the two terms have connotations, the first of respect due to the past and of axiological value, the second of a dominant economic dimension, 'asset of inheritance'". (2011, pp. 26-27)

[7] In *Preservação do patrimônio arquitetônico da industrialização: problemas teóricos de restauro* (Cotia: Ateliê Editorial, 2008), Beatriz Mugayar Kühl goes beyond the inherent issues of industrial heritage, also presenting more general questions of protection, seeking to insert and relate the reality of São Paulo in the international debate.

> The word protection in Brazil has a broad meaning that encompasses several types of actions, such as inventories, records, legal provisions for tutelage, heritage education and public policies. It also covers interventions in properties, so that they can be transmitted in the best possible way to the future, which can take the form of maintenance, conservation, restoration [...], and restoration should be understood, first and foremost, as an act of culture [...]. (2008, p. 59)

The protection of heritage is thus linked not only to a technical issue - the transmission of knowledge - but also to ethical ones - the future generation cannot be deprived of such knowledge.

In order to answer the question on how to preserve this heritage, protection structures were created. These structures are bound not only to the form of political organization of each country, but also to its culture, to its worldview[8]. The protection structure is not only the current legislation, but the existing network that works in favour of this heritage. It can include agencies in different spheres of action, protection legislation, councils for cultural issues, justice and controls agencies, non-governmental organizations, among others.

Restoration and protection: references

It is now necessary to make a distinction between these two actions.

The first researches on the history of heritage protection began to be systematized in the 1970s, with Carlo Ceschi, Roberto Pane and Roberto Di Stefano, among others, with a work contemporary to the creation of Iccrom and Icomos[9]. In the last decades of the twentieth century were produced the studies that can be considered classics like those of the already mentioned Françoise Choay, of Giovanni Carbonara, James Marston Fitch or Jukka Jokilehto. More recently, the analyses continued, and we highlight Simone Verde, John H. Stubbs, Dominique Poulot, Maria Piera Sette, Beatriz Mugayar Kühl, Leonardo Barci Castriota. All these researches sought a broad perspective of the subject. In the case of the specific history of each country, there are other examples.

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[8] Cf. Zancheti e Lacerda, 2012.

[9] Iccrom - International Centre for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property, created in 1959. Icomos - International Council on Monuments and Sites, created in 1965.

However, the matter is still far from over. Mainly with regards to the existing relationships between different experiences in the field of protection.

When we talk about protection, we consider a series of actions, including restoration. In addition, almost all the researches mentioned above were based on the structure of the restoration itself, including the theoretical issues and the ethical and technological debate of the field, even though they also address the issue of protection on other fronts. Within these researches, we highlight four by an approach focused on the issue of protection beyond restoration: those led by Italians Di Stefano and Verde[10], the North American Stubbs and the Brazilian Castriota. These are the main references of the research developed here.

Returning to the differentiation between restoration and protection, the research of Icomos Italia, 1977, and Gabriella Contorni, 1993, will be considered. Contorni presents a terminology on interventions in architectural heritage, with its definitions. The definitions presented considered the etymology of terms, the definition found in dictionaries and cultural heritage charters[11] and a final comment, where the author also points out differences that exist in their application in different countries, where applicable.

On restoration, there is consensus that it is a set of technical-scientific interventions performed, according to a certain methodology – which has many aspects – in order to guarantee the temporal continuity of a building or a work of art. Within this group can be considered works of consolidation, reconstitution or even reconstructions, with the purpose of preserving the object according to a certain period. That is where questions of methodology and theory emerge, in the sense of defining which is this moment to be preserved. What is important here is that restoration is a physical action on the cultural property.

On the contrary, when we talk about protection and conservation, the field expands itself. And restoration becomes one of the possible actions to achieve that

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[10] Inserted in the current debate in Italy on the revision of its national heritage protection structure (theme to be discussed in Chapter 2), Simone Verde's research deals with heritage from the perspective of museums, while the others are focused on architecture.

[11] The cultural heritage charters are documents generated in meetings where technical questions on the protection of heritage are discussed. The charters do not have normative character, but prescriptive, and they helped to consolidate the whole field of action.

goal. Contorni presents the differentiation between protection and conservation, according to the terminology used in English. Protection would be an action with the goal of keeping the existing cultural property in its current state even if it is in a collapse condition, like a ruin. While conservation would be the set of actions that must be taken to prevent the advance of deterioration of that cultural property, including consolidation actions and also prevention, looking for an active procedure, before the problem happens. Contorni also indicates that in the Italian language, the word 'protection' is little used, being considered 'conservation' for both English meanings.

Previously, the concept of 'protection' according to Beatriz Kühl[12], which is the one used in Brazil, was presented here. This concept approaches the concept of '*tutela*' in the Italian language and 'protection' in the English language. This is the object of the present research: a set of actions aimed at the protection of the heritage, including conservation and restoration actions, among others. In addition to the conceptual question, and considering aspects of methodology, we also highlight the work of Massimo Montella[13]. With a look at management governance issues, he systematizes a series of actions for the protection of cultural properties, thinking about protection in a broad and integrated way, considering the diversity of actors involved in the process.

Although it may seem banal preciosity, the question of terminology is fundamental in a research that seeks to compare actions in several countries and, consequently, with documents written in different languages. As seen with the word 'protection', in every language, similar words can acquire diverse meanings. This issue was the target of a survey conducted by Icomos, precisely at its initial moments, and essential for an international performance.

In 1976, the Icomos Italian committee held a meeting of studies in the city of Ravello to define and unify, in seven languages[14], some words in the field of architectural integrated conservation and environmental heritage. The study group was led by Roberto Di Stefano (from the School of Improvement in Monuments Restoration, University of Naples) and Paul Philippot (from the International Centre for the

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[12] Cf. Kühl, 2008.

[13] In *Musei e beni culturali. Verso un modello di governance* (Milano: Mondadori Electa, 2005), Massimo Montella brings the approach of the area of economics and management for protection of cultural heritage, speaking from the museums point of view.

[14] Italian, French, English, German, Spanish, Finnish and Russian.

Conservation and Restoration of Cultural Heritage, Rome). The final document was published in 1977 and presents two large groups of terms: objects, with 32 items, and actions, with 21. All the definitions were presented in a table, in order to allow a direct comparison between the terms used and their meanings.

Here we will use the concept of 'protection' as presented previously[15] and that is closer to the Italian concept of *tutela*. And 'conservation' in the sense proposed in English, and that is actually one of the actions that can be carried out for the protection of the heritage.

Value or something more

However, as presented at the beginning, the idea of what is heritage expanded in recent years. Today it is very usual to see the word accompanied by an adjective. And here comes the question of the qualification of this heritage.

Norma Lacerda [16] presents the concept of cultural property and valuation of heritage. A 'property' is a valuable, important thing. A thing to be considered as property must be recognized as such, as a valuable thing to a person, a group or a society. When these assets are considered 'patrimonial', it means that they were inherited, and it is possible to return to Choay's idea of the evolution of the concept of historical monument to heritage. If a society, a nation, inherits something that is valuable to this group, such 'thing' is its heritage. This legacy can have several types of values: "historical, artistic, cultural, cognitive, economic, as well as others, such as of choice and existence. The big challenge when it comes to valuing these properties is how to reconcile all their types of values"[17].

The 1972 Unesco Convention mentions in its title World Cultural and Natural Heritage. Besides the classic artistic and historical heritage, today it is still considered environmental, material, immaterial heritage. And there are others such as

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[15] Cf. Kühl, 2008 and Montella, 2005.

[16] In Zancheti and Lacerda, 2012.

[17] Zancheti and Lacerda, 2012, p. 45.

industrial, scientific, archaeological, ecological, paleontological, mobile, immovable, built, intangible heritage.

The excess of differentiation in heritage valuation is often a question of semantics (natural and environmental are the same, immaterial / intangible and tangible / material / constructed have the same characteristics). Here we will consider the classification proposed by Unesco (1982), which, synthetically, considers three types of heritage: natural, mixed and cultural. Cultural heritage may be intangible or tangible (which is also divided into movable or immovable/constructed).

The adjectives for heritage result not only from the extension of the concept, but also in function of a social cause, as in the case of heritage linked to historically excluded or persecuted groups.

Argan[18] understands this recognition as a judgment of the object, which also qualifies the subject, that is, the one who has the knowledge - or the authority - to attribute this recognition.

> The greater the value recognized in the object, the greater the value of the individual who understands it, receives it, makes it its own. Value is, of course, *something more* than an experience of the reality or of life, by which the object transcends its own immediate instrumentality; and this *something more* does not pass from the object to the subject if consciousness, at the moment when it receives it, does not recognize that it lies beyond the sphere of contingency, in the sphere of the permanent values of civilization, of history. (Argan, 2005, p. 17)

Whatever the motivation, understanding the protection of heritage in isolation is no longer possible. For example, in order to preserve a constructed heritage, it is often considered enhancement actions carried out from the movable or intangible heritage linked to that constructed.

Returning to the idea of value, now not as a simple instrument of classification, but as a parameter for the evaluation of a property as one of a group or

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[18] In Argan, 2005.

nation. Zancheti and Lacerda present the following types of value: antiquity, artistic, historical, cultural, symbolic, cognitive, economic, use, choice, existence.

The first four values mentioned have been discussed since the first theories about restoration, with John Ruskin and also with the Austrian Aloïs Riegl, especially the latter, an important reference for the initial conceptualization of value, especially the antiquity and artistic ones. Other categories of values began to be considered as the concept of heritage expanded from the 1960s onwards and shows an attempt to find a way to measure the importance of heritage. Lacerda warns "the possibility of so many values associated with heritage has stimulated research to estimate whether the cost of valuing these cultural properties will outweigh the benefits it will bring"[19]. After all, several of these values are not amenable to economic 'valuation'. This point will be resumed later.

In addition to this economic conflict, another emerges, of a temporal nature.

> Si è detto che il rapporto fra l'opera storico-artistica e il tempo è caratterizzato dal fatto che questo, mentre dissolve, è anche capace di arricchire e migliorare l'oggetto. […] C'è poi il tempo presente, quello del riconoscimento e dell'intervento; un tempo che subito trapassa in storicità ma che pur sempre si rinnova ogniqualvolta l'opera susciti il nostro interesse. (Carbonara, 1997, p. 631)

Carbonara adds that it is in this dialectic between the present and the past that the restoration is placed. In the case of the protection of the heritage, the time of the fruition of the heritage also arises. This is because historical and artistic values (associated with the *past* and *present*) tend to be more stable than use value, for example, which can radically change over a period of five years (the time of *fruition*). In addition, different types of heritage require actions that can present results in the short or long term. How to balance these differences living in today's society, which seeks immediate results?

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[19] Zancheti and Lacerda, 2012, p. 53.

The controversial economic value

> Anche i più devoti difensori del patrimonio debbono tuttavia riconoscere che nell'ultimo mezzo secolo lo stesso concetto di patrimonio culturale è divenuto problematico, e ciò forse vale anche l'apparentemente chiaro concetto di patrimonio fisico o materiale. (Hobsbawm, 2014, p. 163)

In addition to the different understandings of words such as restoration, protection, conservation, tutelage, and the various 'types' of heritage and values, there is another question that arises, which base is not merely etymologically. Françoise Choay, Salvatore Settis, Eric Hobsbawm and Giovanni Carbonara[20] brought to debate the use of the word 'heritage' today, as a device for actions that often put at risk the very heritage they intend to protect and value.

In the last half of the twentieth century, heritage gained attention, be it in the technical level, or in the economic one. However, this does not mean an increase in quality. On the contrary, heritage often ends up understood from a technical and legal point of view only as an economic property, and not as a cultural one. On the other hand, the expansion of the concept has considerably increased the number of properties to be preserved. In this way, the 'minor' or serial architecture ends up in confrontation with that monumental one, under the risk of undergoing interventions without adequate criteria. Under the names of reuse, renewal, recuperation, the restoration is often forgotten, and heritage ends up suffering from poor quality interventions or, finally, in the midst of a political-ideological discussion that has nothing to do with protection itself.

This process is aggravated, according to Giulio Carlo Argan[21], by a matter of nomenclature. Now when we speak of 'property', 'inheritance', the idea of income is implicit, not the idea of *being* pure and simple. In this way, if the property does not give a return, it may well be extinct. Of course, the values of culture and civility overlap, however, one can not have the ingenuity to ignore the economic importance of the heritage.

> Dalle buone intenzioni, dunque, si va ad esiti potenzialmente rovinosi, per l'emergere di un atteggiamento favorevole all'intervento ed al finanziamento

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[20] The theme runs through the work of the four authors. Nevertheless, we highlight Choay (2011), Settis (2014), Hobsbawm (2014) and Carbonara (1997).

[21] Cf. Argan, 1976.

> 'forte' e straordinario, vincente, in termini economici e d'immagine, sulla serietà ed apparente modestia del quotidiano lavoro di conservazione. (Carbonara, 1997, p. 600)

This economic view towards heritage gained strength with the Unesco (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, created in 1945) and its World Heritage List. In the 1972 Convention Concerning the Protection of World Cultural and Natural Heritage, there was a new enlargement of the concept of heritage, with the union of concepts for the protection of natural and cultural heritage in the same document. The convention also created the mechanism for recognizing a heritage that would be global, through the inscription of sites in a public list that would value that site.

Today, the inscription of a site on the World Heritage List draws various sources of support, whether financial (including a Unesco own fund) or technical, thanks to the Organization's support bodies. Because of the prestige of the List - including the requirement to have a minimum protection structure in the country for the registration and all the technical and ethical implications that come from it - this research worked with registered sites. It should be emphasized that the purpose of this research is not to evaluate the criteria for inclusion in the List, but to verify how this international network of cooperation for the protection of heritage works.

Nevertheless, the point most enhanced with the inclusion in Unesco's list is that of tourism, inserting that site into a global network that gained strength in the last quarter of the twentieth century.

> Non basta più la concorrenza fra Paesi: è giunta l'ora della "competitività delle città" non per essere migliori e contribuire alla qualità della vita, bensì, fondamentalmente, per essere scelti dai "decisori di investimenti" esterni e assicurare loro l'elevata redditività che si aspettano dal nostro sforzo. (Gutiérrez, 2000, p. 18)

Returning to the matter of values, the economic value of heritage has been under debate since the 1970s. Expressions such as 'exploring the heritage', 'cultural packaging', 'museological product' have spread in the most diverse areas. Another expression, 'tourism industry', is directly related to Unesco's activities in the dissemination of the World Heritage List. A mechanism that should value the heritage has been shown as a motivator of a "pasteurisation" of the sites. With the current demands of hotel and

hospitality infrastructure, of museums and interactive routes, important sites have lost some of their local characteristics, including traditional activities.

Again, Salvatore Settis, Françoise Choay and Simone Verde[22] present a very critical and combative attitude regarding the theme of heritage's massive and violent tourism exploitation. The 'museification' or 'Disneyfication' often takes place encouraged by the demands of tourists themselves, who are looking for the classic tourist circuits, but prefer to find there some patterns that end up homogenizing these places. These standards facilitate the commercialization of the site, which may even be a replica - as there are today so many replicas of Venice, Paris or typical Swiss mountain towns. It is the idea of a theme park that is transmuted into an open-air museum.

On this homogenization, Salvatore Settis asks "perché una cultura di massa deve necessariamente puntare sulla ripetizione dell'identico e non sulla conoscenza del diverso?[23]" And asks how much Venice costs. What is its market price? How much is a labyrinthine urban fabric worth? Moreover, how much is the experience of wandering through these streets? In other words, how to value its symbolic capital?

Identity and identities

A question that emerges strong from the scenario presented is why preserve? Nowadays, there has been much discussion about how to preserve, but we must not lose sight of the reason why we understand that this is an action to be taken. At this point comes a final and fundamental question for our vision of the heritage problem: identity.

> In un'ottica di 'patrimonio', la 'cultura nazionale' ha pertanto un significato politico. Nella misura in cui la maggior parte delle entità politiche oggi nel mondo sono o aspirano a essere Stati-nazione, la 'cultura nazionale' ha quasi sempre lo Stato come propria cornice. Poiché la costruzione e la ricostruzione di un appropriato 'patrimonio' per la 'nazione' sono la funzione spirituale primaria di qualunque nuovo Stato-nazione, esse includono un incentivo alla

[22] With highlight to Settis (2014), Choay (2011) and Verde (2014).

[23] Settis, 2014, p. 80.

> conservazione, soprattutto considerato che sono prontamente combinate con la mitopoiesi. (Hobsbawm, 2014, p. 160)

Here there are two important differences regarding national identity between Europe and the Americas. While in Europe the nationalist questions were incited by the French and industrial revolutions and by processes of unification (like the cases of Italy and Germany), in the Americas the motivators were the independence movements.

The second difference concerns the idea of a stylistic unity. It is not possible to give equal weight to architectural style issues on both sides of the Atlantic. On the one hand, the monumental richness seen in Europe does not have the same breadth in the Americas. On the other hand, many of the styles seen on the continent were imported directly from Europe, so there is a strong need to "get an identification with their own history and their own landscape"[24], reinforcing some nationalistic theses.

In the nineteenth century, American cities were in a turbulent period, with the consolidation of processes of independence and abolition of the slave regime. In this scenario, eclecticism becomes a reference for the construction of buildings and cities, packed with the magic of the *Belle Époque* and with reference to European reconfiguration projects such as Barcelona, Paris and Vienna. As a response to this model, research on colonial architecture begins, seeking an earlier moment and, above all, a detachment from Europe. In this way, research institutions on colonial architecture were created and movements that brought back what would be a typical architecture of each country (like the Brazilian neocolonial movement) emerged.

Going back to the question of nationalism, this is an important point that goes through almost all actions to preserve heritage. Furthermore, if heritage represents what is significant for a Nation, the choice of sites or properties that are considered as heritage becomes strategic, and at various moments in history it is possible to see this movement. In this way, heritage can appear as a target for protection, but also as a target of destruction, as was the case of the French Revolution - with acts of destruction and vandalism aimed at palaces and works of art related to the Old Regime -

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[24] Waisman, 2013, p. 196.

or the dictatorial regime of Salazar, in Portugal - that destroyed important historical evidences in Lisbon.

World War II is also emblematic, and so has become one of the temporal indicators of the first part of this research. During the war, 1,270 buildings listed as French heritage were damaged (out of a total of 8,000 listed buildings). The city of Warsaw had 75% of its territory destroyed, with 95% of its historic buildings being lost[25]. With the end of the war, and the reestablishment of the condition of Warsaw as capital of Poland, a project of reconstruction of the city was realized, just as it was before the war. By some theories of restoration[26], this practice could be vetoed, considering that what was constructed would not correspond to the reality, in the sense of the materiality of the heritage (a building that seems to be of 18th century, but that was constructed in the decade of 1950). However, when considering heritage as a tool for a national identity, the project can be justified. Moreover, it was an important encouragement for an entire population recovering from the trauma of a rather violent war.

In the United States, the project for *Colonial Williamsburg* is a relevant one. Held in 1926, the project is considered one of the initial milestones of heritage protection actions in the country. The project was carried out under the patronage of John Rockefeller, and promoted the reconstruction of the colonial city of Williamsburg, just as it would have been during the American Revolution. The project was a landmark in establishing the major events of American history, reinforcing the pioneering character and strength of the nation as opposed to England. More than a heritage protection project, it was an identity-building project.

Another example of an identity construction project was the Brazilian Iphan (Institute of National Historical and Artistic Heritage). Created in 1937, it was embedded in a broader policy that sought to define what would be typically Brazilian[27]. As public policy, the project of defining national heritage was also associated to an education project. The bond heritage and education is recognizable in several other countries. In the Americas, it was also related to a differentiation of the colonizer, and through architectural

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[25] Cf. Jokilehto, 1986, p. 409.

[26] An example is the Venice Charter of 1964. In its article 15, the charter recommends that "all reconstruction work should be rejected *a priori*. Only anasthylosis, that is, reassembly of loose parts that exist in a state of disaggregation, may be allowed" (Iphan, 1995).

[27] Cf. Fonseca, 2005 and Rolim, 2006.

styles (as already mentioned). In Europe, an important factor was the language, especially in the processes of unification. Having said that, the fact is that at the turn of the nineteenth century to the twentieth, few modern nations had their identity properly consolidated. And heritage played a crucial role there.

> Certo, gli inglesi sapevano che cosa significava essere inglesi; ma i francesi, i tedeschi, gli italiani o i russi, non avevano dubbi sulla loro identità collettiva? Forse no, ma nell'era della costruzione di nazioni si pensava che ciò implicasse la logica, necessaria, non meno che desiderabile, trasformazione di "nazioni" in Stati-nazione sovrani, con un territorio compatto definito dall'area occupata dai membri di una "nazione" a sua volta definita dalla sua storia passata, dalla sua cultura comune, dalla sua composizione etnica e, sempre più, dalla sua *lingua*. Ma non v'è nulla di logico in questa implicazione. (Hobsbawm, 2003, p. 103)

Therefore, the 'national culture' was one of the points for the definition of heritage protection policies and actions. In this sense, the actions developed in the Americas need to be read within the American reality itself. To seek this view, the research will be based on Waisman, Romero, and Cerávolo (detailed below).

Marina Waisman[28] presents the question of the complexity of a Latin American concept, which should be understood as a unit that has problems in common. However, this idea should be read more as a goal to be achieved than as a reality. She asserts that the truth is that there is no historical-cultural unity that allows the region to be understood as a whole. In this way, it is not possible to propose solutions that are generalizing. When North America is considered in this scenario, the question becomes more complicated. It is necessary, then, to remember that one always speaks of the New World. That is, of the countries that were 'created' after a process of colonization that happened from the fifteenth century. Even if this colonial process was very different in both hemispheres, all these countries have one thing in common: the 'age' of their cities. It is not possible for a society to see heritage in the same way when its oldest building is two thousand years or two hundred years old. This also applies to countries with remnants of the Inca, Mayan and Aztec civilizations: as there was no civilizing continuity, the relationship established with this heritage is diverse.

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[28] *O interior da história: historiografia arquitetônica para uso de latino-americanos* (São Paulo: Perspective, 2013).

This point of view comes from the reference of José Luis Romero. In *Latin America: cities and ideas*[29], the Argentine historian presents a vision of Latin America based on a historical process and on aspects of civilizations instead of merely geographic. From this premise, he studied the Latin American cities seeking the movements of appropriation and / or rejection of foreign ideas. This flow will be sought in the processes of protection of heritage in the American continent as a whole.

The third reference, Maria Lucia Cerávolo[30], seeks to clarify a gap: to establish Brazil as part of Latin America. As contextualization of protection actions in Brazil, the researcher presents a scenario of the moment of creation of the first protection agencies in Latin America, also indicating the bound between heritage and national identity.

> The reflection on the national cultural identity leads architects, artists and intellectuals connected to different movements and cultural trends, both historicist and modern, to assume a decisive role in the debate for the definition of public policies for the protection of cultural heritage. This contribution to the debate takes place both in theory and practice in the 1930s and 1940s. (Cerávolo, 2010, p. 152)

In a context where national identity is directly related to heritage, how can we understand the idea of a world heritage?

Françoise Choay criticizes this idea:

> By definition, the heritage of a civilization or culture is its own. The notion of universality in the matter of heritage has sense only as a global characteristic of our species and implies then the totality of its productions. How to choose from this totality? The Convention [Unesco, 1972] does not give any criterion of this "exceptional value" which is specified in Article 11.5 (third part), and it is up to the Committee to define it. It is clear that the designation criteria, those of science, history, and art history are those defined by the Western tradition. (2011, p. 171)

The debate on the definition of a 'universal value' is intense and almost always relates to economic value and questions of a partial view, as Choay points out in

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[29] Published in Rio de Janeiro (UFRJ), in 2004.

[30] From 2010, the Ph.D. thesis in Architecture and Urbanism, *Interpretações do patrimônio: arquitetura e urbanismo moderno na constituição de uma cultura de intervenção no Brasil, anos 1930-60.*

the case of the 'western tradition'. In addition to the value of universality, the value of integrity also comes into play, another decisive factor for the application to the List. The evaluation of the two is, as in the whole valuation process, subject to the subjectivity of the technicians who analyse it. The values of universality and integrity are the subject of two articles that depart from quite different scenarios of the French one. Hazen and Pendlebury[31] enter into the discussion from the North American and English realities, respectively. Both seek an evaluation of these values not from the point of view of the process of heritage's validation, but from the impact that this will have on the management of the site, including the national public policies related to the protection of that heritage. This is the perspective that interests us, verifying the process of exchanges between technicians in the protection of these sites. In some cases, this exchange is more intense at a time prior to the application, also showing that the cooperation network works beyond the List.

One of the first initiatives of this cooperation was the missions carried out by Unesco in the post-war period. Iphan has published the report of one of the Unesco's missions in Brazil (Claudia Leal's organization, 2008), which has also been the focus of other research, especially on the issue of cultural tourism (for example, Cecília Pereira's research of 2012). A series of other surveys carried out in Brazil on the protection of world heritage are restricted to analyses of specific projects[32].

Among the researches produced with a broader view of world heritage, we highlight Rosane Loretto's thesis[33], which questions the impartiality of assessing the value of site integrity, often linking it to political issues. This is a reality that can also be seen in protection issues, and we question whether the technical cooperation network can work beyond this set of political interests. Two other relevant studies in Brazil are those of Elaine Lima and Fernando Silva. Lima[34] compares the sites of São Luís in Brazil and

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[31] With articles published in 2008 (Hazen) and 2009 (Pendlebury).

[32] In a research on the Coordination for the Improvement of Higher Education Personnel (Capes) thesis bank, with the words 'heritage', 'world' and 'protection', there are 71 records, most of them being researches related to a specific site, followed by comparative studies between two cases or themes related to the recovery of historical centres. In addition to the areas of concentration of architecture, urbanism and history, there are also works in the areas of law, geography and natural environment, among others.

[33] From 2016, the thesis on Architecture and Urbanism, *As [des]venturas da integridade no Patrimônio Mundial*.

[34] From 2014, the Ph.D. thesis in Sociology, *Da Nação ao Mercado: patrimônios mundiais e intervenções urbanas em perspectiva comparada*.

Guimarães in Portugal. With a thesis in sociology, she presents the contradictory matter of world heritage, which generates worldwide solidarity, while creating a competition for a place on the world touristic circuit. Silva's book[35] is the result of a doctoral research in law, and provides an analysis of the implementation process of the 1972 Convention in Brazil, exemplified by several Brazilian sites and explaining the international assistance network for the protection of this heritage.

One last important reference here to understand and contextualize the actions taken in a world heritage site is Sarah Titchen's Ph.D. thesis[36]. In exploring the idea of a common cultural heritage, it analyses the process culminating with the 1972 Convention, which would have been characterized by the meeting of various national and international interests. That being said, it is not possible to look at the World Heritage List without keeping in mind that it is not only the value or meaning of the site, but also the intellectual and administrative tools used to identify and evaluate those values and meanings.

Considering the last four mentioned references, the researches of Silva, Loretto and Titchen considered a broad vision, centred on the actions of Unesco. The one of Lima returns to the sites, considering the status of belonging to the List as confirmation of 'good practices for urban areas'. The present research seeks this focus on the sites themselves, searching for the ways in which they relate to this international network.

The fact is that nowadays many countries seek inclusion on the List as a form of recognition of their national heritage. The economic factor must be considered, after all being on the List is a way of insertion in the global net of heritage tourism. However, in many cases this is also a strategy of valuing these sites for the population itself. Moreover, it is a way of seeking greater stability in protection policies for that heritage.

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[35] From 2012, *As cidades brasileiras e o patrimônio cultural da humanidade.*

[36] From 1995, the Ph.D. thesis in Philosophy (Australian National University), *On the construction of outstanding universal value. Unesco's World Heritage Convention (Convention concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage, 1972) and the identification and assessment of cultural places for inclusion in the World Heritage List.*

The research.

This is the scenario of the heritage issue from which the present thesis was elaborated. In a methodological perspective, we worked with a time-frame of 70 years, beginning in 1945, with the creation of Unesco, until the year 2015, with the revision of the Operational Guidelines for the implementation of the World Heritage Convention and the elaboration of the plan for the Dolomites Park (Italy). As for the geographic frame, the research worked with sites inscribed on the World Heritage List, in the mixed or cultural category (urban sites). A broad and civilizing perspective was sought, focusing on heritage located in the Americas and Europe[37]. The research had special attention to the cases of Italy and France, considering that the theoretical and legal bases used in Brazil come from these matrices; Latin America, for its civilizational and economic similarity; Portugal, by our origin; and England and the United States. The last two came as a counterpoint, since they started from a structure of protection that is quite different from the Brazilian one. At the same time, the United States had an undeniable influence in Brazilian cities, either by a model based on the automobile, or in the economic issues of consumption (including cultural consumption). Although the protection structure is diverse, heritage can be considered similar when one considers its value of antiquity and its role in the construction of nationality in a post-colonization moment. We considered cases of cultural heritage (category sites and historical centres) or mixed, despite its greater complexity, its urban insertion allows a comparison more appropriate to the purposes of this research. There were several sites addressed, some being mentioned at different times, others with punctual references. Thus emerged from the European side, Ferrara, Liverpool, Lyon, the Dolomites, Pompei, Porto and Venice. While in the Americas, Cuzco, Jesuit Missions, San Antonio Missions, Ouro Preto, Mesa Verde National Park, Salvador and Valparaiso. Each site was approached according to paradigmatic aspects, without the pretension of a detailed analysis.

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[37] Although working with sites located in Asia, Africa or the Middle East has presented itself as a fascinating possibility (especially in the first two cases, where a parallel could be made between sites of Portuguese colonial origin), the enormous cultural differences in the definition of what is heritage and why preserve it (as already presented by Riegl (2014) at the turn of the nineteenth century to the twentieth when he spoke about the differences of various cultural groups with the notion of temporality) would invalidate the comparisons made here.

The research was developed with extensive work on secondary sources, especially considering the lack of publications on heritage available in Brazil[38]. In parallel, two important primary sources: archives and interviews. The archives of Unesco and Icomos (in Rome and Paris) were consulted, among other archives and various libraries, with applications for the World Heritage List, the monitoring of registered sites - including the World Heritage in Danger list, and management plans for sites. Also the local government archives for the sites of Ferrara, Porto, Valparaiso, Mesa Verde National Park, Liverpool and Jesuit Missions. Finally, interviews were conducted with managers from various sites, with local researchers and with Unesco and Icomos technicians, providing a practical overview of how cooperation takes place within this network, including its particularities.

The thesis was structured in three parts, which sought to articulate the documentation consulted and the bibliography. It was based on the assumption that there is an international cooperation network for the protection of heritage of global interest - especially considering the work of Unesco and its support agencies - and sought to verify how this network operates in the protection of sites in the Americas and Europe, listed as World Heritage, from the local perspective. The hypothesis adopted was that this network can operate more efficiently when thinking about heritage in systems - and based on an integrated view of protection actions. In this way, it would seek an action that would go beyond situations of risk or emergency, as well as beyond the mere exchange of experiences.

The first part: *The debate on protection: evidence of an international cooperation*, presents a history of protection. The first period studied was the Renaissance one, not so much for the direct impact on the actions that will be seen in the second part, but mainly to locate the reader at the beginning of the debate. The focus was on characters and projects that somehow contributed to establishing an international dialog.

The second part, *Protection of World Heritage sites*, presents aspects of the protection of the heritage from the work of Unesco and from cases of sites present in the World Heritage List. The cases were selected in order to present different realities, as well as different moments of international action. From this perspective, the focus was not the heritage itself, but the actions taken for its protection - seeking to glimpse the network

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[38] We recall that part of the present research was developed within the scope of Capes' Doctoral "Sandwich" Program Abroad (PDSE), based at the University of Ferrara (Italy).

created for this purpose. Remembering a scenario where, often, heritage is threatened by actions of the rulers themselves, or creates conflicts between populations that do not participate in the protection process, what would be the effective contribution of receiving the recognition of world heritage? That is to say, how can one think of protection in a dynamic way?

Finally, the third part, *Protecting in system*. Here we examined the hypothesis of a protection of world interest in system, relating Unesco's overall strategies to the idea of an exceptional universal value (the List's assumption).

PART I. The debate on protection: evidence of an international cooperation

> Nacque, allora, in alcuni più sensibili pensatori, un'esigenza che prima non si era manifestata: quella di difendere i monumenti e controllare l'ambiente risultante dall'incontro tra antico e nuovo.
>
> Roberto Di Stefano e Giuseppe Fiengo, 1972, p. 3

The encounter between the old and the new. The familiar intergenerational race transported to the city. The statement of Di Stefano and Fiengo refers to the nineteenth century. However, actions aimed at the protection of buildings, objects or natural areas can be found from remote times, without a clear or articulated consciousness as it would be seen around 1900, with the modern concept of monument. From religious orientations, to the protection of properties of a sovereign and, after the creation of Nations, to the idea of an immaterial heritage, this first part will present as such debate, in an exchange of ideas around the world, created the current scenario of heritage protection.

Divided into two chapters, the first brings in a great flight, the actions that structured the idea of heritage with which we deal today. Starting from actions in the Renaissance, the intention is to show how the idea of a world heritage was built. In the second chapter, the scene after World War II, with the creation of Unesco and its Convention concerning the Protection of World Cultural and Natural Heritage, in 1972. And the cooperation that was established formally for the protection of heritage around the planet, arriving until the 21st century. In both chapters, a journey was made

continuously from one side of the Atlantic to the other, seeking similarities and differences in the process on the European and American continents.

1: The construction of a field

> In ancient Rome, there were specific regulations to guarantee that new buildings were designed in harmony within the existing built context. Good building practice and maintenance were some of the leading themes in *De Architectura*, the influential manual by Vitruvius in the first century B.C.
>
> Jukka Jokilehto, 1999, p. 2

From religious orientations to other protection of a sovereign's property, even in ancient civilizations it was possible to see actions similar to the formation of collections or the restoration of buildings[1]. However, nothing that could be compared to the modern concept of monument, since there was no idea of a historical value or identity attributed to the properties in question. It was in the Renaissance that these actions began to be structured, mainly motivated by the interest in the ruins of the old Roman Empire and Greek civilization, interest that spread to several countries beyond Italy.

[1] Jukka Jokilehto's Ph.D. thesis, *A History of Architectural Conservation* (1986, published later in 1999) presents actions such as the formation of collections and identification of buildings as monuments or memorials in ancient Egypt, Greece, and Rome.

A humanistic look: the Renaissance

> The contrast between the literary memory and artistic remains of the past grandeur of Rome, and the present state of the fallen walls, her ruined temples and palaces, filled Francesco Petrarch [...] with deep sorrow and moved him to tears during his visit to Rome in 1337. (Jokilehto, 1986, p. 11)

The humanism that erupted in the Italian Renaissance of the fifteenth century began to manifest timidly in previous years. Petrarch's visit to Rome in the 1300s already showed this spirit: an environment in which a new perspective was born, where man was not only restricted to a position of servant of God, but came to understand his role in the creation of the world where he lived. This gave rise to a new aesthetic conception and a new understanding of history, which altered the meaning of the remnants of ancient times[2].

Petrarca's reading of Virgil's work, seeking its original purity, established a relationship with the remnants built from the Roman empire, which came to be read as a way of validating and reinforcing the value of ancient texts. There began the practice of study tours to Rome, at first with a focus on literature. The Roman inheritance - and a network of cities that remained very close to its original configuration - made Italy the first destination of these tours. Nevertheless, the vestiges of the empire were sought in other regions of its vast territory, contemplating all the Mediterranean. At first, the intention was to validate the old texts. Even at this end of the Middle Ages, the thought of some kind of protection began to show itself as a political one, as seen in the *Costituto senese*, at Siena in 1309, which stated that "chi governa deve avere massimamente a cuore la bellezza della città, per cagione di diletto e allegrezza ai forestieri, per onore, prosperità e accrescimento della città e dei cittadini"[3]. Although it did not translate into actions, it already showed the spirit that would arrive with the Renaissance[4].

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[2] Especially the remnants related to the Roman Empire, but also those remnants of the ancient Greek civilization.

[3] (Apud Verde, 2014, p. 116) Simone Verde's book, *Cultura senza capitale*, from 2014, presents the scenario of heritage protection in Italy, amid ministerial reforms. It presents the conflict between an almost religious view of heritage and the cultural market. Divided into three parts, the first presents the construction of the current secular vision of the heritage. This first part of Verde's book is one of the main references in this chapter.

[4] Another example of urban protection is the case of the city of Ferrara (Italy). The city was an important centre of the Italian Renaissance under the dominions of the Este family. They provided two actions that can

In the passage to 15th Century the monuments themselves came to be valued. This moment is called by Choay[5] as a passing from the 'Petrarch effect' to the 'Brunelleschi effect'. Filippo Brunelleschi (1377 - 1446), author of the project for the dome of the cathedral of *Santa Maria del Fiore* in Florence, was one of the first among architects and sculptors to see in Rome the forms of classical art. The two movements began collections of coins, sculptures, and various fragments, which were kept in the cabinets of curiosities - which preceded the museums - of Italian artists and princes. However, it was the 'Brunelleschi effect' that looked at the vestiges of the ancient empire beyond the ancient texts. It was the beginning of the modern vision of Ancient times and arts, which saw there an inspiration that should be kept alive because that would be one of the assumptions for peace. Beyond the idea of breaking tradition and intellectual progress, which would walk together. These ideas could be seen in an episode between Raphael (1483-1520) and Pope Leo X (1475-1521)[6].

A letter to Pope Leo X

In 1515, Leo X passed to Raphael the mission that can be considered the birth of the figure of the inspector of monuments. The pope entrusted the artist with collecting marble pieces for the construction of St. Peter's Basilica, with the exception of saving the pieces that contained inscriptions, as they were useful for the study of the Latin language. Raphael went beyond his mission, and in a letter to the pope presented concepts aligned to the new vision of the Renaissance world and which was later used as an example of a first protection action, within the debate for the creation of an Italian legislation for cultural properties in 1902[7]. The following is an excerpt from that letter:

> Purtroppo si sono insino a qui facte ingiure a quelli animi che col sangue loro parturirono tanta gloria al mondo e a questa patria e a noi, ma più presto cerchi Vostra Santità, lassando vivo el paragone de li antichi, aguagliarli e superarli, come ben fa con magni edificî, col nutrire e favorire le virtuti, e risvegliare

today be read as protection embryos. The first, the enlargement of the city - the Herculean addition with Biagio Rossetti's project in 1484 - which kept the existing medieval urban fabric. The other, after the earthquake of 1570, when the Duke of Ferrara proclaimed that old buildings should be recovered.

[5] In *A alegoria do patrimônio* (2001).

[6] The episode, as well as an analysis of it, with a detailed scenario of the Italian Renaissance, is in the first part of Verde, 2014, and is the basis of the report made here.

[7] Cf. Verde, 2014, p. 308.

> gl'ingegni, dar premio alle virtuose fatiche, spargendo el santissimo seme della pace tra li prìncipi Christiani. Perché, come dalla calamitate della guerra nasce la destruzione, ruina di tutte le discipline e arti, così dalla pace e concordia nasce la felicitate a' popoli e aggiunge al colmo della excellenzia. (Raphael, ca. 1519, apud Verde, 2014, p 125-126)[8]

Although these protection actions were reduced to a specific period and public, the Renaissance formed the modern understanding of historical perspective and protection. Thanks to a less theocentric point of view, so to speak, new interests have arisen for what man produces. There was born a new conception of history as an autonomous discipline and of the arts as aesthetic activities, without both necessarily having a utilitarian function[9]. This new worldview was not restricted to Italy, on the contrary, it affected all Western European countries. Therefore, it is possible to say that the Renaissance was a cultural revolution[10].

The antiquarians

Resuming the question of the beginning of the collections, between the 16th and 19th Centuries[11] the European antiquarians fulfilled an important role of study. Study tours also had a goal of collecting, buying or exchanging objects of the most variety.

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[8] Françoise Choay (2001) also brings an excerpt from the same letter of Raphael to Pope Leo X. It is curious to note that the passage chosen approaches the question by another bias, one of the common practice disseminated by the Holy See to take advantage of the marble pieces of the monuments of ancient times: "All this new Rome which we now see in its grandeur and beauty, with its palaces and its churches, was all built, as it is, with lime made of ancient marble. I could not pity without a deep regret that since my arrival in Rome - less than twelve years ago - so many beautiful monuments were destroyed, such as the Pietà, the arcade at the entrance of the baths of Diocletian, the temple of Ceres in Via Sacra, a part of the Forum, burned a few days ago, whose marbles were turned into lime [...]. It is a shame that these times have tolerated such things [...]. Hannibal and the other enemies of Rome would not behave so cruelly." (Rafael, ca. 1519, apud Choay, 2001, p. 57). The letter is the subject of several studies, especially in Italy. In Brazil, Luciano Migliaccio (2010) published an analysis, including the translation of the document, which was written as a dedication of a plant of Rome, elaborated by the artist.

[9] Cf. Choay, 2011a.

[10] It was the Italian historian Eugenio Garin who adopted the idea of "cultural revolution" in the 1950s in his studies on the Italian fifteenth century. This classification is taken up by Choay (2011a). Garin assumes that if the fifteenth century in Italy was studied from his works of art, they were inseparable from other innovations in the technical, political and economic areas, which prove to be fundamental to a new thinking in Europe. The same reasoning he does for the Industrial Revolution, which would be considered a second cultural revolution.

[11] Cf. Françoise Choay, in the book *La terre qui meurt*, 2011. The book brings together two articles and was instigated by questions about the consequences of globalization. The first, *Espacements*, was published in 1969 and deals with urban planning. The second, *Patrimoine, quel enjeu de société ?*, is what interests us here, and addresses some key concepts on heritage, as well as current issues of the *Manifeste des Territorialistes*, 2010.

In this movement, the antique dealers began to have a registry, inventory and research function on these objects, and, unconsciously, prepared the field of work of nineteenth century historians and archaeologists. Among them, and from the 17th Century, the work of architects in the survey of monuments and schematic records of old cities (with drawings, plans, analysis and descriptions) was highlighted. Likewise, in the following century, the written texts of the most varied themes came to be accompanied by an abundant iconography, as was the case of the fifteen volumes of *L'Antiquité expliquée* (1719-1724) by Bernard de Montfaucon, with some thirty thousand figures[12].

It is necessary to emphasize that these actions did not yet have a correspondence in an effective policy of protection. Objects, for technical reasons including portability, were better preserved than buildings. We can indicate two exceptions. One was the British antiquarian societies, which in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were organized for the defense of Gothic architecture, which would be the expression of their culture.

Papal texts

The other exception brings us back to the Renaissance, in its initial period, and in a power struggle between Florence, an intellectual and artistic Renaissance centre, and Rome, the headquarters of the Catholic Church. In a series of documents (including bulls, briefs and papal encyclicals) and the donation of objects of Antiquity[13], there is the edict of 1471 of Pope Sixtus IV, which restored ancient bronzes to the population[14]. The use of the word 'recover' – which can mean 'to restore' – contained the ambiguity of materiality: it could be a restoration in the physical sense, or in the moral and symbolic sense. The fact is that such a moment provoked a small revolution, for dealing with the object itself, without any load of magical or ritualistic power, present in the medieval period. This way, the path for the beginning of museological actions was opened,

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[12] Cf. Choay, 2011a.

[13] Cf. Verde, 2014 and Sette, 2001. Among the documents we can mention the brief *Etsi de cunctarum*, from 1425, which considered to preserve intact the prestige of Rome, in particular the aspect of the city; the bull *Cum almam mostram urbem*, from 1462, which forbade the demolition or plundering of ruins; the bulls *Etsi de cunctarum*, dated 1474, and *Quam*, dated 1476, both on the prohibition of the cession of works of art of the Church.

[14] "Sixtus IIII pont. Max. / ob immensam benignita/tem aeneas insingnes sta/tuas priscae excellentiae / virtutisque monumen/tum romano populo / unde exorte fuere resti/tuendas condonandas / que censuit" (apud Verde, 2014, p. 117).

with catalogues by typologies, in a very rational manner. Still in the scenario of the Florence/Rome dispute, the Curia adopted the strategy of not harassing this rationalism, nor the Renaissance movement of a laicisation of knowledge. If Rome could not have the economic power of Florence, it would become the "grande atelier teorico e ideologico del Rinascimento, ribadendo la natura divina della nuova intellettualità laica e intrecciando in nuovi schemi concettuali la filiazione con gli antichi"[15]. It was born the main collection of antiquities in the world, housed today in the Vatican Museums[16].



01_ Taddeo Zuccari draws the Lacoonte, the first piece to be exhibited at the Belvedere, Rome, ca 1600.

It is worth mentioning that, despite the importance of the papal texts, protection initiatives were seen in almost all the pre-unification Italian states. Be it as in the case of Siena (already mentioned here and still in the Middle Ages) or as in Naples. With the reign of Charles of Bourbon, several archaeological excavations were realized in Herculano, from 1738, and Pompei, from 1748. These actions resulted in the discovery of a large number of pieces of Antiquity, which led to the passage of a law for the protection of this heritage in 1755. This law was in opposition to the papal norms of collecting pieces of antiquity, reuniting them in Rome. The Neapolitan law foresaw that the pieces found should remain in their place of origin. The same movement seen in Naples was followed throughout Italy, as in Venice, with the initiatives of writing a catalogue of works of art and the creation of the *Generale Ispettore delle Arti di Venezia* in 1773, or in the Kingdom of Sicily, with the creation of the *Regia Custodia delle Antichità di Sicilia*, in 1778. All these initiatives were the result of a sense of civic identity, which corresponded to the idea of

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[15] Verde, op. cit., p. 120.

[16] Best known for hosting the Sistine Chapel, the Vatican Museums are a complex of museums whose collections house antiquities until the end of the Renaissance, contemporary art and the building itself, with rooms painted by artists such as Raphael and Michelangelo.

being part of a well-organized community (whether by the popes or by one of the families like the Medici in Florence)[17].

The French Revolution and the national glaze

Civic identity and the movement of undressing objects and buildings of a sacral sense were seen on another scale - and with another strength - later in the French Revolution. This time, in a scenario that gave works of art and monuments another sense: the national one.

The French Revolution was filled with moments in which the debate on protection emerged. In addition, because of the characteristics of the Revolution, in the majority of the times, in a violent way[18]. The centre of the debate still did not consider how to preserve, but why and what to preserve. After the fall of the Bastille, amid a violent class struggle and peasants thrown into misery and insecurity, the revolutionaries sought in all areas to maintain the idea of the legitimacy of power and the principle of social equality, two of the precepts of the Revolution. The point was that there was no sense in maintaining a series of works of art and monuments when the people went hungry. Therefore, it would be a right of the people to appropriate these properties for practical use. For example, bronze statues should be used for the production of coins or other utensils. Alternatively, monuments could be 'disassembled' according to local needs. Besides properties owned by the monarchy, at the beginning of the Revolution were also listed the Church's properties, confiscated with the aim of overcoming the economic crisis in which the kingdom was immersed. At that moment, the new rulers faced the question of accounting for properties and works of art that until then had a sacred aura, sometimes with magical powers (as in the case of relics of saints). Then began a process of dechristianization, with inventories and rational valuations of these assets. This was a first movement that significantly altered people's relationship to these objects[19].

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[17] The protection initiatives found in Italy in the Renaissance period are numerous. For details on this, see Settis, 2007 and 2012.

[18] Cf. Mota, 2007.

[19] After the National Assembly voted on November 2, 1789, for the nationalization of Church assets, on September 10, 1790, the municipal authority of Paris asked the painter Gabriel-François Doyen an inventory of how much could be obtained by selling Church assets and how much could be auctioned. (Cf. Verde,

These actions were based on the idea that there was no point in preserving objects that represented a despotic government. For example, on July 24, 1792, the parliamentarian Pierre-Joseph Cambon stated: "Je propose de faire fondre les statues des anciens tyrans"[20]. On 11 August of the same year, it was the turn of another parliamentarian, Jacques-Alexis Thuriot, to defend the utility of works of art:

> Je m'oppose à l'ordre du jour. Je demande à l'Assemblée de décréter que ces statues seront enlevées, et qu'elles seront employées d'une manière utile pour la nation. Les unes, en effet, peuvent servir aux arts, les autres seront transformées en monnaie ou en canons. Il faut que l'Assemblée montre un grand caractère et qu'elle ordonne l'anéantissement de tous ces monuments de l'orgueil et du despotisme. *(Applaudissements)* (Archives parlementaires, tome 48, p. 2)

The idea launched by Cambon struck the monuments on August 14, 1792, with a decree that called on revolutionaries to turn all bronze objects in public spaces into weapons of defence. The decree indicated that this work would be subordinated to city officials, including representatives of the monuments commission. However, in practice the damage would already have been caused[21]. Therefore, there were several statements of parliamentarians and revolutionaries throughout France.

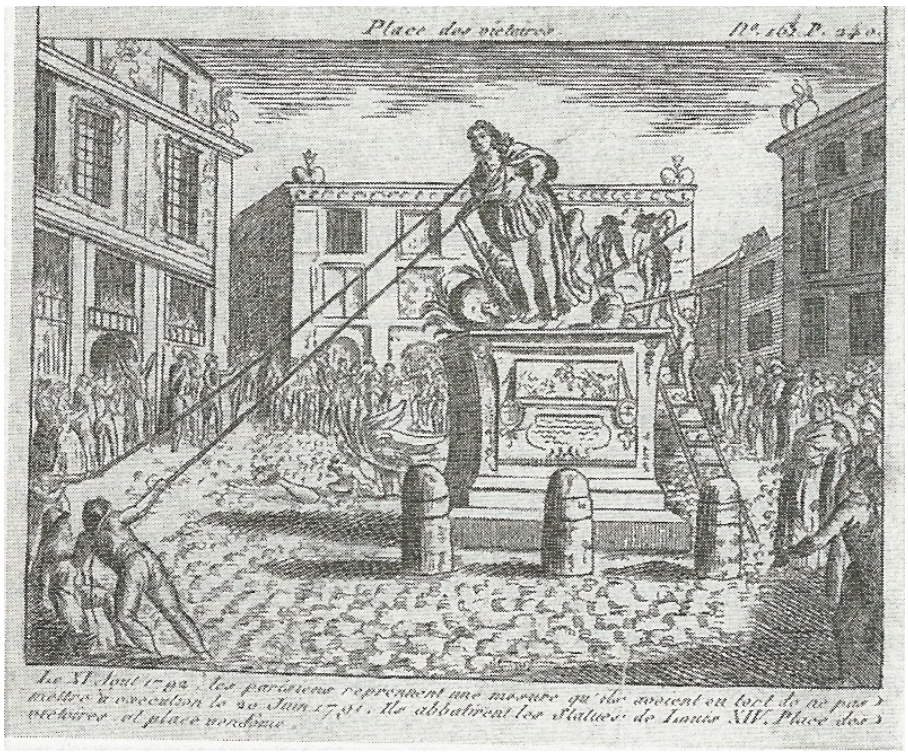
During the phase of the Terror, the massive destruction of properties and monuments related to the monarchy and to the church reached its peak. Although the destruction began shortly after the fall of the Bastille, in 1789. Since then, some voices have begun to rise up against the ongoing destruction in a heated debate. We emphasize a prophetic speech, as if announcing the process that would happen throughout the Revolution. In April 1791 the painter Jean-Bernard Restout said:

2014, p. 71)

[20] *Archives parlementaires*, from 1787 to 1860, Recueil complet, première série, tome 47 (du 21 Juillet 1792 au 10 aout 1792), Paris, 1896, p. 109. Document available on the portal <http://gallica.bnf.fr/>, repository of the French historical parliamentary archives.

[21] "Art. 1er. Toutes les statues, bas-reliefs, inscriptions et autres monuments en bronze, ou en toute autre matière, élevés dans toutes les places publiques, temples, jardins, parcs et dépendances, maisons nationales, même dans celles qui étaient réservées à la jouissance du roi, seront enlevées à la diligence des représentants des communes, qui veilleront à leur conservation provisoire. Art. 2. Les représentants de la commune de Paris feront, sans délai, convertir en bouches à feu tous les objets énoncés en l'article premier, existants dans l'enceinte des murs de Paris, sous la surveillance du ministre de l'intérieur, de deux membres de la commission des armes et de deux membres de la commission des monuments." (Archives parlementaires, tome 48, p. 116).

> Sarebbe utile se il pubblico fosse in qualche modo iniziato a una conoscenza delle arti [...] che non insegneremmo più come arti del lusso, futili e superflue e si saprebbe che tutto ciò che è suscettibile di ricevere forma e proporzione ne deriva e che numerose manifatture devono loro la nascita o la perfezione. (Apud Verde, 2014, p. 88)



02_Illustration in the periodical *Révolutions de Paris dédiées à la Nation*, from August 4 to 11, 1792, shows the statue of Louis XIV at the *Place des Victoires*.

Restout was an active revolutionary, having been appointed *Garde-Meuble de la Couronne*, the person in charge of the monarchy's movable and immovable property. He was arrested and, then, released with the fall of Robespierre. His speech was a harbinger of a second movement, that of understanding the properties of the monarchy, and of periods before it, as a source of knowledge, vital to the continuity of the greatness of the French people. That is to say, in order to prevent the destruction that was then considered only for how much money it could be worth, it was necessary to give another meaning to this heritage. Then again, the way to get to that other direction was not restful. There was still great opposition between the sovereign rights of the people and the protection of these properties.

Abbé Grégoire

On this path, an important personage was the Abbé Grégoire. Henri Grégoire, revolutionary and intellectual, was commissioned by the National Convention to prepare three reports on the state of France's monumental and cultural artistic heritage. In them, the abbot coined the term 'vandalism'. In the *Troisième rapport sur le vandalisme*, of 1794, the abbot stated:

> Vous ne connoissez qu'imparfaitement encore toutes les horreurs commises dans la commune de Verdun sur les monumens des sciences et arts. […] Les tableaux, les tapisseries, les livres et autres objets provenant de la ci-devant cathédrale ont été transportés sur une place appelée *la Roche*. Les officiers municipaux décorés du ruban tricolor, le district, deux membres du département ont assisté à cette infâme expédition. On a battu la générale, fait prendre les armes aux citoyens, etc., et les vandales se sont réunis en orgie après la cérémonie. (Grégoire, 1794, p. 9)[22]

After this report, cases followed in Paris, Strasbourg, Dijon, Lyon, and finally, throughout France.

In the same debate of 1792 on the bronze statues, there was the position of the deputy Henri-Paul Reboul. His speech started from a quantitative point of view, in a very rational line of thought, aligned with the new vision brought by the Revolution.

> Il est de fait, et un calcul bien simple peut établir, que toutes les statues de bronze, qui sont répandues sur la surface du royaume, ne feront pas ensemble une masse de métal, valant intrinsèquement 100,000 livres. *(Murmures à gauche)* Ce fait est incontestable. Maintenant, si vous le considérez sous un autre rapport, détruire les statues, ce n'est pas, comme on vous l'a dit, détruire le despotisme ; c'est détruire des monuments élevés par les arts, et qui font honneur aux arts. *(Murmures à gauche)* Je vous rappellerai que les artistes de toutes les nations vont étudier leur art devant les statues des Néron et des Caligula, qui ont été arrachées aux mains des Goths et des

[22] The term 'vandalism' was already used by other revolutionaries, but by placing it in the title of their reports, the Abbé Grégoire defined the new concept. Document available at: < https://books.google.fr/books?id=OH1DAAAAcAAJ&printsec=frontcover&hl=fr&source=gbs_ge_summary_r#v=onepage&q&f=false>.

> Vandales, et renverser pur une modique somme de 100,000 livres les monuments que les beaux arts ont élevés depuis trois siècles. (Archives parlementaires, tome 47, p. 109)

The position of Reboul gave the start to the argument also used by the Abbé Grégoire, that of a process of evaluation 'cost *versus* benefit' of what began to be understood as a heritage of the French people. Even more so because the abbot had very clear in mind that "è impossibile valutare il contributo economico di beni che illustrano positivamente l'immagine della nazione e stimolano la qualità delle sue produzioni"[23]. A report that preceded those elaborated by the abbot questioned: "Et quand tout sera détruit, quels modeles, quels objets de comparaison trouveront les artistes pour perfectionner leur goût, enflammer leur génie?"[24].

In this sense Cambon, who until then encouraged the destruction of the properties of the Old Regime, adopted a new position[25]:

> Sans doute, il faut conserver les monuments des arts, il faut les conserver pour servir de modèle aux monuments à élever à la liberté. Il faut conserver jusqu'aux images qui nous rappellent cette famille des Bourbons, qui méritera éternellement notre reconnaissance pour nous avoir fait détester les rois. *(Vifs applaudissements)* Il faut que nos neveux apprennent qu'asservis depuis tant de siècles sous le joug des tyrans, les Français ont voulu, et le joug a été brisé, et les tyrans anéantis. *(Nouveaux applaudissements)* Le peuple ne veut plus de royauté ; rendons-en le retour impossible ; mais respectons pour les arts les monuments consacrés à cette royauté. Réunissons-les dans un seul endroit pour en former le Muséum. […] Je demande que le comité d'instruction publique fasse dans la semaine un rapport sur les moyens de former ce monument, qui, en détruisant l'idée de la royauté, conservera les chefs-d'œuvre enfermés dans

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[23] Verde, 2014, p. 80.

[24] *Observations de quelques patriotes sur la nécessité de conserver les monuments de la Littérature et des Arts*, Paris, 1793 p. 17. The text was signed by Antoine-Augustin Renouard, Charles Chardin, Armand Charlemagne and Gilbert Romme. The document is available at <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k6225099x>

[25] In the words of Carlos Guilherme Mota, "in this long course of only ten years, 1789-1799" (2007, p. 153), and with "revolutions" within a revolution, it was possible to see changes in positions of important figures in the French Revolution. In the case of the protection of monuments, an area that began to form at that time, these changes were even more abrupt and rapid.

> les détestables palais de nos ci-devant rois. *(Nouveaux applaudissements)* (Archives parlementaires, tome 48, p. 624)[26]

The artist, and no longer the sovereign, was celebrated with the intention of encouraging a creative energy in a formerly oppressed people[27]. The idea was officialized in a decree of October 24, 1793, at the National Convention:

> Art. 1er. Il est défendu d'enlever, de détruire, mutiler ni altérer en aucune manière, sous prétexte de faire disparaître les signes de féodalité ou de royauté dans les bibliothèques, les collections, cabinets, musées publics ou particuliers, non plus que chez les artistes, ouvriers, librairies ou marchands, les livres imprimés ou manuscrits, les gravures et dessins, les tableaux, bas-reliefs, statues, médailles, vases, antiquités, cartes géographiques, plans, reliefs, modèles, machines, instruments et autres objets qui intéressent les arts, l'histoire et l'instruction. (Archives parlementaires, tome 77, p. 486)

It was the idea of Universal, saw in ancient Greece and in the Italian Renaissance, which could have been the precursor of a world heritage. However, it remained restricted to the national sphere, like a sort of competition between nations. Combining the protection of works of art with education, was created in France a structure that still today presents cultural issues as one of the main points for the viability of a people's progress.

> And the armies have orders from the Revolution to seize and bring to Paris the pillaged "objects of art and science" - a policy later adopted by Napoleon, transforming Paris into the cultural capital of the Empire. The Louvre Museum is the most eloquent symbol of this policy. (Mota, 2007, p. 109)

In the same way that the Revolution presented, quickly, changes of radical positions, it is necessary to remark another contradiction: at the end of the Revolution, this discourse will be used to justify pillage of works of art in other countries. Turning the French into the ones capable of preserving this universal heritage from despotic

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[26] It was this act, on August 22, 1792, that gave rise to the creation of the Louvre Museum, a few months later.

[27] Cf. Verde, 2014, p. 79. On this change of vision, Argan also presents the distinction that has been created between "the one who can do and the one who can make it". Next, he inserts the artist in this new scenario: "Now we know who the artist is: he is someone who, to own, does and, therefore, is very different from the one who to own has to take it, the warrior or the politician." (Argan, 2005, p. 38-39)

governments. In the words of the Abbé Grégoire: "Plus que les Romains, plus que Démétrius Poliorcète, nous avons droit de dire qu'en combattant les tyrans, nous protégeons les arts. Nous en recueillons les monumens, même dans les contrées où pénètrent nos armées victorieuses"[28].

Finally, these diverse actions were brought together in the creation of a structure of heritage protection in France. In 1830, the first *Inspection générale des monuments historiques*, was directed by the writer Prosper Mérimée. In 1837, the *Commission nationale des monuments historique*, which produced the first inventory of French historical monuments. In 1898, protection of the first natural site (the Gimel cascade) and in 1901 the first law of protection of natural sites (Beauquier law). To reach 1906, with a law that would only be updated twenty-five years later, and intended to organize the protection of natural monuments and sites of artistic, historical, scientific or picturesque character.

James Smithson's testament (1829)

Thinking about the range that the ideas and ideals of the French Revolution had[29], one of the initial moments of protection in the United States was significant: the creation of the Smithsonian Institution[30]. In 1792, James Smithson was in Paris, just over 25 years old. Member of the Royal Society, intellectual, chemical and mineralogist, he travelled frequently, on expeditions throughout Europe. With the end of the Old Regime intellectual freedom seemed enormous. It was a time when

> sembrava possibile non solo l'organizzazione del mondo grazie all'industria, ma anche la costruzione di un sapere olistico, globale, che abbattesse per sempre le frontiere tra organico e inorganico, rintracciando in una vita presente ovunque la logica del divino. (Verde, 2014, p. 34)

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[28] *Rapport sur les destructions opérés par le vandalisme et sur les moyens de le reprimer*, Paris, 1794, p. 20. Document available at: <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k48495b>

[29] Europe was where the American elite studied, with particular emphasis on France. That is, the winds that spoke of democracy and social equality crossed the Atlantic. It is worth noticing that in 1778 the French king received with open arms at Versailles a delegation of American revolutionaries, led by Benjamin Franklin. The historian Carlos Guilherme Mota (2007) presents the movement of ideas between the French and American revolutionaries, as well as the revolutionary ideals that also arrived in Brazil.

[30] The story is told in detail in the first part of Simone Verde's book (2014).

This was the spirit seen also in the United States of America, which had signed its declaration of independence in 1776, whose "founding fathers" were all intellectual, following the logic of American culture that merged a Protestant rationality with a secular enlightenment. It was former President John Quincy Adams who persuaded the US Congress to comply with Smithson's will: upon his death in 1829, Smithson left in testament his fortune for the creation in the new American capital of an institution "for the increase and diffusion of knowledge"[31]. Consequently, in 1846 the Smithsonian Institution was created in Washington[32]. There is the tomb of James Smithson, recovered by Alexander Graham Bell between 1903 and 1904. The philanthropist died on the outskirts of Genoa, never having set foot in the New World[33].

The Smithsonian was already born into the spirit of the new nation, with a universalistic mission and intended to place knowledge at the centre of the country's growth project, emphasizing national identity. The fact that it was created from the donation of a complete unknown seems to reinforce the general idea of the institution. Since its inception, the Smithsonian has taken the lead in the American cultural system, associating the formation of museum collections with research activities, holding free conferences and publishing studies in the areas of humanities and nature. The incentive to such a production resulted in the first archaeological studies on indigenous settlements. The first Smithsonian publication was from 1848, *Ancient Monuments of the Mississippi Valley*, with great ethnographic importance. More than that, the fact of the publication uniting culture and environment has made the human sciences also an element of progress (in addition to traditional researches in the fields of physics, chemistry and mathematics).

These early Smithsonian actions led to what may be considered the second protection act in the US: the protection of Yellowstone Park in 1872, the first case of protection of a natural area in the world. A new line of research began to study the

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[31] According to the institution's website, which also shows the amount donated: half a million dollars, which was the equivalent of 1/66 of the entire US federal budget at the time (http://www.si.edu/About/History).

[32] Today the Smithsonian is the largest museum complex in the world, bringing together 19 museums and galleries, plus the National Zoological Park and nine research centres.

[33] Italy, as it had been in the Renaissance, was again a compulsory destination for study tours of intellectuals. Interesting source of research are the journals of these travellers. In addition to the important registration (for drawings) of buildings and cities that no longer exist, these trips also functioned as a form of diffusion and exchange in the debate that was beginning on restoration, formation of collections and museums and historical monuments. An example of this tradition is Goethe's three volumes, "Journey to Italy", 1786-1788.

mechanisms of adaptation to natural conditions as a strategic point of development. Following Yellowstone, took place the protection of the historic site of Casa Grande, in Arizona in 1892, and in 1906 of the ancient village of Mesa Verde, in southern Colorado.

From the early 19th Century to the interwar period

As the United States began to take action to preserve its national heritage in the second half of the nineteenth century, it was also this century that saw the consolidation of this debate in Europe. It crossed the Atlantic (along with the ideals of freedom, equality and fraternity) in the midst of the independence processes arising in the Americas. In addition to the French Revolution, another revolution brought a new worldview to everyday life.

> Née, cette fois en Angleterre durant le dernier quart du XVIIIe siècle, cette révolution culturelle touche ensuite, comme la première, et avec d'analogues décalages et spécificités, l'ensemble des pays ouest-européens. Elle nous est plus familière sous la dénomination de « révolution industrielle ». […] L'avènement du machinisme, accompagné par les développements consécutifs de la production industrielle et des transports ferroviaires, n'a pas seulement provoqué l'exode rural, le bouleversement des milieux de vie traditionnels, la formation du prolétariat urbain, il a aussi contribué à la transformation des mentalités. (Choay, 2011a, p. 78)

That is, the nineteenth century began under a clash of different worldviews. It is precisely for this reason that Françoise Choay's reading of the industrial revolution[34] was a cultural revolution which - as in the Renaissance - had global resonances.

Of the French commissions and revolutionary committees, stood out the Commission of Historical Monuments, created in 1837. It was followed by initiatives in England with the *Ancient Monuments Act* (1882); in the newly unified Italy, with the creation of the Superintendence of Architectural Properties of Ravenna (1897); and in Mexico, with the creation of the General Inspection of Monuments (1885). In the 19th

[34] One of the milestones of the industrial revolution is the start of the operation of the first railroad in 1825, with the English Stockton-Darlington.

Century, study tours to the monuments of ancient times were also resumed, with preference for Italy and Greece, in continuity with the Renaissance travels.

First theories about restoration

In parallel, a debate created the first theories on restoration and protection of heritage, which were also the basis of all other initiatives that followed and are still a reference. In this way, it is not possible to understand the actions of protection of the heritage without the references of the French Eugène Emmanuel Viollet-le-Duc, of the English John Ruskin, the Italian Camillo Boito and the Austrian Aloïs Riegl. Their respective publications were the entry Restoration (in the *Dictionnaire Raisonné de l'Architecture Française du XIe au XVIe* Siècle, published between 1854 and 1868), *Seven lamps of architecture* (1849), *I restauratori* (1884) and *Der moderne Denkamalkultus* (1903). But not only should their texts be considered. They were also very active in the elaboration of heritage protection policies.

The theories developed in these texts were based on restoration practices, which contained in themselves a bit of the portrait of that time: a scientific and nationalist basis. In Italy, the valuation of certain buildings helped to create the idea of a unified nation, while in France and England restoration practices were developed as a reaction to the radical changes that were taking place on account of the two revolutions. In all three cases, there was concern about what would be authentically national[35].

On the other hand, Riegl entered the debate for another aspect. Recognized for his interdisciplinary approach to the history of art, the Austrian discussed in the text mentioned the question of the value of the monument. He assumes that every historical period has its *Kunstwollen*, its 'will of art'. Riegl analysed style issues up to the discussion about the artistic value of a monument. He also evaluated the historical value of this same monument, including its value of memory[36]. The different values of a monument could be contradictory, so each case should be analysed within its own particular dialectic without seeking totalizing solutions or definitions. Riegl's text is still

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[35] And the current thinking for architectural restorations was stylistic unity (cf. Stubbs and Makaš, 2011). In the case of England and France, the style was the medieval gothic, while in Italy the models produced in Antiquity and the Renaissance were sought.

[36] On this debate, see the presentation to the text of Riegl, made by Annateresa Fabris (edition of Perspective, 2014).

the basis for discussions on the valuation of heritage, especially in questions about the current value of a particular cultural property.

Whereas Viollet-le-Duc defended stylistic unity quite radically (proposing, in some cases, the reconstruction of entire structures), the English and Italian schools had a more conservative approach. In a synthetic way, it can be said that the French line sought to recover the original model, giving more value to the aesthetic (and stylistic) dimension than to the historical one. The Italian line considered that each intervention is unique, and therefore one could not consider the automatic application of what would be the characteristics of a particular style, without a critical evaluation of the object in question. At last, the English one considered a life cycle for the monuments, and that its death was inevitable; considered also the contradiction between art and industry, in a clear response to the changes brought by the industrial revolution[37]. Starting from these three theories of restoration, at the end of the nineteenth century it is possible to distinguish three different positions regarding the protection of heritage. The French, which - after making the Revolution - drafted their first laws considering a strong state centralization of protection, with the State responsible for the administration of the whole process. The English, that in the 18th Century considered the management of historical monuments as "a matter of the societies of antique dealers and archaeologists, officially relegated by the National Trust, a private association which, since 1895, manages the essence of English historical heritage"[38]. And the third position, the Italian.

Italian laws of 1902 and 1922

After the process of unification of Italy, another began: to seek a unity to the isolated actions that existed throughout the territory. The Italian experience added to the French view the technical dimension, with the decisive contribution of Boito, "to whom the Italian law of 1902 is due, then the most advanced in Europe, *Sulla*

[37] John Ruskin took part in the Arts & Crafts movement, led by William Morris. Briefly, the movement began in the last decades of the nineteenth century, and struggled against the effects of industrialization on design, on traditional work techniques and on people's daily lives. It sought a return to manual and craft activities. In particular, Ruskin sought the relations between art, society and labour.

[38] Choay, 2011, p. 22-23. In addition to the original texts of the four authors mentioned above, it is worth consulting Françoise Choay (2001) and Beatriz Kühl (2008), to be restricted to the publications in Portuguese, for a deeper discussion of the theoretical debate on restoration and identification of heritage.

conservazione di monumenti e degli ogetti d'arte"[39]. This law has been improved, especially with the inclusion of the theme of the landscape, following the movements seen in France and the United States. Throughout this debate, the view of the Italian heritage connected to the landscape was diversified from that seen in the USA, England or France. In Italy, the natural heritage was understood as the nature modified by the man. A phrase attributed to John Ruskin, at that time became a slogan of landscape protection in Italy: "Il paesaggio è il volto amato della patria"[40].

This debate, along with a slower industrialization compared to other countries in Europe, led to an effective change of legislation in 1922. In this year, was approved the text written by the philosopher Benedetto Croce, then minister of education. Croce's text pointed to the importance of the landscape, in accordance to the theories of Camillo Boito and Gustavo Giovannoni[41]. In a speech to the Senate, Croce defended the new law based on North American and other European examples, also referring to sensitive issues such as the conflict countryside *versus* city (which reflected the relationship between nature and culture). And the question of private property. In that regard, he took up the idea of public utility - present in Roman law - stating that it would be inadmissible "sfigurare un monumento o fare oltraggio a un bel paesaggio, entrambi destinati al godimento di tutti. [...] Il grandissimo interesse morale e artistico legittima l'intervento dello Stato, perché il paesaggio non è nient'altro che la rappresentazione materiale e visibile della patria"[42]. Although the Croce law was passed a few months before the rise of fascism in October 1922, the Mussolini regime did not change the rules of protection established there[43].

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[39] Ibidem, p. 23.

[40] Settis, 2012, p. 6. Ruskin's phrase is from a book written by the French Robert de la Sizeranne (*Ruskin et la religion de la beauté*, 1897), which contributed decisively to the diffusion of his ideas in France and Italy (cf. Settis, 2012).

[41] The Italian architect Gustavo Giovannoni (1873-1947) gave continuity to the tradition begun with Camillo Boito and established, in the 1910s, cultural landscape relations, when writing about the bonds between the 'new city' and the 'old city'. The text *Vecchie città ed edilizia nuova* was originally published in 1913 and gained translation in Brazil when completing 100 years, in the collection of texts of Giovannoni organized by Beatriz Mugayar Kühl (2013).

[42] Croce apud Settis, 2012, p. 7.

[43] However, in 1939 two laws were passed that went on in parallel. This change will be discussed in the next chapter.

The League of Nations

We are now in the interwar period. The destruction caused by the war did not only stimulate the debate on protection, but created an international forum, which sought to strengthen the relationship between the various countries for the common good. In 1919, the League of Nations was born[44].

According to the subjects to be treated, the League founded committees and thematic institutes, creating a diplomatic culture that, with the end of the II War, gave rise to Unesco[45]. Among them were the International Committee on Intellectual Cooperation, which included intellectuals of the calibre of Henri Bergson, Albert Einstein, Marie Curie, Béla Bartók, Thomas Mann and Paul Valéry[46], with their International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation, based in Paris. Considering the same idea of international cooperation, the International Museums Office and the International Commission on Historical Monuments have also been created. In particular the last two, organized several international conferences on the theme of protection of cultural heritage. It should be noted that movable and immovable heritage were treated with the same weight.

Athens Charter (1931) and Roerich Pact (1935)

In Europe, the period was also a moment to structure discussion forums on heritage. In addition to the organizations related to the League of Nations, were created the Italian *Istituto per il Restauro* (1939) and the French *Institut Royal du Patrimoine Artistique* (1948). Some of the meetings promoted by these organizations generated documents - the cultural heritage charters - that are not normative, but rather prescriptive, and helped to consolidate an entire field of activity.

In this scenario, in 1931 was held the International Congress of Architects and Technicians in Historic Monuments in the city of Athens. Organized by the International Museums Office of the League of Nations, it had the objective of discussing different experiences in the protection of monuments of historical, artistic or scientific interest. It had the participation of about twenty countries - all European - and had

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[44] The League of Nations (1919-1946) was the predecessor of the United Nations (UN).

[45] On the history of Unesco, see Conil-Lacoste, 1994.

[46] Cf. Jokilehto, 2011, p. 3.

Gustavo Giovannoni as one of its main theoretical references. At the end of the meeting, the participants signed a document with indications to ensure the continuity of the life of historic monuments, known as the Athens Charter. This document gained worldwide prominence and was the basis for the creation of numerous heritage protection institutions around the world.

Four years later, the Athens Charter entered the agenda of the Organization of American States (OAS) meeting: in April 1935, the Treaty for the Protection of Artistic and Scientific Institutions and Historic Monuments was published. Known as the Roerich Pact, it was the result of the 7th International Conference of American States, held in Montevideo (Uruguay), organized by the OAS and had twenty-one signatory countries. The Pact warned of the need to protect monuments and artistic institutions (especially museums) in times of war and peace. Moreover, it indicated the importance - and necessity - of having official structures (laws or institutions) for the protection of the American heritage.

Driven by these debates, from the 1920s onwards, several heritage protection institutions were created, which had as their fundamental reference the European experiences [47] . Beginning in 1921, with the Department of Artistic, Archaeological and Historic Monuments in Mexico, which was an evolution of the idea of the then existing Inspection. And then, under the impact of the Roerich Pact, between 1935 and 1939 institutions were created in countries such as Cuba, Peru, Uruguay, Brazil and Argentina, always seeking to identify their national heritage, whether in the text of the law or in research departments.

The debate in the Americas

Meanwhile, in the Americas, heritage protection laws began to emerge. The creation of the General Inspection of Monuments of Mexico (1885) was already mentioned here. The Inspection emerged in a scenario in which the Mexican government turns to its archaeological monuments, especially concerned about the need to stop a Mexicans' antique trade. It is interesting to note in this process the cooperation of Spain.

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[47] Cf. Cerávolo, 2010.

After independence from all its colonies in the Americas, the Spaniards sought to remain close to the new nations. This clearly was not a simple or easy process (especially after World War I). Nevertheless, the first action in Mexican territory happened in 1851, when then president Benito Juarez proposes to apply in the country the Spanish law on the protection of archaeological monuments. This was the first act to prevent the massive sale of artefacts related to pre-Columbian civilizations in the country. Shortly thereafter, in 1868, the Mexican Ministry of Justice declared that all antiquity found in its territory was owned by the central government, which paved the way for the creation, in 1885, of the General Inspection of Monuments[48].

At the turn of the nineteenth century to the twentieth, the beginning of the discussion about what would characterize the American heritage accelerated the initiatives of protection of heritage. Regarding legal protection, in the pre-war scenario, actions aimed at protection still arose in specific laws or in cases related to archaeological heritage (except for the Mexican Institute).

> Desgraciadamente, América, que vive alerta con respecto a las loables iniciativas europeas, no ha seguido el ejemplo, por lo menos con la rapidez que sería de desear. Solo debe mencionarse una honrosa excepción, la de México, que cuenta desde hace años con una Dirección de Monumentos Coloniales y de la República, cuya labor hasta la fecha ha sido proficua y verdaderamente meritoria. Los restantes países no cuentan con administraciones y leyes protectoras, o recién las tienen desde hace pocos años, cuando muchos de sus valiosos monumentos han desaparecido o se encuentran en deplorables condiciones de abandono. (Mario Buschiazzo in 1940, on the Athens Charter of 1931, apud Cerávolo, 2010, page 144)

With a look beyond heritage - and synthetically - the post-World War I scenario affected the trade between the Americas and Europe, especially because of protectionist measures adopted to strengthen European countries. Even with the economic crisis of 1929, the United States assumed a prominent role in trade relations, and thus began a pan-American cooperation that went beyond economic relations.

In the framework of Architecture, an important forum of discussions has been formed, including issues of identification of the American heritage and its protection:

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[48] Cf. Cerávolo, 2010.

the Pan-American Congresses of Architects[49]. Although the Southern Cone professionals (Argentina, Chile, Uruguay and Brazil) had been the majority in the Congresses, there were also delegations from the Mexican, Caribbean and North American regions. Here we highlight two editions: the second, held in 1923 in the city of Santiago de Chile, and the fourth, in 1930, held in the city of Rio de Janeiro.

The Society of Architects of Uruguay initially organized the congresses. The first edition took place in Montevideo in 1920, when the insertion of the architectural history of the Americas in Architecture Schools was discussed. In the second congress, of 1923, one of the themes was the conservation of historic monuments. In its conclusions, the participants suggested the realization of studies on historic monuments in the various countries, the dissemination of these studies, and the drafting of applicable legislation.

The heritage returned to stand out in the fourth edition of the event (1930), titled 'Defense of the artistic heritage, mainly architectonic, of the American Nations'. Among other topics, was discussed the need for institutions that could carry out the inventory of monuments. Thus, the development of legislation evolved from a simple indication to a clear and emphatic advice to the need of stablishing mechanisms that could protect national heritage, especially from damage caused by the growth of urban centres and the trade of traditional art objects.

Historicism and modernism

Part of the debate on the protection of the heritage in Latin America went through another dispute: that of the primacy between the historicist and modernist movements in the construction of national identities.

In Europe, the theoretical debate on restoration had a clear point: what would be the typically national architectural style? Such a view, however, was not suited to the reality in the Americas, since many of the styles seen in the New World were directly imported from the 'old' one. For this reason, movements for protection have come up against the need to identify with their own history and beyond, with their landscape[50].

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[49] See the thesis of Ana Lúcia Cerávolo (2010), which presents the contribution of modernism to protection theories in the twentieth century, including the Latin American scenario and considering two Brazilian projects as a case study.

[50] Cf. Waisman, 2013, p. 196.

Even in countries with remnants of the Inca, Maia, or Aztec civilizations, as there was no civilizing continuity, the issue was also present.

In the nineteenth century, American cities experienced turbulent periods, with the consolidation of newly independent nations, the abolition of slavery and the growth of their urban populations. In this scenario, eclecticism became the reference for new constructions. In the same course, urban renewal projects such as those in Barcelona, Paris and Vienna were the models used to expand or improve the new cities. As a response to this import of architectural and urban models, architects, writers, artists and intellectuals have developed researches on the colonial period, seeking to identify elements that relate to their local histories. As a result, research institutions on colonial architecture were created and movements that presented alternative stylistic proposals to Eclecticism - such as the neo-colonial Brazilian movement led by Ricardo Severo, which had Lucio Costa as a participant at the beginning of his career.

Besides the proposal of the neocolonial, there was a group that proposed a completely new style. The modernists started from new ideas coming from Europe and merged them with the characteristic elements of their regions. In this way, modernist experiences were created - whether in the field of literature, the visual arts or architecture – and they had their own colour. For this reason, modernist intellectuals also contributed greatly to the documentation and dissemination of colonial architecture and the period prior to Colombo's arrival.

In the Pan-American Congresses of Architects it became clear that there were two groups working in favour of protection of heritage in Latin America. One connected to the historicist movement and the other to the modernist movement. In the fifth edition of the Congress, held in 1940, Luis Miró Quesada, a Peruvian architect who was prominent in the elaboration of protection policies in that country, said:

> Nosotros, ciudadanos de Hispanoamérica, que aún plenos de juventud tenemos, ya, un pasado glorioso; y comprendemos por igual el racionalismo nórdico y el sentimentalismo mediterráneo; estamos preparados, quizá mejor que nadie, para fusionar la belleza de la idea con la belleza de la imagen [...] Pero dicha fusión debemos realizarla en un principio, en el principio de tradición arquitectónica. (apud Cerávolo, 2010, p. 142)

The communication between the different groups was intense, even between historicists and modernists. For example, the Brazilian writer Mário de Andrade often wrote to Argentine friends, and was an admirer of Buenos Aires. Indeed, in Argentina, one of the prominent names was that of another Mário, Buschiazzo. Historian, made a major contribution to the study of Hispanic-American architecture, performing various restoration projects throughout Argentina. In that period, Luis Miró Quesada in Peru and José Villagrán García in Mexico were both considered fundamental for the beginning of modern architecture in their countries and were also engaged in the defence of the national heritage.

In this sense, the Brazilian case is exemplary. Iphan (Institute of National Historic and Artistic Heritage)[51] was created in 1937, with a preliminary project by Mário de Andrade and the final project of Lúcio Costa and Rodrigo Melo Franco de Andrade. All modernists. What was then identified as typically Brazilian heritage was the architecture from the colonial period, with emphasis on the baroque of Minas Gerais and modernist architecture[52]. Thus, at the beginning of its work, Iphan considered as national heritage very recent works, leaving aside for a long period the architecture of eclectic style, from the turn of the nineteenth century to the twentieth[53].

Rodrigo Melo Franco de Andrade

From the initial triad of Iphan (Costa and the two Andrades), it was Rodrigo who established a more consistent dialogue with Latin American colleagues on heritage. He led the Iphan from 1937 to 1967. Throughout these thirty years, he has

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[51] Since its inception, as "Service" rather than "Institute", the current Iphan has changed its name and status within the federal government structure several times. National Historic and Artistic Heritage Department (Sphan, 1937), Directorate of National Historic and Artistic Heritage (Dphan, 1946), National Historic and Artistic Heritage Institute (Iphan, 1970), Secretariat of National Historic and Artistic Heritage and National Foundation pro-Memory (Sphan and FNPM, 1979), Brazilian Institute of Cultural Heritage (IBPC, 1990) and lastly again Institute of National Historic and Artistic Heritage (Iphan, since 1994). Even though much of these changes present in themselves the political scene of the time, in order to avoid eventual estrangement to the reader, we will adopt the Iphan denomination as the standard for the agency.

[52] An interesting episode of the clash between the two groups in Brazil was the project of the Ouro Preto Grande Hotel. There were two project proposals: one by Oscar Niemeyer, modernist, the other by Carlos Leão, in neocolonial style (Carlos Leão, who had been invited by Rodrigo Melo Franco de Andrade). The modernist proposal won: the Niemeyer project began to be built in 1940, after little suggestions of changes made by Lúcio Costa.

[53] Several researches have focused on the relation between the Brazilian modernists and the creation of the idea of the national heritage. Among them, we highlight Cerávolo (2010), Fonseca (2005), Gonçalves (1996) and Rolim (2006).

structured and consolidated the policies of protection of heritage in Brazil, as well as the formation of the Brazilian identity.

Especially in the 1950s and 1960s, Rodrigo had a lot of contact with Mario Buschiazzo and Graziano Gasparini. The first was one of the technicians of the National Commission of Museums and Monument and Historical Places of Argentina - bounded to the historicism -, where he developed an important research on the Jesuits Missions present in Argentine territory. On the other hand, the Italian Gasparini was the person who led the creation of the organ of protection of heritage in Venezuela, and - as Andrade - was a part of the movement of modern architecture.

Rodrigo Melo Franco de Andrade was a lawyer, born in Minas Gerais, with a decisive participation in the creation of Iphan. He began working on structuring Iphan in 1936, from the invitation of the then Minister of Education and Health, Gustavo Capanema, after nominating Mário de Andrade and Manuel Bandeira.

As in the Italian Croce law, the issue of private property was also a delicate point in the law that created Iphan. Beyond the text of the law itself, the early years of Iphan were decisive for the success of the project. And Rodrigo was able to stand out for having maintained a neutral position regarding the technical discussions inherent in the definition of what should be protected, but with a strong and decisive role in the meetings of the Iphan Council. The most controversial issues at the time were the clash against protection *versus* real estate, and the illegal trade of works of art[54].

As in Europe and North America, Rodrigo understood the protection of the heritage connected to education: only through it would a historic monument be recognized as such. During his time in charge of Iphan, an important instrument for this was the *Revista do Patrimônio* (Heritage Review). Still edited today, his first issues were devoted to important studies on Brazilian heritage (including articles by Mário de Andrade, Lucio Costa, Sergio Buarque de Holanda, Manuel Bandeira, Gilberto Freyre, Luis Saia, among others). A great admirer of Brazilian colonial art and architecture, he identified there the authentic character of the Brazilian, according to the Brazilian modern movement understanding. This prominence of the colonial in the Institute can be seen in the early protections. Also here, it is possible to see an alignment with the vision presented in the

[54] Cf. Alvim, 2012.

Italian laws (which emphasized the protection of the landscape). The early actions of Iphan was to preserve an urban site: the historic centre of Ouro Preto in 1938[55].

Organic Act (1916)

If the North American participation in the Pan-American Congresses was not very expressive, their contribution to the discussion on heritage was even smaller, even if new protection initiatives continued to emerge in the country. In addition to those of the Smithsonian Institution and the creation of parks at the turn of the century, another landmark in the protection of US heritage was in 1916, the signing of the *National Park Service Organic Act*, a federal law that established the National Park Service (NPS) as an agency of the Department of the Interior. The NPS was created "to conserve the scenery and the natural and historic objects and wild life therein, and to provide for the enjoyment of the same in such a manner and by such means as to leave them unimpaired for the enjoyment of futures generations"[56]. As at the beginning of the Smithsonian's actions, it allied natural and cultural protection, though not on such terms. The bond of properties to be preserved - and representative in the US - with nature was an initiative that was not seen with the same force in Latin America, where protection was more centred on monuments or archaeological sites.

Another relevant non-governmental initiative was the Colonial Williamsburg project of 1926 in the United States of America. Along with the Organic Act of 1916, this project is considered one of the initial milestones of heritage protection actions in the country[57]. With regard to a cultural heritage not directly connected to natural areas, there have been previous initiatives of protection, mainly led by historians. But Williamsburg was the first project that was able to bring together a multidisciplinary and professional team around the reconstruction of a heritage with very clearly defined criteria. In light of later theories - especially the question of authenticity inserted in the debate with the Venice Charter of 1964 - one can question the efficiency of the project in the sense of an effective heritage protection. However, in the 1920s scenario, it was a major and

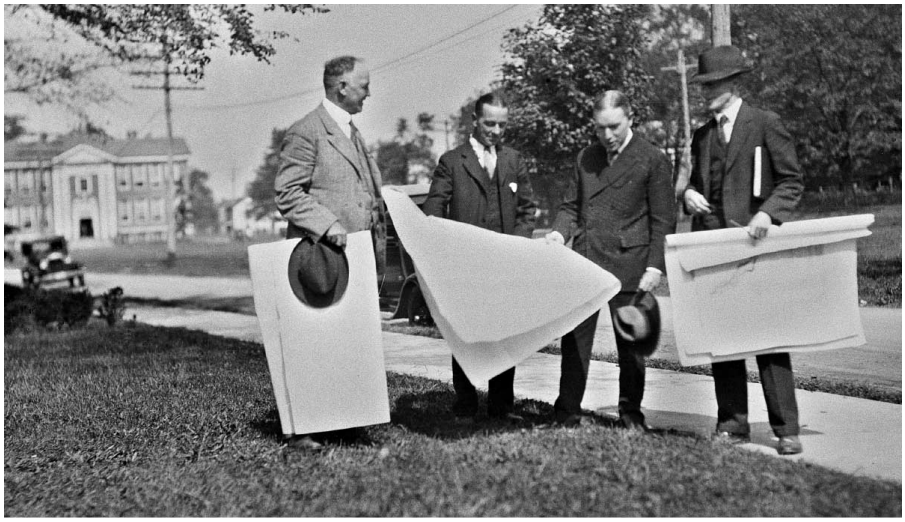
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[55] One key thing to remember is that the site was already protected since 1933, when it was declared a National Monument.

[56] Cf. EUA, 1916.

[57] Cf. Fitch, 1993 and Murtagh, 2006.

important breakthrough[58]. Held under the patronage of John Rockefeller, the project effectively involved technicians and society for its protection. It also had a political character, in the sense that it can be read as a message of what would be, typically, the North American heritage.



03_Reverend William Archer Rutherfoord Goodwin (left) and John Rockfeller Jr. (second from right), 1928, at the launch of the restoration of Williamsburg School (in the background). It was also the time when Goodwin made public who was the benefactor who, since 1926, made donations for the protection of the city.

When considering the American scenario, the USA had a quite different development compared to the other countries of America. Recalling the French, Italian and English positions in the protection of the heritage, it is possible to say that the model followed in the Americas was inspired by the French and Italian ones, with a strong centralization of the actions of protection of the heritage in the State. Nevertheless, the United States is an exception, and can be compared to the English model. In the context of the protection of natural heritage, the State assumes an important role. However, with regard to the protection of historic monuments (or cultural heritage, to consider the term used today), civil society was the protagonist of protection actions at the beginning of the twentieth century, in a movement similar to that of antique dealers in England. Another aspect to be highlighted is the isolation of the country in relation to international discussions, although the North American experiences were known and recognized in Europe (being mentioned even by Benedetto Croce). It was only in the post-World War II scenario that the country entered the debate on protection on another scale.

[58] Cf. Fitch, 1993.

2: The post-World War II and the idea of a Heritage for Humanity

> Recalling that the Constitution of the Organization provides that it will maintain, increase, and diffuse knowledge, by assuring the conservation and protection of the world's heritage, and recommending to the nations concerned the necessary international conventions.
>
> Unesco, 1972

At the end of every war, the challenge of resumption is presented. What, then, say for a fresh start after the longest-reaching war we had ever known? The scene in the big European cities was the one of vast destruction. There was also the challenge of not incurring the same mistakes made at the end of World War I and the trauma of the atomic bomb. In this scenario, the UN and Unesco were born. As a continuity of the former League of Nations and the International Cooperation Bureaux respectively, the institutions were created in 1945 with the aim of establishing a world forum that could guide such a fresh start[1].

[1] With the end of the war, in 1945, the League of Nations gave place to the UN (United Nations); the International Committee on Intellectual Cooperation was replaced by Unesco; and in 1946 the International Museums Office originated the Icom (International Council of Museums).

The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (Unesco) had since its beginning as agenda the heritage protection[2]. This issue has gained relevance mainly because of the post-war destruction scenario. As was the case in the League of Nations, Unesco organized itself in periodic meetings, conventions, and expeditions or missions. The first major heritage convention took place almost ten years after the beginning of its activities. And like the previous meetings of the International Museums and Monuments Technicians Office, they have generated documents that have come to be considered as reference for the work of professionals and for the definition of public policies aimed at the heritage protection.

A new gaze at protection

It is common consensus that the world changed after World War II. At that moment, some nations reacted by rethinking their identity, and, as consequence, their heritage and its protection. Therefore, before looking at Unesco, we will see some changes that have contributed to another phase of the understanding about heritage protection.

In the Old World

Here opens up a huge field.

Germany after 1945, with its capital divided into four. The reconstruction of Warsaw, in a Poland that was rebuilding itself not only physically. The continuity of the dictatorship in Spain. The zone of influence of the USSR, a new global superpower. All Eastern European reorganization. The powerful England in crisis. The Italian Republic. The reforms in France, which culminated in the 1968's manifestations. Etc. etc. etc. When we look beyond Europe - and to focus only on major themes that directly impact the continent - we have the restructuring of the entire colonial system, creating another political geography; the resumption of Japan and communist China; the

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[2] The Unesco Constitution (November 1945) was initiated as follows: "Since wars being in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defences of Peace must be constructed; That ignorance of each other's ways and lives has been a common cause, throughout the history of mankind, of that suspicion and mistrust between the peoples of the world through which their differences have all too often broken into war; [...] That the wide diffusion of culture, and the education of humanity for justice and liberty and peace are indispensable to the dignity of man and constitute a sacred duty which all the nations must fulfil in a spirit of mutual assistance and concern".

ascendancy of the United States in the world, and in its 'backyard', Latin America; the Cold War.

Historian Eric J. Hobsbawm defined the period between the post-World War II until the early 1970s as the Golden Age, a period of great economic growth and profound social transformations. "Because the changes from it to the whole planet were as profound as they were irreversible"[3].

Europe[4] continued to be the centre of discussions and theoretical formulations on heritage, restoration and protection. In addition to the continuity of the actions begun there, the destructions that affected almost the entire continent brought a sense of urgency for new ideas about protection. In this aspect, the heritage remained as one of the main elements of national identity, but the definition on what is heritage began to change, to expand. And with that, the mechanisms for its protection. We highlight here two important changes that have taken place in governments that have continued to be references to protection: Italy and France.

*

Before, however, we make a brief parenthesis to talk about the situation in Germany. In addition to the political isolation of the country with the end of World War II, there was also the issue of heritage. Before the war, the main protection actions in the country were guided mainly by Riegl's theory, which was the greatest reference in German-speaking countries (with issues of value allocation, among others). In the post-war period, the word *Wiederaufbau* emerges as the main guideline. Formed from the words 'repetition', 'act' and 'construction', it carries, widely, the reconstruction process itself, meaning the reconstruction of "society, from cities to citizenship, from buildings to everyday life, from the streets and from factories to social relations. It was the beginning of the reconstruction of urban life"[5]. Thus, in the post-war reconstruction of cities, this was the word most often

[3] Hobsbawm, 1995, p. 18.

[4] It is worth remembering that one of the effects of the Cold War was the creation of the European Community in 1957, the forerunner of the European Union, which was understood as an arrangement to integrate economies. Cf. Hobsbawm, 1995.

[5] Souza, 2009, p. 1.

used, and was repeated in the reconstruction of Dresden at the time of German reunification[6].

Italy

After the laws of 1902 (*Sulla conservzione di monumenti e degli ogetti d'arte*) and 1922 (by Benedetto Croce), in the middle of fascist Italy and on the eve of World War II, the Minister Giuseppe Bottai proposed a reform and approved two parallel laws, signed in 1939. Law No 1089/39 (*Tutela delle cose d'arte artistico e storico*) and Law No 1497/39 (*Protezione delle bellezze naturali*). Based on the two precedents, they also started from the idea of the primacy of the public interest over the private one. The two laws operated together, establishing two instruments of protection: the identification of areas to be protected and the establishment of territorial landscape plans. The intention was to preserve monuments and artistic properties within their context.


LA DOMENICA DEL CORRIERE

Si pubblica a Milano ogni settimana

Supplemento illustrato del "Corriere della Sera"

Anno XXXVII — N. 9 — 3 Marzo 1935 - Anno XIII — Centesimi 30 la copia

Il Duce vibra il primo colpo di piccone per liberare l'area destinata alla Mole Littoria che, fra quattro anni, di fronte alle glorie monumentali dell'Urbe, simboleggerà la potenza dell'Italia fascista.

04_*La Dominica del Corriere*, March 3, 1935, Mussolini with the pickaxe in hand illustrates the destruction made for the construction of Via dell'Impero. Although Italian laws guaranteed the protection of heritage, some works conducted by Mussolini damaged considerable heritage, mainly in Rome.

[6] The word *Rekonstruktion* is more used when it comes to technical issues, and the term *Wiederaufbau* includes the concept of *Rekonstruktion*. However the reverse does not occur.

Despite being implanted in the fascist regime, they had no 'fascist' characteristics. On the contrary, in the elaboration phase of the text, Bottai had to his side the most prominent intellectuals in Italy of the time: Roberto Longhi, Giulio Carlo Argan, Cesare Brandi and the lawyer Santi Romano. The main advance was to establish that the protection of natural areas and the protection of historic, archaeological and artistic heritage were two sides of the same coin[7]. That is to say, they consolidated a series of actions that had taken place since the Renaissance.

For this reason, the Bottai law was considered one of the most advanced at the time, giving some autonomy to cities and regions for the establishment of territorial plans. Although highlighting the public interest and having been born of a law within the Ministry of Education, Simone Verde[8] points out a contradiction. In the text of the law, the heritage was understood in its matter. Although bond to a territory, the materiality left the heritage restricted to a circle of intellectuals, those who would have the necessary knowledge to assess their artistic importance, but away from society and, consequently, away from a value of memory.

Proof that the 'duo' of laws was above fascism was that, with the end of World War II and the establishment of a Republic in Italy, the new Constitution reinforced the ideas supported by Giuseppe Bottai. Article 9 says that "la Repubblica promuove lo sviluppo della cultura e la ricerca scientifica e tecnica. Tutela il paesaggio e il patrimonio storico e artistico della Nazione"[9]. The Italian Constitution was the first to mention the protection of the heritage explicitly, as one of the responsibilities of the Republic[10]. It was also the first to consider the protection of the landscape and cultural heritage in an integrated way in its Constitution.

Settis asserts that the text of the Constitution was not only an intention, but rather a description of a system already in operation[11]. The Italian protection structure,

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[7] Cf. Settis, 2012.

[8] Cf. Verde, 2014.

[9] Italy, *Costituzione della Repubblica Italiana*. 1948.

[10] The Brazilian Constitution of 1988 remains, still today, as one of the few in the world to mention heritage (Article 215: "The State shall guarantee to all the full exercise of cultural rights and access to the sources of the national culture, and will support and encourage the appreciation and diffusion of cultural manifestations" and Article 216, with the definition of the Brazilian cultural heritage).

[11] Cf. Settis 2007 and 2012.

with regional departments (the *Soprintendenze*) operating since Italian unification, was a system of territorial control and protection, adequate to local specificities. Such a set - laws, constitution, institutions - was based on national, popular sovereignty and citizenship directives, putting the notion of 'common good' at the foreground, which was also materialized in monuments, reinforcing the ideals of the French Revolution.

France

In the case of France, the Revolution had created a structure for protection of the heritage that remained until the end of World War II. As in Italy and Brazil, cultural issues were embedded within a Ministry of Education. It was in 1959, with General Charles de Gaulle in charge, that a Ministry of Culture (*Ministère des Affaires culturelles*) was created, headed by the writer and intellectual André Malraux. The new ministry started from an enlightenment mentality, and considered culture as a form of individual and collective freedom, essential for the construction of the identity of the nation[12]. He also launched the expression 'cultural heritage', replacing the 'historic monument', which he believed to have an elitist character. Choay denounces a certain populism in this choice, especially in his posture of linking culture to leisure[13]. It is a fact that the term 'heritage' spread rapidly, as well as the option to address the subject within a ministry of culture - as opposed to the previous practice within education structure.

In the context of heritage, he launched, with André Chastel in 1964, the *Inventaire general des monuments et richesses artistiques de la France*[14]. The document, in addition to resuming protection actions, was also the basis for a series of restoration works throughout the country, necessary after the war. Throughout the 20th Century, the ministry established several centres to handle specific issues, as well as actions that sought to form an annual calendar. Always within a logic centred in the State, but with actions carried out with several institutions, seeking contributions from several groups. Again in the spirit of

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[12] Cf. Verde, 2014, p. 96.

[13] Choay (2011a, pp. 84-85) points out that this option did not find resonance in Italy, where the tradition of re-use of buildings remained within the daily life of that population, even in cases of monumental character.

[14] By law nº. 2004-809 of August 13, 2004, the inventory became the local responsibility. In 2005, a national council (*Conseil national de l'inventaire general du patrimoine culturel*) was created to evaluate regional actions. It is more like a space for dialogue for the professionals of heritage, as well as propositions and debates on the ongoing actions. The works developed can be followed in: <http://www.inventaire.culture.gouv.fr/>.

the Revolution, "si fa politica culturale soltanto nella misura in cui si fornisce un servizio e si svolge un ruolo a supporto degli obiettivi della democrazia"[15]. In this sense, the French and North American actions are similar, although in the USA the State does not centralize these actions. After all, as André Malraux said, "car la culture ne s'hérite pas, elle se conquiert"[16].

Venice Charter

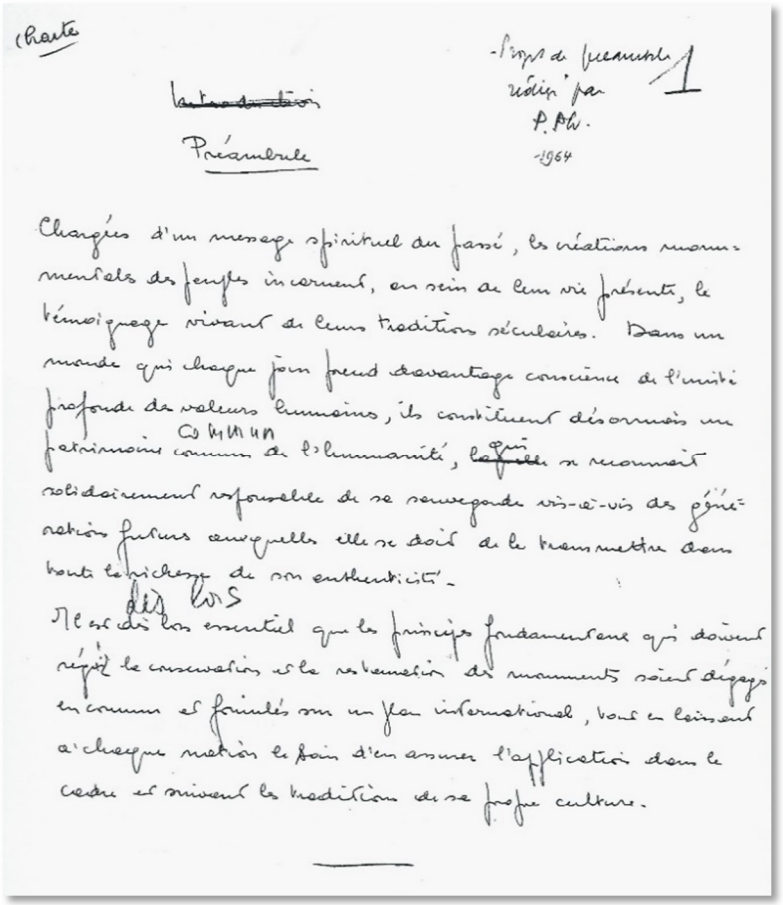
Rethinking the heritage protection logic was a topic in several forums, including - and with more force - the technical aspects of protection, mainly due to the volume of restoration works that needed to be carried out. From this perspective, and in a scenario in which Unesco worked with the historic heritage of Egypt, in 1957 was held the First International Congress of Architects and Technicians in Historical Monuments in Paris. As a continuation of the discussion held there, a new edition of the Congress was held this time in the city of Venice. The year was 1964 and there was produced a reference document in the protection of the heritage. The International Charter of Restoration, known as the Venice Charter, is still today the basis for the work of various institutions and professionals in the world and was also the basis for the creation of Icomos (to be detailed later).

One of the concerns of the Second Congress was to establish criteria and principles that would bring scientific rigor to the protection of cultural properties. The group that organized the scientific content of the event had the very important support of the Iccrom board, especially Roberto Pane and Paul Philippot, both very close to Cesare Brandi's ideas. Philippot wrote the foreword to the Charter, Mexican Carlos Flores Marini presided over the session and the rapporteur of the final version was the Belgian Raymond Lemaire. The congress gathered delegations from 61 countries, from all five continents. The final document was written by a group that had representatives from two American countries (Mexico and Peru) and one African (Tunisia). Despite the participation of representatives from around the globe, the weight of the old world remained with 90% of European delegates.

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[15] Verde, 2014, p. 102.

[16] In a speech delivered at Athens, May 28, 1959.



05_Paul Philippot's manuscript for the preface to the Venice Charter, 1964.

Even though it is still an important reference, there are a number of critics of the Charter, due to a very rigid approach or the lack of consideration of urban conservation aspects, or because it is very 'European'. However, within the technical references that the Charter contained, it is important to emphasize that it contributed to the establishment of several national policies for the protection of cultural properties. In particular, the assertion that each nation has responsibility for its heritage was an essential motivator for the discussions - and restructurings - that followed around the world.

Another of the critics of the letter concerns the financial and technical aspects necessary for the protection of heritage, which are often scarce in countries under development. There were also different theoretical questions between European and American practice.

> These differences stem back to the making of the Venice Charter of 1964, approved only tacitly by delegates from the United States and the United Kingdom because of a perceived continental bias towards monuments that did not take fully into account some of the less monumental heritage found in all

> countries, or the vernacular and most indigenous heritage of the New World. (Stubbs and Makaš, 2011, p. xvii)

West of the Atlantic

The American response to the Venice Charter was the signing of the Norms of Quito, in 1967, as the result of the Meeting on the Conservation and Use of Monuments and Sites of Historic and Artistic Interest organized by the Inter-American Cultural Council of the OAS (with the participation of a single non-American country, Spain). While the Venice Charter was permeated by the destruction caused by World War II, the Norms of Quito started from the destruction of heritage caused by the voracious growth of the American cities, showing a great concern with its historical centres.

> In all these countries [Latin America] – with the exception of Venezuela –, at the end of the Second World War the peasantry formed half or the absolute majority of the occupied population. But as early as 1970, there was *no* single country in Latin America - outside the mini-states of the stripe of Central America and Haiti - where peasants were not a minority. (Hobsbawm, 1995, p. 285)

The Norms also had another approach in comparison to the document of Venice: the economic and social development entered with weight in the agenda. Also due to the reality presented above, which allowed the emergence of a mass of urban population living in precarious and informal conditions. The agenda discussed existing legislation in member countries regarding heritage; technical staff training and coordination of mutual aid efforts; inter-American cooperation for the conservation and use of monuments[17]; and the adequate use of the monumental and artistic heritage, from the urban development and the touristic possibilities.

After all, the document affirmed that cultural heritage could be an instrument of development, combining an adequate protection and use of monuments and sites of archaeological, historic and artistic value to an economic vision. This premise influenced the legislation of several countries in Latin America, such as the Dominican

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[17] A report on the theme was elaborate (*El patrimonio cultural de America y la acción cooperativa interamericana*, Document OEA / SER.J / VI CIC / PC / Doc. November 4, 1967) which presents a historical panorama of protection actions, including meetings and conferences, which culminated in the Quito meeting in 1967.

Republic and Cuba, in which the recovery of historical areas began to be used as a vector of economic development[18].

Even with the aspect of economic development with great weight, protection actions in the Americas were still guided by the European experiences. The critics of Roberto Pane and Graziano Gasparini clearly indicates this:

> Si può dire che la situazione dell'America Latina resulta definita dagli stessi errori ed orrori che noi deploriamo in casa nostra. (Pane, 1973, p. 57)

> South America has suffered through a century of confusing and mostly mediocre efforts to rescue and safeguard its monumental heritage; this has been the result of following a quasi-gospel as set forth in pronouncements from distant shores, that crossed the Atlantic Ocean as if via Bible. In truth, they were merely echoes that were usually muted, and often misinterpreted. (Gasparini, 2002, p. 44)

If those affirmations are valid for the countries of Latin America, which had their first protection actions carried out in partnership with Spain and then always based on the actions and theories developed in France and Italy, the same cannot be said of the States United States of America[19]. The US has kept its distance from the heritage debate world wide until the end of World War II. And even the actions carried out before this period were based on the English model.

United States of America

Following the Organic Act of 1916, a new legal milestone for the protection of American heritage was signed in 1966: the National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA)[20]. The document was based on the perception that the constructions being

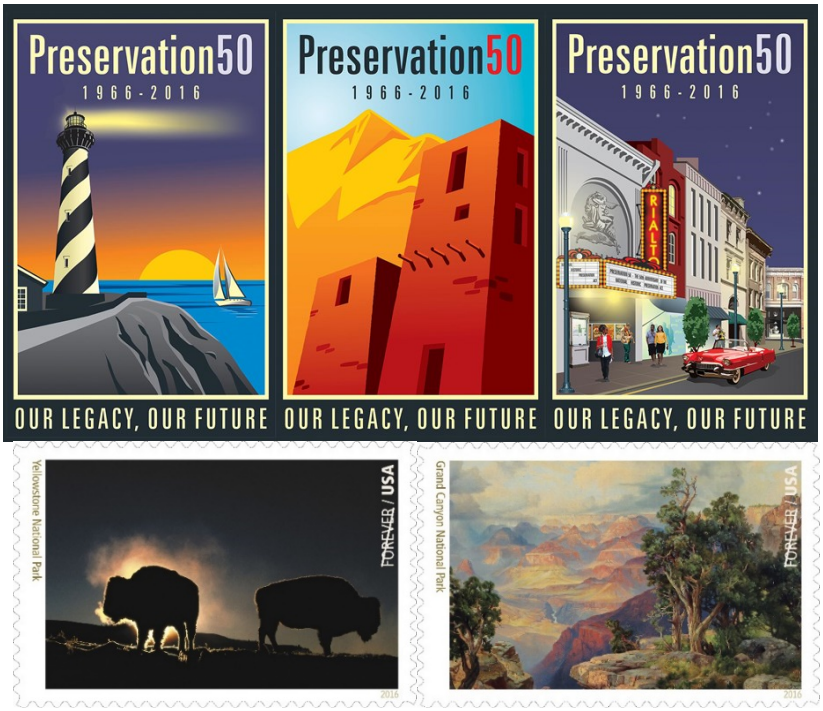
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[18] Today, all the American countries have some governmental institution that is responsible for the protection of the heritage. Yet there is a well-established network of non-governmental organizations that support the process. The most used model in the continent are divisions of museums / heritage / monuments inserted in ministries of culture or education.

[19] Canada assumes a hybrid position, due to its French and English colonization. It should be emphasized that the protection actions carried out there are almost always carried out from the perspective of the natural heritage, due to the geographical character of its territory. Since the 1990s, the country has also developed actions aimed at preserving the memory of indigenous populations, becoming a worldwide reference in actions of regional museums and indigenous heritage. (Cf. Stubbs and Makaš, 2011)

[20] In addition to the *Organic Act*, other US heritage legislation initiatives were the *Antiquities Act* of 1906 and the *Historic Sites Act* of 1935. None of them, however, had the scope of the 1966 act. The 1906 act gave the US president authority to enact public areas of natural, cultural or scientific importance as national monuments; while that of 1935, organized the parks created in the Organic Act in the National Park System.

carried out in the post-war period put at risk several historical sites, including the destruction of some of them. Therefore, actions that were previously based on the initiative of the citizens passed to the control of the State, with the federal government assuming a role of control of the actions of protection of the North American cultural heritage.



06_Logos for the commemoration of the 50th anniversary of the NHPA and stamps commemorating the 100th anniversary of the Organic Act (Yellowstone and Grand Canyon National Parks)

The creation, in 1949, of the National Trust for Historic Preservation (NTHP) - a non-profit organization with headquarters in Washington -, preceded the signing of the NHPA. There was already the concern with the urban expansion that began to accelerate with the end of the war. NTHP managed private resources to carry out protection actions in support of the National Park System, and continues to operate until today[21].

Regarding the 50th anniversary of the NHPA[22], the US's president released the following note:

> I am pleased to join in celebrating the 50th anniversary of the National Historic Preservation Act. America's history is rooted in places – from rolling hills to vast

[21] Cf. Murtagh, 2006.

[22] President Barack Obama's note is available at: <https://www.nps.gov/subjects/historicprotection/upload/president-statement-50th-anniversary.pdf>. A 50th anniversary commemorative site was created: protection50.org

> plains to coastlines along the sea – that reflect the diversity of our people and the beliefs that have shaped our Nation. Fifty years ago, President Lyndon B. Johnson signed the National Historic Preservation Act into law as a tribute to our storied past – giving life to the cultural foundations of our country and enabling our people to gain insights into generations before them. The Act helps Americans serve as stewards of their history and preserve vital places in their communities. In marking this special milestone, we are reminded that through our journey to live up to our highest ideals remains incomplete, we can always look to the lessons of history as we chart our course. (Barack Obama, October 14, 2016)

However, World War II changed the North American posture of isolation[23]. The Cold War intensified the policy of 'Good Neighbourhood', accentuating North American cultural penetration in Latin America. As Fernando Atique puts it, this policy dates back to 1928, when Herbert Hoover, during his trip to Latin American countries, used the expression 'good neighbour', [...] demarcating the principle of its foreign policy for Latin America, and giving the suggestion for the name of the policy that Roosevelt would practice, from 1933"[24]. Atique also recalls an important episode of this relationship with Brazil: the launch of the book Brazil Builds, edited by the Museum of Modern Art of New York (MoMA) under the responsibility of Philip L. Goodwin in 1943[25]. Seeking to establish alliances, the book presented the Brazilian architecture not only for the North Americans, but also for the whole world, considering the repercussion of the publication.

Another point of contact was the experience of urban sociology, mainly realized by the Chicago School of Sociology, in Latin American cities[26]. The positive

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[23] If the US were reluctant to sign the Venice Charter in 1964, they actively participated in the process of implementing the World Heritage List, as will be demonstrated below.

[24] Atique, 2007, p. 5.

[25] In 1955, another publication by MoMA, gave continuity to that, *Latin American architecture since 1945*, organized by Henry-Russell Hitchcock. The work presented the modern architecture in ten countries in Latin America, highlighting Brazil, Mexico and Venezuela.

[26] The first department of sociology in the United States was created in 1882 at the University of Chicago. It was in this department that the 'Chicago School' was born, which presented a new approach to urbanism. At that time, several American cities were in the midst of a process of "invasion" by a rural population and by immigrants. Chicago was among them. So, the university researchers started using the city itself as a large laboratory, working with large volumes of quantitative and qualitative data. The intention was that, from these data, it would be possible to understand the urban phenomenon installed there, as well as to establish researches that could present solutions to these problems - unhealthy housing conditions, violence, delinquency, epidemics, ghettos, slums, etc. In the post-War II period, this methodology - urban sociology -

repercussion of these theories, coupled with the policy of good neighbourhood in the post-World War II period, broadened the scope of the School in the 1940s. The Chicago researchers began to apply their theories and experiments to Latin America as well. The group's perspective was that by studying Latin American cities, they would be looking at an earlier stage of development. In this way, it would be possible to develop intervention actions, using these cities as laboratories. In this sense, several partnerships were made in Mexico, in the Yucatán peninsula under the anthropologist Robert Redfield.

Other researchers went further south, forming an entire generation of *brasilianists* and creating numerous centres of Latin American studies. One of the main examples is the *Latin American Seminar* of Columbia University - since 1945, Frank Tannenbaum has conducted interdisciplinary meetings with a wide range of subjects. During the 25 years that the seminar took place regularly, the focus was on discussions on politics and culture, and always with the theme of cities in evidence. There were names like Daniel Cosio-Villegas (Mexico), Jose Luis Romero (Argentina), Eduardo Santos Montejo (Colombia), Gilberto Freyre and Flávio Motta (Brazil), among others. The meetings had results that extrapolated the academic field, giving rise to *The Frank Tannenbaum Roundtable on Latin America* of the Centre for Inter-American Relations of the city of New York, still active today.

Studies of urban sprawl in the tropics have contributed to raising awareness of the problems that began to emerge, including the degradation of historic centres. And this was the main theme of the debate that generated the Norms of Quito.

The 'good-neighbourhood' policy has had numerous nuances in many areas. However, what interests us is that through it, the US began to participate in cultural policies beyond its territory. Inserting itself in the international debate on the protection of the heritage.

Renato Soeiro

Returning to the south of America, Brazil also rethought its heritage. If in the post-war period, Lúcio Costa was still the standard, some actions showed a change

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gained international prominence.

of approach. Such changes came mainly under the management of the architect Renato Soeiro, born in the northern state of Pará, between 1967 and 1979[27].

His management modernized Iphan, especially with two actions. The first was the restructuring of the Institute, which now has nine Regional Directorates instead of the four initial districts. The idea of establishing stronger local ties was also seen in the meetings of governors held in Brasilia and Salvador (1970 and 1971, respectively). These meetings had the purpose of discussing the protection of the heritage. From them were created the protection agencies in the state sphere, continuing a decentralization of the Institute[28].

Another action led by Soeiro and of great impact in the protection of the Brazilian heritage was the creation of the Program of Historic Cities (PCH). Created in 1973 and deactivated in the early 1980s, the program was a first step towards understanding the protection of cultural and natural heritage as regional and urban policies[29]. It was also an important moment at Iphan, where protection actions left the Minas Gerais-Rio de Janeiro axis, returning to the historic cities of the North and Northeast regions. As at the time of Iphan's creation, president Getúlio Vargas's government looked at heritage as a possible factor of union of the country, as did also the military government, understanding the Institute as an important instrument of a nationalist policy. In the case of the military dictatorship of 1964, actions in the northern regions of Brazil were important in order to prevent dissonant movements to the regime (especially the *Ligas Camponesas* in Pernambuco state).

Soeiro had a clear vision of how big the problems faced by cities were due to the flow of countryside-city migration. This also gave him full awareness of the

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[27] Some researchers point out the management of Renato Soeiro as mere continuity of the management of Rodrigo Melo Franco de Andrade. Our position is the same one presented by Paulo Ormindo de Azevedo (2016), that this view was created by the management after Soeiro in Iphan (Aluísio Magalhães, 1979-1982), as an indication of the political dispute that exists within Iphan.

[28] The idea of working with the protection agencies at the regional level was the basis of the Italian protection system, with Superintendencies for each of the Italian regions and some special areas for highly complex sites (for example, the Pompeian archaeological site or the centre of Rome).

[29] Cf. Azevedo, 2016. Azevedo also briefly reviews the program's legacy: "The union's bankruptcy monopoly was broken, the PCH intervention methodology was relaxed in some municipalities, such as Recife and Manaus, and indirectly the expansion of the concept of heritage with the Constitution of 1988 and the consequent registration of the heritage in 2000. We lost the integration of cultural and natural heritage to urban and regional development programs and the federative pact for our heritage, as the closing of many state and municipal protection agencies for lack of resources." (Azevedo, 2016, p. 253)

difficulties of conservation, especially in urban and natural areas. Therefore, he adopted a posture of seeking to integrate a protection into urban policies and planning. The restructuring of Iphan and a closest contact with state governments was a strategy to integrate federal protection and active participation of state and municipal governments.

He also understood that if protection of urban sites remained restricted to the legal protection of buildings (called in Brazil *tombamento*), there was a risk of "freezing" cities centres, leaving them apart from an urban and territorial development. Moreover, making its effective preservation extremely difficult. One way to seek this balance would be through tourism, as stated in the Norms of Quito. In fact, the report of the second Unesco mission in Brazil, carried out between 1966 and 1967 by Michel Parent, had exactly the title of *Protection and enhancement of Brazilian cultural heritage in the touristic development*[30].

In addition, Soeiro expanded the Brazilian position internationally. He had frequent contact with other heritage managers, both in Latin America and Europe. He participated in the Hague Convention of 1952, the 1972 World Heritage Convention and was one of the signatories of the 1967 Norms of Quito. It was during the period in which he was the president of Iphan that most of the Unesco and OAS missions were carried out in Brazil[31]. He sought Unesco's support, mainly because of the lack of resources, and also aware of Brazil's technical limitations - noticing that he took over Iphan at a time when the staff was practically the same of a 30 years prior period, at the Institute's creation, with a considerable number of technicians already retired. The Unesco's missions in Brazil were particularly focused for evaluation and preparation of plans for historic centres.

> Together with Unesco he was able to bring the architects Viana de Lima to a plan for the protection of Ouro Preto and evaluation of the merit of the protection of S. Luiz and Alcântara, in Maranhão in 1968, the Britishes Shakland and Walton for a tourist plan for Pelourinho, and the urban planner Linburg-Stirum for an integral plan of Parati. He also asked for missions with architects Raul Pastrana and Guillermo Trimmiño, the latter a Colombian expert in inventories, and the director of the Andean Cultural Heritage Project

[30] Cf. Leal, 2008.

[31] Cf. Iphan (2005 document) and Mori (2011).

> (Unesco / Pnud), Sylvio Mutal, to discuss heritage policies. (Azevedo, 2016, p. 242)

He also brought the Mexican Carlos Flores Marini, an important figure in the drafting of the Venice Charter (as was Soeiro) and prominent in the National Institute of Anthropology and History of Mexico (INAH), and the French Jean-Bernard Perrin. Indeed, he managed to go beyond occasional projects and consultancies.

In the 1970s, in partnership with federal and state universities, Soeiro started several training courses, which enabled an entire generation of professionals who actively participated in the protection of Brazilian heritage in the following decades. We highlight the specialization course on Conservation of Monuments and Historic Sites of 1974, held in partnership with Iphan and the Faculty of Architecture and Urbanism of the University of Sao Paulo (USP). As the result of the management of Renato Soeiro and Luis Saia[32] (at Iphan - SP), was coordinated by Saia and professors Nestor Goulart Reis and Ulpiano Bezerra de Menezes. Among the teachers, in addition to Iphan technicians (including Soeiro), the international guests were Hughes de Varine-Boham, Victor Pimentel and Viana de Lima. Such openness to ideas and, above all, to different practices permitted a "comparison with international positions [which] openly exposed, for the first time, conceptual conflicts in the unchallenged criteria practiced by Iphan"[33].

A Convention for the Protection of World Heritage

The idea of a pretended universal heritage was not born after the war. Whether in the Renaissance, with the understanding of ancient Greek and Roman works as an expression of humanity; either in the French Revolution, with the artist's celebration, and no longer of the sovereign, the universality of the heritage was already there.

In 1954, the Hague Convention dealt with the destruction of heritage during wartime. A theme more than familiar to all involved, it was also the result of several

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[32] About the performance of Luis Saia at the Iphan Superintendence in São Paulo, as well as how he helped to create and consolidate an idea of what would be the heritage of São Paulo see Rolim, 2006.

[33] Mori, 2011, p. 1.

missions that had close contact with the destruction caused by the war. Whether in the physical destruction of monuments or in the theft or disappearance of works of art.

Although the approach of the end of the war has raised the issue dealt with in Hague, the text of the convention was, in fact, the fifth version of an agreement on destruction caused during periods of armed conflict. The first was proposed by the Russian emperor Alexander II, and was adopted at a conference in Brussels in 1874 (International Declaration Concerning the Laws and Customs of War). The text stated that "culture was a common heritage of humanity and cultural property was considered irreplaceable once destroyed"[34]. Jokilehto says that, indeed, recognizing the existence of a cultural heritage of humanity is a prerequisite for any international action. But this universality must be inserted in a historical-cultural context[35]. Therein lies the conflict - and the difficulty - of acting in protection on a global scale[36]. This debate had also been seen in the International Committee on Intellectual Cooperation of the League of Nations[37].

In a way, the missions of the Committee - and later Unesco - took up part of the old idea of study tours that stimulated the development of the Renaissance and spread the first debates on protection and restoration after the French Revolution. Unesco's heritage-driven missions initially focused on the Middle East and North Africa. Gradually, they also included Asia (especially Southeast Asia) and Latin America.

In the document setting up the organization, as well as on its behalf, Unesco aims to promote collaboration among countries through education, science and culture. With the beginning of their actions, they began to look for support agencies that could provide the necessary technical support in different areas of activity.

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[34] Jokilehto, 2011, p. 3.

[35] Jokilehto, in his Iccrom story (2011), and Titchen, in his thesis on the construction of the idea of a universal value (1995), address the question of the evolution of the idea of a heritage of humanity.

[36] The idea of a humanity heritage is not accepted as a natural fact. One of the strong opposing positions is that of Françoise Choay. Her position - the concept of 'museification' of heritage - will be taken up later. However, we record here one of her arguments, a message sent in 1952 by Claude Lévi-Strauss in *Race et histoire*: "Il n'y a pas, et il ne peut y avoir, une civilisation mondiale [...] puisque la civilisation implique la coexistence de cultures offrant entre elles le maximum de diversités, et consiste même en cette coexistence" (apud Choay, 2011a, p. 86).

[37] Also, following the 1954 Convention, the New Delhi Recommendation (1956), which defined international principles for archaeological excavations. Thus, heritage at risk from wars and archeology were the first two motivators of international protection parameters.

Iccrom and Icomos

In this perspective, the first support agency created was the International Centre for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property (Iccrom) [38], that was not born with that name. At the Unesco General Conference held in New Delhi in 1956, a proposal was approved for the creation of an international centre for research and development of new conservation methodologies. Three years later, in a partnership with the Italian government, the institution was created. Based in the city of Rome, it became known as the 'Centre of Rome'. In 1978, the centre was named Iccrom.

Its first director was Harold Plenderleith, who came from the *British Museum* in London, who gathered in the early years of the Centre of Rome, the leading specialists in restoration of various typologies. In addition to the permanent body, Iccrom has established partnerships around the world with similar research centres. This network, combined with its work with Unesco and the period of its creation, has allowed the centre to work on the most diverse experiences, which has contributed to the improvement of its technical staff and to the expansion of its collaboration network.

Iccrom had as its goal - and as a mission since its birth - restoration. However, Unesco had to think about heritage more broadly, considering protection, especially in its aspects of public policy and management. From this perspective, the International Council on Monuments and Sites (Icomos) was created in 1965.

The idea of creating an organization dedicated to the protection of historic monuments and sites, independent of Icom that dealt with museums, had existed since the 1st Congress of Architects and Specialist in Historic Buildings. The congress was held in Paris in 1957 and at that time recommended that the member States of Unesco took part in Iccrom. The 2nd Congress was held in Venice in 1964, which gave rise to the famous charter, in addition to 13 resolutions. The first was the establishment of an international charter of restoration (the Venice Charter). The second included the creation of an international council for monuments and sites. The idea was embraced by Unesco: Icomos was born.

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[38] For a detailed history of Iccrom's actions, see Jokilehto, 2011.



07_Members of the International Institute for Conservation of Historic and Artistic Works (IIC) in Brussels, 1948. The ICC was one of the institutions that formed the basis of Unesco's activities. In the center, Paul Coremans and Harold Plenderleith. The latter would be, years later, the first director of Iccrom.

As a non-governmental organization associated with Unesco, Icomos has the mission of promoting the conservation, protection, use and enhancement of monuments, urban centres and sites[39]. Also on the organization's website, Icomos presents itself as a "network of experts that benefits from the interdisciplinary exchange of its members, among which are architects, historians, archaeologists, art historians, geographers, anthropologists, engineers and town planners"[40].

In fact, international cooperation was not new: in addition to study tours, encounters functioned as learning spaces, exchanging experiences and discussing specific problems - as in the case of Athens discussed in 1931 and which gave rise to the aforementioned charter. Within the actions of Iccrom and the Icomos, several visits were made to America. It is worth mentioning the expedition led by the Michel Parent (representing Unesco), and the conduct of Graziano Gasparini, in the direction of the institution of protection of Venezuelan heritage. There, Gasparini organized several

[39] Cf. <www.icomos.org>

[40] In March 2016, there were 9,500 members in 151 countries; 300 affiliated institutions; 106 national committees and 28 international scientific committees.

seminars, especially on the history of architecture, always with Italian and Latin American experts. In particular, the work of the Icomos contributed decisively to the exchange and to a knowledge - in Europe - of the specificities of the American heritage.

Finally, we recall the IUCN (*International Union for Conservation of Nature*), the third organization named in the Convention as an advisory body to Unesco. Founded in 1948, the IUCN develops technical evaluations on the applications of natural heritage sites, as well as monitoring its conservation status through a network of experts around the world[41].

First international campaigns of Unesco

Unesco's first international action for the protection of heritage was made in 1959[42], when an international campaign was established to raise funds for the Abu Simbel Temple in the Nile River Valley, Egypt. The action, which was carried out based on official requests from the governments of Egypt and Sudan, was so successful that it originated others in Venice, Pakistan and Indonesia. In addition, a draft convention was drawn up - that would take place thirteen years later.

At that first moment, Iccrom was very close to Unesco's actions, including the participation in the field of its directors and leading experts. In the Egyptian mission, participated the director Plenderleith and one of its main specialists, Paolo Mora. A whole monumental area in the Nile River Valley was threatened by the construction of a dam (of Aswan), which works began in 1960. Due to the inevitable flood, monuments were relocated to higher areas. Unesco initiated contact with the government of Egypt in 1956 for the relocation process and also for the creation of the Documentation and Studies Centre for the History of Ancient Egyptian Art and Civilization in Cairo. Iccrom became involved in the project in 1959, following a formal invitation from the Egyptian government. This was the first time that the organization was recognized as the authority to be consulted in such cases. In addition to the technical support, a campaign was also

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[41] Considering that the present research has its main focus on cultural heritage, IUCN's performance has not been much explored.

[42] Cf. Unesco, 2008.

organized by Unesco to raise funds for the work. The campaign has triggered all UN member States, with various actions to collect donations.



08_Seals issued as part of the Unesco campaign for Abu Simbel (in 1960, Morocco and Argentina).

The specific mission to the Nile valley and the safeguarding of the Nubian monuments was followed by other missions, which involved consultations with other sites in the country, as well as monitoring the actions implemented in 1959.

The second major project where Iccrom performed as Unesco's field team was the series of floods that hit the Italian regions of Tuscany and Veneto.

> During the first days of November, Tuscany and Venetia were devastated by floods of extraordinary magnitude and violence. The damage has been enormous. To the toll in human lives and the loss of property were added the destruction, in Florence and Venice, of creations of the human spirit which made the enchantment of the culture and art of living that Italy has given to the world. In all, 885 works of art of the first importance, 18 churches and some 10,000 other objects have suffered. Seventy libraries and learned institutions have been stricken. More than 700,000 volumes of archives comprising some 50 million items, of which 10,000 were of inestimable historical and scientific value, have been damaged. (apud Jokilehto, 2011, p. 34)

This was the appeal of the Director-General of Unesco, René Maheau, on December 2, 1966, when an international campaign was launched asking for donations to safeguard Florence and Venice[43].

The campaign was a success and allowed the creation of an emergency fund focused on Italian art and archives. More than that, it was the beginning of the

[43] This campaign was remembered at exhibitions held in Florence and Venice in 2016. The project 'Firenze 2016', which aims to make the population and institutions aware of the need to carry out and implement emergency plans focused not only on people but also on cultural heritage.

establishment of an emergency team at Iccrom. In the first days after the floods there was a quick response of help, but in confused and disconnected actions (some places had several technicians, others none or lacking equipment, etc.). After the Italian government formalized a request for assistance to Iccrom, the centre took on the coordination of actions, based on two principles: technical and scientific orientation of actions; and planning and organization guidance for all restoration and conservation works. The main action of the team was to develop a general plan to rescue the affected works, including the organization of information flows.



09_Iccrom coordinated the international rescue teams of Unesco in the 1966 flood that hit the Italian regions of Tuscany and Veneto. In the photo, the Bargello Museum, Florence, with documents in process of recovery.

The situation in Florence was more easily controlled because the flood caused punctual damage. The case of Venice was more complicated, considering that the whole city had been affected. Therefore, the Iccrom team remained involved in safeguard actions for several years after the initial moment of rescue.

Notably is also the action for the temple of Borobudur, in Indonesia. One of the largest Buddhist temples in the world, Unesco started an international campaign in 1972 for its restoration. The project was supported by 27 countries, and the works were successfully completed and delivered in 1983[44].

These campaigns contributed in several aspects to the consolidation of Unesco's activities - and its partnership with Iccrom. Firstly, to be able to structure a

[44] In 1991, the temple was inscribed on the World Heritage List.

specialized centre that could attend to different situations. Although Iccrom worked primarily with Italian professionals (the exceptions were the director, the British Plenderleith, and his assistant, the Belgian Paul Philippot), the works were always done together with local teams, helping to ensure a continuity of the processes. Finally, the donation campaigns contributed greatly to the dissemination of Iccrom's work. This ensured that its members gradually increased, expanding the network of technicians around the world[45].

The 1972 Convention

Another important moment happened in Washington, USA, in 1965. This year a conference was organized at the White House proposing the creation of a World Heritage Fund, intended to stimulate international cooperation in protecting natural areas and historic sites throughout the world and contributed to the consolidation of an extended concept of heritage. In such a way that, the final document of the 1972 Convention considered three categories of sites: natural areas, cultural areas (historical) and mixed areas (that would combine the two previous ones)[46].

And then we arrive at 1972, Paris, Convention concerning the Protection of World Cultural and Natural Heritage. The convention reaped the fruits of a debate on a heritage of global interest that had begun in the inter-war period with the League of Nations. On November 16, 1972, Unesco's General Conference, gathered in Paris, adopted the Convention concerning the Protection of World Cultural and Natural Heritage, which created a mechanism for recognizing a world heritage, with the inscription of cultural and natural sites in a public list.

The World Heritage List (hereinafter 'List') was created in the Convention and in 1976 the World Heritage Fund, also provided for in the document, was implemented. From that year, the List began to be operationalized and structured, with the first candidacies accepted in 1978, with twelve registered sites. The twelve pioneers were

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[45] Brazil was an associated state since the creation of Iccrom. In 1968 there was the first adhesion of a Brazilian institution, the Museum of Contemporary Art (MAC) of the University of Sao Paulo.

[46] The Brazilian Renato Soeiro represented Brazil at the preparatory meeting held in April 1972, in the Special Committee of Intergovernmental Experts, of which he was appointed to be vice-president. In this meeting there was a dispute about the weight that would be given to cultural and natural heritage and Soeiro played an important role in balancing the representativeness of all (cf. Azevedo, 2016).

three Europeans, six Americans and three Africans[47]. In 2016, the List had 1,052 registered sites, and its distribution around the world was as follows: Africa, 90; Arab States, 81; Asia and Pacific, 246; Europe and North America, 498; Latin America and the Caribbean, 137. Italy is the country with the highest number of sites inscribed on the List, with 51 sites recognized as World Heritage. The list of heritage in danger counted on 55 inscribed sites[48].

It is important to remark a key thing here, beyond a footnote. The division by regions presented is the official adopted by the World Heritage Centre (WHC). All the statistics and planning of the WHC are based on this division. If the union of Asia and the Pacific and the separation of the Arab States from Asia is justified by cultural and civilizing issues, the same cannot be said of Europe in addition to North America. Not to mention the number of sites inscribed: in North America are 41 against 457 Europeans. Notwithstanding that part of the sites present in the United States have its origin in the period of the Spanish presence in the Americas. This issue will be taken up again in Part III, when dealing with Unesco global strategies.

The list of pioneers shows a percentage of American sites that is far from the reality of the total number of enrolled sites nowadays. This fact indicates the proximity of this first group to the actions of the UN. The intention was also to establish a position, especially with regard to sites located in North America, and to encourage UN member States to subscribe the World Heritage Convention.

The process for joining the List takes place in four phases. In the first, the site is included in the indicative list of the respective State. This list presents the sites that a country intends to apply for World Heritage in the next five to ten years. After this declaration of intent, the country can prepare the application process, which is carried out with the support of the Unesco's World Heritage Center. After the process is ready, it will be evaluated by the support institutions - Icomos, Iccrom and IUCN. The evaluation of the institutions is then forwarded to the World Heritage Committee, which meets annually, where the request is evaluated.

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[47] 1 in Germany, 2 in Ecuador, 2 in Poland, 1 in Senegal, 2 in Canada, 2 in the United States and 2 in Ethiopia. All remain on the list to this day, with one in Ethiopia on the World Heritage in Danger list (Simien National Park).

[48] The distribution in regions of the list of Assets in Danger in June 2016: 17 Africa, 21 Arab States, 6 Asia and the Pacific, 4 Europe and North America (1 in the US) and 7 Latin America and the Caribbean. WHC maintains up-to-date statistics on your site: <www.whc.unesco.org>

The process is performed from ten selection criteria, and the candidate site must fit at least one of them. The criteria changed in 2004 and still valids in 2016 are the following:

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

> species of Outstanding Universal Value from the point of view of science or conservation. (Unesco WHC, document WHC.15/01, p. 16-17)

Another important mechanism of the World Heritage Convention is the World Heritage in Danger list. Sites recognized as world heritage can be included in this list, which gives immediate access to assistance, whether from the fund or from the World Heritage Centre. The motives that may lead to the inclusion of a site on the list in danger range from armed conflicts and wars in the region, natural catastrophes, pollution, urban growth or unregulated tourist activity. This mechanism allows not only access to Unesco resources, but mainly works as a warning to the international community about the situation of a given cultural or natural property.

In addition to the two lists, the Unesco's World Heritage Centre works with support actions for technical training (mainly with Iccrom's support) and dissemination, including actions for heritage enhancement with young people.

Initially, Unesco - headquartered in Paris - had support agencies for its actions, with offices based in Italy, Norway, Canada, England and Switzerland, in addition to the support agencies nominated in the 1972 Convention. Today, within Unesco's global strategies, there is a much broader support network that seeks direct contact with the most diverse realities. This network is made up of institutions that have varying degrees of ties with Unesco, including regional offices, national committees, institutes and specialized centres, associated libraries and university chairs [49]. Lastly, it maintains a line of publications, almost entirely accessible online.

In this way, it seeks to act broadly in protection, encompassing several actions. It is also worth noting that, legally, the responsibility for protection rests with the States where the sites are located[50]. Thus, Unesco's work in protection focuses on activities that do not contemplate direct intervention in the property or site, but that seek to

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[49] It should be noted that this network is not exclusive to action with world heritage issues. In 2016 there were 54 regional offices and 199 National Committees. The university chairs aim to establish bridges between the academic field, civil society and local communities.

[50] World Heritage Convention (1972), part II – National Protection and International Protection of the Cultural and Natural Heritage. Article 4. "Each State Party to this Convention recognizes that the duty of ensuring the identification, protection, conservation, presentation and transmission to future generations of the cultural and natural heritage referred to in Articles 1 and 2 and situated on its territory, belongs primarily to that State. It will do all it can to this end, to the utmost of its own resources and, where appropriate, with any international assistance and co-operation, in particular, financial, artistic, scientific and technical, which it may be able to obtain".

contribute decisively and positively to its protection. This further reinforces the need to work within a network with local organizations.

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The Convention only strengthened - and structure - the network that was already in operation for the protection of the heritage. From the Venice Charter of 1964 - and the 1972 Convention -, meetings began to be held much more intensively, with the spread of various charters specific to different realities around the world.

Global structuring

The scenario for the 1972 Convention – whether the previous or latter - saw the structuring of a worldwide network for the protection of heritage. Actions that existed still in a timid or punctual manner were amplified, and encouraged the creation of new structures. Increasingly considering the world scale. The post-World War II period did not see Europe lose its central place in the protection debate (nor did the beginning of the twenty-first century), but important actions - of worldwide reach - began to be drawn up in the Americas.

Pan American experiences

> Rendere compatibili sviluppo urbano e tutela del patrimonio è una delle sfide chiave del prossimo millennio. Per questo è necessario capire che il fattore culturale è un valore costitutivo essenziale di ogni sviluppo economico equilibrato, e che non ci sarà recupero possibile del nostro patrimonio storico se non si darà, nel contempo, una risposta alle esigenze sociali. Questa combinazione fra cultura e soddisfazione sociale è la chiave per recuperare le aree storiche nei centri urbani. (Gutiérrez, 2000, p. 21)

One of the crucial differences in American and European approaches to protection is the social factor. In the Americas, actions that can contribute to social development are naturally considered as the first to be carried out. Whether it be in projects that value native peoples - great concern in some cases of the USA and in Canada - or because of a reality of great social inequality - as in the case of almost all of Latin America. Considering these specificities, besides the common history, there are some institutions that

work in the continent, with the purpose of safeguarding the American heritage and of promoting an exchange of experiences, based on the similarities of the heritage existing in the continent.

The first institution to begin a dialogue on protection at the governmental level on the continent was the OAS, with the aforementioned Roerich Pact and the Norms of Quito. The Organization sought through its education and culture department to keep the discussion on protection in mind. Unfortunately, this activity does not yet have the strength of the forums created by the European Union, and remains very focused on the discussion on promoting tourism from its historical sites. In fact, unlike the European agencies, which maintains strong forums for discussion on cultural legislation and policies, organizations in the Americas have as their main focus the financing of projects.



10_Sylvio Mutal at Tambomachay, Peru, 1978.

From this perspective, another important institution on the continent is the Inter-American Development Bank (IDB). Its work in the area of heritage became more consistent and effective from the 1970s, when IDB made the first loans for recovery plans and development of historic centres[51]. In 1974, $ 26.5 million was invested in the city of Cuzco (Peru), and $ 13 million for the restoration of Panama City in 1977. The success of

[51] Cf. Stubbs and Makaš, 2011)

these two projects increased the search for IDB funds, leading the bank to establish some criteria and from the 1990s, projects for the recovery of historic centres should present themselves as potential for socioeconomic development. New investments were made, with emphasis on the contribution of US $ 42 million to the city of Quito, Ecuador. In addition to the socio-economic dimension, projects should also incorporate other types of support, especially from local institutions, and have a sustainability perspective after the end of the IDB's contribution. This is the guideline followed until today.

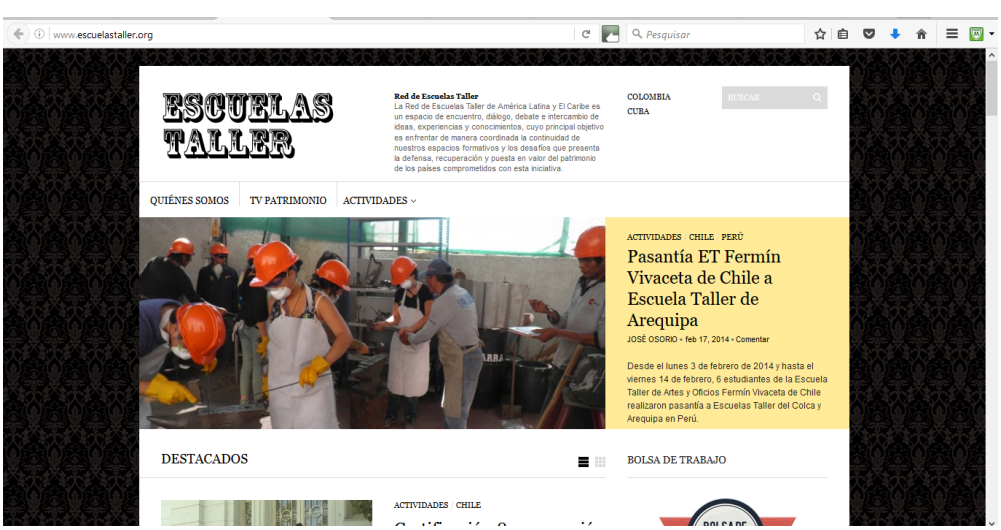
Also in the 1970s, the IDB established a partnership with Unesco, implementing a regional project for cultural, urban and environmental heritage with the United Nations Development Program (UNDP). The project ran from 1976 to 1995 and was coordinated by architect Sylvio Mutal. With headquarters in Lima (Peru), the project had as objectives the protection of urban heritage; training of technical staff, aiming at establishing a network between conservation centres and museums in the region; and protection and valuation of the mixed heritage of the Andes region.

Among several non-governmental organizations working in the continent, we highlight two. One is the World Monuments Fund (WMF), a private, non-profit organization created in 1965 in New York. Following the tradition of North American civil organizations, a group of citizens gathered, worried about the rapid destruction of monuments around the world[52]. Assuming that stories told by any heritage are universal, the organization works with local partners to raise funds and provide technical support for both protection and restoration work on long-term projects.

The second is the Spanish *Agencia Española de Cooperación Internacional para el Desarrollo* (AECID), from the *Instituto de Cooperación para Iberoamérica*. Soon after the independence processes in Spanish America, Spain sought closeness to the new Nations, with the objective of preserving the cultural heritage in its former colonies, and maintains this partnership until today. AECID has cooperated with the Mexican government since 1977 and in 1984 launched a program for the protection of cultural heritage focused on sites listed as World Heritage by Unesco in projects aimed

[52] WMF today has affiliated organizations established in England, France, India, Italy, Peru, Portugal and Spain. Throughout its 50 years, it has developed more than 600 projects in 90 countries (cf. <www.wmf.org>). One of the first projects supported was the flood in Venice of 1966.

at economic and social development. Today they are strongly involved in training young people to work in preservation projects (the *Escuelas Tallers*).



11_Web site Escuelas Taller (www.escuelastaller.org) in Chile, highlighting a project carried out in partnership with Peru.

Despite several initiatives, there is still a consensus among professionals of a lack of professionals who are properly trained to act in the conservation of heritage, as well as lack of resources. Graziano Gasparini goes further and says that the continent's problem is not only about resources, but in general it is "facing a declining sense of cultural responsibility and a disturbing collective lack of interest"[53].

The Fulbright Program

Both the WMF and the *Escuelas Taller* have established a bridge between the Americas and Europe in international cooperation for protection. Another important institution for such a process was the Fulbright program.

Prior to the other two initiatives, the program was created in 1946, when US Senator J. William Fulbright presented a proposal that sought to promote "international goodwill through the exchange of students in the fields of education, culture and science"[54]. The project became law by the hands of President Harry Truman[55], with the first grants awarded in 1948.

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[53] Gasparini, 2002, p. 44.

[54] According to the program's website (<https://eca.state.gov/files/bureau/fulbright/index.html#Home>)

[55] Law PL 79-584, of August 1, 1946. The program is funded by the US Department of State, Department of Education and Culture Affairs. In addition to US government resources, the institutions hosting the program

Thus, between the 1950s and 1960s, the program led several important intellectuals to the United States. Initially as a war strategy - since the program contributed to the withdrawal of intellectuals threatened in some way - then it became an important mechanism of cooperation. Headquartered in New York (USA), the activities developed by the Foundation were an important link between European thinking and the actions then developed in the Americas.

Although it was not a program focused specifically on heritage protection actions, the exchange of intellectuals promoted was highly fruitful for the creation of an informal network of technical cooperation.

Europe [almost] united

The last two decades of the twentieth century saw the strengthening of the European Union (EU). Created just after the end of World War II, the EU strengthened and gained momentum with the fall of the Berlin Wall (1989) and in 1993, with the conclusion of a unified market, which included the free movement of goods, services, people and capital between EU member States. Such international cooperation also covered the scope of heritage.

The European Council (highest level of the EU) acts to reinforce the exchange of experience and expertise, as well as standardization of policies and good practices across the continent. The action of the European Council in the protection of heritage began in 1954 with the European Cultural Convention, signed in Paris by fourteen countries and aimed at the protection of the common heritage.

Several meetings[56] to discuss heritage protection led to the proclamation of the European Year of Architectural Heritage in 1975, with the subsequent publication of a European Charter for Architectural Heritage (also known as the Amsterdam manifest).

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participants as well as the countries in which they are located contribute directly and indirectly. Official statistics have reported more than 370,000 fellows since its inception, and the program now awards 8,000 scholarships per year in 160 countries around the world. In order to have the size of the program, among its alumni are "33 current or former heads of state or government, 54 Nobel Laureates, 82 Pulitzer Prize winners, 29 MacArthur Foundation Fellows, 16 Presidential Medal of Freedom recipients, and thousands of leaders across the private, public and nonprofit sectors" (<https://eca.state.gov/files/bureau/fulbright/index.html#Home>).

[56] The letter explicitly mentioned the European Cultural Convention of 1954, the Conference of European Ministers (Brussels, 1969) and recommendation 589 of the Consultative Assembly of the Council of Europe

> This charter's goal was 'to make the public more aware of the irreplaceable cultural, social and economic values' embodied in the diversity of its built heritage. The European Heritage Year program also encourages local and national governments to actively inventory, protect, and rehabilitate their historic sites and to pay special attention to preventing insensitive changes to them. (Stubbs and Makaš, 2011, p. 3)

Another action that was born within the Council of Europe was the creation of the non-governmental organization *Europa Nostra* in 1963. It was founded by a group of organizations linked to the protection of European heritage led by *Italia Nostra*. This last one began to be structured in the Rome of 1951, with the objective of blocking the realization of an urban renewal project, conceived even in the interwar period, that would destroy part of the oldest urban fabric of the city. Against this project, some intellectuals[57] came together and a few years later, in 1955, they created *Italia Nostra*, with the aim of spreading the culture of the conservation of the urban and rural landscapes, the monuments and the environmental character of the cities. The success of the actions carried out by the Italian organization - especially in the defence of historical centres - led to the idea of a similar organization with a European presence.

In 1985, the EU created the European Capital of Culture program[58]. Every year, a European city is selected and receives financial assistance to carry out cultural activities related to the heritage. With the intention of highlighting diversity, the program also collaborates to create a common identity across the continent. A review carried out after twenty years of program activity has shown that the program is very efficient to catalyse a change in the selected cities, but could be more effective in relation to the European dimension of that heritage. However, the success of the initiative has made the model reach other regions of the world, with programs of 'culture capital' organized by the Arab League, since 1996 and since 1998 in the Americas[59].

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of 1970.

[57] The founding act was signed by Umberto Zanotti Bianco, Pietro Paolo Trompeo, Giorgio Bassani, Desideria Pasolini dall'Onda, Elena Croce, Luigi Magnani and Hubert Howard. Cf. Italia Nostra, 1966.

[58] The first European Capital of Culture was Athens in 1985. In 2000, nine cities were chosen in commemoration of the new millennium, and from 2007 two cities are selected per year. The city of Porto was chosen in 2001 and Liverpool in 2008.

[59] The 'American Capital of Culture' is an event organized by the International Bureau of Cultural Capitals (IBOCC), a non-governmental organization, which has the seal of the OAS. The organization conducts such actions in the Americas and also organizes the cultural capital in Brazil, the United States and Catalonia. The

Also in 1985 the European Heritage Day was created. The idea was launched by the European Council, and incorporated into the European Union in 1999. It is held annually in September (with a pre-defined theme), when the 50 EU member States open the doors of hundreds of museums and monuments free of charge. Here, in addition to reinforcing common characteristics (as in the case of the European Capital of Culture), the aim is also to encourage tolerance beyond its borders. The Heritage Day always has a pre-defined theme, within which various activities are carried out.

Another EU initiative contributing to protection efforts in Europe was the *Council of Europe's European Heritage Network* (HEREIN). Created in 1999 as a reference centre for professionals, managers and researchers, its main contribution is to function as a centre that coordinates activities of the governmental departments responsible for the protection of the heritage. In addition, it maintains a database on cultural policies of member States and promotes the standardization of a vocabulary for heritage.

All these actions work quite effectively, especially since participation in forums and programs allows access to funds and various sources of funding. In this way, it feeds a virtuous circle, in which the exchange of experiences generates access to resources for the realization of projects, which reinforce this exchange.

A home for World Heritage

The 20 and 30-year anniversary of the List brought changes in its performance. In addition to moments in which Icomos' work was done in the protection of World Heritage, in 1992 the World Heritage Center (WHC) was created, in order to guarantee the daily management of the World Heritage Convention[60].

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institution's website (<www.ibocc.org>) states that its inspiration was the 1985 European program. It also carries out actions such as campaigns to promote and disseminate cultural places and personalities (such as lists of 'world cultural heritage treasures'). Despite its inspiration, the action developed by the organization is a good example of the 'cultural tourism market' that emerges in the 1980s, without the same extent of the EU program.

[60] The WHC organizes the annual meeting of the World Heritage Committee, provides technical support to countries interested in submitting nominations to the List, coordinates emergency actions (including access to the World Heritage Fund), conducts seminars and workshops and is responsible for the documentation of all the sites inscribed.

Recalling that the List began effectively in 1978, with the inscription of the first sites, in its ten years there were no data that would allow an effective evaluation of Unesco's performance in complying with the 1972 Convention. However, in 1992 it was already possible to critically analyse Unesco's action in relation to the Convention. Mainly due to the increase in the number of applications, which showed the existing gap in the proportion of sites subscribed around the planet. In such a scenario, it was decided to create a reference centre, which could not only follow the application processes, but also take active actions, both in the applications and in the dissemination of the cultural and natural properties already registered.

The First Dilemmas of the 21st Century

If at the beginning of the twentieth century we were still talking about a 'historic monument' instead of a 'heritage', a hundred years later the century began with a specific convention for the safeguarding of underwater cultural heritage in 2001 and a convention for intangible heritage two years later.

Beyond Matter

The Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage was established at the 32nd session of the Unesco General Conference in 2003, Paris[61]. This document can be considered a turning point in the understanding of what heritage is, and especially in the way we relate to it for its protection. That is to say, at the moment when intangible cultural expressions of a society are considered as heritage, which can be preserved and classified as of world interest, it is no longer possible to consider that protection will continue to be done in the same way. Especially when one thinks of certain practices focused on the materiality of heritage, that can isolate the cultural property from the society in which it is inserted - and that intends to represent.

It is important to note that, although the 2003 Convention is indeed a landmark, the idea of intangible heritage predates the document. The convention itself referred to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 1948 and presented itself as the

[61] About the 2003 Convention on Intangible Heritage and its context see Clara Bertrand Cabral (2011).

consolidation of discussions begun years earlier. At the 2003 convention were mentioned other three moments: the Unesco recommendation on safeguarding traditional and popular culture in 1989 and the Unesco Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity in 2001.

The third moment was in 2002, when a congress was held in Venice. The objective was to evaluate the 30 years of the World Heritage Convention. There, it was also intended to strengthen partnerships for protection around the world, in response to a scenario of increased differences, seen in wars that were also targeting cultural heritage[62].

In this sense, the text of the agreement recognized two other relevant points: the interdependence between intangible and material and natural heritage. Also that:

> The processes of globalization and social transformation, while creating the conditions favourable to a renewed dialogue between communities, also generate, in the same way as the phenomenon of intolerance, grave risks of deterioration, disappearance and destruction of intangible cultural heritage, in particular due to the lack of means to safeguard it. (Unesco, 2003)

Here arises the question of globalization and its contradiction when one thinks about the protection of heritage, topic to be discussed later.

The relationship that the Convention establishes between tangible and intangible heritage was already considered[63], for example, in cases where intangible heritage was used as a tool for enhancement of the built heritage, which would be the 'principal' one. The 2003 Convention placed material, immaterial and natural heritage at the same level, giving the possibility of World Heritage status for each of them. In other words, the 2003 Convention placed social participation in the process of protection and production of heritage on the same level as the technicians who deal with its materiality. In fact, it was a radical change in the way of understanding - and relating to - heritage.

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[62] On September 28, 2016, the English newspaper *The Guardian* published (online version) the article by Irina Bokova "*At last, the destruction of heritage has been recognized as a weapon of war*". The text describes the condemnation, at the Hague international court, of Ahmad al-Faqi al-Mahdi's nine-year imprisonment for vandalism at altars in Timbuktu. The decision is important because it considered the act not simply as vandalism, but as part of a war strategy. Article available in: < https://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2016/sep/28/destruction-of-heritage-weapon-of-war-timbuktu-shrines-irina-bokova>

[63] The Brazilian Iphan established, in 2000, a National Program of Intangible Heritage.

Public versus private

The change regarding the way to relate with heritage, with the new categories of intangible heritage and cultural landscapes, has led several countries to rethink their protection policies. In addition to this change, there were also issues related to a globalized market, especially the clash between the public and private sectors. Two restructuring processes deserve special mention: in Italy (with the Franceschini Law, nº. 106, 07.07.2014) and in England (with the new *Historic England*)[64].

The Franceschini law provoked intense debate in Italy. The accusations were that the law ended definitively with the protection of the heritage and the landscape in Italy, in a process in which the Superintendencies and regional administrations would not be able to manage control on their areas. Critics came from historians of the stature of Carlo Ginzburg and Salvatore Settis[65]. On the other hand, the government states that all changes will yet be well established and regulated.

The main change concerns the unification of two Superintendencies. The old structure considered three Superintendencies for each region: one archaeological, another for artistic works and the third one for architectural cultural properties and landscapes. In the new law, the last two were unified. However, they would only have the function of protection and training of personnel. The management of cultural equipment and museums would be centralized in the Ministry. The objective of the government was to have managers with international experience in the direction of the main Italian museums, who would be able to seek financial resources beyond the government. The argument of the minister Dario Franceschini is that the law would remove two barriers:

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[64] We register here another two important changes. In Brazil, in 2000, Iphan's National Program for Intangible Heritage changed the configuration of Iphan's "stone and lime" and, to a certain extent, turned back to Mário de Andrade's non-implanted project (which reinforced the importance of popular culture). Another change is that of French law. This change took place in 2016 (Law nº. 2016-925 of July 7, 2016 on freedom of creation, architecture and heritage) and changed the structure of the French protection system. At an event held in Sao Paulo (*Semana do Patrimônio*, August 24, 2016), Dominique Masson, of the Ministry of Culture and Communication of France, presented the change as a way of adapting some protection mechanisms and their nomenclatures according to the ones used in the European Union. The French protection structure is strongly based on plans (urban planning and safeguard sectors) and the difference between the mechanisms found in other European countries was sometimes seen as a constraint, considering a reality where professionals can work in different countries - and obtain resources from different sources. In this way, having a legislation that could be more easily recognized was crucial.

[65] Both published several articles and interviews in the press. We highlight two articles. From Carlo Guinzburg, *Perché dobbiamo salvare le soprintendeze* (*La Repubblica*, July 29, 2014, Rome), and by Salvatore Settis, *Se troppo successo fa male al museo* (*La Repubblica*, July 30, 2014, Rome).

"quella del rapporto tra pubblico e privato e quella della separazione tra la tutela e la valorizzazione che per tropo tempo hanno monopolizzato il dibattito italiano. Adesso non ci sono più scuse: veniamo da anni di tagli, è arrivato il momento di investire"[66].

If the Italian law sought alternatives to insert the private in the management of its heritage, the English law followed an inverse path, placing the State with a greater weight in the actions for protection.

Even before John Ruskin, with the antiquaries, the protection of the heritage in England was in the hands of civil society organizations. In the 19th Century, *English Heritage* was created, an organization that began thematic collections related to various aspects of the British history. Over time, the organization underwent several changes, always remaining as the main organization to preserve the British heritage. In 1983, under the government of Margaret Thatcher, *English Heritage* drew closer to government, with the creation of the Historical Monuments and Monuments Commission working with the organization. Its structure, however, remained independent.

By 2015, the government made a proposal to *English Heritage*. At that time, the organization was divided into two parts. A charity that maintains the collections of art and historical buildings (which has kept the 'English Heritage' name). And another, *Historic England*, an organization from the government's Department of Culture, managed by a 17-person commission, plus three non-executive committees and no government liaison[67].

Historic England was responsible for the historical listing system, planning, financing, and heritage policy issues in a broader sense. Although the organization has considerable civil society participation, the government has come to play a much stronger role. This may contribute in particular to situations of conflict between the interests of a real estate market or tourism to the detriment of protection. Considering that the British protection system does not count on the legal figure of protection, but

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[66] Statement available on the website of the Italian Ministry (<http://www.beniculturali.it/mibac/export/MiBAC/sito-MiBAC/Contenuti/Ministero/LegislaturaCorrente/Dario-Franceschini/Comunicati/visualizza_asset.html_231740378.html>).

[67] For details on how the organization works, see the website <https://www.historicengland.org.uk/about/>

works with inventories, listed buildings and plans, government participation may prove to be fundamental, especially in preserving sites of lesser interest[68].

In the end, what is present in both projects is the search for a balance between the actions of the State and civil society organizations that act - directly or indirectly - with the heritage.

New cooperation networks

The world today encourages the establishment of new cooperation networks, beyond those already mentioned here. In the European Union, and considering Herein's success, the European Heritage Heads Forum (EHHF) and the European Heritage Legal Forum (EHLF), created in 2006 and 2007 respectively, have served as forums for debate. The first brings together leaders of European heritage institutions, with actions to share ideas and initiatives. The second has created a forum for debate on European legislation and its possible impacts on cultural heritage.

In addition to the exchange of experiences taking place in the three agencies, the European Union has been encouraging the development of projects that have as a premise the integration of protection actions. Significant funds[69] contribute sharply to projects being undertaken in an international partnership. The main objective is to reinforce the common features of European heritage.

In the American case, we highlight the *Mercosul Cultural*. Created in 1998, the program came into operation effectively in this century. In line with the actions taken by the European Union, and seeking to fill a gap in the OAS's performance in relation to heritage[70], Mercosul began to seek action in addition to trade agreements (initial scope of its creation). In particular, in 2012, it recognized the cultural ensemble of the Jesuit

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[68] This conflict will be resumed in Part II, Chapter 2.

[69] We highlight the Horizon 2020 program, the largest research and innovation program within the European Union, with almost € 80 billion to be invested between 2014 and 2020 (<https://ec.europa.eu/programmes/horizon2020/>).

[70] On the OAS website (<www.oas.org>), the Culture section does not explicitly mention heritage, and the "Inter-American Year of Culture", an event that could have the same impact as the European Heritage Day, still shows, in July 2016, the disclosure of the event of 2011, that is, five years without this action. Another point is the publication of *Revista Américas*: created in 1949 with the objective of increasing knowledge and understanding among the countries of the Americas, its activities ended in June 2012.

Missions, which includes remnants existing in five countries (Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Paraguay and Uruguay), which will be detailed in Part II.

In Brazil, international technical cooperation was reinforced with the beginning of Lucio Costa Centre activities[71]. Created under an agreement between the Brazilian government (represented by Iphan) and Unesco in July 2010, the centre is one of Unesco's local structures and aims to "increase the management capacity of cultural and natural heritage and promote cooperation in its region encompassing 17 Portuguese and Spanish speaking countries in South America, Africa and Asia"[72].

Both in the case of Mercosul Cultural and the Lucio Costa Centre, the actions developed are yet too shy when compared to similar organizations in Europe. As for the Mercosul program, the restricted representation of the group, which does not bring together South America completely, can reduce even more its performance prospects. Its greatest merit, for the time being, is to encourage its participants to look at their heritage beyond their borders. As for the Lucio Costa Centre, its prospects seem to us promising, especially for the possibility of establishing long-term actions in South America - reinforcing the network created within Mercosul. The challenge remains in establishing such network, overall, in a regular basis.

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[71] A category 2 centre in Unesco, the Regional Centre of Training in Heritage Management Lucio Costa has developed projects aimed at the protection of lusophone heritage (in partnership with Portugal and with African and Asian nations that have Portuguese as official language).

[72] Cf. the Lucio Costa Centre's website (<portal.iphan.gov.br/clc>).

PART II. Protection of World Heritage Sites

> To be a world heritage is, first of all, to offer to all humanity a heritage that was once ours alone.
>
> Rui Loza, 2010

The architect Rui Loza was one of the key characters in the application process for Oporto, in Portugal, to the World Heritage List. When the city was included in the List in 1996, it opened to the world not only with its history, but also entered into a contradictory economic dynamic: its well-preserved historic centre - which gave it a place on the List - would become threatened by pressures from the cultural tourism market, among others.

How, then, to reconcile the contradictions of world heritage with strictly local interests and needs, working together within a worldwide protection network? In this second part, the debate on protection is no longer seen from the historical point of view, but from the local perspective, from sites that came to live with this dichotomy in their daily life.

In this way, aspects of this dilemma were searched in a flight by some of the sites that are on the List, punctuating actions and initiatives that present possible answers - or that lead us to other questions.

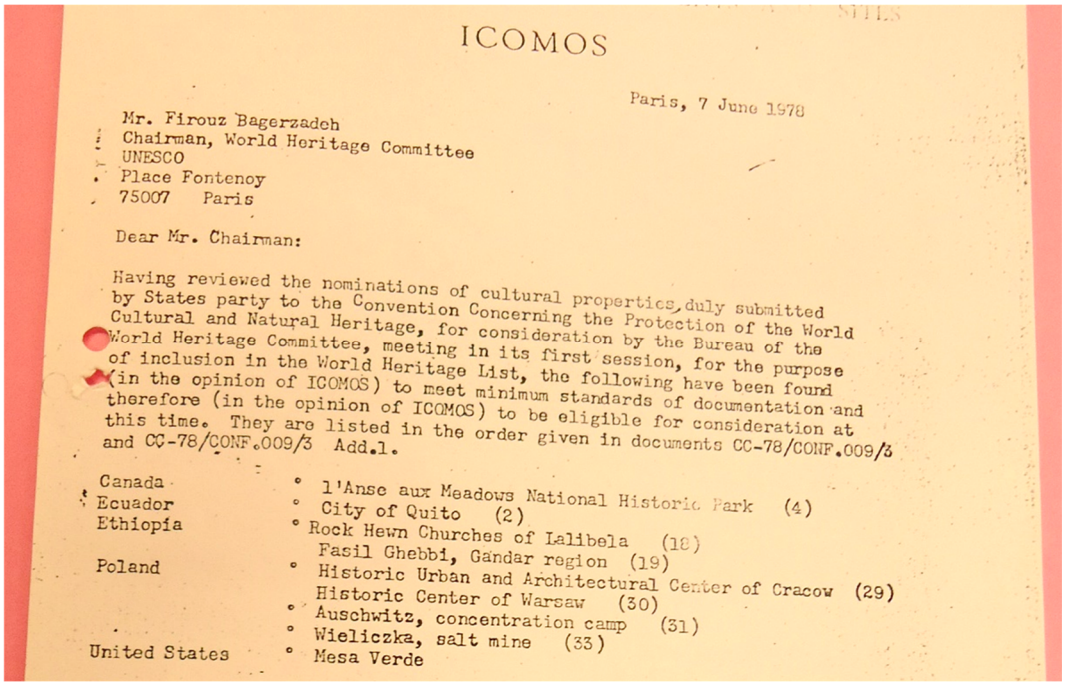
1. Plans for protection: challenges

> Il riconoscimento Unesco è un potente riflettore che illumina città e paesaggi, un grande catalizzatore di attenzione che, se adeguatamente sostenuto da politiche concrete e coerenti, può riuscire ad attivare e consolidare una sensibile crescita economica del territorio.
>
> Gaetano Sateriale in Zanelli, 2009, p.11

This was the way the then mayor of Ferrara, in northern Italy, presented the management plan for the historic centre four years after the inclusion of the city in the World Heritage List. In this speech, we could identify more than one of the points that are shown as challenges in the protection of a World Heritage site. For the time being, we are interested in one aspect, that of 'concrete and coherent policies'.

The structure provided for in the World Heritage Convention, effectively entered into operation in 1976, with the beginning of the activities of the World Heritage Fund. At the time, the United States participated closely with Unesco in defining the way in which the fund operated, including negotiations on how much the resource would be provided by each of the signatory States to the Convention[1].

[1] It is possible to see this collaboration in existing correspondence in *Unesco Archives*, especially between



ICOMOS

Paris, 7 June 1978

Mr. Firouz Bagerzadeh
Chairman, World Heritage Committee
UNESCO
Place Fontenoy
75007 Paris

Dear Mr. Chairman:

Having reviewed the nominations of cultural properties, duly submitted by States party to the Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage, for consideration by the Bureau of the World Heritage Committee, meeting in its first session, for the purpose of inclusion in the World Heritage List, the following have been found (in the opinion of ICOMOS) to meet minimum standards of documentation and therefore (in the opinion of ICOMOS) to be eligible for consideration at this time. They are listed in the order given in documents CC-78/CONF.009/3 and CC-78/CONF.009/3 Add.1.

Canada	° l'Anse aux Meadows National Historic Park (4)
Ecuador	° City of Quito (2)
Ethiopia	° Rock Hewn Churches of Lalibela (18)
	° Fasil Ghebbi, Gandar region (19)
Poland	° Historic Urban and Architectural Center of Cracow (29)
	° Historic Center of Warsaw (30)
	° Auschwitz, concentration camp (31)
	° Wieliczka, salt mine (33)
United States	° Mesa Verde

12_Icomos' opinion, dated June 7, 1978, forwarding the candidature of the first sites for evaluation by the World Heritage Committee.

Two years later, in 1978, the first sites on the List were registered. In this way, it is possible to say that the decade of 1980 was the period in which the main ideas launched in the Convention could be evaluated and tested. As already presented here, in 1992 an initial balance of actions was made. That was repeated in 2002, in the 30 years of the List. Some of the critics of 1992 were debated and inserted in the Charter of Nara[2] two years later.

With the discussion going further, in 1999 the Operational Guidelines for the application of the World Heritage Convention were reviewed in a significant way. The change would be effectively consolidate in 2005, incorporating the discussions in the 30 years of the List (with the Budapest Declaration). For now, we highlight that in 1999 the guidelines began to give a very strong weight to site management issues, including factors that could affect the protection of the site. This change took place, among several factors, by critics to a Eurocentric vision and performance by Unesco. The other side was that Unesco cannot directly intervene in the properties listed. Therefore, its only alternative

1978 and 1984, with the first appointments of North American sites and the holding of an international conference in Mesa Verde National Park (Box CLT/WHC/NOM15).

[2] The Nara Charter was the result of the World Heritage authenticity Conference held in November 1994 in Japan. In the preambles, the conference's intention was already clear: to debate the diversity of cultural heritage and the practice of protection.

to keep a minimum standard of protection at all List sites would be to require a management structure[3].

The question then arises: would a cultural property management plan be enough to guarantee the protection of a World Heritage site?

The protection

Firstly, we return to the question, what is it to protect?

One of the first challenges for protection is the legal issue. Legally the protection of the heritage can be done, basically, by means of three mechanisms: legal protection of a building or an ensemble, listings and/or inventories, and urban plans[4].

> Resta poi la straordinaria estensione dei più generali problemi di tutela e delle conseguenti scelte legislative. Problemi intricatissimi e soggetti a spinte contrastanti sotto l'urgenza delle pressioni economiche e sociali, tanto forti da mettere in ombra quelle di tipo culturale e più latamente educativo. (Carbonara, 1997, p. 638)

Today, however, heritage is often threatened by actions of the rulers themselves, that is, by those charged with developing or enforcing such legislation. Therefore, the management of properties or sites cannot be restricted merely to a legal bond. In the continuation of the passage above, Carbonara raised yet another question: that legal mechanisms alone can lead to situations of conflict between owners, government and population, which, instead of protecting the heritage, could place it at risk. This would happen mainly in cases of a non-monumental heritage, that is, the one which is not easily identified as such. Therefore, it should be considered an active legislation, contemplating studies, plans, intervention proposals, technical support to owners, tax benefits, among

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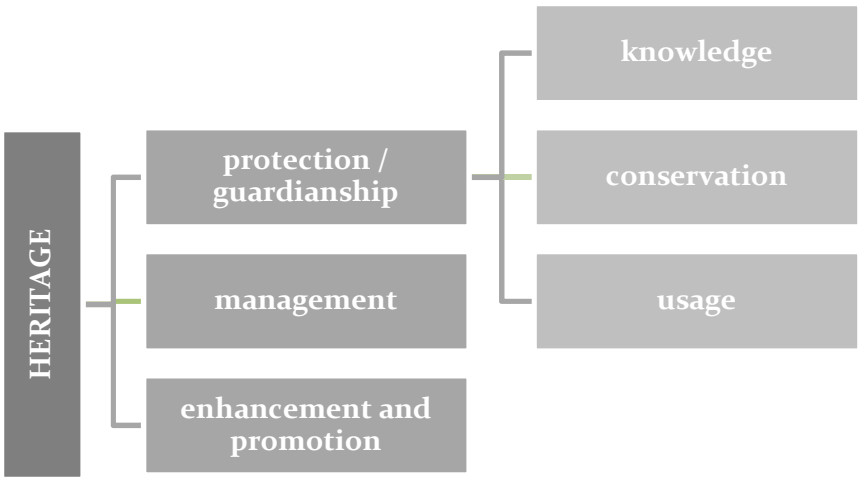
[3] With the application process of Valparaiso ahead, the difference is visible from the new technical orientation - the site was elevated to World Heritage in 2003. The volume of documentation leaps to the eye, especially when compared to older processes, such as that of the North American Mesa Verde National Park - the group of sites that inaugurated the List - a site extremely well structured in terms of protection already in 1978, but that submitted its application in a process with a smaller and more simplified number of documents.

[4] Cf. Silva, 2012.

others. In addition to the insertion of protection in other governmental areas, as in planning activities in general.

This active legislation goes towards the idea of protection as a set of actions to be developed in favour of heritage. It should also consider the fact that heritage is not static. Over time, various monuments have had their uses altered, cities have continued to grow and changed their functions. How then do we think of protection - and a plan for it - in a dynamic way?

The research developed by Massimo Montella[5], considered, besides the use itself, two types of actions in a set for protection: the knowledge of the heritage and it s conservation. In addition, it is also essential to consider its management, enhancement a nd promotion. In the tables below, we present the possibilities of actions in each case[6].



[5] Cf. Montella, 2005. The author focuses on the management of cultural properties and museums, from a cultural economy perspective.

[6] Tables developed by the author, based on Montella (2005). The tables were prepared considering the tangible heritage, but the same logic can be considered for the intangible, mixed and natural sites. Varying, in such cases, the conservation actions to be carried out.

Knowledge of heritage	Inventories, catalogs, pre-catalog, listing. Data are required regarding: state of conservation, material, constructive structure and environmental factors that act on the property.
Conservation of movable heritage	Maintenance, security and restoration of objects. Both through passive and active actions.
Conservation of immovable heritage	The same actions indicated above, but with different techniques and instruments; Conservation actions for the ensemble (in the case of urban areas); Programmed and preventive conservation.
Management	Organization of human and material resources; Ensuring the enjoyment of cultural and environmental heritage; Purpose of protection and enhancement.
Enhancement	Improvement of access to heritage and their physical protection and their security, integrity and value; Qualified enjoyment of properties/sites by the less favored categories; Organization of studies and research, didactic activities and cultural itineraries.
Promotion	Support actions through financial assistance; Organization of initiatives aimed at increasing knowledge about the cultural properties; Integration of cultural activities with school activities and professional training; Development of new cultural and artistic expressions.

Anyhow, all these aspects of the activities related to heritage must interact with each other, in order to obtain effective protection actions. As each one of them have specific competencies and insertions at different institutional levels, clear and effective communication between all these actors is one of the essential aspects for effective protection.

> Per i beni culturali, infatti, in quanto ambiente vitale e luogo economico, il mutamento costituisce una condizione insopprimibile e un valore in se stesso positivo, per il cui corretto orientamento si rende necessaria una gestione consapevole e democraticamente vigilata di tutte le politiche settoriali coinvolte, dalla agricoltura all'urbanistica, dalle infrastrutture ai luoghi della produzione e del tempo libero. La politica dei beni culturali si configura in tal senso come parte integrante della complessiva politica di piano. (Montella, 2005, p. 46-47)

Therefore, 'plans' emerge as an essential tool[7]. From broader spheres - in the case of master plans or regional plans - to punctual cases - such as preventive

[7] In addition to Montella (2005), the issue of management plans (and protection and conservation ones) is also presented and debated in Zancheti and Lacerda (2012). In the specific case of plans for List sites, see

conservation plans - the elaboration of plans inserted within the existing public policy is one of the main instruments to guarantee an effective protection. The work with plans is also a way of seeking stability, considering that it is a field where many of the actions are obligatorily thought in the long term. In this way, a plan could give the necessary continuity to the protection of the heritage, mainly in relation to political changes. In addition, a plan may consider the interaction between different types of sites, but related to the same site and/or theme.

The World Heritage Convention in practice

The text of the 1972 Convention already established in its name what was its objective: the protection of world, cultural and natural heritage. Bringing this idea to practice, however, would require much more than the efforts made for its signature (which were not few). One of the main mechanisms for fulfilling this function are the 'Operational Guidelines for the application of the World Heritage Convention' (hereafter, 'Guidelines').

These documents provide the technical guidance for carrying out any of the actions provided for in the 1972 Convention. Whether for Convention signatories or World Heritage Centre (WHC) technicians, the Guidelines are the first document to be consulted.

The World Heritage Committee approved its first version in 1977. Since then, the Guidelines have been substantially amended. These revisions were a natural - and unavoidable - movement in a new mechanism. They become even more necessary considering that those guidelines should be applied around the world. In fact, after the start of the operation of the List, questions, doubts and criticisms to the process began to appear, which led to several revisions[8].

The first major revision of the Guidelines was made in 1980, still in an accommodation movement and based on the comments of the signatory States, without a

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also Jokilehto and Feilden (1996), Badia (2008) and Garzia (2014).

[8] Loretto's (2016) thesis presents this continuing revision of the Operational Guidelines (which she calls the 'operational guide'). Contrary to what will be seen here (focus on protection mechanisms and international cooperation), Loretto presents and analyses the revisions made from the standpoint of the concepts of authenticity and integrity. Both are the starting point for the candidacy of a site or property to the World Heritage List.

feed back from concrete cases. One of the main points of the change at that time was the inclusion of specific items for applications of complex cultural sites, such as urban areas or architectural ensembles. Another significant change was the inclusion of an item seeking a balance between applications for natural and cultural heritage.

It was only after the assessment of the first 20 years of the Convention and the publication of the Nara Charter in 1994 that more significant changes were made. First, in 1996, with the inclusion of the requirement to implement a periodic monitoring and reporting system. And then in 1999. In that year, there was a radical revision of the material that composed the application dossier of the sites. In addition to the requirement to establish a buffer zone to protect the site, it was necessary to present in detail the structure foreseen for the management of the site.

This was the first step for the next change: the submission of a management plan for the proposed area as a prerequisite for the candidates, which came in the 2005 Guidelines[9]. Impregnated by the critics made in the 30-year review of the Convention, the new version of the Guidelines sought to create the conditions for putting into practice the four criteria adopted in the Budapest declaration for the implementation of the Convention - the four Cs:

> Strengthen the **credibility** of the World Heritage List; ensure the effective **conservation** of the World Heritage properties; promote the development of effective **capacity building** in States Parties; increase public awareness, involvement and support for World Heritage through **communication**. (Unesco, 2002)

In 2007 a fifth C was added: "To enhance the role of **communities** in the implementation of the World Heritage Convention" as an effect of the new Convention on Intangible Heritage.

*

In addition to the Operational Guidelines, Unesco has produced a number of publications, including a series of manuals on various subjects related to the

[9] The most recent version of the Operational Guidelines is from 2015, which has made few changes compared to that of ten years earlier.

Convention. One of them is the Guide to World Cultural Heritage Sites, published in several languages[10].

> C'est la conservation qui nous permet de jouir de notre patrimoine. Ce guide a pour objectif d'aider les responsables de sites à s'acquitter de leur tâche avec l'appui d'une commission d'experts, à comprendre ce qui donne son sens au site et à le protéger des innombrables menaces. (Jokilehto and Feilden, 1996, p. vii)

The presentation of the French edition of the guide announced whom it was intended for and put Unesco's specialists (both in WHC and in support organizations) available to site managers. The intention of these publications was also to standardize the level of technical information, noting that several countries signatory to the Convention struggle daily with the lack of technical personnel qualified to work with the heritage. Although the guide mentioned the need for integration with local communities, regional specificities could be reduced - or even jeopardized - if not taken into account. This is one of the threats presented in the guide, which was structured in ten chapters.



13_Different editions of the *Management Guidelines for World Heritage Sites*. From left to right: French, Montenegrin, English and Persian.

The first chapter (*Resume des principes directeurs*) presents its objective "exprimer des conseils et des mesures pour traduire concrètement l'esprit de la Convention du patrimoine mondial"[11]. In this chapter is the idea of prioritizing management plans, which should be composed of several interdependent elements. Here, also, the suggestion was to create a Commission for the site, which would be the main point of communication

[10] The first edition of the guide is from 1993, published by Unesco, Iccrom and Icomos and authored by Jukka Jokilehto and Bernard Feilden. Following the revision of the Operational Guidelines for 2005, a more up-to-date publication with the same objective and launched in 2013 was produced by Gamini Wijesuriya, Jane Thompson and Christopher Young. Considering the dates of the projects considered, the main reference will be the French (revised) edition of 1996.

[11] Jokilehto and Feilden, 1996, p. 01.

with the various actors on the site. An interesting alternative proposed is that small sites could join in the same Commission, according to the similarities of their sites (a very useful resource, as we will see later).

The guide follows the structure of a management plan[12], in the classic models of a business administrative view[13], indicating the necessary programs and staff. It is worth emphasizing three issues: the question of authenticity - and the revised French version has as its annexes the text of the Charter of Nara -, the specificities of the management of urban sites - in particular the need to insert protection into urban policies - in addition of the question of the cultural tourism industry.

> L'industrie du tourisme fait maintenant partie de notre culture et de l'économie internationale. Seule l'industrie pétrolifère la dépasse en termes financiers. Le tourisme est dynamique mais ne doit pas se développer trop rapidement ; el est préférable de le laisser croître sans excéder la capacité du site et des infrastructures de soutien. Comme l'indique la Déclaration de Manille de l'Organisation mondiale du tourisme, le profit économique n'est pas l'unique objectif du tourisme ; il devrait améliorer la qualité de vie de la population locale sans compromettre la culture indigène. (Jokilehto and Feilden, 1996, p. 99)

One of the greatest current challenges for the protection of historic sites was placed: tourism, and particularly, mass tourism.

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[12] The following chapters are: 2. Politique generale de la Convention; 3. Évaluation aux fins de la conservation ; 4. Gestion des sites du patrimoine mondial ; 5. Gestion par projets; 6. Programme de maintenance; 7. Recrutement et services du personnel; 8. Le problème de l'authenticité et les traitements; 9. Urbanisme et villes du Patrimoine mondial; 10. Visiteurs des sites du Patrimonie mondial. It also contains four annexes: the full text of the Venice Charter (1964), and Nara (1994); a list of Unesco's conventions and recommendations on cultural heritage and the World Heritage List in January 1996.

[13] In the 1980s, management tools, especially strategic planning (PMI) were brought to the area of culture, starting from a vision of a 'culture economy'. Initially for the cultural marketing market, and then for cultural institutions more broadly. Cf. Machado Neto and Ferreira (2011). In some cultural sectors, this 'invasion' of an administrative view is still not well seen. Critics, in this case, refer to the 'market' treatment given to subjects that should be a priority of public investment, as is the case of culture, as representative of a people. The other side is that the reality is of disputes always very heated by resources, whether public or private. And the treatment of cultural issues within the economic perspective contributes to stimulate those who have a romanticized vision of culture. At the moment when cultural actions are inserted - and there are those linked to heritage - within a economic and dynamic scenario, presenting numbers, dollar signs and statistics, one can achieve high levels of investment in protection, with excellent results. Provided, of course, that adequate technical standards and ideals are maintained for that heritage.

Monitoring and indicators

The 1972 Convention established in its article 29 the preparation of reports in which the States parties should inform the actions taken to implement the Convention, which would be presented to the World Heritage Committee. With the changes to the Guidelines in 1999, it became mandatory to indicate monitoring mechanisms for the listed sites[14]. At that time, periodic evaluation cycles were also established[15], in addition to the reports issued by each country. One of the objectives of this new monitoring system was to ensure the conservation of the outstanding universal value, without which the site would lose its World Heritage status.

This movement was again initiated within the evaluation made in the 20 years of the List. In addition to Unesco's internal evaluations, the great speculation - from real estate, commercial and tourist - seen around sites that had their names on the List also contributed to the concern with the protection of the sites. This quest to keep its authenticity and integrity intact was one of the motivators of critics of the management and monitoring process indicated by Unesco, which could 'freeze' the sites, transforming them merely into tourist points, and expelling traditional populations. Nevertheless, we will return to that point later. For now, we are interested in understanding how monitoring works, and especially how it is being applied.

The Guidelines foresaw that such monitoring would be carried out through periodic evaluations (periodic reporting), with questionnaires answered by each of the sites. One of its objectives is to update the policies of each of the State parties and the specific information of the listed sites, with the WHC, in particular regarding its conservation status. In the 1999 review, this report was drawn up by each of the regions where the WHC is organized every six years[16]. In this perspective, another purpose was to create a mechanism for regional cooperation and, above all, for exchanges of experiences among the signatory countries. Unesco's evaluation at the end of the first cycle of

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[14] In 2002, in preparation for the Convention celebrating the 30th anniversary of the World Heritage Convention, nine thematic workshops were held. One of them was about monitoring the World Heritage, organized by Iccrom and held in the city of Vicenza (Italy). In 2004, Unesco published the results of this meeting.

[15] Approved at the 22nd session of the World Heritage Committee held in Kyoto in 1998.

[16] There are five regions: Africa, Latin America and the Caribbean, Asia and the Pacific, Europe and North America, Arab States. Each region should present the report in a different year, leaving the sixth year for an overall review of the scenario presented.

evaluations (2000 to 2006) indicated that reporting was the first opportunity for various site managers to meet other managers, and the beginning of networking among these professionals[17].

It is curious to note that this periodic evaluation - that is, site monitoring - has become a strong ally in preserving it. Perhaps even more so than the management plan itself, precisely because of the changes it provided.

> The Periodic Reporting exercise has contributed to greater collaboration among States Parties within sub-regions, although Western Europe and Mediterranean Europe did not attain this sub-region level of cooperation. The German-speaking countries did prepare a synthesis report for their area, which was integrated into the Western European sub-regional report. (Rössler e Menétrey-Monchau, 2007, p. 53)

Another important result of this first cycle of evaluations was the identification of a problem: the need to train local teams - those who work directly on the sites - for their monitoring and evaluation. This aspect was diagnosed not only by a direct request of the sites, but also by the analysis of the information sent, which presented very different levels of deepening among the regions. Therefore, in the dissemination of the results of the first cycle, at the 30th session of the World Heritage Committee in 2006, a working group was created to review the questionnaire that is the basis of the periodic evaluation, as well as to establish indicators[18].

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Firstly, indicators are not a new tool[19]. Along with the idea of plans, they are essential today in the monitoring - and evaluation - of implementing a given process. In our case, the protection of a site. When considering the management of different sites with their own specificities, the adoption of indicators can substantially help one of the

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[17] Unesco WHC, document WHC-04/7EXT.COM/17.

[18] Unesco WHC, document WHC-06 / 30.COM / 19 of 2006.

[19] The thesis of Flaviana Barreto Lira (2009), on the assembly of a system of indicators for the monitoring of cultural heritage, presents a history of this tool, from the 1920s until today. We highlight the period in the 1960s, where indicators were developed to monitor social transformations and the impact of public policies. Still, according to the author today we live in a 'culture of indicators', provoked by the advancement of democracies, increasing access to information and a social questioning about the public policies results (cf. Lira, 2009, p. 47).

objectives of World Heritage: to ensure a minimum level of protection for all sites around the world.

This is because the set of indicators is the tool that will be able to quantify and classify certain aspects that one wants to evaluate. Aspects that are often not directly measurable.

> The use of indicators allows to obtain information on the fulfilment of certain goals, to measure and evaluate changes, to detect trends or phenomena that are not clearly detectable, in others. Through its updating, in repeated series over time, it is possible to perform the monitoring of a given aspect. (Lira, 2009, p. 48)

The key issue in defining the indicators to be used is to be clear about what is intended to be monitored. If theoretically the establishment of these indicators may seem simple, in practice, reaching common denominators (thinking of a world heritage) is much more complex. This difficulty does not arise from the question of different typologies, but from cultural differences.

> In discussing this theme in particular [concept of integrity], Jukka Jokilehto explained that a 'simple' way of addressing the issue would be to allow each culture to provide its own definition of the operational concepts of the world heritage system, but this could lead to dismantling the basis of international collaboration. (Loretto, 2016, p. 297)

In fact, one of the most difficult points in the search for this pattern is precisely to find appropriate criteria. As the indicator is not the fact itself, but a fact reading tool, the world view of who elaborated and defined the set of indicators to be used will inevitably be present in the monitoring process. To minimize such impact, these sets of indicators should be established by as diverse a group as possible. Monitoring can also be considered for assemblies that are more complex. This control of monitoring, to a certain extent, began to be done with periodic reports by region. Finally, it is worth emphasizing that today the scenario presented by the indicators - whatever they are - will act as a basis for a broad reading of trends and patterns, from this, subsidize political decisions, and suggest new areas of research.

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We then returned to the working group created in 2006[20]. It had two objectives: one, to simplify the questionnaire applied to site managers in periodic evaluations. The second was to establish indicators for this evaluation. Here we are interested in the second objective of the group.

The group was staffed by World Heritage Centre staff and its support agencies, experts and consultants. On the second day, a panel was held to present specific experiences on indicators, with the participation of: Jon Day (*Australian Great Reef Barrier*), John Pinkerton (*Parks Canada*), Carolina Castellanos (consulting of México), Christopher Young (*English Heritage*), Gabor Verezci (*World Tourism Organization* - WTO), Susan Denyer (Icomos) and Bastian Bomhard (IUCN).

The group represented mainly European and American experiences - considering that Australia has a heritage base heavily influenced by English, American and Canadian practices. Experiences from other regions came mainly from Icomos, Iccrom and IUCN technicians[21]. They sought to establish parameters that could be included in the periodic evaluations covering the following indicators: conservation, management effectiveness, technical training, socioeconomic, communication / information, community participation and tourism.

Moreover, such indicators should take into account their usefulness, allowing the following actions: to measure trends, considering the global, regional and national scales; and allow the comparison between periodic evaluation cycles, between different sites and site performance according to international standards.

> Given the complexity and the vital importance of the definition of indicators, the Working Group concluded that this task requires a more thorough thinking than time permitted since the 31st session (Christchurch, 2007). The Working Group proposes to continue this research on the occasion of an expert meeting. If extrabudgetary funding is available to support this Expert Meeting in 2008-

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[20] The *Working group on the simplification of the Periodic Reporting questionnaire and the setting up of indicators* met at the Unesco Offices in Paris on 6 and 7 November 2006 and 22 and 23 January 2007. The working material of the group is available on the WHC website (see <http://whc.unesco.org/en/events/342/> and <http://whc.unesco.org/en/events/368/ >).

[21] In addition to those already mentioned, they also participated in the group: by Icomos, Susan Denyer and Regina Durighello; By Iccrom, Joe King; By IUCN, Pierre Galland; By the Unesco Institute for Statistics (UIS), Lydia Deloumeaux; By the Unesco Enhancing our Heritage program, Sue Stolton; And WHC, Francesco Bandarin (then director), Kishore Rao, Anne Lemaistre, Mechtild Rossler, Richard Veillon, Alessando Balsamo, Alessandra Borchi and Luba Janikova.

> 2009, preliminary conclusions could be presented to the Committee at its 33rd session. The Advisory Bodies and the UNESCO Institute of Statistics (UIS) should be closely associated with this exercise. (Unesco, document WHC-08/32.COM/11E, 2008, article V.26)

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The set of indicators discussed in the group had as main objective the monitoring of the sites present in the List, especially in the protection of its outstanding universal value. However, indicators should be defined according to what is intended to be evaluated and / or monitored. In this way, each project and site must evaluate its specificities. Also for that reason, the studies and survey carried out for the elaboration of a plan are essential. As an example, we present below the indicators defined in the management plan for the historic centre of Oporto[22]. For each strategic axis, a set of indicators to be considered in monitoring the site was defined.

Strategic axes	Indicators
AXIS I: **Protection, preservation, restoration and appreciation**	Number of rehabilitated buildings
	State of conservation of the building
	Parks and gardens area
	% Of the area covered by protection mechanisms
	Number of plans drawn up
	Number of buildings at risk
	Quality of urban cleaning
	Automotive traffic volume
	Number of trips by public transport
	Number of parking spaces
AXIS II: **Involvement of the population**	Number of residents
	Number of students involved in awareness-raising actions
	Number of residents involved in awareness-raising actions
	Number of promotion actions carried out
	Number of posts published
	Number of participants in projects to combat social exclusion
	Number of PPM [World Heritage Port] seals assigned

[22] Cf. Delgado, 2010, p. 237.

Strategic axes	Indicators
AXIS III: **Tourism**	Number of tourists
	Average stay rate
	Number of beds
	Degree of tourist satisfaction
	Average expenditure per tourist
AXIS IV: **Creative Industries**	Volume of investment in business and creative projects
	Number of companies installed
AXIS V: **Douro River**	Number of new services created

As you can see, each monitoring objective, evaluation, leads to the definition of certain indicators. Although in the field of sociology the debate on indicators is quite frequent, the subject is still far from finding a consensus in the field of the heritage[23].

We emphasize one more experience, particularly important for having sought to adapt to non-European realities. The meeting of experts in Colonia of Sacramento (Uruguay), in March 1998. In the middle of numerous critics in the 20 years of the List, the WHC called for a meeting to discuss indicators for assessing the conservation status of historic cities in the Latin American and Caribbean region. The work was entrusted to Ramón Gutiérrez (Argentine, Icomos consultant) and Françoise Deschamps (Belgian, representing the Getty Foundation, USA), who worked together with the *Instituto Andaluz del Patrimonio Historico*. In addition to members of Icomos and the WHC itself, experts from Argentina, Belgium, Brazil, Colombia, Ecuador, Spain, Mexico and Uruguay were invited. In the meeting "se procedió con la elaboración de un cuadro detallado que relacionara los diferentes valores de ciudades históricas con los posibles indicadores para medir su preservación"[24].

In general, a few key points have been established. First, that the established indicators should not be restricted to the monitoring of World Heritage sites, but to any historic centre or urban and landscape sites. In this way, the question of qualification of staff for action with heritage in the region was also addressed. Another point was to think historic centres beyond the urban centres, or the traditional definition,

[23] The research of Lira (2009) shows that the field of indicators aimed at cultural heritage is still lacking in research.

[24] IAPH, 1999, p. 11.

also being considered geographically or culturally organized human groups. The question of the cultural landscape began to emerge in the region, particularly in cases of heritage of indigenous origin - and in a situation quite different from that found in Europe. On the indicators to be adopted and on this issue of the expansion of the concept of heritage:

> Sin embargo, de entre las discusiones, sobresalió la importancia de incluir en el análisis no sólo los valores y su conservación, sino también los riesgos y las medidas de protección, así como la evaluación de los resultados obtenidos. En definitiva, los indicadores actúan como parámetros, relacionados a valores previamente reconocidos, para medir de forma sistemática y repetitiva la evolución positiva o negativa de un bien. Por otra parte, se reconoció el carácter evolutivo del concepto de patrimonio considerando así la necesidad de añadir a la noción de escala, la noción de contexto. (Françoise Deschamps, in IAPH, 1999, p. 28)

As for the indicators, the need for them to be effectively measurable was discussed. Moreover, inventories and management plans were defined as key indicators. The latter - whether plans, or management tools - was considered strategic in particular because it was meant to establish the values of the site, and to set goals and objectives. With the exception that the plan itself could not be considered as an indicator in the case of absence of three items: availability of resources, the way of applying these resources and control of the goals set forth in the plan.

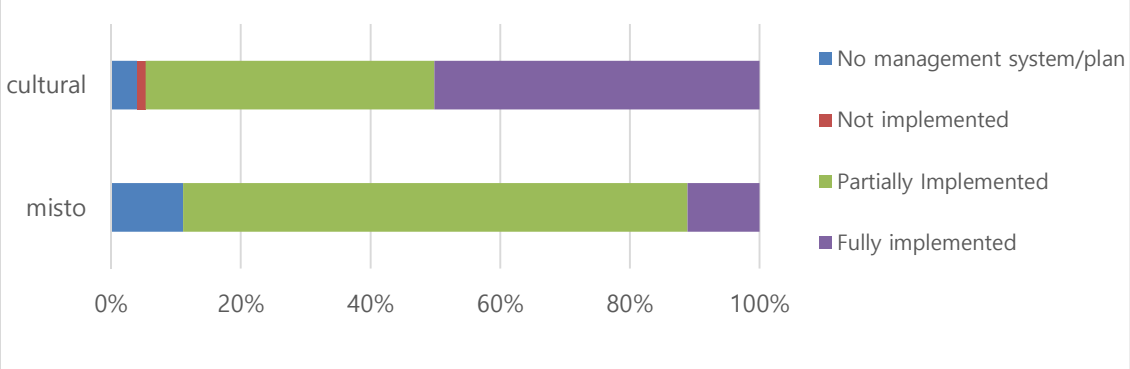
Local administration

Even when the process of defining the indicators for the periodic evaluations has involved a fairly representative group of diverse realities of protection, how can these indicators pass from the theory to be, in the real world, effectively an instrument of protection?

The answer present in the Operational Guidelines is the insertion of these control mechanisms within a management plan. The plan was also understood as an important indicator in monitoring a site. In addition to the tool of the plan itself, one of its advantages is the process of elaboration of the plan, in particular the evaluation of the site, which allows the production of knowledge as well as exchanges of experiences in various spheres.

Even before the revision of the Guidelines in 2005, one of the premises for submitting a candidacy to the List has always been that it already should have some kind of protection. Within the framework we are proposing to study (western European regions and the Americas), even where local legislation and management have many variables to improve, they are already part of some kind of legal protection mechanism. Indeed, there are several examples where sites are key cases of the protection debate in your country, showing stages of this debate.

Today, most of the sites listed - or present in the indicative list - state that they have some type of management and / or monitoring plan specific to that site. In the last periodic evaluation of Unesco for Europe, the status on management plans was as follows[25]:



As for the Latin American and Caribbean region, the 2013 report indicated that half of the signatory States understood that changes to the legal protection structure were necessary[26]. The document also informed that

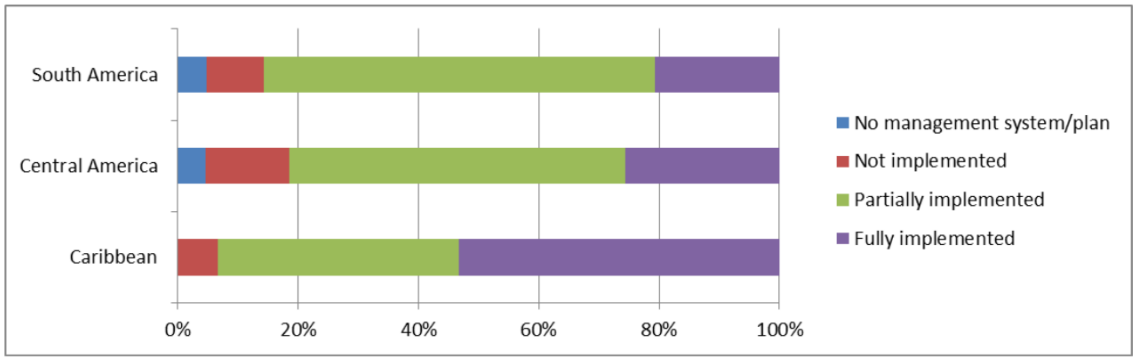
> the primary objective of the management plan of a property inscribed on the World Heritage List is to preserve and ensure the generation of knowledge and dissemination of its OUV. In this sense, States Parties say that only in 40.5% of cases the applied management plan or system is appropriate for its purpose. (Unesco WHC, document WHC-13/37. COM/10A, p. 46).

[25] Table drawn from Totcharova, 2016, p. 63. The report on North America did not provide quantitative data, but simply reported "given the relatively small number of inscribed properties in North America (37), it is not possible to draw meaningful conclusions from statistical summaries of the results" (p 99).

[26] Cf. Unesco WHC, document WHC-13/37. COM/10A.

That is, management plans could work on administrative issues, but when we consider protection in its broadest sense, it would fail. After all, a site is considered World Heritage by its outstanding universal value, and the management plan must preserve and highlight this value. However, if in 60% of cases the plan does not fulfil the function of disseminating and disseminating the value of the site, there is something wrong: either in the plan, or in its application.

Based on the results of the evaluation of the management plans (below table with the Latin American and Caribbean region[27]), it can be seen that one problem is the partial implementation of the plans.



The evaluation made at the session of the World Heritage Committee after the results of the first cycle of periodic evaluation, which reinforces the understanding of the full implementation of the plans, is also relevant.

> It also highlighted the specificity of regional approaches to conservation and the different understandings of the concepts of 'Management Plan' and 'Site Manager'. The wealth of data gathered by the first Cycle is impressive and for some sites it was the first time since their inscription that the Committee received information on their state of conservation. For several States Parties, Periodic Reporting also constituted the first opportunity for monitoring the state of conservation of their properties. In many cases it would appear that management plans need to be developed or implemented to undertake monitoring. (Unesco WHC, document WHC-06/30.COM/11G, 2006, article B.1.18)

[27] Unesco WHC, document WHC-06 / 30.COM / 11G, 2006.

And again, the need for regional approaches emerges. This imposition, coupled with the fact that management plans are today the main tool for the control and implementation of protection actions, leads us to look now at the local sphere, and the various problems faced for the effective implementation of a management plan.

Management Plans

> A qui incombe d'heure en heure, au jour le jour, la responsabilité de la gestion d'un site du Patrimoine mondial ? Le site peut bien être bondé de visiteurs, mais qui en est responsable ? Même s'il y a un directeur général, à moins qu'il ou elle n'ait délégué les pouvoirs voulus, personne n'est effectivement responsable sur place. Sans un contrôle de gestion exercé sur place, tout peut arriver. Les actions préventives nécessaires à la protection du patrimoine culturel doivent être confiées à un personnel formé spécialement à cet effet, convaincu de l'importance de cette protection. (Jokilehto and Feilden, 1996, p. vi)

The beginning of the same guide we talked about earlier alerted us to the question of the responsibility of world heritage management. We believe that this issue has more than one answer, but for now, we will stick to the point indicated by the authors above. And we are faced with one of the challenges for the elaboration and implementation of a management plan: who should we trust in the protection of heritage? When we consider a monument, or the collection of a museum, it may be easier to find the answer. However, when we think of more complex sites, we find different levels of government and management involved.

Considering our interest here in urban or mixed-category sites, we inevitably speak of management processes that encompass more than one governing sphere that will have a direct impact on the protection of the site. Therefore, the first challenge in developing a management plan is to coordinate all those who may have some sort of legal responsibility for the protection of one or another part of the site in question. Initially, we addressed the issue of the management plan in two historic centres, both present on the World Heritage List.

Another significant challenge is that protection actions on urban sites are often joined to enhancement, promotion and education actions - in addition to technical conservation issues. Actions that are found in almost all urban sites are programs of guided tours and reinforcement of the intangible heritage, whether connected to local

ways of work, popular festivals or artisan productions. Still, another important point of support are the local museums, which can become poles of attraction by themselves.

The resumption of historical centres began in the post-Second World War. However, it was in the 1980s, amid a global economic crisis, that the centres were recognized as an alternative to the expansion of cities to the peripheries[28]. This movement was partly linked to cultural tourism, which saw the preserved historic centres as a great attraction. In this scenario, where the World Heritage List was at its inception, several applications for urban sites to the List were approved[29]. At first, it was the fascination with the presence of the former in an active urban centre that attracted tourist waves. However, this proved to be a double-edged sword and in many cases caused a dissociation between the 'real' centre and the 'tourist' centre. Such is one of the great impasses that live the historic centres elevated to the category of World Heritage.

The Renaissance city of Ferrara

The first management plan we looked at was the site of 'Ferrara, a Renaissance city and its Po Delta'[30], located in north-central Italy, Emilia-Romagna region.

In the site of Ferrara[31], the great extension of the preserved area creates an overlap of several levels of government involved in its management. At the time of inclusion in the List (in 1995, with extension in 1999[32]), the various plans for the region were presented. These plans, however, were independent actions, and a part of the Italian legislative system, covering issues of cultural protection, urban, regional and rural planning, protection of natural areas, transportation plans, etc. Thus, there was no reading of the

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[28] Our objective here is not to enter into the debate about the historic centres themselves, but rather to the protection of a historic centre, that gains the *status* of the List. We emphasize, however, more than the protection, the recovery of historic centres is a subject much discussed and debated. On the subject, see Italia Nostra (1966).

[29] Between 1978 and 1990, approximately 18% of all sites on the List were urban historic centres.

[30] The case of the city of Ferrara was presented in an article published in the annals of IV Enanparq (Rolim, 2016).

[31] From this point on, 'site of Ferrara' refers to the site listed in Unesco as 'Ferrara, Renaissance city and its Po Delta'.

[32] For details of the history of the site (and of the sites to be mentioned in Part II), as well as the application process at Unesco, see Volume II of this thesis.

area classified as World Heritage as a single set, without integration among the various actors and instruments in the specific perimeter recognized on the List.

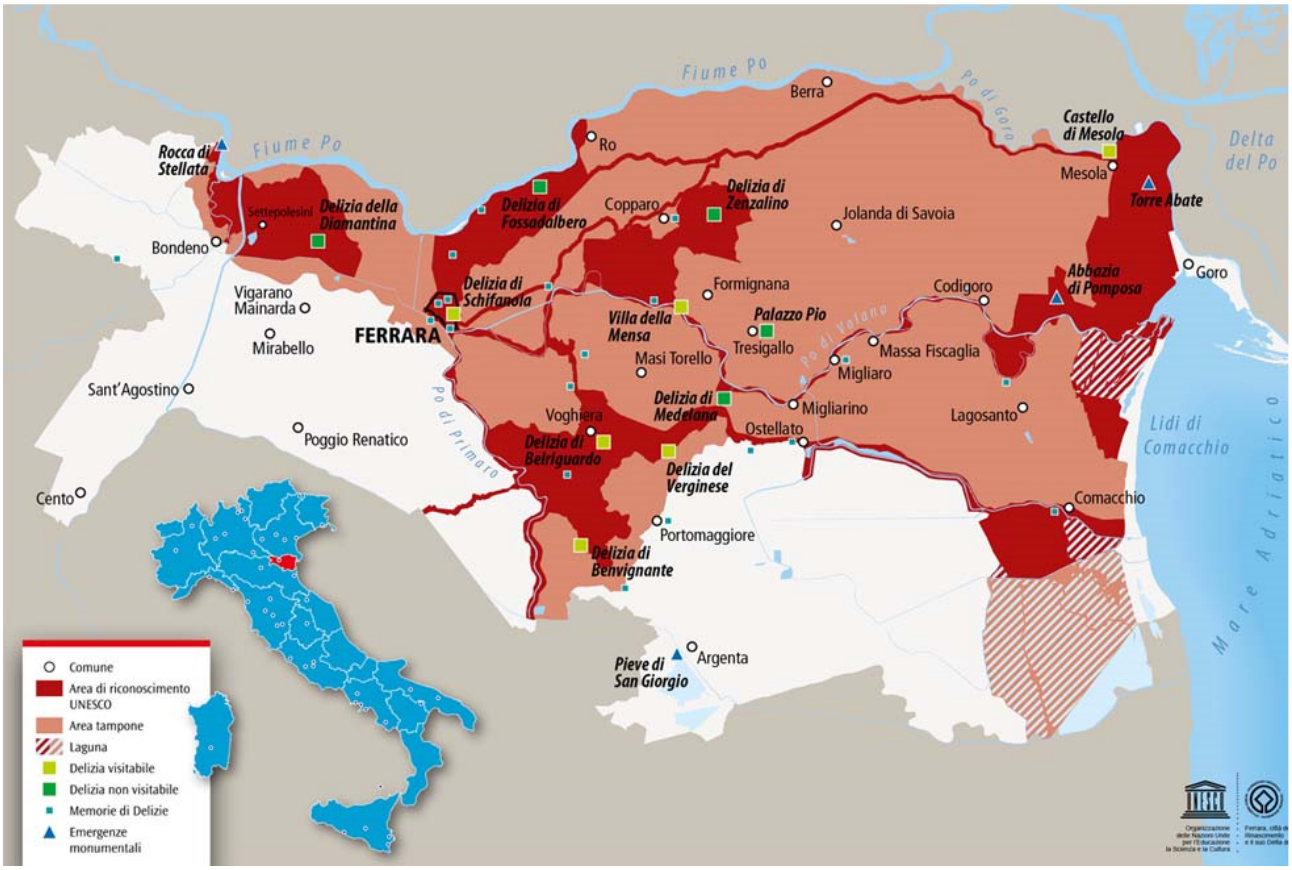


14_Castelo Estense, one of the main landmarks of the historic centre of Ferrara.

Ten years after the listing, and in the light of the Budapest declaration, a process was started in 2005 to develop a site-specific management plan. The project was extended and accelerated with the approval of Italian law No. 77, which established specific measures for the protection and use of Italian properties inscribed on Unesco's World Heritage List[33]. In particular, it created mechanisms to finance the preparation of management plans for sites already on the List, in order to create conditions for the development of the site, respecting its protection.

[33] Law no. 77 of February 20, 2006 (*Misure di tutela and fruizione a favore dei siti Unesco*) has invested more than 18 million Euros in projects between 2006 and 2013. One of the motivators of the law was the fact that Italy is the country with the highest number of properties inscribed on the List: in June 2016, there were 51 Italian sites on the World Heritage List.

The site is in the areas of influence of all possible levels of government within the Italian governmental organization (national, regional, provincial and municipal levels). A national law protects the area (*Codice dei beni culturali e del paesaggio*), and local offices of the Ministero dei beni e delle attività culturali e del turismo (MiBACT) are responsible for the monitoring and enforcement of national legislation.



15_Site of Ferrara, with indication of the main cities. The blank area refers to the border of the province of Ferrara, located on the border between the Emilia-Romagna and Veneto regions (to the north)

At the regional level, there are three specific plans for the protection of the site of Ferrara. The Regional Landscape Plan, which establishes regulations regarding historical-cultural identity. The Plan for the Po Delta Park, whose objective is the protection of natural areas. Moreover, the Provincial Territorial Plan, responsible for identifying potentials and actions for the development of traditional economic activities and tourism in a way to preserve the characteristics of the environment and the countryside. The latter plan includes both the registered core zone and its buffer zone.

In addition to these three plans, the municipality of Ferrara has a specific tool for urban planning, which identifies the entire historic city within the wall as an area

of cultural interest, as a continuation of the degree of protection established in 1975 for the city.

Regarding the participation of the population, the municipality of Ferrara has a committee for property management, with annual planning aiming to increase the knowledge of the population, especially the residents and local workers, to the extent of the preserved area and its importance. At the regional level, there are local offices that are responsible for monitoring the implementation of existing legislation and plans. Considering that the site congregates urban and rural areas, the elaboration of the plan began with the establishment - very clearly - of three factors[34].

The first was to establish who would write the management plan. The site of Ferrara includes several cities, the governments of the province and the region, agencies of management of cultural and natural properties. In this way, the first step was to define an entity that would be responsible for drawing up the plan, establishing the role of each one involved. The municipality of Ferrara was responsible for the articulation of the whole process, mainly in function of the historic centre, motivating the initial candidacy to the List.

Next, it was necessary to establish the perimeter of the area to be managed as a whole. This area is not always the same registered, since it is necessary to consider the elements that may affect the protected area, either in a positive or negative way. Finally, the third factor was to identify with what instruments the plan would relate (legislations, urban plans, tourism plans, scheduling events and public works, etc.).

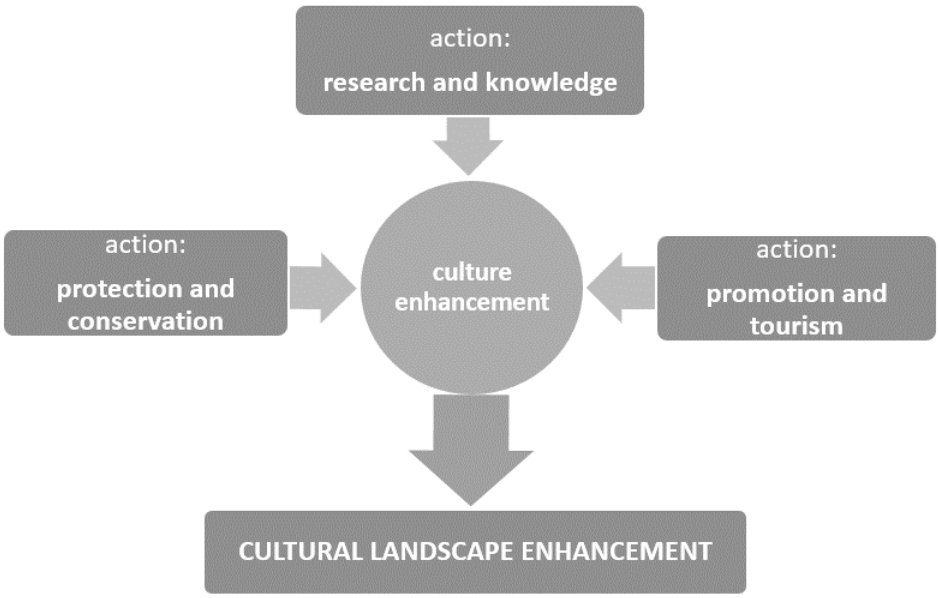
Another strategic point was to define a mission, according to which all the actions and decisions inherent to the management of the site should be guided. Unesco's opinion on the inclusion of the Ferrara site in the World Heritage List emphasized the cultural landscape, understanding the site not as a single monument but as a significant and coherent whole. The mission defined was the enhancement of the cultural landscape.

This mission also contemplated an economic process begun in the 1970s: that of using the architectural and urban heritage of the city as a point of strength for a process of enhancement of the historic centre. It is noteworthy that this policy was

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[34] Cf. Zanelli, 2009, p. 20-22.

successful because it contained tools to encourage the tertiary and university[35] sectors and to improve the quality of urban and environmental life.



Axes of actions to be carried out for the management of the Ferrara site, always guided by the mission defined in the plan[36].

From the definition of the three factors and the mission of the site, the plan was developed and structured in four parts. The first one, characterization of the site and identification of the actors involved; following, the scenario, considering socioeconomic analyses, the territory knowledge (considering tangible and intangible heritage, cultural landscape and material culture), the resources available and the legislative aspects. The third point was to define the actions foreseen in the plan, according to the three axes envisaged (figure above). Finally, the next steps of the plan, including management model and deepening for each of the focus areas of the site.

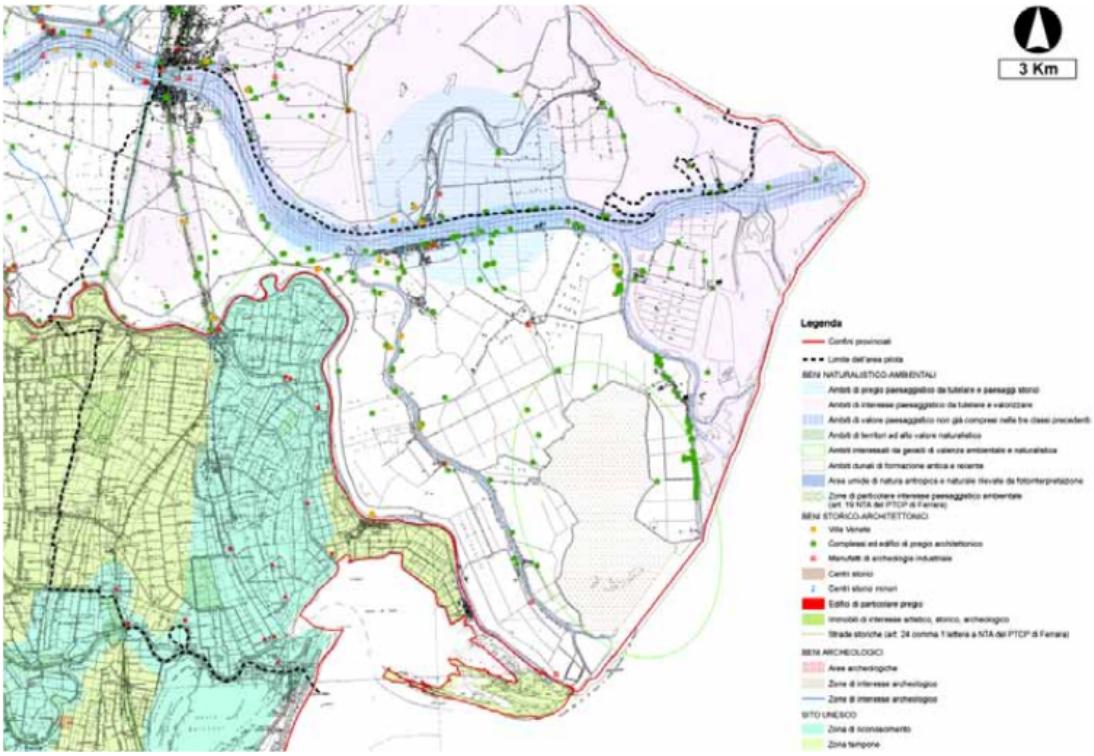
Among the various actions foreseen within the plan, we highlight two that were particularly important to ensure good communication between the different spheres of government.

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[35] The University of Ferrara, founded in 1391, had its departments installed in important historic buildings of the city, which were unused. In this way, it was possible to recover them, guaranteeing their future maintenance, in addition to creating a dynamic in the historic centre that goes beyond tourism.

[36] Table prepared by the author, based on Zanelli, 2009, p. 123-125.

The first is a question that was presented as a premise at the beginning of the research for the elaboration of the plan: "quali informazioni sono davvero utili alla gestione del sito?"[37]. This question was asked based on a logic where it is not possible to think about integrated actions without a scientific basis. In this perspective, research actions - whether academic or not - were incorporated directly into the management plan.



16_Map of cultural properties, showing the overlapping of different areas of protection, including the park in the Veneto region.

The second aspect is the management of the Po Delta Park. The management plan for the site of Ferrara included some existing plans and the relationship with various actors. The park encompassed not only several municipalities but also two Italian regions (Emilia-Romagna and Veneto) and has specific legislation - as well as European Union funding, focused on specific issues of natural heritage. The management plan sought to enhance and develop the cultural landscape aspects of the park, maintaining the basis of natural protection already existing in other instruments, and creating road maps that highlight the structures of industrial and rural channels and buildings that are inside its boundaries.

[37] Zanelli, 2009, p. 127.

It is worth mentioning that the preparation of the plan for the park was carried out in a long process of cooperation. It involved meetings and workshops with similar sites in Europe. This exchange of experiences also included sending staff to traineeships in other institutions. We highlight the partnership with the National Park Service of the USA, where managers of the Po Delta Park were able to know the entire North American structure for the protection of natural areas. By the way, this is a usual involvement in American parks, and one of the main points identified by them as international cooperation.

Finally, and in line with the guidance given in the 1993 Management Guide, a permanent forum was set up to monitor the plan. The municipality of Ferrara was the institution defined to lead administrative and bureaucratic processes related to the management of the site, as well as to the monitoring of the plan - including the monitoring of the various management spheres involved in the protection of the site.

The first version of the management plan was published in 2009 after four years of drafting work. A new version of the plan was finalized in 2015: although the plan foresees its periodic review, the process had to be anticipated due to changes in the regional organizational structure, provoking the need to review the permanent monitoring forum. The plan - and especially the forum - also serves to raise awareness among policy makers of the importance of understanding the site as a single entity, even though with specific instruments and diverse institutions. The person in charge of the plan in the city of Ferrara, Roberta Fusari, understands as one of the main challenges this political articulation.

> La sfida più difficile è stata soprattutto nelle relazione all'interno del sito, nella relazione politica all'interno del sito e del territorio. I pesi, noi siamo la grande città che fa parte di un sito che è fatto dei piccoli comuni. Aver una visione comune di crescita… Di solito i piccoli pensano che la grande città ha la capacità di portarsi via tutto. Oppure, ha tante tecnici ha disposizione. Credo che ci sia ancora questa difficoltà nel capire che siamo un sistema unico. E quindi, nel rendere più fluidi i rapporti di gestione. […] Ha un certo punto abbiamo detto Ferrara deve entrare nel parco, è la testa del parco del Delta. E il parco, Comacchio ha detto no, Ferrara non la vogliamo. Perché è troppo potente. Se entra nel parco, ci porti via… scusa, vengo per fare sinergia insieme. Ma quel ottica lì, i politici hanno timore. Mentre invece, rispetto a una progettazione europea, più sei grande, più sei forte. (In an interview with the author, 2016)

The port of Valparaíso

The second case where the challenge of integrating the different levels involved in managing a site is that of the historic centre of Valparaíso, Chile[38].



17_Valparaiso, view of the Cerro Alegre neighborhood, with the harbor in the background.

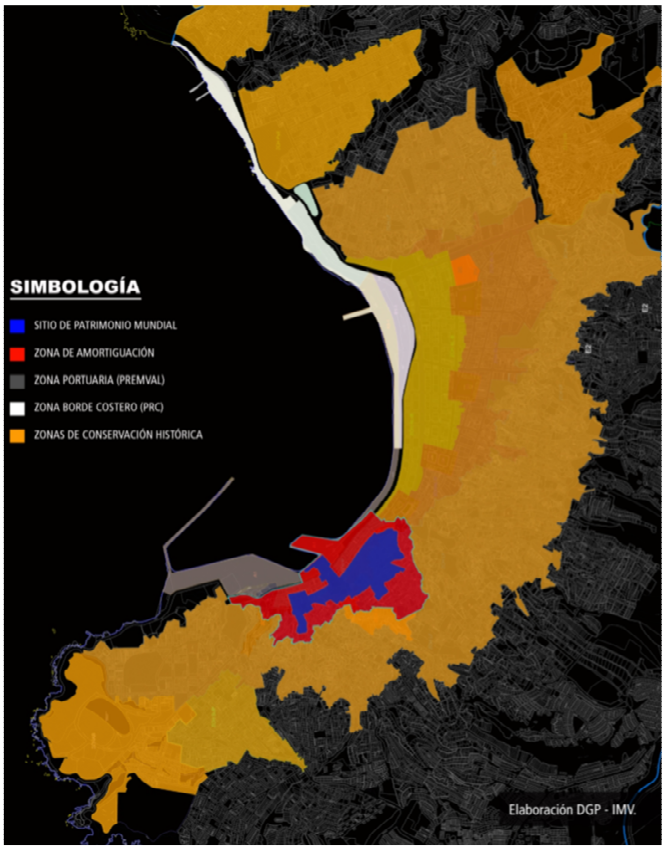
The process for joining the List began in 1998 for Valparaiso, when the city was included in the indicative list. Nevertheless, the protection actions in the city go back to the 1970s, with the protection of the main church and public spaces in the city centre[39]. However - and unlike Ferrara, which had its historic centre preserved still in the 1970s - the protection of the city as urban heritage occurs only after the insertion of the site in the indicative list. The city was declared a 'historic area' by the Chilean government in 2001. The inscription on the List happened two years later.

Valparaíso was the first inhabited urban site to be recognized as World Heritage in Chile. The fact shows the size of the challenge to establish policies for its protection. Soon after the Unesco decision, the municipality and the central government began a series of actions seeking to insert the issue of protection in existing urban and

[38] To get an idea of the problem in Latin America, in response to the 2013 periodic report, approximately 70% of the signatory countries indicated that coordination among the various levels of government in site management is small or could be improved. (Unesco WHC, document WHC-13/37. COM/10A, p. 45).

[39] In 1971, the *Iglesia La Matriz* and its surroundings was declared a historic monument. In 1979, it was the turn of the *Plaza Sotomayor* e dos *Cerros Alegre e Concepción*. (Cf. Valparaíso, *Plan Director de Gestión Patrimonial de la Ciudad Puerto de Valparaíso*, 2016).

regional plans. The process, which is not simple, especially considering the number of instances involved, led to the beginning of the drafting of a master plan for managing the city's heritage.



18_Protection zones in the city of Valparaiso and its surroundings (the area registered as World Heritage is marked in blue).

From the beginning, one of the main objectives of the plan was to reconcile the three major instruments that exist in the region: the general standard on urbanism and constructions (LGUC) at the regional level. The guideline on historic conservation areas and buildings and planned urban complexes at the municipal level. And at federal level, the law No. 17,299 of national monuments, enforced by the National Monuments Council.

There were two phases for the elaboration of the plan, contemplating public consultations. The first phase was a survey of information and diagnosis and counted in 2008 with two actions with the community: Summer School *Valparaíso con todas las miradas* e *Seminario de capacidad de carga, Cerro Concepción*. Phase II, for the preparation of the master plan, had moments of public consultation in 2012, be it among the population, with *Exposiciones Barriales*; or with institutions, with two working groups

(one with thematic specialists and the other with consultative bodies). Like Ferrara, Valparaiso also started from the definition of its mission, or in this case, an image:

> Vaparaíso es una ciudad Puerto, integrada y dinámica, expresión cualificada de valores culturales que la constituyen en Patrimonio de la Humanidad, enclavada en un paisaje dominado por la condición geográfica de anfiteatro, en la que confluyen de modo integrado y armónico las dinámicas de desarrollo propias de un asentamiento humano vivo con la conservación de su riqueza cultural, y que concibe al patrimonio cultural como uno de sus principales factores de desarrollo. (Valparaíso, 20016, p. 52)

From then on, the plan defined five basic principles that guided the whole work: 1. Protection and management of cultural heritage with a technical focus on planning; 2. The adoption of an integral concept of cultural heritage[40]; 3. The World Heritage site, the buffer zone and its area of influence as the scope of the geographical application of the management plan; 4. Heritage as task and responsibility of all; and 5. The protection and management of cultural heritage as a factor of territorial heritage.

We highlight here two aspects: the integration of various instances and activities that operate in the area and the need to include the population in the protection process[41].

> This department works about ten years and we have to do all about the protection not only of the site of Unesco, but also the buffer zone and all the zone of the port. And now we have the master plan. This is very important because it is the most important point that we have to work (all these different areas and institutions). And the other thing is that the community in Valparaiso is very important. Not as much as I feel it is in Europe. The people here are very important. In what is the purpose of the city. (Paulina Kaplan Depolo, Director

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[40] The plan defines integral concept as follows: "Para efectos de la construción del conjunto de directrices estratégicas constitutivas del Plan Director de Gestión Patrimonial del Valparaíso se utilizará un concepto integral de Patrimonio cultural, entendiendo por tal a aquél que comprenda su dimensión o vertiente material y su dimensión o vertiente inmaterial" (Valparaíso, 2016, p. 57).

[41] The Dirección de Gestión Patrimonial is divided into three areas: Heritage management master plan department; Historic heritage department; and Cultural identity department. The latter works in direct contact with the population. Whether it is in the Unesco Operating Guidelines or in the Italian law n. 77 - in order to stick to the cases presented - the participation of the local population had gained a significant and important weight in the process of drawing up the plans. Perhaps this is the alternative to ensure an active participation in the protection process. And remembering Carbonara, seek to balance the economic and social pressures.

of the Patrimonial Management Department of Valparaiso, in an interview with the author, 2016)

It is still interesting to note that one of the points of the plan (funding for the protection and management of the site) begins with the item 'heritage economics'. Where they present statistics with generated jobs and percentage of the contribution in the GDP of the cultural industry, as well as government programs and private financing lines that provide funds for investments in areas considered as heritage[42].

One of the first tests for the plan, when it was still in the process of being drafted, was the controversy with a project to recover one of the main port areas in the city. Right at the entrance to Sotomayor Square are two buildings of monumental size (even more compared to the popular architecture in the area), as if forming a portico for the city from the point of view of those who arrive from the sea . One of them had been deactivated for several years, as has happened in several port areas, for the sake of automation of the processes carried out there.

The project - called Puerto Barón - was drafted by the port authority. An instance that operates in the region and reports directly and exclusively to the central government of Chile. The original project had a great visual impact on the landscape of the city, and was the target of a dispute that led to a survey of the Icomos in the region, at the end of 2014[43].

The project - and the survey of the Icomos - had great repercussions in the Chilean media, discussing not only the project itself but also the process of real estate speculation that was affecting the region of Valparaiso. Particularly for its appreciation after its inclusion on the List.

In this case, the parties (Icomos, Port Authority and City Hall of Valparaíso) were able to reach an agreement. The most interesting side of the dispute was that this led to the structuring of a plan management committee. The committee was already planned, but it gained more prominence, with established periodic meetings and a

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[42] They also refer to the Unesco World Heritage Fund and specific funds for action in response to the earthquake in the area in 2015.

[43] The specialists who went to the site were the Argentine Luis María Calvo and the Brazilian Silvio Mendes Zancheti.

stream of information about what each actor is developing, which may prove to be an effective mechanism to avoid other similar situations.

Still in Valparaiso, it is worth highlighting the process for calculating load capacity. The calculation was made in particular for the issue of transport to the *cerros* - the elevator system. The crucial differential for an effective and efficient calculation was to consider not only the flow of tourists but also the flow of the population. In addition to a technical issue, this was also an important point to put the population on the side of the initiatives undertaken in the city due to the entry on the List. By including the population in the process, it sought to mitigate the impacts of cultural tourism.

General management strategies

As we have seen, one of the main challenges of a management plan for a World Heritage area is the reconciliation between different instances and different interests. In the case of more complex sites, which for territorial or legal issues must deal with different institutions, there is an alternative: think of strategies instead of plans.

We emphasize that the Unesco Guidelines make no mention exclusively of plans, but rather of site management mechanisms and tools. Starting from this premise, a document with 'General Strategies for Site Management' was developed for the Dolomites National Park, an[44] initiative that began with a working group within the Association of Italian World Heritage Sites[45].

Here we ask the reader license for an exception (to confirm a rule?). The site of the Dolomites is not a site of cultural or mixed nature, but is classified as natural heritage[46]. As we have seen in some moments here, the actions of protection of the natural heritage sometimes precede those of the cultural heritage. As, for example, at the beginning of protection actions in the United States. Still, what interests us in preserving the site of

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[44] See document of the Fondazione Dolomiti, *Strategia complessiva di gestione* (*più Strategia per il turismo*), December 2015.

[45] The *Associazione beni italiani patrimonial mondiale Unesco* was established in 1995.

[46] In 2007, the site submitted its application to the List as joint heritage. At the time, the WHC opinion was contrary to its registration, indicating a new application, considering other criteria for its inclusion (originally, the ix and x criteria were considered). The project was reviewed and the site was approved in 2009, based on criteria vii and viii.

the Dolomites is not the actions themselves, but the structuring of them, including the international articulation in favour of an alternative idea to a management plan.

The site of the Dolomites is formed by a chain of mountains located in the Alps of the north of Italy. The justification for inclusion in the List in 2009 presented the site as one of the most beautiful mountainous landscapes, with vertical walls and several valleys. Besides beauty, the site - formed by nine nuclei scattered in the Alps - presents unique and highly significant geological features, including fossil records from the Mesozoic period.

A first difference in the management of the site lies on the responsible for its protection. Such responsibility was not centralized in one of the municipalities or in any regional body within the site (as were the cases of Ferrara and Valparaiso). On the contrary, a foundation of mixed character was created with the specific purpose of coordinating the management of the site[47]. The griffin is not here by chance: the foundation has clarity that the responsibility for the management of a complex site cannot be the responsibility of a single entity.

When the management plan for the site was drawn up, the Dolomites Foundation was faced with a situation very similar to that experienced by the previously presented urban sites: how to draw up a plan that could contain various legislations and instances? Seeking the answer, and in permanent contact with Unesco technicians, IUCN and other WH sites in Italy and Europe, the Dolomites Foundation had developed a document with its management strategies.

This is another difference that can be identified in the protection process of this particular site: the adoption of a general management strategy (*Strategia Complessiva di Gestione* - SCG) rather than a management plan. It was understood as an instrument that promotes and implements network management, placing available resources (human and financial) in a system, and seeking the integration among them in the activities of conservation, communication and enhancement of the sites.

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[47] Cf. Fondazione Dolomiti, document of December of 2015.





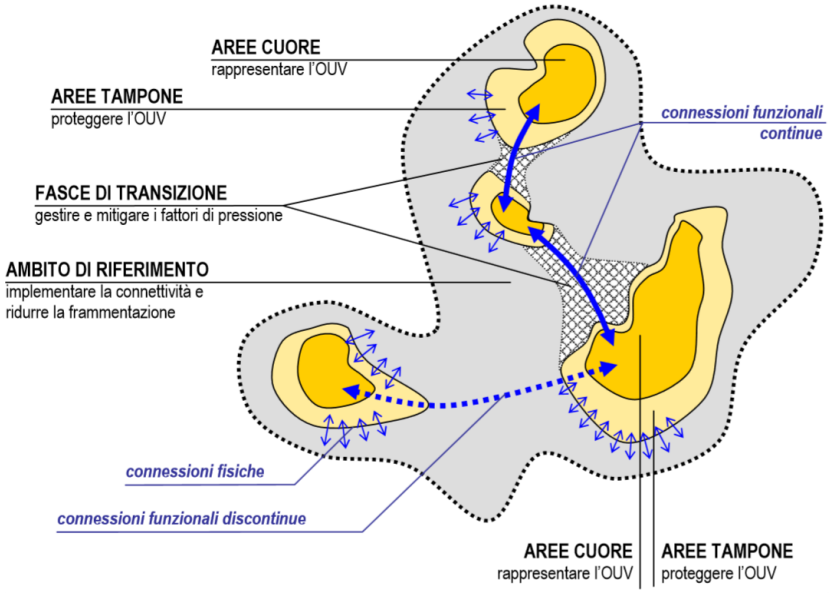
19_*Above*, Lake Molveno, in one of the typical valleys of the Dolomites (zone 9, Dolomiti di Brenta). *Right*, ski resort of Andalo, one of several tourist facilities installed in the region of the Dolomites. In the background, the mountain range that characterizes the place.

Another crucial premise is that the direct responsibility for the territory to be protected is the regional and / or provincial administration, the parks and the local communities. In this way, either the process of elaboration of the strategies, or the one of their monitoring was thought considering a participative process, called #Dolomiti2040. In addition to integrating it into current forms of virtual communication, such participation is also necessary in a long-term project. The time frame for SCG is 25 years.

Based on this scenario, SCG was structured considering five thematic networks, which intend to put into practice the concept of network management, and start from the principles of harmonization, participation and cooperation. The five networks are: geological heritage; heritage and protected areas; tourism; sustainable development; and training / research[48]). The work of each of these networks was supported by four pillars: heritage, experience, community and system.

[48] The question of research, the production of knowledge about heritage is increasingly valued as an important protection action - which has been widely publicized and adapted to different audiences. Although we agree with the importance of this type of action, we register here, as a counterpoint, the critic of Argan. It was directed to scientific research in the field of art, and written in 1979, but we believe it applies very well also to heritage, especially in times when we talk so much about virtual visits to museums, cities or even to the highest peak of the world. "Without leaving the library of our university institute (utopian, well understood), with its typewritten files and its computers, we could study quietly and comfortably, without any kind of problem, the Greek art of the fifth century and that of Tierra del Fuego, Renaissance painting and Peruvian ceramics. And to what advantage to scholars! No more strenuous file searches, no more uncomfortable journeys to 'see and review' (as Adolfo Venturi advocated), no more painful uncertainties about the authenticity of the works and the reliability of the sources, no more hypotheses, interpretations,

The other part of SCG is the management plans for protected areas (parks, *Zone Speciali di Conservazione* (ZSC), *Zone di Protezione Speciale* (ZPS) and nature reserves[49]). Here the understanding is that each zone of the site has its particularities, and as such, it would not be possible to think of a single plan for all of them. From this perspective, each zone develops a specific plan, with its own goals and indicators, but with the same orientation, always referring to the general strategies - and the group that was formed there. This particular aspect had a large contribution from the IUCN, which established contacts with similar sites in the Alps, Canada and the USA. This exchange of experiences has positively affected the preparation of the management proposal.



20_Interpretive model for the nine areas of the Dolomites site. Each of the three types of areas (main area, buffer zone and buffer and influence areas) is considered to have a specific function within the Unesco site and thus a different role in preserving it. Therefore, each area developed specific instruments and / or plans, from the lines defined in the SCG.

Finally, SCG also established the expected results of its implementation, namely: governance protocols (i.e., intergovernmental agreements in the spheres of Municipalities, Provinces and Regions); operational and management measures (established according to the strategic guidelines); monitoring protocols (conservation status and management evaluation) and; financial sustainability (with concrete alternatives for this purpose).

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random assignments. Everything would be there, scientifically cataloged and described, even for those who, from other times, still wanted to make history. Even if a nuclear war (always possible, in a technological age) would erase every mark of what was old world art, it would be a pity, but in substance, nothing would be lost. " (Argan, 2005, p. 62)

[49] Within the legal framework of the *Ministero dell'ambiente and della tutela del territorio e del mare* has also planned the category *Siti di Importanza Comunitaria* (SIC).

Returning to the four pillars of action of thematic networks. The 'experience' pillar is connected to the tourism actions of recreational use of the areas inscribed in the List. The other three - heritage, community and system - comprise the strategic areas, since they are linked to the values that must be preserved (the outstanding universal value) and to the local populations. Looking with particular attention to the 'system' pillar, it is basically the place where the strategies of connection between the actors and of conflict management were defined.

> L'iscrizione nella WHL [World Heritage List] rappresenta un volano economico ed un fattore di competitività non trascurabile, ma il mantenimento delle peculiarità territoriali, che sono un fattore attrattivo imprescindibile, richiede la costante mediazione tra interessi diversi e potenzialmente confliggenti. (Fondazione Dolomite, document of December 2015, page 13)

The basic concept is to put in place the various administrative traditions that exist in the region. From collective management of agricultural areas (grassland and forests) to natural resource management, this is a region with several models of government, operating in relative autonomy. The strategy is not to deny this complexity, nor to want to impose a single solution, but rather to consider it as part of the diversity to be preserved in the area. And promote dialogue and collaboration between these initiatives, with the aim of ensuring the protection of the outstanding universal value. That is, to preserve the reason why the site was inscribed in the List.

The argument for adopting 'strategies' rather than a 'plan' of management was based on the text of the 1972 Convention when it talks about the importance of a proper relationship between local people and their territories. From this, still in the dossier of application of the site of the Dolomites, was presented the proposal of the strategies (then called 'management framework'):

> This is why the Management Framework refers to the status quo of the properties included in the nomination, by recovering the information given in the dossier, and by evaluating their critical parameters with a view to preserving them as well as while taking consideration The most qualifying elements of the Dolomites, and of the vast area that includes them, which could be influenced by the process of enhancement of the resources offered by these mountains. (Italy, document WHC 1237rev-2009, page 23)

From the scenario where there were several legal mechanisms for protection of the area, the strategy was to think about articulating these existing plans and laws, instead of creating a new plan for the area. As much as a plan contains strategies and vice versa, when you start from a 'strategy' that coordinates several plans, it is possible to better adapt to very specific aspects, creating greater synergy and interaction with the communities where it is inserted.

Finally, we recall the participation of the Association of Italian World Heritage sites - which includes the site of Ferrara. With the adoption of strategies, one of the points of greatest conflict in the management plan for the site of Ferrara would be solved: that of the political clash between major and minor institutions. By centralizing coordination in an exclusive institution for the purpose of the Unesco site, and placing all municipalities and regional bodies on an equal footing, much of the political tension in the management of the site was softened (which inevitably remains there, but in another scale).

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Another model that does not follow the standards of a 'classic' management plan can be seen in Mesa Verde National Park, located in the state of Colorado in the United States of America. We went from a fairly current management idea to a case that was the first structured actions for the protection of a site classified as mixed. Mesa Verde entered the World Heritage List as early as its first year, 1978. However, its protection is still prior.

We saw in Part I the signature of the *Organic Act* in the USA in 1906. In the same year, Mesa Verde National Park was created, then as Colorado Cliff Dwellings National Park, named after the main set of archaeological remains located in the park. That is, the park was established even before the creation of the National Parks Service, and was the first archaeological area in the world to be recognized and protected as such (value that prevailed over nature). With vestiges of prehistoric occupation from 400 BC, the Cliff Dwellings was built in the 13th Century as an ancient indigenous settlement and is one of the most important archaeological sites for the indigenous Pueblo. Buildings such as palaces and villages are scattered in geological structures similar to terraces, creating a strong relationship between built and natural heritage.



21_View of one of the sets of 'halls' remaining from the occupation of indigenous *Pueblo* culture on the Mesa Verde National Park.

One year after the nomination of the site for the Unesco World Heritage List, an overall management plan for the park was approved. This long-term plan contemplated the protection of 600 rooms and contained lines of action and recommendation. The main concern there was with the potential increase in the number of visitors due to their presence on the World Heritage List. Therefore, guidelines for visitor reception (including the construction of a visitor centre and the restructuring of the local museum) and possible routes within the park have been established

The last report presented by the park for the periodic evaluation with Unesco presented the following scenario in relation to the management of the site:

> Mesa Verde National Park's General Management Plan was completed in 1979. All parks are required to have a General Management Plan by law. The park would like to initiate the process of preparing a new General Management Plan, but there is no schedule for accomplishing this. The current plan focuses on existing conditions and discusses alternatives for visitor use and interpretation, access and circulation, concessioner operations, administration, housing and maintenance. Most of the proposed alternatives have not been implemented. Some projects are in the planning stages, including a new curatorial facility and a Cultural/Visitor Centre at the park entrance, and development of a

> transportation system for visitors. The current plan is not available on the Internet. (Unesco WHC, document *Periodic Report, second cycle*, may 2014)

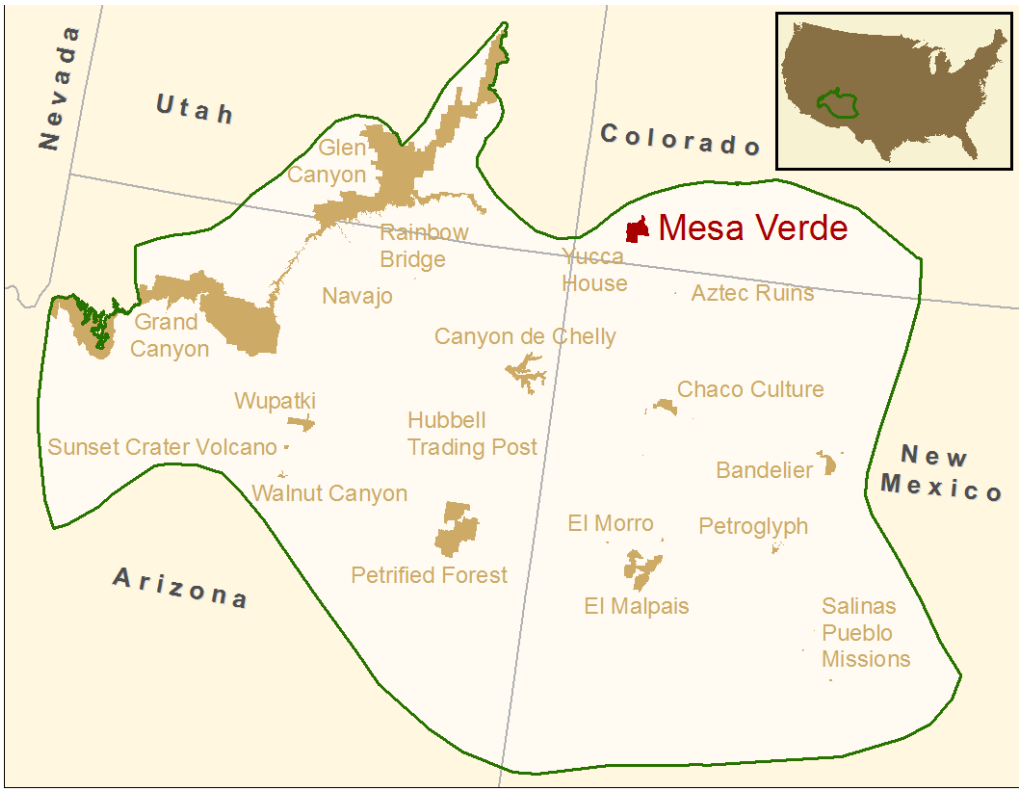
Today, the park does not have a single management plan. It operates from the general management plan of the National Park Service, which contains the strategic lines of action of all US national parks with specific plans. In the Mesa Verde National Park, today there is a plan for fire management, management of exotic vegetation[50] and one for visitation.

> Current plans for management of Mesa Verde are to continue preservation of the cultural and natural resources. The strategy will need to change to account for the effects of climate change. In that realm, we conduct research to assess the impacts to the resources and work on strategies to minimize or eliminate those impacts. Other assessments cover the impact of visitation to the sites, and what measures should be taken to minimize those impacts. (Clifford Spencer, superintendent of Mesa Verde National Park, in an interview with the author, 2015)

Such action with several action plans also occurs in function of the US protection system. A first point is the decentralization of actions: considering the political structure of the United States, each state - in this case the Colorado - has autonomy to carry out certain actions. Although the park system is national, and linked directly to the Department of the Interior (important department within the federal structure of government), the states have great participation in the protection process. This is done through the State Historic Preservation Office (SHPO).

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[50] The plan for management of exotic vegetation is part of a concern with the physical protection of the site, especially due to geological risk, with soil movement, which endangers not only the safety of visitors, but also the system o rooms of the former indigenous population itself.



22_Natural protection area in the North American state of Colorado, with the indication of the Mesa Verde National Park to the north.

In this scenario, the national park does not have a specific plan considering World Heritage status. Actually, the fact that the site is part of the List is not mentioned on the park's website, highlighting only the material of the park's friends foundation[51]. The relationship between the USA and the WHC, which was very close at the beginning of its work, began to wear out - especially in the 1990s - to the point where managers prefer not to divulge the presence of the sites on the List (however, all reports and activities inherent in the signature of the Convention are fulfilled). This issue will be further explored in the next chapter.

[51] The *Mesa Verde Foundation* (http://www.mesaverdefoundation.org/) is a private, non-profit organization created within the American tradition of supporting cultural actions.

2. About protection actions

> In few words: cities have become the repositories of problems caused by globalization. Citizens and those who have been elected as their representatives are faced with a task they cannot even dream of solving: the task of finding local solutions to global contradictions.
>
> Zygmunt Bauman, 2009, p. 32

Reconciling protection actions with guidelines created miles away - which are sometimes distant from the needs of the local population, from the reality of regional policies, and from the technical training scenario - creates a variety of conflicts. In addition to the aforementioned points, commercial and real estate interests come into play, a tourism that sometimes cares more about meeting the same standards in any small city in the world than putting its clients in front of a new culture, etc., etc.

If at first a good management plan - which has these variables mapped - could balance those interests, the reality is that good plans do not guarantee the protection of a site. Returning to the question made by Jokilehto and Feilden in the previous chapter, it is possible to consider that the responsibility for the management of the World Heritage can be entrusted to a person - or a group - of specialists. However, as Bauman points out, in the end, it is the citizens who act daily to preserve that site, facing the dilemmas that are

mirrored in the slogan of a new world - that is beyond globalized, 'sustainable': the 'Think global, act local'[1].

Synthetically - and without entering into the debate on the concept -, the idea behind the impact statement is to strengthen local solutions. That is, seek alternatives to such global / local contradiction, so present in the idea of a world heritage. Although it may seem simple, the local solution must be embedded in a market that is worldwide. The difficulty arises, then, in the fact that the economy of a globalized world calls for a homogenization where the peculiarities of the 'local' are lost.

Heritage is embedded in such a global economy, mainly through the cultural tourism industry. The demands of this public, coupled with the need to preserve the authenticity of a World Heritage site, can create a situation where the site is 'frozen', tied to moorings that would prevent it from having an economic and urban insertion beyond the tourist market. How to reach a balance?

[1] The phrase has acquired many meanings and is used almost banally nowadays. It is representative of a movement initiated in the 1980s in Japan, which created the term 'glocal', that would bring in itself a new idea of globalization, seeking to adapt local realities to a global economic production. The phrase has also been widely used in connection with another facet of globalization: sustainability. On the subject, see Robertson (2000), Bauman (1999) and Sassen (2010).

Globalization?

> We imagined that our Carta del Restauro of 1964 would have universal significance, being applicable in the whole world... However, today I can confess: there was much that we simply did not know. You know, we were convinced that we were sufficiently clever. But we did not understand where the difficulties were. When I later participated in an Icomos conference, someone asked: what shall we then do with the straw huts in Australia? This is something that we had not really thought about. (Gertrude Tripp, apud Jokilehto, 2011, p. 36)



23_Gertrude Tripp (Austria) and René Sneyers (Belgium), members of the Iccrom Council, at the Venice General Assembly, 1969.

It is difficult to think of the word 'world' without thinking of another, 'globalization'. In this sense, how would the question pointed out by Gertrude Tripp relate to the enormous differences of the cultural realities where the heritage is, and to which it relates?

The term 'globalization' is not recent. It came about in the 1960s when the Canadian Marshall McLuhan launched the word with the publication of *The Global Village*. The English historian Eric J. Hobsbawm found in the same post-World War II - which were also golden years of economic development - the moment that favoured what would be a new cycle of expansion of production and of the market in a world economy that would operate 'transnationally'. Such a process goes beyond the cooperation that interests us here - and as we saw it began long before World War II. It was a change in the way of production. Companies or corporate groups, multinationals, regional market blocks, global technological production standards, among others, allowed goods to be produced with parts made in different regions of the world, with a conception and management carried out from another part, different from the others. For this, a rationalization of the operations was necessary, with the creation of patterns that organized what could be a tower of Babel.

Turning to the word itself, Françoise Choay also highlights the term 'globalization', derived from the name 'globe', as the expression of the planetary and territorial dimension of the process. And that only France has adopted the term '*mondialisation*'. We turn to a traditional source: the dictionary. The Brazilian Michaelis presents us with '*mundializar*' as "spreading; disclose to the world; carry everywhere; universalize". 'Globalize' appears quite similarly: "1. Make global; Universalize; 2. Gather and dispose (elements, ideas, problems) and consider them together, without attention to details or minutiae; 3. Become globalized."

The detail of the additional item in 'globalized' may be the reason for the resistance of the French with the word: "without attention to details or minutiae". However, it seems to us that adopting the term globalization would bring with it a certain tendency towards homogenization (which is confirmed when we think of the adoption of common production patterns). If the global economy sees the discarding of these minutiae with good eyes, one cannot think the same when speaking of heritage (in fact, as Tripp well noted). The value of heritage is precisely in details and minutiae. This clash was seen more strongly after the World Heritage Convention, with the intensification of exchanges of experience, difficulties in finding universal standards and, consequently, awareness of our

differences. And it has gained new proportions with the Convention on Intangible Heritage of 2003[2].

Patrimonialization, museification and others

> It is possible to summarize in a few words the central elements of his [Bauman] reasoning: global cities entered a new historical phase, inaugurated at the end of the twentieth century. For various reasons, these areas are the epicenter of ongoing transformations and, as such, are particularly important observatories for understanding what is happening. (Mauro Magatti, in the introduction of Bauman, 2009, p. 7)

In the protection of mixed sites, architectural ensembles and historical centres, it is possible to feel more intensely the logic of any city, which is that of a constant change. Sociologist Zygmunt Bauman addresses the issue when he talks about the relationship between culture and identity. It starts from the premise that every culture is intrinsically produced from change, keeping its essence intact - and that would be its identity. At the moment in which it is defined that certain historical centre is heritage - and in our case, World Heritage - a process is started that seeks to keep unchanged that heritage. However, and following Bauman's logic, a historical centre that does not change, would no longer represent the same culture that is intended to protect. After all, how to define what is the essence that must be kept intact and what could be altered?

This contradiction ends up being amplified by the phenomenon called 'patrimonialization'. That is, identify something as heritage. Returning to some ideas already presented here, the process of 'identifying' something as heritage has widened much since the first idea of historic monument from the French Revolution. Such an extension can be seen in the Charters - being the Convention of 1972 one of them, since these documents present a portrait of a certain time. If in the first moments, patrimonialization was linked to the construction of national identities, from the 1960s, inserted in the new scenario of globalization, other issues began to emerge, beyond national identity. In addition to the recognition of properties related to more recent times (such as those linked to modern architecture) and typologies or groups (industrial architecture, intangible heritage, indigenous or ethnic groups, among others), there was also the movement of the

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[2] As discussed in Part I, Chapter 2.

supply of heritage as a product. This way, inserting it into a market - with emphasis on the leisure industry and cultural tourism. This has created a 'patrimonialization fever' or a 'heritage inflation'[3].

> The dynamics of heritage cannot fail to be seen as a result of the growth and the amplification of a spirit of competition between different spaces, in relation to which the status of world heritage presents itself as a surplus value in three domains. By functioning as a vector of urban marketing strategies; to be mobilized as a heritage of the campaigns that seek to capture the flows of cultural and patrimonial tourism; and when it is summoned as a rhetorical element of legitimization and contestation of the politics of transformation of cultural landscapes. At the limit, this heritage dynamics gives way to a phenomenon of reproduction in series of models of urban development, particularly designed to be competitive in the tourist market. (Peixoto, 2002, p. 23)

One of the faces of this patrimonialization is the 'museification' of urban centres - or 'disneyfication'. The demands for standardization would eventually create scenarios, also raising the question - and questioning the concept - of the authenticity of a World Heritage site.

> Il revient au même Centre [du patrimoine mondial] d'attribuer le label 'patrimoine mondial' symbole de ce statu. Cette labellisation entraîne, *de facto*, un processus de muséification dont l'accélération induit une marchandisation planétaire – ce n'est pas un hasard si le Centre du patrimoine mondial a obtenu en 2008 le prix mondial du Tourisme. (Choay, 2011a, p. 86-87)

What comes up here is the protection versus growth dilemma. Whether in cities 'exclusively' touristic or not, urban dynamics is based on the principle of change. This growth is not only in the question of new constructions, but also of new uses.

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[3] The first term is used by Peixoto (2002), who also speaks in a 'heritage hysteria'. The second is used by Choay (2001), who also speaks of a 'Noah complex', in which patrimonialization would have the mission of saving any existing typology in the history of architecture (erroneously in her view). The debate over what would be an 'excess' of protection is great. The article by Simone Scifoni (2016) presents the result of a debate on the theme from cases in France, Mexico and Brazil. The debate evidenced the need to carefully evaluate these excesses, since, often, there is a great historical gap in the typology of properties listed, with predominance of buildings and sites linked to the dominant classes considered heritage. The article also warns of "the urgency of incorporating a more integral look at the selection of heritage to be protected". Cecília Rodrigues dos Santos (2001) is also inserted in this debate, pointing out that a negative factor of this excess is the difficulty of the population in recognizing its heritage.

We ask here license for a comment in addition to a footnote. An inverse example in Brazil can be seen in the historical centre of Salvador, Bahia. The process of recovery of Pelourinho, was criticized precisely for taking to the area the inherent problems of patrimonialization. Or, in the case, the term 'disneyfication' is quite appropriate. The project, carried out throughout the 1990s, had the merit of re-emphasizing an important heritage, as well as interrupting the process of urban degradation, which already led some buildings to ruin. However, in the social sphere, there was a process of almost immediate gentrification, and even before the recovery work, a large part of the residents of the region moved to peripheral areas of the capital of Bahia. On the technical side of protection, that is, conservation, restoration, wrong solutions (to say the least) left the centre with 'a new face', resembling a scenario.

> A palette of varied pastel colours was applied to the houses, something that never existed there, replacing the white or ochre of the old city. Paint based on acrylic or latex paint and not the traditional keratin, also known as 'lime milk'. Crisp and deliberate, clean-looking scenographic intervention, unfortunately with contagious power. With the publicity and marketing success of the recovery, the 'Pelourinho effect' spread through the country, by historical cities or not, who began to paint their houses to the 'ice cream shop' multi-tastes. (Ferraz, 2008)

We remind you that the historical centre of Salvador is also part of the World Heritage List: it was registered in 1985. Where would the authenticity of these centres/scenario be?

Cultural tourism

> L'inscription d'un site sur la liste du Patrimoine mondial entraîne des changements. L'augmentation du nombre de visiteurs exige de nouveaux aménagements et attire des commerces de plus en plus nombreux. (Jokilehto e Feilden, 1996, p. vi)

So, we came to another major dispute in the protection - especially in management - of any World Heritage site: how to deal with the huge influx of people brought by the cultural tourism industry?

The use of heritage for tourism began in the 1960s. It is worth remembering that the OAS meeting that resulted in the 1967 Norms of Quito was one of

the first to relate the protection of heritage to a touristic use. A subject widely discussed, cultural tourism has its positive aspects, such as "being able to facilitate dialogue between cultures, to improve the living conditions of the population contributing to the reduction of poverty and also to facilitate the protection of cultural heritage through fundraising, identification, recovery and dissemination". However, it also created problems for the very heritage that it intends to promote, especially those related to the large influx of visitors (such as transport and water infrastructure, cleaning services, security, among others).

One of the most emblematic cases when thinking about such a question is the city of Venice (Italy). The population of its historic centre, which reached almost 175 thousand inhabitants in 1950, decreased to 95 thousand inhabitants in 1980 to just over 55 thousand in 2012[4].

> We have, in Italy, a limiting case of city-museum, Venice. Due to its special location and configuration, industrial development was transferred, with an apparently correct solution, to a neighbouring city, Mestre, which grew with the rapidity of all industrial cities, but which, precisely for this reason, is a true urban monster, a purely quantitative accumulation of industrial facilities and their housing additions. [...] Today it could be said that Venice is the historic centre of the neighbouring and devouring industrial city, devoid of functions other than those of tourism and its commerce. (Argan, 2005, p. 81)

The city today faces the dilemma of having an economy based on tourism and having to limit the number of tourists received per day. In July 2016, Unesco gave an ultimatum to city administration: either cargo limits are imposed, especially on water-related issues, including large transatlantic, or the site would be inscribed on the World Heritage in Danger List.

Even those who do not know Venice personally may have already seen some of the previous images. The question that arises is: when the number of tourists is too much? How to set this limit?[5]

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[4] Data of Ufficio Statistica Comune di Venezia.

[5] In this regard, it is worth analysing the study for calculating cargo, developed by the Valparaiso site (Document *Plan Director de Gestión Patrimonial de la Ciudad Puerto de Valparaíso*. 2016).



24_ Tourists walk towards the Bridge of Sighs, a route that passed before at the Piazza San Marco (iconic place of the city). Below, transatlantic passing next to Punta della Dogana, important historical building for the city, restored in 2009 with design by the architect Tadao Ando, which now houses part of the collection of contemporary art of the François Pinault Foundation.

Another issue, which can be seen in the photos below is how to make tourists go beyond the places indicated in the '10 more' guides or official tourist maps. In this case, the challenge is that of places that are not the first choice for the tourist - either because they are less known or because they are more specific. The fact is that many (if not all) countries define the transfer of resources based on numbers. And the first one is the number of visitors. Again, the dilemma arises and it becomes even more difficult to define such a maximum number of visitors to a site.

The historic centre of Lyon entered the List in 1998, but it was years later in 2012 that the city developed a specific management plan for the Unesco site. Such a process exemplifies the dynamics of various sites well before revisions made after the Budapest Declaration. The approval of the city's entry in the List crowned - and reaffirmed - another action already underway in Lyon itself: the renovation and restructuring of the Gadagne museum (completed in 2009), which housed a museum of the city's history and functioned as the historic interpretation of the city.



25_Historic centre of Lyon, two parallel lanes leading to the cathedral, one of the main sights of the area, on the same day and with a difference of 15 minutes between one photo and another. The street on the left is the route indicated on the official city map, while the street on the right does not appear on the map. The distance traveled in both is the same, with the same typology of architecture and similar commerce.

One of the main actions developed there is the diversification of tourism offers, in line with the site's outstanding universal value. In this sense, the museum works in contact with tour operators, seeking to encourage the dissemination of attractions not only in the central core, but also in the buffer zone and in the contemporary part of the city. One of the objectives is to present a historical site as a living part of the city. One of the strategies that is being used is the realization of small events outside the heart of the historic centre that can avoid large concentrations of tourists in one place. Anyway, it is worth remembering that much of the tourist material produced has the patronage of local actors (commerce, restaurants, theatres, hotels, even cultural equipment). What would be the effective interest of such actors in dispersing tourists to a larger area?

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Another problem that must be raised - and still requires much discussion - regards intangible heritage: projects disassociated with local traditions, disregarding the original populations and practices - and which created the value that elevated the site to the category of World Heritage.

In this regard, Clara Cabral points out the fact that local populations have begun to build a ‘tradition’ according to tourists’ expectations. Here the idea of ‘disneyfication’, of ‘theme parks’, is also strong, with entertainment - just a commercial activity - motivating the adaptation of ‘authentic traditional culture’. An example can be

seen in Brazil, in the Jesuit Missions. The site will be discussed later, but here we indicate an aspect strictly linked to tourism, the presentation of traditions 'out of place'. When visiting the Brazilian site of São Miguel das Missões, the tourist can have contact with Indians who live nearby, and market handicrafts on the site. Although the site has a well-structured and correct museum, the material offered by the Indians is not related to what was actually produced there. The subject is controversial and arouses heated debates, often not for the defence of a heritage, but of a minority, that seeks its insertion in the society. In the case of the Missions, the attention - and tourists - that the site receives for its World Heritage status makes it a prominent stage for the dissemination of indigenous culture. The problem is to associate an immaterial culture [legitimate and relevant] with a space that tells another story. Again, is this protecting the authenticity of a site?

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Finally, we begin a reflection on the reason for which the candidacy to the list of World Heritage is chosen. According to Paulo Peixoto, we are now in a race for World Heritage status. Based on statistics that showed the largest number of entries in the List in the 1990s - which, in fact, led to the establishment of a limit of candidatures to be analysed per year in the revision of the 2005 Guidelines - he related the search to the tourism market. His analysis confronted the world's top tourist destinations with the number of properties on the List. In order to be able to see the substantial increase of historical centres in Europe, main world tourist destination when the theme is 'city'. The table below shows the number of World Heritage cities by region, in three moments[6].

REGION	1995		2001		2016	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Europe	66	49,3	102	54,5	150	53,6
Africa and the Middle East	18	13,4	25	13,4	39	13,9
Asia and the Pacific	22	16,4	25	13,4	42	15
North America	9	6,7	12	6,4	17	6,1
South and Central Americas and Caribbean	19	14,2	23	12,3	32	11,4
TOTAL	134	100	187	100	280	100

[6] Table prepared by the author from Peixoto (2002, page 28) and website of the World Heritage Cities Organization (<www.ovpm.org>).

The survey also noted that

> We do not support the argument that securing the status of world heritage guarantees the growth of tourist demand on its own. The argument we hold is that Unesco's status of world heritage status has become a symbolic distinction that cities and states do not neglect in their efforts to strengthen their tourist attractiveness. (Peixoto, 2002, p.31)

Two comments still apply. One of the fastest-growing tourist markets in recent years was China, and this is reflected in the number of urban centres listed in Asia. Moreover, regarding Latin America, the periodical report of the region brings the five main tourist destinations there. They are Mexico, Argentina, Brazil, Dominican Republic and Chile. Mexico, which in the table above is inserted in the 'North America' region, has 13 of the 17 registered historic centres in the region. On the other hand, the other countries, which have seen their percentage of cities on the List fall relative to other regions, have their tourism based on non-urban areas (beaches, natural areas or archaeological sites).

Integration and cooperation

Another element that can be seen in several World Heritage sites is the integration in networks. In addition, and as a result, cooperative actions. Such networks may be international, regional or even local, and may also be outside the 'traditional' sphere of heritage. That is, sites can be embedded in networks linked to technological research (which use the site itself as a place of data collection), urban analysis themes, cultural events (such as a book fair or a dance festival), etc. Such networks are particularly important when considering the size of the site and its geopolitical insertion. After all, when we think that great monuments and museums also have difficulties in finding resources, what about 'peripheral' sites?

We have already mentioned that Italy is the country with the highest number of sites inscribed on the List. In the federal government, the ministry responsible for the protection of the heritage has a specific department for the World Heritage. Moreover, in 2006, a law was passed that guaranteed resources for the management of these sites (already mentioned here). Nevertheless, the Italian reality is not different from the rest of the world, and the struggle for resources for protection is a reality. By means of resources, it is understood not only the economic ones, but also the technical ones,

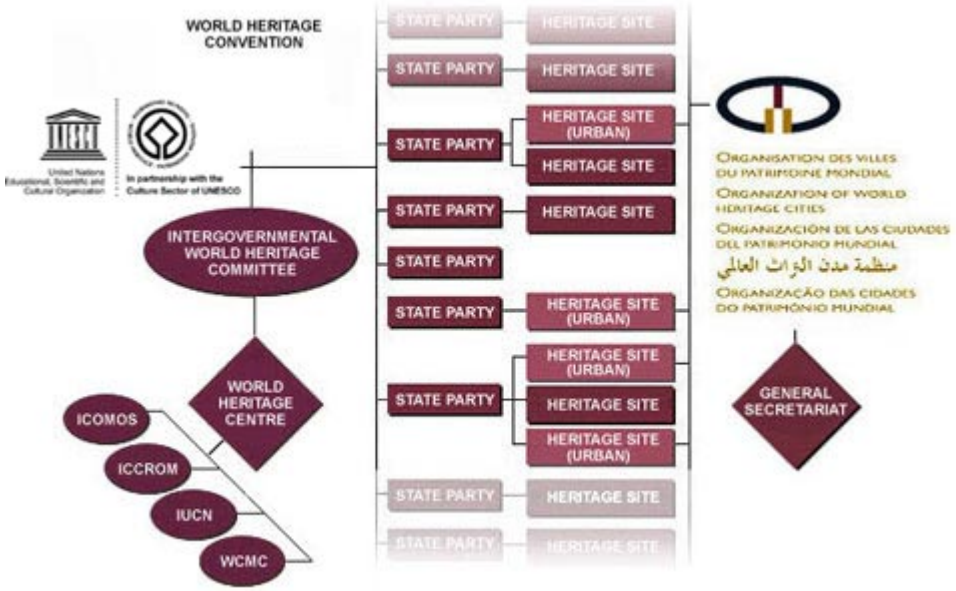
including those of Unesco. In this way, it is inevitable that an informal hierarchy is created between sites. And you can find yourself competing for resources with sites like Florence, Naples or Pompeii. Without considering the isolated monuments, like the Coliseum, the Sistine Chapel or the Last Supper of Leonardo da Vinci.

In this scenario, the exchange of experiences or the realization of projects involving several sites becomes a force factor in such search for resources. It was with this idea in mind that, in 1995, was launched the ideas of an association of Italian World Heritage sites, which was set up in 1997 (the *Assoziazione beni italiani patrimonio mondiale Unesco*). The founding partners were the cities of Alberobello, Andria, Capriate San Gervasio, Ferrara, Matera, Ravenna and Vicenza, all inscribed in the List. Today the association has the same representative power of Florence or Rome before the central government.

The association acts in particular as a network of communication and political relationships, making it a point of reference as a highly qualified network. This fact illustrates a third activity of the association, that is technical cooperation, which is particularly valid when considering specific technical actions. The association was further strengthened by Law 77 of 2006, from which it can develop several heritage promotion actions, with the elaboration of guides and manuals, specific signs for the Unesco sites and publications aimed at children, presenting the Italian sites.

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Within the idea of cooperation - and given the emphasis that the historic centres have gained as we have seen previously - we highlight one of the organizations that support the actions of WHC: the Organization of World Heritage Cities (OWHC). Since the beginning of the List, urban sites - or rather, historic centres - were among the large numbers. Precisely for this reason, specific events began to emerge, especially considering the complexity of the management of these sites. From this perspective, in 1991 the first International Symposium on World Heritage Cities was held in Quebec City, Canada. At the closing of the event, 41 of the participating cities signed the Declaration of Quebec City, which pointed to the intention of formally establishing a working network on World Heritage cities. At the second edition of the event, held in Fez (Morocco) in 1993, 56 cities founded the OWHC.



26_Structure of organizations supporting World Heritage sites, indicating where the OWHC is.

The OWHC is a non-profit civil society organization, and "was created to assist member cities to adapt and improve their management methods in relation to the specific requirements of having a site inscribed on the Unesco World Heritage List". They have a permanent secretariat, which is available to Unesco and Icomos.

In the Quebec Declaration, a temporary steering committee was created, consisting of the representatives of the cities of Québec, Évora (Portugal), Bergen (Norway), Cartagena (Colombia), Cuzco (Peru), Fez and Tunis (Tunisia). Today the OWHC is organized in seven regional secretariats[7].

Ferrara and its Po Delta

The city of Ferrara was one of the main centres of the Italian renaissance. Under the dominions of the East family, between the 14th and 16th Centuries characters such as Piero della Francesca, Leon Battista Alberti, Ludovico Ariosto, Nicolaus Copernicus, Titian and Lucrezia Borgia. Located on the banks of the Po di Volano River - an arm of the Po River that cuts north of Italy - it was included in the World Heritage List in 1995, later enlarging the area to include the Po Delta in 1999.

[7] The seven regions are: North-West Europe; Central-eastern Europe; Southern Europe and the Mediterranean; Eurasia; North Africa and Arab States; East Africa; Latin America. The city that hosts the secretariat for Latin America today is Valparaíso.

In addition to the walled urban nucleus, the domains of the Duchy of Este (family that controlled the city of Ferrara in its golden period) also comprised a large area of agricultural that reached as far as the Po Delta, near the Adriatic Sea. The complete rural territory still presents a landscape that was built by the Este in canal systems and buildings called *Delizi*. The *delizie* were palaces of the Este, surrounded by woods, parks and gardens. These buildings followed a logic of control over the territory, as well as to demonstrate the power of the family. In this way, from the *delizie* it was possible to control the water system (it is a semi-marshy region), as well as guarantee the economic productivity developed there.



27_Above: Estense Castle, in the historic center of Ferrara.
Below: ancient delizie structure in the Po Delta Park, Comacchio region.

> Le residenze dei duchi d'Este nel Delta del Po illustrano in modo eccezionale l'influenza della cultura del Rinascimento sul paesaggio naturale, [...] e il Delta del Po è un eccezionale paesaggio culturale pianificato che conserva in modo notevole la sua forma originale. (Zanelli, 2009, p. 23)

This was the argument for expanding the area inscribed in the List. Here the extended concept of heritage reappears, with the question of the cultural landscape. As was being discussed in Latin America in 1998, at the same time in Ferrara, the cultural landscape - that is, the nature changed by man - was considered as one of the site's outstanding universal values. What is interesting about the site of Ferrara is that this characteristic was used to join actions of local (and traditional) economy with protection. Obviously, the process was not simple. In addition, it was started even before the insertion of the site in the List, with the plan of expansion of the city realized in the decade of 1970.

At the time, northern Italy, starting from Ferrara and Bologna, went through actions that were later defined as integrated conservation. The idea was ratified in the Amsterdam Declaration in 1975 and is today recognized as an efficient method of restoring historic centres in an effort to avoid local gentrification. In the case of Ferrara (the first where the idea was developed), or in Bologna (where the process was improved and gained worldwide repercussion), the first objective was to curb the growth of the cities' peripheries. In short, limits were set for this growth, while specific projects and programs encouraged the population to return to the centre. In addition to the recovery of the centre, the plan considered the insertion of the city into the region, and based on strategic planning, the industrial and rural regions of the city (within the province and within the region).

In the case of Ferrara, this plan guaranteed the protection of the *delizie* area. Then began the process to show to the population that it was possible to continue to produce competitively within a historical structure. Even today, the success of the action depends on the active participation of residents and workers associations. In addition, efficient communication between them and the public power (whatever the sphere). It is interesting to note that one of the factors that has helped this idea to succeed was the economic crisis that hit almost the entire world in 2008. At the time, an influx of return took place, from a population that had left these small cities in search of work in large centres. With the crisis, the option to work where you were born, inserted in a network of old acquaintances, seemed more comforting - and also safer.

In addition to the landscape, one aspect of enhancement of this local economy is bond to a heritage that is immaterial. Thus, from the traditional economic activities of the region, historical-cultural events were developed respecting the characteristics of each locality, but always seeking a logic of system, valorisation and insertion throughout the territory. In two examples, the *Palio* and the *Sagre*. The Palio of

Ferrara is an event of medieval tradition, with games and parties. If at first glance the Palio may seem like a historic re-enactment, theatrical action (such as those held at some historic sites in the United States of America, such as Williamsburg), it is actually an action that involves locals in their daily lives. In this perspective, it is an action of historic enhancement, be it of the intangible heritage - with regard to dances and competitions - or of the built heritage - when valuing the spaces in which the competitions are held.



28_Competition of flags in the Palio of Ferrara, piazza Municipale, in front of the cathedral.

On the other hand, the *sagre* are festivals or fairs that value certain local production. Accomplished throughout Italy, these festivals have the appeal of spreading the local production. More than that, the value of this production, encouraging young people to participate in the productive processes. One example is the eel festival, held in the town of Comacchio, which is one of the main ones in the Po Delta Park. Eel fishing, as well as its processing, is the most traditional economic activity in the region.

The festivals are included in several scripts that were designed to enhance the territory, considering different publics as foreign or local tourists and the residents of the region. The opposite, however, does not happen with the Palio. The residents of the city, in fact, make a point of stating out the difference between the event held in the city and what happens in Siena (city located in the neighbouring region, Tuscany, also present in the list of World Heritage). While the palio in Siena attracts tourists from all over the world, what is done in Ferrara tries to remain restricted to the local communities. The visible point of this posture is the sale of souvenirs. While in Siena there are flags, t-shirts or fridge

magnets representing each of the participating groups, in Ferrara it is only possible to buy them with the groups themselves. Not without first, a conversation about what that flag represents, at the risk of not being able to buy it. Within the logic of the tourism economy, such a difference becomes crucial. The result is that the palio of Ferrara attracts a large audience, but almost all formed by residents of the province. And it continues as a traditional activity of the city, including children, what keeps the tradition alive.

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It is worth here to analyse deeply these activities connected to traditional festivals - or the re-enactment of specific events. We mentioned earlier the danger of 'off-site' events. A first care that must be taken is precisely to evaluate to what extent it is an activity that involves a community in its daily life, or is configured as a theatrical event. In the case of a theatrical, re-enactment event, it can be considered a heritage enhancement action.

> The destruction of the past - or rather of the social mechanisms that link our personal experience to that of past generations - is one of the most characteristic and dismal phenomena of the late twentieth century. Almost all the young people of today grow in a kind of continuous gift, without any organic relation with the public past of the time in which they live. (Hobsbawm, 1995, p. 13)

The risk is the creation of a 'new' history, a fact that has recently started to happen in projects linked to indigenous traditions, or of which the re-enactment in Williamsburg is accused (another project already mentioned here, and one of the initial milestones of US protection actions). The attention that must be taken is to ally scientific rigor with such actions. One has to be aware of what that re-enactment represents, especially for a young audience, avoiding becoming a large theme park.

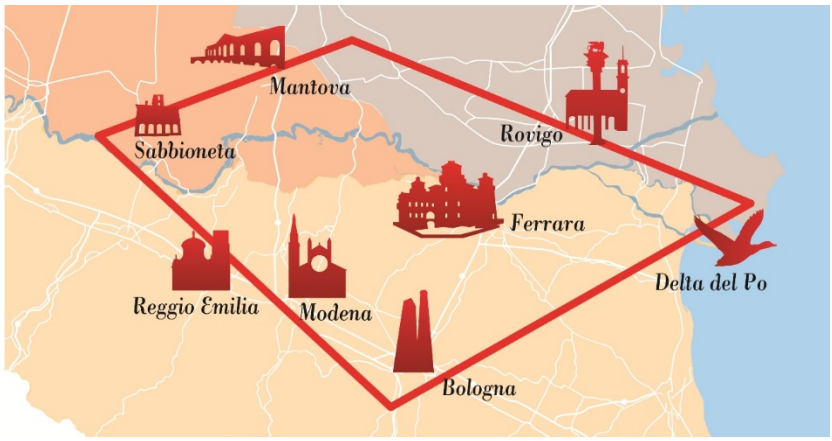
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Despite its historical relevance, the site of Ferrara is not part of the 'classical' world heritage, as understood by the popular imagination. Although the reality of a small Italian site cannot be compared to the scenario of actually peripheral sites (such as those located in developing countries or where there is no tradition of protection), within the European universe it is a site that has access to available resources. In order to seek an insertion - and therefore, access to such resources, identifying points in common with other sites helps to strengthen their protection. In this sense, it is possible to highlight the

performance of the site with the OWHC and the university. A relevant contribution of the university for the protection of the historic centre of Ferrara is in the use of its historic buildings. Also within the scope of the integrated conservation project carried out in the 1970s for the city, it was defined that the departments of the university would occupy the historic institutional buildings that were no longer in use (for example, the medical school was installed in the old hospital). In this way, the city hall ensured not only the restoration of the building, but also its maintenance, which is under the responsibility of the departments installed there.

There is also collaboration with research projects. In fact, this is a characteristic seen in almost all World Heritage sites: it is the active participation of universities. Rarely involved in the direct process in day-to-day management, they almost always actively participate in the processes for the elaboration of management plans, monitoring guidelines, definition of indicators, elaboration of inventories and projects, etc.

The site also seeks insertion in protection themes that are peculiar to it, with emphasis on risk management of heritage in areas likely to earthquakes. Following the earthquake of 2012, a one-off project brought together the World Heritage cities of the affected area, with the aim of managing the resources made available by the Italian government at regional level and organizing technical efforts in the region with the universities of Ferrara, Bologna and Modena working together. In this context, we also highlight a project in partnership with the city of Valparaíso - also in earthquake zone - developed between 2007 and 2008[8].



29_'Quadrilatero Unesco' project, bringing together Unesco sites affected by the 2012 earthquake.

[8] Called 'Mar Vasto', the project was led by the University of Ferrara and sponsored by the IDB and aimed at identifying specific risk maps for heritage.

Mesa Verde National Park

Now we step back a bit in time. Mesa Verde National Park has been mentioned here a few times. Again, it interests us as a record of one of the first cooperation actions led outside Europe, and after the signing of the World Heritage Convention. We talk about the World Conference on Cultural Parks, held in 1984, organized and based in the park.

The Conference began to be organized shortly after the inclusion of Mesa Verde National Park in the List. The intention was to establish a forum for the exchange of experiences from the characteristics of Mesa Verde: an archaeological site in the midst of a natural protection area. The conference was structured into three major themes. The first, 'technology and protection', discussed the impacts of technological change and how it should be approaching it. It was an essentially technical session, with discussions about tissue restoration, for example.

The second theme, 'tourism and uses', discussed the need for new approaches to cultural park management, considering the impact of tourists and economic attractiveness. Finally, the theme 'cultural parks and native cultures', addressed the dynamics among the populations originating in the area, and the need to include them in the planning, management and interpretation of the area.

Fifty countries were invited to the Conference, with professional speakers working on the management of North American parks. In this way, the idea of the Conference was to discuss some key issues identified as potentially problematic from North American sites as a starting point for discussion on possible alternatives.

The holding of the conference shows us the active participation of the United States at the moment of implementation of the List. The United States was the first country to sign the 1972 Convention, and actively collaborated in structuring the World Heritage Fund with the definition of contribution values of each country. And participating in the negotiations to secure new accessions to the Convention, as in the case of United Kingdom participation, which ratified it only in 1984. In spite of this important and even crucial action for the implementation of the Convention on World Heritage.

The main tie is the country's own legal protection structure. Due to issues of property, there is no legal mechanism to protect single private buildings. Protection is

done through inventories, awareness-raising actions, and fiscal and financial mechanisms that encourage protection. However, the legal obligation of protection exists for cases of state ownership. This made the candidacy of the historic centre of Savannah (Georgia) unfeasible.

In the early 1990s, a proposal was made to include its historical centre - representative of the North American colonial period - considering its road system and public buildings. The opinion at the time was that the process should also include other buildings and the urban fabric itself. In this way, it would be necessary to collect a letter of support for the candidacy of all the owners, committing themselves to the protection of the property as it was found in a definitive way, preventing the continuity of the process. Such a requirement - to maintain an integral urban area in the way it is at a given moment - is the main motivator of the criticisms that identify in the protection mechanisms of the List a 'freezing' of the site to be preserved.

Today, the NPS attempts a rapprochement that goes through a valid process of self-criticism: to identify, after all, which part of our national heritage has the values that qualify it to represent humanity?

Beyond borders

The idea of a world heritage, being understood as something greater than the heritage of a nation, can be recognized beyond geographical boundaries. The text of the 1972 Convention already considered such a possibility in its Article 11, and the 1980 revision of the Operational Guidelines mentioned the possibility of an application submitted by more than one country. However, it was the 2005 revision that included the figure of cross-border heritage.

Transboundary and serial World Heritage

The 2005 Guidelines formalized two new types of applications: cross-border or serial properties. In practice, such typologies already existed, however, by establishing in the Guidelines the two possibilities, the WHC signalled the relevance of this type of application, which was now encouraged by Unesco.

The first type (cross-border) deals with a territory that spreads across more than one country. It is usually connected to natural sites, as is the case with mountain ranges. The other type, serial properties, contemplates a set that has parts that are related through cultural, social or functional bonds. In this way, each of the parties would contribute to the general understanding of the outstanding universal value of the whole. It is worth mentioning that the serial type may or may not be a transnational application, and the same reasoning does not apply to cross-border sites.

By July 2016, the List had 34 cross-border sites covering 59 signatory countries. These sites began to be listed early on: the first ones, the Białowieża Forest (Poland and Belarus, cross-border) and a system of four parks in a complex of glaciers and mountains (Canada and USA, cross-border and Listed in the list in 1979. Then they were 18% in the 1980s, 23% in the 1990s, 27% in the first decade of the twenty-first century, equal mark between 2011 and 2016. Another example, and quite recent, was the entry on the List of a set of works of the architect Le Corbusier. The application included 17 works located in seven countries (Germany, Argentina, Belgium, France, India, Japan and Switzerland). The application was approved by Unesco as an invitation to international cooperation.

For applications involving more than one country, the Guidelines expressly recommend the establishment of a kind of committee for a uniform management of the property. After all, here the challenge of interlocution of different management instruments is aggravated, with the existence of different legal protection structures.

In addition to encouraging new applications based on transnationality, the expansion of sites already included in the List has also been encouraged. This was the case, for example, of the Ferrara site: inserted in the List in 1995, the area was expanded to include the Po River Delta in 1999. Although not a case of transnational expansion, the application dossier put the idea that it is important to understand a complex site with all its parts. And the idea that small parts form a whole reinforces the relevance of the site, especially its outstanding universal value. This would be an interesting strategy especially for the cases of sites that do not have a great protection structure, since it would be possible to think of the expansion of the actions in a more gradual way. Another example, which goes beyond the list, is the case of the Jesuit Missions of the Guaranis.

Missions (Jesuits and Franciscans)

We will initially address the Jesuit Missions, understanding how the Jesuit missionary heritage in the Americas was formed.

The Jesuit Catholic order played an important role in the colonization of the Portuguese and Spanish Americas. The Jesuit missionaries, with their schools, had the mission to catechize the natives, and to insert them in the vision of the Christian world. In the South of America, this logic acquired another proportion, with the foundation of the Thirty Villages of the Missions. Installed in an area in present-day Argentina, Brazil, and Paraguay, the Guarani Indians, who occupied the region, submitted to the missions in exchange for the protection of the Spanish missionaries to the attacks of the *paulistas bandeirantes* that tried to enslave them, inserting them in the economic colonial Portuguese production[9].

The Missions functioned at the same time as a system of protection and exploitation of indigenous people - by protecting them from the *bandeirantes* and by subjecting them to work in local agriculture. The process was not peaceful, and there are records of indigenous rebellions that, over time, have calmed down. During the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, the missionary reductions met the interests of the Spanish and Portuguese Crowns. However, in the mid-eighteenth century the Jesuits began to be viewed with suspicion, and both Portuguese and Spanish feared the autonomy of the Thirty Villages of the Missions. Such discontent with the Jesuits led to their expulsion from Portugal in 1759, Spain in 1767, and finally to the Americas in 1768. With the departure of the Jesuits, the Indians - who remained in the missions - were massacred by the Iberian troops.

Therefore, the built structures of the missions, which once housed more than a million people, were abandoned, and many of their remnants today are in a state of ruin.

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[9] Cf. Botelho et al (2015). The *paulistas bandeirantes* were the inahbitants of Sao Paulo, and were responsible for the expansion towards west of the Brazilian territory.



30_Plant indicating the breadth of the Jesuit mission system in South America, with the location of the 30 Guaraní missions, located in the current Argentina, Brazil and Paraguay.

We also emphasize that the Brazilian site of São Miguel das Missões is also representative of the beginning of protection actions in the country. One of the first works of restoration carried out by Iphan, soon after its creation in 1937, São Miguel counted on the close supervision of Lucio Costa, who made the project for the installation of the local museum. The project followed the architectural logic of the residences of the Missions, but built like a glass box. The project to consolidate the São Miguel tower, as well as the research to identify the traces of the missions as a whole, continued throughout the 20th Century. The museum there still remains an important reference, especially off the Rio-Minas axis, which dominated Iphan's actions in its early years.

The proceedings at Unesco

> It was pointed out that this property [ruins of São Miguel das Missoes] belongs to a series of similar properties and that Argentina, on its side, has announced its intention of proposing the Jesuit missions of San Ignacio Mini and Santa Maria la Mayor. (Unesco WHC, document SC/83/Conf. 009/8, item VIII.29)



31_The ruins of São Miguel das Missões. In the foreground, to the right, the building housing the museum designed by Lucio Costa.

The site of the Jesuit Missions entered on the List in its first phase of operation: in 1983, with the Brazilian candidacy of São Miguel das Missões. The following year, the site was expanded from the Argentine application and with the understanding that San Miguel was part of a system that also included five other remnants of the missionary heritage, all located in Argentina.

In addition to the six remnants existing in Brazil and Argentina, two other sites related to the missionary system are on the World Heritage List: the Missions of Chiquitos in Bolivia and the Missions of the Most Holy Trinity of Parana in Paraguay.

Although Unesco shares the view of the importance of addressing these sites in a system (there is a recommendation in the Paraguayan site process for establishing a contact with Brazil and Argentina in order to insert it into the other mission sites in the List), the truth is that their performance in this direction is still very weak. The perception of Unesco's work by several site managers is that it is more controller than propositional. Yes, there is the network formed in particular by Iccrom, Icomos and IUCN, in addition to the World Heritage Centre itself, but they act when triggered. Always in the direction of an advisory, but considering that the initiative and the ideas must be local.

> Yo creo que la Unesco, no que ha podido hacer, solamente de vez en cuando, son asistencias técnicas, no tiene capacidad económica para afrontar otra alternativa. Con lo cual esto sirve más que nada para mentalizar los países para

> que se ocupen de su patrimonio. Creo que Unesco se he equivocado en la formulación de todo ese proceso. Porque ha visto con ojos demasiado de puntura, unos sitios que fano parte de un sistema. E no ha visto el sistema. E no ver el sistema… Es lo mismo que sucede con la región minera del Brasil. Ha declarado Oro Preto, Mariana, Diamantina, pero no se entiende que esto es una región que funciona con una forma de producción, de comunicación, con valores culturales... (Ramón Gutiérrez, em entrevista à autora)

Mercosul Cultural: an alternative?

This idea of thinking about the protection of missionary sites in system was recently expanded within the Mercosul Cultural. In May 2015, mission sites in Argentina, Brazil, Paraguay, Uruguay and Bolivia were recognized as a cultural heritage of Mercosul. However, the process for structuring the proposal began well before 2006. The idea was launched at a meeting of the Regional Centre for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Latin America (Crespial). The first proposal was to carry out a regional inventory on Guarani culture. Several meetings were held to establish the best methodology, until in 2008 a Memorandum of Understanding was signed between the five countries to carry out the registration. From this process is that the whole was recognized by Mercosul.

Another result of these meetings was the establishment of the 'Jesuit Guaranis Missions Route, Moxos and Chiquitos'. The project is a proposal of a cultural itinerary, a physical route traveled in a certain period where new cultural expressions were produced. The idea of itineraries has been stimulated by Unesco and Icomos as a way of promoting cultural heritage, as well as stimulating the development of projects that involve different types of heritage (landscapes, real estate, archaeological sites, as well as immaterial ones). Working regional identities - or even places - within a single cultural system would be a way of contributing not only to the protection of that heritage, but also to sustainable regional development.

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Although it is not possible to make a direct correlation, it is worth noting that sites of the Jesuit Missions and the Mesa Verde National Park have some characteristics in common in their protection. Especially the search for the valorisation of the people who originally inhabited the place, through its movable and intangible heritage.

In addition, both insert their protection within a system (in the case of Mesa Verde, that of national parks in the USA), which values and justifies even more the protection of those sites.

San Antonio Missions

Such a system view is also present in another Unesco site located in the USA: the Missions of San Antonio. Unlike Mesa Verde Park, which illustrates the beginning of US protection efforts, the San Antonio Missions site is the result of the resumption of the country's participation in the List (the application was approved in 2015).

The Missions of San Antonio consists of five nuclei located along the San Antonio River (south of Texas), built in the early 18th Century. Like the site of the Jesuit Missions, that of San Antonio shows us the process of colonization in the Americas. In the case, from Franciscan missionaries, in the name of the Spanish Crown. Also there, the missionaries sought to evangelize the local natives, in this case, the Coahuiltecan. On the site, you can see not only buildings of the period, but also remnants of the agricultural system carried out there. In addition, local architecture shows traces of indigenous art, especially in the motifs that refer to nature[10].



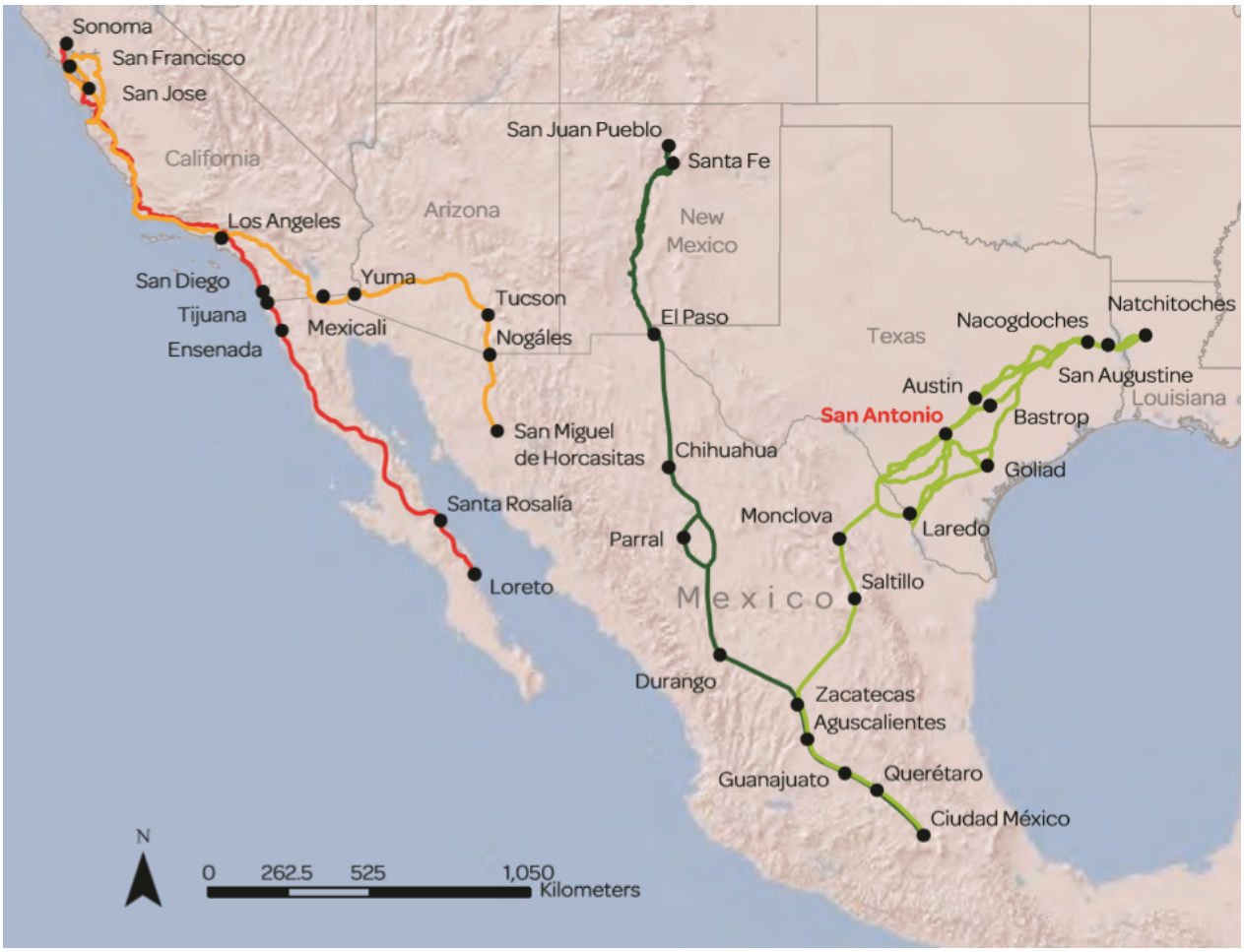
32_Facade of the Missão Concepción Church

[10] Cf. Unesco WHC process 1466-2015.

By analysing the application process of the site, it is clear to the eyes how the site was inserted in a much wider - and transnational system. A first map locates the set in the larger process it represents (that of Spanish colonization in the Americas). Soon after, they present the relation that the set had with the other places present in the USA. It is noteworthy that in this first moment there is no mention to which sites are part of the list of World Heritage. That is, it is an overview, which sought to show the relevance of the system that the set intends to represent.



33_Map with the Spanish colonies in the 17th Century, with the identification of World Heritage sites linked to this historical process.



34_Map with routes in New Spain.
Red: California's Royal Road; Yellow: Juan Bautista de Anza; Dark Green: The Camino Real de Tierra Adentro; Light Green: The Royal Road of Texas.

In a second moment, a comparative analysis was made between the properties present in the List that related to the Missions of San Antonio. In this context, a comparison was made between conservation states and the values that each of the sites represent.

The Unesco Guidelines emphasize the need to carry out such an analysis, considering that from studies of this order it is possible to analyse the site in its worldwide representativity. In addition to a mere research, the process puts in contact the managers of such sites, creating a communication that excludes the intermediation of Unesco, Icomos or Iccrom.

Properties currently inscribed on the World Heritage List are in shaded boxes **MISSION(S)**	Number of attributes that remain from the colonial mission period	Condition of the physical attributes from the colonial mission period	Presence of the physical values and attributes necessary to convey the potential Outstanding Universal Value of the property [criteria (ii), (iv)]			Physical and non-physical attributes related to mission life persist in the property and/or the surrounding area [criteria (ii), (iii)]		
			Coloniza-tion	Evangeli-zation	Defense	Active religious congregations using the ecclesiastical infrastructure	Active social institutions that have been his-torically linked to the missions	Other
ENSEMBLES OF MISSIONS								
Five San Antonio Missions in Texas (United States of America)	50+	Good	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Six missions in south-central California (United States of America)	25	Good	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Five Franciscan Missions in the Sierra Gorda of Querétaro (Mexico)	10	Good		✓		✓	✓	✓
Seven missions in southern California (United States of America)	19	Fair	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Seven missions in Baja California (Mexico)	7	Fair	✓	✓		✓		✓
Six Jesuit Missions of the Chiquitos (Bolivia)	7	Good	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓
Four Baroque Churches of the Philippines	4	Good		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Sixteen Churches of Chiloé (Chile)	16	Good		✓				✓
Five Jesuit Missions of the Guaranís (Argentina and Brazil)	4	Ruins	✓	✓	✓			
Jesuit Missions of La Santísima Trinidad de Paraná and Jesús de Tavarangue (Argentina)	2	Ruins	✓	✓	✓			
Four Salinas Missions	4	Ruins		✓			✓	

Comparative table presented in the application process of the Missions of San Antonio[11]

Still, it is emphasized that an application process, in the conforming complexity is carried out today, is not done in isolation. In the case of the San Antonio Missions, in addition to the NPS team - with Texas - also collaborated technicians from Icomos (North America, Spain, Canada and Mexico).

[11] Unesco Nomination File. San Antonio Missions. Nomination to the World Heritage List by the United States of America, 2014, p. 173.

Crossroads *or* World Heritage in Danger List

In facing such challenges, questions about World Heritage status inevitably arise. Whether due to daily difficulties, environmental threats or incompatibility of visions of the actors involved, a site may find itself in a situation where it must make a choice. Considering that Unesco has no direct involvement in a property included in the List, the mechanism created was the List of World Heritage in Danger.

Such a mechanism can be very efficient for the protection of a site, both to raise resources and to raise awareness about the risk in which a certain heritage is found. The last scenario is what interests us here, and we can analyse it from two perspectives. One, in which the awareness results in favour of the protection of the site. Another, in which the process raises a question about the validity of remaining on the List. In the first scenario, we can consider as examples Pompeii and Ouro Preto[12].

Pompeii and Ouro Preto

> If for any reason, the on-going initiatives fail to deliver substantial progress in the next two years, the World Heritage Centre and the Advisory Bodies recommend to the Committee to consider the possible inscription on the List of World Heritage in Danger in 2015. (SOC report 2013, decision 35 COM 7B.96)

This ended the 2013 report on the state of conservation (SOC report) for the Pompeii site, prepared by Iccrom and Icomos for the WHC. As causes that affected the site protection even before 2013, and were aggravated, were the management model, human resources (in particular, lack of capacity of the staff) and pressures of the visitors.

Pompeii is the second largest museum in Italy. It is just behind the Colosseum (Rome) and in front of the Uffizi Gallery (Florence). Therefore, one of the major challenges for its protection is dealing with the number of tourists it receives daily. Another structural problem of the site was its management. Bureaucratic questions hindered

[12] The research is focused on sites in the Americas and Europe, but it is important to note that good examples of the benefits of being on the 'danger list' can be seen in Africa and Asia, especially in the case of natural sites.

purchases and hiring, which stood in slow processes and often with results that were not suitable for the ultimate goal.

The threat of inserting one of the sites that began the contemporary protection of heritage in Italy (and to a large extent in the world), even in the pre-unification era, had a huge impact on the media and society. And caused a revolution in the management of the site of Pompeii[13].



35_The inclusion of Pompeii in the list of World Heritage in danger, in 2014, in the newspapers The Guardian and Le Figaro

The main change in the site began in the federal structure of protection. Within the Soprintendenze system - or the regional protection directorates - there was already a specific unit for the management of the site. However, being directly linked to the ministry has caused the bureaucratic problems mentioned above. The bureaucracy in this case was a problem as it made it impossible to hire qualified emergency contractors, or to establish partnerships with private institutions.

With the Unesco ultimatum, in 2011 was created the Great Pompeii Project. In a public-private partnership, a Management Committee was created, with representatives from the federal, regional and municipal spheres, as well as private sectors and universities. From this, an administrative management vision has set clear goals in the short, medium and long term. The management look out of the field was essential here. This openness, coupled with total transparency in the management of available resources and the elaboration of plans with clear and measurable goals, attracted highly qualified professionals. And also allowed the establishment of partnerships with universities and foreign institutions in long-term projects. Still, such transparency allowed it to be broken

[13] The site has been on the World Heritage List since 1997, as Archaeological Areas of Pompeii, Herculaneum and Torre Annunziata.

with addictions of the public administration, which prevented the qualification of actions, especially those of restoration and conservation.

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> The World Heritage Committee [...] 2. Expresses concern for the damage caused by the 15 April 2003 fire, which destroyed an 18th century building in the historical centre of Ouro Preto; [...] 5. Requests the State Party to submit a report to the World Heritage Centre by 1 February 2004 in order that the World Heritage Committee can examine the state of conservation of the property at its 28th session in 2004. (Unesco WHC, document WHC-03/27.COM/7B)

As in Pompeii, glimpsing the possibility of entering the list of Heritage in danger caused something to move in the inertia in which the beautiful Ouro Preto was submerged. However, if something effective was done, it did not come to be the revolution seen on Italian lands.

In the Americas, such as Mesa Verde National Park in the US, Ouro Preto was one of the first protection targets in Brazil. Even before the creation of the Iphan, municipal decrees of 1931 and 1932 established the protection of the colonial facades. In 1933, President Getúlio Vargas declared the city a national monument. But it was in 1938, after the creation of Iphan, that legal criteria were established for its protection. Legislation, however, did not guarantee its protection, and the city is still constantly struggling against damage caused by urban growth (especially in the 1950s, with the intensification of the iron industry in the region) and the flow of tourists. In the 1980s, Iphan installed a technical office in the city, with a multidisciplinary team that presented the city's candidacy to the Unesco List. Ouro Preto was the first Brazilian site present in the List and the third cities of the Americas (the first were Quito, Ecuador, and Guadalajara, Mexico).

Iphan continued to work in the city, together with the municipality of Ouro Preto, which maintains a representative in the technical advisory group (GAT) present in the city. Always in confrontation with the growth of the city, the group developed series of guidelines for use and occupation of the ground in the city centre, which came to be considered a special protection zone, and which were published by Iphan in 2004. In parallel, the municipal master plan of 1996 also presented protection mechanisms, including technical assistance to real estate owners. The review of the plan, ten years later, reinforced this vision of shared management, with the creation of a municipal secretariat

for heritage and urban development, municipal councils for cultural and natural heritage and urban policies, and funding mechanisms, with the creation of a fund for the protection of heritage. In 2010, Iphan established new intervention criteria in Ouro Preto, including regulations to conduct investigations into interventions harmful to property.

However, all these actions did not prevent the reported conservation problems.

The problem that drew the attention of Unesco in 2003 was a fire, which had no conclusive report, but which many have pointed out as a criminal. At the time, the city did not have a specific plan for the management of the Unesco site, and the municipal instruments were quite fragile. After the survey carried out by the Icomos - which generated the report alerting the WHC to the danger situation in the city - Iphan and the city hall were mobilized. The first measure was the law for land use and land use in 2004. Another point was the collaboration of Icomos technicians from Argentina and Peru to establish guidelines in this new legislation that could bring greater security to the urban heritage of the city.



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14/04/2003 - 23h09

Incêndio atinge construções dos séculos 17 e 18 em Ouro Preto

da **Folha Online**
da **Agência Folha**, em Belo Horizonte

Um incêndio destruiu na noite desta segunda-feira um conjunto de construções históricas na principal praça de Ouro Preto, em Minas Gerais. Construções dos séculos 17 e 18 foram atingidas. Não há informações sobre feridos.

Segundo o Corpo de Bombeiros, o fogo teria começado no segundo andar de um casarão da praça Tiradentes que abrigava o antigo hotel Pilão e duas lojas. O incêndio, iniciado por volta das 18h, provocou o desabamento do casarão.

O fogo, de causas ainda desconhecidas, se espalhou com facilidade. Os bombeiros afirmam que não houve como controlar as chamas porque as casas eram feitas de material altamente inflamável, como pau-a-pique e assoalhos de madeira.

Nas casas destruídas funcionavam uma joalheria, um café, uma loja de artesanato, uma farmácia, uma loja de móveis e um hotel na parte superior.

36_2003 article on fire in the centre of Ouro Preto, with emphasis on the survey carried out by Icomos.

Although Ouro Preto has left the focus at the time, the city still has a delicate position. Its management plan was not able to establish an effective communication with the other management instruments of the municipality, making its application very difficult. In addition, the city is politically very vulnerable to tourist pressures, which makes it difficult for any type of medium- and long-term action.

Liverpool

The two sites now seen had their applications to the List approved before the Budapest Declaration in 2002: the Ouro Preto site dates back to 1980 and Pompeii's 1996 site. On the contrary, Liverpool's application to the List was approved in 2004, and like Valparaíso, also presented a very consistent process and a well-detailed management plan. However, in 2012, Liverpool entered the list of Heritage in danger - or the 'red list' of Unesco -, due to the approval by the city hall of the construction of a large commercial complex near the preserved area.

It is worth noting that in 2007, within the WHC working group that discussed indicators for the periodic evaluation of sites, one of the specialists present was Christopher Young of English Heritage. At the meeting, he gave a presentation on the main elements affecting the protection of World Heritage sites in Great Britain in the specific case of the project for the coral protection plan. As main items, he cited: Climate change; Use of natural resources (such as fishing and navigation); Pressures for the use of lands adjacent to the sites; Pressures for population growth; Sudden changes in technologies; Changes in populations of animal species; Exotic species; Tourism. With the exception of animal-related issues, it is possible to say that the Liverpool site is now under a threat identified almost ten years ago.

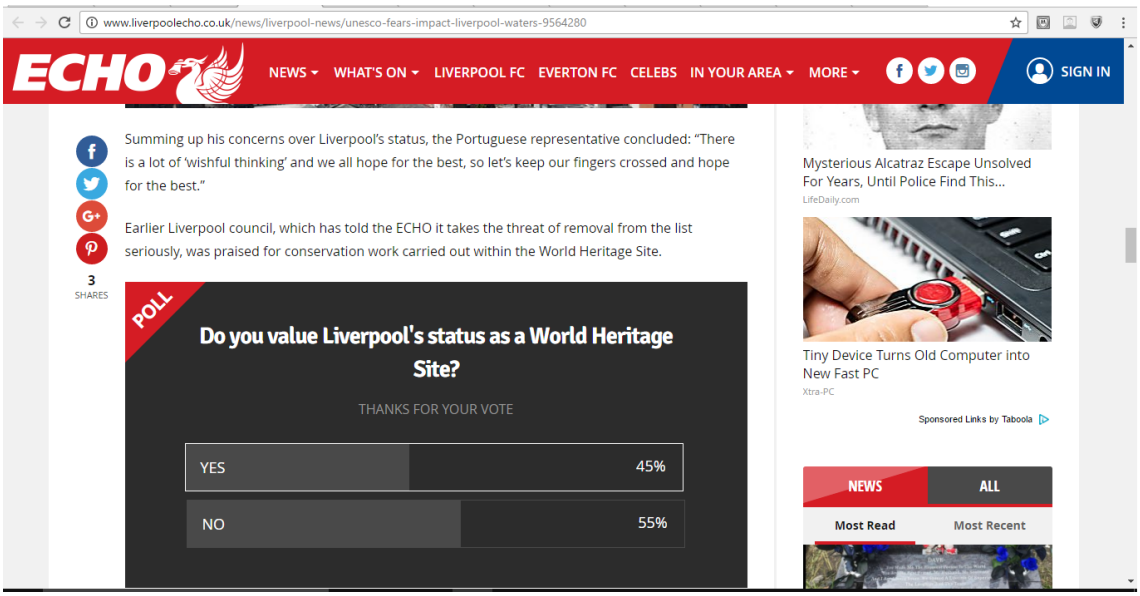
The project that threatens to remove Liverpool from the List is similar to what was proposed for Valparaiso. A large building, on the edge of the protection area registered in Unesco. What is the difference between the two processes? In Valparaiso, a negotiation was possible, seeking a balance, thanks to the intervention of the federal sphere in the process (in fact, a critic of the city council is precisely in relation to a certain distance from the Council of Monuments of the daily life of the city). The difficulty that the prefecture of Liverpool has been facing is the same one that the North Americans referred: in a legal structure of protection that strongly defends the private property, there are few resources for a more energetic action before such proprietors. This is the impasse.





37_Above the controversial project for Liverpool, to be built on the edge of the area listed as World Heritage. Below, the same area today.

In 2008, Liverpool was the European capital of culture and today the city has two major museums - another prerogative for an urban centre that is intended within a global tourism network. That is, the status of cultural city is relevant - and this shows in the temperament of the city. What the local media shows us, instead, is that there is indeed a division between a view that the city needs to 'change', and others who believe that the project really is damaging to local heritage.



38_Page of Liverpool's main newspaper (The Liverpool Echo) in July 2015 with poll about the value of being on the World Heritage list.

In short, this is again the discussion about the patrimonialization of a historic centre. The group defending the bill claims that historic streets are being preserved, and that it is not possible to think that the city's skyline will continue as it was a hundred years ago. Long debate - and perhaps without an answer. At the same time, the British government began a public consultation, which ended in the alteration of the system of protection of heritage in the country, with a greater performance of the government, to the detriment of the idea begun in the nineteenth century, with associations of society Civil society in the main role of controlling protection. With the new Historic England and a closer involvement of the government, cases like that of Liverpool could be faced differently. But more than existing legal mechanisms, we must ask ourselves who the site is being preserved for? For tourists who cross the globe or for the locals? The image above shows a poll conducted by the leading local newspaper in Liverpool. Although such research is not scientifically representative, it serves as the beginning of a reflexion.

The debate about the value of being World Heritage

> It is quite hard to quantify the costs of UNESCO designation: although we are a World Heritage organisation, all of our activities could be carried out by an enterprising organisation in another city without the status. The argument we make is that the designation provides a focus and added impetus for our work. As an organisation, we use the UNESCO status to enhance our existing work, rather than the other way around. (Adam Wilkinson, director, Edinburgh World Heritage Site, UK National Commission for Unesco, 2013, p. 56)

The analysis of one of the managers of a British site on the List illustrates the analysis that Liverpool is going through now. Is it worth having World Heritage status?

This is also the analysis made by the USA and Canada. The participation of both countries at the beginning of the List was intense. Between 1978 and 1990, the United States registered 16 sites on the List, and Canada 9. Between 1991 and 2000 the number dropped to two in the US and two in Canada. Already in the 21st Century, by 2016 the US entered three sites and Canada five. Two more transnational sites can be counted, located in both countries, registered in 1979 and 1995.

Although the speech of the NPS today is that of a resumption of the candidacies, there is a lot of caution on the sites to be presented. It is also curious to note that if in Europe the status of World Heritage is sought as a seal of quality in tourist destinations, the same does not happen in the US. The official publicity material for the Mesa Verde National Park does not include the Unesco logo, available for the sites on the List. On the contrary, in the city of Oporto, the logo is used even on road signs.

> It is well known that the economic costs associated with the maintenance of historic towns and heritage sites in general are large. [...] In addition, in communities that are still far from ensuring that primary needs are adequately met, devoting resources to heritage conservation is often viewed as a luxury. How, then, can we explain the intensification of patrimonialization and, more concretely, the race to world heritage status? (Peixoto, 2002, p. 25)

Seeking to answer this question, two States parties to the World Heritage Convention, Portugal and the United Kingdom, have developed studies on the 'Unesco value'.

In 2012, the Unesco Commission of the United Kingdom initiated a process of analysis of the wider value of Unesco for the country. Based on the premise that Unesco contributes to the establishment of an agenda in the areas of education, science, heritage and culture in the United Kingdom, the study analysed economic values available for various programs and sites before and after joining one of Unesco's programs. The first issue already seems to answer the question raised at the outset (at least from an economic point of view): in 2012 the UK contributed £ 14.1 million to Unesco. Analysing 180 organizations and sites linked to Unesco, in the same year the estimated financial benefit was £ 89.4 million, divided as shown in the table below[14].

Unesco Program	Estimated financial benefit per year (in £)
World Heritage Sites	61.1 millions
Global network of geoparks	18.8 millions
Unesco Chairs and UNITWIN	2.9 millions
Biosphere Reserves	2.3 millions
Acquisitions and services and other sciences, media and culture of Unesco	4.3 millions

The numbers for each category were obtained by considering the resources obtained in each program (through inflows, tourist flows or project financing) and the cost of the Unesco status (the amount invested for the application or implementation of the program and annual costs of reports and follow-ups). In the case of World Heritage sites (the UK has 28 listed sites), the estimated total benefit per year is over £ 76 million and the 'Unesco cost' of almost £ 16 million.

However, reaching such values is not simple. The research showed that it was difficult to obtain reliable and organized data regarding the pre and post implementation periods of the program. In this way, the Commission has established some criteria and indicators that should begin to be followed as soon as they start working within a Unesco program.

The research does not present an assertive conclusion, but emphasizes that the 'Unesco status' may rather contribute to the increase of resources, provided that

[14] UKNCU, document *Wider Value of Unesco to the UK 2012-13*, p. 3.

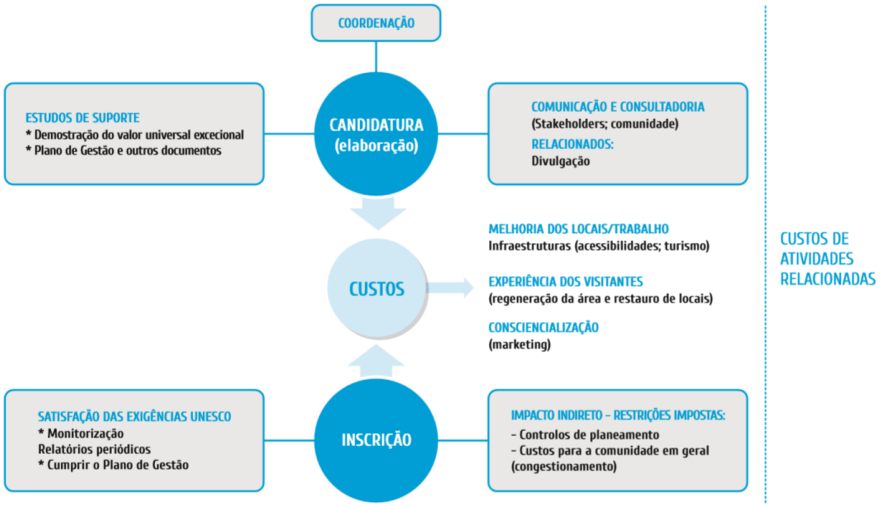
one works for this. It also shows that in the regions of Europe, North America and Australasia, between 70 and 80% of the World Heritage sites are doing little or nothing with the nomination to seek a socioeconomic return. Resuming director Adam Wilkinson's speech at the beginning of this section, Unesco status can contribute, but it does not work independently, that is, it will not bring any direct benefit without local involvement. The report for the period 2012-13 underscores this point, particularly in the case of sites that are little known worldwide, which have come to use Unesco status as a differential to attract investment.

Besides the fact that the benefit will not come merely from the association with Unesco, the conflicts inherent to the process were pointed out:

> The financial benefits need to be weighed against opportunity costs of not being a WHS. Unesco status aims to preserve and manage these sites for future generations. Related planning restrictions may conflict with commercial or industrial development that would be economically advantageous. Recent examples include the tension between Unesco and waterfront development plans in Liverpool, mineral extraction plans at the Cornish Mining WHS and a hotel development plan in Giant's Causeway. If, and how, to measure culture is hotly debated. DCMS [Department for Culture, Media and Sport] commissioned research in 2010 that suggests economic approaches to valuing culture must not be used in isolation: economic analysis needs to be placed within robust and detailed narrative accounts of cultural value. (UKNCU, document of 2013, p. 45, our emphasis)

Taking as a reference the British study, the National Commission of Unesco of Portugal elaborated in 2014 a study on the economic value of the connection to the Unesco networks in Portugal, analysing World Heritage sites, biosphere reserves, geoparks and Unesco Chairs. The Portuguese research presented itself more positively than the British in the beginning: "the total net benefits of the connection to Unesco's networks (measured as the differential between the benefits and the total costs accumulated since inclusion) are globally very positive"[15].

[15] Unesco, 2014, p. 5.



39_Framework with the overview of the costs of a Unesco site.

The Portuguese study presented the results of the research in more detail, but the methodology followed was the same as the British study. The main indicators raised by classification were as follows[16]:

	World Heritage Sites	Biosphere Reserves	Geoparks	Chairs
Average time in the application process (months)	48,2	5,75	26	1,25
Average cost of the application (€)	320.706	14.250	54.969	13.250
Average annual cost of affiliation (€)	47.123	2.760	54.969	13.250
Average total of benefit (€)	14.060.633	957.789	424.940	49.667
Source of representative revenue (%)	Governmental (46%)	External (52%)	Governmental (57%)	Governmental (68%)

Also in Portugal there was difficulty in accessing certain data, reinforcing the idea that the process of monitoring and managing a site should also contemplate the

[16] Ibidem, p. 62. Values were approximated.

systematization of some data, following a methodology that allows a posteriori comparison.

Returning to the United Kingdom, two years later, the Commission re-examined the expanded value of Unesco status in the United Kingdom (period 2014-15). During this period, it identified three main benefits: economic value, expanded value (non-economic), and support for public policies. In the economic evaluation, it was possible to obtain a detailed account of the origin of the resources: federal, municipal, non-governmental organizations, the European Union, universities, private donors, etc. Considering the protection side of dissemination and knowledge production, such data are extremely important, since they allow us to think about diverse strategies for the maintenance of the site.

They also identified five points as first benefits to World Heritage sites:

> Enhanced appreciation of heritage among residents by taking it from a local to a global context; a world class tourist destination and enhanced visitor experience; local partnership working; improved local development plans; social and economic regeneration. (UKNCU, document of 2014-15, p. 67)

We highlight here the first item, of greater appreciation of the heritage among the local residents. When we questioned the impact - and benefit - of the inclusion of the sites on the List, the response has always gone through the local residents' appreciation of the site. As in an effective process of appreciation of their own culture, recognition by the international community that 'their' city is of global importance has a real impact on local appreciation. And as Bauman showed us at the beginning of this chapter, it is the local community that can preserve such heritage.

In time, the Liverpool case was not mentioned in the 2014-15 edition of the survey.

Part III. Protecting in system

> I think the problem of globalization lies in its aspiration to ensure tendential egalitarian access to products in a world naturally marked by inequality and diversity. There is a tension between these two abstract concepts. We try to find a common denominator accessible to all people in the world so that they can get things that are naturally not accessible to everyone. [...] At the same time, the technical process of globalization requires a high degree of standardization and homogenization. One of the great problems of the 21st century will be to define the maximum level of homogeneity, beyond which there would be an aversive reaction, and to what extent this process can be made compatible with the diversity present in the world.
>
> Hobsbawm, 2000, p. 75

The British historian Eric J. Hobsbawm referred to the economic issues of a globalized world, but the same reasoning can be considered for heritage. That said, we ask one more question: how to think about preservation at the global level in order to guarantee a balance between diversity and the homogenization of protection actions?

One hypothesis of response is to think about protection in system. From the declaration of outstanding universal value of each site, it is possible to understand them within a logic beyond their national borders. Eventually, these relations can be seen in places on the other side of the world (as in the case of the heritage originated from the Portuguese colonization) or in the neighbouring city, that may not have the World Heritage

status (as in the remnants of the Jesuit Missions). However, before exploring this possibility, it is necessary to evaluate Unesco's policy to seek such a balance.

Unesco global strategies

In 1994, the World Heritage Committee created a program of global strategies. The intention of the action was to ensure an effective global representation in the List, considering that, following the 20-year review of the Convention, a number of critics were made towards a Eurocentric position of the World Heritage Committee, evidenced by the large number of European sites on the List[1].

The assessment made at the time was that this imbalance was due to two reasons. The first one, of a structural nature, related to the application process and the existing mechanisms of protection in the sites. The second, of a qualitative nature, was bond to the way the sites were evaluated. It was in this same period that Unesco began to launch various publications in the form of a manual, as a way of offering subsidies to signatory States that did not have qualified technical staff.

In particular, in order to resolve the last point, in addition to the global strategies an indicative list has been established, as a stage before the application for the World Heritage List. Such a mechanism acts as a phase of evaluation of the site, mainly regarding the aspects that should be changed so that it could qualify to the List. It also counts as a crucial stage of discussion within the country, for the definition of which would be its representatives with potential of universal representation.

When a State signatory to the World Heritage Convention submits an application, it is not only committing itself to the protection of that site. He is also stating to the international community that such a site has universal value. Considering the weight of World Heritage status in the tourist market, in some countries it is possible to see a real internal battle for the definition of the site presented to the indicative list. This is because Unesco's global strategies have defined some rules to be followed, establishing priorities, as well as a limit of applications to be analysed per year. The idea behind the rule is to promote the diversification of the List sites, whether in the nature of heritage or in its

[1] A study developed by Icomos between 1987 and 1993 showed that most of the properties on the List were related to historic cities, European monuments or religious sites (especially Christian ones).

location. That is, European historic centres - as we have seen, well represented in the List - could have to give way to sites in other continents or with other characteristics. This rule created an internal competition, sometimes cause of national conflict, as Peixoto tells us.

> From a doctrinal point of view, Unesco's new policy reveals and emphasizes the fact that before being collectivized by the international community, through its inscription on the list, the property is nationalized and localized in the sense that it is the object of political choices in a context of strong competition between various sites or properties. The decision to transfer to the national level the selection of an application among existing sites reinforces the evidence that world heritage functions more as a cause of national and local conflict than as a tool of global reconciliation. (Peixoto, 2002, p. 35)

The case refers to a dispute between three sites in Portugal, which were analysed, including Icomos support, for candidacy. At first, there was a recommendation not to submit any application, as the categories were already well represented in the List. An analysis was then made of the feasibility of inserting the same site into another category, that of cultural landscape, less represented in the List. Here is another non-positive aspect of the manuals, guidelines and rules created: the applications began to be drawn as in a competition, highlighting characteristics that would put them closer to the criteria that could increase the chances of selection.

On the contrary, in the United States the selection of the sites to the indicative list created a debate different from the Portuguese one. After years away from the List, the National Park Service resumed, around 2010, a discussion on which North American sites should be present in the indicative list of the country. The analysis by the NPS international affairs office was that the List went from a phase where the properties entered were the iconic ones, or the '*best of the best*' (and mentioned as North American examples the Mesa Verde and the Grand Canyon National Parks and the Statue of Liberty) to a stage where the emphasis was on the record of different regions and cultures around the world. Thus, the first conclusion reached by the NPS was that "the goal of the current effort to revise U.S. tentative, or candidate, list is to identify U.S. properties that could help to fill the remaining gaps in the World Heritage List in terms of themes or categories of heritage"[2]. Then the discussion was based on four questions, which sought to understand

[2] Morris, 2015, p. 4.

the role of the US heritage in the world scenario[3]. The conclusion was that the List should include sites or properties on account of their value to all mankind, and should not function as a catalogue of world history or even of American history. If such a conclusion may seem obvious, it is not obvious when it is considered that in many cases the presence on the List is seen as a way of valuing a site in the tourist market. The candidacy of the site of the Missions of San Antonio shows clearly this vision, inserting the ensemble in its context beyond the North American heritage.



40_Launch of the first edition of the *World Heritage Festival*, in the Missions of San Antonio. In the photo, Colleen Swain, director of the Advisory Committee for the Missions site of San Antonio.

Another critique is not about technical issues, but about politics. The fact that the WHC does not have to report to the Unesco Assembly in its decisions on the List rather than being a point of force - with a hypothetical less bureaucracy - puts them more fragile to the pressures of certain groups. The director of WHC from 2000 to 2010, Francesco Bandarin, admitted this problem: "inscription has become a political issue. It is about prestige, publicity, and economic development"[4].

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[3] "Should the U.S. favour candidate sites that highlight U.S. contributions to global culture? Should we put forward sites that illustrate the overcoming of painful episodes in our national history (i.e. the Civil Rights movement, though it is as yet unfinished)? To what extent should we consider nominating sites specifically to reflect the diversity of our people and the totality of our history? How should we consider world-wide trends and developments pioneered by the U.S. that some would regard as negative (e.g. the development of nuclear weapons, the globalization of consumer culture)?" (Morris, 2015, p. 2)

[4] Apud Frey and Steiner, 2012, p. 29. The same article presents statistics that show the imbalance of the List, as well as presents indications of the political problematic in the approval of the sites.

But the indicative list is only one of the mechanisms created seeking to broaden the representativeness of the World Heritage List.

Within global strategies, Unesco - always through the WHC - has instituted action plans for each of its regions to be structured and reviewed in the periodic reports. In general, the plans sought to establish cooperation actions, economic feasibility (including specific notices), monitoring and training projects. The latter two are often highly motivated, seeking to establish control mechanisms and, on the other hand, training professionals who can work on established projects.

Unesco official data shows that since the launch of global strategies, the number of countries signatories to the Convention has increased from 139 to 178. Moreover, the number of countries submitting proposals to the indicative list increased from 33 to 132[5]. However, the data presented by Frey and Steiner showed that the final numbers of the List remain unbalanced, especially in the comparison between cultural and natural sites (the latter corresponding to 19.30% of the List)[6]. The difference increases when one looks at the official List statistics, which show that Europe continues with a large majority of cultural sites (89%), while North America - or rather the United States and Canada - has the majority of sites subscribed in the natural category, reflecting the first preservation actions of those countries[7].

Therefore, the question remains whether action plans not only reinforce the vision of a post on the List as a political factor - and of insertion in the cultural tourism market - rather than acting as a way to contribute to the protection of that site.

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[5] WHC Official Website for Global Strategies: <http://whc.unesco.org/en/globalstrategy/>, accessed on May 18. 2016.

[6] Cf. Frey and Steiner, 2012. Their research is reinforced by the data presented by Paulo Peixoto (2002), and updated in the present research (presented in the previous chapter, item 'Cultural tourism').

[7] By June 2016, Europe had 89% cultural sites, 9% natural and 2% mixed. In Latin America and the Caribbean, the proportion is 70% cultural, 27% natural and 3% mixed. In North America they are 43% cultural, 55% natural and 2% mixed. In official WHC statistics (available at <http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/stat>), with properties from Europe to North America together, the scenario is different, with approximately 85% of cultural sites, 13% natural and 2% mixed ones.

Europe

The action plan for the European[8] region was divided into three parts. The first, "Identification and protection of outstanding universal value"; the second, "effective management of World Heritage sites"; and finally, "raising awareness about the Convention". For each of these parts, priority areas were defined, each with specific objectives, actions and indicators. Targets were also established for each item, and the person responsible for the action. Those responsible may be the WHC itself, such as advisory bodies, signatory countries or local managers. Finally, actions were also categorized according to sub region and focus of action.

Credibility	Conservation	Capacity-Building	Communication	Communities	Priority Area(s)	Objective	#	Action	Lead partner(s)	Monitoring Indicator(s)	Regional Target for Europe before the end of the Third Cycle of Periodic Reporting	Sub-regional priorities			
												CE SEE	MED	WEST	N-B
INCREASED AWARENESS OF THE CONVENTION															
	x		x	x	**Decision makers, especially outside the heritage sector, fully aware of WH and its benefits to society**	Harnessing benefits of heritage for society through informed decision-making	**26**	Heritage practitioners and communitites advocate to increase understanding of key concepts and processes of the World Heritage Convention by the decision makers at national and regional levels, for example: - Sensitisation to World Heritage through targeted activities (e.g. 'retreats' for key actors); - Public hearings and/or consultations; - Development of national guidance materials on communication and participatory processes	States Parties Site Managers	Number of workshops and/or sensitisation activities Number of public hearings and/or consultations Number of national guidance materials on communication and participatory processes	At least 25 workshops and/or sensitisation activities organised *baseline unknown* At least 75 public hearings and/or consultations organised *baseline unknown* At least 25 guidelines on communication and participatory processes developed *baseline unknown*		x	x	x
		x	x	x	**Community engagement and ownership of WH properties**	World Heritage properties that are well cared for by the community and where the community advocates for their heritage	**27**	World Heritage professionals to: - identify and engage communities (identity mapping); - empower those communities through the formalisation of continuous participatory processes in the management systems	Site Managers	Number of properties with a Management Plan comprising a formalised framework for community participation	At least 50% of properties have a Management Plan comprising a formalised framework for community participation *baseline unknown*	x	x		x

Extract from the action plan for Europe[9].

Among the 34 actions planned, we highlight the following actions: Records of good practices; Monitoring of unsuccessful applications (even for the indicative list); Prospecting of natural heritage applications; Monitoring and evaluation (including training); Integration with actions in the European Union; Strengthen interdisciplinarity of site managers; Management plans, especially for young people (in particular through the *World Heritage in Young Hands kit* and the *World Heritage Youth Forums*).

[8] Cf. Rössler and Menétrey-Monchau, 2007 and Unesco WHC, document WHC-15 / 39.COM / 10A, 2015.

[9] Periodic report Unesco (documento WHC-15/39. COM/10A).

Americas

The reader may recollect of the mention made previously of the groups in which are organized the WHC statistics. If the plan of action separates North America from Europe (remembering that the Atlantic Ocean does not only establish a geographical difference), it still does not link it to Latin America and the Caribbean (which is still isolated from Central America). Localisms aside, the two action plans presented diverse levels of actions detailing.

In the case of the North American plan, five areas of interest were considered, each with specific actions (with indication of implementation actions and responsible). With the exception of actions aimed at young people, in general the plan for North America follows the same lines of the European plan. Two points are worth mentioning: the search for identification of transnational sites, considering the US and Canada. And the indication to explore and reinforce actions in partnership with IUCN, as well as in other possible areas of cooperation.

Although Mexico is included in the Latin American region, it appears in some actions, especially in relation to the heritage of Hispanic origin present in the USA.

> Cultural properties that reflect the European colonial experience and share themes and attributes with properties in Latin America and the Caribbean Region (i.e. La Fortaleza and San Juan National Historic Site in Puerto Rico, Historic District of Old Quebec). (Totcharova, 2016, p. 97)

The plan for Latin America and the Caribbean[10] is more synthetic. It begins by reinforcing the need to work together with Unesco's advisory bodies as well as category 2 centres in the region[11]. The action plan does not present actions, but priorities for the region, as well as an opinion on the situation of heritage categories considered relevant for the region, and which should receive special attention in the next cycle (2014-2024). There are three priorities: Education, communication and information; Integrated heritage management; and Sustainable tourism in World Heritage sites. The categories of

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[10] Cf. Piras and van Hooff, 2006 and Unesco WHC, document WHC-13 / 37.COM / 10A. The region is divided into three sub-regions: South America, the Caribbean and Central America / Mexico.

[11] The Latin American and Caribbean region has two Unesco class II centres: Zacatecas (Mexico), and Centro Lucio Costa (Brazil).

heritage presented were: urban heritage; natural sites; cultural landscapes and archaeological sites.

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Considering that an important part of the action plans lies precisely in actions carried out in cooperation, it is worthwhile to resume periodic evaluation reports, especially as regards the analysis of potentialities. As already indicated, the methodology used as a rule to prepare these plans is the one developed in the area of administration[12]. In this scenario, in the process of elaborating the management plans another tool emerges, used in almost all the plans elaborated: the SWOT analysis[13], with the identification of strengths and weaknesses, threats and opportunities. In the last cycle of periodic reports, the European region followed a similar methodology, which can be seen with less emphasis in the reports from the North American sub-region and the Latin American and Caribbean region.

The European region has identified as factors affecting the protection of cultural sites:

> The most frequently reported current positive factors affecting cultural World Heritage properties are related to: 1) Interpretative and visitor facilities; 2) Management activities; 3) Low impact research/monitoring activities; and 4) Impacts of tourism/visitor/recreation. […]Negative factors affecting cultural properties are related to three main issues: 1) Impacts of tourism/visitors/recreation; 2) Built environment and effects arising from use of transportation infrastructure and ground transport infrastructure; 3) Climate change related factors (e.g. relative humidity, water/rainwater, micro-organisms). […] Changes in the traditional ways of life and knowledge systems are also reported to have a high potential negative impact. (Totcharova, 2016, p. 52, our emphasis)

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[12] When, after the 1970s, heritage gained prominence in the field of tourism and in the cultural industry, thinking it within management results seemed essential. Such a process at first was not adequate. However, by the end of the 1990s, the tools previously exclusive to business management had been adapted to the specificities of the field. Today, in a scenario where it is necessary to dispute resources, it is not possible to think about the management of cultural properties without using some administrative tool.

[13] Traditional tool of strategic planning, analysis - or matrix - SWOT is an acronym of *strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threats*. The first two points are evaluated in relation to the internal dynamics and the others to external factors.

The site managers also indicated how the negative factors that grew in the last evaluation period as "housing; impacts from environmental threats (wind, temperature); renewable energy; changes in identity and traditional lifestyle"[14]. And that most of these factors would be originated from areas outside the jurisdiction of the authorities. As we have already discussed, this fact is one of the great challenges for the implementation of efficient management systems: the coordination of the various actors and levels of government involved in a complex site. Returning to the evaluation made by European region, another point was the one of international cooperation. This was a well-evaluated item, with the indication of several signatory States as participants in other conventions, in particular the activities carried out by the European Council. They also highlighted the fact that half of the countries had 'twin' sites.

The mechanism of 'twinning' has still been little explored in Brazil as far as heritage is concerned. The mechanism works by identifying a site that exhibits some similar feature - be it in essence or in the problems it faces - and setting up a series of activities together[15].

In the report of the North American sub-region (together with the final report of Europe) were identified as opportunities to be explored:

> Limited awareness and understanding of the World Heritage Convention; external development pressures, especially in areas where the national government does not have direct jurisdiction; public and stakeholder interest in the revision of Tentative Lists; opportunities for international cooperation; the potential effects of climate change; how to best reflect the world views of indigenous peoples and their understanding of heritage in the context of the World Heritage Convention; promotional opportunities for World Heritage in North America. (Totcharova, 2016, p. 14)

The evaluation followed by presenting factors that were affecting the sites, with emphasis on climate change, invasion of non-native species (in the case of natural sites), urban development, especially transportation and energy issues. Vandalism

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[14] Totcharova, 2016, p. 52.

[15] One example in Brazil is Campinas (in the interior of São Paulo State), sister city of the North American San Jose, both of technological vocation. In Europe, in the area of industrial heritage we can mention as an example the Flaminga Association of Industrial Archeology (VVIA), twinned with the Catalan Association of the Museum of Science, Technology and Industrial Archeology of Catalonia (AMCTAIC).

and budget constraints were also mentioned. International cooperation did not come with examples of good practice, but rather as an opportunity to be explored.

The report prepared by the Latin American and Caribbean region did not bring the identification of threats and opportunities so explicitly. However, it presented an interesting analysis on the issue of international cooperation:

> As for International Co-operation and Fund-raising, while the World Heritage Convention can be considered as a major instrument for international cooperation, its potential in this respect is not fully utilized in the region, either in terms of technical cooperation or in terms of generation of financial resources for World Heritage conservation and management. Bi-lateral cooperation seems frequent in the region. At the site level, however, there are very few twinned World Heritage Sites which suggests that many opportunities to share experiences and lessons learned are lost. (Piras and van Hooff, 2006, p. 20)

This was the assessment made in the previous cycle. In the last report, issued in 2014, it was possible to see a slightly different movement, but still below potential. And the great difference within the region was also recorded.

> The type of cooperation most commonly used differs from one sub-region to another. In the Caribbean, participation in foundations for international cooperation is the most common type of cooperation process but this is not the case in South America which mainly cooperates through financial support, sharing capacity building expertise and distributing material and information. In Mexico and Central America, contributions to private organizations for the preservation of cultural and natural heritage, and participation in other UN programmes remain the main types of international cooperation. States Parties express the need to strengthen international cooperation, especially in the Caribbean sub-region (Saint Kitts and Nevis, and Trinidad and Tobago) and state that best practices should be published and disseminated. (Unesco WHC, document WHC-13/37. COM/10A, p. 25, our emphasis)

The positive highlight was the application process for the Qhapaq Ñan site, the Andean road system involving Argentina, Bolivia, Chile, Colombia, Ecuador and Peru, which was mentioned as an example of good practice to be disseminated and encouraged. It also encourages partnerships with twin sites made by Bolivia, Colombia, Cuba, Ecuador, Guatemala, Grenada, Mexico, Panama, Paraguay and Uruguay. At last, the report mentioned the initiatives as having had beneficial effects.

After three decades of activities in Latin America, the 2004 periodic report recorded five messages - which were integrated into the plan for 2014-2024 - with themes that should be considered in the continuity of preservation actions. The first, *filling the gaps*, indicated the distance between the WHC and its support bodies from the site management centres there and between the government of the signatory States themselves. The second, *linking culture with nature*, reminded us of the need to strengthen the connection between culture and nature in the sites - one can read the category, then recent, of cultural landscape. Then, *credibility is more than representativity*, on how the sites present in the List should serve as an example and model of preservation. The fourth, *heritage and society*, emphasized the need for protection to leave the hands of a few specialists, integrating society in the process. Finally, *regional integration and synergy*, which stated:

> For several decades, the region benefited from the UNDP/UNESCO Regional Project for Cultural, Urban and Environmental Heritage that provided training, technical advice, systematic monitoring of World Heritage, but above all served as a mechanism for integration and synergy within the region. This project closed in 1995 and since then no alternative structure has been established that fully replaces it.
>
> In the context of the Global Strategy and the Periodic Reporting, new regional opportunities for integration and synergy must be fostered in various ways. The World Heritage Convention is the only international instrument that has the potential to generate conditions for cooperation, integration and the promotion of commonly accepted standards of conservation and management. Latin America and the Caribbean have the technical and professional capacity to achieve it". (Piras and van Hooff, 2006, pp. 28-29, our emphasis)

The UNDP (or Pnud in the acronym in Portuguese and Spanish) was led by almost thirty years by Sylvio Mutal. The conclusion pointed out in the report showed, in fact, the fragility of the organizations of defence and preservation of the heritage in Latin America, susceptible to political humours and that in rare opportunities manages to establish programs of long term.

Another highlight was the process of preparing the report. At least in the case of Latin America, the preparation of the periodic report has proved to be a good moment to exchange experiences, especially good practices. The report, delivered in 2013,

began to be prepared in 2009, with a workshop held between November 26 and 28 in Buenos Aires. Sub regional meetings[16] and a final meeting were held in Santiago (Chile), from 3 to 5 December 2012.

About Systems and the Outstanding Universal Value

> In research, the work is thus analysed in its structural components, and that which appeared to be its indivisible unity appears, instead, as a set of stratified and diffuse experiences, a system of relations, a process. (Argan, 2005, p.15)

Returning to the hypothesis presented at the beginning of this chapter: to think about protection through system. From this point of view, we propose another indicator for the development of these actions. The insertion of the site into a system.

Again, we turn to a traditional source. The Portuguese dictionary Aurélio[17] thus defines system: "[From gr. *System*, 'meeting, group', lat. *system*.] *S. m.* 1. Set of elements, materials or ideals, among which one can find or define some relation".

Thinking of such relations, we return to Argan[18] when he states that a new cultural system no longer needs to be grounded in historical judgment. We could then think of geographic, thematic, stylistic systems... Or even a combination between them. In this perspective, we mean here protection in system as the set of actions for protection conceived considering the property (or the site) within a cultural system that goes beyond its limits. If the definition of the central core and the buffer zone are efficient - and even essential - mechanisms for the physical preservation of a given site, its preservation understood as 'universal' should also consider its insertion, rather, its relation to the rest of the globe.

It is worth mentioning that this is a very different idea of a thematic tourist route, like what exists in so many cities in the world[19]. As a tourist route is only one

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[16] The meetings were held in Zacatecas, Mexico (6-8 September 2010); Rio de Janeiro, Brazil (7-10 December 2010); Bridgetown, Barbados (6-8 April 2011); Ouro Preto, Brazil (February 9-11, 2011); Santo Domingo, Dominican Republic (February 15-17, 2012) and again Zacatecas (March 12-17, 2012). (document WHC-13/37. COM/10A, p. 10).

[17] According to the *New Aurelian Dictionary of the Portuguese Language*.

[18] Argan, 2005, p. 17.

[19] To take an example in the sites mentioned so far, in the city of Oporto there are several itineraries that are part of the World Heritage sites of the city of Oporto, Guimarães and the Douro River Valley.

of the many aspects to be considered in the preservation of a heritage, within the vision of protection presented here.

The idea of the tourist routes is related to the idea of network, which is different from the system idea. "Network (From lat. *rete*] S.f. *Fig.* The set of establishments, agencies, or even individuals, belonging to an organization that is intended to provide a certain service"[20]. There are also networks such as World Heritage cities (OWHC), already seen here. The insertion of a site into a network is rather important for its protection. Not only is it one of the aspects of protection thought more broadly.

The idea of protection in system is not new. It can be seen in the management of national parks in the US - still in the first half of the last century. Recent attempts were the project approved in the *Mercosul Cultural* for the Jesuit Missions and the candidacy to the List of the site of the Missions of San Antonio. Or the encouragement of Unesco for cross-border and serial applications.

> National representatives consider that Latin America and the Caribbean is a region that has shown that it has optimal conditions to develop multinational World Heritage projects and that it is necessary to continue developing serial national nominations initiatives (Guatemala, Dominican Republic), binational nominations (St Vincent and Grenadines/Grenada); Pacific Jesuit missions (Mexico/USA); and multinational nominations (rock art in the Caribbean) or intercontinental (Slave Route). (Unesco WHC, document WHC-13/37. COM/10A, p. 73).

However, these are still isolated actions, which test their limits while trying to get into operation. What, then, could be the basis for the effective establishment of these world-wide protection in systems?

The Outstanding Universal Value.

> Parts of the cultural or natural heritage are of outstanding interest and therefore need to be preserved as part of the world heritage of mankind as a whole. […] Article 7. For the purpose of this Convention, international protection of the world cultural and natural heritage shall be understood to mean the

[20] According to the *New Aurelian Dictionary of the Portuguese Language*.

> establishment of a system of international co-operation and assistance designed to support States Parties to the Convention in their efforts to conserve and identify that heritage. (Unesco, 1972)

The text of the Convention itself, of 1972, seems to indicate the answer. From the declaration of outstanding universal value of each site, it is possible to understand them within a logic beyond their national borders. After all, the whole basis of World Heritage performance lies in the protection of its outstanding universal value[21]. Research addresses the difficulty of defining what such a value is. Well, thinking about preservation in system can contribute decisively to reinforcing this value.

It is curious to note that international cooperation actions seem better established - especially in the indicator of civil society participation - when we think of natural heritage. One possible explanation is that such an outstanding universal value (OUV) - that is, the value that characterizes that heritage as being important to all humankind - is much more easily recognizable when it comes to nature.

Thus, a first difficulty in thinking about a system is the effective recognition of the OUV. The second difficulty is to reconcile the different interests of the different spheres involved.

> Pero no debemos olvidar, en esta lectura segmentada, que si la ciudad son sus sitios, son también, y fundamentalmente, sus habitantes quienes, con sus referencias de pertenencia, constituyen las manifestaciones sustantivas de la identidad. (Ramón Gutiérrez, in IAPH, 1999, p. 116)

It is still interesting to see how Valparaiso, in its management plan, defines itself as a cultural heritage within a system. The idea is to further enhance the site, inserting it in the commerce carried out at the turn of the 19th Century to the 20th in the Pacific. And how crucial this was to the industrial revolution in Latin America[22].

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[21] It's worth noticing that the 1937 law, which established the basis for Iphan's action, already mentioned in its first article an 'outstanding value': "Art. 1º The National Historic and Artistic heritage constitutes the set of movable and immovable property existing in the country and whose conservation is of public interest, either because of its connection with memorable events in Brazilian history or because of its archaeological, ethnographic, bibliographic or artistic outstanding value." (Brazil, Decreto-lei nº 25, November 30, 1937, emphasis by the author).

[22] See Valparaiso's plan, p. 232.

> The globalization of Western values and references has contributed to the ecumenical expansion of heritage practices. This expansion can be symbolized by the Convention on the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage, adopted in 1972 by the General Assembly of Unesco. This text based the concept of universal cultural heritage on the historical monument - monuments, buildings, archaeological sites or collections that present "an outstanding universal value from the point of view of the history of art or science." The universality of the Western system of thought and values on this theme was thus proclaimed. (Choay, 2001, p. 207)

A third challenge - not addressed in this research, but one that must be registred - is the understanding of heritage present in the Convention. It is Riegl's view of heritage, and values. That is to day, a Western one. How then to structure protection actions that can maintain a worldwide standard? If the idea of systems would solve the question - precisely because it deals with sites that are culturally related, civilizing, among themselves - serial applications, such as that of Le Corbusier's ensemble of works, puts the question again on the table.

FINAL CONSIDERATIONS. New and old paths

> Nothing that lives is, or can be, rigidly perfect; part of it is decaying, part nascent. The foxglove blossom, - a third part bud, a third part past, a third part in full bloom, - is a type of the life of this world.
>
> John Ruskin (*Stones of Venice*, 1903, p. 846)

The past and present dialectic present in the passage above can be seen, in the *longue durée*, not only in Ruskin's work, but in the whole debate on heritage, since the Renaissance. From the performance of Italian artists and the attitude of the popes in relation to the appropriation of the works and monuments of Ancient times in the period, to the heated sessions of the French parliament, amidst the Revolution. From the testament of an Englishman with little projection to the construction of an idea of heritage in a new nation - full of the ideals of that French Revolution - and that would become one of the greatest world powers today. From the same construction of an idea of a national heritage - with so many different shapes and colours - which sought to establish clearly the differences between the Old and the New World, to the vision of a heritage belonging to humanity. From the national monument 'historic and artistic' to a heritage without matter and without borders. In destruction, reconstruction, preservation.

The attempt to live harmoniously between the old and the new was one of the propellers behind protection actions of the most diverse - from small objects to

monumental constructions. The debate generated in the search for such harmony started from a first questioning, what to preserve? Which came up interspersed with another, why preserve? In this scenario, diverse theories emerged, which consolidated and extended the concept of heritage. Such dialogues - or disputes in some cases - have created an international network. That was institutionalized with the addition of another component to the equation: the idea of a heritage that belongs to all humanity.

The existence of such a network of international cooperation was the motivator of this thesis. Considering the local perspective, how to deal with different realities and different technical formations, for the protection of a world heritage? Moreover, in a scenario where there is still so much to do to ensure full preservation? We present as an alternative the establishment of preservation actions within a system that goes beyond its physical limits, and based on an integrated vision of such actions.

When a site receives the World Heritage recognition - capital letters are not put here randomly - it gains an attention that requires consistent and concrete support. If successful, such a site can become a stimulus to economic growth. Otherwise, you may jeopardize the very values you want to preserve. The possible paths to go are numerous, as well as the variables to be considered. As a closure for this research, we recovered some of the paths identified throughout the process.

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Primarily, it is worth retaking an issue: what is it to protect?

We have seen that the preservation of heritage today is being considered as an integrated action, in several fields, in several political spheres. Such integration involves a dispute between interests related to local, regional and global domains. In addition, there are the traditional residents, the residents who want the 'progress', the regional and national policies, visitors who can arrive from the neighbouring city or from the other side of the globe, the protection pattern of Unesco, etc. Each with its vision of 'local identity' to be preserved, and with a diverse expectation about the future of that place.

In the collective imagination, preserving is to keep a certain configuration, in a good state of conservation. When thinking about the preservation of movable heritage, it is desirable that its physical preservation seek the way the work

(painting, sculpture, furniture, objects, etc.) was originally executed. However, following this reasoning for immovable property is not so simple. After all, behaviours are changed and there are no means to continue using some structures in the same way - even considering the same uses - in temporal arcs that can exceed hundreds of years. The same goes for an urban area, where the logic of staying 'stuck in time' runs away from the very human dynamic of living in society. Depending on the mechanism used for legal protection of the site, there is a risk of 'freezing' the area. And this is usually the case for World Heritage sites.

The risk here is that of 'museification', the creation of 'theme parks', considering the city as a scenario. Such risk becomes an effective threat when considering the uses found in the area. Resuming again the idea of dynamism, a city does not have a single use. Its dynamism is due to multiple functions - and the change of such functions. One way to avoid the trap of museification is to ensure the continuity of diversity in preserved areas. The case of the site of Ferrara, with the settlement of the university in the historical centre is a possible path: the historical centre has its commercial streets and areas where the predominance is of tourists (including the structure to serve them). But it also has constant activities in other areas, which guarantees the effective use of the city, just like the dynamics of any city.

Considering the conflicting interests in a World Heritage site, it becomes very easy to fall into such a museification. This is because the homogeneity present in the idea interest as a tourist product. The globalization factor comes into play, in its definition as the concept of considering elements together, without attention to details or minutiae. It seems to us that the impasse lies in not accepting the 'minutiae' of others. Or those that are very different from their culture (this is, in fact, a problem of the world: accepting our differences - and living with them). The impasse occurs in the sense that the value of heritage is precisely in the details. However, the cultural tourist [mass] market demands more and more universal standards (hotel rooms, meals, attendance, etc., etc.). In recent years, however, a new tourist market has emerged: the one that goes in the opposite direction, which 'runs away' from the large hotel chains, which seeks the 'picturesque'.

It is possible to use this movement for the sake of protection. The performance of the Gadagne museum in Lyon is an example. By encouraging the interpretative research of the historic site, trying to establish its relations with areas of the city outside the Unesco perimeter, would establish a more homogeneous distribution of the

tourists throughout the city, besides the enhancement of a heritage not so well known. Such action, however, struggles with other interests: that of tourism agents and local commerce, structured to serve large groups.

*

Conflicting interests can effectively jeopardize the preservation of a site. One of the mechanisms in the World Heritage Convention is a second list, that of heritage in danger. The list of cultural and natural properties in danger can be a motivator for the recovery of the site. We have seen three cases. The one in Pompei, where there was an effective - and radical - change in attitude towards the management of the site. Another one in Ouro Preto, where the threat of inclusion on the 'red list' caused some actions to be taken. Even though, the site remains extremely vulnerable to political pressures, so we cannot say that there was some kind of palpable change in the site[1]. The third one, the case of Liverpool, present on the World Heritage in danger list since 2012, still with no prospect of solution.

The Liverpool case reminds us of the value of Unesco status. Studies conducted by the governments of Portugal and the United Kingdom have shown that the presence on the List brings economic benefit. Both reports were also categorical in asserting that economic value should not be the only one to be considered, given the benefits of the largely public policy connection with Unesco. What the studies fail to show is whether there would be any negative impact if such sites were not on the List. It is worth remembering that the UK report for the 2012-13 cycle mentioned the tension in Liverpool. However, the report for the following period makes no mention of the problem - thus aggravated, and with continuous reports warning of the possibility of excluding the site from the List.

It is also worth remembering the US position. After an active participation at the beginning of the List, contributing to the effective implementation of the Convention, the country stepped aside in the 1990s. Around 2010, the National Park Service resumed the discussion of US participation in the List. However, two factors of

[1] The political vulnerability of Ouro Preto unfortunately reflects a common scenario in Brazil. In the last year, fires destroyed much of two important buildings for the heritage of São Paulo (Estação da Luz and auditorium of the Memorial of Latin America). And in 2016, at the time of writing, an attempt to approve a building outside the parameters of the historical centre of Salvador (World Heritage) caused the fall of two ministers in the federal government.

difficulty were highlighted. The first is the country's own legal protection structure (similar to the British one), which ends up rendering unviable applications from urban areas, for example, due to the private property issue. The second is the cost of preparing the application. Both the Portugal and the UK reports indicate the values required for the preparation of the application dossier. The amounts are high because of the level of detail required and, in the case of the USA, most of the time the value is paid by non-governmental organizations, which are responsible for the site's management. This would be a motivator for reducing the number of applications submitted.

Another possibility relates to the tourist market. US domestic tourism is very strong, and this fact could justify the lack of interest of sites investing in 'World Heritage status'. In Europe, where the largest volume of tourists is foreign, the presence on the List counts as a kind of 'quality seal', which leads the countries to invest in the applications.

*

We now return to some of the identified paths.

In the interviews conducted throughout the research, there was an ever present item: the difficulty of dealing with the many interests present in the sites. The model indicated by Unesco and its World Heritage Centre to balance such interests is the implementation of management plans.

Since the establishment of the World Heritage Convention in 1972, Unesco's guidelines for applications have undergone innumerable revisions. The last version gave a great weight to the management plan proposed for the site. Even though a good plan does not guarantee its preservation (as we have seen in the case of Liverpool), it is an important premise for the protection of a site. In one aspect, by identifying what are the possible threats to its protection and which are its specificities. In conducting such an analysis, the managers themselves become aware of some factors that were not previously clear. The other aspect is the establishment of site monitoring mechanisms. Despite the diversity of sites in the List, as well as different realities, making it difficult to establish parameters that may be universal, establishing - and monitoring - some indicators is crucial for a long-term protection.

While recognizing the importance of the elaboration of management plans specifically prepared for the Unesco areas, we present as a possible path to protection the strategy adopted by the Dolomites. Since it is a consensus that one of the great challenges in protection is the coordination of the various actors present in the sites - and its layers of legislation -, the alternative proposed by the park was to establish **general management strategies** that articulate several existing plans in the area. A first point in favour is that each plan is tailored to its specific needs. This logic would also apply to cases such as the city of Valparaiso, which needs to articulate quite diverse interests, mainly in the port area. Another point in favour of the strategy adopted by the Dolomites is the long term. Any preservation action deals with temporality, and in the case of the physical aspects of conservation, thinking about long-term strategies can make it possible to carry out larger interventions. The long-term document also gives political security to preservation actions. Inevitably, any site is subject to political pressures or changes in the position of management direction. The establishment of long-term guidelines could guarantee the continuity of those actions.

*

As we have seen, the moments of discussion on the periodic reports have proved to be points of exchange of important experiences. Based on the assumption that the first step to protect is to know, the contact with diverse realities have broadly contributed to the processes of protection. As the case of the reporting moments shows us, we emphasize that by 'exchange of experiences' we do not mean merely participating on congresses or similar events. Which are important and can contribute a lot. However, such exchanges should be thought of not isolated, but in permanent forums. This leads us to return to the question of **participation in networks, associations or other cooperation organizations.** In addition to thematic networks and those created by specific events (as in the case of natural tragedies), it is important to stimulate the creation of strong international forums, in addition to the mediation of Unesco (such as those existing within the European Union and as could be the OAS and the Mercosul Cultural).

The networks - or itineraries, as encouraged by Unesco - are also a way of promoting heritage, as well as a stimulus to the development of projects together. Especially in the case of small or peripheral sites, thinking about projects in common increases the technical capacity and access to different resources.

Within such cooperation, universities also plays an important role. By establishing lines of research aligned with management plans and needs of the site, the university can contribute a lot to the protection of the heritage. In addition to the technological issues, inventories and monitoring in the medium and long term are actions that several sites already carry out in partnership.

Working together is possible, it is desirable, it is an encouraged action. However, we have seen that transforming the idea into action is not easy. In the scenario of competition between the sites on the list, created by the tourist market - among others -, it is very easy for the networks to start to operate as *promotion* tools, rather than *enhancement* ones. The same can happen with events that are meant to be scientific. One way of assessing the extent to which a network is geared towards preserving a property is to look at actions developed outside the spotlight.

Another network, that which directly advises Unesco on the protection of heritage (with Icomos, Iccrom and IUCN) works and is present all over the world. But it operates within the different realities of each country, and limitations such as lack of resources, other priorities, opposing interests, speculators of all kinds, political disputes, etc. Moreover, in most cases it still presents itself as a more controller rather than collaborative presence.

A probable reason is distance. Although globalization has 'shortened' the distances, those cultural ones, of technical and economic order, even of interests, remain. How, then, to reduce those distances?

*

Another distance to be considered is between managers and the local population. One of the perverse sides of patrimonialization is the difficulty of the population in recognizing its heritage. If this factor appears combined to the expulsion of local population, the community itself - whose culture is represented in that site - does not contribute to its protection. Nowadays, we live in a world with fluid relationships, new social and moral parameters and centred on the 'now' - the liquid modernity of the sociologist Zygmunt Bauman – that can cause a lack of collective interest.

Therefore, **social participation in the protection process** has become essential. The 2003 Convention on Intangible Heritage has radically altered the

understanding of heritage protection and production processes. And such a change needs to be considered. Some good examples: Porto, with a library of materials that encourages and includes the population in the daily life of the maintenance of a heritage. Ferrara, with actions that integrate the communities in the identification of their heritage. Valparaiso, with the participation of the population in several stages of the decision-making processes.

*

Finally, we return to the idea of **thinking about the protection of World Heritage through a logic of systems.** Such a systemic action would be the set of actions for protection conceived from the cultural property (or the site) within a cultural system that goes beyond its limits. Cross-border or serial applications can be the beginning of an understanding of protection in system. However, it is still restricted to the sites present in the List, while it could think its articulation with sites that do not present the same status. In this sense, the process of the Mercosul Cultural for the Jesuit Missions can be a good example (the conditional is justified, as the project is still very recent for any evaluation).

On the other side, more specifically to the north, the application process of the Missions of San Antonio presents an interesting reading of the site within a system. The prepared material analyses the site in comparison with others present in Latin America and connected to the Spanish colonization. Here again, the process is recent, but it is worth to be accompanied, to evaluate if any kind of approximation will be sought with the other sites mentioned in the application.

*

In March 2012, the US National Park Service released a video celebrating the 40th anniversary of the World Heritage Convention. In just over three minutes, the World Heritage sites in the United States were presented, as well as a few others that are iconic, such as the pyramids of Egypt, the Taj Mahal and the Great Wall of China. Amid images that are mostly related to natural heritage, some phrases were inserted, highlighting the universal value of World Heritage and our responsibility in its preservation. After all, it is necessary to return to another question: who carries the responsibility for the protection of a heritage that belongs to humanity? The answer presented there: “it is the duty of the *international community* to protect places of outstanding universal value”.

If it is true that only local people can act directly in the protection of its heritage, it is also true that we all can collaborate. We must. From a technical and political articulation. With exchanges of experiences that can bring *something more*. Leaving aside our preconceptions and presenting us available to understand other ways of relating to heritage, to history. More than finding answers, the present research sought - with a horizontal view - to raise questions and discuss possibilities for a wide, integrated and effective protection.

> What about helping each other just to do something better? If we have each other, we can do something. But let us do something about it, and not wait until too late.
>
> Bruno Zevi, 1961

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CED_ Centro de Documentación de Arquitectura Latinoamericana (Cedodal)

CML_ Columbus Memorial Library, Organization of American States

FBZ_ Fondazione Bruno Zevi

IDC_ Icomos Documentation Centre

IPH_ Instituto do Patrimônio Histórico e Artístico Nacional

NPS_ National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, online archives

UA_ Unesco Archives

UKNC_ United Kingdom National Comission for Unesco (available on: <www.unesco.org.uk>)

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All efforts were made to determine the origin of the photos and schemes used in this thesis. If there is any misunderstanding, we will be happy to credit the sources.

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33_ Unesco Nomination File. *San Antonio Missions. Nomination to the World Heritage List by the United States of America*, 2014, p. 88

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35_ Le Figaro and The Guardian newspapers (image captured from the internet)

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Part III

40_ San Antonio Missions World Heritage Advisory Committee

Appendix 1

Sites discussed

Throughout the thesis, we used as basis for the discussion some sites that are part of the World Heritage List. Here we present the summary document, which is part of the dossiers of each site, which include a brief presentation of the site, its Outstanding Universal Value and the Convention's criteria considered. We also present the Icomos evaluation for the candidacy. The content presented is a partial reproduction of the original documents consulted on the Icomos Documentation Center and the Unesco Archives (the reference number follows the name of the site). We searched for a unit in the information presented, considering that the sites inscribed in the List until the mid 1990's presented a significantly smaller amount of information than the current processes.

The sites considered are presented by date of inscription on the List: Mesa Verde National Park, Ouro Preto, Cuzco, Jesuit Missions, Salvador, Venice, Ferrara, Oporto, Pompei, Lyon, Valparaiso, Liverpool, the Dolomite and San Antonio Missions.

Mesa Verde National Park

WHC 27 – 1978

A great concentration of ancestral Pueblo Indian dwellings, built from the 6th to the 12th century, can be found on the Mesa Verde plateau in south-west Colorado at an altitude of more than 2,600 m. Some 4,400 sites have been recorded, including villages built on the Mesa top. There are also imposing cliff dwellings, built of stone and comprising more than 100 rooms.

Colorado, United States of America
N37 15 42 W108 29 8
Date of Inscription: **1978**
Criteria: **(iii)**
Property: **21,043 ha**



Cliff Palace, Mesa Verde's largest cliff dwelling. *Credit: NPS, Sandy Groves*



Detail, Mesa Verde National Park. *Credit: WHC, Vincent Angillis.*



Spruce Tree House. *Credit: NPS*

Outstanding Universal Value

Brief synthesis

The Mesa Verde landscape is a remarkably well-preserved prehistoric settlement landscape of the Ancestral Puebloan culture, which lasted for almost nine hundred years from *c.* 450 to 1300. This plateau in southwest Colorado, which sits at an altitude of more than 2,600 meters, contains a great concentration of spectacular Pueblo Indian dwellings, including the well-known cliff dwellings. This rich landscape provides a remarkable archaeological laboratory for enhancing our understanding of the Ancestral Puebloan people.

Some 600 cliff dwellings built of sandstone and mud mortar have been recorded within Mesa Verde National Park – including the famous multi-storey Cliff Palace, Balcony House, and Square Tower House – and an additional 4,300 archaeological sites have been discovered. The cliff dwelling sites range in size from small storage structures to large villages of 50 to 200 rooms. Many other archaeological sites, such as pit-house settlements and masonry-walled villages of varying size and complexity, are distributed over the mesas. Non-habitation sites include farming terraces and check dams, field houses, reservoirs and ditches, shrines and ceremonial features, as well as rock art. Mesa Verde represents a significant and living link between the Puebloan Peoples' past and their present way of life.

Criterion (iii): The exceptional archaeological sites of the Mesa Verde landscape provide eloquent testimony to the ancient cultural traditions of Native American tribes. They represent a graphic link between the past and present ways of life of the Puebloan Peoples of the American Southwest.

Integrity

Within the boundaries of the property are located all the elements necessary to understand and express the Outstanding Universal Value of Mesa Verde National Park, including habitation and non-habitation archaeological sites and features, as well as settlement patterns. Excavated sites have been stabilized and undergo routine monitoring, condition assessment, and preservation treatment, based on continuing research and consultation. The property is of sufficient size to adequately ensure the complete representation of the features and processes that convey the property's significance, and does not suffer from adverse effects of development and/or neglect. There is no buffer zone for the property.

Authenticity

Mesa Verde National Park is authentic in terms of its forms and designs, materials and substance, location and setting, and spirit. Large portions of the sandstone and mud-mortar multi-storey buildings have survived intact in form and materials, a tribute to the engineering skills of these early peoples as well as the dry environment of the mesa's alcoves. These architectural remains reflect the range of ancient Pueblo construction techniques as well as settlement patterns. Extensive research on both the structures and many artefacts has provided a wealth of information about the lifestyles of the former occupants.

Increased erosion following wildland fires poses a continuing threat to the property's cultural values. However, management policies are in place to protect the resources to the greatest extent possible. The introduction of non-native invasive plant species has become a major problem. Furthermore, the potential exists for future development in the corridor along Highway 160, the northern boundary of the property.

Protection and management requirements

Mesa Verde National Park was established by an Act of Congress in 1906, before the existence of the National Park Service itself, and was the first archaeological area in the world to be recognized and protected in this way. The eventual inclusion of the area within the National Park system gives it the highest

possible level of protection, as it is owned and maintained by the federal government, and assures a high standard of interpretation and public access. Park staff consults regularly on interpretive materials, research and preservation of archaeological resources, and proposed construction plans with representatives from 26 culturally affiliated and traditionally associated Native American tribes and pueblos who consider Mesa Verde their ancestral home.

There is a General Management Plan for Mesa Verde National Park (1979). A long-term plan for the preservation of the 600 alcove sites was made possible through an Archaeological Site Conservation Program (1994). Ongoing efforts to enhance baseline information, condition assessments, and architectural documentation continue to inform both management decisions and interpretive materials. Carrying capacity and visitor impacts are carefully monitored, with policies in place to limit the impacts. Other plans on topics such as interpretation supplement the National Park's General Management Plan.

Sustaining the Outstanding Universal Value of the property over time will require protecting resources from erosion and other damage caused by wildland fires and other effects of climate change; managing invasive plant species that harm or may harm cultural resources; and ensuring that any development adjacent to the property does not have a negative impact on the property's value, authenticity and integrity.

Icomos Evaluation [June, 1978]

Icomos recommendation

That the proposed cultural property be included on the World Heritage List on the basis of criterion iii.

Justification

Among the American Indian civilizations recognized by ethnologists and prehistorians, that of the Anasazi Indians and of their distant descendants, the Pueblos of New Mexico and Arizona are indeed quite original, owing in part to the substantial rigors of their natural environment: the southwestern part of Colorado with its mesas cut by deep canyons. On the high limestone and sandstone plateau which in one place reaches an altitude of 2620 meters above sea level the climate is semi-arid, being characterized by irregular precipitation and great differences between daytime and nighttime temperatures.

The first signs of regular human occupation go back to the 6th century of the current era. They are principally located on the plateau where partially buried villages, consisting of silos and low dwellings have existed since this period. Original handicrafts, in which the production of yucca fiber objects played a major role then came into being. This wickerwork was to remain characteristic of Anasazi civilization for seven centuries.

From roughly 750 to 1100 some highly specific features appeared in the human settlements of Mesa Verde. While the plateau villages were increasingly built in an L ou U-shape layout, the valley villages grew larger. In rock overhanging cliffs, on the side of cuestas deeply lacerated by erosion, composite, both troglodytic and built, villages were established having various functions: agricultural, handicrafts or religious (the first "kivas", subterranean or buried structures of a sub-circular layout, appeared during this period).

This civilization reached its apogee between 1100 and the end of the 13th century before suddenly disappearing. Impressive, multi-storey constructions (the best-know being "Cliff Palace" and "Long House", with its 181 rooms and 15 kivas) were erected under the shelter of the cliffs. They are demonstrative of surprising progress in building techniques and a very keen sense for use of space. At the same time, agrarian techniques were improved: irrigation, based on a network of reservoirs and dams was used to offset the rigors of a climate largely hostile to the cultivation of cereals and starches, staples of the Anasazi diet. This "golden age" facilitated by the control of natural environment is further illustrated by the outstanding quality of the handicrafts. As the first explorers of Mesa Verde claimed on many an occasion, the wickerwork,

weaving and especially ceramics were of astonishing quality.

Discovered in 1874, the rock-cut villages of Mesa Verde were pillaged by collectors (there was a very large pottery sale in 1889) before being studied and excavated by archaeologists. However, the protection of the site which came into effect in 1906 under the Federal Antiquities Act is one of the most effective and longstanding on the American Continent. At present, Mesa Verde National Park is one of the world's best managed natural, biological and archaeological reserves.

This ensemble can be included on the World Heritage List on the basis of criterion iii as bearing a unique testimony to a civilization which has disappeared.

Historic Town of **Ouro Preto**

WHC 124-1980

Founded at the end of the 17th century, Ouro Preto (Black Gold) was the focal point of the gold rush and Brazil's golden age in the 18th century. With the exhaustion of the gold mines in the 19th century, the city's influence declined but many churches, bridges and fountains remain as a testimony to its past prosperity and the exceptional talent of the Baroque sculptor Aleijadinho.

State of Minas Gerais, Brazil
S20 23 20 W43 30 20
Date of Inscription: **1980**
Criteria: **(i)(iii)**
Property : **167.8 ha**
Buffer zone: **2,036.9 ha**



Ouro Preto. *Credit: Iphan, Isabella Atayde*



Praça Tiradentes. *Credit: Iphan, Nelson Kon*



Nossa Senhora do Pilar Church. *Credit: Iphan, Nelson Kon*

Outstanding Universal Value

Brief synthesis

Founded in the early 18th century 513km north of Rio de Janeiro, the Historic Town of Ouro Preto (Black Gold) covers the steep slopes of the Vila Rica (Rich Valley), centre of a rich gold mining area and the capital of Minas Gerais Province from 1720-1897. Along the original winding road and within the irregular layout following the contours of the landscape lie squares, public buildings, residences, fountains, bridges and churches which together form an outstanding homogenous group exhibiting the fine curvilinear form of Baroque architecture. The Historic City of Ouro Preto was the symbolic center of the *Inconfidência Mineira* in 1789, a Brazilian independence movement, and home to exceptional artists responsible for many of the most significant works of the Brazilian Baroque period, including the Church of São Francisco of Assisi by the distinguished architect and sculptor Antônio Francisco Lisboa (Aleijadinho). The area's isolation for the better part of the 19th and 20th centuries generated economic stagnation, fostering preservation of the original colonial constructions and urban pattern.

Criterion (i): Set in a remote and rugged landscape, the aesthetic quality of the vernacular and erudite architecture and irregular urban pattern of Ouro Preto makes the town a treasure of human genius. The most notable of the city's architectural works are represented by the religious monuments and administrative buildings, including the *Palácio dos Governadores* (Governors' Palace), today the School of Mines, and the former *Casa de Câmara e Cadeia* (Administrative and Prison House), home to the *Inconfidência* Museum. The Baroque churches carry sculptures by Antônio Francisco Lisboa, Aleijadinho, colonial Brazil's greatest artist, and the ceiling paintings of Manuel da Costa Athaide among others. These were the representatives of the initial expressions of an artistic form deemed genuinely national and developed in a region marked by difficult access and a scarcity of materials and labor in the 18th century.

Criterion (iii): The built heritage of the Historic City of Ouro Preto bears exceptional testimony to the creative talents of a society built on pioneering mining wealth under Portuguese colonial rule. Although the architecture, paintings, and sculptures are based on underlying models introduced by Portuguese immigrants, the works vary significantly from the contemporary European art, not only with respect to their spatial conception, but in their decorative treatment, in particular the stone sculptures carved on the facades, distinctive for their originality and design and in the combined use of two materials, gneiss and soapstone. The absence of formal convents or monasteries, due to the edict of the Portuguese Crown which prohibited the establishment of religious orders in Minas Gerais, led to the construction of churches and chapels displaying the full splendor, quality, and originality of the syncretized artistic traditions of two cultures

Integrity

The Historic Town of Ouro Preto retains its urban nucleus built in the colonial period, including the diversity of civic and religious buildings marked by refined aesthetic and architectural qualities that express Outstanding Universal Value. Not all of these are in a good state of conservation; some houses and churches suffer from neglect.

The historic town is vulnerable to urban growth, traffic, industrialization and tourist impact. The expansion of Ouro Preto to the surrounding hillsides, occupying geologically unstable terrains, green areas, archaeological areas, and public spaces, poses a threat of irreversible damage to the urban setting.

Authenticity

The relevant examples of religious and civic architecture and the accompanying works of art within Ouro Preto have been preserved in terms of form and design, materials and

immediate setting. Controlled growth of the city's surrounding areas and limits on the scale of new buildings have served to maintain the urban landscape of the 18th and 19th centuries within the property largely unaltered. In regard to the city's residential and commercial constructions, inevitable modifications have been authorized while safeguarding the original facades. The preservation measures adopted by the Federal Government with the support of the local government, based on urban planning norms and successive conservation and recovery projects have ensured the authenticity of the cultural property.

Protection and management requirements

Since the 1930s, the Historic City of Ouro Preto has been targeted for protection through a series of government initiatives. The first involved Municipal Decrees 13 of 1931 and 25 of 1932 issued by Mayor João Velloso, which mandated the "preservation of the colonial façade". A year later, President Getúlio Vargas designated the city a National Monument. Creation of the National Historical and Artistic Heritage Service (*Serviço do Patrimônio Histórico e Artístico Nacional* – SPHAN), today the National Institute of Historical and Artistic Heritage (*Instituto do Patrimônio Histórico e Artístico Nacional* – IPHAN), and enactment of Decree-Law 25 of November 30, 1937, put in place the necessary legal instruments, which continue in effect to the present day, to ensure the protection of all cultural property determined to be of outstanding value to the nation. Based on the Decree, the Architectural and Urban Framework of Ouro Preto was formally entered in the Fine Arts Heritage Registry (*Livro de Tombo de Belas Artes*) on January 20, 1938.

Beginning in the 1950s, the city experienced significant expansion and a rise in heavy traffic flows in the light of the region's emerging economic development, a direct consequence of intensified steel production and mining activities. In response, the Federal Government built a highway around the city named after SPHAN's first director, Rodrigo Mello Franco de Andrade. A second measure implemented to protect the city from excessive vehicle traffic involved construction of a bus terminal on the outskirts of Ouro Preto to clear the central section of intra- and interstate and tourist buses. With a view to enhancing management of Ouro Preto's cultural heritage, IPHAN opened a Technical Office in the city in the 1980s staffed with a multidisciplinary team of professionals. In the light of these measures, the Brazilian Government submitted an application to UNESCO requesting designation of Historic Town of Ouro Preto as a World Heritage Site. On September 5, 1980, the city became Brazil's first cultural property entered on the World Heritage List. On September 15, 1986, IPHAN expanded the site's heritage designation through inscription in the Historical Landmark Registry and the Archeological, Ethnographic and Landscape Registry.

In the 1990s, the Technical Advisory Group (*Grupo de Assessoramento Técnico* – GAT) was established, composed of technical experts representing IPHAN and the Municipal Government, in addition to other government agencies devoted to the city's preservation efforts. The group developed a series of guidelines to control land use and occupation in the city center, officially referred to as the Special Protection Zone (*Zona de Proteção Especial*). These guidelines were formally consolidated in a specific IPHAN Directive issued in 2004.

Similarly, a set of regulations agreed to by the different levels of government served to reinforce the initial version of the Municipal Master Plan approved through Complementary Law 1 of December 19, 1996. Ten years later, the Master Plan was submitted to review and updated through a specific Complementary Municipal Law.

In addition to these legislative initiatives, the Municipality adopted a number of other measures to regulate urban land use, in particular through the introduction of model Architectural Projects based on "Community Design Plans" ("*Plantas Populares*") for construction work within the Municipality of Ouro Preto, but outside the area entered on UNESCO's Heritage List, and the establishment of the Municipal Public Engineering and Architectural Service (*Serviço Municipal de*

Engenharia e Arquitetura Pública), tasked with providing low-income families with free public technical assistance on the design and oversight of social interest housing building projects.

With a view to strengthening shared management of the site, in 2006 the Municipality established the Municipal Secretariat of Urban Heritage and Development (*Secretaria Municipal de Patrimônio e Desenvolvimento Urbano*), an agency composed of a multidisciplinary team of professionals. The Secretariat provides support to the Municipal Cultural and Natural Heritage and Urban Policy Councils (*Conselhos Municipais de Patrimônio Cultural e Natural e de Políticas Urbanas*) and is financed through the Heritage Preservation Fund (*Fundo de Preservação do Patrimônio*).

In 2010, IPHAN issued rules setting forth criteria for the preservation of Ouro Preto's Architectural and Urban Framework, regulating interventions in the federally protected area, and repealing, in the process, all previous regulations governing (includes the declared area) the related questions. Also in 2010, IPHAN issued two normative rules aimed at enhancing the city's management: Directive 187 of June 11, 2010, governing the procedures for conducting investigations into alleged administrative violations involving conduct and acts which are deemed to be harmful to or damage the city's cultural heritage structures, and Directive 420 of December 22, 2010, which sets out the procedures for authorizing interventions in protected heritage structures and the respective surrounding areas.

A number of challenges remain to ensure proper management of the city, enhance urban expansion planning through additional controls on the occupation of the surrounding hillsides, regulate general traffic planning in the urban zone surrounding the protected area, and effectively develop the area's tourist-cultural potential, transforming the city into an international cultural destination, recognized for its rich cultural heritage.

The substitution of traditional materials and techniques with new ones and the occupation of open spaces at the back of existing lots and within the heart of the complex has been spurred by demands for new housing, a contributing factor for which has been the significant expansion of the Federal University and local Technical School. Measures have been taken at both the federal and municipal levels to stem this trend, an effort which has secured modest success to date.

Throughout the period described above, the Historic City of Ouro Preto has received significant investments aimed at conserving and restoring its cultural heritage and ensuring, in this way, the site's perpetuation and use for current and future generations.

Icomos Evaluation [May, 1980]

Icomos recommendation

That the nominated cultural property be included to the World Heritage List.

Justification

Located 513 km north of Rio de Janeiro, Ouro Preto (Black Gold) was the main focal point of all the period called "the golden age of Brazil". Originally called Vila Rica, this city played a leading role in Brazil's history of the 18th century. It was created by thousands of soldiers of fortune eager to enrich themselves by exploiting the gold deposits; they were followed by a great number of artists who came to settle and achieve works of an outstanding quality such as the São Francisco of Assis church by the Aleijadinho.

Ouro Preto is considered an unequaled heritage because of its churches, its simple but original urban architecture, its bridges, its fountains and its setting. It is mainly its overall homogeneity and global character that make it a unique cultural property. As first capital of the state of Minas, Ouro Preto is of local interest; as mining center of the Golden Age of Brazil, it is of national interest, and as unique centre of baroque architecture, it is of outstanding universal value.

Ouro Preto is a unique artistic and urbanistic master piece and is recommended for

inclusion to the World Heritage List under criteria 1 and 3 of the Convention.

Integrity, authenticity and state of preservation

Ouro Preto is particularly well looked after by the various governments responsible for its preservation; UNESCO has sponsored various studies for the preservation and development of this city.

Nevertheless, Ouro Preto suffers regularly from land-slides due to torrential rains; the site and the historical monuments are threatened by an important projected ironworks factory, and special protection measures should be requested from the Brazilian government for this cultural property.

City of **Cuzco**

WHC 273 – 1983

Situated in the Peruvian Andes, Cuzco developed, under the Inca ruler Pachacutec, into a complex urban centre with distinct religious and administrative functions. It was surrounded by clearly delineated areas for agricultural, artisan and industrial production. When the Spaniards conquered it in the 16th century, they preserved the basic structure but built Baroque churches and palaces over the ruins of the Inca city.

City of Cuzco, Peru
S13 31 19.992 W71 58 59.988
Date of Inscription: **1983**
Criteria: **(iii)(iv)**
Property: **142 ha**
Buffer zone: **285 ha**



City of Cusco. *Credit: WHC / CRA-terre, Wilfredo Carazas-Aedo*



City of Cuzco. *Credit: WHC, Francesco Bandarin*



City of Cuzco. *Credit: WHC, Geoff Steven*

Outstanding Universal Value

Brief synthesis

The City of Cuzco, at 3,400 m above sea level, is located in a fertile alluvial valley fed by several rivers in the heart of the Central Peruvian Andes of South America. Under the rule of Inca Pachacuteq (Tito Cusi Inca Yupanqui), in the 15th century, the city was redesigned and remodelled after a pre-Inca occupation process of over 3,000 years, and became the capital of the Tawantinsuyu Inca Empire, which covered much of the South American Andes between the 15th and 16th centuries AD.

The Imperial city of the Incas was developed as a complex urban centre with distinct religious and administrative functions which were perfectly defined, distributed and organized. The religious and government buildings were accompanied by the exclusive abodes for royal families, forming an unprecedented symbolic urban compound, which shows a stone construction technology with exceptional aesthetic and structural properties, such as the Temple of the Sun or Qoricancha, the Aqllahuasi, the Sunturcancha, the Kusicancha and a series of very finely finished buildings that shape the Inca compound as an indivisible unity of Inca urbanism. The noble city was clearly isolated from the clearly delineated areas for agricultural, artisan and industrial production as well as from the surrounding neighbourhoods. The pre-Hispanic patterns and buildings that shaped the Imperial city of the Incas are visible today.

With the Spanish conquest in the 16th century, the urban structure of the Inca imperial city of Cuzco was preserved and temples, monasteries and manor houses were built over the Inca city. They were mostly of baroque style with local adaptations, which created a unique and high quality mixed configuration representing the initial juxtaposition and fusion of different periods and cultures, as well as the city's historic continuity. The city's remarkable syncretism is evident not only in its physical structure but also in the Viceroyalty's artistic expression. It became one of the most important centres of religious art creation and production in the continent. It is also important for its population's customs and traditions, many of which still keep their ancestral origins. From its complex past, woven with significant events and beautiful legends, the city has retained a remarkable monumental ensemble and coherence and is today an amazing amalgam of the Inca capital and the colonial city. Of the first, it preserves impressive vestiges, especially its plan: walls of meticulously cut granite or andesite, rectilinear streets running within the walls, and the ruins of the Sun Temple. Of the colonial city, there remain the freshly whitewashed squat houses, the palace and the marvellous Baroque churches which achieved the impossible fusion of the Plateresco, Mudejar or Churrigueresco styles with that of the Inca tradition.

Criterion (iii): The City of Cuzco is a unique testimony of the ancient Inca civilization, heart of Tawantinsuyu imperial government, which exercised political, religious and administrative control over much of the South American Andes between the 15th and 16th centuries. The city represents the sum of 3,000 years of indigenous and autonomous cultural development in the Peruvian southern Andes.

Criterion (iv): The City of Cuzco provides a unique testimony to the urban and architectural achievements of important political, economic and cultural settlements during the pre-Columbian era in South America. It is a representative and exceptional example of the confluence of two distinct cultures; Inca and Hispanic, which through the centuries produced an outstanding cultural syncretism and configured a unique urban structure and architectural form.

Integrity

The City of Cuzco maintains the spatial organization and most buildings from the ancient Inca Empire capital and the Viceroyalty. Along its streets and squares, it shows its original

urban and architectural characteristics. Despite urban growth, the sectors that make up the Inca imperial city are recognizable, including the ancient stone structures and their advanced construction technique. Such structures define and enclose streets and *canchas* (housing units), on which colonial and republican houses, monasteries and churches rose and kept intact all their architectural components and works of art inside them. This entire group of attributes can be found unaltered within the delimited area maintaining its structural, material and urban integrity.

One of the main factors threatening the integrity of the City of Cuzco is earthquakes. After the 1950 earthquake many culturally valuable buildings deteriorated and have not been repaired yet due to lack of funding. The lack of technical and regulatory documents on urban management generates saturation of services in the city centre disrupting its integrity and affecting its use. Several private buildings are deteriorated by overuse, overcrowding, lack of maintenance and lack of financial resources which threatens their physical integrity.

Authenticity

The authenticity of the City of Cuzco is supported by the physical evidence of its urban composition in streets and squares, original layout, urban and architectural values, use of space and the Inca and Colonial architecture. These characteristics are testimony of Cuzco's importance as centre of the political power and of its symbiosis with colonial settlement and assembling patterns from the 15th century, which allows us to more clearly understand the city and its historic processes. The site's originality and authenticity is also supported by 16th century documents collected by direct witnesses since the Hispanic conquest. The factors threatening the attributes of the City of Cuzco have not affected the authenticity of its basic elements. However, new tourism development is threatening the preservation and functional capacity of ancient buildings, which in some cases are altered or replaced by new buildings for tourism and trade, relocating the original dwellers to the periphery.

Protection and management requirements

The City of Cuzco is classified as cultural heritage of the nation as a Monumental Area in accordance with Supreme Resolution Nº 2900, dated 1972, which establishes its protection scope but does not specify its buffer zone. According to the same regulation, all streets in the delimited area are classed as Monumental Urban Environment and 103 historic valuable buildings are classed as Monuments. This heritage is protected by the National Constitution, and by Law Nº 28296, General Law for National Cultural Heritage, among others.

The Ministry of Culture and the Provincial Municipality of Cuzco are mainly responsible for the conservation and management of the property and perform constant urban assessments, registration, protection, supervision and control works. The Municipality of Cuzco is responsible for authorizing intervention works in the city and also participates in preservation and restoration of cultural heritage programs and projects.

After the 1950 earthquake, recovery and restoration interventions of archaeological and historic monuments began in the City of Cuzco, which were continued through 1973. Projects also included technical training of specialists to improve the technical level and tools for preservation. However, the City of Cuzco has developed the cadastre and has updated inventory and the declaration of monuments. A management plan for the City of Cuzco, which is fundamental for protection, was developed in 2005 and is currently being implemented.

Icomos Evaluation [June, 1983]

Icomos recommendation

That this cultural property be inscribed on the WorId Heritage List after extension of the zone of protection.

Justification

Situated at 3,400 meters above sea level, in a fertile alluvial valley fed by several rivers,

Cuzco is the most historically imbued city of the Peruvian high plateau. As capital of the Inca state and "center of the World", it entered, in 1536, within the Spanish colonial domain from which it did not definitively emerge until after the proclamation of independance (1821) and the victory of Bolivar at Ayacucho (1824). From its complex past, woven with significant events and beautiful legends, the city has retained a remarkable monumental ensemble and a coherence that recent changes have not compromised.

Inca mythology attributes the foundation of the city to the Inca Manco Cápac: according to tradition, the golden scepter that the sun had given him was thrust into the fertile soil of Cuzco to designate the emplacement of the capital. In actuality, Cuzco appears to have been a center of only mediocre importance until the 15th century when the power of the Incas was affirmed following the battle against the Chancas invaders: its reconstruction, directed by two great Incas, Pachacútec (1438-1471) and Tupac Yupangui (1471-1493) lasted 20 years and, supposedly, employed 50,000 men. The first of these rulers (to whom is also attributed the construction of Machu Picchu) wished to create an ideal city which would respond to the multiple functions of a capital: after having canalized the two principal rivers (the rios Saphi and Tullumayo) whose flooding periodically menaced the inhabitants of the old Cuzco, he laid down the foundations of an extremely hierarchical organization in which the urban center united administrative and religious functions, while the outlying areas and especially the satellite-towns situated in a cultivated zone (Cayaucachi, Claquillchaca, Picchu, Quillipata, Carmenca, Huacapunco, etc.) were units of agricultural, artisan and industrial production. This triparite division must have stirred the imagination of the "conquistadores", as did the orthogonal layout of the streets of the Ciudad Nobiliaria, barely inflected to accomodate land erosion. The European invaders respected the plan of this rational city, so curiously close to the idea cities of the Renaissance. They limited themselves to the destruction of the principal edifices which were charged with political and religious symbolism, and constructed new monuments, agressively Catholic and Spanish on the admirable cyclopean masonry of the demolished walls of these buildings. The Huaccapayta, center of the Inca empire, bordered by the palaces of Pachacútec, Viracocha and Huayna Cápac, is the present day Plaza de Armas; the palace of Viracocha was demolished in order to build the Cathedral begun in 1560; the Acclahuasi, to construct the convent of Santa Catalina; the Coricaucha, partially destroyed in order to make space for the convent of Santo Domingo de Guzman, etc.

Cuzco is today the amazing amalgam of the Inca capital and the colonial city. Of the first, it preserves impressive vestiges, especially its plan: walls of meticulously cut granite or andesite, rectilinear streets running within the walls, ruins of the Sun Temple of which the Golden Garden, once covered with sculptures of precious metals, pillaged by the Spanish soldiers before being sent to enrich the coffers of Charles V. Of the colonial city, there remains the freshly whitewashed squat houses, the palace and the marvelous baroque churches which achieved the impossible fusion of the plateresco, mudejar or churriqueresco styles with that of the Inca tradition.

The inscription of Cuzco on the World Heritage List would be based on criteria III and IV which in this case, may not be dissociated.

ICOMOS recommends the extension of the zone of protection to the surroundings of Cuzco where the Canchas and the old villages still retain traces of land occupation from the Inca empire to preserve, in a more global manner, an archaeological heritage which has become susceptible to the effects of urbanization.

Jesuit Missions of the Guaranis: San Ignacio Mini, Santa Ana, Nuestra Señora de Loreto and Santa Maria Mayor (Argentina), Ruins of Sao Miguel das Missoes (Brazil)

WHC 275 bis - 1983/1984

The ruins of São Miguel das Missões in Brazil, and those of San Ignacio Miní, Santa Ana, Nuestra Señora de Loreto and Santa María la Mayor in Argentina, lie at the heart of a tropical forest. They are the impressive remains of five Jesuit missions, built in the land of the Guaranis during the 17th and 18th centuries. Each is characterized by a specific layout and a different state of conservation.

State of Rio Grande do Sul, Brazil; **Province of Misiones,** Argentina
S28 32 36 W54 15 57
Date of Inscription: **1983**
Extension: **1984**
Criteria: **(iv)**
Property : **265,78 ha**



São Miguel das Missões. *Credit: Iphan, Victor Hugo Mori*



General view of the site of San Ignacio Miní. *Credit: WMF*



Jesuit Missions of the Guaranis: Santa Ana. *Credit: WHC, M & G Therin-Weise*

Outstanding Universal Value[1]

Brief synthesis

Jesuit Missions of the Guaranis, a serial transnational property, consists of the ruins of São Miguel Arcanjo in Brazil, and those of San Ignacio Miní, Santa Ana, Nuestra Señora de Loreto, and Santa María la Mayor in Argentina. These are the impressive remains of Jesuitic Mission settlements established in the 17th and 18th centuries on lands originally occupied by Guarani indigenous communities. In Brazil, the ruins of the São Miguel Arcanjo church constitute the most intact and complete structure among this period's designated heritage properties. In Argentina, the four Jesuit-Guarani missions located in southern Misiones Province provide an exceptional example of systematic and organized territorial occupation.

The properties' surviving ruins depict the experience of the Society of Jesus in South America, where there emerged a singular system of spatial, economic, social, and cultural relations at 30 settlements – referred to as reducciones – that included ranches, mate plantations, and networks of trails and waterways extending across the Uruguay River and its tributaries. This particular model of the reducciones also included smaller structures and constructions designed to support the basic functions of the settlements. Together, these elements, each closely integrated within productive lands and each manifesting the distinct potential and complementary traits of the various settlements and the other Jesuit provinces in the region, inform this underlying interpretation, reflected by the serial heritage property in a singular and specific fashion.

An integral part of the evangelization campaigns, the Missions stand as an important testament to the systematic occupation of the area and to the cultural relations forged between the area's indigenous populations, mostly Guarani, and the European Jesuit missionaries.

Criterion (iv): The surviving remains of the Jesuit Missions of the Guaranis represent outstanding examples of a type of building and of an architectural ensemble which illustrate a significant period of the history of Argentina and Brazil. They are a living testament to Jesuit evangelization efforts in South America.

Integrity

The majority of components that convey the Outstanding Universal Value of the 265.78 ha serial transnational property are contained within the boundaries of the designated zones. On the Argentinean side, three out of the four Missions (Santa Ana, Loreto, and Santa María) have either maintained their original rural configuration or have been subject to minor modifications. By contrast, the fourth mission, San Ignacio, is located within the urban grid of the city of San Ignacio. On the Brazilian side, the surviving material traces and evidence of São Miguel Arcanjo Mission, including the main body of the church as well as the belfry and the sacristy, portions of the convent structures, the surviving foundations of the indigenous dwellings, the square, the vegetable garden, the storm drains, and the sacred objects, converge to give expression to a singular model of territorial occupation permeated by the cultural interaction and exchange between the indigenous populations and European missionaries.

Over time, these structures lost their original religious, residential, educational, and cultural functions. Today, the various missions include fragments of walls corresponding to the original monuments (churches, dwellings, workshops, orchards). Their archaeological remains are deemed historic monuments and important to the development of the respective local communities. In exceptional cases, they are used for religious or recreational events. None of the components of the serial transnational property are under threat, having been preserved through direct government action in both Argentina and Brazil.

[1] Doc. WHC/16/40.COM/8E.Rev. Paris, 10 June 2016.

Authenticity

The components of the property have maintained the two basic intersecting compositions: first, the European convent, constituted by a main church, residence, and school; and secondly, a section occupying the remaining three sides of the central square erected primarily for the local indigenous populations. Conservation work in the case of San Ignacio Miní has enabled the overall preservation of the existing urban architectural scale. Conservation work has also been carried out in order to preserve the Argentinean monuments and to facilitate responsible tourism.

In the Brazilian case, a full reading and understanding into the spatial configuration of São Miguel Arcanjo is provided in a set of surviving documents. The site's physical authenticity has been maintained through the preservation of the original construction materials and techniques. The series of interventions executed since the time the reducción was in operation have all been duly recorded and mapped. The interventions have aimed at ensuring the property's structural stability.

Protection and management requirements

The five components of the serial transnational property are State-owned, and their management is undertaken by the two countries – Brazil and Argentina – at the respective archaeological sites located in their national territories. In Brazil, the ruins of São Miguel Arcanjo, in São Miguel das Missões municipality, were inscribed by the National Historic and Artistic Heritage Institute (*Instituto do Patrimônio Histórico e Artístico Nacional* - IPHAN) in 1938, number 0141-T-38. In 2009, the National Historic Park of Missões *(Parque Histórico Nacional das Missões*), was established aiming to provide integrated and complementary management of the Mission territories in Brazil, facing the challenge of the usage of cultural heritage to support the socio-economic development of local communities.

IPHAN, the responsible institution to provide the technical structures necessary to manage and conserve the cultural heritage, has participated throughout the years, as an articulator, providing guidelines in order to regulate the urban planning in the areas surrounding the cultural property. Current institutional actions are related to the Management Plan for the National Historic Park of Missões, under preparation, through the Project "Enhancement of the Cultural Landscape and the National Historic Park of the Jesuit Missions of the Guarani", which has the purpose of ensuring shared management at the various levels of government and structure partnerships in order to foster a socioeconomically sustainable development. Also relevant, are two initiatives: the development of São Miguel das Missões Municipal Urban Plan, in which IPHAN has, over the years, presented the preservation guidelines established for the São Miguel site; and the proposed Cultural Itinerary for the Jesuit Guarani Missions, an International Project encompassing all of the countries into which the missions extended that objectifies an integrated interpretation and recognition of this multi-nation heritage, as reflected in its cultural dimensions and the interconnections between individual sites.

In Argentina, all the mission complexes within the property are legally protected at the national level: Santa Ana and Loreto were declared National Historic Monuments in 1983 through National Executive Order 2217; San Ignacio was declared in 1943 through National Executive Order 16482; and Santa María was declared in 1945 through National Executive Order 31453. The four properties were also declared Historic Cultural Heritage with the enactment of Provincial Law 1280 of 1983. They are protected and preserved by the National Commission for Museums, Monuments and Historic Places, pursuant to Law 12665. The National Architectural Service, a component of the Ministry of Public Works and Services, has primary responsibility for all restoration and maintenance services. The respective agencies will need to develop action plans to ensure proper management of the site. The Department of Technical Planning of the Subsecretariat of Strategic Management in the Province of Misiones is in charge of periodic reporting and

planning for the conservation of the Argentinean missions, in agreement with national authorities. The management plan of the missions must comply and be consistent with national legislation regarding historic monuments. It should also consider tourism as part of a major effort to provide a broader interpretation of the system of reducciones and to promote cultural activities within the community. Workshops among the responsible managers of the Jesuit-Guarani Mission historic sites were held from 2005 to 2007 with the support and cooperation of the World Monument Fund, the respective national governments, and the provincial government of Misiones.

Measures will be adopted over the medium and long terms to ensure proper conservation of the components of the World Heritage property.

Icomos Evaluation [December, 1982]

Icomos recommendation

That the proposed cultural property be inscribed on the World Heritage List within the framework of a global proposition encompassing the principal Jesuit missions of South America.

Justification

The outset for the Jesuit mission of São Miguel, first founded on the site of Itaiacecó in 1632, was a difficult one. The "reduccion" was transferred to Concepción, then, in 1687, to the present site on the banks of the Piratini: it already comprised at that date nearly 4,000 christianized Indians.

Of the village, constructed following the plan described in Book IV of the Leyes de Indias, not one building remains intact; only the foundations of the residence of the Fathers, those of the school and of the walls of the cemetery as well as some vestiges of Indian habitations. In a site periodically invaded by vegetation are found the ruins of the church. This latter is attributed to a Jesuit architect of Milanese origins, Father Gian Battista Primoli, well known for his work in Buenos Aires, Cordoba and Concepción. The church of São Miguel das Missões was for the most part terminated in 1744, when Primoli left for Paraguay, before constructing the church of Trinidad. The final work, that of the carpentry and the roofing, were completed in 1750. Ten years later, a fire ravaged this beautiful Baroque church; it was restored in a rather summary manner during the years which preceded the definitive expulsion of the Fathers in 1768.

Its ruins, which are highly vunerable, have recently undergone consolidation (campaigns: 1925-1928 and 1938-1980). Since 1980, UNESCO has been asked to give technical cooperation.

The inscription of the ruins of São Miguel on the World Heritage List is recommended within the framework of a global nomination concerning the Jesuit missions of Latin America and associating the propositions of several concerned States Party.

Icomos Evaluation [September, 1983]

Icomos recommendation

ICOMOS recommends the inscription of San Ignacio Miní and supports the inscription of the 4 properties.

Justification

During its 1983 session, when examining the proposal for inclusion of a Jesuit mission (São Miguel da Missões) on the World Heritage List following a request by the Brazilian government, the Conmittee felt that the existence of the civilization attested to from California to the Republic of Argentina by the "reducciones", could hardly be epitomized or even evoked by a single example.

Based on the conclusion of a report of ICOMOS, written by Jorge Osvaldo Gazaneo, the Committee then decided that the theme of Jesuit Missions, should be the subject of supplementary proposals associating for South America, Brazil and Argentina, already members of the Conention, without waiting for the eventual ratification of Paraguay.

Officially announced by the government of the Republic of Argentina at the 1983 session, the proposal for inclusion concerns four guarani "reducciones" out of a possible fifteen which are located within its national boundaries: San Ignacio Mini, Santa Ana, Nuestra Señora de Loreto and Santa Maria la Mayor. The choice of these four ensembles (all situated within the province of Misiones) is justified by their historical and archeological interest, as well as by certain complementarity. In fact, all these "reducciones", situated near springs or in the vicinity of large rivers are of the same model (the church, the residence of the fathers, the regularily spaced houses of the Indians are placed around a large square). This model was adopted by the Company of Jesus after the Spanish crown conceded it the right, in 1609, to settle in guarani country. However, each of the four "reducciones" is characterized by a layout peculiar to itself and by a different state of preservation.

- San Ignacio Mini, founded in 1611, was moved on two successive occasions, setting in its present site in 1696, 60 kilometers from Posadas. At its apogee, in 1733, the "reduccion" comprised 4,500 inhabitants. It incorporates important monumental vestiges: church, residence of the fathers, school, as well as approximately thirty living units. Cleared since 1940, the ruins are accessible and in a relatively good state of preservation.

- Santa Ana, founded in 1633 on the Sierra del Tape, was removed in 1638 to the banks of the Parana River and then once more to its present site, 45 kms from Posadas. Vestiges of the church, which are accessible by a monumental stairway emerge from a forest site of great beauty. The marble columns and stone blocks have resisted pillage following the expulsion of the Jesuits in 1767. The enhancement of the site, begun in 1982, has taken into account this natural environment.

- Nuestra Señora de Loreto, founded in 1610, was only moved once: in 1631, it was transferred to its present site, 53 kilometers from Posadas. The mission, a significant one, included a printing-press. The memory of a great builder, Brother Bressanelli, is linked to the vestiges of the church and to the residence of the fathers, as at San Ignacio Mini. The ruins of the Indian village have been partially cleared of the vegetation chich has broken up the walls and foundations.

- Santa Maria la Mayor, founded in 1626, was moved to its present site in 1633. Not far from the remains of the church, important vestiges of the residence of the fathers are still standing. As at Santa Ana and at Loreto, the preservation plan envisions selective clearing, thus partially retaining the natural environment.

ICOMOS, while considering the mission of San Ignacio Mini to be the most eminent example of a "reduccion" preserved on Argentinian soil, would welcome a joint inclusion of the four properties submitted for its examination, within the framework of the global proposal for Jesuit missions defined in 1983 by the Committee.

Historic Centre of **Salvador** de Bahia

WHC 309-1985

As the first capital of Brazil, from 1549 to 1763, Salvador de Bahia witnessed the blending of European, African and Amerindian cultures. It was also, from 1558, the first slave market in the New World, with slaves arriving to work on the sugar plantations. The city has managed to preserve many outstanding Renaissance buildings. A special feature of the old town are the brightly coloured houses, often decorated with fine stucco-work.

Bahia State, north-east region, Brazil
S12 58 0 W38 30 0
Date of Inscription: **1985**
Criteria: **(iv)(vi)**
Property : **200 ha**
Buffer zone: **452 ha**



Historic Centre of Salvador. *Credit: WHC, Geoff Mason*





Historic Centre of Salvador. *Credit: WHC, Francesco Bandarin*

Outstanding Universal Value

Brief synthesis

Founded in 1549 on a small peninsula that separates Todos os Santos Bay from the Atlantic Ocean on the northeast coast of Brazil, Salvador de Bahia became Portuguese America's first capital and remained so until 1763. Its founding and historic role as colonial capital associate it with the theme of world exploration. Salvador de Bahia's historic centre – an eminent example of Renaissance urban structuring adapted to a colonial site – is the Cidade Alta (Upper Town), a defensive, administrative and residential neighbourhood perched atop an 85-m-high escarpment. This densely built colonial city par excellence of the Brazilian northeast is distinguished by its religious, civil and military colonial architecture dating from the 17th to the 19th centuries. Salvador de Bahia is also notable as one of the major points of convergence of European, African and American Indian cultures of the 16th to 18th centuries.

The settlement of Salvador de Bahia, strategically situated overlooking an immense bay on the Brazilian coast, was aimed at centralising the activities of the metropolis in Portuguese America and facilitating trade with Africa and the Far East. The city grew quickly, becoming Brazil's main seaport and an important centre of the sugar industry and the slave trade. The historic centre's main districts are Sé, Pelourinho, Misericórdia, São Bento, Taboão, Carmo and Santo Antônio. Pelourinho is characterized by its fidelity to the 16th century plan, the density of its monuments and the homogeneity of its construction. In addition to major buildings dating to the 17th and 18th centuries such as the Catedral Basílica de Salvador and the churches and convents of São Francisco, São Domingos, Carmo and Santo Antônio, the Historic Centre of Salvador de Bahia retains a number of 16th century public spaces, including the Municipal Plaza, the Largo Terreiro de Jesus and the Largo de São Francisco, as well as baroque palaces, among them the Palácio do Arcebispado, Palácio Saldanha and Palácio Ferrão. There are many streets lined with brightly coloured houses, often decorated with fine stucco-work, that are characteristic of the colonial city. Salvador de Bahia was also, from 1558, the first slave market in the New World, with slaves arriving to work on the sugar plantations. Echoes of this multicultural past survive to the present day in the historic centre's rich tangible and intangible heritage.

Integrity

Within the boundaries of the Historic Centre of Salvador de Bahia are located all the elements necessary to express its Outstanding Universal Value, including the escarpment that divides it into Upper and Lower towns; the Pelourinho district's underlying 16th-century urban plan; and the web of streets with rows of uniform houses interwoven with notable examples of religious, administrative, military and commercial and monumental architecture dating from the 17th to the 19th centuries. The city's 78.28-ha historic centre is of sufficient size to adequately ensure the complete representation of the features and processes that convey the property's significance. The Historic Centre of Salvador de Bahia does not suffer from adverse effects of development and/or neglect. Nevertheless, the greater city's population has grown quickly since 1966 due to the region's industrial development, resulting in the historic centre becoming enclosed on three sides by a very dense urban zone.

Authenticity

The Historic Centre of Salvador de Bahia has a high degree of authenticity in terms of location and setting, forms and designs, and materials and substances. In the 1990s, some 1,350 properties were restored in the Pelourinho district with the objective of developing the economic potential of the area by exploiting tourism. Concurrently, the number of residents in the historic centre decreased from 9,853 in 1980 to 3,235 in 2000 in a process of depopulation.

Protection and management requirements

The Historic Centre of Salvador de Bahia is protected by laws enacted by the three levels

of government: Decree-Law 25/1937, implemented by the federal government through the *Instituto do Patrimônio Histórico e Artístico Nacional* (National Institute of Historical and Artistic Heritage – IPHAN); Law 3660/1978, passed by the Bahia state government through the *Instituto do Patrimônio Artístico e Cultural da Bahia* (Artistic and Cultural Institute of Bahia – IPAC); and Municipal Law 3289/1983, setting forth Specific Municipal Legislation for the Protection of Cultural Property, through which a protection area encompassing the IPHAN - designated cultural site is established and joint reviews by the three levels of government of all proposed projects within the protected zone are required. The 2008 *Plano Diretor Urbano de Salvador* (Urban Master Plan for Slavador – PDDU) formally certifies the existing federally designated heritage areas and those covered under the Specific Municipal Legislation statute (Law 3289/1983). In addition, the *Escritório Técnico de Licenciamento e Fiscalização* (Technical Licensing and Oversight Office – ETELF) was created to facilitate the implementation of concerted and coordinated measures and oversight by the three levels of government in the Historic Centre of Salvador de Bahia, with a view to enhancing integration in this area.

The 2010 *Plano de Reabilitação Participativo do Centro Antigo de Salvador* (Participatory Rehabilitation Plan for the Old Centre of Salvador) aims to address the economic, social, environmental and urbanistic issues that were inadequately addressed in the rehabilitation programmes undertaken from the 1960s to the 1990s, which invariably centred on proposed increases in tourism and other tertiary activities in the Pelourinho district, draining the historic centre of its key management, administrative and business functions and leading to a progressive population exodus and a corresponding deterioration of the urban landscape.

Sustaining the Outstanding Universal Value of the property over time will require continuing the integrated efforts to revitalize the area and reverse the process of urban decay; advancing residential revitalization of the historic centre to counteract the progressive population exodus and to sustain the area as a living organism within the urban landscape; and establishing monitoring indicators for these and any future interventions, to ensure that such interventions do not have a negative impact on the Outstanding Universal Value, authenticity and integrity of the property.

Icomos Evaluation [July, 1985]

Icomos recommendation

That the proposed cultural property be included on the World Heritage List on the basis of criteria IV and VI.

Justification

The first historic capital of Brazil since, as early as 1549, the governor general, Thome de Souza, following the orders of John II of Portugal, made it the seat of the royal administration, Salvador de Bahia played a leading economic and political role until 1763, when the seat was transferred to Rio de Janeiro. The upper city, located in the area of "*Bahia de Todos os Santos*" (the Bay of All Saints) was discovered in 1502 by Amerigo Vespucci, and has been preserved by the historical evolution. It was built upon a crestline parallel to the Atlantic coast, and which was easy to defend against Spanish (1580) and Dutch (1624) attacks. At the north/north-east, the lower city and port have not retained their pristine character, and on the three other fronts, population growth, which has been particularly fast since 1966 due to the industrial development of the region (the city has gone from a population of 650,000 to 1,200,000 in 10 years) has enclosed the historic city which is surrounded by a very dense urban zone. The historic center itself, which revolves around the Pelourinho quarter with its triangular place, is characterized by its faithfulness to the 16th century plan, the density of its monuments, and the homogeneity of its construction on a hilly and picturesque site which exalts the urban scenery by providing plunging and ascending views of incomparable beauty. In addition to a number of major buildings of 17th and 18th centuries, such as the Cathedral and the

Convents of St. Francis, St. Dominic, Carmel and St. Anthony, Salvador also retains a host of 16th century palaces (Municipal Palace, the House of Mercy) and baroque palaces (Archepiscopal Palace, Saldanha Palace, Ferrão Palace, etc.).

There are also many streets which are characteristic of the colonial city, and which are lined with bright multi - coloured houses, which in some cases are decorated with stucco of high quality.

At the end of Michel Parent's mission in 1983, lCOMOS was satisfied to note the efforts undertaken to halt the dangerous urban growth which was threatening the city center and the efforts to preserve this center within the perimeter defined in the request for inclusion on the World Heritage List.

lCOMOS recommends that this cultural property be included on the World Heritage List on the basis of criteria IV and VI:

Criterion iv. Salvador is an eminent example of Renaissance urban structuring adapted to a colonial site having an upper city of a defensive, administrative and residential nature which overlooks the lower city where commercial activities revolve around the port. The density of monuments, with Ouro Preto (included on the World Heritage List in 1980) makes it the colonial city par excellence in the Brazilian North-East.

Criterion vi. Salvador is one of the major points of convergence of European, African and American Indian cultures of the 16th to 18th century. Its founding and historic role as capital of Brazil quite naturally associate it with the theme of the discovery of the universe already illustrated by the inclusion on the World Heritage List of the Old Havan (1982), Angra do Heroismo, San Juan de Puerto Rico (1983), and Cartagena (1984).

Venice and its Lagoon

WHC 394-1987

Founded in the 5th century and spread over 118 small islands, Venice became a major maritime power in the 10th century. The whole city is an extraordinary architectural masterpiece in which even the smallest building contains works by some of the world's greatest artists such as Giorgione, Titian, Tintoretto, Veronese and others

Province of Venezia, Veneto Region, Italy

N45 26 3.5 E12 20 20.2

Date of Inscription: **1987**

Criteria: **(i)(ii)(iii)(iv)(v)(vi)**



The Dodge's palace, at San Marco square. *Credit: Unesco, Lodovico Folin-Calabi*



San Giorgio Church. *Credit: Unesco, Junaid Sorosh-Wali*



Rialto bridge. *Credit: WHC, Geoff Mason*

Outstanding Universal Value

Brief synthesis

The UNESCO World Heritage property comprises the city of Venice and its lagoon situated in the Veneto Region of Northeast Italy. Founded in the 5th century AD and spread over 118 small islands, Venice became a major maritime power in the 10th century. The whole city is an extraordinary architectural masterpiece in which even the smallest building contains works by some of the world's greatest artists such as Giorgione, Titian, Tintoretto, Veronese and others.

In this lagoon covering 50,000 km², nature and history have been closely linked since the 5th century when Venetian populations, to escape barbarian raids, found refuge on the sandy islands of Torcello, Jesolo and Malamocco. These temporary settlements gradually became permanent and the initial refuge of the land-dwelling peasants and fishermen became a maritime power. Over the centuries, during the entire period of the expansion of Venice, when it was obliged to defend its trading markets against the commercial undertakings of the Arabs, the Genoese and the Ottoman Turks, Venice never ceased to consolidate its position in the lagoon.

In this inland sea that has continuously been under threat, rises amid a tiny archipelago at the very edge of the waves one of the most extraordinary built-up areas of the Middle Ages. From Torcello to the north to Chioggia to the south, almost every small island had its own settlement, town, fishing village and artisan village (Murano). However, at the heart of the lagoon, Venice itself stood as one of the greatest capitals in the medieval world. When a group of tiny islands were consolidated and organized in a unique urban system, nothing remained of the primitive topography but what became canals, such as the Giudecca Canal, St Mark's Canal and the Great Canal, and a network of small rii that are the veritable arteries of a city on water.

Venice and its lagoon landscape is the result of a dynamic process which illustrates the interaction between people and the ecosystem of their natural environment over time. Human interventions show high technical and creative skills in the realization of the hydraulic and architectural works in the lagoon area. The unique cultural heritage accumulated in the lagoon over the centuries is attested by the discovery of important archaeological settlements in the Altino area and other sites on the mainland, which were important communication and trade hubs.

Venice and its lagoon form an inseparable whole of which the city of Venice is the pulsating historic heart and a unique artistic achievement. The influence of Venice on the development of architecture and monumental arts has been considerable.

Criterion (i): Venice is a unique artistic achievement. The city is built on 118 small islands and seems to float on the waters of the lagoon, composing an unforgettable landscape whose imponderable beauty inspired Canaletto, Guardi, Turner and many other painters. The lagoon of Venice also has one of the highest concentrations of masterpieces in the world: from Torcello's Cathedral to the church of Santa Maria della Salute.The years of the Republic's extraordinary Golden Age are represented by monuments of incomparable beauty: San Marco, Palazzo Ducale, San Zanipolo, Scuola di San Marco, Frari and Scuola di San Rocco, San Giorgio Maggiore, etc.

Criterion (ii): The influence of Venice on the development of architecture and monumental arts is considerable; first through the Serenissima's fondachi or trading stations, along the Dalmatian coast, in Asia Minor and in Egypt, in the islands of the Ionian Sea, the Peloponnesus, Crete, and Cyprus, where the monuments were clearly built following Venetian models. But when it began to lose its power over the seas, Venice exerted its influence in a very different manner, thanks to its great painters. Bellini and Giorgione, then Tiziano, Tintoretto, Veronese and Tiepolo completely changed the perception of space, light and colour thus leaving a decisive mark on the development of painting and decorative arts in the whole of Europe.

Criterion (iii): With the unusualness of an archaeological site which still breathes life, Venice bears testimony unto itself. This mistress of the seas is a link between the East and the West, between Islam and Christianity and lives on through thousands of monuments and vestiges of a time gone by.

Criterion (iv): Venice possesses an incomparable series of architectural ensembles illustrating the hight of the Republic's splendour. From great monuments such as Piazza San Marco and Piazzetta (the cathedral, Palazzo Ducale, Marciana, Museo Correr Procuratie Vecchie), to the more modest residences in the calli and campi of its six quarters (Sestieri), including the 13th century Scuole hospitals and charitable or cooperative institutions, Venice presents a complete typology of medieval architecture, whose exemplary value goes hand-in-hand with the outstanding character of an urban setting which had to adapt to the special requirements of the site.

Criterion (v): In the Mediterranean area, the lagoon of Venice represents an outstanding example of a semi-lacustral habitat which has become vulnerable as a result of irreversible natural and climate changes. In this coherent ecosystem where the muddy shelves (alternately above and below water level) are as important as the islands, pile-dwellings, fishing villages and rice-fields need to be protected no less than the palazzi and churches.

Criterion (vi): Venice symbolizes the people's victorious struggle against the elements as they managed to master a hostile nature. The city is also directly and tangibly associated with the history of humankind. The "Queen of the Seas", heroically perched on her tiny islands, extended her horizon well beyond the lagoon, the Adriatic and the Mediterranean. It was from Venice that Marco Polo (1254-1324) set out in search of China, Annam, Tonkin, Sumatra, India and Persia. His tomb at San Lorenzo recalls the role of Venetian merchants in the discovery of the world - after the Arabs, but well before the Portuguese.

Integrity

Due to their geographical characteristics, the city of Venice and the lagoon settlements have retained their original integrity of the built heritage, the settlement structure and its interrelation in the lagoon. The boundaries of the city and other lagoon settlements are well circumscribed and delimited by water. Venice has retained its boundaries, the landscape characteristics and the physical and functional relationships with the lagoon environment. The structure and urban morphological form of Venice has remained broadly similar to the one the city had in the middle Ages and Renaissance.

The maintained integrity of the layout and urban structure of Venice therefore attests to the formal and organizational conception of space and the technical and creative skills of a culture and civilization that created exceptional architectural values. Despite the diverse styles and historical stratifications, the buildings and constructions have organically fused into a coherent unit, maintaining their physical characteristics and their architectural and aesthetic qualities, as well as their more technical features, through an architectural language that is both independent and consistent with the function and design principles of the traditional urban structure of Venice.

Transformations have occurred in the urban settlements in terms of functionality. The historic city has altered its urban functions due to the significant decline in population, the change of use of many buildings, the replacement of traditional productive activities and services with other activities. The exceptionally high tourism pressure on the city of Venice has resulted in a partial functional transformation in Venice and the historic centres of the Lagoon. This includes functional transformations of Venice and the lagoon historic centers caused by the replacement of residents' houses with accommodation and commercial activities and services to the residence with tourism-related activities that endanger the identity and the cultural and social integrity of the property.

These factors may in the future have a serious negative impact on the identity and

integrity of the property and are consequently the major priorities within the Management Plan.

The phenomenon of high water is a threat to the integrity of cultural, environmental and landscape values of the property. The occurrence of exceptional high waters poses a significant threat to the protection and integrity of Venice lagoon and historic settlements. The increase in the frequency and levels of high tides, in addition to the phenomenon of wave motion caused by motor boats, is one of the main causes of deterioration and damage to the building structures and urban areas. Although this phenomenon has a significant impact on the morphology and landscape configuration of the lagoon due to the erosion of the seabed and of the salt marshes, it does not at present endanger the integrity of the property. These threats are recognized as a priority in the Management Plan which includes a specific monitoring system.

Authenticity

The assets of the World Heritage property have substantially retained their original character. The urban structure has predominantly maintained the formal and spatial characters present in the middle Ages and the Renaissance with a few later additions due to landfills and land reclamation. The numerous monuments and monumental complexes in the city have retained their character and authenticity through the conservation of their constitutive elements and their architectural features. Similarly, the whole urban system has maintained the same layout, settlement patterns and organization of open spaces from medieval times and the Renaissance. In the structural restoration of the buildings, much attention is given to applying conservation criteria and the use and recovery of materials in their historical stratifications. The local culture has developed a deep-seated continuity in the use of materials and techniques. The expression of the authentic cultural values of the property is given precisely by the adoption and recognition of the effectiveness of traditional conservation and restoration practices and techniques.

The other lagoon settlements have also maintained a high level of authenticity, which continues to manifest itself in preservation of the character and specificity of the places. The historical processes that were developed over the centuries and helped shape the lagoon landscape have left a strong testimony of the action of the people, whose work is tangibly visible and recognizable in its authenticity and historical sequences.

Protection and management requirements

The Ministry for Cultural Heritage and Activities through its local offices (Regional Directorates and Superintendencies) performs the institutional tasks of protection and preservation of the cultural heritage and landscape, under the Code of the Cultural and Landscape Heritage (Legislative Decree no. 42/2004).

One of the main tools for the protection of the property is the implementation of the 1973 Special Law for Venice, which aims to guarantee the protection of the landscape, historical, archaeological and artistic heritage of the city of Venice and its lagoon by ensuring its socio-economic livelihood.

At regional level, land-use and urban planning tools aim at the promotion and implementation of the sustainable development of the area, with particular attention to the protection of the cultural and historical identity of the settlements, the landscape and areas of outstanding natural beauty.

Provincial plans deal with the synergies between the preservation and development of the environment and the traditional economic activities and tourism, aimed at the sustainable valorisation of the property, intersecting issues relevant to both cultural heritage and environmental values.

At municipal level, the existing planning tools guarantee, in particular, the refurbishment and upgrade of the existing architectural heritage and infrastructure, urban renewal, public housing programs, roads. They regulate action on the urban fabric, ensuring the preservation of

its physical and typological characteristics and the compatibility of any intended use.

Other public authorities, such as Magistrato alle Acque (the Venice Water Authority), safeguard Venice and the lagoon ecosystem. Environmental protection and landscape is governed by specific laws and regulations, under which the Superintendence of Architectural Heritage and Landscape of Venice and its Lagoon oversees all works and interventions that can change the landscape of the property.

The Management Plan for the World Heritage property is approved by the responsible bodies for the protection and management of the property: Veneto Region, Province of Padua, Province of Venice, Municipality of Venice, Municipality of Campagna Lupia, Municipality of Cavallino-Treporti, Municipality of Chioggia, Municipality of Codevigo, Municipality of Mira, Municipality of Musile di Piave, Municipality of Jesolo, Municipality of Quarto D'Altino, Regional Department of Cultural Heritage and Landscape of Veneto, Superintendence of Architectural Heritage and Landscape of Venice and its Lagoon, Superintendence of Archaeological Heritage of Veneto, Superintendence of Historical and Artistic Heritage of Venice and of the municipalities in the lagoon boundary area, Superintendence of the Archives of Veneto, State Archive of Venice, Diocese of Venice, Venice Water Authority and Port Authority of Venice.

The development of the Management Plan has been based on a participatory approach involving all these responsible bodies and the local organisations. They are represented in the Steering Committee which meets regularly, where the Municipality of Venice has been appointed as the coordinating body.

The Management Plan contains many projects for communication and participation in decision-making and for the implementation of the objectives of protection and enhancement of the property. A specific Action Plan focuses on awareness building, communication, promotion, education and training in order to develop a greater awareness among the citizens on the Outstanding Universal Value of the property.

The most pressing management issues are related to high tides and mobile barriers, tourism pressure and maintenance of traditional practices and techniques for restoration.

In order to preserve the lagoon and protect its historic settlements and the historic city of Venice against flooding, several projects have been elaborated. These include an integrated system of public works, such as the mobile flood gates (MoSE - Experimental Electromechanical Module) to temporarily isolate the lagoon from the sea and some complementary measures capable of reducing the level of the most frequent tides in the lowest areas on the water.

A sustainable tourism strategy is one of the Management Plan priorities. Strategic objectives and a specific Action Plan have been agreed to relieve the pressure on Venice by offering alternative and complementary options to traditional tourism by creating a network among the municipalities in the lagoon boundary area and other key stakeholders that are operating within the property. In addition, other initiatives aiming at managing tourist flows are in place. Within the territory of the property there are excellent universities, high level national and international institutes and research centers for the conservation and protection of artistic and architectural heritage. However, many consolidated restoration practices, based on traditional techniques, are at risk to disappear or to be incorrectly applied, for the use of techniques and materials that do not always correspond to the principles and methods of restoration and for the lack of qualified operators. The underlying causes of the reduced efficacy of the restoration interventions are the high costs of the urban maintenance and restoration of buildings. These issues are recognised within the Management Plan that contains a specific Action Plan and projects regarding training of operators and professionals, the promotion and dissemination of good restoration practices.

Icomos Evaluation [May, 1987]

Icomos recommendation

That the proposed cultural property be included on the World Heritage List on the basis of Criteria I, II, III, IV, V and VI.

Justification

The nomination of Venice to the list preceded by nine years the ratification of the World Heritage Convention by Italy. There was some concern about such a delay, which international opinion deemed inexplicable: on several occasions, notably during the discussions which preceded the elaboration of the tentative lists, the Committee expressed the wish for a short-list presentation of the most prestigious cultural properties and cited how paradoxical it was that Venice had not been included on the World Heritage List.

The initiative finally taken by the Italian government responds to this general expectation, and this is all the more positive in that the nomination concerns not only the historic centre of Venice, but the whole lagoon with its hundreds of small islands, its three "gates," the Lido, Malamocco and Chioggia; its basins and fishing areas. The geographic, historic and aesthetic coherency of this ensemble leaves no doubt.

In this lagoon covering 50,000 square kilometers, nature and history have been so closely linked since the 5th century A.D. when Venetian populations, to escape Barbarian raids, found refuge on the sandy islands of Torcello, Iesolo and Malamocco. These temporary settlements gradually became permanent and the initial refuge of the land-dwelling peasants and fishermen became a maritime power. Several key dates stand in the minds of all: the small island of Rialto was chosen as the headquarters of the new city; in 1000 A.D., Venice controlled the Dalmatian coast; in 1112, a trading market was founded in Sidon; in 1204 Venice allied with the Crusaders to capture Constantinople. The abundant booty brought back on that occasion, including St. Mark's horses, is only the more spectacular part of the loot from Byzantium that the doge Enrico Dandolo shared with his allies. Under the doge a maritime empire of unequalled power extended over the entire length of shores along the eastern Mediterranean, to the islands of the Ionian Sea, and to Crete.

During the entire period of the expansion of Venice, over the centuries when it defended its trading markets against the business undertakings of the Arabs, the Genoese and the Ottomans, and those of the Eruopean monarchs who were envious of its power, Venice never ceased, in the literal sense of the term, to consolidate its position in the lagoon. The marriage with the sea, that “sposalizio” that since 1172 was symbolized by the ring of the doge, who had replaced the dux (elected for the first time in 697 by an assembly of the people), was never called into question. Defense of the site in the face of major dangers, siltings and the destructive assault of the waters' waves, was a matter of constant concern. From the High Middle Ages to the 18th century, the course of the rivers' waters was deviated and controlled; the three channels through which the tide engulfs the lagoon have continuously been rearranged; the thin strip of shore has been protected by fences, stone piles and breakwaters. By the time completion was achieved in 1782 of the fantastic construction of the murazzi, a veritable dam holding back the Adriatic, the Most Serene Republic would survive only 15 years longer.

In this inland sea, which has continuously been under threat, rises amidst a tiny archipelago at the very edge of the waves, one of the most extraordinary built-up areas of the Middle Ages. From Torcello to the north to Chioggia to the south, every small island, or nearly, had its own settlement, town, fishing village and artisan village (e.g., Murano), but at the heart of the lagoon, Venice stood as one of the greatest capitals in the medieval world. When a group of tiny islands were consolidated, nothing remained of the primitive topography but canals such as Giudecca Canal, St. Mark's Canal and the Great Canal (according to Commynes, “the most beautiful street in the world”), and a network of small rii that are the veritable arteries of a city on water. In this unreal space, where there is no notion of the concept of terra firma,

masterpieces of one of the most extraordinary architectural museums on earth have been accumulated for over 1,000 years. The least palazzetto, which in Venice seems only a minor construction, would constitute the glory of many historic cities.

Everyone is familiar with the dangers threatening the inestimable heritage of Venice: changes in ground level and tides, atmospheric pollution and socio-economic changes are some of the direct or indirect consequences of the industrialization of the zone of Mestre. These factors have posed, in new terms, the problem of the survival of Venice. The action of the Council of Europe, UNESCO, and of many non-governmental organizations on behalf of Venice has shown the reality of international solidarity which only great causes bring to the forefront.

Without summarizing all the actions undertaken following the flooding of 4 November 1966, ICOMOS stresses that the inclusion of Venice on the World Hertage List will further strengthen the coherency of the cultural policy of UNESCO. Venice meets all the criteria for inclusion on the World Heritage List.

Ferrara, City of the Renaissance, and its Po Delta

WHC 733 bis - 1995/1999

Ferrara, which grew up around a ford over the River Po, became an intellectual and artistic centre that attracted the greatest minds of the Italian Renaissance in the 15th and 16th centuries. Here, Piero della Francesca, Jacopo Bellini and Andrea Mantegna decorated the palaces of the House of Este. The humanist concept of the 'ideal city' came to life here in the neighbourhoods built from 1492 onwards by Biagio Rossetti according to the new principles of perspective. The completion of this project marked the birth of modern town planning and influenced its subsequent development.

City and Province of Ferrara, Emilia-Romagna Region, Italy
N44 50 16 E11 37 10
Date of Inscription: **1995**
Extension: **1999**
Criteria: **(ii)(iii)(iv)(v)(vi)**
Property: **46,712 ha**
Buffer zone: **117,649 ha**



City centre and Este castle: general view. *Credit: WHC, Claudio Fedozzi*



Po delta. *Credit: WHC, A. Cambone and R. Iso*



Via delle Volte, in the historic centre. *Credit: Comune di Ferrara*

Outstanding Universal Value

Brief synthesis

Ferrara, City of the Renaissance, and its Po Delta, situated within the Emilia Romagna region of Italy, is a remarkable cultural landscape. The area comprises the urban centre of Ferrara and adjoining agricultural lands within the ancient and vast Po River Delta.

The inscribed property extends to the ring of defensive walls that first enclosed the historic urban centre of Ferrara in the 12th century. Over time, the encircling walls of the medieval town were extended to accommodate urban growth, and today the walls encircle the medieval city, the Cathedral of San Giorgio and the Estense Castle. A series of urban planning schemes were implemented from the 14th to 16th centuries, which made Ferrara the first Renaissance city to be developed using a complex urban plan. In this plan, the network of streets and walls were closely linked with the palaces, churches and gardens as part of an overall scheme that gave precedence to the harmonious layout of urban perspectives, rather than accentuating the beauty of individual buildings. The best known of these schemes, the *Addizione Erculea*designed by Biagio Rossetti at the end of the 15th century, was one of the first urban plans based on the idea of perspective – that is, balancing humanist principles relating to form and volume in architecture with open space, the needs of the city, and local traditions.

The Po Delta of the Po River valley has been settled for millennia. From the 14th to the 16th centuries, the ruling Este family carried out extensive land reclamation and building projects, which give this area a distinctive character link with Ferrara, seat of the Este family. Transformations made to the countryside surrounding Ferrara during the Renaissance included: drainage of huge swathes of swampland, establishment of *castalderie* (estates), creation of new waterways and streets as part of the overall urban development plan and construction of a network of noble residences known as the *delizie estensi*. This work led to a new fabric of agricultural production and the construction of Ducal residences as the political sign of magnificence. These were designed to mirror the image of the Court beyond the urban confines and again formed part of a process of integration and continuity between the city and the surrounding countryside. The original form of the Renaissance landscape of the Po River Delta is still recognisable in the region's 21st-century layout.

The history of the Renaissance city of Ferrara is closely bound to the Este family and their rule. The city had been an important medieval centre, a free city with its own laws and even its own mint, but only under the Este's was it to become an internationally known capital with great importance for the arts, economics, ideology and religion. The court flourished in splendour and for two centuries was on a par with cities such as Florence and Venice or with other great European courts in France or Spain.

Artists such as Piero della Francesca, Mantegna and Michelangelo attended the Este Court and worked there. With great support from these artists, the Este family created the first example of a *studiolo* and their practice of art collection became a model for both the Medici family and the Pope.

Criterion (ii): Developments in town planning expressed in Renaissance Ferrara had a profound influence on town design practice and planned preservation throughout the succeeding centuries. The Ferrarese architectural school (Biagio Rosetti, Girolamo da Carpi, Giambattista Aleotti, etc.) exported urban design views and elements such as walls and fortresses into the planning of other Italian and European cities.

Criterion (iii): The Este ducal residences in the Po Delta illustrate the influence of Renaissance culture on the natural landscape in an exceptional manner.

Criterion (iv): The historical town of Ferrara is an exceptional example of Renaissance period urban planning in which the layout and built forms from this period are still visible and where the urban fabric is virtually intact.

Criterion (v): The Po Delta is an outstanding planned cultural landscape that retains its original form to a remarkable extent.

Criterion (vi): During the two seminal centuries of the Renaissance, the brilliant court of the Este family attracted leading artists, poets and philosophers and became a major centre for the development and practical application of 'new humanism' in Italy.

Integrity

The 46,712 ha inscribed property, along with the 117,649 ha buffer zone, encompasses all the elements necessary to understand the Renaissance cultural landscape of Ferrara and its Po Delta, which substantiates its Outstanding Universal Value. The intactness of the property is evidenced in the Renaissance period layout of the city of Ferrara as well as in the landscape changes and transformations of the surrounding agricultural landscape. The wholeness of Renaissance Ferrara is visible in the medieval walls, the forms of the 14th to 16th century town planning schemes, the surviving and largely original buildings and in the well preserved layout of the city that is easily understood by visitors. The wider landscape of the World Heritage property is most evident in the remaining *delizie* that point to the land transformation schemes undertaken during the time of the ruling Este family.

Thus the Renaissance cultural landscape of Ferrara and the Po Delta forms a historical whole. However, changing methods of cultivation and economic priorities, as well as the introduction of new infrastructure are concerns that will need to be holistically addressed in order to maintain the conditions of integrity.

Authenticity

Ferrara, City of the Renaissance, and its Po Delta is a cultural landscape that is exceptionally well preserved and is authentic in its form and design, materials, setting, spirit, and feeling. The originality of the urban fabric of Ferrara, along with its Renaissance design and layout elements, makes it a clearly recognisable Renaissance city. Some of the *delizie* are authentic in relation to original large farm settings and are in excellent condition following restoration works carried out since 1970. The relationships of Renaissance elements with branches of the Po River (Po di Ferrara, Primaro, Volàno, Sandalo) are readily recognisable and the ancient course of these rivers and streams are clearly visible today. Despite a long history of damage to the property, it retains a truthfulness and credibility with regard to its expression of Outstanding Universal Value.

Protection and management requirements

The protection and management of Ferrara, City of the Renaissance and its Po Delta requires the cooperation of public institutions at different levels of government: national, regional, provincial and municipal.

The property is protected under national cultural heritage legislation: the "Codice dei Beni Culturali e del Paesaggio" (Legislative Decree 42/2004). Local offices of the "Ministero per i Beni e le Attività culturali" (Regional Management and Supervision) undertake monitoring to ensure compliance with the national legislation.

At the regional level, there are three specific planning systems. The Regional Landscape Plan (PTPR) establishes regulations with regard to the historical-cultural identity of locations and the surrounding landscape. The Po Delta Park Plan's aim is to protect the areas of natural importance. The Provincial Territorial Plan (PTCP) identifies the synergies and actions needed to develop traditional economic activities and tourism in a manner that protects the character of the environment and the countryside. The plan encompasses the large area that makes up both the inscribed property area and its buffer zone.

In addition, the Municipality of Ferrara has an approved Urban Planning Tool that

identifies the whole of the historic city inside the walls as an area of cultural interest and consolidates the high degree of protection that has been in place since 1975. There are several programmes with specific aims that deal with conserving the Renaissance walls and open spaces inside and outside the city walls.

The management of the property is coordinated through a multi-level government Site Steering Committee. The Committee is responsible for preparing and implementing the annual Management Plan. A key aim of the Management Plan is to increase public awareness, particularly of local residents and workers, with regard to the extent of the property and its outstanding importance.

Sustaining the Outstanding Universal Value of the property and maintaining its conditions of authenticity and integrity over time will require the creation of improved linkages and coordinated management between the urban landscape of Ferrara and the rural landscape of the network of *delizie*, the improvement of the regional regulatory regime to effective control use and transformation of the area and infrastructure development, the increase of local awareness of the heritage values of the properties and opportunities to enjoy the area's heritage and the definition of clear policies for the adaptive reuse of historic properties that have been abandoned or damaged. Also, sufficient resources for interventions will need to be allocated to address the considerable damages from the May 2012 earthquakes, particularly to the city walls, the Estense Castle, the medieval cathedral, the Rocca (bastion) of Stellata and to several historic buildings.

Icomos Evaluation [September, 1995]

Action by ICOMOS

An ICOMOS expert mission visited Ferrara in January 1995. ICOMOS also consulted its International committee on Historie Towns and Villages.

Qualities

The principles of town planning of the Italian Renaissance were implemented for the first time and on a grand scale at Ferrara. The city plan put into action in 1492 on the orders of Ercole 1 d'Este was based on concepts of the Ideal Renaissance town developed by Leon Battista Alberti, Vincenzo scamozzi, and Filareti. The urban fabric was based on the main open spaces within the city which reflected the different aspects of the social structure and the power centres. Biagio Rossetti made the palazzi and churches the foci of the views and perspectives within the city plan. ln so doing he made a vital contribution to the development of modern town planning.

The fortifications of Ferrara, which date back to the 13th century, were rebuilt on several occasions by engineers of the Este family and their successors, but they have retained certain elements of each of these interventions. The system of bastions represents technical innovation known as the ·permanent bastion system" which was studied by the leading engineers of the period.

The court of the Este family at Ferrara became one of the main centres for the development and application of the new humanism in Italy.

Comparative analysis

Italy is the home of 15th century humanism, the Italian Renaissance, which was essential for the development of the modern world in all its aspects. This new humanism was developed and found its first expression in may of the courts of northern Italy, such as Florence, Urbino, Pienza, and Sabbioneta, as well as Venice, Vicenza, and Rome. Ali these centres have their special role and significance in this development and are not easily comparable. Ferrara differs from the other centres principally because of its significance in the development of the concept of Renaissance town planning: it was the first large-scale realization of the new planning ideals in the Renaissance.

The power of the Renaissance prince was expressed in the culture of the society, and could be seen as a modern interpretation of the ancient Greek polis. The spirit of humanism was here reflected in all fields and found a physical expression in the city, its architecture, its fortification system, its gardens, and its waterways. ln Urbino and Pienza the efforts were concentrated on the improvement of an existing centre for the purposes of the court without an overall urban design. Another example is Sabbioneta, which was built in the form of an ideal city plan for the Gonzaga family in the 16th century. While it undoubtedly Offers an interesting example, it remains a more modest undertaking compared with Ferrara and had more the character of a fortification. Rome and Florence, on the other hand, represented the requalification of existing towns.

ln terms of fortifications, Ferrara is distinguished from other contemporary examples by the emphasis on the urban character of the city walls. Although the Prince invested substantially in building the fortification system, his aim went beyond simple defence in having political and social significance. Ideally, the aim was to provide citizens with a safe urban settlement where the fortifications not only indicated an extended limit to the ensemble but also constituted an important element in the urban communication system. The walls of Ferrara offered an early reference for the design and further development of fortification engineering.

ICOMOS recommendations for future action

The ICOMOS expert mission discussed the name of the nominated property with the responsible officials. It was apparent that the proposed name does not sufficiently well express the significance and the universality of Ferrara. At the end of these discussions a new formulation was proposed: Ferrara, city of the Renaissance.

Recommendation

That this property be inscribed on the world Heritage List on the basis of **criteria ii, iv, and vi**: Ferrara is an outstanding planned Renaissance city which has retained its urban fabric virtually intact. The developments in town planning expressed in Ferrara were to have a profound influence on the development of urban design throughout the succeeding centuries. The brilliant court of the Este family attracted a constellation of outstanding artists, poets, and philosophers, particularly the new humanists of Renaissance Italy, during the two seminal centuries of the Renaissance.

Icomos Evaluation [September, 1999]

Action by ICOMOS

An ICOMOS expert mission visited the site in February 1999.

Qualities

As a result of the various phases of land reclamation and construction, the Po delta has become an important cultural landscape with stratification extending over a period of three millennia. Even though there have been changes in the area, caused both by man and by nature, the different historic strata are visible in the patterns of the landscape. The infrastructure created by the Este family is still the dominating feature of the area, but it is possible to see that such visibility goes back further - to the Middle Ages and to classical antiquity. At the same time, the landscape of the delta, as developed by the Este family, is closely related to the city of Ferrara, with which it forms a single whole, with its own specific character and integrity.

Comparative analysis

In the whole of the Po delta, the Ferrara region stands out by virtue of its extremely long history of human occupation and the constant association of man and nature. The result is a wealth of reminders of past epochs, whether archaeological or architectural.

Most other major river deltas around the world are dominated by nature, with man's presence only a secondary feature. The Ferrara region, however, has seen the successive emergence of civilizations whose actions have been complementary and which rapidly

developed hydraulic techniques and architectural styles to cope with the lagoon environment with which they were faced. The wealth created by these civilizations encouraged the development of the arts, and the art of ceramics in particular, as well as the growth of civil and religious ideas.

ICOMOS comments

This nomination follows on from the inscription of the city of Ferrara, of which it is a logical extension.

The means available for the protection of an urban site are very different from those applicable to a rural environment: whatever the legal arsenal available, it is often difficult to exercise control over a landscape whose infrastructure changes in response to changes in techniques and markets.

The region of Ferrara received its first territorial master plan about 30 years ago. The principles then expressed are still the basis for planning of the delta area. However, there are also problems of a more general nature connected with the migration of farmers to urban centres. Whilst it is desirable to continue the traditional types of activity whenever this is feasible, it will be necessary to make efforts to rehabilitate some historic properties that have lost their function in order to avoid their further decay. Cultural activities, representation, and even tourism may well be acceptable to some of these places, considering that they were created for the purpose of representing the ducal power.

ICOMOS recommendations for future action

In order to continue and improve territorial policies in the management of historic properties, it is recommended that the collaboration between the individual municipal administrations, the provincial authority, and the central government should be strengthened and co-ordinated by the provincial administration. ICOMOS believes that it is essential that there should be an overall management plan for the nominated landscape which establishes the mechanisms for the co-ordination of existing planning and management provisions and assigns responsibilities for these.

The State Party should also lose no time in setting up a wide-ranging information campaign aimed at creating an awareness among land owners and users of the universal value of the property.

Since the meeting of the Bureau in July 1999 ICOMOS has received additional documentation from the State Party which indicates that action is already under way to implement these suggestions.

Brief description

The alluvial delta of the Po valley has been settled for millennia. From the 14th to the 16th century the Dukes of Este carried out extensive land reclamation and building projects, which give this area a unique character and link it intimately with the city of Ferrara, seat of the Este family.

Recommendation

That this extension should be **approved**, with the addition of **criteria iii and v** to the existing **criteria ii, iv, and vi.**

Historic Centre of **Oporto**

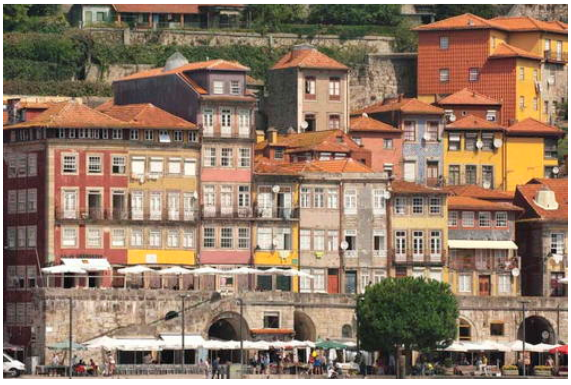
WHC 755 – 1996

The city of Oporto, built along the hillsides overlooking the mouth of the Douro river, is an outstanding urban landscape with a 2,000-year history. Its continuous growth, linked to the sea (the Romans gave it the name Portus, or port), can be seen in the many and varied monuments, from the cathedral with its Romanesque choir, to the neoclassical Stock Exchange and the typically Portuguese Manueline-style Church of Santa Clara.

Northern region, Portugal
N45 8 30 W8 37 0
Date of Inscription: **1996**
Criteria: **(iv)**
Property : **51 ha**
Buffer zone: **186 ha**



Historic centre of Oporto: general view *Credit: WHC / Limes.media, Tim Schnarr*



Historic centre of Oporto. *Credit: WHC, M & G Therin-Weise*



Santo Antonio church and São Bento train station. *Credit: WHC, M & G Therin-Weise*

Outstanding Universal Value[2]

Brief synthesis

The Historic Centre of Oporto, built along the hills overlooking the mouth of the Douro River in northern Portugal, is an outstanding urban landscape with a 2,000-year history. The Romans gave it the name Portus, or port, in the 1st century BC. Military, commercial, agricultural, and demographic interests came together in this place. Its continuous growth linked to the sea can be seen in its many and varied monuments, from the cathedral with its Romanesque choir to the neoclassical Stock Exchange and the typically Portuguese Manueline-style Church of Santa Clara. The urban fabric of the Historic Centre of Oporto and its many historic buildings bear remarkable testimony to the development over the past thousand years of a European city that looks outward to the sea for its cultural and commercial links.

Archaeological excavations have revealed human occupation at the mouth of the Douro River since the 8th century BC, when there was a Phoenician trading settlement there. By the 5th century the town had become a very important administrative and trading centre. In the succeeding centuries it was subjected to attacks and pillage by successive groups, including Swabians, Visigoths, Normans, and Moors. By the early 11th century, however, it was firmly established as part of the Castilian realm. Expansion came in the 14th century with the construction of massive stone town walls to protect its two urban nuclei: the original medieval town and the hitherto extramural harbour area. The Historic Centre of Oporto is located within the line of these Fernandine walls (named after Dom Fernando, in whose reign they were completed in 1376), together with some smaller areas that retain their medieval characteristics. This area conserves to a large extent Oporto's medieval town plan and urban fabric, along with some later monumental insertions as well as the two remaining sections of the Fernandine walls.

In this area are many important ecclesiastical buildings such as the cathedral – whose Romanesque core dates to the 12th century – and fine churches in various styles. The historic centre also has a number of outstanding public buildings, including the São João theatre (1796-1798; 1911-1918) and the former prison "Cadeia da Relação" (1765-1796). Among the important later structures are Palácio da Bolsa (1842-1910) and São Bento railway station (1900-1916). This rich and varied architecture eloquently expresses the cultural values of succeeding periods – Romanesque, Gothic, Renaissance, Baroque, neoclassical, and modern. The active social and institutional tissue of the town ensures its survival as a living historic centre. This property also includes Luíz I Bridge and Monastery of Serra do Pilar.

Integrity

Within the boundaries of the 51 ha property are located all the elements necessary to express the Outstanding Universal Value of the Historic Centre of Oporto, including the urban fabric and historic buildings that bear testimony to its development over the past thousand years. There is a 186 ha buffer zone. The property does not suffer unduly from adverse effects of development and/or neglect. Several rehabilitation projects included in the property's Management Plan have been planned and partly implemented in view of contributing to property's integrity.

Authenticity

The authenticity of the urban fabric of the Historic Centre of Oporto is absolute in terms of its location and setting, forms and designs, and materials and substances. The property illustrates over a thousand years of continuous settlement, with successive interventions each leaving their imprints. Individual buildings, such as the rich stock of ecclesiastical properties, are similarly illustrative of this local history. Municipal managers apply regulatory and legal

[2] Doc. WHC/16/40.COM/8E.Rev. Paris, 10 June 2016.

efforts for the preservation and maintenance of physical and intangible assets, defending the existing urban fabric and the built characteristics, monumental or not, the landscape, and its scenic importance. Solutions are being studied to address depopulation issues.

Protection and management requirements

The entire Historic Centre of Oporto is classified as a National Monument under Law No. 107/2001 of 8 September. Additional protective instruments include the Council of Ministers' Resolution No. 19/2006 of January 26 and the Regulatory Code of Oporto City Council (2008). A large percentage of the historic centre – usually smaller, mainly residential buildings – is in private ownership. The remainder is owned by the State, the Church and religious orders, municipal council, civil parishes, foundations and associations, and Porto Vivo, SRU. The World Heritage Management Plan for the Historic Centre of Oporto includes a survey of the state of conservation, an action plan, a monitoring programme, and a communication plan. Due to the complexity of implementing such a Management Plan, a specific Urban Area Management Unit was created, responsible for solving day-to-day problems in the Historic Centre of Oporto (Porto Vivo, SRU: Sociedade de Reabilitação Urbana da Baixa Portuense, S.A.).

Sustaining the Outstanding Universal Value of the property over time will require ensuring that the attributes that convey that value are protected, conserved, and managed, and continuing to address, to the degree possible, the issues associated with depopulation.

Icomos Evaluation [October, 1996]

Action by ICOMOS

ICOMOS consulted its International Scientific Committee on Historie Towns and Villages on the cultural significance of the site. An ICOMOS expert mission visited Oporto in February 1996.

Qualities

The historie centre of Oporto preserves to a considerable extent the evidence of a long and continuous history over a millennium in its urban fabric and component structures. lts townscape is of outstanding quality, in terms of both its homogeneity and its harmonious relationship with its river and hills.

Comparative analysis

The evolutionary trajectory of Oporto, sited on the Atlantic edge of Europe in a country that has largely remained outside the mainstream of European social and economic development, has resulted in an urban ensemble that cannot easily be compared directly with other European cities, especially those elsewhere on the Iberian peninsula. The nearest comparable cities are probably Lisbon, Bordeaux, and Bristol. Lisbon underwent drastic changes in urban fabric following the 1755 earthquake and has lost the specific qualities that distinguish Oporto. Bordeaux and Bristol developed within a different social and economic matrix in the 19th and 20th centuries, and Bristol suffered grievously from aerial bombardment in World War II.

ICOMOS comments and recommendations

A proposal made by the ICOMOS expert mission for an extension of the bufter zone on the south side to include the port wine warehouses on the opposite bank of the Douro river, so as to protect the view in this direction from the nominated area, was accepted by the responsible authorities.

Recommendation

That this property be inscribed on the World Heritage List on the basis of **criterion iv**:

> The Historic Centre of Oporto preserves in its urban fabric and its many historic buildings remarkable testimony of the development over the past thousand years of a European city that looks outwards to the west for its cultural and commercial links.

Archaelogical Areas of **Pompei**, Herculaneum and Torre Annunziata

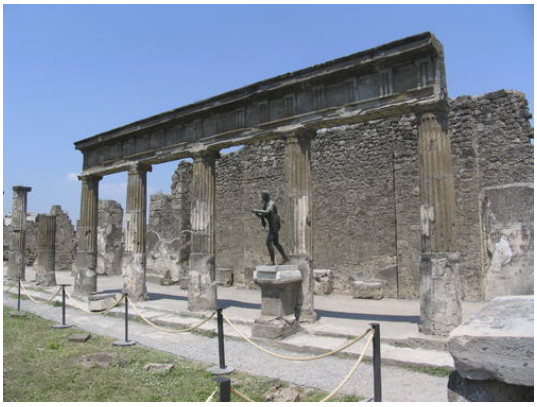
WHC 829-1997

When Vesuvius erupted on 24 August AD 79, it engulfed the two flourishing Roman towns of Pompei and Herculaneum, as well as the many wealthy villas in the area. These have been progressively excavated and made accessible to the public since the mid-18th century. The vast expanse of the commercial town of Pompei contrasts with the smaller but better-preserved remains of the holiday resort of Herculaneum, while the superb wall paintings of the Villa Oplontis at Torre Annunziata give a vivid impression of the opulent lifestyle enjoyed by the wealthier citizens of the Early Roman Empire

Province of Naples, Campania, Italy
N40 45 0 E14 28 60
Date of Inscription: **1997**
Criteria: **(iii)(iv)(v)**
Property : **90.05 ha**
Buffer zone: **24.35 ha**



Pompei: street general view. *Credit: WHC, Geoff Steven*



Pompei. *Credit: WHC, Aneta Ribarska*



Pompei. *Credit: WHC, Tim Schnarr*

Conservation and Authenticity

Conservation history

The ruins of Herculaneum were discovered by chance in 1709 when a well was being dug. This well still survives, above the buried remains of the theatre. Tunnels (*cuniculi*) were driven out from the original shaft and the site was pillaged for its artistic treasures. Deliberate excavation, rather than mere treasure hunting, but still using the tunnelling technique, began in 1738, on the orders of the Bourbon King of Naples, and work continued on a sporadic basis over the next two centuries.

The existence of the ruins of Pompei had been known since the 16th century, but work did not begin to clear them until 1748. The task was much easier than that at Herculaneum, owing to the nature of the overlying volcanic deposits, and the work continued systematically from that time on. However, this was not scientific excavation in the modem sense of the term, since for many years it concentrated on the recovery of works of art for the Royal collection, which forms the nucleus of the Museo Archeologico Nazionale in Naples.

The era of scientific excavation began at Pompei in 1860. It was not until 1927 that the excavation of Herculaneum was undertaken using techniques developed at Pompei to bring the ancient town to the light of day. The theatre at Herculaneum is still only accessible by means of the systematic series of *cuniculi* dug in the 18th century. Throughout the latter half of the 20th century work has continued at both sites on excavation, conservation, consolidation, and restoration of the remarkable remains.

Two major excavation projects are currently under way. At Pompei the House of the Chaste Lovers (*Villa dei Casti Amanti*) is being excavated systematically, and has changed the dating of the earthquake that is known to have preceded the eruption of Vesuvius dramatically. At Herculaneum a small part of the monumental House of the Papyri (on which the Getty Museum in Malibu, California, is based) is being excavated in what requires a mammoth civil engineering project to remove over 25m of volcanic debris.

Both sites, and Pompei in particular, illustrate the evolution of conservation techniques over the past two centuries. The degree of reconstruction and the use of materials such as concrete and steel in restorations and reconstructions carried out before the 1980s would not be acceptable if performed today; they are, in fact, being replaced progressively by modern techniques and materials. It may be argued, however, that these early restorations have a historicity of their own which is worthy of some form of conservation.

The wall paintings were in the past generally conserved using organic materials, which have caused little, if any, damage to them. However, the techniques used for remounting them using concrete were harmful, and a new method using instead aluminium and plastic, developed by the Istituto per il Restauro in Rome, is now being applied progressively to all the paintings.

There are serious structural problems at both sites resulting from a variety of factors, such as inappropriate materials, rising damp, and rain and wind attack, and these were exacerbated by the 1980 earthquake. At Herculaneum the high water table resulting from a lowering of the coast during the eruption of AD 79 also creates special difficulties.

Several new approaches are being implemented at Pompei. Instead of concentrating on single buildings, restoration and conservation are being directed to entire quarters of the ancient town, consisting of one or more *insulae*, so as to achieve a more integrated result. There is also considerable emphasis being placed on the reconstruction of early gardens, with the planting of fruit trees, shrubs, and flowers known from scientific studies to have been there originally. In order to differentiate clearly between original gardens and house interiors (which under the old regime were allowed to

become grass-covered), the latter are now being covered with layers of pumice, which keeps down vegetable growth and provides the necessary contrast.

An innovation at Herculaneum is the insertion of copies and casts of paintings and sculptures now in the Naples Museum at the sites of their original discoveries, which has greatly enhanced the appearance of buildings such as the House of the Deer.

Funding from the European Union is being used to create new interpretation centres and other facilities (bookshops, restaurants, etc) at the unexcavated farm site in the centre of Pompei and the former administrative office buildings at Herculaneum.

Authenticity

Despite the nature and quality of earlier restoration and reconstruction work, the authenticity of both properties is very high. This applies both to the individual components and to the ancient urban fabric.

Management and Protection

Legal status

Both sites are protected under the provisions of the basic Italian antiquities Law No 1089/1939.

The perimeter of the Pompei site is protected by means of a Decree of 10 June 1929. Environmental legislation in the form of Laws No 431/1985 (the *Decreto Galasso*) and No 1434/1939 have extended this protection to a wider area. All building and excavation works within the modern town of Pompei must be approved by the Soprintendenza (see "Management" below).

The area around Herculaneum is similarly protected. In addition, Law No 431/1985 imposes controls over the modem town of Herculaneum.

Both sites fall within the Vesuvius National Park, which is in the course of being created, where there will be additional protection of the environment.

Management

Both sites are State property (*Proprietà demeniale*) and are managed by the Soprintendenza Archeologica di Pompei, a regional agency of the Ministry of Cultural and Environmental Heritage (*Ministero per i Beni Culturali e Ambientali*).

The total staff of the Soprintendenza is well over a thousand, but the overwhelming majority of these are custodial and administrative personnel: the professional staff consists of twelve archaeologists and three architects, who are responsible for both sites, as well as a number of other properties in the area. Annual visitor numbers at Pompei now exceed two million (half of these are estimated to be foreign tourists); the numbers at Herculaneum are 11-12% of that figure.

There is at the present time no management plan *sensu stricto*, although conservation and restoration activities are programmed. An application has been sent to the Ministry for funding for an exhaustive survey of conservation requirements, to form the basis for an active management plan. A major scientific study of the environmental history of the region is in progress, in which a number of international institutions are participating.

Icomos Evaluation [September, 1997]

Action by ICOMOS

An ICOMOS expert mission visited Pompei and Herculaneum in March 1997.

Qualities

Owing to their having been suddenly and swiftly overwhelmed by debris from the eruption of Vesuvius in AD 79, the ruins of the two towns of Pompei and Herculaneum are unparalleled anywhere in the world for their completeness and extent. They provide a vivid and comprehensive picture of Roman life at one precise moment in time.

Comparative analysis

Nowhere else is it possible to identify any archaeological site that even remotely stands comparison with these two ancient towns.

ICOMOS recommendations for future action

The area proposed for inscription at Pompei is acceptable and logical. It is important, however, that it should be extended slightly, so as to in elude the strip currently the subject of expropriation that links the Via dei Sepolcri outside the town walls with the Villa dei Misteri.

At Herculaneum the nominated site should be extended so as to include the area of the Villa dei Papiri currently under excavation. It is not reasonable to propose the entire known extent of the villa because most of it still lies under a number of privately owned properties.

However, the Theatre, wbich is protected although it lies underground, beneath part of the present-day town, should certainly be added.

Finally, ICOMOS strongly recommends the inclusion in the nomination of the Villa Oplontis at Torre Annunziata. This well preserved rural villa, which was engulfed at the same time as the two towns and which is under the control of the Soprintendenza Arcbeologica di Pompei, contains what are indisputably the finest wall paintings anywhere in the Roman world.

These proposals were discussed with the Soprintendenza. Subsequently, full documentation was received by ICOMOS and the UNESCO World Heritage Centre for the extension of the original nomination as proposed by ICOMOS. ICOMOS hopes that the funding required for the preparation of a management plan (see "Management" above) will be made available with the minimum delay.

Recommendation

That this property be inscribed on the World Heritage List on the basis of **criteria ii, iv, and v**: The impressive remains of the towns of Pompei and Herculaneum and their associated villas, buried by the eruption of Vesuvius in AD 79, provide a complete and vivid picture of society and daily life at a specific moment in the past that is without parallel anywhere in the world.

Historic Site of **Lyon**

WHC 872 – 1998

The long history of Lyons, which was founded by the Romans in the 1st century B.C. as the capital of the Three Gauls and has continued to play a major role in Europe's political, cultural and economic development ever since, is vividly illustrated by its urban fabric and the many fine historic buildings from all periods.

Department of Rhône, Region of Rhône-Alpes, France

N45 46 1.992 E4 49 59.988

Date of Inscription: **1998**

Criteria: **(ii)(iv)**

Property : **427 ha**

Buffer zone: **323 ha**



Historic centre of Lyon: general view. *Credit: WHC, Jean-Jacques Gelbart*



Lyon, view from the Croix Rousse. *Credit: WHC, M & G Therin Weise*



Saint Paul district and Notre-Dame de Fourvière basilica, in the Vieux Lyon district. *Credit: WHC, M & G Therin Weise*

Justification by State Party[3]

The special quality of the historic site of Lyon derives from its exceptional setting, on two hills at the confluence of two rivers, combined with the material manifestation of its way of life through its town plan and its architecture.

Since it was founded in 43 BC Lyon has been the favoured site for the spiritual and material exchanges that have created, here at the confluence of the Rhône and the Saône, an original civilization that is representative of European values.

The life-style of Lyon is an original one: its social codes come from a community of merchants, of enterprising townspeople, who are fiercely independent, combining seriousness, a taste for taking risks, and a sense of reality with idealism. Preferring substance to style, Lyonnais society has always conscientiously and resolutely adapted its way of life to its aspirations. Being oriented willingly to economic and social expansion, it has always eschewed any form of ostentation. Its sights have been directed in a rational manner towards change and fashion, which has enabled Lyon to preserve continuity in its way of life and to pass this on with remarkable authenticity.

These principles have been translated in complete harmony into the architecture:

_ there are few private mansions, but instead tenements administered by the local government, a form of management invented in Lyon;

_ styles emerging from major artistic trends have been skilfully used, retaining only their essential elements;

_ the town has adapted itself in particular to the silk trade, with the houses of the canuts (silk weavers) of the Croix-Rousse serving as precedents for an original form of social life; there has been continuous spiritual enthusiasm, demonstrated by the many religious buildings constructed over the centuries, and a religious fervour, the apogee and the persistence of which are symbolized by the Basilica of Fourvière. **Criterion iii**

The historic site of Lyon may be regarded as "an outstanding example of a traditional human settlement," which combines an exceptional site with an urban continuity that is remarkable for its harmony. Whilst in most European cities the centre has been developed by rebuilding on the same site, in Lyon it has moved eastwards, deserting the former centres. For this reason the city has preserved its centres in preceding periods intact and legible. The unusual homogeneity of the urban fabric that strikes the eye results from harmony in the architecture that goes beyond stylistic evolution and from the symbiosis between the natural site of the city and its urbanization. **Criterion v**

With the first western Christians having been martyred there in AD 177, Lyon was the centre of the expansion of Christianity in the west.

Religious and secular organizations devoted to the assistance of the poor and social works throughout the world have always been based in Lyon. Two figures from recent history admirably illustrate the international role of Lyon in this field:

_ Frédéric Ozanam was born in Milan in 1813 and brought up in Lyon, where in 1833 he founded the Society of St Vincent de Paul, a secular movement committed to spiritual training and social activities. This body now represents 700,000 people spread over five continents. Frédéric Ozanam was beatified by Pope John-Paul II in August 1997;

[3] Considerando o formato de apresentação das informações no processo de candidatura para o centro histórico de Lyon, o texto apresentado aqui foi extraído do documento de avaliação do Icomos, parte integrante do processo mencionado acima (WHC 872-1998). *Considering the format presented in Lyon's nomination file, the text presented here was taken from the Icomos evaluation report, which integrates the process for the nomination of the site (WHC 872-1998).*

_ Father Antoine Chevrier (1826-79) founded the Society of the Prado, an organization with its headquarters in Lyon, serving poor and abandoned people all over the world, and particularly in Asia. He was beatified in 1986.

Lyon was the cradle and chosen home of famous people who have contributed to the cultural and scientific development of Europe. Names that may be quoted are those of François Rabelais, the great 16th century humanist who practised medicine in Lyon and whose literary works were first published there; Philibert de l'Orme and Jacques-Germain Soufflot, each of whom, in his own period, became internationally famous for the influence that they exercised on French architecture; Vaucanson and Joseph Jacquard, who revolutionized the textile industry through their innovative machines; the Montgolfier brothers, pioneers of ballooning (1780); the Lumière brothers, inventors of the cinema (1895); and the electrical genius Louis Ampère (1910). **Criterion vi**

Conservation and authenticity

Lyon has a tradition of historical and archaeological research that dates back to the 16th century. Since 1861 the Société Académique d'Architecture, a private professional body set up in 1830, has encouraged work connected with the history of the city. A municipal commission for Vieux-Lyon was set up in 1891 which carried out a detailed photographic inventory of the architectural heritage. However, little more was done between the two World Wars. It was under pressure from voluntary bodies that concern for the past of the city began to express itself again, beginning with the body known as Renaissance du Vieux Lyon in 1946. This body strongly and successfully opposed urban renewal projects of the time that would have destroyed much of the old city. Since the beginning of the 1990s the city authorities have adopted a positive policy towards the conservation of the historic heritage. Major conservation and restoration projects have taken place or are in progress on, inter alia, the Hôtel de Ville, the Palais Saint Pierre (now the Fine Arts Museum), the Jesuit Chapel, the Ainay Abbey church, and the churches of St Nizier and St Bruno.

The authenticity of the urban fabric and of many of the historic buildings in Lyon may be considered to be high.

Protection and management requirements

There is no legal protection that is specific to the area of Lyon within the ancient defences that is proposed for inscription on the World Heritage List. However, there is a series of interlocking statutory protection zones that cover most of the area. Since 1995 the slopes of the Croix-Rousse have been designated a Protection Zone for the Urban Architectural and Landscaped Heritage (ZPPAUP) under the provisions of the relevant 1983 Law. On the opposite bank of the Saône the area known as Old Lyon 29 (Vieux-Lyon) is protected by a Plan for Preservation and Enhancement as a Secteur Sauvegardé under the provisions of the 1962 Law; it was, in fact, the first to be so designated in France, in 1964 under the so-called "Malraux Law". The city has a Comprehensive Development Plan (Plan d'occupation des sols - POS), which defines areas of special historical importance and lays down regulations regarding all forms of intervention. There is a large number of buildings and monuments in Lyon that are protected under the basic 1913 antiquities law. Each of these is surrounded by a protection zone of 500m diameter in which all interventions require Ministerial authorization. These perimeters overlap and cover the entire area proposed for inscription on the List. Management Ownership is 75% private and 25% public (national, regional, and municipal governments). The City of Lyon is responsible for overall management of the nominated area, on the basis of its POS (see above), working through its Agency for Urban Planning (Agence d'Urbanisme). In all matters related to protected buildings, the Ministry of Culture is involved, working through its Regional Directorate of Cultural Affairs (DRAC), with which are associated the Regional Curator of Historic Monuments (CRMH) and the Architect in Chief of Historic Monuments (ACMH). There is also a number of voluntary bodies closely involved with the conservation and presentation of the

historic centre and who work closely with the official bodies.

Icomos Evaluation [October, 1998]

Action by ICOMOS

An ICOMOS expert mission visited Lyon in January 1998. The ICOMOS International Committee on Historic Towns and Villages was also consulted on the cultural value of the city.

Qualities

The historic centre of Lyon is an eloquent expression of its continuous and coherent urban development over more than twenty centuries in response to changing socio-economic and cultural conditions.

Comparative analysis

Lyon is unusual in that it represents a major Roman foundation that has continued to play a major role in European economic, political, and cultural life uninterruptedly. There are two other such cities in France, Paris and Bordeaux, but in neither does the present-day urban fabric so vividly and comprehensively illustrate this process. It is equally difficult to find comparable towns in other western provinces of the Roman Empire, since in most cases the homogeneity has been destroyed by war or by subsequent radical restructuring.

ICOMOS recommendations for future action

The ICOMOS expert mission studied the boundaries of the nominated area and of the buffer zone with care. In the case of the nominated area, it recommended that the boundary on the north-west, which was not clearly indicated in the otherwise excellent nomination dossier, should be established on the left bank of the Saône.

So far as the buffer zone was concerned, the only area specifically designated as such was on the opposite bank of the Rhône. This was not considered to be adequate, even though much of the urban area surrounding the nominated site is covered within the POS. ICOMOS proposed that there should be a clearly defined buffer zone that extends all round the nominated area. This proposal was accepted by the responsible authorities in Lyon and revised maps were submitted to ICOMOS.

Recommendation

That this property be inscribed on the World Heritage List on the basis of **criteria ii and iv**. *Criterion ii*: Lyon bears exceptional testimony to the continuity of urban settlement over more than two millennia on a site of great commercial and strategic significance, where cultural traditions from many parts of Europe have come together to create a coherent and vigorous continuing community. *Criterion iv*: By virtue of the special way in which it has developed spatially, Lyon illustrates in an exceptional way the progress and evolution of architectural design and town planning over many centuries.

Historic Quarter of the Seaport City of **Valparaíso**

WHC 959 rev – 2003

The colonial city of Valparaíso presents an excellent example of late 19th-century urban and architectural development in Latin America. In its natural amphitheatre-like setting, the city is characterized by a vernacular urban fabric adapted to the hillsides that are dotted with a great variety of church spires. It contrasts with the geometrical layout utilized in the plain. The city has well preserved its interesting early industrial infrastructures, such as the numerous 'elevators' on the steep hillsides.

Fifth Region, Province Valparaíso, Chile

S33 2 26.3 W71 37 40.8

Date of Inscription: **2003**

Criteria: **(iii)**

Property : **23 ha**

Buffer zone: **45 ha**



Historic quarter of Valparaiso, looking at the port. *Credit: WHC, Chris Morton*



Historic quarter of Valparaiso. *Credit: WHC, Rodrigo Varas*



Detail of a typical house at Cerro Concepción district. *Credit: WHC, Chris Morton*

Outstanding Universal Value

Brief synthesis

Located on central Chile's Pacific coast, the Historic Quarter of the Seaport City of Valparaíso represents an extraordinary example of industrial-age heritage associated with the international sea trade of the late 19th and early 20th centuries. The city was the first and most important merchant port on the sea routes of the Pacific coast of South America that linked the Atlantic and Pacific oceans via the Strait of Magellan. It had a major commercial impact on its region from the 1880s until the opening of the Panama Canal in 1914. After this date its development slowed, allowing its harbour and distinctive urban fabric to survive as an exceptional testimony to the early phase of globalisation.

Valparaíso's historic quarter is located on the coastal plain and part way up the steep surrounding hills, where the city first developed. It is composed of five interlaced neighbourhoods: La Matriz Church and Santo Domingo Square, located between the hills and the plain and comprised of the church and late 19th-century buildings typical of the seaport architecture; Echaurren Square and Serrano Street, predominantly commercial in character and marked by the presence of the Port Market, commercial establishments and active street trade; Prat Pier and Sotomayor and Justicia squares, comprising the main transversal axis of the area and containing the largest public spaces; the Prat Street and Turri Square area around the foothill, featuring a number of examples of monumental architecture; and the two hills of Cerro Alegre and Cerro Concepción, a single neighbourhood planned and developed to a large extent by German and English immigrants, with squares, viewing points, promenades, alleyways, stairways and the top stations of some of Valparaíso's distinctive funicular elevators.

The outstanding nature of the historic quarter of Valparaíso results from a combination of three factors, all associated with its role as a port: its particular geographical and topographical environment; its urban forms, layout, infrastructure and architecture; and its attraction to and influence by people from around the world. The character of Valparaíso was strongly marked by the geography of its location: the bay, the narrow coastal plains (largely artificial) and the steep hills scored by multiple ravines together created the city's amphitheatre-like layout. Adaptation of the built environment to these difficult geographical conditions produced an innovative and creative urban ensemble that stressed the particularities of each architectural object, grounded in the technological and entrepreneurial mindset typical of the era. Consistent with its pre-eminence, the city was populated and influenced by people from around the world. The urban fabric and cultural identity of Valparaíso are thus distinguished by a diversity that sets it apart from other Latin American cities. From an urban perspective, the result of this challenging geography, modernizing impulse and intercultural dialogue is a fully original American city with the stamp of the late 19th century upon it.

Integrity

Within the boundaries of the property are located all the elements necessary to express the Outstanding Universal Value of the Historic Quarter of the Seaport City of Valparaíso, including the urban layout, public spaces and buildings, which range from very simple houses to monumental buildings in a variety of construction techniques, styles and adaptations to the landscape; the port and naval heritage as exemplified by Prat Pier and the customs and naval services buildings; the transportation infrastructure, including funicular elevator and trolley systems typical of the period; and a number of expressions of intangible heritage, all of which illustrate the historic quarter of the seaport city of Valparaíso's leading role in the global commercial trade associated with the late 19th century industrial era. Without minimising the conservation challenges inherent to a living

port city, the property has maintained its integrity.

Authenticity

The Historic Quarter of the Seaport City of Valparaíso is substantially authentic in terms of the ensemble's forms and designs, materials and substances, uses and functions, and location and setting. It has largely retained the key features of its heyday in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, including its urban elements, its architecture, its transportation systems and parts of its port infrastructure. These essential features are authentic and have been maintained with an eye to continuity of use and function as well as construction techniques. The relationship of the property with the landscape, and in particular the 'amphitheatre' layout, has also been maintained.

The historic quarter of Valparaíso nevertheless has challenges to maintain its authenticity, particularly in relation to conservation and planning control. Damage to several buildings due to a fire in 2007 and a major earthquake in 2010 is being addressed.

Protection and management requirements

The Historic Quarter of the Seaport City of Valparaíso, a mixture of public and private properties, is administered through the Municipal Heritage Management Department, which is specifically responsible for overseeing the management of the property. The 23.2-ha property and much of its 44.5-ha buffer zone are designated a National Monument, and are therefore overseen by the National Monuments Council of Chile. The Ministry of Housing and Urban Development also supervises the entire area by virtue of the Historic Preservation Zone established in the area, which extends beyond the boundaries of both the property and the buffer zone. This Zone covers two-thirds of the city, with reference to both the natural amphitheatre that characterises the entire urban area (defined by Avenida Alemania – the 100-m level – from Cerro Playa Ancha to Cerro Esperanza), and the City Plan (area of El Almendral).

To respond to challenges in relation to conservation and planning control and to sustain the Outstanding Universal Value of the property, a comprehensive Management and Conservation Plan for the property is in the process of elaboration. It reconciles the Communal Regulating Plan with the property's National Monument status, and addresses related urban planning and regulation issues, visual integrity, heritage/development balances, strategic guidelines (including economic and financial initiatives) and monitoring systems.

Sustaining the Outstanding Universal Value of the property over time will require completing, approving and implementing the comprehensive Management and Conservation Plan for the property, and ensuring financial resources for conservation. The recovery and enhancement of the sectors that are depressed and have social problems are of particular importance. Moreover, it will be necessary to reconcile economic development efforts (both tourism and commercial) with the special character of these sectors, and with the concerns of their traditional population. Attention also needs to be paid to safeguarding the infrastructure related to the historic functions of the harbour and the underwater heritage and ensuring the sustainability of traditional transportation systems (funicular elevators and trolley cars). Known and potential threats and risks must also be addressed, including the infrastructure of basic services (water, gas, electricity), the vulnerabilities of materials (the threat from xylophagous insects, for example), as well as natural disasters (earthquakes, floods, fires).

Icomos Evaluation [March, 2003]

Actions by ICOMOS

The nomination of Valparaíso was first presented in 2000 under the heading: 'Historic Quarter of the Seaport City of Valparaíso'. At the time, the nomination included the entire historic town, which did not have appropriate management structures. In its evaluation, ICOMOS recommended that the site should not be inscribed. The current, revised nomination

has been reduced from the previous, proposing a more limited area of the historic town, as well as a revised justification. An ICOMOS expert mission visited the site in July-August 2002. Subsequently, the city of Valparaíso organized an international seminar (7-11.11.2002) to discuss the proposed nomination. It was also discussed during the international seminar on modern architecture in America, in Mexico, December 2002. Additional information regarding the nominated property has been received in December 2002.

Icomos Recommendations

Recommendation for the future Recognising the wish of the municipal authorities to advance knowledge of the urban fabric and the values associated with Valparaíso, as well as the efforts undertaken for its protection and conservation management, ICOMOS recommends that the authorities continue the initiatives taken so far, and especially:

_ Systematically identify, make inventories, and protect the infrastructures related to the historic functions of the harbour area, such as quays, depots, and customs facilities, as well as the transport systems, tramlines and elevators;

_ Develop the conservation management plans in the entire maritime port area of Valparaíso;

_ Clarify with more precision the norms and guidelines in areas that are adjacent to the protected zones, eg Plaza de Intendencia, Cementario, Pantheon, Plaza de San Francisco.

Furthermore, ICOMOS recommends to the State Party to consider the possibility of changing the name so as to better reflect the outstanding universal value of Valparaíso as a major merchant port on a world trade route.

Recommendation with respect to inscription

Taking into account the above, ICOMOS recommends that the nominated be inscribed on the World Heritage List on the basis of **criterion iii**. Criterion iii: Valparaíso is an exceptional testimony to the early phase of globalisation in the late 19th century, when it became the leading merchant port on the sea routes of the Pacific coast of South America.

Liverpool, Maritime Mercantile City

WHC 1150 – 2004

Six areas in the historic centre and docklands of the maritime mercantile City of Liverpool bear witness to the development of one of the world's major trading centres in the 18th and 19th centuries. Liverpool played an important role in the growth of the British Empire and became the major port for the mass movement of people, e.g. slaves and emigrants from northern Europe to America. Liverpool was a pioneer in the development of modern dock technology, transport systems and port management. The listed sites feature a great number of significant commercial, civic and public buildings, including St George's Plateau.

Liverpool, England
N53 24 24 W2 59 40
Date of Inscription: **2004**
Criteria: **(ii)(iii)(iv)**
Property: **136 ha**
Buffer zone: **751 ha**



Liverpool waterfront. *Credit: WHC, Geoff Mason*



Albert docks. *Credit: Liverpool City Council*



The waterfront area. *Credit: Liverpool City Council*

Outstanding Universal Value

Brief synthesis

Located at the tidal mouth of the river Mersey where it meets the Irish Sea, the maritime mercantile City of Liverpool played an important role in the growth of the British Empire. It became the major port for the mass movement of people, including slaves and emigrants from northern Europe to America. Liverpool was a pioneer in the development of modern dock technology, transport systems and port management, and building construction.

Six areas in the historic centre and docklands of Liverpool bear witness to the development of one of the world's major trading centres in the 18th, 19th and early 20th centuries. A series of significant commercial, civic and public buildings lie within these areas, including the Pier Head, with its three principal waterfront buildings - the Royal Liver Building, the Cunard Building, and Port of Liverpool Building; the Dock area with its warehouses, dock walls, remnant canal system, docks and other facilities related to port activities; the mercantile area, with its shipping offices, produce exchanges, marine insurance offices, banks, inland warehouses and merchants houses, together with the William Brown Street Cultural Quarter, including St. George's Plateau, with its monumental cultural and civic buildings.

Liverpool - Maritime Mercantile City reflects the role of Liverpool as the supreme example of a commercial port at the time of Britain's greatest global influence. Liverpool grew into a major commercial port in the 18th century, when it was also crucial for the organisation of the trans-Atlantic slave trade. In the 19th century, Liverpool became a world mercantile centre for general cargo and mass European emigration to the New World. It had major significance on world trade as one of the principal ports of the British Commonwealth. Its innovative techniques and types of dock, dock facilities and warehouse construction had worldwide influence. Liverpool was instrumental in the development of industrial canals in the British Isles in the 18th century, and of railway transport in the 19th century. All through this period, and particularly in the 19th and early 20th centuries, Liverpool gave attention to the quality and innovation of its architecture and cultural activities. To this stand as testimony its outstanding public buildings, such as St. George's Hall, and its museums. Even in the 20th century, Liverpool has made a lasting contribution, remembered in the success of The Beatles, who were strongly influenced by Liverpool's role as an international port city, which exposed them to seafarers, culture and music from around the world, especially America.

Integrity

The key areas that demonstrate Outstanding Universal Value in terms of innovative technologies and dock construction from the 18th to the early 20th century and the quality and innovation of its architecture and cultural activities are contained within the boundaries of the six areas forming the property. The major structures and buildings within these areas are generally intact although some such as Stanley Dock and associated warehouses require conservation and maintenance. The historic evolution of the Liverpool street pattern is still readable representing the different periods, with some alteration following the destruction of World War II.

There has been some re-development on sites previously redeveloped in the mid-late 20th century or damaged during World War II, for example at Mann Island and Chavasse Park, north and east of Canning Dock. All archaeology on these development sites was fully evaluated and recorded; archaeological remains were retained in situ where possible, and some significant features interpreted in the public domain. A new visitor centre has been opened at the north east corner of Old Dock, which has been conserved and exposed after being buried for almost 200 years. The production and adoption of design guidance minimizes the risks in and around the WH property that future development might adversely affect architectural quality and sense of place, or reduce the integrity of the docks.

Authenticity

Within the property, the major dock structures, and commercial and cultural buildings still testify to the Outstanding Universal Value in terms of form and design, materials, and to some extent, use and function. Warehouses at Albert Dock have been skillfully adapted to new uses. Some new development has been undertaken since inscription and has contributed to the city's coherence by reversing earlier fragmentation. No significant loss of historical authenticity has occurred, as the physical evidence of the City and its great past remain prominent and visible, and in some cases has been enhanced. The main docks survive as water-filled basins within the property and in the buffer zone. The impact on the setting of the property of further new development on obsolete dockland is a fundamental consideration. It is essential that future development within the World Heritage property and its setting, including the buffer zone, should respect and transmit its Outstanding Universal Value.

Protection and management requirements

The property is within the boundary of Liverpool City Council and is protected through the planning system and the designation of over 380 buildings. The six sections of the property are protected as Conservation Areas under the provisions of the Planning (Listed Buildings and Conservation Areas) Act 1990.

The properties within the boundary are in mixed ownership and several institutions have management responsibilities relating to them. The property is subject to different plans and policies, including the Liverpool Unitary Development Plan (2002) and the Strategic Regeneration Framework (July 2001). There are several detailed master plans for specified areas, and conservation plans for the individual buildings. A Townscape Heritage Initiative for Buildings at Risk in the World Heritage site and its buffer zone is successfully encouraging and assisting the restoration of buildings within designated areas of the property. A full Management Plan has been prepared for the property. Its implementation is overseen by the Liverpool World Heritage Site Steering Group, which includes most public bodies involved in the property.

At the time of inscription, the World Heritage Committee requested that the height of any new construction in the property should not exceed that of structures in the immediate surroundings; the character of any new construction should respect the qualities of the historic area, and new construction at the Pier Head should not dominate, but complement the historic Pier Head buildings. There is a need for conservation and development to be based on an analysis of townscape characteristics and to be constrained by clear regulations establishing prescribed heights of buildings.

A Supplementary Planning Document for Development and Conservation in and around the World Heritage site addresses the management issues raised by the World Heritage Committee in 2007 and 2008 and was formally adopted by the Liverpool City Council in October 2009.

Icomos Evaluation [March, 2004]

Actions by ICOMOS

An ICOMOS expert mission visited the site in September 2003. ICOMOS has also consulted its International Scientific Committee on Historic Towns and Villages, CIVVIH.

Comparative evaluation

The nomination document presents a good study comparing Liverpool as a significant port city within the British Empire. It is seen in relation to other British ports, such as London, Hull, Bristol and Glasgow, as well as various port cities in other countries, including Hamburg, Marseille, Barcelona, Baku, Bombay, New York, St. Petersburg and Shanghai. Note is also taken of ports already inscribed on the World Heritage List. The latest of these is Valparaíso, which was inscribed in 2003. ICOMOS concurs with the conclusions of the study, which has shown that the qualities and values of Liverpool clearly distinguish its outstanding universal value in relation to the others, both in terms of its maritime mercantile

function and its architectural and cultural significance.

Outstanding universal value

General statement: The proposed nomination of Liverpool consists of selected areas in the historic harbour and the centre of the city, defined as 'the supreme example of a commercial port at the time of Britain's greatest global influence'. Liverpool grew into a major commercial port in the 18th century, when it was also crucial for the organisation of slave trade. In the 19th century, Liverpool became a world mercantile centre and had major significance on world trade being one of the principal ports of the British Commonwealth. Its innovative techniques and types of construction of harbour facilities became an important reference worldwide. Liverpool also became instrumental in the development of industrial water canals on the British Isles in the 18th century, as well as of railway transport in the 19th century. All through this period, and particularly in the 19th and early 20th centuries, Liverpool gave attention to the quality of its cultural activities and architecture. To this stand as testimony its outstanding public buildings, such as St. George's Hall and the many museums. Even in the 20th century, Liverpool has given a lasting contribution, which is remembered in the success of the Beatles, who originated from this city.

ICOMOS RECOMMENDATIONS

Recommendation for the future

ICOMOS recommends particular attention to be given to monitoring the processes of change in the nominated historic areas and their surroundings. This concerns especially changes in use and new constructions. It is understood that a new construction is planned in the central part of the nominated port area, i.e. the Pier Head, which has the potential to adversely impact its integrity. Considering the sensitivity of this area, ICOMOS recommends that the State Party inform the World Heritage Committee about the project and its impact on the nominated property, prior to decision about its inscription on the World Heritage List.

Recommendation with respect to inscription

That, subject to satisfying the above condition, the property be inscribed on the World Heritage List on the basis of **criteria ii, iii and iv**:

Criterion ii: Liverpool was a major centre generating innovative technologies and methods in dock construction and port management in the 18th and 19th centuries. It thus contributed to the building up of the international mercantile systems throughout the British Commonwealth.

Criterion iii: the city and the port of Liverpool are an exceptional testimony to the development of maritime mercantile culture in the 18th and 19th centuries, contributing to the building up of the British Empire. It was a centre for the slave trade, until its abolition in 1807, and to emigration from northern Europe to America.

Criterion iv: Liverpool is an outstanding example of a world mercantile port city, which represents the early development of global trading and cultural connections throughout the British Empire.

The Dolomites

WHC 1237rev-2009

The site of the Dolomites comprises a mountain range in the northern Italian Alps, numbering 18 peaks which rise to above 3,000 metres and cover 141,903 ha. It features some of the most beautiful mountain landscapes anywhere, with vertical walls, sheer cliffs and a high density of narrow, deep and long valleys. A serial property of nine areas that present a diversity of spectacular landscapes of international significance for geomorphology marked by steeples, pinnacles and rock walls, the site also contains glacial landforms and karst systems. It is characterized by dynamic processes with frequent landslides, floods and avalanches. The property also features one of the best examples of the preservation of Mesozoic carbonate platform systems, with fossil records.

Northern Italian Alps, Italy
N46 36 47 E12 9 47
Date of Inscription: **2009**
Criteria: **(vii)(viii)**
Property : **141,902.8 ha**
Buffer zone: **89,266.7 ha**



The Dolomites. *Credit: WHC, G. Riva*



The Dolomites. *Credit: WHC, Emma Catherine*



The Dolomites. *Credit: WHC, A. Cambone*

Outstanding Universal Value

Brief Synthesis

The nine components of The Dolomites World Heritage property protect a series of highly distinctive mountain landscapes that are of exceptional natural beauty. Their dramatic vertical and pale coloured peaks in a variety of distinctive sculptural forms is extraordinary in a global context. This property also contains an internationally important combination of earth science values. The quantity and concentration of highly varied limestone formations is extraordinary in a global context, whilst the superbly exposed geology provides an insight into the recovery of marine life in the Triassic period, after the greatest extinction event recorded in the history of life on Earth. The sublime, monumental and colourful landscapes of the Dolomites have also long attracted hosts of travellers and a history of scientific and artistic interpretations of its values.

Criterion (vii): The Dolomites are widely regarded as being among the most attractive mountain landscapes in the world. Their intrinsic beauty derives from a variety of spectacular vertical forms such as pinnacles, spires and towers, with contrasting horizontal surfaces including ledges, crags and plateaux, all of which rise abruptly above extensive talus deposits and more gentle foothills. A great diversity of colours is provided by the contrasts between the bare pale-coloured rock surfaces and the forests and meadows below. The mountains rise as peaks with intervening ravines, in some places standing isolated but in others forming sweeping panoramas. Some of the rock cliffs here rise more than 1,500 m and are among the highest limestone walls found anywhere in the world. The distinctive scenery of the Dolomites has become the archetype of a "dolomitic landscape". Geologist pioneers were the first to be captured by the beauty of the mountains, and their writing and subsequent painting and photography further underline the aesthetic appeal of the property.

Criterion (viii): The Dolomites are of international significance for geomorphology, as the classic site for the development of mountains in dolomitic limestone. The area presents a wide range of landforms related to erosion, tectonism and glaciation. The quantity and concentration of extremely varied limestone formations is extraordinary in a global context, including peaks, towers, pinnacles and some of the highest vertical rock walls in the world. The geological values are also of international significance, notably the evidence of Mesozoic carbonate platforms, or "fossilized atolls", particularly in terms of the evidence they provide of the evolution of the bio-constructors after the Permian/Triassic boundary, and the preservation of the relationships between the reefs they constructed and their surrounding basins. The Dolomites also include several internationally important type sections for the stratigraphy of the Triassic Period. The scientific values of the property are also supported by the evidence of a long history of study and recognition at the international level. Taken together, the combination of geomorphological and geological values creates a property of global significance.

Integrity

The nine component parts that make up the property include all areas that are essential for maintaining the beauty of the property and all or most of the key interrelated and interdependent earth science elements in their natural relationships. The property comprises parts of a national park, several provincial nature parks and Natura 2000 sites, and a natural monument. Buffer zones have been defined for each component part to help to protect it from threats from outside its boundaries. The natural landscapes and processes that are essential to maintaining the property's values and integrity are in a good state of conservation and largely unaffected by development.

Management and protection requirements

As a serial property, the Dolomites require an adequately resourced, inter-provincial governance arrangement that ensures all five provinces with territory in the property are bound together within a common management system, and with an agreed joint management strategy and a monitoring and reporting framework for the property as a whole. Common policies and programmes for the management of public use and the presentation of the property are also required for the property and its buffer zones. The property requires protection from tourism pressures and related infrastructure. Each of the component parts of the serial property requires its own individual management plan, providing not only for the protection and management of land use, but also the regulation and management of human activities to maintain its values, and in particular to preserve the qualities of its natural landscapes and processes, including extensive areas which still have wilderness character. Areas that are subject to more intensive visitation need to be managed to ensure visitor numbers and activities are within the capacity of the property in relation to the protection of both its values and the experience of visitors to the property. Adequate resources and staffing, and coordination between the staff teams in the different components of the property are also essential.

IUCN Technical Evaluation [April, 2009]

Recommendations

[…] Notes that the decision to inscribe the property is made on the understanding that the State Party is in agreement with the following requests of the Committee, which should be implemented prior to the 35th session of the Committee in 2011 in order to address fully the requirements of the Operational Guidelines:

a) That the anticipated inter-provincial foundation: "Dolomiti – Dolomiten – Dolomitis – Dolomites UNESCO" is established following the inscription of the property and provided with the budget indicated by the State Party.

b) That an action-oriented overall management strategy for the whole of the serial property is developed, in consultation with the full range of relevant stakeholders, to establish (i) governance arrangements for the effective management of the property; (ii) operational management actions, in relation to key themes specific to the nominated World Heritage property and the criteria for which it is inscribed; (iii) monitoring and reporting on the State of Conservation of the property as a whole and the management effectiveness of the property and (iv) practical options to achieve the financial sustainability for conserving and managing the property.

c) That individual management plans for each one of the component parts of the serial property are completed to ensure consistent and effective delivery of the overall framework, as well as effective local management of conservation and use appropriate to the component part in question.

d) That a comprehensive strategy is developed for tourism and visitor use covering the property, its buffer zones and considering appropriate links to the wider region, in order to fully consider the requirements for maintaining the Outstanding Universal Value and conditions of integrity of the property under the scenario of expected increase in visitation after the inscription. This strategy should aim to manage visitor levels in areas already at or over capacity, to prohibit intensification of infrastructure or inappropriate uses that could impact the values of the property, and to ensure effective presentation and tourism benefits compatible with the long-term conservation of the property.

Commends the State Party for the considerable efforts in implementing previous recommendations regarding the establishment of an appropriate serial property and for the measures taken to establish overall management arrangements for the property, and also takes note of the presentation of the different component parts in relation to the values of the property as a whole as an example of good practice;

Requests the State Party to invite a mission to the property in 2011 to assess progress with the implementation of the overall management framework and governance for the property, the establishment of management plans for the different component parts of the property, and the establishment of a tourism strategy, in order to allow the World Heritage Committee to assess the progress that has been made in relation to its requests noted above.

San Antonio Missions

WHC 1466-2015

The site encompasses a group of five frontier mission complexes situated along a stretch of the San Antonio River basin in southern Texas, as well as a ranch located 37 kilometres to the south. It includes architectural and archaeological structures, farmlands, residencies, churches and granaries, as well as water distribution systems. The complexes were built by Franciscan missionaries in the 18th century and illustrate the Spanish Crown's efforts to colonize, evangelize and defend the northern frontier of New Spain. The San Antonio Missions are also an example of the interweaving of Spanish and Coahuiltecan cultures, illustrated by a variety of features, including the decorative elements of churches, which combine Catholic symbols with indigenous designs inspired by nature.

Texas, United States of America
N29 19 41 W98 27 36
Date of Inscription: **2015**
Criteria: **(ii)**
Property : **300.8 ha**
Buffer zone: **2,068 ha**



Mission San José Convento. *Credit: WHC / National Park Service, Robert Howen*



Former Mission Valero church, exterior. *Credit: WHC / National Park Service, Robert Howen*



Mission San Juan, exterior. *Credit: WHC / National Park Service, Robert Howen*

Outstanding Universal Value

Brief synthesis

The San Antonio Missions are a group of five frontier mission complexes situated along a 12.4-kilometer (7.7-mile) stretch of the San Antonio River basin in southern Texas. The complexes were built in the early eighteenth century and as a group they illustrate the Spanish Crown's efforts to colonize, evangelize and defend the northern frontier of New Spain. In addition to evangelizing the area's indigenous population into converts loyal to the Catholic Church, the missions also included all the components required to establish self-sustaining, socio-economic communities loyal to the Spanish Crown.

The missions' physical remains comprise a range of architectural and archaeological structures including farmlands (labores), cattle grounds (ranchos), residences, churches, granaries, workshops, kilns, wells, perimeter walls and water distribution systems. These can be seen as a demonstration of the exceptionally inventive interchange that occurred between indigenous peoples, missionaries, and colonizers that contributed to a fundamental and permanent change in the cultures and values of all involved, but most dramatically in those of the Coahuiltecans and other indigenous hunter-gatherers who, in a matter of one generation, became successful settled agriculturists. The enclosed layout of each mission complex and their proximity to each other, the widespread sharing of knowledge and skills among their inhabitants, and the early adoption of a common language and religion resulted in a people and culture with an identity neither wholly indigenous nor wholly Spanish that has proven exceptionally persistent and pervasive.

Criterion (ii): The San Antonio Missions are an example of the interweaving of the cultures of the Spanish and the Coahuiltecan and other indigenous peoples, illustrated in a variety of elements, including the integration of the indigenous settlements towards the central plaza, the decorative elements of the churches which combine Catholic symbols with indigenous natural designs, and the post-secularization evidence which remains in several of the missions and illustrates the loyalty to the shared values beyond missionary rule. The substantial remains of the water distribution systems are yet another expression of this interchange between indigenous peoples, missionaries, and colonizers that contributed to a fundamental and permanent change in the cultures and values of those involved.

Integrity

The five missions were selected based on their geographical and functional relationship in the San Antonio River Basin. Although founded independently, the missions are located at a distance of less than five kilometres from each other and shared a common approach to defence against attacks. The missions as a group, and not individually, combine all functional elements needed to understand their purpose and role in colonization, evangelization and eventual secularization. The property is of sufficient size to adequately ensure the representation of the Outstanding Universal Value. Several serial components are affected by development pressures and past changes to their setting have had negative impacts on integrity. Especially in Mission Valero (the Alamo) considerable urban development in downtown San Antonio has obscured the visual connection to the river setting. However, development threats are reduced by urban planning restrictions and the property is free of immediate threats at present.

Authenticity

The missions have evolved over time and not all remains which characterize the missions today date back to the time before secularization. Especially in the 19th century, structures were added to the complexes and these were even extended or modernized in the 20th century. However, the stratigraphy of the different consecutive additions is clearly legible in most sites and early physical remains can be easily identified. The churches with the exception of Mission San José retain authenticity of material, design and workmanship in relation to their original construction. Four of the serial components have retained some authenticity in

use and function as their church complexes are still used for church services. Missions Espada, San Juan and the Rancho de las Cabras illustrate a very high degree of authenticity in setting. Mission Valero is the only serial component in which authenticity is limited in a number of aspects. However, it contributes an important element to the series as the foundation of the San Antonio Missions, the first one to be created by the Franciscan Order and the first enclave that acted as a pole of attraction to the rest

Protection and management requirements

The Missions of San Antonio are protected by federal laws and designations, Texas State laws and designations, City of San Antonio ordinances, and cooperative agreements, easements, and deed restrictions. Mission Valero (the Alamo), Mission Espada and Mission Concepción have been designated as National Historic Landmarks. Mission San José is a National Historic Site and the other components are on the National Register of Historic Places. At the federal level, Mission San José is also designated as a Texas State Historical Site and all five missions are Texas State Antiquities Landmarks as well as on a local level City of San Antonio Local Landmarks. The Texas Historical Commission must review in advance any modifications proposed for the structural elements located in the property.

The United States National Park Service manages all the property within the boundaries of the San Antonio Missions National Historical Park, which was established under Public Law 95-629 (1978) and Public Law 101-628 (1990). The four mission churches within the National Historical Park are owned and operated by the Archdiocese of San Antonio. The State of Texas owns the property of Mission Valero/The Alamo. Management of the series is complex and based on an ownership structure which includes nine different owners. These remain responsible for the day-to-day management of their respective properties. For overarching issues which concern all serial components of the property, an advisory committee was established in 2012 to advise on preservation, interpretation and outreach activities and to make recommendations on frameworks for continued cooperation.

A document of management objectives describes all institutions that partner in the management of the property and broadly defines their contributions and fields of responsibility. This document has been adopted by all nine property owners and provides a general basis for the coordinated management. There is continual monitoring for potential threats to the property to ensure none jeopardize the attributes that sustain the property's Outstanding Universal Value. Perhaps the most significant potential threat is the rapid growth and development of the City of San Antonio. The San Antonio River is an important connecting element of the properties and the buffer zone regulations ensure that this special role is retained.

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Conclusions

ICOMOS considers that the San Antonio Missions are an exceptionally complete example of the Spanish Crown's efforts to colonize, evangelize, and defend its empire. The missions are also testimony to an interweaving of cultures from the European and North American continents. The five missions a unique example of mission complexes lying in unusual proximity connected through the San Antonio River. In such density of evangelization activity, it is even more remarkable, that each mission established its own dependent communities and prepared these for eventual secularization. ICOMOS considers that the San Antonio Missions fulfil criterion (ii) as an example of the interweaving of Spanish and Coahuiltecan culture, which remains illustrated in the integration of the indigenous settlements towards the central plaza, the decorative elements of the churches which combine and integrate indigenous natural designs, as well as the postsecularization evidence which remains in several of the missions. Authenticity can be justified despite some concerns regarding Mission Valero, which, however, is an important component of the series. Likewise, integrity is demonstrated for the individual mission complexes and the series as a

whole. The State Party did positively respond to ICOMOS' recommendation to modify the buffer zone in two areas located south of the Mission San José and north of Mission Valero. ICOMOS further recommends that a buffer zone should also be defined for Rancho de las Cabras in the future to provide long-term protection against medium- or high-rise development, even though this may seem highly unlikely to occur at present. ICOMOS considers that the main threats to the property are urban and infrastructure developments, however, protection measures in place seem to prevent any inappropriate developments through complex approval procedures. All five properties enjoy national protection as National Historic Sites or National Historic Landmark. Conservation measure are appropriate at the missions have at their availability a wide range of expertise including from universities and national institutions. An advisory committee brings together all property owners and stakeholders to ensure the overarching coordination of management. The so-called management plan submitted contains goal, principles and general fields of action which all stakeholders agreed to in writing. ICOMOS recommends however that a strategic management plan is developed to provide more detailed management guidance to all management authorities in the serial property. ICOMOS considers that also the monitoring scheme would benefit from more detail in terms of agencies responsible for the monitoring exercise as well as standard evaluation methods to ensure consistency over several monitoring cycles.

Recommendations with respect to inscription

ICOMOS recommends that the San Antonio Missions, United States of America, be inscribed on the World Heritage List on the basis of criterion (ii).

[…]

Additional recommendations

ICOMOS recommends that the State Party give consideration to the following:

_ Defining and formalizing a buffer zone for Rancho de las Cabras;

_ Preparing on the basis of the management document submitted a strategic management plan, integrating also disaster response mechanisms, which provides all property owners guidance on management strategies and actions on the basis of the goals, principles and actions they have agreed upon.

Appendix 2

Portuguese version

INTRODUÇÃO. Sobre patrimônio, preservação e algo mais

Estamos às vésperas do aniversário de 180 anos da Comissão de Monumentos Históricos francesa, dos 80 anos do brasileiro Instituto de Patrimônio Histórico e Artístico Nacional (Iphan) e dos 45 anos da criação da Lista do Patrimônio Mundial. Ou seja, a preservação do patrimônio é um campo relativamente novo e, como tal, ainda enfrenta inúmeros desafios. Da recente destruição de bens por grupos terroristas, passando por abalos sísmicos e pela venda ilegal de objetos arqueológicos ao debate sobre o impacto do turismo nos centros históricos, tem-se em 2017 uma sensação por vezes melancólica, de que estamos sempre atrasados, correndo tardiamente para salvar alguma coisa.

É bem verdade que a preocupação com a proteção de algum tipo de patrimônio sempre existiu. Tal como a conhecemos hoje, as ações de preservação – e seus mecanismos de atuação – se institucionalizaram na Europa, em pequenas ações desde a Antiguidade e passando pelo Renascimento até chegar à Revolução Francesa quando – com força e em definitivo – testemunhou diversas ações que culminaram na criação da Comissão de Monumentos Históricos em 1837. Outros eventos também contribuíram para o processo, com destaque para a Revolução Industrial na Inglaterra. Nesses momentos foram buscados os elementos em comum não apenas da história de um povo, mas de Nação, conceito que se consolida ao longo do processo.

Enquanto as primeiras ações de preservação consideravam monumentos históricos isolados – que seriam os marcos deste ou daquele determinado grupo –, no transcorrer do século XX a ideia de patrimônio se ampliou consideravelmente. Hoje o objeto de salvaguarda pode ser desde o mesmo monumento, cidades inteiras, grandes extensões de áreas naturais, até formas intangíveis, imateriais, de expressão de uma comunidade.

Tal processo aconteceu ao longo de um intenso debate, na maioria das vezes impulsionado por eventos que colocaram em risco – ou mesmo causaram a destruição – de um determinado bem (como foi o caso das duas guerras mundiais). Como resultado desse debate, foram criadas estruturas oficiais para a preservação do patrimônio. E o monumento histórico que antes contava a história de um povo, ganha novas dimensões: o de ser patrimônio mundial. Dessa forma, uma rede informal de cooperação que já existia foi oficializada, motivando a criação de instituições e mecanismos de proteção internacionais.

Foi a existência dessa rede – inserida em um cenário onde ainda há tanto por fazer para garantir uma preservação plena – o motivador da presente pesquisa. Como trabalhar em conjunto pela preservação? Como lidar com diferentes realidades e formações técnicas as mais diversas, buscando um equilíbrio nessas ações de preservação?

Patrimônio e preservação.

Essas duas palavras são hoje utilizadas em contextos tão distintos que parecem conceitos muito consolidados e de conhecimento geral. No entanto, elas podem adquirir significados diversos conforme o meio sociocultural em que são veiculadas, principalmente quando se considera como essas palavras aparecem em outras línguas. Nessa perspectiva, o primeiro ponto a esclarecer é quais são os conceitos que são considerados aqui.

Cultura, culturas... Não é possível ouvir a palavra 'patrimônio' e não pensar em cultura. Em seu *Palavras*-chave, Raymond Williams identifica a palavra 'cultura' como uma das mais difíceis de serem definidas[1]. Desde sua origem – vinculada ao ato de cultivar ou de adoração (culto) – até entendimentos atuais, quando a palavra se vinculou a um desenvolvimento histórico e atingiu significados diretamente associados a pensamentos intelectuais distintos. A partir de sua pesquisa, o termo cultura será considerado em três categorias:

> (i) O substantivo independente e abstrato que descreve um processo de desenvolvimento intelectual, espiritual e estético, a partir do S18; (ii) o substantivo independente, quer seja usado de modo geral ou específico, indicando um modo particular de vida, quer seja de um povo, um período, um grupo ou da humanidade em geral [...] (iii) o substantivo independente e abstrato que descreve as obras e as práticas da atividade intelectual e, particularmente, artística. Com frequência, esse parece ser hoje o sentido mais difundido: cultura é música, literatura, pintura, escultura, teatro e cinema. (Williams, 2007, p. 121)

Também será considerada cultura como uma maneira de ler-se a história, como define Roger Chartier: "a história cultural, tal como a entendemos, tem por principal objetivo identificar o modo como em diferentes lugares e momentos uma determinada realidade social é construída, pensada, dada a ler"[2]. Vivemos em meio a sistemas culturais, e ter consciência dessas diferenças é o primeiro passo a dar-se quando se considera ações a serem desenvolvidas em cooperação, em conjunto.

Vinculado à cultura – tal como o modo de vida de um povo ou período – surge a questão do patrimônio. A origem da palavra está associada a bens de família, e é ainda hoje utilizada da mesma maneira em relação a aspectos jurídicos. Na Era das Revoluções, na perspectiva do historiador inglês Eric J. Hobsbawm[3], mas em especial com a Revolução Francesa, busca-se o patrimônio de uma nação, muitas vezes em conjunto com a própria criação da identidade dessa nação. Françoise Choay define patrimônio da seguinte forma:

> A expressão designa um bem destinado ao usufruto de uma comunidade que se ampliou a dimensões planetárias, constituído pela acumulação contínua de uma diversidade de objetos que se congregam por seu passado comum: obras e obras-primas das belas-artes e das artes aplicadas, trabalhos e produtos de todos os saberes e *savoir-faire* dos seres humanos. (2001, p. 11)

Porém, antes de se chegar à ideia corrente de patrimônio, se falava apenas em monumentos históricos. Choay diferencia 'monumento' de 'monumento histórico'. Para ela, monumento é "aquilo que traz à lembrança alguma coisa", ou seja, "tudo o que for edificado por uma comunidade de indivíduos para rememorar ou fazer que outras gerações de pessoas rememorem acontecimentos, sacrifícios, ritos ou crenças"[4]. Já o monumento histórico não é criado como tal, mas é "constituído *a posteriori* pelos olhares convergentes do historiador e do amante da arte, que o selecionam na massa dos edifícios existentes, dentre os quais os monumentos representam apenas uma pequena parte"[5].

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[1] O norte-americano Melville Jean Herskovits (1895-1963) apresentou mais de 200 possíveis conceitos para cultura, dentro de um movimento que pensava o conceito de aculturação (ver em particular, *Man and his Works* – Antropologia Cultural, de 1948 e publicado em São Paulo em 1973).

[2] Em A história cultural (Rio de Janeiro: Difel, 1998, p. 17).

[3] Lançado em 1962, A era das revoluções: 1789-1848, do historiador inglês Eric J. Hobsbawm deu início a trilogia que contou a história dos séculos XIX e XX. Nesse volume ele apresentou como o mundo se transformou radicalmente a partir das Revoluções Francesa e industrial (aqui foi consultada a publicação São Paulo: Paz e Terra, 2010).

[4] Choay, 2001, p. 18.

[5] Ibidem, p. 25.

Ao longo dos anos 1960, a palavra patrimônio passou a designar os monumentos históricos[6]. Esse movimento começa na França e se consolida na Convenção sobre a Proteção do Patrimônio Mundial, Cultural e Natural da Organização Educacional, Científica e Cultural das Nações Unidas (Unesco), realizada em novembro de 1972. Nesse momento, acabava a distinção entre monumento, simplesmente, e monumento histórico. Segundo a Convenção, o patrimônio cultural pode ser monumentos, conjuntos ou sítios, e apresenta os monumentos como as "obras arquitetônicas, de escultura ou de pintura monumentais, elementos ou estruturas de natureza arqueológica, inscrições, cavernas e grupos de elementos que tenham um valor universal excepcional do ponto de vista da história, da arte ou da ciência". É essa definição de patrimônio que será considerada aqui.

Feita essa consideração, retoma-se Choay, quando se refere à gestão dos monumentos históricos:

> O projeto de conservação, do qual a noção de monumento histórico não é dissociável, supõe por definição dois instrumentos específicos: por um lado, uma *jurisdição* que dê ao projeto seu estatuto institucional; por outro lado, uma disciplina construtiva, solidária e tributária dos novos saberes históricos, e desde então nomeada *restauração*. (2011, p. 22)

Nessa perspectiva, chega-se à questão da preservação. Pois se o patrimônio tem importância para determinada cultura, ele deve ser preservado. Aqui, será adotado o conceito de preservação como apresentado por Beatriz Kühl[7]:

> A palavra preservação no Brasil possui um sentido lato que abarca variados tipos de ações, tais como inventários, registros, providências legais para a tutela, educação patrimonial e políticas públicas. Abrange também as intervenções nos bens, para que sejam transmitidos da melhor maneira possível ao futuro, que podem assumir a forma de manutenção, conservação, restauração [...], devendo o restauro ser entendido, antes de tudo como ato de cultura [...]. (2008, p. 59)

A preservação do patrimônio apresenta-se, então, vinculada não apenas a uma questão técnica – de transmissão de um conhecimento – mas também a questões éticas – não se pode privar as futuras gerações desse conhecimento.

Para responder à questão sobre como preservar esse patrimônio, foram criadas estruturas de preservação. Essas estruturas estão vinculadas não só à forma de organização política de cada país, mas também à sua cultura, à sua visão de mundo[8]. A estrutura de preservação não é apenas a legislação vigente, mas sim a rede existente que trabalha em prol desse patrimônio. Pode-se incluir órgãos em diferentes esferas de atuação, legislação de proteção, conselhos vinculados às questões culturais, órgãos vinculados à justiça e controles, organizações da sociedade civil organizada, entre outros.

Restauro e preservação: referências

Cabe agora fazer uma distinção entre essas duas ações.

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[6] Idem, 2011, p. 27. A autora, no entanto, faz a ressalva que essa condição não se aplicava à Inglaterra: "Ao passo que, desde a instauração de uma proteção efetiva das 'antiguidades', seu novo estatuto foi marcado por uma criação lexical, 'monumento histórico' na França, *kunsthistorische Denkmal* nos países germonófonos, na Grã-Bretanha um mesmo vocábulo, *heritage*, continuava a englobar, de modo corrente e sem ambiguidade, as duas noções de 'monumento' e de 'monumento histórico' para designá-los à proteção. Heritage pode, à primeira vista, parecer sinônimo de 'patrimônio': notar-se-á, entretanto, que nos contextos respectivos da Inglaterra e da França os dois termos têm conotações, o primeiro de respeito devido ao passado e de valor axiológico, o segundo de uma dimensão econômica dominantes, 'bem de herança'". (2011, pp. 26-27)

[7] Em Preservação do patrimônio arquitetônico da industrialização: problemas teóricos de restauro (Cotia: Ateliê Editorial, 2008), Beatriz Mugayar Kühl vai além das questões inerentes ao patrimônio industrial, apresentando também questões mais gerais da preservação, buscando inserir e relacionar a realidade de São Paulo no debate internacional.

[8] Cf. Zancheti e Lacerda, 2012.

As primeiras pesquisas sobre a história da preservação do patrimônio começam a ser sistematizadas a partir dos anos 1970, com Carlo Ceschi, Roberto Pane e Roberto Di Stefano, entre outros, com um trabalho contemporâneo à, então recente, criação do Iccrom e do Icomos[9]. Nas últimas décadas do século XX realizam-se os estudos que podem ser considerados clássicos como os da já citada Françoise Choay, de Giovanni Carbonara, James Marston Fitch ou Jukka Jokilehto. Mais recentemente, as análises continuam, e destacamos Simone Verde, John H. Stubbs, Dominique Poulot, Maria Piera Sette, Beatriz Mugayar Kühl, Leonardo Barci Castriota. Todas essas pesquisas buscaram uma perspectiva ampla do assunto. No caso da história específica de cada país, há outros exemplos. No entanto, o assunto ainda está longe de se esgotar. Principalmente no que tange às relações existentes entre as diferentes experiências no campo da preservação.

Quando se fala em preservação, considera-se uma série de ações, incluindo aí o restauro. E quase todas as pesquisas mencionadas anteriormente têm como base de sua estrutura o restauro em si, incluindo as questões teóricas e o debate ético e tecnológico do campo, ainda que elas afrontem também a questão da preservação em outras frentes. Dentro dessas pesquisas, destacamos quatro por uma abordagem voltada à questão da preservação para além do restauro: as lideradas pelos italianos Di Stefano e Verde[10], do norte-americano Stubbs e do brasileiro Castriota. Essas são as principais referências da pesquisa desenvolvida aqui.

Voltando à distinção entre restauro e preservação, serão consideradas as pesquisas do Icomos Itália, de 1977, e de Gabriella Contorni, de 1993. Contorni apresenta uma terminologia sobre intervenções no patrimônio arquitetônico, com suas definições. As definições apresentadas consideram a etimologia dos termos, a definição encontrada em dicionários e em cartas patrimoniais[11] e um comentário final, onde a autora aponta também diferenças que existem na sua aplicação em países diversos, quando é o caso.

Sobre restauro, há consenso que se trata de um conjunto de intervenções técnico-científicas realizadas, de acordo com uma determinada metodologia – que tem inúmeras vertentes – com o objetivo de garantir a continuidade temporal de um edifício ou de uma obra de arte. Dentro desse conjunto podem ser considerados trabalhos de consolidação, recomposição, reconstituição ou até mesmo reconstruções, com o propósito de conservar o objeto de acordo com uma determinada época. Aí entram as questões de metodologia e de teoria, no sentido de definir qual é esse momento a ser conservado. O que é importante aqui é que o restauro é a atuação física sobre o patrimônio.

Ao contrário, quando se fala em preservação e conservação, o campo se amplia. E o restauro passa a ser uma das ações possíveis para se atingir aquele objetivo. Contorni apresenta a diferenciação entre preservação e conservação, de acordo com a terminologia utilizada em inglês. Preservação seria uma ação com o objetivo de manter o bem existente em seu estado atual, mesmo que se em uma condição de ruína. Enquanto a conservação seria o conjunto de ações que devem ser tomados para prevenir o avanço da deterioração de um bem, incluindo aí ações de

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[9] Iccrom – International Centre for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property, criado em 1959. Icomos – International Council on Monuments and Sites, criado em 1965.

[10] Inserida no debate atualmente em curso na Itália, sobre a revisão de sua estrutura nacional de preservação do patrimônio (tema a ser abordado no capítulo 2), a pesquisa de Simone Verde aborda o patrimônio sob a ótica da museologia, enquanto os outros estão voltados à arquitetura.

[11] As cartas patrimoniais são documentos gerados em encontros onde se discutem questões técnicas da preservação do patrimônio. As cartas não têm caráter normativo, mas sim prescritivo, e ajudaram a consolidar todo o campo de atuação.

consolidação e também de prevenção, atuando de uma forma ativa, antes do problema acontecer. Contorni também indica que, na língua italiana, a palavra *preservação* é pouco utilizada, sendo considerada *conservação* para ambos os significados em inglês.

Anteriormente foi apresentado aqui o conceito de *preservação* segundo Beatriz Kühl[12], que é o utilizado no Brasil. Esse conceito se aproxima do conceito de *tutela*, na língua italiana, e de *protection*, na língua inglesa. Esse é o objeto da presente pesquisa: um conjunto de ações visando a proteção do patrimônio, incluindo aí ações de conservação e de restauro, entre outras. Para além da questão conceitual, e considerando aspectos de metodologia, também ressaltamos o trabalho de Massimo Montella[13]. Com um olhar voltado para questões gerenciais de governança, ele sistematiza uma série de ação para a preservação de bens culturais, pensando a preservação de uma forma ampla e integrada, considerando a diversidade de atores envolvidos no processo.

Embora possa parecer um preciosismo banal, a questão da terminologia é fundamental em uma pesquisa que pretende comparar ações em países diversos e, consequentemente, com documentos escritos em diferentes línguas. Como visto com a palavra preservação, em cada língua, palavras similares podem adquirir significados diversos. Tal questão foi alvo de uma pesquisa realizada pelo Icomos, justamente em seu momento inicial de atuação, e essencial para uma atuação internacional.

Em 1976, o comitê italiano do Icomos realizou, na cidade de Ravello, um encontro de estudos para definição e unificação, em sete línguas[14], de alguns vocábulos no campo da conservação integrada do patrimônio arquitetônico e ambiental. O grupo de estudos para elaboração do documento foi liderado por Roberto Di Stefano (da Escola de Aperfeiçoamento em Restauro de Monumentos, Universidade de Nápoles) e Paul Philippot (do Centro Internacional para a Conservação e Restauro de Bens Culturais, de Roma). O documento final foi publicado em 1977 e apresenta dois grandes grupos de vocábulos: objetos, com 32 itens, e ações, com 21. Todas as definições são apresentadas em uma tabela, de forma a permitir uma comparação direta entre os termos utilizados e seus significados.

Aqui será utilizado o conceito de *preservação* como apresentado anteriormente[15] e que é mais próximo ao conceito italiano de *tutela*. E *conservação* no sentido do proposto em inglês, e que é na verdade uma das ações que se podem realizar para a preservação do patrimônio.

Valor ou um algo mais

No entanto, como apresentado no início, a ideia do que é patrimônio se ampliou nos últimos anos. Hoje é muito usual ver a palavra acompanhada de um adjetivo. E entra a questão da qualificação desse patrimônio.

Norma Lacerda[16] apresenta o conceito de bem e da valoração do patrimônio. Um 'bem' é uma coisa valiosa, importante. Uma coisa para ser considerada um bem deve ser reconhecida como tal, como uma coisa valiosa para uma pessoa, para um grupo ou para uma sociedade. Quando esses bens são considerados 'patrimoniais', significa que eles foram herdados, e é possível retomar a ideia de Choay da evolução do conceito de monumento histórico para patrimônio. Se uma sociedade, uma nação, herda uma coisa que é valiosa para esse grupo, tal 'coisa' é seu patrimônio. Essa herança pode apresentar vários tipos de valores:

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[12] Cf. Kühl, 2008.

[13] Em *Musei e beni culturali. Verso un modello di governance* (Milano: Mondadori Electa, 2005), Massimo Montella traz a abordagem da área de economia e gestão de bens culturais para a preservação, falando a partir do ponto de vista museológico.

[14] Italiano, francês, inglês, alemão, espanhol, finlandês e russo.

[15] Cf. Kühl, 2008 e Montella, 2005.

[16] Em Zancheti e Lacerda, 2012.

"histórico, artístico, cultural, cognitivo, econômico, além de outros, como o de opção e existência. O grande desafio, quando se trata de valorar esses bens, é como conciliar todos os seus tipos de valores"[17].

A convenção de 1972 da Unesco menciona em seu título patrimônio mundial, cultural e natural. Além dos clássicos patrimônio artístico e histórico, hoje se considera ainda patrimônio ambiental, material, imaterial. E há outros como patrimônio industrial, científico, arqueológico, ecológico, paleontológico, móvel, imóvel, construído, intangível, etc., etc.

O excesso de diferenciação na valoração do patrimônio muitas vezes é uma questão de semântica (natural e ambiental são o mesmo tipo, imaterial/intangível e tangível/material/construído têm as mesmas características). Aqui será considerada a classificação proposta pela Unesco (1982) que, sinteticamente, considera três tipos de patrimônio: natural, misto e cultural. O patrimônio cultural pode ser intangível ou tangível (que se divide ainda em móvel ou imóvel/construído).

A adjetivação do *patrimônio* é resultado não só da ampliação do conceito, mas pode ser utilizada em função de uma causa social, como no caso dos patrimônios vinculados a grupos historicamente excluídos ou perseguidos.

Argan [18] entende esse reconhecimento como um julgamento do objeto, que acaba por também qualificar o sujeito, ou seja, aquele que tem o conhecimento – ou a autoridade – para atribuir esse reconhecimento.

> Quanto maior o valor que se reconhece no objeto, maior o valor do sujeito que o entende, o recebe, torna-o seu. O valor é, obviamente, um *algo mais* de experiência da realidade ou da vida, pelo qual o objeto transcende a própria instrumentalidade imediata; e este *algo mais* não passa do objeto para o sujeito se a consciência, no momento em que o recebe, não reconhece que ele se situa além da esfera da contingência, na esfera dos valores permanentes da civilização, da história. (Argan, 2005, p. 17)

Qualquer que seja a motivação, entender a preservação do patrimônio de forma isolada não é mais possível. Por exemplo, para preservar um patrimônio construído, muitas vezes se considera ações de valorização realizadas a partir do patrimônio móvel ou intangível vinculados àquele patrimônio construído.

Retomando a ideia de valor, agora não como mero instrumento de classificação, mas como parâmetro para avaliação de um bem como patrimônio de um grupo ou nação. Zancheti e Lacerda apresentam os seguintes tipos de valor: antiguidade, artístico, histórico, cultural, simbólico, cognitivo, econômico, de uso, de opção, de existência.

Os quatro primeiros valores mencionados vêm sendo discutidos desde o início da teorização sobre restauro, com John Ruskin e também com o austríaco Aloïs Riegl, sobretudo o último, referência importante para a conceituação inicial do conceito de valor, em especial dos de antiguidade e artístico. Outras categorias de valores começaram a ser consideradas conforme o conceito de patrimônio se ampliava, a partir dos anos 1960, e mostra uma tentativa de encontrar uma forma de mensurar a importância de um patrimônio. Lacerda alerta para o fato que "a possibilidade de tantos valores associados a bens patrimoniais tem estimulado pesquisas no sentido de estimar se o custo de valorar esses bens será superior aos benefícios que o mesmo trará"[19]. Afinal, vários desses valores não são passíveis de uma 'valoração' econômica. Mas esse ponto será retomado mais adiante.

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[17] Zancheti e Lacerda, 2012, p. 45.

[18] Em Argan, 2005.

[19] Zancheti e Lacerda, 2012, p. 53.

Além desse conflito econômico, surge um outro, de caráter temporal.

> Diz-se que a relação entre uma obra histórico-artística e o tempo é caracterizado pelo fato que este, enquanto se dissipa, é também capaz de enriquecer e melhorar o objeto. [...] Há, então, o tempo presente, aquele do reconhecimento e da intervenção; um tempo que logo ganha em historicidade mas que ainda sempre se renova toda vez que a obra desperte o nosso interesse. (Carbonara, 1997, p. 631, tradução nossa)

Carbonara acrescenta que é nessa dialética entre o presente e o passado que se coloca o restauro. No caso da preservação do patrimônio, surge ainda o tempo da fruição do patrimônio. Isso porque os valores histórico e artístico (associados ao *passado* e *presente*) tendem a ser mais estáveis que o valor de uso, por exemplo, que pode se alterar radicalmente em um período de cinco anos (o tempo da *fruição*). Também os diferentes tipos de patrimônio exigem ações que podem apresentar resultados a curto ou a longo prazo. Como equilibrar essas diferenças vivendo na sociedade atual, que busca resultados tão imediatos?

O controverso valor econômico

> Mesmo os defensores mais devotos do patrimônio devem, todavia, reconhecer que no último meio século o próprio conceito de patrimônio cultural se tornou problemático, e isso talvez se aplique também para o aparentemente claro conceito de patrimônio físico ou material. (Hobsbawm, 2014, p. 163, tradução nossa)

Além dos diferentes entendimentos sobre palavras como restauro, preservação, conservação, tutela, e dos vários 'tipos' de patrimônio e valores, há outra questão que se coloca, de base não meramente etimológica. Françoise Choay, Salvatore Settis, Eric Hobsbawm e Giovanni Carbonara[20] colocam em debate o uso da palavra 'patrimônio' hoje, como um artifício para ações que, muitas vezes, colocam em risco o próprio patrimônio que pretendem proteger e valorizar.

Na última metade do século XX, o patrimônio ganhou atenção, seja no plano técnico, seja no plano econômico. No entanto, isso não significa ganho de qualidade. Ao contrário, o patrimônio muitas vezes acaba usado como um tipo de instrumentalização, sendo olhado sob ótica técnica e jurídica apenas como um bem econômico, e não como um bem cultural. Por outro lado, a ampliação do conceito aumentou consideravelmente o número de bens a serem conservados. Dessa forma, a arquitetura 'menor' ou seriada acaba entrando em confronto com aquela monumental, sob o risco de sofrer intervenções sem critérios adequados. Sob os nomes de reuso, renovação, recuperação, muitas vezes se esquece do restauro, e o patrimônio acaba sofrendo com intervenções de baixa qualidade ou por se encontrar, ao final, em meio a uma discussão político-ideológica que nada tem a ver com preservação em si.

Essa instrumentalização é agravada, segundo Giulio Carlo Argan[21], por uma questão de nomenclatura. Ora, quando se fala 'patrimônio', 'bem', 'herança', está implícita a ideia de renda, e não a ideia de *ser* pura e simplesmente. Dessa forma, se o bem não dá um retorno, pode muito bem ser extinto. Claro está que os valores de cultura e de civilidade se sobrepõe, no entanto, não se pode haver a ingenuidade de ignorar a importância econômica do patrimônio.

> De boas intenções, então, se chega a resultados potencialmente desastrosos, dando lugar a uma postura favorável a intervenções e ao financiamento 'forte' e extraordinário, bem-sucedido, em termos econômicos e de imagem, sobre a seriedade e aparente simplicidade de trabalhos de conservação rotineiros. (Carbonara, 1997, p. 600, tradução nossa)

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[20] O tema perpassa toda a obra dos quatro autores. Não obstante, destacamos: Choay (2011), Settis (2014), Hobsbawm (2014) e Carbonara (1997).

[21] Cf. Argan, 1976.

Essa visão econômica do patrimônio, do 'bem', ganhou força com a atuação da Unesco (Organização Educacional, Científica e Cultural das Nações Unidas, criada em 1945) e sua Lista do Patrimônio Mundial. Na Convenção sobre a Proteção do Patrimônio Mundial, Cultural e Natural de 1972, houve novo alargamento do conceito de patrimônio, com a união no mesmo documento de conceitos para a preservação de bens naturais e culturais. A convenção também criou o mecanismo de reconhecimento de um patrimônio que seria mundial, por meio da inscrição de bens em uma lista pública, que valorizaria o sítio em questão.

Hoje, a inscrição de um bem na Lista do Patrimônio Mundial atrai diversas fontes de apoio, seja financeiro (incluindo aí um fundo da própria Unesco), seja técnico, graças aos órgãos de apoio da Organização. Por conta do prestígio da Lista – incluindo a exigência de haver uma estrutura mínima de preservação no país para a inscrição e todas as implicações de ordem técnica e ética que advém daí – a presente pesquisa trabalhou com sítios inscritos. Ressalte-se que o objetivo da pesquisa não é avaliar os critérios para inserção do sítio na Lista, mas sim verificar como funciona essa rede internacional de cooperação para a preservação do patrimônio.

Mas o ponto que é mais incrementado é aquele do turismo, inserindo o sítio em questão em uma rede global que ganhou força no último quarto do século XX.

> Não é mais suficiente a concorrência entre países: chegou a hora da "competitividade entre cidades" não para serem melhores ou contribuírem para a qualidade de vida, senão, principalmente, para serem escolhidas pelos "avaliadores de investimentos" externos e assegurarem a alta rentabilidade que é esperada pelo nosso esforço. (Gutiérrez, 2000, p. 18, tradução nossa)

Retomando a questão dos valores, o valor econômico do patrimônio está em debate desde os anos 1970. Expressões como 'explorar o patrimônio', 'embalagem cultural', 'produto museológico' têm se difundido nas mais diversas áreas. Uma outra expressão, 'indústria do turismo', tem relação direta com a atuação da Unesco na divulgação da Lista do Patrimônio Mundial. Um mecanismo que deveria valorizar o patrimônio vem se mostrando como um motivador de uma pasteurização dos sítios. Com as exigências atuais de uma infraestrutura hoteleira e de acolhimento, de museus e percursos interativos, sítios importantes perderam parte de suas características locais, incluindo atividades tradicionais.

Novamente, Salvatore Settis, Françoise Choay e Simone Verde [22] apresentam uma postura bastante crítica e combativa em relação ao tema da exploração turística maciça e violenta do patrimônio. A museificação ou a disneylandização muitas vezes ocorre incentivadas pelas demandas dos próprios turistas, que buscam os circuitos turísticos clássicos, mas preferem encontrar ali alguns padrões que terminam por homogeneizar esses locais. Essa padronização facilita a comercialização do sítio, que pode inclusive ser uma réplica – como existem hoje tantas réplicas de Veneza, Paris ou de típicas cidadezinhas suíças de montanha. É a ideia de parque temático transmutada em museu a céu aberto.

Sobre tal homogeneização, Salvatore Settis se pergunta "porque uma cultura de massa deve necessariamente focar na repetição do idêntico e não no conhecimento do diverso?" [23]. E questiona quanto vale Veneza. Qual seu preço de mercado? Quanto vale um tecido urbano labiríntico? Mais, quanto vale a experiência de vagar por essas ruas? Ou seja, como valorar seu capital simbólico?

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[22] Com destaque para Settis (2014), Choay (2011) e Verde (2014).

[23] Settis, 2014, p. 80, tradução nossa.

Identidade e identidades

Uma questão que surge forte a partir do cenário apresentado é por que preservar? Hoje tem-se discutido muito 'como' preservar, mas não se pode perder do horizonte a razão pela qual entendemos que essa é uma ação a fazer. Nesse ponto, entra uma última questão essencial para a nossa visão da problemática patrimonial: a questão da identidade.

> Sob o ponto de vista do 'patrimônio', a 'cultura nacional' tem, portanto, um significado político. Na medida em que a maior parte das entidades políticas hoje no mundo são ou pretendem ser Estados-nação, a 'cultura nacional' tem quase sempre o Estado como a própria moldura. Dado que a construção e reconstrução de um 'patrimônio' apropriado para a 'nação' são a função espiritual primeiro de qualquer novo Estado-nação, eles incluem o incentivo à preservação, sobretudo no que é prontamente em sintonia com a *mitopoiesis*. (Hobsbawm, 2014, p.160, tradução nossa)

Aqui duas diferenças importantes em relação a uma identidade nacional entre a Europa e as Américas. Enquanto na Europa as questões nacionalistas foram incitadas pelas revoluções francesa e industrial e pelos processos de unificação (como os casos da Itália e da Alemanha), nas Américas o motivador foram os movimentos de independência.

A segunda diferença se refere à ideia de uma unidade estilística. Não é possível dar o mesmo peso às questões de estilo arquitetônico nos dois lados do Atlântico. Por um lado, a riqueza monumental vista na Europa não tem a mesma amplitude nas Américas. Por outro, muitos dos estilos vistos no continente foram importados diretamente da Europa, dessa forma existe uma forte necessidade de "alcançar uma identificação com sua própria história e sua própria paisagem"[24], reforçando algumas teses nacionalistas.

No século XIX, as cidades americanas viviam um período turbulento, com a consolidação dos processos de independência e abolição do regime escravocrata. Nesse cenário, o ecletismo passa a ser referência para a construção de edifícios e cidades, embalados pela magia da *Belle Époque* e tendo como referência projetos europeus de reconfiguração urbana como os de Barcelona, Paris e Viena. Como uma resposta a esse modelo, iniciam-se pesquisas sobre a arquitetura colonial, buscando um momento anterior e, principalmente, destacado da Europa. Dessa forma são criadas instituições de pesquisa sobre a arquitetura colonial e surgem movimentos que trazem de volta o que seria uma arquitetura típica de cada país (como o movimento neocolonial brasileiro).

Voltando à questão do nacionalismo, esse é um ponto importante e que perpassa quase todas as ações de preservação do patrimônio. Ora, se o patrimônio representa o que é significativo para uma Nação, a escolha dos bens que são considerados patrimônio passa a ser estratégica, e em diversos momentos na história é possível ver esse movimento. Dessa forma, o patrimônio pode aparecer como alvo de preservação, mas também como alvo de destruição, como foi o caso da Revolução Francesa – com atos de destruição e vandalismo voltados a palácios e obras de arte vinculados ao Antigo Regime – ou do regime ditatorial de Salazar, em Portugal – que destruiu histórias importantes em Lisboa.

A II Guerra Mundial também é emblemática, e por isso tornou-se um dos balizadores temporais da primeira parte da presente pesquisa. Durante a guerra, 1.270 edifícios listados como patrimônio francês foram danificados (em um total de oito mil edifícios listados). A cidade de Varsóvia teve 75% de seu território destruído, sendo 95% de seus edifícios históricos perdidos[25]. Com o fim da guerra, e com o reestabelecimento da condição de Varsóvia como capital da Polônia, foi

[24] Waisman, 2013, p. 196.

[25] Cf. Jokilehto, 1986, p. 409.

realizado um projeto de reconstrução da cidade, tal qual ela era antes da guerra. Por algumas teorias de restauro[26], essa prática poderia ser vetada, considerando que o que foi construído não correspondia à realidade, no sentido da materialidade do patrimônio (um edifício que parece ser do século XVIII, mas que foi construído na década de 1950). Porém, quando se considera o patrimônio como ferramenta de uma identidade nacional, o projeto se justifica. E foi um mobilizador importante para toda uma população que se recuperava do trauma de uma guerra bastante violenta.

Nos Estados Unidos, o projeto para *Colonial Williamsburg* também é relevante. Realizado em 1926, o projeto é considerado um dos marcos iniciais das ações de preservação de patrimônio no país. O projeto foi realizado sob o patrocínio de John Rockefeller, e promoveu a reconstrução da cidade colonial de Williamsburg, tal qual ela teria sido durante a Revolução Americana. O projeto foi um marco no estabelecimento dos principais eventos da história americana, reforçando o caráter pioneiro e a força da nação em oposição à Inglaterra. Mais que um projeto de preservação de patrimônio, ele foi um projeto de construção de identidade.

Outro exemplo de projeto de construção de identidade foi o brasileiro IPHAN (Instituto do Patrimônio Histórico e Artístico Nacional). Criado em 1937, ele esteve inserido em uma política mais ampla que buscava definir o que seria tipicamente brasileiro[27]. Como política pública, o projeto de definição do patrimônio nacional estava vinculado também a um projeto de educação. Tal vínculo patrimônio e educação é reconhecível em diversos outros países. Nas Américas, ele está vinculado também a uma diferenciação do colonizador, e por meio dos estilos arquitetônicos (como já mencionado). Na Europa, um fator importante é a língua, verificado em especial nos processos de unificação italiano e alemão. Mas o fato é que, na virada do século XIX para o XX, poucas Nações modernas tinham sua identidade devidamente consolidada. E o patrimônio assumiu aí um papel crucial.

> Claro, os ingleses sabiam que coisa significava ser inglês, mas os franceses, os alemães, os italianos ou os russos, não tinham dúvidas em relação às suas identidades coletivas? Talvez não, mas na era de construções de nações se pensava que isto significava que a lógica, necessária, nada menos que desejável, transformação de "nações" em Estados-nação soberanos, com um território compacto definido da área ocupada pelos membros de uma "nação" por sua vez definida da sua história passada, da sua cultura comum, da sua composição étnica e, cada vez mais, da sua *língua*. Mas não há nada de lógico nesta implicação. (Hobsbawm, 2003, p. 103, tradução nossa)

Logo, a 'cultura nacional' foi um dos pontos para definição de políticas e ações de preservação de patrimônio. Nesse sentido, as ações desenvolvidas nas Américas precisam ser lidas dentro da própria realidade americana. Para buscar essa visão, a pesquisa se baseará em Waisman, Romero e Cerávolo (detalhadas a seguir).

Marina Waisman[28] apresenta a questão da complexidade de um conceito de América Latina, que deve ser entendida sim como uma unidade que tem problemas em comum. Porém, essa ideia deve ser lida mais como um objetivo a ser atingido que como uma realidade. Ela afirma que a verdade é que não há uma unidade histórico-cultural que permita que a região seja entendida como um todo. Dessa forma, não é possível propor soluções que sejam generalizadoras. Quando nesse cenário se considera também a América do Norte, a questão se complica. É preciso, então, lembrar

[26] Um exemplo é a Carta de Veneza, de 1964. Em seu artigo 15, a carta recomenda que "todos os trabalhos de reconstrução devem ser rejeitados a priori. Só a anastilose, isto é, a remontagem das peças soltas que existam num estado de desagregação, pode ser permitida" (Iphan, 1995).

[27] Cf. Fonseca, 2005 e Rolim, 2006.

[28] *O interior da história*: historiografia arquitetônica para uso de latino-americanos (São Paulo: Perspectiva, 2013).

que se fala sempre do Novo Mundo. Ou seja, dos países que foram 'criados' depois de um processo de colonização que aconteceu a partir do século XV. Se esse processo colonial foi muito diferente nos dois hemisférios, todos esses países têm um ponto em comum: a 'idade' de suas cidades. Não é possível uma sociedade enxergar o patrimônio da mesma forma quando o seu edifício mais antigo tem dois mil anos ou duzentos anos. Isso vale também para os países com remanescentes das civilizações Inca, Maia e Asteca: como não houve uma continuidade civilizatória, a relação que se estabelece com esse patrimônio é diversa.

Esse ponto de vista vem a partir da referência de José Luis Romero. Em *América Latina: as cidades e as ideias*[29], o historiador argentino apresenta uma visão da América Latina baseada em um processo histórico e em aspectos civilizatórios e não meramente geográficos. A partir dessa premissa, ele estudou as cidades latino-americanas buscando os movimentos de apropriação e/ou rejeição das ideias estrangeiras. É esse fluxo que será buscado nos processos de preservação de patrimônio no continente americano como um todo.

A terceira referência, Maria Lucia Cerávolo [30] , busca esclarecer uma lacuna: estabelecer o Brasil como parte da América Latina. Como contextualização das ações de preservação no Brasil, a pesquisadora apresenta um cenário do momento de criação dos primeiros órgãos de preservação na América Latina, indicando também o vínculo entre patrimônio e identidade nacional.

> A reflexão sobre a identidade cultural nacional leva arquitetos, artistas e intelectuais vinculados a diferentes movimentos e tendências culturais, tanto historicistas, quanto modernas, a assumir papel determinante no debate para a definição de políticas públicas para preservação do patrimônio cultural. Essa contribuição ao debate se dá tanto pela via teórica quanto pela prática nas décadas de 1930 e 1940. (Cerávolo, 2010, p. 152)

Em um contexto em que a identidade nacional está diretamente vinculada ao patrimônio, como entender a ideia de um patrimônio mundial?

Françoise Choay critica duramente essa ideia:

> Ora, por definição, o patrimônio de uma civilização ou de uma cultura lhe é próprio. A noção de universalidade em matéria de patrimônio tem sentido apenas como característica global de nossa espécie e implica então a totalidade de suas produções. Como escolher a partir dessa totalidade? A Convenção [Unesco, 1972] não dá qualquer critério desse "valor excepcional" que é precisado no artigo 11.5 (terceira parte), cabendo ao Comitê defini-lo. É evidente que os critérios de designação, os da ciência, da história e da história da arte são aqueles definidos pela tradição ocidental. (2011, p. 171)

O debate sobre a definição de um 'valor universal' é intenso e quase sempre se relaciona ao valor econômico e a questões de uma visão parcial, como aponta Choay no caso da 'tradição ocidental'. Além do valor da universalidade, entra em cena também o valor da integridade, outro fator decisivo para a candidatura à Lista. A avaliação dos dois é, como em todo o processo de valoração, sujeita à subjetividade dos técnicos que a analisam. Os valores de universalidade e integridade são objeto de dois artigos que partem de cenários bastante diversos do francês. Hazen e Pendlebury[31] entram na discussão a partir das realidades norte-americana e inglesa, respectivamente. Ambos procuram uma avaliação desses valores não sob o ponto de vista do processo de validação do patrimônio, mas sim do impacto que isso vai ter na gestão

[29] Publicado no Rio de Janeiro (UFRJ), em 2004.

[30] De 2010, a tese em Arquitetura e Urbanismo, *Interpretações do patrimônio*: arquitetura e urbanismo moderno na constituição de uma cultura de intervenção no Brasil, anos 1930-60.

[31] Com os artigos publicados em 2008 (Hazen) e 2009 (Pendlebury).

do sítio, incluindo as políticas públicas nacionais relacionadas à preservação desse patrimônio. É essa a ótica que nos interessa, verificando o processo de trocas entre técnicos na preservação desses sítios. Em alguns casos, essa troca é mais intensa em um momento anterior à candidatura, mostrando também que a rede de cooperação funciona para além da Lista.

Uma das primeiras iniciativas dessa cooperação foram as missões realizadas pela Unesco, no período pós II Guerra. O Iphan publicou o relatório de uma das missões da Unesco no Brasil (organização de Claudia Leal, 2008), que foi também alvo de outras pesquisas, em especial com foco na questão do turismo cultural (por exemplo, a pesquisa de Cecília Pereira, de 2012). Uma série de outras pesquisas realizadas no Brasil sobre a preservação de patrimônio mundial se restringem análises de projetos específicos[32].

Dentro das pesquisas produzidas com uma visão mais ampla do patrimônio mundial, destacamos a tese de Rosane Loretto[33], que questiona a imparcialidade da avaliação do valor da integridade dos sítios, vinculando-o muitas vezes a questões políticas. Essa é uma realidade que é possível ver também nas questões de preservação, e questionamos se a rede de cooperação técnica pode trabalhar para além desse jogo de interesses políticos. Outras duas pesquisas relevantes no Brasil são a de Elaine Lima e Fernando Silva. Lima[34] compara os sítios de São Luís, no Brasil, e Guimarães, em Portugal. Com uma tese em sociologia, ela apresenta a questão contraditória do patrimônio mundial, que gera uma solidariedade mundial, ao mesmo tempo em que cria uma competição por um lugar no circuito turístico mundial. Já o livro de Silva[35] é o resultado da pesquisa de doutorado em direito, e traz uma análise do processo de implantação da Convenção de 1972 no Brasil, exemplificado por diversos sítios brasileiros e explicitando a rede de assistência internacional para a preservação desse patrimônio.

Uma última referência importante aqui para entender e contextualizar as ações realizadas em um sítio de patrimônio mundial é a tese de doutorado de Sarah Titchen[36]. Ao explorar a ideia de um patrimônio cultural comum, ela analisa o processo que culmina com a Convenção de 1972, que teria sido caracterizado pelo encontro de diversos interesses nacionais e internacionais. Isto posto, não é possível olhar para a Lista do Patrimônio Mundial sem ter claro que não se trata apenas do valor ou significado que o sítio apresenta, mas também das ferramentas intelectuais e administrativas utilizadas para identificar e avaliar esses valores e significados.

Considerando as últimas quatro referências mencionadas, as pesquisas de Silva, Loretto e Titchen consideraram uma visão ampla, centradas nas ações da Unesco. Já a de Lima volta-se aos sítios, considerando o status de pertencer à Lista como um legitimador de 'práticas de enobrecimento urbano'. A presente pesquisa busca esse olhar para o local, para os sítios em si, buscando as formas como eles se relacionam com essa rede internacional.

O fato é que hoje muitos países buscam a inserção na Lista como uma forma de

[32] Em uma pesquisa no banco de teses da Capes, com as palavras 'patrimônio', 'mundial' e 'preservação', tem-se 71 registros, sendo a maioria pesquisas relacionadas a um sítio específico, seguidos por estudos comparativos entre dois casos ou temas vinculados à recuperação de centros históricos. Além das áreas de concentração de arquitetura, urbanismo e história, encontram-se trabalhos também nas áreas de direito, geografia e meio ambiente, entre outras.

[33] De 2016, a tese em Arquitetura e Urbanismo, As [des]venturas da integridade no Patrimônio Mundial.

[34] De 2014, a tese em Sociologia, Da nação ao mercado: patrimônios mundiais e intervenções urbanas em perspectiva comparada.

[35] De 2012, As cidades brasileiras e o patrimônio cultural da humanidade.

[36] De 1995, a tese em Fiolosofia (Australian National University), On the construction of outstanding universal value. Unesco's World Heritage Convention (Convention concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage, 1972) and the identification and assessment of cultural places for inclusion in the World Heritage List.

reconhecimento de seu patrimônio nacional. O fator econômico deve ser considerado, afinal estar na Lista é uma forma de se inserir na rede global do turismo do patrimônio. Mas em muitos casos essa é também uma estratégia de valorização desses sítios junto à própria população. E uma forma de buscar uma estabilidade maior nas políticas de preservação para o bem em questão.

A pesquisa.

Esse é o cenário da problemática patrimonial a partir do qual foi elaborada a presente tese. Em uma perspectiva metodológica, trabalhamos com um recorte temporal de 70 anos, tendo como balizadores o ano de 1945, com a criação da Unesco, e o ano de 2015, com a revisão das Diretrizes Operacionais para implantação da Convenção do Patrimônio Mundial e a elaboração do plano para o Parque das Dolomitas (Itália). Quanto ao recorte geográfico, a pesquisa trabalhou com sítios inscritos na Lista do Patrimônio Mundial, na categoria misto ou cultural (sítios urbanos). Foi buscada uma perspectiva ampla e civilizatória, com foco em bens localizados nas Américas e na Europa[37]. A pesquisa teve uma atenção especial aos casos da Itália e da França, considerando que a base teórica e de legislação utilizadas no Brasil vem dessas matrizes; a América Latina, pela similaridade civilizatória e econômica; Portugal, por nossa origem; e Inglaterra e os Estados Unidos. Os dois últimos entraram como um contraponto, já que partiram de uma estrutura de preservação que é bastante diversa da brasileira. Ao mesmo tempo, os EUA tiveram uma influência inegável nas cidades brasileiras, seja por um modelo baseado no automóvel, seja nas questões econômicas de consumo (inclusive do consumo cultural). E apesar da estrutura de preservação ser diversa, o patrimônio pode ser considerado similar, quando se considera seu valor de antiguidade e seu papel na construção da nacionalidade em um momento pós colonização. Foram considerados casos de patrimônio cultural (categoria sítios e centros históricos) ou misto, apesar de sua maior complexidade, sua inserção urbana permite uma comparação mais adequada aos propósitos dessa pesquisa. Foram diversos os sítios abordados, alguns sendo mencionados em diversos momentos, outros pontualmente. Assim emergiram do lado europeu, Ferrara, Liverpool, Lyon, Parque das Dolomitas, Pompéia, Porto e Veneza. Enquanto nas Américas, Cuzco, Missões Jesuíticas, Missões de San Antonio, Ouro Preto, Parque Nacional Mesa Verde, Salvador e Valparaíso. Cada sítio foi abordado em função de aspectos paradigmáticos, sem a pretensão de uma análise minuciosa.

A pesquisa se desenvolveu com trabalho amplo em fontes secundárias, em especial considerando a lacuna de publicações sobre preservação de patrimônio disponíveis no Brasil[38]. Em paralelo, duas fontes importantes: arquivos e entrevistas. Foram consultados – entre outros arquivos e diversas bibliotecas – os arquivos da Unesco e do Icomos (ambos nas sedes de Roma e Paris), com os processos de candidatura à Lista do Patrimônio Mundial, o acompanhamento dos sítios inscritos – incluindo a lista de Patrimônio em perigo –, e os planos de gestão para os sítios. Também os arquivos de governos locais para os sítios de Ferrara, Porto, Valparaíso, Parque Nacional Mesa Verde, Liverpool e Missões Jesuíticas. Por fim, foram realizadas entrevistas com gestores de diversos sítios, com pesquisadores locais e com técnicos da Unesco e do Icomos, fornecendo uma visão da prática sobre a forma

[37] Ainda que trabalhar com sítios localizados na Ásia, África ou Oriente Médio tenha se apresentado como uma possibilidade fascinante (em especial nos dois primeiros casos, onde se poderia fazer um paralelo entre sítios de origem colonial portuguesa), as enormes diferenças culturais na definição do que é patrimônio e por que preservá-lo (como já apresentava Riegl (2014) na virada do século XIX para o XX ao falar sobre as diferenças de variados grupos culturais com a noção de temporalidade) invalidariam as comparações feitas aqui.

[38] Lembramos que parte da presente pesquisa foi desenvolvida no âmbito do Programa de Doutorado Sanduíche no Exterior (PDSE) da CAPES, sediada na Universidade de Ferrara (Itália).

como acontece a cooperação dentro dessa rede, incluindo as suas particularidades.

A tese foi estruturada em três partes, que pretenderam articular a documentação consultada e a bibliografia. Partiu do pressuposto da existência de uma rede de cooperação internacional para a preservação do patrimônio de interesse mundial – em especial considerando a atuação da Unesco e de suas agências de apoio – e pretendeu verificar como essa rede opera na preservação de sítios nas Américas e na Europa, listados como Patrimônio Mundial, a partir da ótica local. A hipótese adotada foi que essa rede pode operar de forma mais eficiente ao pensar o patrimônio em sistemas – e com base em uma visão integrada das ações de preservação. Dessa forma, buscaria uma atuação que iria além das situações de risco ou emergência, bem como além da mera troca de experiências.

A primeira parte, *O debate sobre a preservação: indícios de uma cooperação internacional*, apresenta um histórico da preservação. Considerou-se como ponto de partida o período do Renascimento, não tanto pelo impacto direto nas ações que veremos na segunda parte, mas principalmente para localizar o leitor no início do debate sobre preservação. O foco esteve em personagens e projetos que de alguma forma contribuíram para estabelecer um diálogo internacional.

A segunda parte, *Da preservação de sítios Patrimônio Mundial*, apresenta aspectos da preservação do patrimônio a partir da atuação da Unesco e de casos de sítios presentes na lista do Patrimônio Mundial. Os casos foram selecionados de forma a apresentar diferentes realidades, bem como diferentes momentos da atuação internacional. Nessa perspectiva, o foco não foi o patrimônio em si, mas as ações realizadas para a sua preservação – buscando entrever a rede criada para esse fim. Lembrando de um cenário em que, muitas vezes, o patrimônio é ameaçado por ações dos próprios governantes, ou gera conflitos entre uma população que não participa do processo de preservação, qual seria a contribuição efetiva de receber o reconhecimento de patrimônio mundial? Ou, como é possível pensar a preservação de uma forma dinâmica?

Por fim, a terceira parte, *Preservando em sistema*. Aqui foi examinada a hipótese de uma preservação de interesse mundial em sistema, relacionando as estratégias globais da Unesco com a ideia de um valor universal excepcional (pressuposto da Lista).

PARTE I. O debate sobre preservação: indícios de uma cooperação internacional

> Nascia, então, em alguns pensadores mais sensíveis, uma exigência que antes não tinha se manifestado: aquela de defender os monumentos e controlar o ambiente resultante do encontro entre o antigo e o novo.
>
> Roberto Di Stefano e Giuseppe Fiengo, 1972, p. 3, tradução nossa

O encontro entre o antigo e o novo. A familiar disputa entre gerações transportada para a cidade. A afirmação de Di Stefano e Fiengo se refere ao século XIX. Porém, ações voltadas à preservação de edifícios, objetos ou áreas naturais podem ser encontradas desde tempos remotos, sem ainda uma consciência clara nem articulada como passa a ser vista em torno de 1900, com o conceito moderno de monumento. De orientações de caráter religioso, passando por outras de proteção de bens de um soberano e, depois de uma Nação, à ideia de um patrimônio imaterial, essa primeira parte apresentará como tal debate, uma troca de ideias ao redor do mundo, criou o atual cenário da preservação.

Dividida em dois capítulos, o primeiro traz em um grande voo, as ações que estruturaram a ideia de patrimônio com a qual lidamos hoje. Partindo de ações ainda na Renascença, a intenção é mostrar como foi sendo construída a ideia de um patrimônio mundial. No segundo capítulo, o cenário após a II Guerra Mundial, com a criação da Unesco e a sua Convenção para a Proteção do Patrimônio Mundial, Cultural e Natural, em 1972. E a cooperação que se estabelece de forma oficial para a preservação do patrimônio ao redor do planeta, chegando até o século XXI. Em ambos os capítulos, será feita de forma contínua uma viagem de um lado ao outro do Atlântico, buscando as similaridades e diferenças no processo nos continentes europeu e americano.

1: A construção de um campo

> Na Roma antiga, existiam regulamentos específicos para garantir que novos edifícios fossem projetados em harmonia com o contexto construído existente. Boas práticas de construção e manutenção foram alguns dos principais temas presentes em *De Architectura*, o influente manual de Vitrúvio no século I a.C.
>
> Jukka Jokilehto, 1999, p. 2, tradução nossa

De orientações de caráter religioso a outras de proteção de bens de um soberano, já nas antigas civilizações era possível ver ações similares à formação de coleções ou à recuperação de edifícios [1]. Porém, nada que possa ser comparado ao conceito moderno de monumento, já que não havia a ideia de um valor histórico ou de identidade atribuído aos bens em questão. Foi no Renascimento que essas ações começaram a se estruturar, principalmente motivadas pelo interesse nas ruínas dos antigos Império Romano e civilização grega, interesse que se espalhou por diversos países para além da Itália.

Um olhar humanista: o Renascimento

> O contraste entre a memória literária e remanescentes artísticos do grandioso passado de Roma, e o estado presente de muralhas caídas, seus templos e palácios arruinados, encheram Francesco Petrarca [...] com profunda tristeza e o levou a lágrimas durante sua visita a Roma em 1337. (Jokilehto, 1986, p. 11, tradução nossa)

O humanismo que irrompeu no Renascimento italiano do século XV começou a se manifestar timidamente em anos anteriores. A visita de Petrarca a Roma ainda nos anos 1300 já mostrava esse espírito: um ambiente em que nasceu uma nova perspectiva, onde o homem não apenas se restringia a uma posição de servo de Deus, mas passava a entender seu papel na criação do mundo onde vivia. Com isso, nascia uma nova concepção estética e um novo entendimento sobre história, que alteraram o significado dos remanescentes da Antiguidade[2].

A leitura de Petrarca da obra de Virgílio, buscando sua pureza original estabeleceu uma relação com os remanescentes construídos do império Romano, que passaram a ser lidos como uma forma de validar e reforçar o valor dos textos da Antiguidade. Aí se iniciou a prática das viagens de estudo a Roma, em um primeiro momento com um foco na literatura da Antiguidade. A herança romana – e uma rede de cidades que permaneciam muito próximas à sua configuração original – fez com que a Itália fosse o primeiro destino dessas viagens. Mas os vestígios do império foram buscados em outras

[1] A tese de Jukka Jokilehto, *A History of Architectural Conservation* (1986, publicada depois em 1999) apresenta ações como formação de coleções e identificação de edifícios como monumentos ou memoriais nos antigos Egito, Grécia e Roma.

[2] Em especial os remanescentes vinculados ao Império Romano, mas também aqueles remanescentes da antiga civilização grega.

regiões de seu vasto território, contemplando todo o Mediterrâneo. Em um primeiro momento, a intenção era a de validar os textos antigos. Mesmo nesse fim de Idade Média, já se começou a pensar em algum tipo de preservação como política, como visto no *Costituto senese*, na Siena de 1309, que previa que "quem governa deve ter no fundo do coração a beleza da cidade, para causar prazer e alegria aos estrangeiros, para honra, prosperidade e melhoramento da cidade e de seus cidadãos"[3]. Apesar de não ter se traduzido em ações, mostrava já o espírito que chegaria com o Renascimento[4].

Na passagem para o século XV os monumentos em si passaram a ser valorizados. Esse momento é chamado por Choay [5] de passagem do 'efeito Petrarca' para o 'efeito Brunelleschi'. Filippo Brunelleschi (1377 - 1446), autor do projeto para a cúpula da catedral de *Santa Maria del Fiore*, em Florença, foi um dos primeiros, entre arquitetos e escultores, a ver em Roma as formas da arte clássica. Os dois movimentos deram início a coleções de moedas, esculturas e fragmentos diversos, que eram mantidos nos gabinetes de curiosidades – que precedem os museus – de artistas e príncipes italianos. Porém, foi o 'efeito Brunelleschi' que olhou para os vestígios do antigo império para além dos textos antigos. Foi o início da visão moderna sobre a antiguidade e as artes, enxergando ali uma inspiração, que deveria ser mantida viva pois seria um dos pressupostos para a paz. Além da ideia da quebra da tradição e de um progresso intelectual, que caminhariam juntos. Essas ideias puderam ser vistas em um episódio entre Rafael (1483-1520) e o papa Leão X (1475-1521)[6].

Uma carta ao papa Leão X

Em 1515, Leão X passou à Rafael a missão que é considerada como o nascimento da figura do inspetor de monumentos. O papa incumbiu o artista de coletar peças de mármore para a construção da basílica de São Pedro, com a ressalva de salvar as peças que continham inscrições, por serem essas úteis ao estudo da língua latina. Rafael foi além de sua missão, e em uma carta ao papa apresentou conceitos alinhados à nova visão de mundo renascentista e que foi mais tarde utilizada como exemplo de uma primeira ação de preservação, dentro do debate para a criação de uma legislação italiana para os bens culturais em 1902[7]. A seguir, um trecho da carta:

> Purtroppo si sono insino a qui facte ingiure a quelli animi che col sangue loro parturirono tanta gloria al mondo e a questa patria e a noi, ma più presto cerchi Vostra Santità, lassando vivo el paragone de li antichi, aguagliarli e superarli, come ben fa con magni edificî, col nutrire e favorire le virtuti, e risvegliare gl'ingegni, dar premio alle virtuose fatiche, spargendo el santissimo seme della pace tra li prìncipi Christiani. Perché, come dalla calamitate della guerra nasce la destruzione, ruina di tutte le discipline e arti, così dalla pace e concordia nasce la felicitate a' popoli e aggiunge al colmo della excellenzia. (Rafael, ca. 1519, apud Verde, 2014, p. 125-126)[8]

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[3] Apud Verde, 2014, p. 116, tradução nossa.

O livro de Simone Verde, *Cultura senza capitale*, de 2014, apresenta o cenário da preservação do patrimônio na Itália, em meio a reformas ministeriais. Ele apresenta o conflito entre uma visão quase religiosa do patrimônio e o mercado cultural. Dividido em três partes, a primeira apresenta a construção da atual visão laica do patrimônio. Essa primeira parte do livro de Verde é uma das principais referências neste capítulo.

[4] Outro exemplo de preservação urbana é o caso da cidade de Ferrara (Itália). A cidade foi um importante centro do Renascimento italiano, sob os domínios da família Este. Eles propiciaram duas ações que podem, hoje, ser lidas como embriões de preservação. A primeira, a ampliação da cidade – a adição hercúlea com projeto de Biagio Rossetti em 1484 – que manteve o tecido urbano medieval existente. A outra, após o terremoto de 1570, quando o duque de Ferrara proclamou que edifícios antigos deveriam ser recuperados.

[5] Em *A alegoria do patrimônio* (2001).

[6] O episódio, bem como uma análise dele, com um cenário detalhado da Renascença italiana, se encontra na primeira parte de Verde, 2014, e é a base do relato feito aqui.

[7] Cf. Verde, 2014, p. 308.

[8] Os textos originários de documentos e/ou entrevistas não serão traduzidos, buscando preservar ao máximo a integridade de seu conteúdo.

Ainda que essas ações de preservação fossem reduzidas a uma época e a um público específicos, o Renascimento formou a visão moderna de uma perspectiva histórica e de preservação. Graças a uma visão menos teocêntrica, por assim dizer, surgiram novos interesses por aquilo que o homem produz. Ali nasceu uma concepção nova de história como uma disciplina autônoma e das artes como atividades estéticas, sem que ambas tivessem que ter, necessariamente, uma função utilitária[9]. Essa nova visão de mundo não ficou restrita à Itália, mas atingiu todos os países do oeste europeu. Por isso, é possível falar que o Renascimento foi uma revolução cultural[10].

Os antiquários

Retomando a questão do início das coleções, entre os séculos XVI e XIX [11] os antiquários europeus cumpriram um papel de estudo importante. As viagens de estudo passaram a ter também um objetivo de coletar, comprar ou trocar objetos dos mais variados. Nesse movimento, os antiquários passaram a ter uma função de registro, de inventário e de pesquisa sobre esses objetos, e de forma inconsciente, prepararam o campo de trabalho dos historiadores e arqueólogos do século XIX. Dentre elas, e a partir do século XVII, teve destaque o trabalho de arquitetos no levantamento de monumentos e nos registros esquemáticos de antigas cidades (com desenhos, plantas, análises e descrições). No século seguinte, também os textos escritos dos mais variados temas passaram a ser acompanhados de uma abundante iconografia, como foi o caso dos quinze volumes de *L'Antiquité expliquée* (1719-1724), de Bernard de Montfaucon, com cerca de trinta mil figuras[12].

É necessário ressaltar que essas ações não tinham ainda uma correspondência em uma política efetiva de preservação. Os objetos, por questões técnicas incluindo a sua portabilidade, eram mais bem preservados do que os edifícios. Podemos indicar duas exceções. Uma, as sociedades inglesas de antiquários, que já nos séculos XVII e XVIII estavam organizados em prol da defesa da arquitetura gótica, que seria a expressão da sua cultura.

Textos papais

A outra exceção nos faz voltar à Renascença, em seu período inicial, e em um movimento de disputa de poder entre a Florença, centro renascentista intelectual e artístico, e Roma, sede da Igreja Católica. Com uma série de documentos (entre bulas, breves e encíclicas papais) e a doação de objetos da Antiguidade[13],

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Françoise Choay (2001) traz também um trecho da mesma carta de Rafael ao papa Leão X. É curioso notar que o trecho escolhido aborda a questão por um outro viés, aquele da prática comum disseminada pela Santa Sé de aproveitar as peças de mármore dos monumentos da Antiguidade: "Toda essa Roma nova que vemos atualmente em sua grandiosidade e beleza, com seus palácios e suas igrejas, foi toda construída, tal como é, com cal feita de mármore antigo. Eu não poderia penar sem um profundo pesar que desde a minha chegada a Roma – há menos de doze anos – destruíram tantos monumentos belos, como a Pietà, a arcada na entrada dos banhos de Diocleciano, o templo de Ceres na Via Sacra, uma parte do Fórum, incendiada há poucos dias, cujos mármores foram transformados em cal [...]. É uma vergonha que estes tempos tenham tolerado tais coisas [...]. Aníbal e os outros inimigos de Roma não haveriam de agir de forma tão cruel". (Rafael, ca. 1519, apud Choay, 2001, p. 57). A carta é alvo de diversos estudos, sobretudo na Itália. No Brasil, Luciano Migliaccio (2010) publicou uma análise, incluindo a tradução do documento, que foi escrito como uma dedicatória de uma planta de Roma, elaborada pelo artista.

[9] Cf. Choay, 2011a.

[10] Foi o historiador italiano Eugenio Garin quem adotou a ideia de "revolução cultural", na década de 1950, em seus estudos sobre o século XV italiano. Essa classificação é retomada por Choay (2011a). Garin parte do pressuposto que se o século XV na Itália era estudado a partir de suas obras de arte, elas eram indissociáveis de outras inovações nas áreas técnica, política e econômica, que se mostram como fundamentais para um novo pensamento na Europa. O mesmo raciocínio ele faz para a Revolução Industrial, que seria considerada uma segunda revolução cultural.

[11] Ver Françoise Choay, no livro *La terre qui meurt*, de 2011. A obra reúne dois artigos e foi instigado por questionamentos sobre as consequências da globalização. O primeiro, *Espacements*, foi publicado em 1969 e trata de planejamento urbano. O segundo, *Patrimoine, quel enjeu de société?*, é o que nos interessa aqui, e aborda alguns conceitos chave sobre patrimônio, bem como questões atuais do *Manifeste des Territorialistes*, de 2010.

[12] Cf. Choay, 2011a.

[13] Cf. Verde, 2014 e Sette, 2001. Entre os documentos,

chegamos ao édito de 1471 do papa Sisto IV, que restituía bronzes antigos à população[14]. O uso da palavra 'restituir' – que pode significar 'restaurar' – continha a ambiguidade da matéria: poderia se tratar de um restauro no sentido físico, ou no sentido moral e simbólico. O fato é que tal momento provocou uma pequena revolução, por tratar do objeto em si, sem qualquer carga de um poder mágico ou ritualístico, presentes no período medieval. Então abriu-se caminho para o início de ações museológicas, de catalogação por tipologias, de forma bastante racional. Ainda no cenário da disputa Florença/Roma, a Cúria adotou a estratégia de não hostilizar esse racionalismo, nem o movimento renascentista de uma laicização do conhecimento. Se Roma não podia ter o poder econômico de Florença, ela se tornaria no "grande ateliê teórico e ideológico do Renascimento, reiterando a natureza divina da nova *intelligentsia* laica e mesclando em novos esquemas conceituais sua origem nas antiguidades"[15]. Nascia a principal coleção de antiguidades do mundo, abrigada hoje nos Museus Vaticano[16].



01_Taddeo Zuccari desenha o Lacoonte, primeira peça a ser exibida no Belvedere, Roma, ca 1600.

Vale ressaltar ainda que, não obstante a importância dos textos papais, em quase todos os estados italianos pré-unificação foram vistas iniciativas de preservação. Seja como no caso de Siena (já mencionado aqui e ainda na Idade Média) ou como em Nápoles. Com o reinado de Carlos de Bourbon, foram realizadas diversas escavações arqueológicas em Herculano, a partir de 1738, e Pompeia, a partir de 1748. Essas ações tiveram como resultado a descoberta de uma grande quantidade de peças da Antiguidade, o que motivou a aprovação de uma lei para a preservação desse patrimônio, em 1755. Essa lei se contrapunha às normativas papais de coletar peças da Antiguidade e reuni-las em Roma. A lei napolitana previa que as peças encontradas deveriam permanecer em seu local de origem. O mesmo movimento visto em Nápoles foi seguido por toda a Itália, como em Veneza, com as iniciativas da redação de um catálogo de obras de arte e a criação do *Generale Ispettore delle Arti di Venezia*, em 1773, ou no Reino da Sicília, com a criação da *Regia Custodia delle Antichità di Sicilia*, em 1778. Todas essas iniciativas foram resultado de um sentimento de identidade cívica, que correspondia à ideia de fazer parte de uma comunidade bem organizada (fosse pelos papas, fosse por uma das famílias como os Medici em Florença)[17].

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podemos citar o breve Etsi de cunctarum, de 1425, que considerava manter intacto o prestígio de Roma, em particular do aspecto da Urbe; a bula Cum almam mostram urbem, de 1462, que proibia a demolição ou espoliação de ruínas; as bulas Etsi de cunctarum, de 1474 e a Quam provida, de 1476, ambas sobre a proibição da cessão de obras de arte da Igreja.

[14] "Sixtus IIII pont. Max. / ob immensam benignita/tem aeneas insingnes sta/tuas priscae excellentiae / virtutisque monumen/tum romano populo / unde exorte fuere resti/tuendas condonandas / que censuit" (apud Verde, 2014, p. 117).

[15] Verde, op. cit., p. 120. Texto original consultado : "grande atelier teorico e ideologico del Rinascimento, ribadendo la natura divina della nuova intellettualità laica e intrecciando in nuovi schemi concettuali la filiazione con gli antichi."

[16] Mais conhecidos por abrigarem a Capela Sistina, os Museus Vaticano são um complexo de museus cujas coleções abrigam de obras da Antiguidade até o final do Renascimento, arte contemporânea e o edifício em si, com salas pintadas por artistas como Rafael e Michelangelo.

[17] As iniciativas de preservação encontradas na Itália no período do Renascimento são inúmeras. Para um detalhamento a respeito, ver Settis, 2007 e 2012.

A Revolução Francesa e o olhar nacional

A identidade cívica e o movimento de despir os objetos e edifícios de um sentido sacro foram vistos em outra escala – e com outra força – mais tarde na Revolução Francesa. Dessa vez, em um cenário que deu a obras de arte e monumentos um outro sentido: o nacional.

A Revolução Francesa esteve cheia de momentos em que o debate sobre preservação emergiu. E por conta das características da Revolução, na grande maioria das vezes, de forma violenta[1]. O centro do debate ainda não considerava o como preservar, mas sim por que e o quê preservar. Após a queda da Bastilha, em meio a uma violenta luta de classes e com os camponeses jogados na miséria e na insegurança, os revolucionários buscavam em todas as áreas manter a ideia da legitimidade do poder e o princípio de igualdade social, dois dos preceitos da Revolução. A questão era que não havia sentido manter uma série de obras de arte e monumentos quando o povo passava fome. Então, seria um direito do povo se apropriar desses bens para um uso prático. Por exemplo, estátuas de bronze deveriam ser utilizadas para a produção de moedas ou outros utensílios. Ou monumentos poderiam ser 'desmontados' de acordo com as necessidades locais. Além dos bens ligados à monarquia, nesse início da Revolução foram arrolados também os bens da Igreja, confiscados com o objetivo de superar a crise econômica em que o reino estava imerso. Nesse momento, os novos governantes viram-se às voltas com a questão de contabilizar bens que até então tinham uma aura sacra, por vezes com poderes mágicos (como no caso de relíquias de santos). Começou-se então um processo de descristianização, com inventários e avaliações racionais desses bens. Esse foi um primeiro movimento que alterou significativamente a relação das pessoas com esses objetos[2].

Essas ações foram pautadas pela ideia de que não havia sentido em preservar objetos que representassem um governo despótico. Por exemplo, em 24 de julho de 1792, o parlamentar Pierre-Joseph Cambon declarou: "Je propose de faire fondre les statues des anciens tyrans"[3]. Em 11 de agosto do mesmo ano, foi a vez de outro parlamentar, Jacques-Alexis Thuriot, defender a utilidade de obras de arte:

> Je m'oppose à l'ordre du jour. Je demande à l'Assemblée de décréter que ces statues seront enlevées, et qu'elles seront employées d'une manière utile pour la nation. Les unes, en effet, peuvent servir aux arts, les autres seront transformées en monnaie ou en canons. Il faut que l'Assemblée montre un grand caractère et qu'elle ordonne l'anéantissement de tous ces monuments de l'orgueil et du despotisme. *(Applaudissements)* (Archives parlementaires, tome 48, p. 2)

A ideia lançada por Cambon atingiu os monumentos em 14 de agosto do mesmo 1792, com um decreto que intimava os revolucionários a transformar em armas de defesa todos os objetos de bronze localizados em espaços públicos. O decreto indicava que esse trabalho estaria subordinado à oficiais das prefeituras, incluindo representantes da comissão de monumentos. Porém, na prática o dano já teria sido causado[4]. E por isso se

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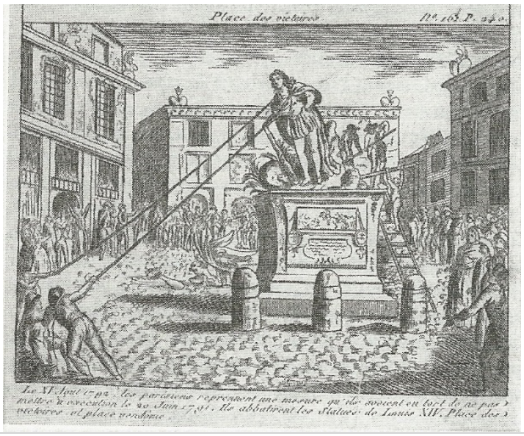
[1] Cf. Mota, 2007.

[2] Após a Assembleia Nacional votar, em 2 de novembro de 1789, pela nacionalização dos bens da Igreja, em 10 de setembro de 1790, a autoridade municipal de Paris pede que o pintor Gabriel-François Doyen um inventário de quanto se poderia obter com a venda dos bens da Igreja e quanto poderia ser leiloado. (Cf. Verde, 2014, p. 71)

[3] *Archives parlementaires, de 1787 à 1860*, Recueil complet, première série, tome 47 (du 21 Juillet 1792 au 10 aout 1792), Paris, 1896, p. 109. Documento disponível no portal <http://gallica.bnf.fr/>, repositório dos arquivos parlamentares históricos franceses.

[4] "Art. 1er. Toutes les statues, bas-reliefs, inscriptions et autres monuments en bronze, ou en toute autre matière, élevés dans toutes les places publiques, temples, jardins,

seguiram diversas manifestações de parlamentares e revolucionários por toda a França.



02_ Ilustração no periódico *Révolutions de Paris dédiées à la Nation*, de 4 a 11 de agosto de 1792, mostra a tomada da estátua de Luís XIV, na Place desVictoires.

Na fase do Terror, a destruição maciça de bens e monumentos vinculados à monarquia e à igreja teve seu ápice. Mas a destruição começou logo após a queda da Bastilha, em 1789. E desde então, algumas vozes começaram a se erguer contra a destruição que estava em curso, em um debate acalorado. Ressaltamos uma fala profética, como que anunciando o processo que aconteceria ao longo da Revolução. Em abril de 1791 o pintor Jean-Bernard Restout disse:

> Sarebbe utile se il pubblico fosse in qualche modo iniziato a una conoscenza delle arti [...] che non insegneremmo più come arti del lusso, futili e superflue e si saprebbe che tutto ciò che è suscettibile di ricevere forma e proporzione ne deriva e che numerose manifatture devono loro la nascita o la perfezione. (Apud Verde, 2014, p. 88)

Restout foi um ativo revolucionário, tendo sido nomeado *Garde-Meuble de la Couronne*, o responsável pelos bens móveis e imóveis da monarquia. Foi preso e solto com a queda de Robespierre. A sua fala foi um prenúncio de um segundo movimento, o de entender os bens da monarquia, e de períodos anteriores a ela, como uma fonte de conhecimento, vital para a continuidade da grandeza do povo francês. Em outras palavras, para impedir a destruição de bens que agora eram considerados apenas por quanto dinheiro poderiam valer, era necessário dar um outro sentido a esse patrimônio. Mas o caminho para chegar a esse outro sentido não foi tranquilo. Havia ainda uma grande oposição entre os direitos soberanos do povo e a preservação desses bens.

O abade Grégoire

Nesse percurso, um personagem importante foi o abade Grégoire. Henri Grégoire, revolucionário e intelectual, foi encarregado pela Convenção Nacional de elaborar três relatórios sobre o estado do patrimônio artístico monumental e cultural da França. Neles, o abade cunhou o termo 'vandalismo'. No *Troisième rapport sur le vandalisme*, de 1794, o abade afirmou:

> Vous ne connoissez qu'imparfaitement encore toutes les horreurs commises dans la commune de Verdun sur les monumens des sciences et arts. […] Les tableaux, les tapisseries, les livres et autres objets provenant de la ci-devant cathédrale ont été transportés sur une place appelée *la Roche*. Les officiers municipaux décorés du ruban tricolor, le district, deux membres du département ont assisté à cette infâme expédition. On a battu la générale, fait prendre les armes aux citoyens, etc., et les vandales se sont réunis en orgie après la cérémonie. (Grégoire, 1794, p.9)[5]

parcs et dépendances, maisons nationales, même dans celles qui étaient réservées à la jouissance du roi, seront enlevées à la diligence des représentants des communes, qui veilleront à leur conservation provisoire. Art. 2. Les représentants de la commune de Paris feront, sans délai, convertir en bouches à feu tous les objets énoncés en l'article premier, existants dans l'enceinte des murs de Paris, sous la surveillance du ministre de l'intérieur, de deux membres de la commission des armes et de deux membres de la commission des monuments." (Archives parlementaires, tome 48, p. 116).

[5] A expressão 'vandalismo' já era utilizada por outros revolucionários, porém ao coloca-la no título de seus relatórios, o abade Grégoire definiu o novo conceito. Documento disponível em: < https://books.google.fr/books?id=OH1DAAAAcAAJ&printsec=frontcover&hl=fr&source=gbs_ge_summary_r#v=one

A esse relato se seguiram casos em Paris, Estrasburgo, Dijon, Lyon, enfim, por toda a França.

No mesmo debate de 1792 sobre as estátuas de bronze, havia a posição do deputado Henri-Paul Reboul. Sua fala partiu de um ponto de vista quantitativo, de forma bastante racional, alinhada à nova visão que a Revolução trazia.

> Il est de fait, et un calcul bien simple peut établir, que toutes les statues de bronze, qui sont répandues sur la surface du royaume, ne feront pas ensemble une masse de métal, valant intrinsèquement 100,000 livres. *(Murmures à gauche)* Ce fait est incontestable. Maintenant, si vous le considérez sous un autre rapport, détruire les statues, ce n'est pas, comme on vous l'a dit, détruire le despotisme ; c'est détruire des monuments élevés par les arts, et qui font honneur aux arts. *(Murmures à gauche)* Je vous rappellerai que les artistes de toutes les nations vont étudier leur art devant les statues des Néron et des Caligula, qui ont été arrachées aux mains des Goths et des Vandales. Je vous demande si un peuple qui a l'amour de la liberté peut vouloir imiter la conduite des Goths et des Vandales, et renverser pur une modique somme de 100,000 livres les monuments que les beaux arts ont élevés depuis trois siècles. (Archives parlementaires, tome 47, p. 109)

O posicionamento de Reboul deu a largada ao argumento também utilizado pelo abade Grégoire, o de um processo de avaliação 'custo *versus* benefício' do que começou a ser entendido como um patrimônio do povo francês. Ainda mais porque o abade tinha muito claro em mente que "è impossibile valutare il contributo economico di beni che illustrano positivamente l'immagine della nazione e stimolano la qualità delle sue produzioni"[6]. Um relatório que precedeu aqueles elaborados pelo abade questionava: "Et quand tout sera détruit, quels modeles, quels objets de comparaison trouveront les artistes pour perfectionner leur goût, enflammer leur génie?"[7].

Nesse sentido Cambon, que até então incentivava a destruição de bens vinculados ao Antigo Regime, passou a adotar uma nova postura[8]:

> Sans doute, il faut conserver les monuments des arts, il faut les conserver pour servir de modèle aux monuments à élever à la liberté. Il faut conserver jusqu'aux images qui nous rappellent cette famille des Bourbons, qui méritera éternellement notre reconnaissance pour nous avoir fait détester les rois. *(Vifs applaudissements)* Il faut que nos neveux apprennent qu'asservis depuis tant de siècles sous le joug des tyrans, les Français ont voulu, et le joug a été brisé, et les tyrans anéantis. *(Nouveaux applaudissements)* Le peuple ne veut plus de royauté ; rendons-en le retour impossible ; mais respectons pour les arts les monuments consacrés à cette royauté. Réunissons-les dans un seul endroit pour en former le Muséum. […] Je demande que le comité d'instruction publique fasse dans la semaine un rapport sur les moyens de former ce monument, qui, en détruisant l'idée de la royauté, conservera les chefs-d'œuvre enfermés dans les détestables palais de nos ci-devant rois. *(Nouveaux applaudissements)* (Archives parlementaires, tome 48, p. 624)[9]

Passava-se a celebrar o artista, e não mais o soberano, com o intuito de incentivar uma energia criativa em um povo até então oprimido[10]. Intuito oficializado em um decreto

page&q&f=false>.

[6] Verde, 2014, p. 80.

[7] Observations de quelques patriotes sur la nécessité de conserver les monuments de la Littérature et des Arts, Paris, 1793 p. 17. O texto foi assinado por Antoine-Augustin Renouard, Charles Chardin, Armand Charlemagne e Gilbert Romme. O documento encontra-se disponível em < http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k6225099x>

[8] Nas palavras de Carlos Guilherme Mota, "nesse longo percurso de apenas dez anos, 1789-1799" (2007, p. 153), e com "revoluções" dentro de uma revolução, foi possível ver mudanças de posturas de personagens importantes na Revolução Francesa. No caso da preservação de monumentos, uma área que começou a se formar naquele momento, essas mudanças foram ainda mais abruptas e rápidas.

[9] Foi esse ato, em 22 de agosto de 1792, que deu origem à criação do Museu do Louvre, alguns meses mais tarde.

[10] Cf. Verde, 2014, p. 79. Sobre essa mudança de visão, Argan apresenta também a distinção que se criou entre

de 24 de outubro de 1793, na Convenção Nacional:

> Art. 1er. Il est défendu d'enlever, de détruire, mutiler ni altérer en aucune manière, sous prétexte de faire disparaître les signes de féodalité ou de royauté dans les bibliothèques, les collections, cabinets, musées publics ou particuliers, non plus que chez les artistes, ouvriers, librairies ou marchands, les livres imprimés ou manuscrits, les gravures et dessins, les tableaux, bas-reliefs, statues, médailles, vases, antiquités, cartes géographiques, plans, reliefs, modèles, machines, instruments et autres objets qui intéressent les arts, l'histoire et l'instruction. (Archives parlementaires, tome 77, p. 486)

Era a ideia do universal da Grécia antiga e do Renascimento italiano, o que poderia ter sido o prenúncio de um patrimônio mundial, porém que ficaria depois restrito à esfera nacional. Como que uma forma de competição entre nações. Aliando a preservação de obras de arte à educação, criou-se uma estrutura na França que ainda hoje apresenta questões culturais como um dos pontos principais para viabilização do progresso de um povo.

> E os exércitos têm ordens da Revolução de se apoderarem e trazerem a Paris os "objetos de arte e de ciência" pilhados – política adotada depois por Napoleão, transformando Paris na capital cultural do Império. O Museu do Louvre é o símbolo mais eloquente dessa política. (Mota, 2007, p. 109)

Da mesma forma como a Revolução apresentou mudanças de posições radicais muito rápidas, é necessário notar uma outra contradição: ao fim da Revolução, esse discurso vai ser utilizado para justificar saques de obras de arte em outros países. Colocando os franceses como os únicos capazes de preservar esse bem universal de governos despóticos. Nas palavras do abade Grégoire: "Plus que les Romains, plus que Démétrius Poliorcète, nous avons droit de dire qu'en combattant les tyrans, nous protégeons les arts. Nous en recueillons les monumens, même dans les contrées où pénètrent nos armées victorieuses"[11].

Por fim, essas diversas ações se somaram na criação de uma estrutura de preservação do patrimônio na França. Em 1830, a primeira *Inspection générale des monuments historiques*, dirigida pelo escritor Prosper Mérimée. Em 1837, a *Comission nationale des monuments historiques*, que elaborou o primeiro inventário de monumentos históricos franceses. Em 1898, a proteção do primeiro sítio natural (a cascata Gimel) e em 1901 a primeira lei de proteção de sítios naturais (lei Beauquier). Para chegar a 1906, com uma lei que só seria atualizada vinte e cinco anos depois, e que pretendeu organizar a proteção dos monumentos naturais e dos sítios de caráter artístico, histórico, científico ou pitoresco.

O testamento de James Smithson (1829)

Pensando no alcance que as ideias e ideais da Revolução Francesa tiveram[12], foi significativo um dos momentos iniciais da preservação nos Estados Unidos: a criação do Instituto Smithsonian[13]. Em 1792, James Smithson estava em Paris, com pouco mais de

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"aquele que pode fazer e aquele que pode fazer com que se faça". Adiante, insere o artista nesse novo cenário: "Agora sabemos quem é o artista: é alguém que, para possuir, faz e, portanto, é bem diferente daquele que para possuir se apodera, o guerreiro ou o político". (Argan, 2005, p. 38-39)

[11] *Rapport sur les destructions opérés par le vandalisme et sur les moyens de le reprimer*, Paris, 1794, p. 20. Documento disponível em: <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k48495b>

[12] A Europa era o local onde a elite americana estudava, com particular destaque para a França. Ou seja, os ventos que falavam de democracia e de igualdade social atravessaram o Atlântico. Vale notar que em 1778, o rei francês recebeu de braços abertos, em Versalhes, uma delegação de revolucionários norte-americanos, liderados por Benjamin Franklin. O historiador Carlos Guilherme Mota (2007) apresenta o movimento de ideias entre os revolucionários franceses e norte-americanos, bem como dos ideais revolucionários que também chegaram ao Brasil.

[13] A história é contada em detalhes na primeira parte do livro de Simone Verde (2014).

25 anos de idade. Membro da *Royal Society*, intelectual, químico e mineralogista, viajava frequentemente, em expedições pela Europa. E com o fim do Antigo Regime a liberdade intelectual parecia enorme. Era uma época em que

> parecia possível não apenas a organização do mundo graças à indústria, mas também a construção de um saber holístico, global, que derrubasse para sempre as fronteiras entre orgânico e inorgânico, reescrevendo na vida presente em todos os lugares a lógica do divino. (Verde, 2014, p. 34, tradução nossa)

Era esse o espírito visto também nos Estados Unidos da América, que havia assinado sua declaração de independência em 1776, cujos 'pais fundadores' eram todos eles intelectuais, seguindo a lógica da cultura americana que mesclava uma racionalidade protestante com o iluminismo laico. Foi o ex-presidente John Quincy Adams que convenceu o congresso americano a cumprir o testamento de Smithson: ao falecer em 1829, Smithson deixou em testamento sua fortuna para a criação na nova capital americana de uma instituição "para o aumento e a difusão do conhecimento"[14]. Consequentemente, em 1846 foi criado o Smithsonian Institution, em Washington [15] . Ali está a tumba de James Smithson, recuperada por Alexander Graham Bell entre 1903 e 1904. O filantropo morreu na periferia de Gênova, sem jamais ter colocado os pés no Novo Mundo[16].

O Smithsonian nasceu já dentro do espírito da nova nação, com uma missão universalística e que pretendia colocar o conhecimento no centro do projeto de crescimento do país, ressaltando a identidade nacional. O fato de ter sido criado a partir da doação de um completo desconhecido parece reforçar a ideia geral da instituição. Desde a sua criação, o Smithsonian assumiu a liderança do sistema cultural norte-americano, associando a formação de coleções museológicas a atividades de pesquisa, com a realização de conferências gratuitas e a publicação de estudos nas áreas das ciências humanas e da natureza. O incentivo a uma produção dessa ordem teve como resultados os primeiros estudos arqueológicos sobre assentamentos indígenas. A primeira publicação do Smithsonian foi de 1848, *Ancient Monuments of the Mississippi Valley*, com grande importância etnográfica. Mais do que isso, o fato da publicação unir cultura e meio ambiente fez com que as ciências humanas passassem a ser consideradas também como um elemento de progresso (em complementação a pesquisas tradicionais realizadas nas áreas de física, química e matemática).

Essas ações iniciais do Smithsonian levaram ao que pode ser considerado o segundo ato de preservação nos EUA: a proteção do parque Yellowstone em 1872, o primeiro caso de proteção de uma área natural no mundo. Uma nova linha de pesquisa começava a estudar os mecanismos de adaptação às condições naturais como um ponto estratégico de desenvolvimento. Na esteira do Yellowstone vieram a proteção do sítio histórico de Casa Grande, no Arizona em 1892 e em 1906 da antiga vila de Mesa Verde, no sul do Colorado.

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[14] Conforme o site da instituição, onde também está indicado o valor doado: meio milhão de dólares, que era o equivalente a 1/66 de todo o orçamento federal dos EUA na época (http://www.si.edu/About/History). Texto original consultado: "for the increase and diffusion of knowledge".

[15] Hoje o Smithsonian é o maior complexo museal do mundo, reunindo 19 museus e galerias, além do *National Zoological Park* e nove centros de pesquisa.

[16] A Itália, como tinha sido no Renascimento, era novamente destino obrigatório para viagens de estudos de intelectuais. Fonte interessante de pesquisa são os diários desses viajantes. Além do registro importante (por desenhos) de edifícios e cidades que não existem mais, essas viagens também funcionaram como uma forma de difusão e troca no debate que estava começando sobre restauração, formação de coleções e museus e monumentos históricos. Um exemplo dessa tradição são os três volumes de Goethe, "Viagem à Itália", 1786-1788.

Dos primórdios do século XIX ao período de entre-guerras

Tal como os EUA iniciaram ações pela preservação de seu patrimônio nacional na segunda metade do século XIX, foi esse o século que viu a consolidação desse debate na Europa, debate que atravessou o Atlântico (junto com os ideais de liberdade, igualdade e fraternidade), em meio aos processos de independência que aconteciam nas Américas. Além da Revolução Francesa, outra revolução trouxe uma nova visão de mundo para o cotidiano das pessoas.

> Nascido, desta vez na Inglaterra durante o último quarto do século XVIII, esta revolução cultural toca em seguida, como a primeira, e com deslocamentos e especificidades semelhantes, o conjunto dos países da Europa ocidental. Ela nos é mais familiar pelo nome de 'revolução industrial'. [...] O advento da mecanização, acompanhado por desenvolvimentos sucessivos da produção industrial e do transporte ferroviário, não provocou apenas o êxodo rural, reviravoltas nos modos de vida tradicionais ou a formação do proletariado urbano, ele também contribuiu para a transformação das mentalidades. (Choay, 2011a, p. 78, tradução nossa)

Ou seja, o século XIX começou sob um embate de diferentes visões de mundo. E justamente por isso a leitura de Françoise Choay sobre a revolução industrial[17] como uma revolução cultural que – como a ocorrida no Renascimento – teve ressonâncias globais.

Das comissões e comitês revolucionários franceses, destacou-se a Comissão de Monumentos Históricos, de 1837. A ela, seguiram-se iniciativas na Inglaterra, com o *Ancient Monuments Act* (1882); na recém unificada Itália, com a criação da Superintendência de bens arquitetônicos de Ravena (1897); e no México, com a criação da Inspeção Geral de Monumentos (1885). No século XIX também são retomadas as viagens de estudo aos monumentos da Antiguidade, com preferência para a Itália e a Grécia, em continuidade às viagens renascentistas.

Primeiras teorias sobre restauro

Em paralelo, havia um debate que criou as primeiras teorias sobre restauro e preservação de patrimônio, e que foram a base de todas as outras iniciativas que se seguiram e são ainda hoje referência. Desta forma, não é possível entender as ações de preservação do patrimônio sem as referências do francês Eugène Emmanuel Viollet-le-Duc, do inglês John Ruskin, do italiano Camillo Boito e do austríaco Aloïs Riegl. Suas respectivas publicações foram o verbete *Restauração* (no *Dictionnaire Raisonné de l'Architecture Française du XIe au XVIe* Siècle, publicado entre 1854 e 1868), *Seven lamps of architecture* (1849), *Os restauradores* (1884) e *O culto moderno dos monumentos* (1903). Mas não apenas seus textos devem ser considerados. Eles foram bastante atuantes também na elaboração de políticas de preservação do patrimônio.

As teorias desenvolvidas nesses textos foram embasadas em práticas de restauro, que continham em si um pouco do retrato da época: uma base científica e nacionalista. Na Itália, a valorização de determinados edifícios contribuiu para criar a ideia de uma nação unificada, enquanto na França e na Inglaterra foram desenvolvidas práticas de restauro que eram uma reação às mudanças radicais que estavam em curso por conta das duas revoluções. Nos três casos, havia a preocupação com o que seria autenticamente nacional[18].

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[17] Um dos marcos da revolução industrial é o início da operação da primeira estrada de ferro, em 1825, com a inglesa Stockton-Darlington.

[18] E o pensamento vigente para as restaurações

Já Riegl entrou no debate por outro aspecto. Reconhecido por sua abordagem interdisciplinar da história da arte, o austríaco discutiu no texto mencionado a questão do valor do monumento. Ele partia do pressuposto que cada período histórico tem o seu *Kunstwollen*, o seu 'querer da arte'. Riegl analisou questões de estilo até chegar à discussão sobre o valor artístico de um monumento. Ele também avaliou o valor histórico desse mesmo monumento, incluindo ainda o valor de memória [19]. Os diferentes valores de um monumento poderiam ser contraditórios, por isso, cada caso deveria ser analisado dentro da sua própria dialética particular, sem buscar soluções ou definições totalizantes. O texto de Riegl ainda hoje é base para as discussões sobre a valoração do patrimônio, em especial nas questões sobre o valor de atualidade de determinado bem.

Enquanto Viollet-le-Duc defendia a unidade estilística de forma bastante radical (propondo, em alguns casos, a reconstrução de estruturas inteiras), as escolas inglesa e italiana tinham uma abordagem mais conservadora. De uma forma bastante sintética, se pode dizer que a linha francesa buscava recuperar o modelo original, dando mais valor à dimensão estética (e estilística) que à histórica; a italiana considerava que cada intervenção é única, e por isso não se poderia considerar a aplicação automática do que seriam as características de determinado estilo, sem uma avaliação crítica sobre o objeto em questão; por fim, a inglesa considerava um ciclo de vida dos monumentos, sendo que sua 'morte' seria inevitável, bem como considerava a contradição entre arte e indústria, em uma clara resposta às mudanças provocadas pela revolução industrial [20]. Partindo para o campo da tutela, a partir das teorias de restauro desenvolvidas pelos três, no final do século XIX, é possível distinguir três posturas diferentes em relação à preservação do patrimônio. A francesa, que – após fazer a Revolução – elaborou suas primeiras leis considerando uma forte centralização estatal da preservação, com o Estado administrando todo o processo. A inglesa, que ainda no século XVIII considerava a gestão dos monumentos históricos como "uma questão das sociedades de antiquários e de arqueólogos, oficialmente relegados pelo *National Trust*, associação privada que, desde 1895, gere o essencial do patrimônio histórico inglês" [21]. E a terceira postura, a italiana.

As leis italianas de 1902 e 1922

Após o processo de unificação da Itália, iniciou-se um outro: o de buscar uma unidade às ações isoladas que existiam em todo o território. A experiência italiana somou à visão francesa a dimensão técnica, com a contribuição decisiva de Boito, "a quem se deve a lei italiana de 1902, então a mais avançada da Europa, *Sulla conservazione di monumenti e degli ogetti d'arte*" [22]. Essa lei foi se aperfeiçoando, em especial com a inclusão da temática da paisagem, seguindo os movimentos vistos na França e nos Estados Unidos. Ao longo desse debate, foi sendo amadurecida a visão do patrimônio italiano como vinculado ao ambiente de forma diversa daquela vista nos EUA, Inglaterra ou França. Na Itália, o patrimônio natural foi entendido como a natureza modificada pelo homem. Uma frase atribuída a John Ruskin, se tornou na época um

arquitetônicas era a unidade estilística (cf. Stubbs e Makaš, 2011). No caso da Inglaterra e França, o estilo era o medieval, enquanto na Itália eram buscados os modelos produzidos na Antiguidade e na Renascença.

[19] Sobre esse debate, ver a apresentação ao texto de Riegl, feita por Annateresa Fabris (edição da Perspectiva, 2014).

[20] John Ruskin fazia parte do movimento *Arts & Crafts*, de William Morris. Resumidamente, o movimento começou nas últimas décadas do século XIX, e lutava contra os efeitos da industrialização no design, nas técnicas tradicionais de trabalho e no cotidiano das pessoas. Buscava um retorno às atividades manuais e artesanais. Em particular Ruskin buscava as relações entre arte, sociedade e trabalho.

[21] Choay, 2011, p. 22-23. Para um aprofundamento na questão do debate teórico sobre restauração e identificação do que é patrimônio, além dos textos originais dos quatro autores mencionados, vale consultar Françoise Choay (2001) e Beatriz Kühl (2008), para ficarmos restritos às publicações em português.

[22] Ibidem, p. 23.

slogan da preservação do meio ambiente na Itália: "a paisagem é o rosto amado da pátria"[23].

Esse debate, aliado à industrialização mais lenta que a vista em outros países da Europa, fez com que uma mudança de legislação fosse feita de forma efetiva em 1922. Nesse ano, foi aprovado o texto escrito pelo filósofo Benedetto Croce, então ministro da educação. O texto de Croce indicava a questão da importância da paisagem, em linha com as teorias de Camillo Boito e de Gustavo Giovannoni [24]. Em fala ao Senado, Croce defendeu a nova lei baseado nos exemplos norte-americano e de outros países europeus, fazendo também referência a questões delicadas, como o embate campo *versus* cidade (que seria a relação entre a natureza e a cultura). E a questão da propriedade privada. A tal respeito, retomou a ideia de utilidade pública – presente no direito romano – afirmando que seria inadmissível "desfigurar um monumento ou ofender uma bela paisagem, ambos destinados ao prazer de todos. [...] O grande interesse moral e artístico legitima a intervenção do Estado, porque a paisagem nada mais é do que a representação material e visível da pátria"[25]. Apesar da lei Croce ter sido aprovada poucos meses antes da ascensão do fascismo, em outubro de 1922, o regime de Mussolini não modificou as regras de preservação estabelecidas ali[26].

A Liga das Nações

Estamos agora no período de entre-guerras. A destruição causada pela guerra não estimulou apenas o debate sobre preservação, mas criou um fórum internacional, que buscou reforçar a relação entre os diversos países em prol do bem comum. Nascia, em 1919, a Liga das Nações[27].

De acordo com os assuntos a serem tratados, a Liga criou comitês e institutos temáticos, sendo criada ali uma cultura diplomática que, com o fim da II Guerra, deu origem à Unesco [28]. Entre eles, o Comitê Internacional para a Cooperação Intelectual, onde estavam envolvidos intelectuais do calibre de Henri Bergson, Albert Einstein, Marie Curie, Béla Bartók, Thomas Mann e Paul Valéry[29], com seu Instituto Internacional para a Cooperação Intelectual, sediado em Paris. Considerando a mesma ideia de uma cooperação internacional, foram criados também o Escritório Internacional de Museus e a Comissão Internacional de Monumentos Históricos. Em particular os dois últimos, organizaram diversas conferências internacionais com o tema da preservação do patrimônio cultural. Vale notar que os patrimônios móvel e imóvel foram tratados com o mesmo peso.

Carta de Atenas (1931) e Pacto Roerich (1935)

Ainda na Europa, o período também foi de estruturação de fóruns de discussão sobre patrimônio. Além das organizações vinculadas à Liga das Nações, foram criadas o italiano *Istituto per il Restauro*, de 1939, e o francês *Institut Royal du Patrimoine Artistique*, de 1948. Alguns dos encontros promovidos por essas organizações geraram documentos – as

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[23] Settis, 2012, p. 6, tradução nossa. A frase de Ruskin é de um livro escrito pelo francês Robert de la Sizeranne (*Ruskin et la religion de la beauté*), de 1897, que contribuiu decisivamente para a difusão de suas ideias na França e na Itália (cf. Settis, 2012).

[24] O arquiteto italiano Gustavo Giovannoni (1873-1947) deu continuidade à tradição iniciada com Camillo Boito e estabeleceu, nos anos 1910 relações de paisagem cultural, ao escrever sobre as relações entre a "cidade nova" e a "cidade velha". O texto *Vecchie città ed edilizia nuova* foi publicado originalmente em 1913 e ganhou tradução no Brasil ao completar 100 anos, na coletânea de textos de Giovannoni organizada por Beatriz Mugayar Kühl (2013).

[25] Croce apud Settis, 2012, p. 7, tradução nossa.

[26] No entanto, em 1939 foram aprovadas duas leis que passaram a funcionar em paralelo. Essa alteração será abordada no capítulo seguinte.

[27] A Liga das Nações (1919-1946) foi a predecessora da Organização das Nações Unidas (ONU).

[28] Sobre a história da Unesco, ver Conil-Lacoste, 1994.

[29] Cf. Jokilehto, 2011, p. 3.

chamadas Cartas Patrimoniais – que não têm caráter normativo, mas sim prescritivo, e ajudaram a consolidar todo um campo de atuação.

Nesse cenário, em 1931 foi realizado o Congresso de Arquitetos e Técnicos em Monumentos Históricos na cidade de Atenas. Organizado pelo Serviço Internacional de Museus da Sociedade das Nações, teve o objetivo de discutir diferentes experiências na proteção aos monumentos de interesse histórico, artístico ou científico. Contou com a participação de cerca de vinte países – todos europeus – e teve Gustavo Giovannoni como uma de suas principais referências teóricas. Ao final do encontro, os participantes assinaram um documento com indicações para assegurar a continuidade da vida dos monumentos históricos, conhecido como Carta de Atenas. Esse documento ganhou projeção mundial e foi a base da criação de inúmeras instituições de preservação de patrimônio pelo mundo.

Quatro anos depois, a Carta de Atenas entrou na pauta da reunião da Organização dos Estados Americanos (OEA): em abril de 1935 foi publicado o Tratado para Proteção de Instituições Artísticas, Científicas e de Monumentos Históricos. Conhecido como Pacto Roerich, foi o resultado da 7ª Conferência Internacional Americana, que aconteceu em Montevidéu (Uruguai), organizada pela OEA e teve vinte e um países signatários. O Pacto alertava para a necessidade de proteção dos monumentos e das instituições artísticas (em especial, museus), em tempos de guerra e de paz. E indicava a importância – e necessidade – de se ter estruturas oficiais (leis ou instituições) para a preservação do patrimônio americano.

Impulsionados por esses debates, a partir da década de 1920 foram criadas diversas instituições de preservação do patrimônio, que tiveram como referência fundamental as experiências europeias[30]. A começar em 1921, com o Departamento de Monumentos Artísticos, Arqueológicos e Históricos no México, que foi uma evolução da ideia da Inspeção então existente. E depois, sob o impacto do pacto Roerich, entre 1935 e 1939 foram criadas instituições em países como Cuba, Peru, Uruguai, Brasil e Argentina, sempre buscando identificar o seu patrimônio nacional, seja no texto da lei, seja em departamentos de pesquisa das instituições.

O debate nas Américas

Enquanto isso, nas Américas começaram a surgir leis de proteção ao patrimônio. Já foi mencionada aqui a criação da Inspeção Geral de Monumentos do México (1885). A Inspeção surgiu em um cenário em que o governo mexicano se volta a seus monumentos arqueológicos, em especial à necessidade de frear um comércio de antiguidades mexicanas. É interessante notar nesse processo a participação da Espanha. Após a independência de todas as suas colônias nas Américas, os espanhóis buscaram continuar próximos às novas nações. Esse claramente não foi um processo simples nem fácil (em especial, após a I Guerra Mundial). No entanto, a primeira ação em território mexicano aconteceu em 1851, quando o então presidente Benito Juarez propõe aplicar no país a lei espanhola relativa à preservação de monumentos arqueológicos. Tal foi o primeiro ato para impedir a venda maciça de artefatos relacionados às civilizações pré-colombianas no país. Pouco depois, em 1868, o Ministério da Justiça mexicano declarou que toda antiguidade encontrada em seu território era de propriedade do governo central, o que

[30] Cf. Cerávolo, 2010.

abriu caminho para a criação, em 1885, da Inspeção Geral de Monumentos[31].

Na virada do século XIX para o XX, o início da discussão sobre o que seria o caráter do patrimônio americano acelerou as iniciativas de preservação do patrimônio. No que tange a uma proteção legal, no cenário pré-guerra, as ações voltadas à preservação ainda surgiam em leis pontuais ou em casos voltados ao patrimônio arqueológico (a exceção foi o Instituto mexicano).

> Desgraciadamente, América, que vive alerta con respecto a las loables iniciativas europeas, no ha seguido el ejemplo, por lo menos con la rapidez que sería de desear. Solo debe mencionarse una honrosa excepción, la de México, que cuenta desde hace años con una Dirección de Monumentos Coloniales y de la República, cuya labor hasta la fecha ha sido proficua y verdaderamente meritoria. Los restantes países no cuentan con administraciones y leyes protectoras, o recién las tienen desde hace pocos años, cuando muchos de sus valiosos monumentos han desaparecido o se encuentran en deplorables condiciones de abandono. (Mario Buschiazzo em 1940, sobre a Carta de Atenas de 1931, apud Cerávolo, 2010, p. 144)

Com um olhar para além do patrimônio – e de forma sintética – o cenário pós I Guerra Mundial afetou os vínculos comerciais entre as Américas e a Europa, em especial por conta de medidas protecionistas adotadas para fortalecer os países europeus. Mesmo com a crise econômica de 1929, os Estados Unidos assumiram um papel de destaque nas relações comerciais e, dessa forma, iniciou-se uma cooperação pan-americana, que foi além das relações econômicas.

No âmbito da Arquitetura, formou-se um foro importante de discussões, incluindo questões de identificação do patrimônio americano e de preservação do mesmo: os Congressos Pan-americanos de Arquitetos[32]. Apesar de perceber-se um domínio dos profissionais do Cone Sul americano (Argentina, Chile, Uruguai e Brasil), haviam delegações também das regiões mexicana, caribenha e norte-americana. Aqui destacamos duas edições: a segunda, realizada em 1923 na cidade de Santiago do Chile, e a quarta, de 1930, realizada na cidade do Rio de Janeiro.

Os congressos foram inicialmente organizados pela Sociedade de Arquitetos do Uruguai. A primeira edição aconteceu em Montevidéu, em 1920, quando se discutiu a inserção da história de arquitetura das Américas nas faculdades de Arquitetura. No segundo congresso, de 1923, um dos temas foi a conservação dos monumentos históricos. E nas conclusões do congresso foi feita a indicação da realização de estudos sobre os monumentos históricos existentes nos diversos países, a divulgação desses estudos, e a elaboração de legislação pertinente.

O patrimônio voltou a ter destaque na quarta edição do evento (1930), intitulado 'Defesa do patrimônio artístico, principalmente arquitetônico, das Nações Americanas'. Discutiu-se, entre outros temas, a necessidade de instituições que pudessem realizar o inventário de monumentos. Desta forma, a elaboração de legislação evoluiu de uma simples indicação para uma abordagem enfática sobre a necessidade de se criar mecanismos que pudessem proteger o patrimônio nacional, principalmente de danos provocados pelo crescimento dos centros urbanos e pelo comércio de objetos de arte tradicional.

Historicismo e modernismo

Parte do debate sobre a preservação do patrimônio na América Latina passou por outra disputa: a da primazia entre os movimentos

[31] Cf. Cerávolo, 2010.

[32] Ver a tese de Ana Lúcia Cerávolo (2010), que apresenta a contribuição do modernismo para as teorias de preservação no século XX, incluindo o cenário latino-americano e considerando dois projetos brasileiros como estudo de caso.

historicista e modernista na construção das identidades nacionais.

Na Europa, o debate teórico sobre restauração tinha um ponto claro: qual seria o estilo arquitetônico tipicamente nacional? Tal visão, porém, não era adequada à realidade nas Américas, já que muitos dos estilos vistos no Novo Mundo foram diretamente importados do 'velho'. Por isso, os movimentos em prol da preservação se depararam com a necessidade de se identificar com a sua própria história e, além, com a sua paisagem[33]. Mesmo nos países com remanescentes das civilizações Inca, Maia ou Asteca, como não houve uma continuidade civilizatória, a questão também estava presente.

No século XIX, as cidades americanas viveram períodos turbulentos, com a consolidação das Nações recém independentes, a abolição da escravatura e o crescimento de suas populações urbanas. Nesse cenário, o ecletismo se tornou a referência para as novas construções. Na mesma linha, projetos de renovação urbana como os de Barcelona, Paris e Viena eram os modelos utilizados na expansão ou melhoramento das novas cidades. Como uma resposta a essa importação de modelos arquitetônicos e urbanísticos, arquitetos, escritores, artistas e intelectuais desenvolveram pesquisas sobre o período colonial, buscando identificar elementos que se relacionassem com as suas histórias locais. Como resultado, foram criadas instituições de pesquisa sobre arquitetura colonial e surgiram movimentos que apresentavam propostas estilísticas alternativas ao Ecletismo – como o movimento brasileiro neocolonial liderado por Ricardo Severo, e do qual participou Lucio Costa no início de sua carreira.

Além da proposta do neocolonial, havia também um grupo que propunha um estilo completamente novo. Os modernistas partiam das novas ideias vindas da Europa e as mesclavam com os elementos característicos de suas regiões. Dessa forma, criaram-se experiências modernistas – seja no campo da literatura, das artes plásticas ou da arquitetura – que tinham cor própria. Por esse motivo, também os intelectuais modernistas contribuíram muito para a documentação e a divulgação da arquitetura colonial e do período anterior à chegada de Colombo.

Nos Congressos Pan-americanos de Arquitetos ficou evidente a existência de dois grupos na atuação em prol da preservação na América Latina. Aquele ligado ao movimento historicista e o outro, ao movimento modernista. Na quinta edição do Congresso, realizada em 1940, Luis Miró Quesada, arquiteto peruano que teve destaque na elaboração das políticas de preservação naquele país, afirmou:

> Nosotros, ciudadanos de Hispanoamérica, que aún plenos de juventud tenemos, ya, un pasado glorioso; y comprendemos por igual el racionalismo nórdico y el sentimentalismo mediterráneo; estamos preparados, quizá mejor que nadie, para fusionar la belleza de la idea con la belleza de la imagen [...] Pero dicha fusión debemos realizarla en un principio, en el principio de tradición arquitectónica. (apud Cerávolo, 2010, p. 142)

A comunicação entre os diferentes grupos era intensa, mesmo entre historicistas e modernistas. Por exemplo, Mário de Andrade escrevia frequentemente a amigos argentinos, e era um admirador de Buenos Aires. Aliás, na Argentina, um dos nomes de destaque foi o de outro Mario, Buschiazzo. Historicista, teve uma contribuição primordial no estudo da arquitetura hispano-americana, realizando diversos projetos de restauro em toda a Argentina. Nesse período, destacaram-se ainda no grupo dos modernistas, Luis Miró Quesada, no Peru, e José Villagrán García, no México, ambos considerados fundamentais para o início da arquitetura moderna em seus países e que também se engajaram na defesa do patrimônio nacional.

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[33] Cf. Waisman, 2013, p. 196.

Nesse sentido, o caso brasileiro é exemplar. O Iphan (Instituto do Patrimônio Histórico e Artístico Nacional)[34] foi criado em 1937, com anteprojeto de Mário de Andrade e projeto final de Lúcio Costa e Rodrigo Melo Franco de Andrade. Todos modernistas. O que era então identificado como patrimônio tipicamente brasileiro era a arquitetura vinculada ao período colonial, com destaque para o barroco mineiro, e a arquitetura modernista[35]. Dessa forma, logo no início de sua atuação, o Iphan considerou como patrimônio nacional obras bastante recentes, deixando de lado por um longo período a arquitetura de estilo eclético, da virada do século XIX para o XX[36].

Rodrigo Melo Franco de Andrade

Da tríade inicial do Iphan (Costa e os dois Andrades), foi Rodrigo quem estabeleceu um diálogo mais consistente com colegas latino-americanos sobre patrimônio. Ele esteve à frente da direção do Iphan de 1937 a 1967. Ao longo desses trinta anos, estruturou e consolidou as políticas de preservação do patrimônio no Brasil, bem como da formação da identidade brasileira.

Em especial nas décadas de 1950 e 1960, Rodrigo teve muito contato com Mario Buschiazzo e Graziano Gasparini. O primeiro era um dos técnicos da Comisión Nacional de Museos y de Monumento y Lugares Históricos da Argentina e vinculado ao historicismo, desenvolveu uma pesquisa importante sobre as Missões Jesuíticas presentes em território argentino. Já o italiano Gasparini foi a pessoa que liderou a criação do órgão de preservação do patrimônio na Venezuela, também vinculado ao movimento da arquitetura moderna.

Advogado, nascido em Minas Gerais, a participação de Rodrigo Melo Franco de Andrade na criação do Iphan foi decisiva. Ele começou a trabalhar na estruturação do Iphan em 1936, a convite do então ministro da Educação e Saúde, Gustavo Capanema, após indicação de Mário de Andrade e Manuel Bandeira.

Como na lei Croce italiana, a questão da propriedade privada também era um ponto delicado da lei que criou o Iphan. Para além do texto da lei em si, os anos iniciais do Iphan foram decisivos para o sucesso do projeto. E Rodrigo conseguiu se destacar por ter mantido uma postura neutra em relação às discussões técnicas inerentes à definição do que deveria ser protegido, mas com atuação forte e decisiva nas reuniões do Conselho do Iphan. As questões mais polêmicas na época eram o embate preservação *versus* mercado imobiliário, e o comércio ilegal de obras de arte[37].

Como na Europa e na América do Norte, Rodrigo entendia a preservação do patrimônio vinculada à educação: somente por meio dela um monumento histórico seria reconhecido como tal. Durante sua gestão à frente do Iphan, um instrumento importante para isso foi a Revista do Patrimônio. Editada ainda hoje, seus primeiros números estiveram dedicados a

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[34] Desde sua criação, como "Serviço" e não "Instituto", o atual Iphan mudou de nome e status dentro da estrutura do governo federal diversas vezes. Serviços do Patrimônio Histórico e Artístico Nacional (Sphan, 1937), Diretoria do Patrimônio Histórico e Artístico Nacional (Dphan, 1946), Instituto do Patrimônio Histórico e Artístico Nacional (Iphan, 1970), Secretaria do Patrimônio Histórico e Artístico Nacional e Fundação Nacional Pró-Memória (Sphan e FNPM, 1979), Instituto Brasileiro do Patrimônio Cultural (IBPC, 1990) e por fim novamente Instituto do Patrimônio Histórico e Artístico Nacional (Iphan, desde 1994). Por mais que essas mudanças apresentem em si o cenário político da época, visando evitar eventual estranhamento ao leitor, adotaremos a denominação Iphan como padrão para ó órgão.

[35] Episódio interessante do embate dos dois grupos no Brasil foi o projeto do Grande Hotel de Ouro Preto. Haviam duas propostas de projeto: uma de Oscar Niemeyer, modernista, outra de Carlos Leão, em estilo neocolonial (Carlos Leão que havia sido convidado por Rodrigo Melo Franco de Andrade). Venceu a proposta modernista: o projeto de Niemeyer começou a ser construído em 1940, após pequenas sugestões de mudanças feitas por Lucio Costa.

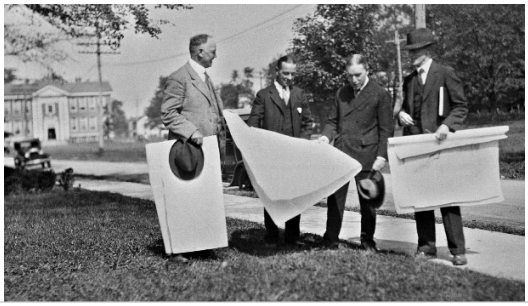
[36] Diversas pesquisas se debruçaram sobre a relação entre os modernistas brasileiros e a criação da ideia do patrimônio nacional. Entre elas, destacamos Cerávolo (2010), Fonseca (2005), Gonçalves (1996) e Rolim (2006).

[37] Cf. Alvim, 2012.

estudos importantes sobre o patrimônio brasileiro (incluindo artigos de Mário de Andrade, Lucio Costa, Sergio Buarque de Holanda, Manuel Bandeira, Gilberto Freyre, Luis Saia, entre outros). Grande admirador da arte e arquitetura colonial brasileiras, ele identificava ali o caráter autêntico do brasileiro, em consonância com a leitura do movimento moderno no país. Essa proeminência do colonial no Instituto pode ser vista nos primeiros tombamentos. Também aí notamos um alinhamento à visão apresentada nas leis italianas (que destacavam a preservação da paisagem). O primeiro sítio urbano brasileiro foi tombado logo no início da atuação do Iphan: foi o centro histórico de Ouro Preto, em 1938[38].

Organic Act (1916)

Se a participação norte-americana nos Congressos Pan-americanos era pouco expressiva, a sua contribuição para a discussão sobre patrimônio era ainda menor, mesmo que continuassem a surgir novas iniciativas de preservação no país. Além daquelas do Smithsonian Institution e da criação de parques na virada do século, outro marco na preservação do patrimônio dos EUA foi em 1916, a assinatura do *National Park Service Organic Act*, uma lei federal que estabeleceu o serviço de parques nacionais (National Park Service, NPS) como uma agência do *Department of the Interior*. O NPS foi criado "para preservar a paisagem e os objetos naturais e históricos e a vida selvagem encontrada ali, e para permitir que os mesmos possam ser aproveitados da mesma maneira e de tal forma que os deixem intactos para o prazer das futuras gerações"[39]. Como no início das ações do Smithsonian, aliou preservação natural e cultural, ainda que não com base nesses termos. A vinculação dos bens a serem preservados – e representativos na nação norte-americana – com a natureza foi uma iniciativa que não foi vista com a mesma força na América Latina, onde a preservação esteve mais centrada em monumentos ou em sítios arqueológicos.



03_Reverendo William Archer Rutherfoord Goodwin (esq.) e John Rockfeller Jr. (segundo a partir da direita), 1928, no lançamento do restauro da escola de Williamsburg (ao fundo). Foi também o momento em que Goodwin tornou público quem era o benemérito que estava fazendo doações para a preservação da cidade desde 1926.

Outra iniciativa não governamental relevante foi o projeto para Colonial Williamsburg, de 1926, nos Estados Unidos da América. Junto com o *Organic Act* de 1916, esse projeto é considerado um dos marcos iniciais das ações de preservação de patrimônio no país[40]. No que tange a um patrimônio cultural não vinculado a áreas naturais, houve iniciativas anteriores de preservação, principalmente lideradas por historiadores. Mas Williamsburg foi o primeiro projeto que conseguiu reunir uma equipe profissionalizada e multidisciplinar em torno da reconstrução de um patrimônio com critérios definidos de forma muito clara. À luz de teorias posteriores – principalmente da questão de autenticidade inserida no debate com a Carta de Veneza de 1964 – pode-se questionar a eficiência do projeto no sentido de uma preservação efetiva do patrimônio. No entanto, no cenário dos anos 1920, ele foi um grande e importante avanço[41]. Realizado sob o patrocínio de John Rockefeller, o projeto envolveu efetivamente técnicos e sociedade em prol da preservação de um patrimônio. Também teve um caráter político,

[38] Ressalta-se que o sítio já era protegido desde 1933, quando foi declarado Monumento Nacional.

[39] Cf. EUA, 1916, tradução nossa.

[40] Cf. Fitch, 1993 e Murtagh, 2006.

[41] Cf. Fitch, 1993.

no sentido em que pode ser lido como uma mensagem do que seria o patrimônio tipicamente norte-americano.

Ao se considerar o cenário americano, os EUA tiveram um desenvolvimento bastante diverso em comparação aos outros países da América. Lembrando das posições francesa, italiana e inglesa na tutela do patrimônio, é possível dizer que o modelo seguido nas Américas se vincula mais aos francês e italiano, com uma forte centralização das ações de preservação do patrimônio no Estado. Já a atuação dos Estados Unidos é uma exceção, e se assemelha mais ao modelo inglês. No âmbito da preservação do patrimônio natural, o Estado assume um papel importante. Porém, no que se refere à preservação de monumentos (ou de patrimônio cultural, para utilizar o termo usado hoje), a sociedade civil foi a protagonista das ações de preservação nesse início de século XX, em movimento similar ao dos antiquários na Inglaterra. Outro aspecto a se destacar é o isolamento do país em relação às discussões internacionais, ainda que as experiências norte-americanas fossem conhecidas e reconhecidas na Europa (sendo citadas inclusive por Benedetto Croce). Foi somente no cenário pós II Guerra que o país entrou no debate sobre a preservação em uma outra escala.

2: O pós II Guerra e a ideia de um Patrimônio para a Humanidade

> Relembrando que o Ato Constitutivo da Organização prevê a ajuda à conservação, progresso e difusão do saber, promovendo a conservação e proteção do patrimônio universal e recomendando aos povos interessados convenções internacionais concluídas para tal efeito.
>
> Unesco, 1972

Ao fim de toda guerra, apresenta-se o desafio do recomeço. O que dizer então de um recomeço após a guerra com maior alcance que já se tinha conhecido? O cenário nas grandes cidades europeias era o de vasta destruição. Somavam-se ainda o desafio de não incorrer nos mesmos erros cometidos ao fim da I Guerra e o trauma da bomba atômica. Nesse cenário, nascia a ONU e a Unesco. Continuidade das antigas Sociedade das Nações e do Escritório de Cooperação Internacional, respectivamente, as instituições foram criadas em 1945, com o intuito de estabelecer um fórum mundial que pudesse guiar um recomeço[1].

A Unesco (Organização das Nações Unidas para a Educação, a Ciência e a Cultura) tinha desde seu início como pauta a preservação do patrimônio[2]. Questão que ganhou relevância principalmente pelo cenário de destruição do pós-guerra. Tal como acontecia na Sociedade das Nações, a Unesco se organizou em reuniões periódicas, as convenções, e viagens de expedição, ou missões. A primeira convenção de destaque para o patrimônio aconteceu quase dez anos após o início de suas atividades. E como as reuniões precedentes do Escritório dos Técnicos de Museus e Monumentos, elas geraram documentos que passaram a ser considerados referência para a atuação de profissionais e para a definição de políticas públicas voltadas à preservação do patrimônio.

Um novo olhar para a preservação

É de consenso comum que o mundo mudou depois da II Guerra. Naquele momento, algumas nações reagiram repensando sua identidade, e por tabela, seu patrimônio e sua

[1] Com o fim da guerra, em 1945, a Liga das Nações deu lugar à ONU (Organização das Nações Unidas); o Comitê Internacional para Cooperação Intelectual foi substituído pela Unesco; e em 1946 o Escritório dos Técnicos de Museus e Monumentos originou o Icom (*International Council of Museums*).

[2] A Constituição da Unesco (novembro de 1945) foi iniciada da seguinte forma: "Since wars being in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defences of Peace must be constructed; That ignorance of each other's ways and lives has been a common cause, throughout the history of mankind, of that suspicion and mistrust between the peoples of the world through which their differences have all too often broken into war; [...] That the wide diffusion of culture, and the education of humanity for justice and liberty and peace are indispensable to the dignity of man and constitute a sacred duty which all the nations must fulfil in a spirit of mutual assistance and concern".

preservação. Por isso, antes de olhar para a Unesco, vamos ver algumas mudanças que contribuíram para uma outra etapa do entendimento sobre preservação do patrimônio.

No Velho Mundo

Aqui se abre um campo enorme.

A Alemanha pós 1945, com sua capital dividida em quatro. A reconstrução de Varsóvia, em uma Polônia que se reconstruía não só fisicamente. A continuidade da ditadura na Espanha. A zona de influência da URSS, nova superpotência mundial. Toda a reorganização do leste europeu. A poderosa Inglaterra em crise. A República italiana. As reformas na França, que culminaram nas manifestações de 1968. Etc. etc. etc. Quando olhamos além da Europa – e para ficarmos apenas em grandes temas que impactaram diretamente o continente –, temos a reestruturação de todo o sistema colonial, criando uma outra geografia política; o recomeço do Japão e a China comunista; a ascendência dos EUA no mundo, e no seu 'quintal', a América Latina; a Guerra Fria.

O historiador Eric J. Hobsbawm definiu o período do pós II Guerra até o início da década de 1970 como a Era de Ouro, um período que foi de grande crescimento econômico e profundas transformações sociais. "Porque as mudanças dele decorrentes para todo o planeta foram tão profundas quanto irreversíveis"[3].

A Europa[4] continuou a ser o centro de discussões e de formulações teóricas sobre patrimônio, restauro e preservação. Além da continuidade das ações iniciadas ali, as destruições que atingiram quase todo o continente trouxeram um sentimento de urgência por novas ideias sobre preservação. Nesse aspecto, o patrimônio continuou como um dos principais elementos de identidade nacional, porém a definição sobre o que é patrimônio começou a mudar, a se ampliar. E com isso, os mecanismos para a sua preservação. Ressaltamos aqui duas mudanças importantes, realizadas nos governos que continuaram a ser referências para a preservação: Itália e França.

*

Antes, no entanto, fazemos um breve parêntese para falar sobre a situação da Alemanha. Além do isolamento político do país com o final da II Guerra, havia também a questão do patrimônio. Antes da guerra, as principais ações de preservação no país eram orientadas principalmente pela teoria de Riegl, que era a maior referência nos países de língua alemã (com as questões de atribuição de valor, entre outras). No momento pós-guerra, a palavra *Wiederaufbau* surge como a orientação principal. Formada a partir das palavras 'repetição', 'ato' e 'construção', ela carrega em si o processo de reconstrução de forma ampla, significando a reconstrução da "sociedade, das cidades à cidadania, dos edifícios à vida diária, das ruas e das fábricas às relações sociais. Foi o início da reconstrução da vida urbana"[5]. Desse modo, no processo de reconstrução das cidades no pós-guerra essa era a palavra mais usada, e que foi repetida na reconstrução de Dresden, no momento da reunificação alemã[6].

Itália

Após as leis de 1902 (*Sulla conservazione di monumenti e degli ogetti d'arte*) e de 1922 (de Benedetto Croce), em plena Itália fascista e às vésperas da II Guerra, o ministro Giuseppe Bottai propôs uma reforma e aprova duas leis paralelas, assinadas em 1939. A lei nº 1089/39 (*Tutela delle cose d'interesse artistico e storico*) e a lei nº 1497/39 (*Protezione delle bellezze naturali*). Baseadas nas duas precedentes,

[3] Hobsbawm, 1995, p. 18.

[4] Vale lembrar que um dos efeitos da Guerra Fria foi a criação da Comunidade Europeia em 1957, antecessora da União Europeia, que se entendia como um arranjo para integrar economias. Cf. Hobsbawm, 1995.

[5] Souza, 2009, p. 1.

[6] A palavra *Rekonstruktion* é mais usada quando se refere a questões técnicas. Porém, o termo *Wiederaufbau* considera também a *Rekonstruktion*. O inverso, porém, não ocorre.

partiram também da ideia da primazia do interesse público sobre o privado. As duas leis operavam em conjunto, estabelecendo dois instrumentos de proteção: a identificação de áreas a serem protegidas e o estabelecimento de planos territoriais paisagísticos. A intenção era preservar os monumentos e bens artísticos dentro de seu contexto.


LA DOMENICA DEL CORRIERE

Si pubblica a Milano ogni settimana

Supplemento illustrato del "Corriere della Sera"

Anno XXXVII — N. 9 — 3 Marzo 1935 - Anno XIII — Centesimi 30 la copia

Il Duce vibra il primo colpo di piccone per liberare l'area destinata alla Mole Littoria che, fra quattro anni di fronte alle glorie monumentali dell'Urbe, simboleggerà la potenza dell'Italia fascista.

04_*La Dominica del Corriere*, de 3 de março de 1935, Mussolini com a picareta em mãos ilustra a destruição feita para a construção da Via dell'Impero. Apesar das leis italianas garantirem a preservação do patrimônio, algumas obras executadas por Mussolini danificaram de forma irreversível patrimônios importantes, principalmente em Roma.

Não obstante terem sido implantadas dentro do regime fascista, elas não apresentavam nenhuma característica 'fascista'. Ao contrário, na fase de elaboração do texto, Bottai teve a seu lado os intelectuais mais proeminentes na Itália da época: Roberto Longhi, Giulio Carlo Argan, Cesare Brandi e o jurista Santi Romano. O principal avanço foi estabelecer que a preservação de áreas naturais e a preservação do patrimônio histórico, arqueológico e artístico eram duas faces da mesma moeda[7]. E dessa forma, consolidaram uma série de ações que vinham desde o Renascimento.

Por esse aspecto, a lei Bottai foi considerada uma das mais avançadas à época, dando certa autonomia às cidades e regiões para o estabelecimento dos planos territoriais. Ainda que destacando o interesse público e tendo nascido de uma lei dentro do ministério da educação, Simone Verde [8] ressalta uma contradição. No texto da lei, o patrimônio era entendido em sua matéria. Ainda que vinculado a um território, a materialidade deixou o patrimônio restrito a um círculo de intelectuais, aqueles que teriam o conhecimento necessário para avaliar sua importância artística, porém distantes da sociedade e, consequentemente, de um valor de memória.

Prova que o 'duo' de leis estava acima do fascismo foi que, com o fim da II Guerra e a instituição de uma República na Itália, a nova Constituição reforçou as ideias defendidas por Giuseppe Bottai. O artigo 9 diz que "a República promove o desenvolvimento da cultura e da pesquisa científica e técnica. Preserva a paisagem e o patrimônio histórico e artístico da Nação"[9]. A Constituição italiana foi a primeira a mencionar a preservação do patrimônio de forma explícita, como uma das responsabilidades da república[10]. Foi também a primeira a considerar a preservação da paisagem e do patrimônio cultural de forma integrada em sua constituição.

Settis afirma que o texto da Constituição não era apenas uma intenção, mas antes, a descrição de um sistema já em funcionamento[11].

[7] Cf. Settis, 2012.

[8] Cf. Verde, 2014.

[9] Itália, *Costituzione della Repubblica Italiana*. 1948, tradução nossa.

[10] A Constituição brasileira de 1988 permanece, ainda hoje, como uma das poucas no mundo a fazer menção ao patrimônio (artigo 215: "O Estado garantirá a todos o pleno exercício dos direitos culturais e acesso às fontes da cultura nacional, e apoiará e incentivará a valorização e a difusão das manifestações culturais" e artigo 216, com a definição do que é o patrimônio cultural brasileiro).

[11] Cf. Settis 2007 e 2012.

A estrutura italiana de proteção, com departamentos regionais (as *Soprintendenze*) em operação desde a unificação italiana, era um sistema de controle e proteção territorial, adequado às especificidades locais. Tal conjunto – leis, constituição, instituições – baseou-se em diretrizes nacionais, de soberania popular e de cidadania, colocando em primeiro plano a noção de 'bem comum', que foi materializada também nos monumentos, reforçando os ideais da Revolução Francesa.

França

No caso da França, a Revolução havia criado uma estrutura para preservação do patrimônio que permaneceu até o final da II Guerra. Como na Itália e no Brasil, as questões culturais estavam inseridas dentro de um ministério da educação. É em 1959, com o general Charles de Gaulle no poder, que foi criado um Ministério da Cultura (*Ministére des Affaires culturelles*), tendo à frente o escritor e intelectual André Malraux. O novo ministério partiu de uma mentalidade iluminista, e considerava a cultura como forma de liberdade individual e coletiva, essencial para a construção da identidade da nação [12]. Ele também lançou a expressão 'patrimônio cultural', em substituição ao 'monumento histórico', que ele acreditava ter um caráter elitista. Choay denuncia um certo populismo nessa escolha, principalmente em sua postura de vincular cultura a lazer[13]. Fato é que o termo 'patrimônio' se espalhou rapidamente, bem como a opção por tratar do assunto dentro de um ministério da cultura – em oposição à prática anterior de vinculá-lo à educação.

No âmbito do patrimônio, ele lançou, junto com André Chastel em 1964, o *Inventaire general des monuments et richesses artistiques de la France*[14]. O documento, além de retomar as ações de preservação, também foi base para a realização de uma série de obras de restauro em todo o país, ação necessária depois da guerra. Ao longo do século XX, o ministério foi estabelecendo diversos centros para cuidar de assuntos específicos, bem como ações que buscaram formar um calendário anual. Sempre dentro de uma lógica centralizada no Estado, mas com ações realizadas com diversas instituições, com a intenção de ter contribuições de várias vertentes. Novamente no espírito da Revolução, "se faz política cultural apenas na medida em que se presta um serviço e se desempenha um papel como apoio aos objetivos da democracia"[15]. Nesse sentido, as atuações francesa e norte-americana são similares, ainda que nos EUA o Estado não centralize essas ações. Afinal, como disse André Malraux, "pois a cultura não é herdada, ela é conquistada"[16].

Carta de Veneza

O repensar a lógica de preservação do patrimônio era assunto em diversos fóruns, abrangendo também – e com mais força – os aspectos técnicos da preservação, principalmente pelo volume de obras de restauro que deveriam ser realizadas. Nessa perspectiva, e em um cenário em que a Unesco trabalhava com o patrimônio histórico do Egito, em 1957 foi realizado o I Congresso Internacional de Arquitetos e Técnicos em Monumentos Históricos, em Paris. Como continuidade da discussão realizada aí, uma

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[12] Cf. Verde, 2014, p. 96.

[13] Choay (2011a, p. 84-85) ressalta que essa opção não encontrou ressonância na Itália, onde permaneceu a tradição de reutilização de edifícios dentro da vida cotidiana daquela população, mesmo nos casos daqueles de caráter monumental.

[14] Pela lei nº 2004-809, de 13 de agosto de 2004, o inventário passou a ser de responsabilidade local. Em 2005 foi criado um conselho nacional (*Conseil national de l'inventaire general du patrimoine culturel*) que tem o papel de avaliar as ações regionais. Ele se configura mais como um espaço de diálogo para os profissionais do patrimônio, bem como de proposições e debates sobre as ações em curso. Os trabalhos desenvolvidos podem ser acompanhados em: <http://www.inventaire.culture.gouv.fr/>.

[15] Verde, 2014, p. 102, tradução nossa.

[16] Em discurso proferido em Atenas, 28 de maio de 1959, tradução nossa.

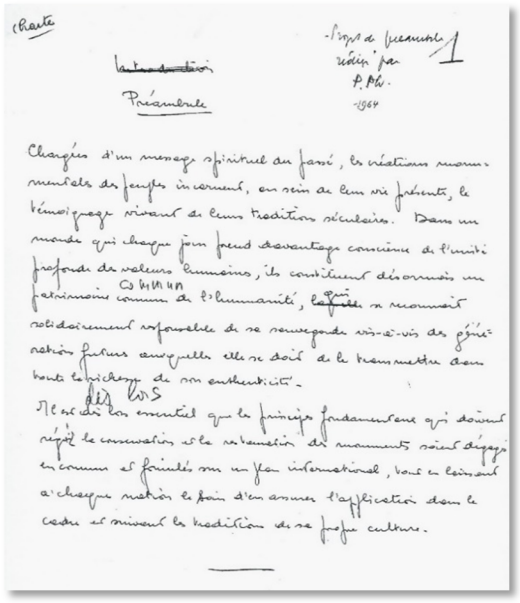
nova edição do Congresso teve sede, dessa vez, na cidade de Veneza. O ano era 1964 e aí se produziu um documento referencial na preservação do patrimônio. A Carta Internacional de Restauração, conhecida como Carta de Veneza, é ainda hoje a base para a atuação de diversas instituições e profissionais no mundo e foi também a base para a criação do Icomos (a ser detalhada mais adiante).

Uma das preocupações do II Congresso foi a de estabelecer critérios e princípios que trouxessem rigor científico nas ações de preservação de bens culturais. O grupo que organizou o conteúdo científico do evento contou com o importantíssimo apoio da diretoria do Iccrom, com destaque para Roberto Pane e Paul Philippot, ambos muito próximos das ideias de Cesare Brandi. Philippot escreveu o prefácio da Carta, o mexicano Carlos Flores Marini presidiu a sessão e o relator da versão final foi o belga Raymond Lemaire. O congresso reuniu delegações de 61 países, dos cinco continentes. O documento final foi escrito por um grupo que tinha representantes de dois países americanos (México e Peru) e um africano (Tunísia). Apesar da participação de representantes de todo o globo, o peso do velho mundo permanecia, com 90% dos delegados europeus.

Mesmo sendo ainda uma referência importante, existem diversas críticas à carta, como por conta de uma abordagem muito rígida ou por não considerar aspectos de conservação urbana ou por ser muito "europeia". Mas dentro das referências técnicas que a Carta continha, é importante ressaltar que ela contribuiu para o estabelecimento de diversas políticas nacionais de preservação de patrimônio. Em especial, a afirmação de que cada nação tem responsabilidade sobre seu patrimônio foi motivador essencial para as discussões – e reestruturações – que se seguiram em todo o mundo.

Outra das críticas à carta diz respeito a aspectos financeiros e técnicos necessários para a preservação do patrimônio, normalmente escassos nos países em desenvolvimento. Também haviam questões teóricas diferentes entre a prática europeia e a americana.

> Tais diferenças remontam à elaboração da Carta de Veneza de 1964, aprovada apenas tacitamente pelos delegados dos Estados Unidos e do Reino Unido por causa da percepção de um viés Europeu continental em relação aos monumentos que não considerava plenamente parte do patrimônio menos monumental encontrado em todos os países, ou o patrimônio vernacular e indígena do Novo Mundo. (Stubbs e Makaš, 2011, p. xvii, tradução nossa)



05_ Manuscrito de Paul Philippot para o prefácio da Carta de Veneza, 1964.

A oeste do Atlântico

A resposta americana à Carta de Veneza foi a assinatura das Normas de Quito, em 1967, como o resultado da reunião sobre conservação e utilização de monumentos e sítios de interesse histórico e artístico, organizada pelo Conselho Interamericano Cultural da OEA (contou com a participação de um único país não americano, a Espanha). Enquanto a Carta de Veneza estava impregnada pela destruição causada pela II Guerra Mundial, as Normas de Quito partiram da destruição do patrimônio causada pelo crescimento voraz das cidades americanas,

mostrando uma grande preocupação com seus centros históricos.

> Em todos esses países [América Latina] – com exceção da Venezuela –, no fim da Segunda Guerra Mundial os camponeses formavam metade, ou a maioria absoluta, da população ocupada. Mas já em 1970 *não* havia na América Latina – fora dos mini-Estados da tripa de terra centro-americana e do Haiti – um único país em que os camponeses não fossem minoria. (Hobsbawm, 1995, p. 285)

As Normas também tiveram uma outra abordagem em comparação ao documento de Veneza: o desenvolvimento econômico e social entrou com peso na pauta. Inclusive por conta da realidade apresentada acima, que propiciou o surgimento de uma massa de população urbana vivendo em condições precárias e informais. A agenda discutiu as legislações existentes nos países membro a respeito do patrimônio; questões de formação técnica de pessoal e coordenação de esforços de ajuda mútua; a cooperação interamericana para conservação e utilização dos monumentos[17]; e a adequada utilização do patrimônio monumental e artístico, a partir do desenvolvimento urbano e das possibilidades turísticas.

Ao final, o documento afirmava que o patrimônio cultural poderia ser um instrumento de desenvolvimento, aliando uma adequada preservação e utilização dos monumentos e sítios de valor arqueológico, histórico e artístico a uma visão econômica. Essa premissa influenciou a legislação de vários países na América Latina, como República Dominicana e Cuba, em que a recuperação de áreas históricas passou a ser usada como vetor de desenvolvimento econômico[18].

Mesmo com o aspecto do desenvolvimento econômico com grande peso, as ações de preservação nas Américas eram ainda pautadas pelas experiências europeias. A crítica de Roberto Pane e Graziano Gasparini indicam claramente isso:

> Pode-se dizer que a situação da América Latina foi definida pelos mesmos erros e horrores que condenamos em nossa casa. (Pane, 1973, p. 57, tradução nossa)

> A América do Sul sofreu por um século com esforços confusos e em sua maioria medíocres para resgatar e proteger seu patrimônio monumental; este tem sido o resultado de seguir um quase-evangelho pronunciado em praias distantes, que atravessaram o Oceano Atlântico como se através da Bíblia. Na verdade, eles eram apenas ecos que foram frequentemente silenciados, e muitas vezes mal interpretados. (Gasparini, 2002, p. 44, tradução nossa)

Se as afirmações são válidas para os países da América Latina, que tiveram suas primeiras ações de preservação realizadas em parceria com a Espanha e depois sempre tendo como base as ações e teorias desenvolvidas na França e na Itália, o mesmo não se pode dizer dos Estados Unidos da América[19]. Os EUA se mantiveram distantes do debate mundial sobre patrimônio até o fim da II Guerra Mundial. E mesmo as ações realizadas antes desse período tiveram como base o modelo inglês.

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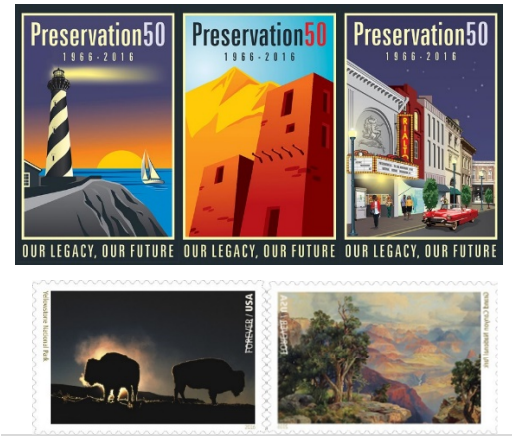
[17] Sobre o assunto, foi elaborado um relatório *El patrimonio cultural de America y la acción cooperativa interamericana* (documento OEA/SER.J/VI CIC/PC/Doc. 4 de novembro de 1967) que apresenta um panorama histórico de ações de preservação, incluindo reuniões e conferências, que culminaram no encontro de Quito em 1967.

[18] Hoje, todos os países americanos contam com alguma instituição governamental que é a responsável pela preservação do patrimônio. Ainda, há uma rede bem estabelecida de organizações não governamentais que apoiam o processo. O modelo mais utilizado no continente são divisões de museus/patrimônio/monumentos inseridos em ministérios da cultura ou da educação.

[19] O Canadá assume uma posição híbrida, em função de sua colonização francesa e inglesa. Ressalta-se que as ações de preservação ali desenvolvidas são realizadas quase sempre a partir da ótica do patrimônio natural, pela característica geográfica de seu território. A partir dos anos 1990, o país passou a desenvolver também ações voltadas à preservação da memória das populações autóctones, tornando-se uma referência mundial em ações de museus de território e de patrimônio indígena. (Cf. Stubbs e Makaš, 2011)

Estados Unidos da América

Após o *Organic Act* de 1916, foi assinado em 1966 um novo marco legal para a preservação do patrimônio norte-americano: o *National Historic Preservation Act* (NHPA)[20]. O documento partiu da percepção que as construções que estavam sendo realizadas no período pós-guerra colocavam em risco diversos sítios históricos, inclusive com a destruição de vários deles. Logo, ações que eram antes baseadas na iniciativa dos cidadãos passou para o controle do Estado, com o governo federal assumindo um papel de controle das ações de preservação do patrimônio cultural norte-americano.



06_Logotipos para a comemoração dos 50 anos do NHPA e selos comemorativos dos 100 anos do *Organic Act* (parques nacionais Yellowstone e Grand Canyon)

Precedeu a assinatura do NHPA, a criação em 1949 do *National Trust for Historic Preservation* (NTHP), organização sem fins lucrativos com sede em Washington. Ali já havia a preocupação com a expansão urbana que entrou em curso de forma acelerada com o fim da guerra. O NTHP gerenciava recursos privados para a realização de ações de preservação em suporte ao sistema nacional de parques, e continua atuando até hoje[21].

A propósito da comemoração dos 50 anos do NHPA[22], o presidente do país divulgou a seguinte nota:

> I am pleased to join in celebrating the 50th anniversary of the National Historic Preservation Act. America's history is rooted in places – from rolling hills to vast plains to coastlines along the sea – that reflect the diversity of our people and the beliefs that have shaped our Nation. Fifty years ago, President Lyndon B. Johnson signed the National Historic Preservation Act into law as a tribute to our storied past – giving life to the cultural foundations of our country and enabling our people to gain insights into generations before them. The Act helps Americans serve as stewards of their history and preserve vital places in their communities. In marking this special milestone, we are reminded that through our journey to live up to our highest ideals remains incomplete, we can always look to the lessons of history as we chart our course. (Barack Obama, 14 de outubro de 2016)

No entanto, a II Guerra mudou a postura norte-americana de isolamento[23]. A Guerra Fria intensificou a política de 'boa vizinhança', acentuando a penetração cultural norte-americana na América Latina. Como apresenta Fernando Atique, essa política "remonta a 1928, quando Herbert Hoover, durante sua viagem a alguns países da América Latina, usou a expressão '*good neighbor*', [...] demarcando o princípio de sua política externa para a América Latina, e dando a sugestão para o nome da política que Roosevelt praticaria, a partir de

[20] Além do *Organic Act*, outras iniciativas de legislação em defesa do patrimônio nos EUA foram o *Antiquities Act*, de 1906 e o *Historic Sites Act*, de 1935. Nenhum deles, no entanto, teve a abrangência do ato de 1966. O ato de 1906 deu autoridade ao presidente dos EUA de decretar áreas públicas de importância natural, cultural ou científica como monumentos nacionais; enquanto o de 1935, organizou os parques criados no ato orgânico no sistema de parques nacionais.

[21] Cf. Murtagh, 2006.

[22] A nota do presidente Barack Obama está disponível em: <https://www.nps.gov/subjects/historicpreservation/upload/president-statement-50th-anniversary.pdf>. Foi criado um site comemorativo desses 50 anos: preservation50.org

[23] Se os EUA estavam relutantes em assinar a Carta de Veneza em 1964, eles participaram ativamente no processo de implementação da Lista do Patrimônio Mundial, como será demonstrado adiante.

1933"[24]. Atique lembra também de um episódio importante dessa relação com o Brasil: o lançamento do livro *Brazil Builds*, editado pelo Museu de Arte Moderna de Nova York (MoMA) sob responsabilidade de Philip L. Goodwin, em 1943 [25] . Buscando firmar alianças, o livro apresentou a arquitetura brasileira não apenas para os norte-americanos, mas também para todo o mundo, considerando a repercussão da publicação.

Outro ponto de contato foram as experiências de sociologia urbana, realizadas principalmente pela Escola de Sociologia de Chicago, em cidades latino-americanas [26] . A repercussão positiva dessas teorias, aliada à política de boa vizinhança norte-americana no período pós II Guerra, ampliou o campo de atuação da Escola nos anos 1940. Os pesquisadores de Chicago passaram a aplicar suas teorias e experimentos também à América Latina. A perspectiva do grupo era que, estudando as cidades latino-americanas, eles estariam olhando para uma fase anterior de desenvolvimento. Desta forma, seria possível desenvolver ações de intervenção, utilizando essas cidades como laboratórios. Nesse sentido, foram feitas diversas parcerias no México, na península de Yucatán, sob o comando do antropólogo Robert Redfield.

Outros pesquisadores se dirigiram mais ao sul, formando toda uma geração de *brasilianists* e criando inúmeros centros de estudos latino-americanos. Um dos principais exemplos é o *Latin American Seminar*, da Universidade de Columbia – desde 1945, Frank Tannenbaum dirigiu encontros interdisciplinares com temas os mais diversos. Durante os 25 anos em que o seminário aconteceu regularmente, o foco esteve em discussões sobre política e cultura, e sempre com o tema das cidades em evidência. Por lá, passaram nomes como o mexicano Daniel Cosío-Villegas, o argentino José Luis Romero, o colombiano Eduardo Santos Montejo, os brasileiros Gilberto Freyre e Flávio Motta, entre outros. Os encontros tiveram resultados que extrapolaram o campo acadêmico, dando origem ao *The Frank Tannenbaum Roundtable on Latin America* do Center for Inter-American Relations da cidade de Nova York, em atividade ainda hoje.

Os estudos feitos sobre a expansão urbana nos trópicos contribuíram para a conscientização dos problemas que começavam a surgir, incluindo a degradação dos centros históricos. E foi essa a temática principal do debate que gerou as Normas de Quito.

A política da 'boa vizinhança' teve inúmeras nuances, em diversas áreas. No entanto, o que nos interessa é que por meio dela, os EUA passaram a participar de políticas culturais para além de seu território. Inserindo-se no debate internacional sobre a preservação do patrimônio.

Renato Soeiro

Retornando ao sul da América, o Brasil também repensava seu patrimônio. Se no período pós-guerra, a visão de patrimônio do Dr. Lucio ainda era o padrão, algumas ações mostravam uma mudança de abordagem. Tais mudanças vieram principalmente sob a gestão

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[24] Atique, 2007, p. 5.

[25] Em 1955, foi lançada outra publicação pelo MoMA, em continuidade a essa, *Latin American architecture since 1945*, organizada por Henry-Russel Hitchcock. A obra apresentava a arquitetura moderna em dez países na América Latina, com destaque para Brasil, México e Venezuela.

[26] O primeiro departamento de sociologia nos EUA foi criado em 1882, na Universidade de Chicago. Foi nesse departamento que nasceu a "Escola de Chicago", que apresentava uma nova abordagem do urbano. Nesta época, diversas cidades norte-americanas estavam em meio a um processo de "invasão" por uma população rural e por imigrantes. Chicago entre elas. Então, os pesquisadores da universidade passaram a usar a própria cidade como um grande laboratório, trabalhando com grandes volumes de dados quantitativos e qualitativos. A intenção era que, a partir desses dados, fosse possível entender o fenômeno urbano instalado ali, bem como estabelecer pesquisas que pudessem apresentar soluções para esses problemas – condições de habitação insalubres, violência, delinquência, epidemias, guetos, cortiços, etc. No período pós II Guerra, essa metodologia – a sociologia urbana – ganhou projeção internacional.

do arquiteto paraense Renato Soeiro, entre 1967 e 1979[27].

Sua gestão modernizou o Iphan, em especial em duas ações. A primeira, na reestruturação do Instituto, que passou a contar com nove Diretorias Regionais ao invés dos quatro distritos iniciais. A ideia de estabelecer vínculos locais mais fortes também foi vista na realização dos encontros de governadores realizados em Brasília e Salvador (1970 e 1971 respectivamente). Esses encontros tiveram o objetivo de discutir a preservação do patrimônio. A partir deles foram criados os órgãos de preservação na esfera estadual, continuando uma descentralização do Instituto[28].

Outra ação liderada por Soeiro e de grande impacto na preservação do patrimônio brasileiro foi a criação do Programa de Cidades Históricas (PCH). Criado em 1973 e desativado no início dos anos 1980, o programa foi um primeiro passo para entender a preservação do patrimônio cultural e natural como política regional e urbana[29]. Foi também um momento importante no Iphan, em que as ações de preservação saíram do eixo Minas Gerais-Rio de Janeiro, voltando-se às cidades históricas das regiões Norte e Nordeste. Como no momento de criação do Iphan, o governo de Getúlio Vargas olhava para o patrimônio como um possível fator de união do país, também o governo militar entendia o Instituto como um instrumento importante de uma política nacionalista. No caso da ditadura militar de 1964, a realização de ações nas regiões do norte do Brasil era importante para tentar barrar movimentos dissonantes ao regime (em especial, as Ligas Camponesas, em Pernambuco).

Soeiro tinha claro o quão grandes eram os problemas enfrentados pelas cidades devido ao fluxo de migração campo-cidade. O que lhe dava também plena consciência das dificuldades de preservação, principalmente de sítios urbanos e áreas naturais. Por isso, ele adotou uma postura de buscar integrar a preservação às políticas urbanas e de planejamento. A sua reestruturação do Iphan e o contato mais próximo com os governos estaduais eram uma estratégia para integrar a preservação feita na esfera federal a uma participação ativa dos governos estaduais e municipais.

Ele também entendia que se a preservação de sítios urbanos ficasse restrita ao tombamento, corria-se o risco de um congelamento dessas cidades, deixando-as de fora do desenvolvimento urbano e territorial. E dessa forma, inviabilizando a sua preservação efetiva. Uma das formas de buscar esse equilíbrio seria por meio do turismo, como previsto nas Normas de Quito. Aliás, o relatório da segunda missão Unesco no Brasil, realizada entre 1966 e 1967 por Michel Parent, tinha justamente o título de Proteção e valorização do patrimônio cultural brasileiro no desenvolvimento turístico[30].

Além disso, Soeiro ampliou a posição brasileira no âmbito internacional. Ele teve contato frequente com outros dirigentes de

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[27] Alguns pesquisadores apontam a gestão de Renato Soeiro como mera continuidade da gestão de Rodrigo Melo Franco de Andrade. Nossa posição é a mesma apresentada por Paulo Ormindo de Azevedo (2016), de que essa visão foi criada pela gestão posterior a Soeiro no Iphan (de Aluísio Magalhães, 1979-1982), como indício da disputa política existente dentro do Iphan.

[28] A ideia de trabalhar os órgãos de preservação a nível regional era a base da atuação do sistema de preservação italiano, com Superintendências para cada uma das regiões italianas e algumas especiais, para sítios de grande complexidade (por exemplo, o sítio arqueológico de Pompeia ou o centro de Roma).

[29] Cf. Azevedo, 2016. Azevedo ainda faz um balanço breve do legado do programa: "Ganhou-se a quebra do monopólio do tombamento pela União, a flexibilização da metodologia de intervenção do PCH em alguns municípios, como Recife e Manaus e, indiretamente, a ampliação do conceito de patrimônio com a constituição de 1988 e o consequente registro dos bens imateriais, em 2000. Perdeu-se a integração do patrimônio cultural e natural aos programas de desenvolvimento urbanos e regionais e o pacto federativo pelo nosso patrimônio, como fechamento de muitos órgãos estaduais e municipais de preservação por falta de repasse de recursos." (Azevedo, 2016, p. 253)

[30] Cf. Leal, 2008.

patrimônio, tanto na América Latina quanto na Europa. Participou da Convenção de Haia de 1952, da Convenção do Patrimônio Mundial de 1972 e foi um dos signatários das Normas de Quito de 1967. Foi na sua gestão em que mais se realizaram missões da Unesco e da OEA no Brasil[31]. Principalmente pela falta de recursos, e também consciente das limitações técnicas brasileiras – lembrando que ele assumiu a gestão do Iphan em uma época em que o quadro de funcionários era praticamente o mesmo da criação do Instituto, com um número considerável de técnicos já aposentados – ele buscou apoio na Unesco. Em especial para avaliação e elaboração de planos para centros históricos.

> Junto à Unesco consegue trazer os arquitetos Viana de Lima para um plano de preservação de Ouro Preto e avaliação do mérito do tombamento de S. Luiz e Alcântara, no Maranhão, em 1968, os ingleses Shakland e Walton para um plano turístico para o Pelourinho, e o urbanista Linburg-Stirum para um plano integral de Parati. Solicita ainda a vinda dos arquitetos Raul Pastrana e Guillermo Trimmiño, este último especialista colombiano em inventários, e do diretor do Projeto Patrimônio Cultural Andino (Unesco/Pnud), Sylvio Mutal, para discutirem a política patrimonial. (Azevedo, 2016, p. 242)

Trouxe ainda o mexicano Carlos Flores Marini, personagem importante na elaboração da Carta de Veneza (tal como Soeiro) e proeminente no Instituto Nacional de Antropologia e História do México (INAH), e o francês Jean-Bernard Perrin, especialista em legislação de conjuntos históricos. E foi além dos projetos e consultorias pontuais.

Nos anos 1970, em parceria com universidades federais e estaduais, deu início a diversos cursos de formação, que capacitaram toda uma geração de profissionais que atuaram ativamente na preservação do patrimônio brasileiro nas décadas seguintes. Destacamos o curso de Especialização em Conservação de Monumentos e Conjuntos Históricos, de 1974, realizado em uma parceria do Iphan com a Faculdade de Arquitetura e Urbanismo da Universidade de São Paulo (USP). Resultado da gestão de Renato Soeiro e Luis Saia[32] (no Iphan – SP), teve a coordenação de Saia, Nestor Goulart Reis e Ulpiano Bezerra de Menezes. Entre os professores, além de técnicos do Iphan (incluindo Soeiro), contou com os convidados internacionais Hughes de Varine-Boham, Victor Pimentel e Viana de Lima. Tal abertura a ideias e, principalmente, a práticas diferentes permitiu uma "comparação com as posturas internacionais [que] expôs abertamente, pela primeira vez, conflitos conceituais nos critérios até então inquestionáveis praticados pelo Iphan"[33].

A Convenção para a Proteção do Patrimônio Mundial

A ideia de um patrimônio que seria universal não nasceu no pós-guerra. Seja no Renascimento, com o entendimento das obras da Grécia e Roma antigas como expressão da humanidade; seja na Revolução Francesa, com a celebração do artista, e não mais do soberano, a universalidade do patrimônio já estava ali.

Em 1954, a Convenção de Haia tratou da questão da destruição de patrimônio em tempo de guerra. Tema mais do que próximo a todos os envolvidos, foi também o resultado de

[31] Cf. Iphan (documento de 2005) e Mori (2011).

[32] Sobre a atuação de Luis Saia na superintendência do Iphan em São Paulo, bem como da forma como ele ajudou a formar e consolidar uma ideia de qual seria o patrimônio paulista ver Rolim, 2006.

[33] Mori, 2011, p. 1.

diversas missões que tiveram contato de perto com a destruição causada pela guerra, seja na questão da destruição física de monumentos, seja no roubo ou desaparecimento de obras de arte.

Ainda que a proximidade do fim da guerra tenha levantado a questão tratada em Haia, o texto da convenção foi, em verdade, a quinta versão de um acordo relativo à destruição constatada em períodos de conflitos armados. A primeira foi proposta pelo imperador russo Alexander II, e foi adotada em conferência em Bruxelas, em 1874 (*International Declaration Concerning the Laws and Customs of War*). O texto afirmava que "culture was a common heritage of humanity and cultural property was considered irreplaceable once destroyed" [34] . Jokilehto afirma que, realmente, reconhecer a existência de um patrimônio cultural da humanidade é um pré-requisito para qualquer ação internacional. Mas que essa universalidade deve obrigatoriamente estar inserida em um contexto histórico-cultural [35]. Está aí o conflito – e a dificuldade – da atuação na preservação em escala global[36]. Esse debate já havia sido visto também no Comitê Internacional para Cooperação Intelectual da Liga das Nações[37].

De certa forma, as missões do Comitê – e posteriormente da Unesco – retomaram parte da antiga ideia das viagens de estudo que estimularam o desenvolvimento da Renascença e que disseminaram os primeiros debates sobre conservação após a Revolução Francesa. As missões da Unesco voltadas ao patrimônio, em um primeiro momento estiveram centradas no Oriente Médio e no norte da África. Aos poucos, elas passaram a incluir também a Ásia (em especial o sudeste asiático) e a América Latina.

No documento de criação da organização, bem como em seu nome, a Unesco tem como objetivo promover a colaboração entre os países por meio de educação, ciência e cultura. Com o início de suas ações, começaram a ser buscados órgãos de apoio, que pudessem dar o suporte técnico necessário nas suas diferentes áreas de atuação.

Iccrom e Icomos

Nessa perspectiva, o primeiro criado foi o Iccrom (*International Centre for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property*) [38], que não nasceu com tal nome. Na conferência geral da Unesco realizada em 1956, em Nova Delhi, foi aprovada uma proposta para a criação de um centro internacional para pesquisa e desenvolvimento de novas metodologias de conservação. Três anos depois, em uma parceria com o governo italiano, a instituição foi criada. Com sede na cidade de Roma, passou a ser conhecido como o 'Centro de Roma'. Em 1978, o centro recebeu a denominação de Iccrom.

Seu primeiro diretor foi Harold Plenderleith, vindo do *British Museum*, de Londres, que reuniu logo nos primeiros anos de atuação do Centro de Roma, os principais especialistas em restauro de diversas tipologias. Para além do corpo permanente, o Iccrom estabeleceu parcerias em todo o mundo com centros de pesquisa similares. Tal rede, aliado ao

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[34] Jokilehto, 2011, p. 3.

[35] Jokilehto, em sua história do Iccrom (2011), e Titchen, em sua tese sobre a construção da ideia de um valor universal (1995), abordam a questão da evolução da ideia de um patrimônio da humanidade.

[36] A ideia de um patrimônio da humanidade não é aceita como um fato natural. Uma das fortes posições contrárias é a de Françoise Choay. Sua posição – o conceito de "museificação" do patrimônio – será retomada mais adiante. No entanto, registramos aqui um de seus argumentos, uma mensagem enviada em 1952 por Claude Lévi-Strauss em *Race et histoire*: "Il n'y a pas, et il ne peut y avoir, une civilisation mondiale [...] puisque la civilisation implique la coexistence de cultures offrant entre elles le maximum de diversités, et consiste même en cette coexistence" (apud Choay, 2011a, p. 86).

[37] Ainda, se seguiu à Convenção de 1954, a Recomendação de Nova Delhi (1956), que definiu princípios internacionais para escavações arqueológicas. Dessa forma, patrimônio em risco por guerras e arqueologia foram os dois primeiros motivadores de parâmetros internacionais de preservação.

[38] Para um histórico detalhado das ações do Iccrom, ver Jokilehto, 2011.

trabalho com a Unesco e ao período de sua criação, permitiu que o centro trabalhasse em experiências das mais diversas, o que contribuiu para o aprimoramento de seu corpo técnico e para a ampliação de sua rede de colaboração.



07_Membros do International institute for Conservation of Historic and Artistic Works(IIC) em Bruxelas, 1948. O ICC foi uma das instituições que formaram a base da atuação da Unesco. No centro, Paul Coremans e Harold Plenderleith. O último seria, anos mais tarde, o primeiro diretor do Iccrom.

O Iccrom tinha como objetivo – e como vocação desde o seu nascimento – o restauro. No entanto, a Unesco tinha que pensar o patrimônio de forma mais ampla, considerando a preservação, em especial em seus aspectos de políticas públicas e de gestão. Nessa perspectiva, em 1965 foi criado o Icomos (*International Council on Monuments and Sites*).

A ideia da criação de uma organização voltada à preservação de monumentos e sítios, independente do Icom que lidava com museus, já existia desde o 1º Congresso de Arquitetos e Especialista em edifícios históricos. O congresso foi realizado em 1957, em Paris, e naquele momento recomendou que os países membro da Unesco tomassem parte do Iccrom. O 2º Congresso foi o realizado em Veneza, em 1964, que deu origem à famosa carta. O congresso terminou com 13 resoluções. A primeira era o estabelecimento de uma carta internacional de restauro (a Carta de Veneza). E a segunda previa a criação de um conselho internacional para monumentos e sítios. A ideia foi abraçada pela Unesco: nascia o Icomos.

Organização não governamental associada à Unesco, tem a missão de promover a conservação, proteção, uso e valorização de monumentos, centros urbanos e sítios[39]. Ainda no site da organização, o Icomos se apresenta como uma "rede de especialistas que se beneficia da troca interdisciplinar de seus membros, entre os quais estão arquitetos, historiadores, arqueólogos, historiados da arte, geógrafos, antropólogos, engenheiros e urbanistas"[40].

Na verdade, a cooperação internacional não era uma novidade: além das viagens de estudos, encontros funcionavam como espaços de aprendizado, com a troca de experiências e a discussão de problemas específicos – como no caso da Atenas discutida em 1931 e que originou a já citada carta patrimonial. Dentro das ações do Iccrom e do Icomos, foram realizadas diversas viagens à América. Vale destacar a expedição liderada pelo francês Michel Parent (representando a Unesco), e a atuação do italiano Graziano Gasparini, na direção da instituição de preservação de patrimônio venezuelana. Ali, Gasparini organizou diversos seminários, em especial sobre história da arquitetura, sempre com especialistas italianos e latino-americanos. Em especial, a atuação do Icomos contribuiu decisivamente para o intercâmbio e para um conhecimento – na Europa – das especificidades do patrimônio americano.

[39] Cf. <www.icomos.org>

[40] Em março de 2016, eram 9.500 membros em 151 países; 300 instituições afiliadas; 106 comitês nacionais e 28 comitês científicos internacionais. Texto original consultado (disponível na página eletrônica indicada na nota anterior): "network of experts that benefits from the interdisciplinar exchange of its members, among which are architects, historians, archaeologists, art historians, geographers, anthropologists, engineers and town planners."

Por fim, lembramos da IUCN (*International Union for Conservation of Nature*), a terceira organização nomeada na Convenção como órgão assessor da Unesco. Criada em 1948, a IUCN elabora avaliações técnicas sobre as candidaturas de sítios patrimônio natural, bem como acompanha seu estado de conservação, por meio de uma rede de especialistas espalhados pelo mundo[41].

Primeiras campanhas internacionais da Unesco

A primeira ação internacional da Unesco para a preservação do patrimônio é de 1959[42], quando foi criada uma campanha internacional para arrecadar fundos para o templo de Abu Simbel, no vale do rio Nilo, Egito. A ação, realizada a partir de pedidos oficiais dos governos do Egito e do Sudão, foi tão bem-sucedida que originou outras, em Veneza, no Paquistão e na Indonésia. Além disso, ali foi elaborado um rascunho da convenção que aconteceria treze anos depois.

Nesse primeiro momento, o Iccrom tinha uma participação bastante intensa, incluindo a participação em campo de seus diretores e principais especialistas. No caso egípcio, em que participaram diretamente o diretor Plenderleith e um de seus principais especialistas, Paolo Mora. Toda uma área monumental no vale do rio Nilo estava ameaçada pela construção de uma represa (de Assuã), cujas obras começaram em 1960. Por conta da inevitável inundação, monumentos foram realocados para áreas mais altas. A Unesco iniciou contato com o governo do Egito em 1956, para o processo de realocação e também para a criação do Centro de Documentação e Estudos da História da Arte e Civilização do Egito Antigo, implantado na cidade do Cairo. O Iccrom se envolveu no projeto em 1959, após um convite formal do governo egípcio. Essa foi a primeira vez em que a organização foi reconhecida como a autoridade a ser consultada em casos como esse. Além do suporte técnico, foi também realizada uma campanha, pela Unesco, para angariar recursos para a realização dos trabalhos. A campanha acionou todos os países membro da ONU, com diversas ações para coleta de doações.



08_Selos emitidos como parte da campanha Unesco para Abu Simbel (em 1960, Marrocos e Argentina).

A missão específica para o vale do Nilo e a salvaguarda dos monumentos núbios foi seguida por outras missões, que envolveram consultorias a outros sítios no país, além do monitoramento das ações implantadas em 1959.

O segundo grande projeto em que o Iccrom entrou como a equipe de campo da Unesco foi a série de enchentes que atingiu as regiões italianas da Toscana e do Vêneto.

> During the first days of November, Tuscany and Venetia were devastated by floods of extraordinary magnitude and violence. The damage has been enormous. To the toll in human lives and the loss of property were added the destruction, in Florence and Venice, of creations of the human spirit which made the enchantment of the culture and art of living that Italy has given to the world. In all, 885 works of art of the first importance, 18 churches and some 10.000 other objects have suffered. Seventy libraries and learned institutions have been stricken. More than 700.000 volumes of archives comprising some 50 million items, of which 10.000 were of inestimable historical and scientific value, have been damaged. (apud Jokilehto, 2011, p. 34)

Tal foi o apelo do diretor-geral da Unesco, René Maheau no dia 2 de dezembro de 1966, quando foi lançada uma campanha

[41] Considerando que a presente pesquisa tem seu principal foco no patrimônio cultural, a atuação da IUCN não foi muito explorada.

[42] Cf. Unesco, 2008.

internacional pedindo doações para a salvaguarda de Florença e Veneza[43].

A campanha foi um sucesso e permitiu a criação de um fundo para emergências voltado à arte e arquivos italianos. Mais do que isso, foi o início do estabelecimento de uma equipe de emergência no Iccrom. Nos primeiros dias após as cheias houve uma resposta rápida de ajuda, porém em ações confusas e desconexas (alguns lugares tinham vários técnicos, outros nenhum ou faltava equipamento, etc.). Após a formalização do pedido de ajuda do governo italiano ao Iccrom, o centro assumiu a coordenação das ações, baseados em dois princípios: orientar técnica e cientificamente as ações; e orientar o planejamento e organização para todos os trabalhos de restauração e conservação. Sendo que a principal ação da equipe foi a de desenvolver um plano geral de resgate das obras afetadas, incluindo a organização dos fluxos de informações.



09_O Iccrom coordenou as equipes internacionais de resgate da Unesco na enchente de 1966 que atingiu as regiões italianas da Toscana e do Vêneto. Na foto, o Museu de Bargello, Florença, com documentos em processo de recuperação.

A situação em Florença foi controlada mais facilmente, pelo fato da enchente ter provocado danos pontuais. O caso de Veneza era mais complicado, considerando que toda a cidade havia sido afetada. Por isso, a equipe do Iccrom continuou envolvida em ações de salvaguarda por vários anos depois do momento inicial de resgate.

Ressaltamos também a ação para o templo de Borobudur, na Indonésia. Um dos maiores templos budistas do mundo, a Unesco iniciou uma campanha internacional em 1972, para a sua restauração. O projeto teve a contribuição de 27 países, e as obras foram realizadas com êxito e entregues em 1983[44].

Essas campanhas contribuíram em diversos aspectos para a consolidação da atuação da Unesco – e de sua parceria com o Iccrom. Em primeiro lugar, conseguir estruturar um centro especializado que pudesse atender a diferentes situações. Apesar do Iccrom trabalhar basicamente com profissionais italianos (as exceções eram o diretor, o britânico Plenderleith, e seu assistente, o belga Paul Philippot), os trabalhos eram sempre realizados em conjunto com equipes locais, contribuindo para garantir uma continuidade dos processos. Por fim, as campanhas de doações contribuíram muito para a divulgação dos trabalhos realizados pelo Iccrom. Isso garantiu que seus associados aumentassem gradualmente, ampliando a rede de técnicos em todo o mundo[45].

A Convenção de 1972

Outro momento importante aconteceu em Washington, EUA, em 1965. Nesse ano, foi organizada uma conferência na Casa Branca que propôs a criação de um fundo para o patrimônio mundial, que pretendeu estimular a cooperação internacional na proteção de áreas naturais e sítios históricos ao redor do mundo e contribuiu para a consolidação do alargamento do conceito de patrimônio. De tal forma que, no documento final da Convenção de 1972, foram

[43] Tal campanha foi lembrada em exposições realizadas em Florença e em Veneza em 2016. Destaque para o projeto 'Firenze 2016', que pretende conscientizar a população e instituições para a necessidade da realização e implantação de planos de emergência voltados não só às pessoas, mas também ao patrimônio cultural.

[44] Em 1991, o templo era inserido na Lista do Patrimônio Mundial.

[45] O Brasil era um Estado associado desde a criação do Iccrom. Em 1968 houve a primeira adesão de uma instituição brasileira, o Museu de Arte Contemporânea (MAC) da Universidade de São Paulo.

consideradas três categorias de sítios: áreas naturais, áreas culturais (históricas) e áreas mistas (que combinariam as duas anteriores)[46].

E então chegamos a 1972, Paris, Convenção para a Proteção do Patrimônio Mundial, Cultural e Natural[47]. A convenção colheu os frutos de um debate sobre um patrimônio que seria de interesse global que havia começado no período entre guerras, com a Sociedade das Nações. Em 16 de novembro de 1972, a conferência geral da Unesco, que se reunia em Paris, adotou a Convenção sobre a Proteção do Patrimônio Mundial, Cultural e Natural, que criou o mecanismo de reconhecimento de um patrimônio que seria mundial, com a inscrição de bens um uma lista pública.

A Lista do Patrimônio Mundial (daqui para frente, simplesmente Lista) foi criada na Convenção e em 1976 foi implantado o Fundo do Patrimônio Mundial, também previsto no documento. A partir desse ano, a Lista começou a ser operacionalizada e estruturada, com as primeiras candidaturas aceitas em 1978, com doze sítios inscritos. Os doze pioneiros foram três europeus, seis americanos e três africanos[48]. Em 2016, a Lista contava com 1.052 sítios inscritos, sendo sua distribuição pelo mundo a seguinte: África, 90; Estados Árabes, 81; Ásia e Pacífico, 246; Europa e América do Norte, 498; América Latina e Caribe, 137. A Itália é o país com o maior número de sítios inscritos na Lista, com 51 bens reconhecidos como patrimônio da humanidade. A lista de Patrimônio em perigo contava com 55 sítios inscritos[49].

É importante fazer uma ressalva aqui para além de uma nota de rodapé. A divisão por regiões apresentada é a oficial do Centro para o Patrimônio Mundial (World Heritage Center, WHC). Baseado nessa divisão são feitas todas as estatísticas e planejamento do órgão. Se a união de Ásia e Pacífico e a separação dos Estados Árabes da Ásia se justifica por questões culturais e civilizatórias, o mesmo não se pode dizer da Europa somada à América do Norte. Inclusive pelo número de bens inscritos: na América do Norte são 41 contra 457 europeus. Isso sem considerar que parte dos bens presentes nos EUA estão vinculados ao período da presença espanhola nas Américas. Essa questão será retomada na parte III, ao tratar das estratégias globais Unesco.

A relação dos pioneiros mostra um percentual de sítios americanos que está muito longe do que é a realidade do número total de inscritos hoje. Tal fato indica a proximidade desse primeiro grupo às ações da ONU. Também a intenção era a de marcar uma posição, em especial no que diz respeito aos sítios localizados na América do Norte, e encorajando os países membro da ONU a aderirem à Convenção do Patrimônio Mundial.

O processo para ingresso na Lista se dá em quatro fases. Na primeira, o sítio é inscrito na lista indicativa do respectivo país. Essa lista apresenta os sítios que determinado país pretende candidatar a Patrimônio Mundial nos

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[46] O brasileiro Renato Soeiro representou o Brasil na reunião preparatória realizada em abril de 1972, no Comitê Especial de Peritos Intergovernamentais, do qual foi indicado para ser vice-presidente. Nessa reunião houve uma disputa sobre o peso que seria dado aos patrimônios cultural e natural e Soeiro teve um papel importante para equilibrar a representatividade de todos (cf. Azevedo, 2016).

[47] Apesar de existirem diversas traduções da Convenção se referindo a ela como "Convenção para a Salvaguarda do Patrimônio", utilizaremos aqui a nomenclatura da tradução brasileira do manual de referência da Unesco sobre Gestão do Patrimônio Mundial Cultural, editada pelo Iphan em 2016, que adotou "Convenção para a Proteção do Patrimônio". Também é dessa edição a adoção de "diretrizes operacionais" para as *guidelines* Unesco, que serão abordadas mais adiante.

[48] 1 na Alemanha, 2 no Equador, 2 na Polônia, 1 no Senegal, 2 no Canadá, 2 nos Estados Unidos e 2 na Etiópia. Todos permanecem na Lista até hoje, sendo que um na Etiópia encontra-se na lista de Patrimônio em Perigo (parque nacional Simien).

[49] A distribuição em regiões da lista de Patrimônio em Perigo em junho de 2016: 17 África, 21 Estados Árabes, 6 Ásia e Pacífico, 4 Europa e América do Norte (sendo 1 nos EUA) e 7 América Latina e Caribe. O WHC mantém estatísticas atualizadas em seu site: <www.whc.unesco.org>

próximos cinco a dez anos. Após essa declaração de intenções, o país pode elaborar o processo de candidatura, que é realizado com o apoio do Centro Unesco para o Patrimônio Mundial (o WHC) Após o processo pronto, ele será avaliado pelas instituições de apoio – o Icomos, o Iccrom e a IUCN. A avaliação das instituições é então encaminhada ao Comitê do Patrimônio Mundial, que se reúne anualmente, onde o pedido é avaliado.

O processo é realizado a partir de dez critérios de seleção, sendo que o sítio candidato deve se enquadrar em ao menos um deles. Os critérios alterados em 2004 e em vigor em 2016 são os seguintes:

> **(i)** Represent a masterpiece of human creative genius;
>
> **(ii)** Exhibit an important interchange of human values, over a span of time or within a cultural area of the world, on developments in architecture or technology, monumental arts, town-planning or landscape design;
>
> **(iii)** Bear a unique or at least exceptional testimony to a cultural tradition or to a civilization which is living or which has disappeared;
>
> **(iv)** Be an outstanding example of a type of building, architectural or technological ensemble or landscape which illustrates (a) significant stage(s) in human history;
>
> **(v)** Be an outstanding example of a traditional human settlement, land-use, or sea-use which is representative of a culture (or cultures), or human interaction with the environment especially when it has become vulnerable under the impact of irreversible change;
>
> **(vi)** Be directly or tangibly associated with events or living traditions, with ideas, or with beliefs, with artistic and literary works of outstanding universal significance. (The Committee considers that this criterion should preferably be used in conjunction with other criteria);
>
> **(vii)** Contain superlative natural phenomena or areas of exceptional natural beauty and aesthetic importance;
>
> **(viii)** Be outstanding examples representing major stages of earth's history, including the record of life, significant on-going geological processes in the development of landforms, or significant geomorphic or physiographic features;
>
> **(ix)** Be outstanding examples representing significant on-going ecological and biological processes in the evolution and development of terrestrial, fresh water, coastal and marine ecosystems and communities of plants and animals;
>
> **(x)** Contain the most important and significant natural habitats for in-situ conservation of biological diversity, including those containing threatened species of Outstanding Universal Value from the point of view of science or conservation. (Unesco WHC, documento WHC.15/01, p. 16-17)

Outro mecanismo importante da Convenção do Patrimônio Mundial é a lista do Patrimônio em perigo. Os sítios reconhecidos como patrimônio mundial podem ser inseridos nessa lista, que dá acesso imediato a assistência, seja do fundo, seja do centro para o patrimônio mundial. Os motivos que podem levar um sítio à lista do Patrimônio em perigo vão desde conflitos armados e guerras na região, catástrofes naturais, poluição, crescimento urbano ou uma atuação turística não regulamentada. Esse mecanismo permite não apenas o acesso a recursos da Unesco, mas principalmente funciona como um alerta à comunidade internacional sobre a situação de determinado bem.

Além das duas listas, o Centro Unesco para o Patrimônio Mundial atua com ações de apoio à formação técnica (principalmente com o apoio do Iccrom) e de divulgação, incluindo ações de valorização do patrimônio com público jovem.

Em um primeiro momento, a Unesco – cuja sede é em Paris – contava com agências de suporte às suas ações, com escritórios baseados na Itália, Noruega, Canadá, Inglaterra e Suíça, para além das agências de apoio nominadas na Convenção de 1972. Hoje, dentro das estratégias globais da Unesco, existe uma rede

de suporte muito mais ampla, que busca contato direto com as mais diversas realidades. Essa rede é formada por instituições que possuem diversos graus de vínculo com a Unesco, englobando escritórios regionais, comitês nacionais, institutos e centros especializados, bibliotecas associadas e cátedras universitárias[50]. Por fim, mantem uma linha de publicações, quase inteiramente acessível online.

Dessa forma, busca atuar de maneira ampla na preservação, abrangendo diversas ações. Vale também destacar que, juridicamente a responsabilidade pela preservação recai sobre os países onde os sítios se encontram[51]. Logo, a atuação da Unesco na preservação se centra em atividades que não contemplem a intervenção direta no bem, mas que buscam contribuir decisiva e positivamente para sua preservação. O que reforça ainda mais a necessidade de atuar dentro de uma rede com organizações locais.

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A Convenção só veio reforçar – e estruturar – a rede que já se encontrava em operação em prol da preservação do patrimônio. A partir da Carta de Veneza de 1964 – e da Convenção de 1972 –, começaram a ser realizadas reuniões de maneira muito mais intensa, com a divulgação de diversas cartas específicas a diferentes realidades em todo o mundo.

Estruturação mundial

O cenário da realização da Convenção de 1972 – seja anterior ou posterior – viu a estruturação de uma rede mundial em prol da preservação do patrimônio. Ações que existiam ainda de forma tímida ou realizadas de maneira pontual foram ampliadas, e incentivaram a criação de novas estruturas. Cada vez mais considerando a escala mundial. O período pós II Guerra não chegou a ver a Europa perder o lugar central no debate sobre a preservação (como nem o início do século XXI), mas ações importantes – e de abrangência mundial – começaram a ser elaboradas nas Américas.

Experiências pan-americanas

> Tornar compatíveis desenvolvimento urbano e preservação do patrimônio é um dos desafios chave do próximo milênio. Por isso é necessário entender que o fator cultural é um valor essencial de qualquer desenvolvimento econômico equilibrado, e que não haverá uma recuperação possível do nosso patrimônio histórico se, ao mesmo tempo, não houver uma resposta às exigências sociais. Esta combinação entre cultura e reparação social é a chave para recuperar as áreas históricas nos centros urbanos. (Gutiérrez, 2000, p. 21, tradução nossa)

Uma das diferenças cruciais das abordagens americana e europeia frente à preservação é o fator social. Nas Américas, ações que possam contribuir para um desenvolvimento social são consideradas naturalmente como das primeiras a serem realizadas. Seja em projetos que valorizem os povos nativos – grande preocupação em alguns

[50] Ressalta-se que essa rede não é exclusiva para uma atuação com questões do patrimônio mundial. Em 2016 eram 54 escritórios regionais e 199 Comitês Nacionais. As cátedras universitárias têm como objetivo estabelecer pontes entre o âmbito acadêmico, a sociedade civil e comunidades locais.

[51] Convenção do Patrimônio Mundial (1972), parte II – Da proteção nacional e proteção internacional do patrimônio cultural e natural, artigo 4º: "Cada um dos Estados parte na presente convenção deverá reconhecer que a obrigação de assegurar a identificação, proteção, conservação, valorização e transmissão às gerações futuras do patrimônio cultural e natural referido nos artigos 1º e 2º [com a definição do que é patrimônio cultural e natural] e situado no seu território constitui obrigação primordial. Para tal, deverá esforçar-se, quer por esforço próprio, utilizando no máximo os seus recursos disponíveis, quer, se necessário, mediante a assistência e a cooperação internacionais de que possa beneficiar, nomeadamente no plano financeiro, artístico, científico e técnico."

casos nos casos dos EUA e no Canadá –, seja por conta de uma realidade de grande desigualdade social – como no caso de quase toda a América Latina. Considerando essas especificidades, além da história em comum, existem algumas instituições que atuam no continente, com o objetivo de salvaguardar o patrimônio americano e de promover uma troca de experiências, baseado nas similaridades do patrimônio existente no continente.



10_ Sylvio Mutal em Tambomachay, Peru, 1978.

A primeira instituição que começou a criar um diálogo sobre preservação em nível governamental no continente foi a OEA, com os já mencionados pacto Roerich e as Normas de Quito. A organização buscou por meio de seu departamento de educação e cultura manter em pauta a discussão sobre preservação. Infelizmente, essa atuação ainda não tem a força dos fóruns criados pela União Europeia, e continua muito centrado na discussão sobre a promoção do turismo a partir de seus sítios históricos. Na verdade, ao contrário das agências europeias, que mantem fóruns fortes de discussão sobre legislação e políticas culturais, as organizações nas Américas têm como escopo principal o financiamento de projetos.

Nessa ótica, outra instituição importante no continente é o Banco Interamericano de Desenvolvimento (BID). Sua atuação na área da preservação se tornou mais consistente e efetiva a partir dos anos 1970, quando realizou os primeiros empréstimos para planos de recuperação e desenvolvimento de centros históricos [52] . Em 1974, foram investidos US$ 26,5 milhões na cidade de Cuzco (Peru), e US$ 13 milhões para o restauro da Cidade do Panamá, em 1977. O sucesso desses dois projetos aumentou a busca por fundos do BID, levando o banco a estabelecer alguns critérios e a partir dos anos 1990, projetos de recuperação de centros históricos deveriam apresentar-se como potencializadores de um desenvolvimento socioeconômico. Novos investimentos foram realizados, com destaque para o aporte de US$ 42 milhões para a cidade de Quito, Equador. Além da dimensão socioeconômica, os projetos também deveriam incorporar outros tipos de apoio, em especial de instituições locais, e que tivessem a perspectiva de sustentabilidade após o final do aporte do BID. Essa diretriz é seguida ainda hoje.

Também na década de 1970, o BID estabeleceu uma parceria com a Unesco, implantando com o Programa das Nações Unidas para o Desenvolvimento (PNUD) um projeto regional para patrimônio cultural, urbano e ambiental. O projeto funcionou de 1976 a 1995 e foi coordenado pelo arquiteto Sylvio Mutal. Com escritório base em Lima (Peru), o projeto tinha como objetivos a preservação de patrimônio urbano; capacitação de equipes, visando o estabelecimento de uma rede entre os centros de conservação e museus da região; e preservação e valorização dos patrimônios mistos da região dos Andes.

Dentre várias organizações não governamentais que atuam no continente, destacamos duas. Uma é o *World Monuments Fund* (WMF), organização privada, sem fins lucrativos, criada em 1965, em Nova York. Seguindo a tradição das organizações civis norte-americanas, um grupo de cidadãos se reuniu, preocupados com a acelerada destruição de monumentos em todo o mundo[53]. Partindo

[52] Cf. Stubbs e Makaš, 2011.

[53] O WMF conta hoje com organizações afiliadas estabelecidas na Inglaterra, França, Índia, Itália, Peru,

do pressuposto que as histórias contadas por qualquer patrimônio são universais, a organização trabalha com parceiros locais com o objetivo de angariar fundos e dar suporte técnico tanto para ações de preservação quanto para obras de restauração, em projetos de longo prazo.

A segunda é a A*gencia Española de Cooperación Internacional para el Desarrollo* (AECID), vinculada ao *Instituto de Cooperación para Iberoamérica*. Logo após os processos de independência na América espanhola, a Espanha buscou proximidade às novas Nações, com o objetivo de preservar o patrimônio cultural em suas antigas colônias, e mantem essa parceria até hoje. O AECID coopera com o governo mexicano desde 1977 e em 1984 lançou um programa para preservação de patrimônio cultural focado em sítios listados como Patrimônio Mundial pela Unesco, em projetos que visassem um desenvolvimento econômico e social. Hoje eles atuam fortemente na capacitação de jovens para a atuação na área de preservação (as *Escuelas Tallers*).

Não obstante diversas iniciativas, ainda é consenso entre os profissionais da área de preservação que faltam profissionais devidamente capacitados para atuar na conservação de patrimônio, bem como faltam recursos. Graziano Gasparini vai além e diz que o problema do continente não é apenas de recursos, mas em geral é "facing a declining sense of cultural responsability and a disturbing collective lack of interest"[54].



11_ Web site *Escuelas Taller* (www.escuelastaller.org) no Chile, destacando projeto realizado em parceria com o Peru.

O programa Fulbright

Tanto o WMF, quanto as Escuelas Taller, instucionalizaram uma ponte entre as Américas e a Europa na cooperação internacional em prol da preservação. Outra instituição importante para tal processo foi o programa Fulbright.

Anterior às outras duas iniciativas, o programa foi criado em 1946, quando o senador J. William Fulbright apresentou uma proposta que pretendia promover a "cooperação internacional através do intercâmbio de alunos nas áreas de educação, cultura e ciência"[55]. O projeto tornou-se lei pelas mãos do presidente Harry Truman[56], com as primeiras bolsas concedidas em 1948.

Dessa forma, entre as décadas de 1950 e 1960, o programa levou vários intelectuais importantes para os EUA. Inicialmente como estratégia de guerra – já que o programa contribuiu para a retirada de pessoas que estavam ameaçadas de alguma forma – depois tornou-se um mecanismo importante de

Portugal e Espanha. Ao longo de seus 50 anos, desenvolveu mais de 600 projetos em 90 países (cf. <www.wmf.org>). Um dos primeiros projetos apoiados foi a enchente de Veneza de 1966.

[54] Gasparini, 2002, p. 44.

[55] Conforme sítio eletrônico do Programa (<https://eca.state.gov/files/bureau/fulbright/index.html#Home>), tradução nossa.

[56] Lei PL 79-584, de 1º de agosto de 1946. O programa é financiado pelo Departamento de Estado dos EUA, secretaria de assuntos de educação e cultura. Além de recursos do governo norte-americano, as instituições que sediam os participantes do programa, bem como os países onde se localizam contribuem direta e indiretamente. As estatísticas oficiais informam um número de mais de 370.000 bolsistas desde sua criação, sendo que hoje o programa concede oito mil bolsas por ano, em 160 países em todo o mundo. Para termos a dimensão do programa, entre seus ex-bolsistas estão "33 current or former heads of state or government, 54 Nobel Laureates, 82 Pulitzer Prize winners, 29 MacArthur Foundation Fellows, 16 Presidential Medal of Freedom recipients, and thousands of leaders across the private, public and nonprofit sectors" (<https://eca.state.gov/files/bureau/fulbright/index.html#Home>).

cooperação. Com sede em Nova York (EUA), as atividades desenvolvidas pela Fundação foram um importante ponto de ligação entre o pensamento europeu e as ações então desenvolvidas nas Américas.

Ainda que não tenha sido um programa voltado especificamente a ações de preservação de patrimônio, a troca de intelectuais promovida foi altamente frutífera para a criação de uma rede informal de cooperação técnica.

Europa [quase] unida

As duas últimas décadas do século XX viram o fortalecimento da União Europeia (UE). Criada logo após o fim da II Guerra, a UE se fortaleceu e ganhou corpo com a queda do muro de Berlim (1989) e em 1993, com a conclusão da implantação do mercado único, que contemplava a livre circulação de mercadorias, de serviços, de pessoas e de capitais entre os Estados membro da UE. Tal cooperação internacional também abrangeu o âmbito do patrimônio.

O Conselho Europeu (nível mais alto da União Europeia) atua para reforçar a troca de experiências e de conhecimentos específicos, bem como na padronização de políticas e de boas práticas em todo o continente. A atuação do Conselho Europeu na preservação do patrimônio teve início em 1954, com a Convenção Cultural Europeia, assinada em Paris por quatorze países e que visava a proteção do patrimônio em comum.

A realização de diversos encontros[57] para debater a preservação do patrimônio levou à proclamação do Ano Europeu do Patrimônio Arquitetônico em 1975, com a posterior divulgação de uma Carta Europeia para o Patrimônio Arquitetônico (também conhecida como manifesto de Amsterdã).

> O objetivo da Carta era 'tornar o público mais consciente dos insubstituíveis valores cultural, social e econômico' incorporados na diversidade de seu patrimônio construído. O programa do Ano do Patrimônio Europeu também incentivou governos locais e nacionais a inventariar, preservar e reabilitar ativamente seus sítios históricos e a prestar mais atenção a mudanças que fossem insensíveis a eles. (Stubbs e Makaš, 2011, p. 3, tradução nossa)

Outra ação que nasceu dentro do Conselho da Europa foi a criação da organização não governamental *Europa Nostra*, em 1963. A organização foi fundada por um grupo de organizações vinculadas à preservação do patrimônio europeu lideradas pela *Italia Nostra*. Esta última começou a ser estruturada na Roma de 1951, com o objetivo de bloquear a realização de um projeto de 'renovação' urbana, concebido ainda no período de entre-guerras, que destruiria parte do tecido urbano mais antigo da cidade. Contra esse projeto, alguns intelectuais[58] se uniram e poucos anos depois, em 1955, criaram a *Italia Nostra*, com o objetivo de difundir a cultura da conservação das paisagens urbana e rural, dos monumentos e do caráter ambiental das cidades. O sucesso das ações desenvolvidas pela organização italiana – em especial na defesa de centros históricos – levou à ideia de uma organização similar com atuação europeia.

Em 1985, a UE criou o programa da Capital Europeia da Cultura[59]. Todo ano, uma cidade europeia é selecionada e recebe assistência financeira para realizar atividade culturais relacionadas ao patrimônio. Com a

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[57] A carta mencionava explicitamente a Convenção Cultural Europeia de 1954, a Conferência dos Ministros Europeus (Bruxelas, 1969) e a recomendação 589 da Assembleia Consultiva do Conselho da Europa, de 1970.

[58] O ato constitutivo foi assinado por Umberto Zanotti Bianco, Pietro Paolo Trompeo, Giorgio Bassani, Desideria Pasolini dall'Onda, Elena Croce, Luigi Magnani e Hubert Howard. Cf. Italia Nostra, 1966.

[59] A primeira Capital Europeia da Cultura foi Atenas, em 1985. Em 2000, foram escolhidas nove cidades, em comemoração ao novo milênio, e a partir de 2007 são selecionadas duas cidades por ano. A cidade do Porto foi escolhida em 2001 e Liverpool em 2008.

intenção de destacar a diversidade, o programa também colabora para criar uma identidade comum a todo o continente. Um balanço realizado após vinte anos de atuação do programa, mostrou que o programa é muito eficiente para catalisar uma mudança nas cidades selecionadas, mas que poderia ser mais efetivo no que tange à dimensão europeia daquele patrimônio. No entanto, o sucesso da iniciativa fez com que o modelo chegasse a outras regiões do mundo, com programas de "capital da cultura" organizados pela Liga Árabe, desde 1996 e a partir de 1998 nas Américas[60].

Também em 1985 foi criada a Jornada Europeia do Patrimônio. A ideia foi lançada pelo Conselho Europeu, e incorporada à União Europeia (UE) em 1999. É realizada anualmente em setembro (com um tema pré-definido), quando os 50 países integrantes da UE abrem as portas de centenas de museus e monumentos de forma gratuita. Aqui, além de reforçar as características comuns (como no caso da capital europeia da cultura), o objetivo é também encorajar a tolerância para além de suas fronteiras. A Jornada tem sempre um tema pré-definido, dentro do qual são realizadas diversas atividades.

Outra iniciativa da EU que contribuiu para as ações de preservação na Europa foi o HEREIN (*Council of Europe's European Heritage Network*). O HEREIN foi criado em 1999, como um centro de referência para profissionais, administradores e pesquisadores. Sua principal contribuição é funcionar como um centro que coordena atividades dos departamentos governamentais responsáveis pela preservação do patrimônio. Ainda, mantém um banco de dados sobre políticas culturais dos países membro e promove a padronização de um vocabulário para patrimônio.

Todas essas ações funcionam de forma bastante efetiva, principalmente porque a participação nos fóruns e programas permite o acesso a fundos e fontes de financiamento diversos. Alimentando, dessa forma, um círculo virtuoso, em que a troca de experiências gera o acesso a recursos para a realização de projetos, que reforçam tal troca.

Uma casa para o Patrimônio Mundial

Os aniversários de 20 e 30 anos da Lista trouxeram mudanças em sua atuação. Além de momentos onde foram feitos balanços da atuação do Icomos na preservação do Patrimônio Mundial, em 1992 foi criado o Centro Unesco para o Patrimônio Mundial (*World Heritage Center*, WHC), que tem como objetivo garantir o cotidiano da gestão da Convenção do Patrimônio Mundial[61].

Lembrando que a Lista teve início efetivo em 1978, com a indicação dos primeiros sítios, em seus dez anos não haviam dados que permitissem fazer um balanço efetivo da atuação da Unesco no cumprimento da Convenção de 1972. No entanto, em 1992 já foi possível analisar criticamente a atuação da Unesco frente à Convenção. Principalmente devido ao aumento do número de candidaturas, que mostraram a defasagem existente na proporção de bens inscritos ao redor do planeta. Em tal cenário, decidiu-se criar um centro de

[60] A "Capital Americana da Cultura" é um evento organizado pelo International Bureau of Cultural Capitals (IBOCC), organização não governamental, que tem a chancela da OEA. A organização realiza ações do tipo nas Américas e também organiza a capital da cultura no Brasil, nos EUA e na Catalunha. O sítio eletrônico da instituição (<www.ibocc.org>) diz textualmente que sua inspiração foi o programa europeu de 1985. E também realiza ações como campanhas de promoção e divulgação de lugares e personalidades da cultura (como listas de "tesouros do patrimônio cultural do mundo"). Apesar de sua inspiração, a ação desenvolvida pela organização é um bom exemplo do "mercado turístico cultural" que emerge nos anos 1980, sem a mesma amplitude do programa da UE.

[61] O WHC organiza as reuniões anuais do Comitê do Patrimônio Mundial, dá suporte técnico aos países interessados em submeter candidaturas à Lista, coordena ações de emergência (incluindo acesso ao Fundo do Patrimônio Mundial), realiza seminários e workshops e é o responsável pela documentação de todos os sítios listados.

referência, que pudesse não apenas acompanhar os processos das candidaturas, mas também realizar ações ativas, tanto nas candidaturas quanto na divulgação dos bens já inscritos.

Os primeiros dilemas do século XXI

Se no início do século XX ainda falávamos em monumento histórico e não em patrimônio, cem anos depois o século começava com uma convenção específica para a salvaguarda do patrimônio cultural subaquático, em 2001, e com uma convenção para o patrimônio imaterial dois anos depois.

Além da matéria

A Convenção para a Proteção do Patrimônio Cultural Imaterial foi estabelecida na 32ª sessão da Conferência geral da Unesco, em Paris em 2003[1]. Esse documento pode ser considerado um marco divisor no entendimento do que é patrimônio e, em especial, da forma como nos relacionamos com ele para a sua preservação. Ora, no momento em que se começa a considerar como patrimônio – passível de preservação e de ser classificado como de interesse mundial – expressões culturais intangíveis de uma sociedade, não é mais possível considerar que a preservação continuará a ser feita da mesma forma. Em especial quando se pensa em certas práticas focadas na matéria, isolando o bem da sociedade em que está inserido – e que pretende representar.

É importante ressaltar que, embora a Convenção de 2003 seja efetivamente um marco, a ideia de um patrimônio imaterial é muito anterior ao documento. A própria convenção fez referência à Declaração Universal dos Direitos Humanos, de 1948, e se apresentou como a consolidação de discussões iniciadas anos antes. Na convenção de 2003 foram destacados mais três momentos: a recomendação Unesco sobre a salvaguarda da cultura tradicional e popular, de 1989 e a Declaração universal da Unesco sobre a Diversidade Cultural, de 2001.

O terceiro momento foi em 2002, quando da realização de um congresso em Veneza. O objetivo era o de fazer um balanço dos 30 anos de atuação da Convenção do Patrimônio Mundial. Ali, se pretendeu também fortalecer parcerias para a preservação em todo o mundo, como resposta a um cenário de acirramento das diferenças, visto em guerras que vem tendo como alvos também o patrimônio cultural[2].

Nesse sentido, o texto da convenção reconheceu outros dois pontos relevantes: a interdependência entre o patrimônio imaterial e os patrimônios material e natural. E que:

> Os processos de globalização e de transformação social, ao mesmo tempo em que criam condições propícias para um diálogo renovado entre as comunidades, geram também da mesma forma que o fenômeno da intolerância, graves riscos de deterioração, desaparecimento e destruição do patrimônio cultural imaterial, devido em particular à falta de meios para sua salvaguarda. (Unesco, 2003)

Aqui surge a questão da globalização e sua contradição quando se pensa na

[1] Sobre a Convenção de 2003 sobre patrimônio imaterial e seu contexto ver Clara Bertrand Cabral (2011).

[2] Em 28 de setembro de 2016, o jornal inglês The Guardian publicou (versão online) a matéria de Irina Bokova "*At last, the destruction of heritage has been recognised as a weapon of war*". O texto fala da condenação, no tribunal internacional de Haia, a nove anos de prisão de Ahmad al-Faqi al-Mahdi por vandalismo a altares no Timbuktu. A decisão é importante pois considerou o ato não simplesmente como vandalismo, mas como parte de uma estratégia de guerra. Artigo disponível em: < https://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2016/sep/28/destruction-of-heritage-weapon-of-war-timbuktu-shrines-irina-bokova>

preservação do patrimônio, tema a ser tratado mais adiante.

A relação que a Convenção estabelece entre o patrimônio material e imaterial já era considerado[3], por exemplo, em casos em que o patrimônio imaterial era utilizado como uma ferramenta de valorização do patrimônio construído, que seria o 'principal'. A Convenção de 2003 colocou no mesmo patamar os patrimônios material, imaterial e natural, dando também a possibilidade do status de Patrimônio Mundial. Em outras palavras, a Convenção de 2003 colocou a participação social no processo de preservação e de produção do patrimônio no mesmo patamar dos técnicos que se ocupam da materialidade do patrimônio. E tal fato sim, foi uma mudança radical na forma de entender – e se relacionar – com o patrimônio.

Público versus *privado*

A mudança da postura na relação com o patrimônio, com as categorias agora de patrimônio imaterial e de paisagens culturais, levou diversos países a repensarem suas políticas de preservação. Além dessa mudança, contribuíram também questões inerentes a um mercado globalizado, em especial o embate entre os setores público e privado. Dois processos de reestruturação merecem destaque: o italiano (com a lei Franceschini, nº 106, de 29.07.2014) e o inglês (com o novo *Historic England*)[4].

A lei Franceschini provocou intensos debates na Itália. As acusações foram de que a lei acabava em definitivo com a preservação do patrimônio e da paisagem na Itália, em um processo em que as Superintendências e administrações regionais não teriam mais poder de gestão sobre suas áreas. E as críticas vieram de historiadores do porte de Carlo Ginzburg e Salvatore Settis[5]. Por outro lado, o governo afirma que todas as mudanças serão bem estabelecidas e regulamentadas.

A principal mudança diz respeito à unificação de duas Superintendências. A estrutura antiga considerava três Superintendências para cada região: uma arqueológica, outra para bens artísticas e a terceira para bens arquitetônicos e paisagens. Na nova lei, as duas últimas foram unificadas. Porém, elas passaram a ter somente a função de preservação e formação de pessoal. A gestão de equipamentos culturais e museus ficaria centralizada no Ministério. O objetivo do governo foi o de ter na direção dos principais museus italianos gestores com experiência internacional, que pudessem buscar recursos financeiros para além do governo. O argumento do ministro Dario Franceschini é que a lei removeria duas barreiras: "quella del rapporto tra pubblico e privato e quella della separazione tra la tutela e la valorizzazione che per tropo tempo hanno monopolizzato il dibattito italiano. Adesso non ci sono più scuse: veniamo

[3] O brasileiro Iphan estabeleceu, em 2000, um Programa Nacional do Patrimônio Imaterial.

[4] Registramos ainda duas mudanças importantes. No Brasil, em 2000, o Programa Nacional do Patrimônio Imaterial do Iphan, altera a configuração da "pedra e cal" do Iphan e, de certa forma, se voltou ao projeto não implantado de Mário de Andrade (que reforçava a importância da cultura popular). Outra alteração é a da lei francesa. Essa alteração aconteceu em 2016 (lei nº 2016-925, de 7 de julho de 2016, sobre liberdade de criação, arquitetura e patrimônio) e alterou a estrutura do sistema francês de preservação. Em evento realizado em São Paulo (Semana do Patrimônio Histórico, 24 de agosto de 2016), Dominique Masson, do Ministério da Cultura e Comunicação da França, apresentou a mudança como uma forma de adaptar alguns mecanismos de preservação e suas nomenclaturas de acordo com o utilizado na União Europeia. A estrutura de preservação francesa é fortemente baseada em planos (urbanísticos e de setores de salvaguarda) e a diferença entre os mecanismos encontrados em outros países europeus se mostrava, às vezes, como um dificultador, considerando uma realidade onde profissionais podem trabalhar em diversos países – e obter recursos de diferentes fontes. Dessa forma, ter uma legislação que possa ser mais facilmente reconhecida se mostrava crucial.

[5] Ambos publicaram diversos artigos e entrevistas na imprensa. Destacamos dois artigos. De Carlo Guinzburg, *Perché dobbiamo salvare le soprintendeze* (La Repubblica, 29 de julho de 2014, Roma), e de Salvatore Settis, *Se troppo successo fa male al museo* (La Repubblica, 30 de julho de 2014, Roma).

da anni di tagli, è arrivato il momento di investire"[6].

Se a lei italiana buscou alternativas para inserir o privado na gestão de seu patrimônio, a lei inglesa seguiu um caminho inverso, colocando o Estado com um peso maior nas ações de preservação.

Mesmo antes de John Ruskin, com os antiquários, a preservação do patrimônio na Inglaterra esteve vinculada a organizações da sociedade civil. No século XIX, foi criada a *English Heritage*, organização que começou coleções temáticas relacionadas a diversos aspectos da história britânica. Com o passar do tempo, a organização passou por diversas mudanças, sempre permanecendo como a principal organização a preservar o patrimônio britânico. Em 1983, no governo de Margaret Thatcher, o *English Heritage* se aproximou mais do governo, com a criação da Comissão de Monumentos e Edifícios Históricos que trabalhava em conjunto com a organização. Sua estrutura, no entanto, continuava independente.

Até que em 2015, o governo fez uma proposta ao *English Heritage*. Naquele momento, a organização foi dividida em duas partes. Uma instituição de caridade que mantém as coleções de arte e edifícios históricos (que manteve o nome *English Heritage*). E outra, o *Historic England*, organização vinculada ao Departamento de Cultura do governo, gerenciada por uma Comissão formada por 17 pessoas, mais três comitês não executivos e sem vínculo com o governo[7].

O *Historic England* ficou responsável pelo sistema de listagem de patrimônio de interesse histórico, questões de planejamento, financiamento e política de patrimônio em um sentido mais amplo. Ainda que a organização conte com uma participação considerável da sociedade civil, o governo passou a ter um papel muito mais forte. Isso pode contribuir em especial para situações de conflito entre os interesses de um mercado imobiliário ou turístico em detrimento da preservação. Considerando que o sistema de preservação inglês não conta com a figura jurídica do tombamento, mas trabalha a partir de listagens e planos, a participação do governo pode se mostrar fundamental, principalmente na preservação de sítios de menor interesse[8].

Ao final, o que está presente nos dois projetos é a busca por um equilíbrio entre a atuação do Estado e das organizações da sociedade civil que atuam – direta ou indiretamente – com o patrimônio.

Novas redes de cooperação

O mundo atual incentiva o estabelecimento de novas redes de cooperação, para além das já mencionadas aqui. Na União Europeia, e considerando o sucesso da atuação do Herein, surgiram o EHHF (*European Heritage Heads Forum*) e o EHLF (*European Heritage Legal Forum*), criados em 2006 e 2007 respectivamente, que operam como fóruns de debate. O primeiro, congrega líderes das instituições de patrimônio europeias, com ações de compartilhamento de ideias e iniciativas. O segundo criou um fórum de debate sobre a legislação europeia e seus possíveis impactos no patrimônio cultural.

Para além da troca de experiências que acontece nas três agências, a União Europeia vem incentivando o desenvolvimento de projetos que tenham como premissa a integração das ações de preservação. Fundos de financiamento importantes [9] contribuem de

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[6] Declaração disponível no sítio eletrônico do Ministério italiano (<http://www.beniculturali.it/mibac/export/MiBAC/sito-MiBAC/Contenuti/Ministero/LegislaturaCorrente/Dario-Franceschini/Comunicati/visualizza_asset.html_231740378.html>).

[7] Para detalhes sobre o funcionamento da organização, ver o sítio eletrônico <https://www.historicengland.org.uk/about/>

[8] Esse conflito será retomado na parte II, capítulo 2.

[9] Destaque para o programa Horizon 2020, o maior programa de pesquisa e inovação dentro da União Europeia, com quase € 80 bilhões a serem investidos entre 2014 e 2020

maneira incisiva para que projetos sejam realizados em parceria internacional. O objetivo principal é reforçar as características comuns do patrimônio europeu.

No caso americano, destacamos o Mercosul Cultural. Criado em 1998 o Mercosul Cultural entrou em operação efetivamente nesse século. Na linha das ações realizadas pela União Europeia, e buscando cobrir uma lacuna da atuação da OEA em relação ao patrimônio[10], o Mercosul começou a buscar uma atuação para além de acordos comerciais (escopo inicial de sua criação). Em particular, em 2012 foi reconhecido pelo órgão o percurso cultural das Missões Jesuíticas, que reúne remanescentes existentes em cinco países (Argentina, Bolívia, Brasil, Paraguai e Uruguai) e que será detalhado na parte II.

No Brasil, a cooperação técnica internacional foi reforçada com o início das atividades do Centro Lucio Costa[11]. Criado a partir de um acordo entre o governo brasileiro (representado pelo Iphan) e a Unesco em julho de 2010, o centro é uma das estruturas locais da Unesco e tem como objetivos "ampliar a capacidade de gestão do patrimônio cultural e natural e promover a cooperação na sua região de abrangência, composta por 17 países de língua oficial portuguesa e espanhola na América do Sul, África e Ásia"[12].

Tanto no caso do Mercosul Cultural quanto do Centro Lucio Costa, as ações desenvolvidas ainda são muito tímidas quando comparadas com organizações similares na Europa. Quanto ao Mercosul Cultural, a representatividade restrita do grupo, que não reúne a América do Sul por completo pode reduzir ainda mais suas perspectivas de atuação. Seu maior mérito, por ora, está em incentivar seus participantes a olhar para seu patrimônio para além de suas fronteiras. Quanto ao Centro Lucio Costa, suas perspectivas nos parecem promissoras, em especial pela possibilidade de estabelecer ações de longo prazo na América do Sul – reforçando a outra rede criada dentro do Mercosul Cultural. O desafio permanece em estabelecer tal rede, sobretudo, de maneira regular.

(<https://ec.europa.eu/programmes/horizon2020/>).

[10] No sítio eletrônico da OEA (<www.oas.org>) a seção de Cultura não faz menção explícita a patrimônio, e o "Ano interamericano da Cultura", evento que poderia ter o mesmo impacto que a Jornada Europeia do Patrimônio, ainda faz, em julho de 2016, a divulgação do evento de 2011, ou seja, cinco anos sem essa ação. Outro ponto é a publicação da Revista Américas: criada em 1949 com o objetivo de ampliar o conhecimento e entendimento entre os países das Américas, teve suas atividades encerradas em junho de 2012.

[11] Centro de categoria II na Unesco, o Centro Regional de Formação em Gestão do Patrimônio Lucio Costa tem desenvolvido projetos voltados à preservação do patrimônio lusófono (em parceria com Portugal e com nações africanas e asiáticas que tem o português como língua oficial).

[12] Cf. sítio eletrônico do centro (<portal.iphan.gov.br/clc>).

PARTE II. Da preservação de sítios *Patrimônio Mundial*

Ser patrimônio mundial é, antes de mais, oferecer a toda a humanidade uma herança que antes era só nossa.

Rui Loza, 2010

O arquiteto Rui Loza foi um dos principais personagens do processo para candidatura do Porto, em Portugal, à Lista do Patrimônio Mundial. Quando a cidade foi inserida na Lista, em 1996, ela se abria para o mundo não só com a sua história, mas também se inseria em uma dinâmica econômica contraditória: seu centro histórico bem preservado – que lhe valeu o posto na Lista – passaria a ser ameaçado por pressões do mercado turístico cultural, entre outras tantas.

Como, então, conciliar as contradições de um patrimônio de interesse mundial com os interesses e necessidades estritamente locais, trabalhando em conjunto dentro de uma rede mundial de preservação? Nessa segunda parte, o debate sobre a preservação passa a ser observado não mais sob a ótica histórica, mas na perspectiva local, a partir de sítios que passaram a conviver com essa dicotomia em seu cotidiano.

Dessa forma, aspectos desse dilema foram buscados em um voo por alguns dos sítios que figuram na Lista, pontuando ações e iniciativas que apresentam possíveis respostas – ou que levam a outros questionamentos.

1. Planos para a preservação: desafios

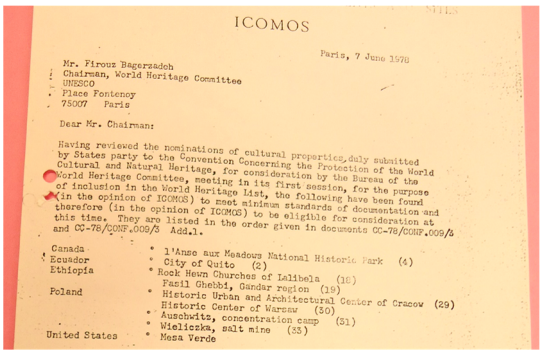
O reconhecimento Unesco é um potente refletor que ilumina cidades e paisagens, um grande catalizador de atenção que, se adequadamente embasado em políticas concretas e coerentes, pode ser capaz de ativar e consolidar um significativo crescimento econômico do território.

Gaetano Sateriale in Zanelli, 2009, p.11, tradução nossa

Essa foi a forma como o então prefeito da cidade de Ferrara, no norte da Itália, apresentou o plano de gestão para o centro histórico, quatro anos após a inclusão da cidade na Lista do Patrimônio Mundial. Nessa fala, poderíamos identificar mais de um dos pontos que se mostram como desafios na preservação de um sítio Patrimônio Mundial. Por ora, nos interessa um aspecto, o das 'políticas concretas e coerentes'.

A estrutura prevista na Convenção do Patrimônio Mundial, entrou em operação efetivamente em 1976, com o início das atividades do Fundo do Patrimônio Mundial. Na época, os Estados Unidos participaram de forma bastante próxima à Unesco na definição da forma de funcionamento do fundo, incluindo negociações sobre o quanto de recurso seria aportado por cada um dos países signatários da Convenção[1].

Dois anos depois, em 1978, foram inscritos os primeiros sítios na Lista. Dessa forma, é possível afirmar que a década de 1980 foi o período em que puderam ser avaliadas e testadas as principais ideias lançadas na Convenção. Como já foi apresentado aqui, em 1992 foi feito um primeiro balanço das ações realizadas. Que se repetiu em 2002, nos 30 anos da Lista. Algumas das críticas de 1992 foram debatidas e inseridas na Carta de Nara[2] dois anos depois.



ICOMOS

Paris, 7 June 1978

Mr. Firouz Bagerzadeh
Chairman, World Heritage Committee
UNESCO
Place Fontenoy
75007 Paris

Dear Mr. Chairman:

Having reviewed the nominations of cultural properties, duly submitted by States party to the Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage, for consideration by the Bureau of the World Heritage Committee, meeting in its first session, for the purpose of inclusion in the World Heritage List, the following have been found therefore (in the opinion of ICOMOS) to meet minimum standards of documentation and this time. They are listed in the order given in documents CC-78/CONF.009/3 and CC-78/CONF.009/3 Add.1.

Canada	* l'Anse aux Meadows National Historic Park (4)
Ecuador	* City of Quito (2)
Ethiopia	* Rock Hewn Churches of Lalibela (16)
	Fasil Ghebbi, Gondar region (19)
Poland	* Historic Urban and Architectural Center of Cracow (29)
	Historic Center of Warsaw (30)
	* Auschwitz, concentration camp (31)
	* Wieliczka, salt mine (33)
United States	* Mesa Verde

12_Parecer do Icomos, de 7 de junho de 1978, encaminhando a candidatura dos primeiros sítios para análise do Comitê do Patrimônio Mundial.

Com o aprofundamento da discussão, em 1999 as Diretrizes Operacionais para a aplicação da Convenção do Patrimônio Mundial foram revistas de forma significativa. A mudança se consolidaria efetivamente em 2005, incorporando os debates nos 30 anos da Lista (com a Declaração de Budapeste). Por ora, ressaltamos que em 1999 as diretrizes passaram

[1] É possível ver essa colaboração nas correspondências existentes nos *Unesco Archives*, em especial no período entre 1978 e 1984, com as primeiras nomeações de sítios norte-americanos e a realização de uma conferência internacional no Parque Nacional de Mesa Verde (caixa CLT/WHC/NOM15).

[2] A Carta de Nara foi o resultado da Conferência sobre autenticidade em relação ao Patrimônio Mundial, realizada em novembro de 1994 no Japão. Nos preâmbulos, já fica clara a intenção da conferência: debater a diversidade do patrimônio cultural e da prática da preservação.

a dar um peso bastante forte a questões de gestão do sítio, incluindo fatores que pudessem afetar a preservação do mesmo. Essa mudança se deu, entre diversos fatores, por críticas à uma visão e atuação eurocêntrica por parte da Unesco. O outro lado é que a Unesco não pode intervir diretamente nos bens elencados. Por isso, sua única alternativa para manter um padrão mínimo de preservação em todos os sítios da Lista seria exigir uma estrutura de gestão[3].

Surge então a questão: um bom plano de gestão seria o suficiente para garantir a preservação de um sítio Patrimônio Mundial?

A tal preservação

Primeiramente, voltamos então à questão, o que é preservar?

Um dos primeiros desafios para a preservação é a questão legal. Juridicamente a preservação do patrimônio pode ser feita, basicamente, por meio de três mecanismos: proteção legal (no caso brasileiro, o tombamento), listagens e/ou inventários, e planos urbanísticos[4].

> Há ainda a extraordinária extensão dos problemas de preservação mais gerais e das consequentes escolhas legais. Problemas intrincados e sujeitos a pressões conflitantes sob a urgências de fatores econômicos e sociais, tão fortes a ponto de ofuscar aqueles de natureza cultural e de forma ampla educativos. (Carbonara, 1997, p. 638, tradução nossa)

Hoje, no entanto, muitas vezes o patrimônio é ameaçado por ações dos próprios governantes, ou seja, por aqueles encarregados de elaborar ou fazer cumprir a tal legislação. Por isso, a gestão do patrimônio não pode se restringir meramente a questões de tombamento ou outro tipo de vínculo legal. Na continuação da passagem acima, Carbonara levantou ainda outra questão: que o tombamento (ou qualquer que seja o mecanismo legal) por si só pode levar a situações de conflito entre proprietários, governo e população que, ao invés de proteger o bem, poderia colocá-lo em uma situação de risco. Isso aconteceria principalmente em casos de um patrimônio não monumental, ou seja, daquele que não é facilmente identificado como patrimônio. Logo, deveria ser considerada uma legislação ativa, contemplando a realização de estudos, planos, propostas de intervenção, apoio técnico a proprietários, benefícios fiscais, entre outros. Além da inserção da preservação em outros âmbitos governamentais, como nas atividades de planejamento em geral.

Essa legislação ativa vai de encontro à ideia de preservação como um conjunto de ações a serem desenvolvidas em prol do patrimônio. Ela também deveria considerar o fato de que o patrimônio não é estático. Ao longo do tempo, vários monumentos tiveram seus usos alterados, cidades continuaram crescendo e alterando suas funções. Como então pensar a preservação – e um plano para ela – de uma forma dinâmica?

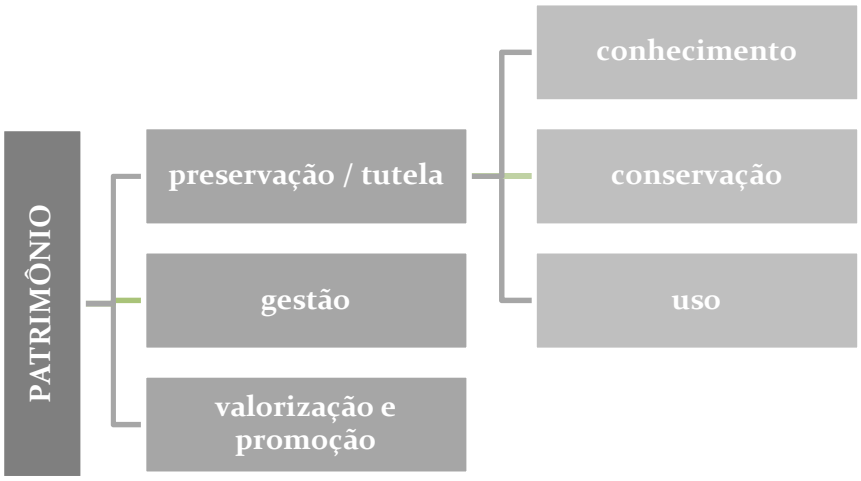
A pesquisa desenvolvida por Massimo Montella[5], considerou, além do uso em si, dois tipos de ações na preservação: o conhecimento

[3] Com o processo de candidatura de Valparaíso à sua frente, fica visível a diferença provocada pela nova orientação técnica – o sítio foi alçado à categoria de Patrimônio Mundial em 2003. O volume da documentação salta aos olhos, em especial ao compará-lo com processos antigos, como por exemplo, o do norte-americano Parque Nacional Mesa Verde – do grupo de sítios que inauguraram a Lista –, um sítio extremamente estruturado em termos de preservação já em 1978, mas que apresentou sua candidatura em um processo com uma quantidade menor e mais simplificada de documentos.

[4] Cf. Silva, 2012.

[5] Cf. Montella, 2005. O autor tem um foco voltado para a gestão dos 'bens culturais' (o termo utilizado na Itália no lugar do nosso 'patrimônio') e de museus, em uma ótica de economia da cultura.

do patrimônio e a sua conservação. Para além da preservação, é imprescindível considerar também a sua gestão, valorização e promoção. As possibilidades de ações em cada caso são apresentadas nos quadros abaixo[6].



Conhecimento do patrimônio	Inventários, catálogos, pré-catálogo, listagem. São necessários os dados referentes ao: estado de conservação, material, estrutura construtiva e aos fatores ambientais que agem sobre o bem.
Conservação do patrimônio móvel	Manutenção, segurança e restauro dos objetos. Tanto por meio de ações passivas quanto ativas.
Conservação do patrimônio imóvel	As mesmas ações indicadas acima, porém com técnicas e instrumentos diversos; Ações de conservação sobre o conjunto (para o caso de áreas urbanas); Conservação programada e preventiva.
Gestão	Organização de recursos humanos e materiais; Garantia da fruição dos bens culturais e ambientais; Finalidade de preservação e valorização.
Valorização	Melhoria do acesso aos bens e da sua conservação física e de sua segurança, integridade e valor; Fruição qualificada dos bens por parte das categorias menos favorecidas; Organização de estudos e de pesquisa, de atividades didáticas e de itinerários culturais.
Promoção	Ações de apoio mediante auxílio financeiro; Organização de iniciativas voltadas ao incremento do conhecimento sobre o bem cultural; Integração de atividades culturais com atividades escolares e de formação profissional; Desenvolvimento de novas expressões culturais e artísticas.

[6] Quadros desenvolvidos pela autora, com base em Montella (2005). Os quadros foram elaborados considerando o patrimônio tangível, mas a mesma lógica pode ser considerada para os patrimônios intangível, misto e natural. Variando, nesses casos, as ações de conservação a serem realizadas.

Ora, todos esses aspectos das atividades relacionadas ao patrimônio devem interagir entre si, afim de se obter uma ação de proteção efetiva. Como cada um tem competências específicas e se insere em níveis institucionais diferentes, uma comunicação clara e efetiva entre todos esses atores é um dos pontos essenciais para uma proteção eficiente.

> Para o patrimônio, de fato, enquanto ambiente vital e lugar econômico, a mudança é uma condição inegável e um valor em si mesmo positivo, por isso uma orientação correta é necessária a uma gestão consciente e democraticamente vigiada de todas as políticas setoriais envolvidas, da agricultura ao planejamento urbano, da infraestrutura aos locais de produção e de lazer. A política para o patrimônio se configura em tal forma como parte integrante de uma política de planejamento global. (Montella, 2005, p. 46-47, tradução nossa)

Logo, os 'planos' emergem como uma ferramenta essencial [7]. Desde esferas mais amplas – no caso de planos diretores ou planos regionais – até casos pontuais – como planos de conservação preventiva – a elaboração de planos inseridos dentro da política pública existente é um dos principais instrumentos para garantir uma preservação efetiva. O trabalho com planos é também uma forma de buscar uma estabilidade, considerando tratar-se de um campo onde muitas das ações são obrigatoriamente pensadas no longo prazo. Dessa forma, um plano pode dar a continuidade necessária à preservação do patrimônio, principalmente em relação a mudanças políticas. Ainda, um plano pode considerar a interação entre patrimônios de tipologias diferentes, mas relativos ao mesmo sítio e/ou tema.

A Convenção do Patrimônio Mundial na prática

O texto da Convenção de 1972 estabelecia já em seu nome qual era o objetivo ali: a proteção do patrimônio mundial, cultural e natural. Levar essa ideia para a prática, no entanto, exigiria muito mais do que os esforços feitos para sua assinatura (que já não foram poucos). Um dos principais mecanismos que pretendem cumprir essa função são as *guidelines*, ou as Diretrizes Operacionais para aplicação da Convenção do Patrimônio Mundial (daqui para a frente, Diretrizes).

Esses documentos trazem as orientações técnicas para a realização de qualquer uma das ações previstas na Convenção de 1972. Seja para os países signatários da Convenção, seja para os técnicos do Centro do Patrimônio Mundial (WHC), as Diretrizes são o primeiro documento a consultar.

Sua primeira versão foi aprovada pelo Comitê do Patrimônio Mundial em 1977. Desde então, foram alteradas substancialmente. Essas revisões foram um movimento natural – e inevitável – em um mecanismo novo. Elas se tornam ainda mais necessárias quando se considera que essas orientações devem ser aplicadas em todo o mundo. Então, após o início da operação da Lista, começaram a surgir questionamentos, dúvidas e críticas ao processo, que motivaram diversas revisões[8].

A primeira grande revisão das Diretrizes foi feita em 1980, ainda em um movimento de acomodação e baseado nos comentários dos países signatários, sem grandes reflexões. Um dos principais pontos da mudança nesse momento foi a inclusão de itens específicos para

[7] Além de Montella (2005), a questão dos planos de gestão (e preservação e conservação) também é apresentada e debatida em Zancheti e Lacerda (2012). No caso específico dos planos para sítios da Lista, ver ainda Jokilehto e Feilden (1996), Badia (2008) e Garzia (2014).

[8] A tese de Loretto (2016) apresenta essa continua revisão das Diretrizes Operacionais (que ela chama de 'guia operacional'). Ao contrário do que será visto aqui (foco nos mecanismos de preservação e na cooperação internacional), Loretto apresenta e analisa as revisões feitas sob a ótica dos conceitos de autenticidade e de integridade. Ambos são o ponto de partida para a inserção de um sítio ou bem na Lista do Patrimônio Mundial.

candidaturas de sítios culturais complexos, como é o caso de áreas urbanas ou conjuntos arquitetônicos. Outra mudança significativa foi a inclusão de um item buscando um equilíbrio entre as candidaturas de patrimônio natural e cultural.

Somente após o balanço feito sobre os primeiros 20 anos da Convenção e da publicação da Carta de Nara em 1994 foram feitas mudanças mais significativas. Primeiro, em 1996, com a inclusão da exigência de implantar um sistema de monitoramento e de relatório periódicos. E, depois, em 1999. Nesse ano, houve uma revisão radical do material que compunha o dossiê de candidatura dos sítios. Além da exigência de se estabelecer uma zona de amortecimento de proteção ao sítio, passou a ser necessário apresentar em detalhes a estrutura prevista para a gestão do sítio.

Tal foi o primeiro passo para a mudança seguinte: a apresentação de um plano de gestão para a área proposta como pré-requisito para um posto na Lista, que veio nas Diretrizes de 2005[9]. Impregnadas pelas críticas feitas no balanço de 30 anos da Convenção, a nova versão das Diretrizes buscou criar as condições para se colocar em prática os quatro critérios adotados na declaração de Budapeste para implantação da Convenção – os quatro Cs:

> Strengthen the **credibility** of the World Heritage List; ensure the effective **conservation** of the World Heritage properties; promote the development of effective **capacity building** in States Parties; increase public awareness, involvement and support for World Heritage through **communication**. (Unesco, 2002)

Em 2007 foi adicionado um quinto C: "to enhance the role of **communities** in the implementation of the World Heritage Convention", como efeito da nova Convenção sobre o patrimônio imaterial.

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Além das Diretrizes Operacionais, a Unesco produziu diversas publicações, entre as quais uma série com caráter manualístico, voltadas a diversos assuntos correlacionados à Convenção. Um deles é o Guia de Gestão de Sítios Patrimônio Mundial Cultural, publicado em diversas línguas[10].



13_Diferentes edições de Management Guidelines for World Heritage Sites. Da esquerda para a direita: francês, montenegrino, inglês e persa.

> É a preservação que nos permite desfrutar de nosso patrimônio. Este guia tem como objetivo ajudar os gestores de sítios a cumprir a sua missão com o apoio de uma comissão de especialistas, a entender o que dá sentido ao sítio e a protege-lo de

[9] A versão mais recente das Diretrizes Operacionais é de 2015, que trouxe poucas alterações em relação àquela de dez anos antes.

[10] A primeira edição do guia é de 1993, com publicação da Unesco, Iccrom e Icomos e autoria de Jukka Jokilehto e Bernard Feilden. Após a revisão das Diretrizes Operacionais de 2005, foi elaborada outra publicação, mais atualizada, com o mesmo objetivo e lançada em 2013, e teve como autores principais Gamini Wijesuriya, Jane Thompson e Christopher Young. Considerando as datas dos projetos considerados, a principal referência será a edição francesa (revisada) de 1996.

> inúmeras ameaças. (Jokilehto e Feilden, 1996, p. vii, tradução nossa)

A apresentação da edição francesa do guia anunciava a quem ele se destina e disponibilizava os especialistas (seja no WHC, seja nas organizações de apoio) aos gestores dos sítios. A intenção dessas publicações é ainda a de uniformizar o nível de informações técnicas, lembrando que diversos países signatários da Convenção lutam diariamente com a falta de pessoal técnico qualificado para o trabalho com o patrimônio. Embora o guia mencionasse a necessidade de integração com as comunidades locais, as especificidades regionais poderiam acabar diminuídas – ou mesmo colocadas em risco – se não levadas em consideração. Essa é uma das ameaças apresentadas no guia, que foi estruturado em dez capítulos.

No primeiro capítulo (*Resume des principes directeurs*), apresenta seu objetivo "exprimer des conseils et des mesures pour traduire concrètement l'esprit de la Convention du patrimoine mondial"[11]. Nesse capítulo está a ideia de priorizar os planos de gestão, que deveriam ser compostos de diversos elementos interdependentes. Aqui também foi apresentada a sugestão de se criar uma Comissão para o sítio, que seria o ponto de comunicação principal com os diversos atores existentes no sítio. Uma alternativa interessante proposta é que sítios pequenos poderiam se unir em uma mesma Comissão, de acordo com as similaridades de seus sítios (recurso bastante útil, como veremos adiante).

O guia segue com a estrutura de um plano de gestão[12], nos moldes clássicos da visão administrativa de planejamento[13], indicando programas de ação e equipes necessárias. Vale ressaltar três problemáticas apresentadas: a questão da autenticidade – e a versão revisada francesa conta em seus anexos com o texto da Carta de Nara –, as especificidades da gestão de sítios urbanos – em especial a necessidade de inserção da preservação nas políticas urbanas –, e a questão da indústria do turismo cultural.

> A indústria do turismo hoje em dia faz parte de nossa cultura e da economia internacional. Somente a indústria petrolífera a ultrapassa em termos financeiros. O turismo é dinâmico, mas não deve se desenvolver muito rapidamente; é preferível deixa-lo crescer sem exceder a capacidade de carga do sítio e das infraestruturas de apoio. Como indicado na Declaração de Manila da Organização Mundial do Turismo, o lucro econômico não é o único objetivo do turismo; ele deve melhorar a qualidade de vida da população local sem comprometer a cultura autóctone. (Jokilehto e Feilden, 1996, p. 99, tradução nossa)

Estava colocado um dos maiores desafios atuais para a preservação de sítios históricos: o turismo, e em particular, o turismo de massa.

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[11] Jokilehto e Feilden, 1996, p. 01.

[12] Os capítulos que se seguem são: 2. Politique generale de la Convention; 3. Evaluation aux fins de la conservation ; 4. Gestion des sites du patrimoine mondial ; 5. Gestion par projets; 6. Programme de maintenance; 7. Recrutement et services du personnel; 8. Le probleme de l'authenticite et les traitements; 9. Urbanisme et villes du Patrimoine mondial; 10. Visiteurs des sites du Patrimonie mondial. Contém ainda quatro anexos: o texto integral das Cartas de Veneza, 1964, e de Nara, 1994; uma lista de convenções e recomendações Unesco referentes ao patrimônio cultural e a relação de sítios Patrimônio Mundial em janeiro de 1996.

[13] Nos anos 1980, ferramentas de gestão, com destaque para planejamento estratégico (PMI) foram levadas para a área de cultura, partindo de uma visão de uma 'economia da cultura'. Inicialmente para o mercado de marketing cultural, e depois para instituições culturais de forma mais ampla. Cf. Machado Neto e Ferreira (2011). Em alguns setores culturais, essa 'invasão' de uma visão administrativa ainda é vista com maus olhos. A crítica, nesse caso, se refere ao tratamento 'de mercado' dado a assuntos que deveriam ser prioridade de investimentos públicos, como é o caso da cultura, como representativa de um povo. O outro lado é que a realidade é de disputas sempre muito acirradas por recursos, sejam públicos, sejam privados. E o tratamento de questões culturais dentro da ótica administrativa contribui para sensibilizar aqueles que tem uma visão da cultura romantizada. No momento em que se insere as ações culturais – e aí estão aquelas vinculadas ao patrimônio – dentro de um cenário econômico e dinâmico, apresentando números, cifrões e estatísticas, pode-se atingir níveis altos de investimento na preservação, com ótimos resultados. Desde que, claro, se mantenham padrões técnicos e de ideais adequados ao patrimônio em questão.

Monitoramento e indicadores

A Convenção de 1972 estabeleceu, em seu artigo 29, a elaboração de relatórios nos quais os países signatários deveriam informar as ações adotadas para implantação da Convenção, que seriam apresentados ao Comitê do Patrimônio Mundial. Com as mudanças das Diretrizes Operacionais em 1999, passou a ser obrigatória a indicação de mecanismos de monitoramento para os sítios listados[14]. Nesse momento também foram estabelecidos ciclos de avaliação periódicas[15], para além dos relatórios emitidos pelos países signatários. Um dos objetivos desse novo sistema de monitoramento era o de garantir a conservação do valor universal excepcional, sem o qual o sítio perderia seu status de Patrimônio Mundial.

Esse movimento foi, novamente, iniciado dentro dos balanços feitos nos 20 anos da Lista. Para além das avaliações internas à Unesco, a grande especulação – imobiliária, comercial, turística – vista em torno de sítios que passavam a ter seus nomes na Lista também contribuiu para a preocupação com a preservação dos sítios. Essa busca por manter intactas sua autenticidade e integridade foi um dos motivadores de críticas ao processo de gestão e monitoramento indicados pela Unesco, que poderiam 'congelar' os sítios, transformando-os meramente em pontos turísticos, e expulsando populações tradicionais. Mas voltaremos a esse ponto mais à frente. Por ora, nos interessa entender como funciona o monitoramento, e em especial, como ele vem sendo aplicado.

As Diretrizes preveem que tal monitoramento seja realizado através de avaliações periódicas (*periodic reporting*), com questionários respondidos por cada um dos sítios. Um de seus objetivos é o de atualizar as políticas de cada um dos países signatários e as informações específicas dos sítios listados, junto ao WHC, em especial quanto a seu estado de conservação. Na revisão de 1999, esse relatório passou a ser elaborado por cada uma das regiões em que está organizado o WHC, a cada seis anos[16]. Nessa perspectiva, outro propósito passou a ser o de criar um mecanismo de cooperação regional e, principalmente, de trocas de experiências entre os países signatários. A avaliação feita pela Unesco ao final do primeiro ciclo de avaliações (2000 a 2006) indicava que a realização dos relatórios foi a primeira oportunidade para vários gestores de sítios de conhecer outros gestores, sendo o começo do estabelecimento de redes de contato entre esses profissionais[17].

É curioso notar que essa avaliação periódica – ou seja, o monitoramento do sítio – tornou-se um forte aliado na preservação do mesmo. Talvez mais até do que o próprio plano de gestão, justamente pelas trocas que ela proporcionou.

> A elaboração de relatórios periódicos tem contribuído para uma maior colaboração entre os Estados-membros dentro das sub-regiões, apesar da Europa ocidental e da Europa mediterrânea não terem atingido tal nível de cooperação nas sub-regiões. Os países de língua alemã prepararam um relatório sintético para a sua área, que foi integrado ao relatório da sub-região da Europa ocidental. (Rössler e Menétrey-Monchau, 2007, p. 53, tradução nossa)

Outro resultado importante desse primeiro ciclo de avaliações foi a identificação de um problema: a necessidade de treinamento das equipes locais – as que trabalham

[14] Em 2002, como preparação para a Convenção que comemorou os 30 anos da Convenção do Patrimônio Mundial, foram realizados nove workshops temáticos. Um deles foi sobre monitoramento do Patrimônio Mundial, organizado pelo Iccrom e realizado na cidade de Vicenza (Itália). Em 2004, a Unesco publicou os resultados desse encontro.

[15] Aprovada e com definição de calendário na 22ª sessão do Comitê do Patrimônio Mundial, realizada em Kyoto em 1998.

[16] São cinco regiões: África, América Latina e Caribe, Ásia e Pacífico, Europa e América do Norte, Estados Árabes. Cada região deve apresentar o relatório em um ano diferente, ficando o sexto ano para um balanço geral do cenário apresentado.

[17] Unesco WHC, documento WHC-04/7EXT.COM/17.

diretamente nos sítios – para seu monitoramento e avaliação. Esse aspecto foi diagnosticado não só por um pedido direto dos sítios, mas também pela análise das informações enviadas, que apresentaram níveis de aprofundamento muito diferentes entre as regiões. Por isso, na divulgação dos resultados do primeiro ciclo, na 30ª sessão do Comitê do Patrimônio Mundial, em 2006, foi criado um grupo de trabalho para rever o questionário que é a base da avaliação periódica, bem como estabelecer indicadores[18].

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Em primeiro lugar, os indicadores não são uma ferramenta nova[19]. Junto com a ideia de planos, eles são hoje essenciais no monitoramento – acompanhamento e avaliação – da implantação de um determinado processo. No nosso caso, a preservação de um sítio. Quando se considera a gestão de sítios diferentes e com especificidades próprias, a adoção de indicadores pode ajudar substancialmente em um dos objetivos do Patrimônio Mundial: garantir um nível de preservação mínimo para todos os sítios ao redor do planeta.

Isso porque o conjunto de indicadores é a ferramenta que vai poder quantificar e classificar determinados aspectos que se quer avaliar. Aspectos que, muitas vezes, não são diretamente mensuráveis.

> A utilização de indicadores permite obter informações sobre o cumprimento de determinadas metas, medir e avaliar mudanças, detectar tendências ou fenômenos que não estejam claramente detectáveis, dentro outros. Por meio de sua atualização, em séries repetidas ao longo do tempo, é possível realizar o monitoramento de um dado aspecto. (Lira, 2009, p. 48)

A questão chave na definição dos indicadores a serem utilizados é ter claro o que se pretende monitorar. Se no papel o estabelecimento desses indicadores pode parecer simples, na prática, chegar a denominadores comuns (pensando em um patrimônio mundial) mostra-se muito mais complexo. Tal dificuldade não se apresenta pela questão de tipologias diferentes, mas sim pelas diferenças culturais.

> Ao debater esse tema em específico [conceito de integridade], Jukka Jokilehto explicou que uma forma 'simples' de resolver a questão seria permitir que cada cultura provesse a sua própria definição dos conceitos operativos do sistema do patrimônio mundial, porém, isso poderia ocasionar o desmantelamento da base da colaboração internacional. (Loretto, 2016, p. 297)

Na verdade, um dos pontos mais difíceis na busca por esse padrão é justamente encontrar critérios apropriados. Como o indicador não é o fato em si, mas uma ferramenta de leitura do fato, a visão de mundo de quem elaborou e definiu o conjunto de indicadores a ser utilizado inevitavelmente estará presente no processo de monitoramento. Para minimizar tal impacto, esses conjuntos de indicadores deveriam ser estabelecidos por um grupo o mais diversificado possível. Também pode-se considerar um monitoramento do monitoramento, no caso de conjuntos mais complexos. Esse controle do monitoramento, de certa forma, passou a ser feito com a realização dos relatórios periódicos por região. Por fim, vale ressaltar que hoje o cenário apresentado pelos indicadores – sejam quais forem – funcionará como base para uma leitura ampla

[18] Unesco WHC, documento WHC-06/30.COM/19, de 2006.

[19] A tese de Flaviana Barreto Lira (2009), sobre a montagem de um sistema de indicadores para o monitoramento do patrimônio cultural, apresenta um histórico dessa ferramenta, desde os anos 1920 até hoje. Destacamos o período nos anos 1960, onde foram elaborados indicadores voltados ao acompanhamento de transformações sociais e do impacto de políticas públicas. Ainda, segundo a autora hoje vivemos em uma 'cultura dos indicadores', provocada pelo avanço das democracias, o aumento do acesso a informações e uma cobrança social quanto aos resultados de políticas públicas (cf. Lira, 2009, p. 47).

de tendências e padrões e, a partir disso, subsidiar decisões políticas e também sugerir novas áreas de pesquisa.

Voltamos então ao grupo de trabalho criado em 2006[20]. Ele teve dois objetivos: um, o de simplificar o questionário aplicado aos gestores de sítios nas avaliações periódicas. O segundo, estabelecer indicadores para essa avaliação. Aqui nos interesse o segundo objetivo do grupo.

O grupo foi formado por funcionários do próprio Centro de Patrimônio Mundial (WHC) e suas agências de apoio, especialistas e consultores. No segundo dia, foi realizado um painel para apresentação de experiências realizadas especificamente sobre indicadores, que contou com a participação de: Jon Day (*Australian Great Reef Barrier*), John Pinkerton (*Parks Canada*), Carolina Castellanos (consultora do México), Christopher Young (*English Heritage*), Gabor Verezci (*World Tourism Organization* - WTO), Susan Denyer (Icomos) e Bastian Bomhard (IUCN).

O grupo apresentava experiências basicamente europeias e americanas – considerando que a Austrália tem uma base de atuação em patrimônio bastante influenciada pelas práticas inglesa, norte-americana e canadense. Experiências vindas de outras regiões vieram principalmente a partir dos técnicos do Icomos, do Iccrom e do IUCN participantes [21] . Eles buscaram estabelecer parâmetros que figurassem nas avaliações periódicas cobrindo os seguintes indicadores: conservação, eficácia de gestão, capacitação técnica, socioeconômico, comunicação/ informação, participação comunitária e turismo.

Ainda, tais indicadores deveriam levar em consideração a sua utilidade, permitindo as seguintes ações: medir tendências, considerando as escalas global, regional e nacional; e permitir a comparação entre os ciclos de avaliação periódica, entre sítios diversos e do desempenho do sitio de acordo com padrões internacionais.

> Given the complexity and the vital importance of the definition of indicators, the Working Group concluded that this task requires a more thorough thinking than time permitted since the 31st session (Christchurch, 2007). The Working Group proposes to continue this research on the occasion of an expert meeting. If extrabudgetary funding is available to support this Expert Meeting in 2008-2009, preliminary conclusions could be presented to the Committee at its 33rd session. The Advisory Bodies and the UNESCO Institute of Statistics (UIS) should be closely associated with this exercise. (Unesco, documento WHC-08/32.COM/11E, 2008, item V.26)

O conjunto de indicadores discutidos no grupo tinha como principal objetivo o monitoramento dos sítios presentes na Lista, em especial quanto à preservação de seu valor excepcional universal. Mas indicadores devem ser definidos de acordo com o que se pretende avaliar e/ou monitorar. Dessa forma, cada projeto e sítio deve avaliar quais são as suas especificidades. Também por isso os estudos e levantamento realizados para a elaboração de um plano são essenciais. Como exemplo, apresentamos a seguir os indicadores definidos no plano de gestão para o centro histórico do Porto[22]. Para cada eixo estratégico, foi definido um conjunto de indicadores a ser considerado no monitoramento do sítio.

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[20] O *Working group on the simplification of the Periodic Reporting questionnaire and the setting up of indicators* se reuniu nos escritórios da Unesco em Paris, nos dias 6 e 7 de novembro de 2006 e 22 e 23 de janeiro de 2007. O material de trabalho do grupo está disponível no site do WHC (ver < http://whc.unesco.org/en/events/342/> e < http://whc.unesco.org/en/events/368/>).

[21] Além dos já mencionados, participaram também do grupo: pelo Icomos, Susan Denyer e Regina Durighello; pelo Iccrom, Joe King; pela IUCN, Pierre Galland; pelo *Unesco Institute for Statistics* (UIS), Lydia Deloumeaux; pelo programa da Unesco *Enhancing our Heritage,* Sue Stolton; e pelo WHC, Francesco Bandarin (então diretor), Kishore Rao, Anne Lemaistre, Mechtild Rossler, Richard Veillon, Alessando Balsamo, Alessandra Borchi e Luba Janikova.

[22] Cf. Delgado, 2010, p. 237.

Eixos estratégicos	Indicadores
EIXO I: **Proteção, preservação, restauro e valorização**	Número de edifícios reabilitados
	Estado de conservação do edificado
	Área de parques e jardins
	% da área coberta por mecanismos de proteção
	Número de planos elaborados
	Número de edifícios em risco
	Qualidade da limpeza urbana
	Volume de tráfego automóvel
	Número de viagens em transporte público
	Número de lugares de estacionamento
EIXO II: **Envolvimento da população**	Número de residentes
	Número de estudantes envolvidos em ações de sensibilização
	Número de moradores envolvidos em ações de sensibilização
	Número de ações de promoção realizadas
	Número de notícias publicadas
	Número de participantes em projetos de luta contra a exclusão social
	Número de selos PPM [Porto Patrimônio Mundial] atribuídos
Eixos estratégicos	**Indicadores**
EIXO III: **Turismo**	Número de turistas
	Taxa média de permanência
	Número de camas
	Grau de satisfação dos turistas
	Gasto médio por turista
EIXO IV: **Indústrias criativas**	Volume de investimento em negócios e projetos criativos
	Número de empresas instaladas
EIXO V: **Rio Douro**	Número de novos serviços criados

Como é possível ver, cada objetivo de monitoramento, de avaliação, leva a definição de determinados indicadores. Ainda que no campo da sociologia o debate sobre indicadores seja bastante frequente, o assunto está longe ainda de encontrar um consenso no campo do patrimônio[23].

Ressaltamos mais uma experiência, particularmente importante por ter buscado adequar-se a realidades não europeias. A reunião de especialistas em Colônia de Sacramento (Uruguai), em marco de 1998. Na onda de revisões provocadas pelas críticas nos 20 anos da Lista, o WHC pediu a realização de um encontro para discussão sobre indicadores para avaliação do estado de conservação de cidades históricas na região da América Latina e do Caribe. O trabalho foi confiado a Ramón Gutiérrez (argentino, consultor do Icomos) e

[23] A pesquisa de Lira (2009) mostra que o campo de indicadores voltados ao patrimônio cultural ainda é carente de pesquisas.

Françoise Deschamps (belga, representando a Fundação Getty, dos EUA), que trabalharam em conjunto com o *Instituto Andaluz del Patrimonio Historico*. Além de membros do Icomos e do próprio WHC, foram convidados especialistas de Argentina, Bélgica, Brasil, Colômbia, Equador, Espanha, México e Uruguai. Na reunião "se procedeu à elaboração de um quadro detalhado que relacionou os diferentes valores das cidades históricas com os possíveis indicadores para medir sua preservação"[24].

Em geral, foram estabelecidos alguns pontos chave. O primeiro, que os indicadores estabelecidos não deveriam se restringir ao monitoramento de sítios Patrimônio Mundial, mas sim a todo e qualquer centro histórico ou conjunto urbano e paisagístico. Dessa forma, se supriria também a questão da qualificação de quadros para atuação com patrimônio na região. Outro ponto foi pensar centro históricos para além dos centros urbanos, ou da definição tradicional, sendo também considerados agrupamentos humanos geográfica ou culturalmente organizados. Começava na região a surgir a questão da paisagem cultural, particularmente características para os casos de patrimônio de origem indígena – e em uma situação bastante diversa da encontrada na Europa. Sobre os indicadores a serem adotados e sobre essa questão da ampliação do conceito de patrimônio:

> No entanto, a partir das discussões, destacou-se a importância de incluir na análise não apenas os valores e sua conservação, mas também os riscos e as medidas de preservação, assim como a avaliação dos resultados obtidos. Em suma, os indicadores funcionariam como parâmetros, relacionados aos valores previamente reconhecidos, para medir de forma sistemática e constante a evolução positiva ou negativa de um bem. Além disso, foi reconhecido o caráter evolutivo do conceito de patrimônio considerando a necessidade de aumentar a ideia de escala, a ideia de contexto. (Françoise Deschamps, in IAPH, 1999, p. 28, tradução nossa)

Quanto aos indicadores, discutiu-se a necessidade de que eles fossem efetivamente mensuráveis. E destacou-se como indicadores importantes ferramentas de inventários e planos de gestão. O último – sejam planos, sejam instrumentos de gestão – foi considerado estratégico em especial por dever estabelecer os valores do sítio, e definir metas e objetivos. Com a ressalva de que o plano em si não pode ser considerado um indicador no caso de não apresentar três itens: disponibilidade de recursos, a forma de aplicação desses recursos e controle das metas previstas no plano.

Administração local

Ainda que o processo de definição dos indicadores para as avaliações periódicas tenha envolvido um grupo bastante representativo de realidades diversas da preservação, como tirar esses indicadores do papel e fazer com que eles sejam efetivamente um instrumento de preservação?

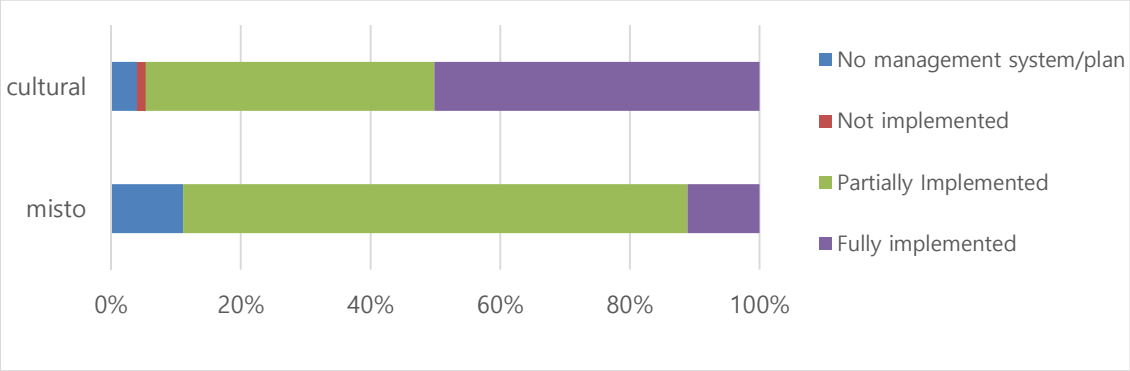
A resposta presente nas Diretrizes Operacionais é a inserção desses mecanismos de controle dentro de um plano de gestão. O plano também foi entendido como um indicador importante no monitoramento de um sítio. Além da ferramenta do plano em si, uma de suas vantagens é o processo de elaboração do mesmo, em especial da avaliação do sítio, que permite a produção de conhecimento, bem como trocas de experiências em diversas esferas.

Mesmo antes da revisão das Diretrizes em 2005, uma das premissas para a apresentação da candidatura de um sítio à Lista

[24] IAPH, 1999, p. 11, tradução nossa.

sempre foi que o mesmo já contasse com algum tipo de proteção. No âmbito que nos propusemos a estudar (as regiões da Europa ocidental e das Américas), inclusive nos casos em que a legislação e a gestão locais apresentam inúmeras variáveis a melhorar, são sítios que já estavam inseridos em algum tipo de mecanismo legal de preservação. Com efeito, há vários casos em que os sítios são exemplos do debate sobre a preservação em seu país, mostrando várias de seus estágios.

Hoje, grande parte dos sítios listados – ou presentes na lista indicativa – declara ter algum tipo de plano de gestão e/ou monitoramento específico para aquele sítio. Na última avaliação periódica da Unesco para a Europa, o status sobre planos de gestão era o seguinte[25]:



Quanto à região da América Latina e do Caribe, o relatório de 2013 indicava que metade dos países signatários entendiam que era necessário fazer alterações na estrutura legal de preservação [26] . O documento informava também que

> the primary objective of the management plan of a property inscribed on the World Heritage List is to preserve and ensure the generation of knowledge and dissemination of its OUV. In this sense, States Parties say that only in 40.5% of cases the applied management plan or system is appropriate for its purpose. (Unesco WHC, documento WHC-13/37. COM/10A, p. 46).

Ou seja, os planos de gestão poderiam funcionar em questões administrativas, mas quando consideramos a preservação em seu sentido mais amplo, falharia. Afinal, um sítio é considerado Patrimônio Mundial pelo seu valor universal excepcional, e o plano de gestão deve preservar e colocar em evidência esse valor. Entretanto, se em 60% dos casos o plano não cumpre a função de divulgação e disseminação do valor do sítio, há algo errado: ou no plano, ou em sua aplicação.

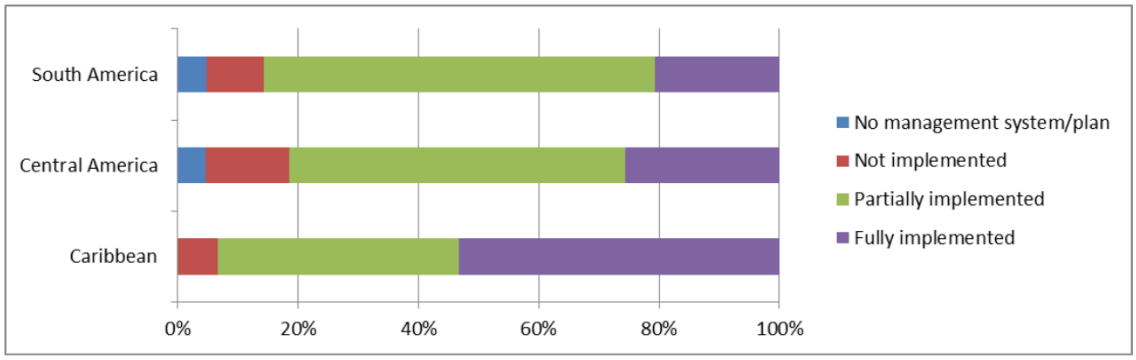
Pelos resultados sobre a avaliação dos planos de gestão (abaixo quadro com a região da América Latina e Caribe [27]) pode-se apreender que um problema é a implementação parcial dos planos.

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[25] Quadro elaborado a partir de Totcharova, 2016, p. 63. O relatório referente à América do Norte não apresentou dados quantitativos, se limitando a informar que "given the relatively small number of inscribed properties in Horth America (37), it is not possible to draw meaningful conclusions from statistical sumaries of the results" (p. 99).

[26] Cf. Unesco WHC, documento WHC-13/37. COM/10A.

[27] Unesco WHC, documento WHC-06/30.COM/11G, de 2006.



Relevante também a avaliação feita na sessão do Comitê do Patrimônio Mundial após os resultados do primeiro ciclo de avaliação periódica, que reforça o entendimento sobre a aplicação integral dos planos.

> It also highlighted the specificity of regional approaches to conservation and the different understandings of the concepts of 'Management Plan' and 'Site Manager'. The wealth of data gathered by the first Cycle is impressive and for some sites it was the first time since their inscription that the Committee received information on their state of conservation. For several States Parties, Periodic Reporting also constituted the first opportunity for monitoring the state of conservation of their properties. In many cases it would appear that management plans need to be developed or implemented to undertake monitoring. (Unesco WHC, documento WHC-06/30.COM/11G, de 2006, item B.1.18)

E novamente desponta a necessidade de abordagens regionais. Tal imposição, aliada ao fato que os planos de gestão são hoje a principal ferramenta para o controle e implantação das ações de preservação, nos leva a olhar agora para a esfera local, e as diversas problemáticas enfrentadas para a efetiva implantação de um plano de gestão.

Planos de gestão

> A quem cabe a cada hora, a cada dia, a responsabilidade da gestão de um sítio Patrimônio Mundial? O sítio pode estar cheio de visitantes, mas quem é o responsável? Mesmo se há um diretor geral, a menos que ele ou ela tenham delegado os poderes necessários, não há ninguém efetivamente responsável no local. Sem um controle de gestão exercido no local, qualquer coisa pode acontecer. As ações preventivas necessárias à preservação do patrimônio cultural devem ser confiadas a uma equipe formada especialmente para essa função, e convencidas da importância de tal preservação. (Jokilehto e Feilden, 1996, p. vi, tradução nossa)

O início do mesmo guia sobre o qual falávamos anteriormente alertava para a questão da responsabilidade da gestão do patrimônio mundial. Acreditamos que essa questão tenha mais de uma resposta, mas por ora, vamos nos ater ao ponto indicado pelos autores acima. E nos deparamos com um dos desafios para a elaboração e implantação de um plano de gestão: a quem confiar a preservação do patrimônio? Quando consideramos um monumento, ou o acervo de um museu, pode ser mais fácil encontrar a resposta. Porém, quando pensamos em sítios mais complexos, encontramos diversos níveis de governo e de gestão envolvidos.

Considerando o nosso interesse aqui por sítios urbanos ou de categoria mista, inevitavelmente falamos em processos de gestão que englobam mais de uma esfera governativa com atuação que terá impacto direto na preservação do sítio. Então, o primeiro desafio para a elaboração de um plano de gestão é coordenar todos aqueles que possam ter algum tipo de responsabilidade jurídica pela preservação de uma ou outra parte do sítio em questão. Inicialmente, abordamos a questão do plano de gestão em dois centros históricos, ambos presentes na Lista do Patrimônio Mundial.

Outro desafio significativo é que as ações de preservação em sítios urbanos costumam vincular-se a ações de divulgação e de educação – para além das questões técnicas de conservação. Ações que se encontram em quase todos os sítios urbanos são programas de visitas guiadas e reforço do patrimônio intangível, seja vinculado aos modos de trabalho locais, a festas populares ou a produções artesanais. Ainda, outro ponto de apoio importante são os museus locais, que podem se tornar polos de atração por si mesmos.

A retomada dos centros históricos começou no período pós Segunda Guerra. Porém, foi na década de 1980, em meio a uma crise econômica mundial, que os centros foram reconhecidos como uma alternativa à expansão das cidades para as periferias[28]. Esse movimento esteve em parte vinculado ao turismo cultural, que passou a ver os centros históricos preservados como um grande atrativo. Nesse cenário, onde a Lista do Patrimônio Mundial estava em seu início, diversas candidaturas de sítios urbanos à Lista foram aprovadas[29]. Em um primeiro momento, foi o fascínio com a presença do antigo em um centro urbano ativo que atraiu levas de turistas. No entanto, isso se mostrou uma faca de dois gumes e causou, em vários casos, uma dissociação entre o centro 'real' e o centro 'turístico'. Tal é um dos grandes impasses que vivem os centros históricos alçados à categoria de Patrimônio Mundial.

A cidade renascentista de Ferrara

O primeiro plano de gestão que examinamos foi o caso do sítio de 'Ferrara, cidade renascentista e seu delta do Pó' [30], localizado no centro-norte da Itália, região da Emília-Romagna.



14_Castelo Estense, um dos principais marcos do centro histórico de Ferrara.

No sítio de Ferrara[31], a grande extensão da área preservada cria uma sobreposição de diversos níveis governativos envolvidos na sua gestão. No momento da inclusão na Lista (em 1995, com ampliação em 1999 [32]), foram apresentados os diversos planos existentes para a região. Esses planos, no entanto, eram ações independentes, e integrantes do sistema legislativo italiano, abarcando questões de preservação cultural, planejamento urbano, regional e rural, preservação de áreas naturais, planos de transporte, etc. Dessa forma, não havia uma leitura da área classificada como Patrimônio Mundial como um conjunto único, sem uma integração entre os diversos atores e instrumentos existentes no perímetro específico reconhecido na Lista.

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[28] Nosso objetivo aqui não é o de entrar no debate sobre os centros históricos em si, mas sim no da preservação de um centro histórico que ganhe o *status* da Lista. Ressaltamos, porém, mais que a preservação, a recuperação de centros históricos é assunto bastante discutido e debatido. Sobre o assunto, ver Italia Nostra (1966).

[29] Entre 1978 e 1990 aproximadamente 18% do total de sítios inscritos na Lista eram centros históricos urbanos.

[30] O caso da cidade de Ferrara foi apresentado em artigo publicado nos anais do IV Enanparq (Rolim, 2016).

[31] A partir deste ponto, entenda-se 'sítio de Ferrara', como o sítio listado na Unesco como 'Ferrara, cidade renascentista e seu delta do Pó'.

[32] Para detalhamento sobre o histórico do sítio (e dos sítios que serão mencionados nessa Parte II), bem como do processo de sua candidatura na Unesco, consultar o volume II da presente tese.

Dez anos depois da inscrição na Lista, e sob a luz da declaração de Budapeste, foi iniciado, em 2005, um processo para elaboração de um plano de gestão específico para o sítio. O projeto foi ampliado e acelerado com a aprovação da lei italiana nº 77, que estabeleceu medidas específicas para a proteção e uso dos bens italianos inscritos na Lista do Patrimônio Mundial da Unesco[33]. Em particular, criou mecanismos para financiar a elaboração de planos de gestão para os sítios já inscritos na Lista, visando criar condições para o desenvolvimento do sítio, respeitando a sua preservação.

O sítio está nas áreas de influência de todos os níveis governativos possíveis dentro da organização governativa italiana (níveis nacional, regional, provincial e municipal). Uma lei nacional protege a área (*Codice dei beni culturali e del paesaggio*), e escritórios locais do Ministero dei beni e delle attività culturali e del turismo (MiBACT) são os responsáveis pelo monitoramento e fiscalização da aplicação da legislação nacional.

Em nível regional, existem três planos específicos para proteção do sítio de Ferrara. O Plano Regional de Paisagem, que estabelece regulamentações referentes à identidade histórico-cultural. O Plano para o Parque do Delta do Pó, que tem como objetivo a proteção das áreas naturais. E o Plano Territorial Provincial, responsável por identificar potenciais e ações para desenvolvimento de atividades econômicas tradicionais e de turismo de uma maneira a preservar as características do ambiente e do campo. Esse último plano contempla tanto o núcleo central inscrito quanto a sua zona de amortecimento.

Além desses três planos, o município de Ferrara tem uma ferramenta específica para planejamento urbano, que identifica toda a cidade histórica dentro da muralha como área de interesse cultural, como continuidade do grau de proteção estabelecido em 1975 para a cidade.



15_Sítio de Ferrara, com indicação das principais cidades. A área em branco se refere ao limite da província de Ferrara, localizada no limite entre as regiões da Emília-Romagna e o Veneto (ao norte).

No que tange à participação da população, o município de Ferrara tem um comitê para gestão de propriedades, com planejamento anual visando aumentar o conhecimento da população, em especial dos residentes e trabalhadores locais, para a extensão da área preservada e de sua importância. A nível regional, existem escritórios locais que são responsáveis pelo monitoramento da aplicação das legislações e planos vigentes. Considerando que o sítio congrega áreas urbanas e rurais, a elaboração do plano começou com o estabelecimento – de forma muito clara – de três fatores[34].

O primeiro era estabelecer quem escreveria o plano de gestão. O sítio de Ferrara incluí diversas prefeituras, os governos da província e da região, os órgãos de gestão de bens culturais e dos bens naturais. Dessa forma, o primeiro passo foi definir uma entidade que seria a responsável pela elaboração do plano, estabelecendo o papel de cada um dos envolvidos. Coube ao município de Ferrara o papel de responsável pela articulação de todo o processo, principalmente em função do centro

[33] A lei nº 77, de 20 de fevereiro de 2006 (*Misure di tutela e fruizione a favore dei siti Unesco*), investiu mais de 18 milhões de Euros em projetos entre 2006 e 2013. Um dos motivadores da lei foi o fato de que a Itália é o país com o maior número de bens inscritos na Lista: em junho de 2016, eram 51 sítios italianos presentes na Lista do Patrimônio Mundial.

[34] Cf. Zanelli, 2009, p. 20-22.

histórico, motivador da inscrição inicial na Lista.

Em seguida era necessário estabelecer o perímetro da área a ser gerenciado de forma única. Essa área nem sempre é a mesma inscrita, já que se deve considerar os elementos que possam incidir sobre a área protegida, seja de forma positiva ou negativa. Por fim, o terceiro fator era identificar com quais instrumentos o plano se relacionaria (legislações, planos urbanísticos, planos de turismo, programação de eventos e de obras públicas, etc.).

Outro ponto estratégico foi definir uma missão, segundo a qual deveriam ser orientadas todas as ações e decisões inerentes à gestão do sítio. O parecer da Unesco para inserção do sítio de Ferrara na Lista do Patrimônio Mundial ressaltava o aspecto da paisagem cultural, entendendo o sítio não como um único monumento, mas como um conjunto significativo e coerente. A missão definida foi a valorização da paisagem cultural.



Eixos de ações a serem realizadas para a gestão do sítio de Ferrara, sempre norteadas pela missão definida no plano35.

Essa missão também contemplava um processo econômico iniciado na década de 1970: o de utilizar o patrimônio arquitetônico e urbanístico da cidade como ponto de força de um processo de valorização do centro histórico. Ressalta-se que essa política teve sucesso por conter instrumentos de incentivo aos setores terciário e universitário [36] e à melhoria da qualidade de vida urbana e ambiental.

A partir da definição dos três fatores e da missão do sítio, o plano foi desenvolvido e estruturado em quatro partes. A primeira, de caracterização do sítio e identificação dos atores envolvidos; em seguida o cenário, considerando análises socioeconômicas, o conhecimento do território (considerando patrimônio tangível e intangível, paisagem cultural e cultura material), os recursos disponíveis e os aspectos legislativos. O terceiro ponto foi definir as ações previstas no plano, de acordo com os três eixos previstos (figura acima). E por fim, as etapas seguintes do plano, incluindo modelo de gestão e aprofundamento para cada uma das áreas foco do sítio.

Entre as diversas ações previstas dentro do plano, destacamos duas que são particularmente importantes para garantir uma boa comunicação entre as diferentes esferas governativas.

A primeira é uma pergunta que se apresentou como premissa no início das ações de pesquisa para a elaboração do plano: "quais informações são realmente úteis para a gestão do sítio?"[37]. Tal pergunta foi feita com base em uma lógica onde não é possível pensar em ações integradas sem um embasamento científico. Nessa perspectiva, ações de pesquisa – sejam acadêmicas, sejam de mercado – foram incorporadas diretamente ao plano de gestão.

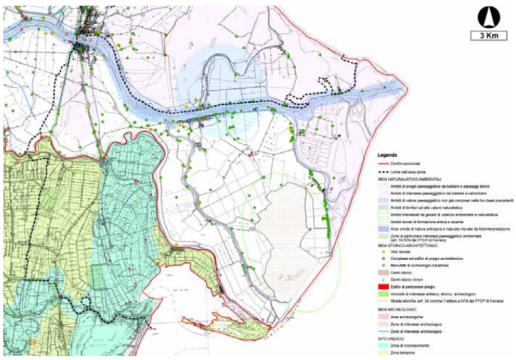
O segundo aspecto é a gestão do Parque do Delta do Pó. O plano de gestão para o sítio de Ferrara integrou alguns planos já existentes, e a relação com diversos atores. O Parque do Delta do Pó abrangia não só diversos municípios, mas duas regiões italianas (a

[35] Quadro elaborado pela autora, com base em Zanelli, 2009, p. 123-125.

[36] A Universidade de Ferrara, fundada em 1391, teve seus departamentos instalados em edifícios históricos importantes da cidade, e que estavam sem uso. Dessa forma, foi possível recuperá-los, garantindo sua manutenção futura, além de criar uma dinâmica no centro histórico que vai além do turismo.

[37] Zanelli, 2009, p. 127, tradução nossa.

Emília-Romagna e o Veneto) e dispõe de uma legislação específica – bem como financiamentos da União Europeia, voltados a questões específicas de patrimônio natural. O plano de gestão buscou então valorizar e desenvolver os aspectos de paisagem cultural do parque, mantendo a base da preservação natural já existente em outros instrumentos, e criando roteiros que colocassem em evidência as estruturas de canais e edifícios de caráter industrial e rural que se encontram dentro do parque.



16_Mapa de bens culturais, mostrando a sobreposição de diferentes áreas de preservação, incluindo o parque avançando na região do Veneto.

Vale ressaltar que a elaboração do plano para o parque foi realizada em um processo longo de cooperação. Que envolveu reuniões e workshops com sítios similares na Europa. Tal troca de experiências incluiu também o envio de funcionários para estágios em outras instituições. Destacamos a parceria com o *National Park Service*, dos EUA, onde gestores do Parque do Delta do Pó puderam conhecer toda a estrutura norte-americana para a preservação de áreas naturais. Aliás, esse é um envolvimento usual nos parques norte-americanos, e um dos pontos principais identificados por eles como a cooperação internacional realizada ali.

Por fim, e alinhado à orientação vista no Guia de gestão de 1993, foi criado um fórum permanente para acompanhamento do plano. A prefeitura de Ferrara foi a instituição definida para liderar os processos administrativos e burocráticos referentes à gestão do sítio, bem como ao monitoramento do plano – incluindo aí a fiscalização das diversas esferas de gestão envolvidos na preservação do sítio.

A primeira versão do plano de gestão foi publicada em 2009, após quatro anos de trabalhos de elaboração. Uma nova versão do plano foi finalizada em 2015: ainda que o plano previsse sua revisão periódica, o processo teve que ser antecipado por conta de mudanças na estrutura organizativa regional, provocando a necessidade de revisão do fórum de acompanhamento permanente. O plano – e principalmente o fórum – servem também para uma tomada de consciência dos gestores políticos sobre a importância de entender o sítio como um ente único, ainda que com instrumentos específicos e com instituições de porte diversos. A responsável pelo plano na prefeitura de Ferrara, Roberta Fusari, entende como um dos principais desafios essa articulação política.

> La sfida più difficile è stata soprattutto nelle relazione all'interno del sito, nella relazione politica all'interno del sito e del territorio. I pesi, noi siamo la grande città che fa parte di un sito che è fatto dei piccoli comuni. Aver una visione comune di crescita… Di solito i piccoli pensano che la grande città ha la capacità di portarsi via tutto. Oppure, ha tante tecnici ha disposizione. Credo che ci sia ancora questa difficoltà nel capire che siamo un sistema unico. E quindi, nel rendere più fluidi i rapporti di gestione. […] Ha un certo punto abbiamo detto Ferrara deve entrare nel parco, è la testa del parco del Delta. E il parco, Comacchio ha detto no, Ferrara non la vogliamo. Perché è troppo potente. Se entra nel parco, ci porti via… scusa, vengo per fare sinergia insieme. Ma quel ottica lì, i politici hanno timore. Mentre invece, rispetto a una progettazione europea, più sei grande, più sei forte. (em entrevista à autora, 2016)

O porto de Valparaíso

O segundo caso onde é possível o desafio de integrar os diferentes níveis envolvidos na

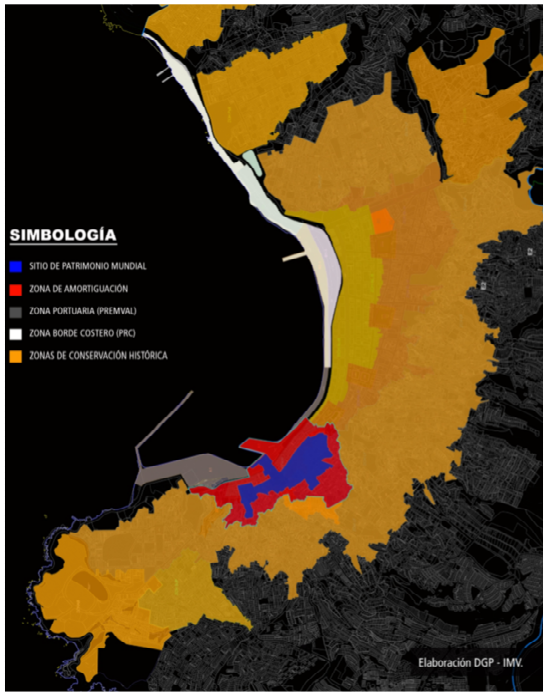
gestão de um sítio é o do centro histórico de Valparaíso, Chile[38].

O processo para ingresso na Lista de Valparaíso começou em 1998, quando a cidade foi incluída na lista indicativa. Mas as ações de preservação na cidade remontam à década de 1970, com a proteção da igreja matriz e de espaços públicos no centro da cidade[39]. No entanto – e ao contrário de Ferrara, que teve seu centro histórico preservado ainda na década de 1970 – a preservação da cidade como patrimônio urbano ocorre somente depois da inserção do sítio na lista indicativa. A cidade foi declarada como 'área histórica' pelo governo do Chile em 2001. A inscrição na Lista aconteceu dois anos depois.



17_Valparaíso, vista do bairro Cerro Alegre, com o porto ao fundo.

Valparaíso foi o primeiro sítio urbano habitado a ser reconhecido como Patrimônio Mundial no Chile. O fato mostra o tamanho do desafio para estabelecer políticas para a sua preservação. Logo após a decisão da Unesco, o município e o governo central começaram uma série de ações buscando inserir a questão da preservação nos planos urbanísticos e regionais existentes. O processo, que não é simples, principalmente considerando a quantidade de instâncias envolvidas, levou ao início da elaboração de um plano diretor de gestão do patrimônio para a cidade.



18_Zonas de proteção na cidade de Valparaíso e adjacências (a área inscrita como Patrimônio Mundial está marcada em azul).

Desde o início um dos principais objetivos do plano era conciliar os três grandes instrumentos que existem na região: a norma geral sobre Urbanismo e Construções (LGUC), no nível regional; a diretriz sobre zonas e imóveis de conservação histórica e conjuntos urbanos planejados, no nível municipal; e em nível federal, a lei 17.299 de monumentos nacionais, aplicada pelo Conselho de Monumentos Nacionais.

Foram duas fases para a elaboração do plano, contemplando consultas públicas. A primeira fase foi de levantamento de informações e diagnóstico e contou, em 2008, com duas ações com a comunidade: Escola de Verão *Valparaíso con todas las miradas* e *Seminario de capacidad de carga, Cerro Concepción*. A fase II, de elaboração do plano diretor, contou com momentos de consulta

[38] Para termos uma ideia do problema na América Latina, em resposta ao relatório periódico de 2013, aproximadamente 70% dos países signatários indicaram que a coordenação entre os diversos níveis de governo na gestão dos sítios é pequena ou poderia ser melhorada. (Unesco WHC, documento WHC-13/37. COM/10A, p. 45).

[39] Em 1971 foi declarado monumento histórico a *Iglesia La Matriz* e seu entorno. Em 1979 foi a vez da *Plaza Sotomayor* e dos *Cerros Alegre e Concepción*. (Cf. Valparaíso, *Plan Director de Gestión Patrimonial de la Ciudad Puerto de Valparaíso*, 2016).

pública em 2012, seja à população, com a *Exposiciones Barriales*; seja com instituições, com duas mesas de trabalho (uma com especialistas temáticos e outra com órgãos consultivos). Tal como Ferrara, Valparaíso também partiu da definição de sua missão, ou nesse caso, de uma imagem:

> Valparaíso é uma cidade portuária, integrada e dinâmica, expressão qualificada de valores culturais que a qualificam como Patrimônio da Humanidade, cravada em uma paisagem dominada por sua condição geográfica de anfiteatro, que converge de modo integrado e harmônico em dinâmicas de desenvolvimento típicas de um assentamento humano vivo com a conservação de sua riqueza cultural, e que entende o patrimônio cultural como um de seus principais fatores de desenvolvimento. (Valparaíso, 20016, p. 52, tradução nossa)

A partir de então, o plano definiu cinco princípios básicos que orientaram todo o plano: 1. a proteção e gestão do patrimônio cultural com foco técnico no planejamento; 2. a adoção de um conceito integral de patrimônio cultural[40]; 3. O sítio Patrimônio Mundial, a zona de buffer e sua área de influência como âmbito da aplicação geográfica do plano de gestão; 4. O patrimônio como tarefa e responsabilidade de todos; e 5. a proteção e a gestão do patrimônio cultural como fator de equidade territorial.

Destacamos aqui peso importante para dois aspectos: a integração das diversas instâncias e atividades que atuam na área e a necessidade de incluir a população no processo de preservação[41].

> This department works about ten years and we have to do all about the preservation not only of the site of Unesco, but also the buffer zone and all the zone of the port. And now we have the master plan. This is very important because it is the most important point that we have to work (all these different areas and institutions). And the other thing is that the community in Valparaiso is very important. Not as much as I feel it is in Europe. The people here are very important. In what is the purpose of the city. (Paulina Kaplan Depolo, diretora da Direção de Gestão Patrimonial de Valparaíso, em entrevista à autora, 2016)

Ainda é interessante ressaltar que um dos pontos do plano, o de financiamento para a preservação e a gestão do sítio, começa com um item 'economia do patrimônio'. Onde apresentam estatísticas com empregos gerados e percentual do aporte no PIB da indústria cultural, bem como os programas governamentais e linhas de financiamento privadas que disponibilizam verba para investimentos em áreas consideradas patrimônio[42].

Um dos primeiros testes para o plano, ainda quando em fase de elaboração, foi a polêmica com um projeto para recuperação de uma das principais áreas portuárias na cidade. Logo na entrada da plaza Sotomayor, encontram-se dois edifícios de porte monumental (ainda mais em comparação com a arquitetura popular existente na área), como que a formar um pórtico de entrada para a cidade, do ponto de vista de quem chega do mar. Um deles estava desativado já há vários anos, como tem acontecido em diversas zonas

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[40] O plano define conceito integral da seguinte maneira: "Para efectos de la construción del conjunto de directrices estratégicas constitutivas del Plan Director de Gestión Patrimonial del Valparaíso se utilizará un concepto integral de Patrimonio cultural, entendiendo por tal a aquél que comprenda su dimensión o vertiente material y su dimensión o vertiente inmaterial" (Valparaíso, 2016, p. 57).

[41] A Dirección de Gestión Patrimonial está dividida em três áreas: Departamento plan director de gestión patrimonial; Departamento histórico patrimonial; e Departamento de identidad cultural. O último trabalha em contato direto com a população. Seja nas Diretrizes Operacionais da Unesco, seja na italiana lei número 77 – para nos atermos aos casos apresentados – a participação das populações locais ganhou um peso significativo e importante no processo de elaboração dos planos. Talvez seja essa a alternativa para garantir uma participação ativa no processo de preservação. E lembrando Carbonara, buscar equilibrar as pressões econômicas e sociais.

[42] Fazem referência também ao Fundo Unesco para o Patrimônio Mundial e a verbas específicas para ações em função do terremoto ocorrido na área em 2015.

portuárias, por uma questão de automação dos processos realizados ali.

O projeto – chamado Puerto Barón – foi elaborado pela autoridade portuária. Uma instância que atua na região e se reporta direta e exclusivamente ao governo central do Chile. O projeto original, tinha grande impacto visual na paisagem da cidade, e foi alvo de disputa que levou a uma vistoria do Icomos na região, no final de 2014[43].

O projeto – e a vistoria do Icomos – teve grande repercussão na mídia chilena, discutindo não apenas o projeto em si, mas o processo de especulação imobiliária que estava atingindo a região de Valparaíso. Em especial por sua valorização depois da entrada na Lista.

Nesse caso, as partes (Icomos, autoridade portuária e prefeitura de Valparaíso) conseguiram chegar a um acordo. O lado mais interessante da disputa foi que isso acabou motivando a estruturação de um comitê de gestão no plano. O comitê já estava previsto, mas ganhou destaque maior, com reuniões periódicas estabelecidas e um fluxo de informações sobre o que cada ator está desenvolvendo, que pode se mostrar um mecanismo eficiente para evitar outras situações similares.

Ainda em Valparaíso, vale destacar o processo para o cálculo de capacidade de carga. O cálculo foi feito em especial para a questão do transporte para os *cerros* – o sistema de elevadores. O diferencial, crucial para um cálculo efetivo e eficiente, foi considerar não apenas o fluxo de turistas, mas também o fluxo da população. Além de uma questão técnica, esse foi também um ponto importante para colocar a população ao lado das iniciativas realizadas na cidade por conta da entrada na Lista. Ao incluir a população no processo, procurou-se mitigar os impactos do turismo cultural.

Estratégias gerais de gestão

Como vimos, um dos principais desafios de um plano de gestão para uma área Patrimônio Mundial é a conciliação entre diversas instâncias e poderes diferentes. No caso de sítios mais complexos, que por questões territoriais ou jurídicas devem lidar com instituições diferentes, surge uma alternativa: pensar em estratégias ao invés de planos.

Ressaltamos que as Diretrizes da Unesco não fazem menção exclusiva a planos, mas a mecanismos e ferramentas de gestão do sítio. Partindo dessa premissa, foi desenvolvido para o Parque Nacional das Dolomitas um documento com 'Estratégias gerais de gestão do sítio'[44], iniciativa que começou com um grupo de trabalho dentro da Associação dos sítios Patrimônio Mundial italianos[45].

Aqui pedimos licença ao leitor para uma exceção (para confirmar uma regra?). O sítio das Dolomitas não é um sítio de natureza cultural nem mista, mas sim é classificado como patrimônio natural[46]. Como vimos em alguns momentos aqui, as ações de preservação do patrimônio natural por vezes precedem àquelas do patrimônio cultural. Como, por exemplo, no início das ações de preservação nos Estados Unidos. Ainda, o que nos interessa na preservação do sítio das Dolomitas não são as ações em si, mas a estruturação delas, incluindo a articulação internacional em prol de uma ideia alternativa a um plano de gestão.

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[43] Os especialistas que foram ao local foram o argentino Luis María Calvo e o brasileiro Silvio Mendes Zancheti.

[44] Ver documento da Fondazione Dolomiti, *Strategia complessiva di gestione (più Strategia per il turismo)*, de dezembro de 2015.

[45] A *Associazione beni italiani patrimonio mondiale Unesco* foi criada em 1995.

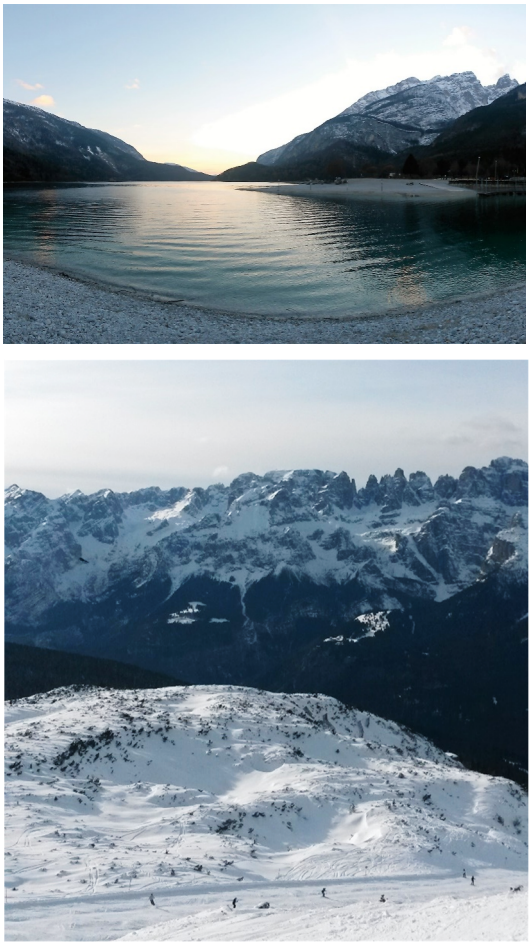
[46] Em 2007, o sítio apresentou sua candidatura à Lista como patrimônio misto. Na época, o parecer do WHC foi contrário à sua inscrição, com indicação para nova candidatura, considerando outros critérios para sua inclusão (originalmente, foram considerados os critérios ix e x). O projeto foi revisado e o sítio teve sua candidatura aprovada em 2009, com base nos critérios vii e viii.

O sítio das Dolomitas é formado por uma cadeia de montanhas localizada nos Alpes do norte da Itália. A justificativa para inscrição do sítio na Lista em 2009 apresentou o sítio como uma das mais belas paisagens montanhosas, com paredes verticais e diversos vales. Além da beleza, o sítio – formado por nove núcleos espalhados nos Alpes – apresenta características geológicas únicas e altamente significativas, incluindo registros fósseis do período Mesozóico.

Uma primeira diferença na gestão do sítio está no responsável pela sua preservação. Tal responsabilidade não foi centralizada em uma das prefeituras ou em algum órgão regional dentro do sítio (como foram os casos de Ferrara e Valparaíso). Ao contrário, foi criada uma fundação de caráter misto com o propósito específico de coordenar a gestão do sítio[47]. O grifo não está aqui por acaso: a fundação tem clareza que a responsabilidade pela gestão de um sítio complexo não pode ser responsabilidade de uma única entidade.

No momento da elaboração do plano de gestão para o sítio, a Fundação Dolomitas se deparou com uma situação muito similar à vivida pelos sítios urbanos apresentados anteriormente: como elaborar um plano que pudesse conter legislações, instâncias, diversas? Buscando a resposta, e em contato permanente com técnicos da Unesco, da IUCN e de outros sítios listados na Itália e na Europa, a fundação Dolomitas desenvolveu um documento com suas estratégias de gestão.

Essa é outra diferença que pode ser identificada no processo de preservação desse sítio em particular: a adoção de uma estratégia geral de gestão (*Strategia Complessiva di Gestione* – SCG) ao invés de um plano de gestão. Ele foi entendido como um instrumento que promove e implementa uma gestão em rede, colocando os recursos disponíveis (humanos e financeiros) em sistema, e buscando a integração entre eles nas atividades de conservação, comunicação e valorização do bem.



19_Acima, o lago di Molveno, em um dos vales típicos da região das Dolomitas (zona 9, Dolomiti di Brenta). À direita, estação de esqui de Andalo, uma das diversas instalações turísticas instaladas na região do parque das Dolomitas. Ao fundo, a cadeia de montanhas que caracteriza o local.

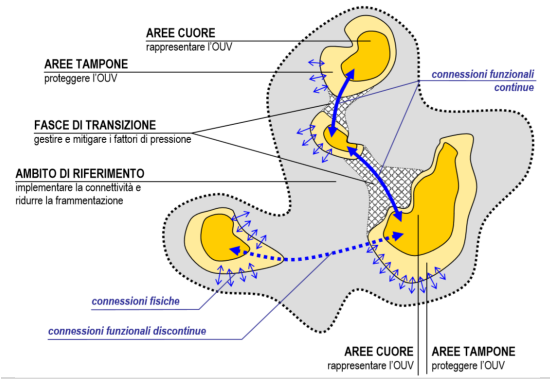
Outra premissa crucial é que a responsabilidade direta sobre o território a ser protegido é da administração regional e/ou provincial, dos parques e das comunidades locais. Dessa forma, seja o processo de elaboração das estratégias, seja o de seu monitoramento foi pensado considerando um processo participativo, chamado de '#Dolomiti2040'. Além de inseri-lo nas atuais formas de comunicação virtuais, tal participação é também necessária em um

[47] Cf. Fondazione Dolomiti, documento de dezembro de 2015.

projeto de longo prazo. O horizonte temporal para a SCG é de 25 anos.

Partindo desse cenário, a SCG foi estruturada considerando cinco redes temáticas, que pretendem colocar em prática o conceito de gestão em rede, e partem dos princípios de harmonização, participação e cooperação. As cinco redes são: patrimônio geológico; patrimônio paisagístico e áreas protegidas; turismo; desenvolvimento sustentável; e formação/pesquisa[48]). O trabalho de cada uma dessas redes foi apoiado em quatro pilares: patrimônio, experiência, comunidade e sistema.

A outra parte da SCG são os planos de gestão das áreas protegidas (parques, *Zone Speciali di Conservazione* (ZSC), *Zone di Protezione Speciale* (ZPS) e reservas naturais[49]). Aqui o entendimento é que cada zona do sítio tem as suas particularidades, e como tal, não seria possível pensar em um único plano para todas elas. Nessa perspectiva, cada zona desenvolve um plano específico, com metas e indicadores próprios, porém sob uma mesma orientação, e sempre se reportando às estratégias gerais – e ao grupo que se formou ali. Esse aspecto específico teve uma contribuição grande da IUCN, que estabeleceu contatos com sítios semelhantes nos Alpes, no Canadá e nos EUA. Essa troca de experiências contaminou de forma positiva a elaboração da proposta de gestão.



20_Modelo interpretativo para as nove áreas do sítio Dolomitas. Considera-se que cada um dos três tipos de áreas (área principal, zona de amortecimento ou tampão e âmbito de influência) tem uma função específica dentro do sítio Unesco e, dessa forma, um papel diferente na preservação do mesmo. Por isso, cada área desenvolveu instrumentos e/ou planos específicos, a partir das linhas definidas na SCG.

Por fim, a SCG estabeleceu também os resultados esperados de sua aplicação, a saber: protocolos de governança (ou seja, acordos intergovernamentais, nas esferas dos Municípios, Províncias e Regiões); medidas operacionais e de gestão (estabelecidas de acordo com as linhas estratégicas); protocolos de monitoramento (do estado de conservação e de avaliação da gestão); e sustentabilidade financeira (com alternativas concretas para esse fim).

Voltando aos quatro pilares de atuação das redes temáticas. O pilar 'experiência' está vinculado às ações de turismo, de uso recreativo das áreas inscritas na Lista. Os outros três – patrimônio, comunidade e sistema – compreendem as áreas estratégicas, visto que se

[48] A questão da pesquisa, da produção de conhecimento sobre o patrimônio é cada vez mais valorizada como uma importante ação de preservação – que vem tendo divulgação maior e adaptada a diferentes públicos. Ainda que concordemos com a importância desse tipo de ação, registramos aqui, como contraponto, a crítica de Argan. Ela foi direcionada à pesquisa científica no campo da arte, e escrita em 1979, mas acreditamos que se aplica muito bem também ao patrimônio, em especial em tempos em que se fala tanto sobre visitas virtuais a museus, cidades ou até mesmo ao pico mais alto do mundo. "Sem sair da biblioteca do nosso instituto universitário (utópico, bem entendido), com seus arquivos mecanográficos e seus computadores, poderíamos estudar tranquila e comodamente, sem nenhum tipo de problema, a arte grega do século V e a da Terra do Fogo, a pintura renascentista e a cerâmica peruana. E com que vantagem para os estudiosos! Não mais extenuantes pesquisas de arquivo, não mais incômodas viagens para 'ver e rever' (como preconizava Adolfo Venturi), não mais penosas incertezas sobre a autenticidade das obras e a confiabilidade das fontes, não mais hipóteses, interpretações, atribuições aleatórias. Tudo estaria ali, cientificamente catalogado e descrito, mesmo para quem, homem de outras épocas, ainda quisesse fazer história. Até mesmo se uma guerra nuclear (sempre possível, numa era tecnológica) apagasse toda e qualquer marca daquela que foi a arte do velho mundo, seria uma pena, mas em substância nada estaria perdido." (Argan, 2005, p. 62)

[49] Dentro do conjunto jurídico do *Ministero dell'ambiente e della tutela del territorio e del mare* italiano também está prevista a categoria *Siti di Importanza Comunitaria* (SIC).

vinculam aos valores que devem ser preservados (o valor universal excepcional) e às populações locais. Olhando com particular atenção ao pilar 'sistema', ele é basicamente o lugar onde foram definidas as estratégias de conexão entre os diversos atores e de gestão de conflitos.

> L'iscrizione nella WHL [World Heritage List] rappresenta un volano economico ed un fattore di competitività non trascurabile, ma il mantenimento delle peculiarità territoriali, che sono un fattore attrattivo imprescindibile, richiede la costante mediazione tra interessi diversi e potenzialmente confliggenti. (Fondazione Dolomite, documento de dezembro de 2015, p. 13)

O conceito de base é colocar em sistema as várias tradições administrativas que existem na região. Desde formas de gestão coletivas de áreas agrícolas (de pasto e bosques), à gestão de recursos naturais, essa é uma região com diversos modelos de governo, operando em relativa autonomia. A estratégia é não negar essa complexidade, nem querer impor uma solução única, mas sim considerá-la como parte da diversidade a ser preservada na área. E promover o diálogo e a colaboração entre essas iniciativas, com o objetivo de garantir a preservação do valor universal excepcional. Ou seja, de preservar o motivo pelo qual o sítio foi inscrito na Lista.

O argumento para a adoção de 'estratégias' ao invés de um 'plano' de gestão baseou-se no texto da Convenção de 1972, quando fala sobre a importância de uma correta relação entre a população local e seus territórios. A partir disso, ainda no dossiê de candidatura do sítio das Dolomitas, foi apresentada a proposta das estratégias (então chamada de 'quadro de gestão'):

> This is why the Management Framework refers to the status quo of the properties included in the nomination, by recovering the information given in the dossier, and by evaluating their critical parameters with a view to preserving them as well as possible, while also taking into consideration the most qualifying elements of the Dolomites, and of the vast area that includes them, which could be influenced by a process of enhancement of the resources offered by these mountains. (Italia, documento WHC 1237rev-2009, p. 23)

Partindo do cenário em que existiam diversos mecanismos legais de proteção da área, a estratégia foi pensar em articular esses planos e leis existentes, ao invés de criar um novo plano para a área. Por mais que um plano contenha estratégias e vice-versa, ao partir de uma 'estratégia' que coordena diversos planos, é possível adequar-se melhor a aspectos bastante específicos, criando uma maior sinergia e interação com as comunidades onde se insere.

Por fim, lembramos da participação da Associação dos sítios Patrimônio Mundial italianos – do qual faz parte o sítio de Ferrara. Com a adoção das estratégias, um dos pontos de maior conflito no plano de gestão para o sítio de Ferrara foi solucionado: o do embate político entre instituições maiores ou menores. Ao centralizar a coordenação em uma instituição exclusiva para a finalidade do sítio Unesco, e ao colocar todos os municípios e órgãos regionais em posição de igualdade, foi amenizada grande parte da tensão política da gestão do sítio (que continua ali, inevitavelmente, mas em outra escala).

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Outro modelo que não segue os padrões de um plano de gestão 'clássico' pode ser visto no Parque Nacional de Mesa Verde, localizado no estado do Colorado, nos Estados Unidos da América. Passamos de uma ideia de gestão bastante atual para um caso que foi das primeiras ações estruturadas para a preservação de um sítio, classificado como misto. O parque de Mesa Verde entrou na Lista do Patrimônio Mundial logo em seu primeiro ano, 1978. Mas sua proteção é ainda anterior.

Vimos na Parte I a assinatura do *Organic Act*, nos EUA, em 1906. No mesmo ano, foi criado o Parque Nacional de Mesa Verde, então como *Colorado Cliff Dwellings National Park*, o nome do principal conjunto de vestígios arqueológicos localizado no parque. Ou seja, o parque foi estabelecido mesmo antes da criação

do Serviço Nacional de Parques, e foi a primeira área arqueológica no mundo a ser reconhecida e protegida como tal (valor que prevaleceu sobre o natural). Com vestígios de ocupação pré-histórica desde 400 a.C., o *Cliff Dwellings* foi construído no século XIII, como um antigo assentamento indígena e é um dos sítios arqueológicos mais importantes para a cultural indígena Pueblo. Construções como palácios e vilas estão espalhadas em estruturas geológicas similares a terraços, criando uma forte relação entre o patrimônio construído e o natural.



21_ Vista de um dos conjuntos de 'salas' remanescentes da ocupação da cultura indígena Pueblo no local. Parque Nacional Mesa Verde.

Um ano após a nomeação do sítio para a Lista do Patrimônio Mundial da Unesco, foi aprovado um plano geral de gestão para o parque. Esse plano – de longo prazo – contemplava a preservação de 600 salas e continha linhas de ação e recomendação. A principal preocupação ali era com o potencial aumento no número de visitantes, em razão da presença na Lista do Patrimônio Mundial. Por isso, foram estabelecidas diretrizes para recepção de visitantes (incluindo a construção de um centro de visitantes e reestruturação do museu local) e dos percursos possíveis dentro do parque.

O último relatório apresentado pelo parque para a avaliação periódica junto à Unesco apresentou o seguinte cenário em relação à gestão do sítio:

> Mesa Verde National Park's General Management Plan was completed in 1979. All parks are required to have a General Management Plan by law. The park would like to initiate the process of preparing a new General Management Plan, but there is no schedule for accomplishing this. The current plan focuses on existing conditions and discusses alternatives for visitor use and interpretation, access and circulation, concessioner operations, administration, housing and maintenance. Most of the proposed alternatives have not been implemented. Some projects are in the planning stages, including a new curatorial facility and a Cultural/Visitor Centre at the park entrance, and development of a transportation system for visitors. The current plan is not available on the Internet. (Unesco WHC, documento *Periodic Report, second cycle*, mai. 2014)

Hoje, o parque não tem um único plano de gestão. Ele opera a partir do plano de gestão geral do *National Park Service*, que contém as linhas estratégicas de atuação de todos os parques nacionais dos EUA, com planos específicos. No parque de Mesa Verde, hoje existem um plano para gestão de incêndios, para gestão de vegetação exótica[50] e um para visitação.

> Current plans for management of Mesa Verde are to continue preservation of the cultural and natural resources. The strategy will need to change to account for the effects of climate change. In that realm, we conduct research to assess the impacts to the resources and work on strategies to minimize or eliminate those impacts. Other assessments cover the impact of visitation to the sites, and what measures should be taken to minimize those impacts. (Clifford Spencer, superintendente do Parque Nacional Mesa Verde, em entrevista à autora, 2015)

[50] O plano para gestão de vegetação exótica está inserido dentro de uma preocupação com a preservação física do sítio, em especial por questões de risco geológico, com movimentação do terreno, que coloca em risco não só a segurança dos visitantes, mas também o próprio sistema de salas do antigo povoado indígena *Pueblo*.



22_Área de preservação natural no estado norte-americano do Colorado, com a indicação do Parque Nacional Mesa Verde ao norte.

Tal atuação com diversos planos de ação ocorre também em função do sistema de preservação dos EUA. Um primeiro ponto é a descentralização de ações: considerando a estrutura política dos EUA, cada estado – no caso o Colorado – tem autonomia para a realização de determinadas ações. Ainda que o sistema de parques seja nacional, e vinculado diretamente à Secretaria do Interior (departamento importante dentro da estrutura federal de governo), os Estados tem grande participação no processo de preservação. Isso acontece por intermédio dos *State Historic Preservation Office* (SHPO).

Nesse cenário, o parque nacional não tem um plano específico considerando o status de Patrimônio Mundial. Aliás, o fato do sítio fazer parte da Lista não é mencionado no sítio eletrônico do parque, tendo destaque apenas no material da fundação de amigos do parque[51]. A relação dos EUA com o WHC, muito próxima e estreita no início de sua atuação, passou a se desgastar – em especial na década de 1990 – chegando ao ponto em que os gestores preferem não divulgar a presença dos sítios na Lista (não obstante, todos os relatórios e atividades inerentes à assinatura da Convenção sejam cumpridas). Essa questão será mais explorada no capítulo seguinte.

[51] A *Mesa Verde Foundation* (<http://www.mesaverdefoundation.org/>) é uma organização privada, sem fins lucrativos, criada dentro da tradição norte-americana de apoio a ações culturais.

2. Sobre ações de preservação

> Em poucas palavras: *as cidades se transformaram em depósitos de problemas causados pela globalização*. Os cidadãos e aqueles que foram eleitos como seus representantes estão diante de uma tarefa que não podem nem sonhar em resolver: a tarefa de encontrar soluções locais para contradições globais.
>
> Zygmunt Bauman, 2009, p. 32

Conciliar ações de preservação com diretrizes criadas a quilômetros de distância – que por vezes se mostram distantes das necessidades da população local, da realidade das políticas regionais e em outro cenário de capacitação técnica – cria conflitos os mais variados. Além dos pontos mencionados, entram em cena os interesses comerciais e de mercado imobiliário, de um turismo que por vezes se importa mais em encontrar os mesmos padrões em qualquer cidadezinha do mundo do que colocar seus clientes frente à uma nova cultura, etc., etc.

Se a princípio um bom plano de gestão – que tem essas variáveis mapeadas – poderia equilibrar esses interesses, a realidade é que bons planos não garantem a preservação de um sítio. Retomando a questão apresentada por Jokilehto e Feilden no capítulo anterior, é possível considerar que a responsabilidade pela gestão do Patrimônio Mundial possa ser confiada a uma pessoa – ou um grupo – de especialistas. Porém, como Bauman indica acima, no final das contas, são os cidadãos que atuam cotidianamente para a preservação daquele sítio, enfrentando os dilemas que estão espelhados no slogan de um mundo novo – que é além de globalizado, 'sustentável' –: o 'pensar global, agir local'[1].

De forma sintética – e sem entrar no debate sobre o conceito –, a ideia por trás da frase de impacto é reforçar as soluções locais. Ou seja, buscar alternativas para a tal contradição global/local, tão presente na ideia de um patrimônio mundial. Ainda que possa parecer simples, a solução local deve estar inserida em um mercado que é mundial. A dificuldade surge, então, no fato de que a economia de um mundo globalizado pede uma homogeneização onde as peculiaridades do 'local' se perdem.

O patrimônio está inserido em tal economia global, principalmente por meio da indústria do turismo cultural. As exigências desse público, aliadas à necessidade de preservar a autenticidade de um sítio Patrimônio Mundial pode criar uma situação em que o sítio fica 'congelado', vinculado a amarras que o impediriam de ter uma inserção econômica e urbana para além do mercado turístico. Como chegar a um equilíbrio?

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[1] A frase adquiriu inúmeros significados e é utilizada de forma quase banal hoje em dia. Ela é representativa de um movimento iniciado nos anos 1980 no Japão, que criou a expressão 'glocal', que traria em si uma nova ideia de globalização, procurando adaptar as realidades locais a uma produção econômica global. A frase também foi bastante utilizada associada a uma outra faceta da globalização: a da sustentabilidade. Sobre o assunto, ver Robertson (2000), Bauman (1999) e Sassen (2010).

Globalização?

> Imaginamos que a nossa *Carta del Restauro* de 1964 teria uma significância universal, sendo aplicável em todo o mundo... No entanto, hoje eu posso confessar: havia muito que simplesmente não sabíamos. Sabe, estávamos convencidos que nós éramos suficientemente inteligentes. Mas nós não entendemos onde estavam as dificuldades. Mais tarde, quando eu participei de uma conferência do Icomos, alguém perguntou: o que devemos então fazer com as cabanas de palha na Austrália? Isso é algo sobre o qual nós realmente não pensamos. (Gertrude Tripp, apud Jokilehto, 2011, p. 36, tradução nossa)



23_Gertrude Tripp (Áustria) e René Sneyers (Bélgica), membros do Conselho do Iccrom, na assembleia geral de Veneza, 1969.

É difícil pensar na palavra mundial sem pensar em outra, 'globalização'. Mas como se enquadraria a questão apontada por Gertrude Tripp, a das enormes diferenças das realidades culturais onde está – e com a qual se relaciona – o patrimônio?

O termo 'globalização' não é recente. Ele surgiu na década de 1960, quando o canadense Marshall McLuhan lançou a palavra, com a publicação de *The Global Village* [2] . O historiador inglês Eric J. Hobsbawm[3] localizou nesse mesmo pós II Guerra – que foram também anos dourados de desenvolvimento econômico – o momento que favoreceu esse que seria um novo ciclo de expansão de produção e do mercado, em uma economia mundial que operaria 'transnacionalmente'. Tal processo vai além da cooperação que nos interessa aqui – e como vimos iniciou-se muito antes da II Guerra. Foi uma mudança na forma de produção. Empresas ou grupos empresariais, multinacionais, blocos regionais de mercado, padrões tecnológicos globais de produção, entre outros, permitiram que mercadorias pudessem ser produzidas com peças feitas em diferentes partes do mundo, com uma concepção e gerenciamento realizado de uma outra parte, diferente das demais. Para isso, foi necessária uma racionalização das operações, com a criação de padrões que organizaram o que poderia ser uma torre de Babel.

Voltando-nos à palavra em si, Françoise Choay[4] também destaca o termo 'globalização', derivado do nome 'globo (terrestre)', como a expressão da dimensão planetária e territorial do processo. E que somente a França adotou o termo 'mundialização'. Recorremos então a uma fonte tradicional: o dicionário. O Michaelis nos apresenta 'mundializar' como "difundir; divulgar para todo o mundo; levar a toda parte; universalizar". 'Globalizar' aparece de forma bastante similar: "1. Tornar global; universalizar; 2. Reunir e dispor (elementos,

[2] McLuhan, 1989 e cf. Wiliams, 2007 e Choay, 2011a.

[3] Cf. Hobsbawm, 2000 e 2005.

[4] Choay, 2011a, p. 8.

ideias, problemas) e considerá-los em conjunto, sem atentar a minúcias ou detalhes; 3. Tornar-se globalizado"[5].

O detalhe do item a mais em 'globalizado' talvez seja o motivo da resistência dos franceses com a palavra: 'sem atentar a minúcias ou detalhes'. Ora, nos parece então que, adotar o termo globalização traria consigo certa tendência a uma homogeneização (o que se confirma quando pensamos na adoção de padrões comuns de produção). Se a economia global vê o descarte dessas minúcias com bons olhos, não se pode pensar o mesmo quando se fala de patrimônio (aliás, como Tripp bem notou). O valor do patrimônio está justamente nos detalhes e nas minúcias. Esse embate passou a ser visto com mais força após a Convenção do Patrimônio Mundial, com a intensificação das trocas de experiências, as dificuldades em encontrar padrões universais e, consequentemente, da conscientização sobre nossas diferenças. E ganhou novas proporções com a Convenção do Patrimônio Imaterial de 2003[6].

Patrimonialização, museificação e outros

> É possível resumir em poucas palavras os elementos centrais de seu [Bauman] raciocínio: as cidades globais entraram numa nova fase histórica, inaugurada no fim do século XX. Por diversas razões, essas áreas são o epicentro das transformações em curso e, como tal, constituem observatórios particularmente importantes para compreender tudo o que está acontecendo. (Mauro Magatti, na introdução de Bauman, 2009, p. 7)

Na preservação de sítios mistos, conjuntos arquitetônicos e centros históricos é possível sentir com mais intensidade a lógica de qualquer cidade, que é a de uma constante mudança. O sociólogo Zygmunt Bauman [7] aborda a questão quando fala da relação entre cultura e identidade. Ele parte da premissa que toda cultura é, intrinsecamente, produzida a partir de mudanças, mantendo sua essência intacta – e essa seria sua identidade. No momento em que se define que determinado centro histórico é patrimônio – e no nosso caso, Patrimônio Mundial – se inicia um processo que busca manter inalterado aquele patrimônio. No entanto, e seguindo a lógica de Bauman, um centro histórico que não se altere, deixaria de representar a mesma cultura que se pretende proteger. Afinal, como definir o que é a essência que deve ser mantida intacta e o que poderia ser alterado?[8]

Tal contradição acaba por ser amplificada pelo fenômeno chamado de 'patrimonialização'[9]. Ou seja, identificar algo como patrimônio. Retomando algumas ideias já apresentadas aqui, o processo de 'identificar' algo como patrimônio se alargou muito desde a primeira ideia de monumento existente na Revolução Francesa. Tal ampliação pode ser vista nas cartas patrimoniais – sendo a Convenção de 1972 uma delas –, já que tais documentos apresentam um retrato de determinada época. Se nos primeiros momentos, a patrimonialização esteve vinculada à construção de identidades nacionais, a partir da década de 1960, inserido no novo cenário da globalização, começaram a surgir outras questões, para além da identidade nacional[10]. Além do reconhecimento de bens vinculados a épocas mais recentes (como os vinculados à

[5] Consultada a versão online do Dicionário Brasileiro da Língua Portuguesa, Michaelis. Ainda sobre globalização é importante considerar também a obra de Manuel Castells (2014) e Françoise Choay (2012), além das já citadas anteriormente.

[6] Conforme já discutido na parte I, capítulo 2.

[7] Cf. Bauman, 2012.

[8] A resposta a essa pergunta, na verdade, é a discussão sobre a definição do 'valor universal excepcional', que caracteriza um sítio Patrimônio Mundial. Vinculado a ele estão também os valores de autenticidade e integridade, que é também um campo de pesquisa aberto na área. Sobre o assunto, ver Titchen (1995), Stanley-Price e King (2009), Scifoni (2006), Pendlebury et al (2009) e Loretto (2016).

[9] Cf. Peixoto (2002), Choay (2008), Lima (2014) e Settis (2014).

[10] Cf. Bauman (2013) e Lima (2014).

arquitetura moderna) e a tipologias ou grupos (arquitetura industrial, bens imateriais de etnias autóctones, entre outros), houve também o movimento de oferta do patrimônio como um produto. E dessa forma, inserindo-o em um mercado – com destaque para a indústria de lazer e do turismo cultural. Tal fato criou uma 'febre da patrimonialização' ou uma 'inflação patrimonial'[11].

> A dinâmica patrimonial não pode deixar de ser vista como resultado do crescimento e da amplificação de um espírito de concorrência entre diferentes espaços, em relação aos quais o status de patrimônio mundial se apresenta como mais-valia em três domínios. Ao funcionar como vetor de estratégias de marketing urbano; ao ser mobilizado como um trunfo das campanhas que procuram captar os fluxos do turismo cultural e patrimonial; e quando é convocado como elemento retórico de legitimação e de contestação das políticas de transformação das paisagens culturais. No limite, esta dinâmica patrimonial dá forma a um fenômeno de reprodução em série de modelos de desenvolvimento urbano, particularmente concebidos para serem competitivos no mercado turístico. (Peixoto, 2002, p. 23)

Uma das faces dessa patrimonialização é a 'museificação' de centros urbanos – ou 'disneyficação' [12] . As exigências por uma padronização acabariam por criar cenários, colocando também em xeque a questão – e o conceito – da autenticidade de um sítio Patrimônio Mundial.

> Cabe ao mesmo Centro [do patrimônio mundial] atribuir a chancela 'patrimônio mundial' símbolo de tal status. Este rótulo implica, *de facto*, um processo de museificação cuja aceleração induz uma mercantilização planetária – não é por acaso que o Centro do Patrimônio Mundial recebeu em 2008 o prêmio mundial de Turismo. (Choay, 2011a, p. 86-87, tradução nossa)

O que surge aqui é o dilema preservação *versus* crescimento. Seja em cidades 'exclusivamente' turísticas ou não, a dinâmica urbana parte do princípio de mudanças. Esse crescimento não se dá somente na questão de novas construções, mas também de novos usos[13].

Pedimos aqui licença para um comentário para além de uma nota de rodapé. Um exemplo inverso no Brasil pode ser visto no centro histórico de Salvador, na Bahia. O processo de recuperação do Pelourinho, foi alvo de críticas[14] justamente por levar para a área os

[11] O primeiro termo é utilizado por Peixoto (2002), que fala também em uma 'histeria do patrimônio'. O segundo é utilizado por Choay (2001), que fala ainda de um 'complexo de Noé', em que a patrimonialização teria a missão de salvar toda tipologia existente na história da arquitetura (erroneamente em sua visão). O debate sobre o que seria um 'excesso' de preservação é grande. O artigo de Simone Scifoni (2016) apresenta o resultado de debate sobre o tema a partir de casos na França, México e Brasil. O debate evidenciou a necessidade de avaliar com cuidado esses excessos, visto que, muitas vezes, há uma grande lacuna histórica da tipologia de bens tombados, com predominância de edificações e sítios vinculados às classes dominantes considerados patrimônio. O artigo alerta também para "urgência de incorporar um olhar mais integral na seleção dos bens a serem tombados". Cecília Rodrigues dos Santos (2001) também se insere nesse debate, apontando que um fator negativo desse excesso é a dificuldade da população em reconhecer qual é o seu patrimônio.

[12] Tanto Salvatore Settis (2014) quanto David Harvey (2004) utilizam a expressão. Trata-se de uma pasteurização de centros históricos, em sua maioria com carga histórica importante. Visando adequar-se a um mercado turístico que busca tal padronização, os centros históricos correm o risco de transformarem-se em grandes áreas comerciais, sem qualquer vínculo com a tradição local. Está presente também a ideia da realização de pequenos eventos, tal qual em um parque temático. O risco que se corre, é a exclusão do passado presente nas atividades tradicionais, com perda da memória coletiva. Ainda, o risco do fachadismo, com uma ausência de relação entre o externo e o interno dos edifícios (entre outras questões).

[13] Polêmica recente aconteceu em Florença: a notícia da inauguração de um restaurante McDonald's no coração da cidade, na *piazza del Duomo*, provocou uma enxurrada de críticas, muitas voltadas ao tipo de turista que quer viajar, mas sem ter um contato maior com o que é tradicional ou típico. Ao final, a prefeitura não autorizou a instalação do estabelecimento ali, com o argumento de que o restaurante não apresentava matéria prima nem produtos que estabelecessem um vínculo com o tecido histórico, com a arquitetura ou com as atividades comerciais tradicionais da área. Ver Ferrara, 2016.

[14] Como pode ser visto nos artigos de Marcelo Ferraz (2008), Eduardo Nobre (2003) e Márcia Sant'Anna (2003).

problemas inerentes à patrimonialização. Ou no caso, o termo 'disneyficação' mostra-se bastante apropriado. O projeto, realizado ao longo da década de 1990, teve o mérito de dar novo destaque a um patrimônio importante, além de interromper o processo de degradação urbana, que já levava alguns edifícios à condição de ruína. No entanto, no âmbito social, houve um processo de gentrificação[15] quase imediato, e ainda antes dos trabalhos de recuperação grande parte dos moradores da região se mudaram para zonas periféricas da capital baiana. No lado técnico da preservação, ou seja, da conservação, do restauro, soluções equivocadas (para dizer o mínimo) deixaram o centro com 'cara de novo', assemelhando-se por isso a um cenário.

> Uma paleta de cores pastéis variadas foi aplicada às casas, algo que nunca existiu ali, substituindo o branco ou ocre pardacentos da cidade antiga. Pintura à base de tinta acrílica ou látex e não a tradicional caiação, também conhecida como 'leite de cal'. Nítida e deliberada intervenção cenográfica de aspecto limpo, infelizmente com poder contagiante. Com a publicidade e o sucesso de *marketing* da recuperação, o 'efeito Pelourinho' se alastrou pelo país, por cidades históricas ou não, que começaram a pintar suas casas *a la* 'sorveteria' multi-sabores. (Ferraz, 2008)

Lembramos que o centro histórico de Salvador também faz parte da Lista do Patrimônio Mundial: foi inscrita em 1985. Onde estaria a autenticidade desses centros-cenários?

Turismo cultural

> A inscrição de um sítio na lista de Patrimônio Mundial provoca mudanças. O aumento no número de visitantes exige novas instalações e atrai comércios cada vez mais numerosos. (Jokilehto e Feilden, 1996, p. vi, tradução nossa)

Então chegamos a outra grande disputa enfrentada na preservação – em especial na gestão – de qualquer sítio Patrimônio Mundial: como lidar com o enorme afluxo de pessoas trazidas pela indústria do turismo cultural?

O aproveitamento do patrimônio para o turismo começou na década de 1960[16]. Vale lembrar que o encontro da OEA que teve como resultado as Normas de Quito, em 1967, foi dos primeiros a relacionar a preservação do patrimônio a seu uso turístico. Assunto amplamente discutido, o turismo cultural tem seus aspectos positivos, como "poder ser facilitador do diálogo entre culturas, poder melhorar as condições de vida das populações contribuindo para a redução da pobreza e ainda poder facilitar a preservação do patrimônio cultural através da angariação de recursos financeiros para a sua identificação, recuperação e divulgação"[17]. Porém, do mesmo modo criou problemas para a própria preservação do patrimônio que pretende divulgar, em especial aqueles relativos ao grande

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[15] Eduardo Nobre esclarece que o processo de gentrificação visto na região do Pelourinho ainda acontece no Brasil de forma diversa de sua definição original. Isso porque, "apesar da grande 'expulsão' da população de baixa renda, ela não foi maciçamente substituída por uma população de maior renda. [...] Por outro lado, somente 16% de casas restauradas são utilizadas para fins residenciais, enquanto que a maioria dos pisos superiores permanece vazia. Isso é um paradoxo numa cidade onde a maioria da população ganha menos de 5 salários mínimos (76% de acordo com o último censo do IBGE) e vive em condições precárias em favelas e cortiços." (Nobre, 2003, p. 10-11)

[16] Choay (2001) esclarece que a reforma de Malraux, na França dos anos 1960, com a criação do Ministério da Cultura (deixando de lado o termo 'civilização', preferido de Paul Valéry, que participou do grupo de Malraux), explorou o momento de uma democratização do saber, com o desenvolvimento do turismo cultural [de massa]. "Símbolo de sua fortuna, a criação de um ministério para assuntos culturais, que logo se torna 'da Cultura', é um modelo que não tarda a ser adotado pela maioria dos países europeus e a atravessar os mares. Malraux cria as *Maisons de la Culture*, ao passo que a 'cultura' se diversifica: culturas minoritárias, cultura popular, cultura do pobre, cultura do corriqueiro..." (Choay, 2001, p. 210).

[17] Cabral, 2011, p. 165. O tema 'turismo cultural' se estruturou como um campo de atuação próprio. Quase todas as pesquisas mencionadas nessa tese que tratam da preservação do patrimônio lidam com a problemática em algum momento. Destacamos Cabral (2011), Choay (2001), Verde (2014), Settis (2014), Ramos (2003), Castriota (2009), Figueiredo (2014).

afluxo de visitantes (tais como infraestrutura de transportes e de água, serviços de limpeza, segurança, entre outros).

Um dos casos mais emblemáticos quando se pensa em tal questão é o da cidade de Veneza (Itália). A população de seu centro histórico, que chegou a contar com quase 175 mil habitantes em 1950, passou de 95 mil moradores em 1980 para pouco mais de 55 mil em 2012[18].

> Temos, na Itália, um caso limite de cidade-museu, Veneza. Por sua localização especial e por sua configuração, o desenvolvimento industrial foi transferido, com uma solução aparentemente correta, para uma cidade vizinha, Mestre, que cresceu com a rapidez de todas as cidades industriais, mas que, justamente por isso, é um verdadeiro monstro urbanístico, um acúmulo puramente quantitativo de instalações industriais e de seus complementos habitacionais. [...] Hoje poder-se-ia dizer que Veneza é o centro histórico da vizinha e devoradora cidade industrial, destituído de outras funções que não as do turismo e respectivo comércio. (Argan, 2005, p. 81)

A cidade hoje enfrenta o dilema de ter uma economia baseada no turismo e ter que limitar a quantidade de turistas recebidos por dia. Em julho de 2016 a Unesco deu um ultimato à administração da cidade: ou são impostos limites de carga, em especial na questão de tráfego aquático, incluindo aí os grandes transatlânticos, ou o sítio será inscrito na lista de Patrimônio em perigo[19].

Mesmo quem não conhece Veneza pessoalmente já deve ter visto alguma das imagens a seguir. A questão que se coloca é: quando o número de turistas é muito? Como estabelecer esse limite?[20]



24_Turistas caminham em direção à ponte dos Suspiros, percurso que passou antes pela piazza San Marco (lugar icônico da cidade). Abaixo, transatlântico passando ao lado da punta della Dogana, edifício histórico importante para a cidade, restaurado em 2009 com projeto do arquiteto Tadao Ando, que hoje abriga parte da coleção de arte contemporânea da Fundação François Pinault.

Outra questão, que pode ser vista nas fotos a seguir é, como fazer esse turista ir além dos locais indicados nos guias '10 mais' ou nos mapas turísticos oficiais. Nesse caso, o desafio é o dos locais que não são a primeira opção para o turista – ou por serem menos conhecidos, ou por serem mais específicos. O fato é que muitos países (se não todos) definem o repasse de recursos com base em números. E o primeiro deles é o número de visitantes. Novamente, surge o dilema e fica ainda mais difícil definir a tal carga máxima de visitantes para um sítio.

O centro histórico de Lyon entrou na Lista em 1998, mas foi anos depois, em 2012, que a cidade desenvolveu um plano de gestão específico para o sítio Unesco. Tal processo exemplifica bem a dinâmica de diversos sítios, antes das revisões realizadas após a declaração de Budapeste[21]. A aprovação da inscrição da cidade na Lista coroou – e reafirmou – outra ação já em desenvolvimento na própria Lyon: a renovação e reestruturação do museu Gadagne (finalizado em 2009), que passou a abrigar um

[18] Dados Ufficio Statistica Comune di Venezia.

[19] Cf. documento Unesco WHC, decision 40 COM 7B.52, 2016.

[20] A respeito, vale analisar o estudo para cálculo de carga, desenvolvido pelo sítio de Valparaíso (Documento *Plan Director de Gestión Patrimonial de la Ciudad Puerto de Valparaíso*. 2016).

[21] Ainda que o processo de candidatura de Lyon tivesse apresentado um detalhamento minucioso dos mecanismos de preservação existentes na cidade, não havia um plano específico para a gestão do centro histórico entendido como um sítio Unesco (ainda que houvessem instrumentos para a gestão do patrimônio histórico da área).

museu da história da cidade e a funcionar como o centro de interpretação histórica da cidade[22].



25_ Centro histórico de Lyon, duas vias paralelas que levam à catedral, um dos principais pontos turísticos da área, no mesmo dia e com diferença de 15 minutos entre uma foto e outra. A rua à esquerda é a rota indicada no mapa oficial da prefeitura, enquanto a rua à direita não aparece no mapa. A distância percorrida em ambas é a mesma, com a mesma tipologia de arquitetura e comércio similar.

Uma das principais ações desenvolvidas ali é a diversificação de ofertas turísticas, alinhadas ao valor universal excepcional do sítio. Nesse sentido, o museu trabalha em contato com os operadores turísticos, procurando incentivar a divulgação de atrativos não só no núcleo central, mas também na zona de amortecimento e na parte contemporânea da cidade. Um dos objetivos é apresentar um sítio histórico como uma parte viva da cidade. Uma das estratégias que vem sendo utilizada é a realização de pequenos eventos fora do coração do centro histórico, que conseguem evitar grandes concentrações de turistas em um único local. De qualquer forma, vale lembrar que muito do material turístico produzido tem o patrocínio de atores locais (comércio, restaurantes, teatros, hotéis, até mesmo equipamentos culturais). Qual seria o interesse efetivo de tais atores na dispersão dos turistas pro uma área maior?

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Outra problemática que deve ser levantada – e que ainda demanda muita discussão – é vinculada ao patrimônio imaterial: a realização de projetos dissociados das tradições locais, desconsiderando as populações e práticas originais – e que criaram o valor que elevou o sítio à categoria de Patrimônio Mundial.

Nesse aspecto, Clara Cabral alerta para o fato que populações locais começaram a construir uma 'tradição' de acordo com as expectativas dos turistas. Aqui a ideia da 'disneyficação', dos 'parques temáticos', é também forte, com o entretenimento – tal qual mera atividade comercial – motivando a adequação da 'cultura tradicional autêntica'. Um exemplo pode ser visto no Brasil, nas Missões Jesuíticas. O sítio será abordado mais adiante, porém indicamos aqui um aspecto estritamente vinculado ao turismo, a apresentação de tradições 'fora do lugar'. Ao visitar o sítio brasileiro de São Miguel das Missões, o turista pode ter contato com índios que vivem nas proximidades, e comercializam peças de artesanato no local. Ainda que o sítio tenha um museu bem estruturado e correto, o material oferecido pelos índios não se relaciona com o que era efetivamente produzido ali. O assunto é polêmico e suscita debates acalorados muitas vezes não pela defesa de um patrimônio, mas de uma minoria que busca sua inserção na sociedade. No caso das Missões, a atenção – e os turistas – que o sítio recebe por seu status de Patrimônio Mundial faz com que esse seja um palco de destaque para a divulgação da cultura indígena. O problema é associar uma cultura imaterial [legítima e relevante] a um espaço que conta uma outra história. Novamente, é isso preservação da autenticidade de um sítio?

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Por fim, iniciamos uma reflexão sobre a razão pela qual se opta pela candidatura à lista do Patrimônio Mundial. Segundo Paulo Peixoto, vivemos hoje uma corrida ao status de Patrimônio Mundial[23]. A partir de estatísticas

[22] Cf. Lyon, 2016.

[23] A pesquisa do português Paulo Peixoto já foi mencionada aqui. Seu artigo de 2002 é um dos resultados de um grupo de pesquisa da Faculdade de Economia da Universidade de Coimbra, sobre *Intermediários culturais,*

que mostraram o maior número de inserções na Lista na década de 1990 – fato, aliás, que levou ao estabelecimento de um limite de candidaturas a serem analisadas por ano, na revisão das Diretrizes de 2005 – ele relacionou a busca a um posto na Lista com o mercado turístico. Sua análise confrontou os principais destinos turísticos mundiais ao número de bens inseridos na Lista. De forma a ser possível ver o aumento substancial de centros históricos na Europa, principal destino turístico mundial quando o tema é 'cidade'. A tabela abaixo apresenta o número de cidades Patrimônio Mundial por região, em três momentos da Lista[24].

REGIÕES	1995		2001		2016	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Europa	66	49,3	102	54,5	150	53,6
África e Oriente Médio	18	13,4	25	13,4	39	13,9
Ásia e Pacífico	22	16,4	25	13,4	42	15
América do Norte	9	6,7	12	6,4	17	6,1
América do Sul, Central e Caribe	19	14,2	23	12,3	32	11,4
TOTAL	134	100	187	100	280	100

A pesquisa também registrou que

> Não defendemos o argumento de que a obtenção do status de patrimônio mundial garante, por si só, o crescimento da procura turística. O argumento que sustentamos é que a instituição do status de patrimônio mundial pela Unesco se converteu numa distinção simbólica que as cidades e os Estados não desprezam no conjunto dos esforços empreendidos para reforçar a sua atratividade turística. (Peixoto, 2002, p. 31)

Valem ainda duas observações. Um dos mercados turísticos que mais cresceu nos últimos anos foi a China, e isso se reflete no número de centros urbanos listados na Ásia. E com relação à América Latina, o relatório periódico da região traz os cinco principais destinos turísticos ali. São eles México, Argentina, Brasil, República Dominicana e Chile[25]. O México, que na tabela acima está inserido na região 'América do Norte', conta com 13, dos 17 centros históricos registrados na região. Já os outros países, que viram seu percentual de cidades na Lista cair em relação às outras regiões, tem seu turismo baseado em áreas não urbanas (praias, áreas naturais ou sítios arqueológicos).

Integração e cooperação

Outro elemento que pode ser visto em diversos sítios Patrimônio Mundial é a integração em redes. E, em consequência, ações em cooperação. Tais redes podem ser internacionais, regionais ou mesmo locais, e podem também estar fora da esfera 'tradicional' do patrimônio. Isto é, os sítios podem estar inseridos em redes vinculadas a pesquisas tecnológicas (que utilizam o próprio sítio como local de coleta de dados), a temáticas de análise urbana, a eventos culturais (como uma feira de livro ou um festival de dança), etc. Tais redes

espaço público e cultura urbana.

[24] Quadro elaborado pela autora a partir de Peixoto (2002, p. 28) e sítio eletrônico da Organização das Cidades Patrimônio Mundial (<www.ovpm.org>).

[25] Números de 2011 indicavam 23.4 milhões de turistas no México (o 10º destino mais popular no mundo), 5.7 milhões na Argentina, 5.4 milhões no Brasil, 4.3 milhões na República Dominicana e 3.1 milhões no Chile. (documento WHC-13/37. COM/10A, p. 32).

mostram-se particularmente importantes quando se considera o porte do sítio e sua inserção geopolítica. Afinal, se quando pensamos que grandes monumentos e museus passam também por dificuldades para buscar recursos, o que dizer de sítios 'periféricos'?

A Itália é o país com o maior número de bens inscritos na Lista: eram 51 em junho de 2016. No governo federal, o ministério responsável pela proteção do patrimônio tem um departamento específico para o patrimônio mundial. E em 2006, foi aprovada uma lei que garantiu recursos para a gestão desses sítios (já mencionada aqui). Não obstante, a realidade italiana não é diferente da do resto do mundo e a luta por recursos para a preservação é uma realidade. Por recursos, entenda-se não apenas os econômicos, mas também os técnicos, incluindo os da Unesco. Dessa forma, é inevitável que se crie uma hierarquia informal entre os sítios. E você passa a competir por recursos com sítios como Florença, Nápoles ou Pompeia. Sem considerar os monumentos isolados, como o Coliseu, a Capela Sistina ou a Santa Ceia de Leonardo da Vinci.

Nesse cenário, a troca de experiências ou a realização de projetos envolvendo diversos sítios passa a ser um fator de força em tal busca por recursos. Foi com essa ideia em mente que, em 1995, surgiu o embrião de uma associação de sítios Patrimônio mundial italianos, que seria constituída em 1997 (a *Assoziazione beni italiani patrimonio mondiale Unesco*). Os sócios fundadores foram as cidades de Alberobello, Andria, Capriate San Gervasio, Ferrara, Matera, Ravenna e Vicenza, todas com sítios inscritos na Lista. Hoje a associação tem o mesmo poder de representatividade de Florença ou Roma perante o governo central.

A associação atua em especial como uma rede de comunicação e de relacionamentos políticos, tornando-se um ponto de referência como uma rede altamente qualificada. Tal fato ilustra uma terceira atuação da associação, que é a cooperação técnica, que se mostra particularmente válida quando se considera ações técnicas específicas. A associação se fortaleceu ainda com a lei 77 de 2006, a partir da qual pode desenvolver diversas ações de divulgação patrimonial, com a elaboração de guias e manuais, sinalização específica para os sítios Unesco e publicações voltadas a crianças, apresentando os sítios italianos.

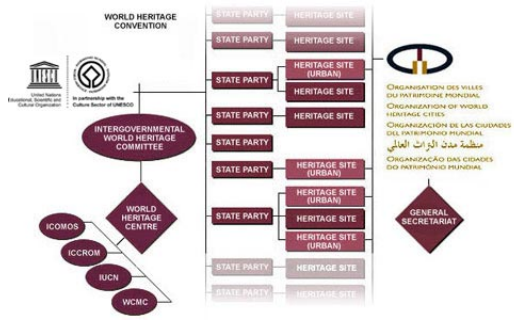
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Dentro da ideia de cooperação – e considerando o destaque que os centros históricos ganharam como vimos anteriormente – destacamos uma das organizações que apoiam as ações do WHC: a Organização das Cidades Patrimônio Mundial (OCPM). Desde o início da Lista, sítios urbanos – ou melhor, centros históricos – foram dos que figuravam em grande quantidade. Justamente por isso, começaram a surgir eventos específicos, principalmente levando em consideração a complexidade da gestão desses sítios. Nessa perspectiva, em 1991 foi realizado o primeiro Simpósio internacional de cidades Patrimônio Mundial, na cidade de Québec, no Canadá. No encerramento do evento, 41 das cidades participantes assinaram a Declaração de Québec, que apontou a intenção de se estabelecer formalmente uma rede de trabalho sobre cidades Patrimônio mundial. Na segunda edição do evento, realizado em 1993 em Fez (Marrocos), 56 cidades fundaram a OCPM[26].

A OCPM é uma organização da sociedade civil sem fins lucrativos, e "foi criada para ajudar as cidades-membro a adaptarem e melhorarem seus métodos de gestão em relação às exigências específicas de ter um sítio inscrito

[26] É mais frequente ver referências à organização pelas siglas OVPM (endereço do sítio eletrônico oficial da organização) e OWHC. As siglas se referem ao nome da organização em francês e em inglês, sendo que OCPM se refere ao nome em espanhol. Essas três são as línguas de trabalho da organização. Eles ainda consideram como línguas oficiais o árabe e o português. Entre as 56 cidades fundadoras da OCPM estavam as sete cidades italianas que criaram a *Assoziazione beni italiani patrimonio mondiale Unesco.*

na lista do Patrimônio Mundial da Unesco"[27]. Eles contam com um secretariado permanente, que fica à disposição da Unesco e do Icomos.



26_Estrutura das organizações de apoio aos sítios Patrimônio Mundial, com indicação de onde a OCPM se insere.

Já na Declaração de Québec foi criado um comitê diretor provisório, formado pelos representantes das cidades de Québec, Évora (Portugal), Bergen (Noruega), Cartagena (Colômbia), Cuzco (Peru), Fez (Marrocos), San Juan (Porto Rico) e Túnis (Tunísia). Hoje a OCPM está organizada em sete secretarias regionais[28].

Ferrara e o Delta do Pó

A cidade de Ferrara foi um dos principais centros do renascimento italiano. Sob os domínios da família Este, entre os séculos XIV e XVI circularam por ali personagens como Piero della Francesca, Leon Battista Alberti, Ludovico Ariosto, Nicolau Copérnico, Ticiano e Lucrécia Bórgia. Localizada às margens do rio Po di Volano – um braço do rio Pó que corta o norte da Itália – foi incluída na Lista do Patrimônio Mundial em 1995, com posterior ampliação da área para incluir o delta do rio Pó em 1999.

Para além do núcleo urbano murado, os domínios do ducado dos Este (família que controlava a cidade de Ferrara em seu período áureo) compreendiam também uma grande extensão de área agrícola que chegava até o delta do rio Pó, junto ao mar Adriático. Todo o território rural apresenta ainda hoje uma paisagem que foi construída pelos Este, em sistemas de canais e construções chamadas de *Delizie*. As *delizie* eram palácios dos Este, circundados por bosques, parques e jardins. Essas edificações foram construídas seguindo uma lógica de controle sobre o território, bem como para demonstrar o poder da família. Dessa forma, a partir das *delizie* era possível controlar o sistema de águas (trata-se de região semi-pantanosa), bem como garantir a produtividade econômica desenvolvida ali.



27_Acima: Castelo Estense, no centro histórico de Ferrara.
Abaixo: antiga estrutura das *delizie* no parque do Delta do Pó, região de Comacchio.

> As residências dos duques Este no delta do Pó ilustram em modo excepcional a influência da cultura do Renascimento na paisagem natural, [...] e o delta do Pó é uma excepcional paisagem cultural planejada que preserva de maneira notável a sua forma original. (Zanelli, 2009, p. 23, tradução nossa)

Esse foi o argumento para ampliação da área inscrita na Lista. Aqui ressurge o conceito alargado de patrimônio, com a questão da paisagem cultural. Como estava sendo discutido na América Latina em 1998, em Ferrara, na mesma época, se considerava a paisagem

[27] Missão da organização, disponível em: <http://www.ovpm.org/en/mission>, tradução nossa.

[28] As sete regiões são: noroeste europeu; centro-leste europeu; sul europeu e Mediterrâneo; Eurásia; África do Norte e Estados Árabes; leste africano; América Latina. A cidade que sedia a secretaria para a América Latina hoje é Valparaíso.

cultural – ou seja, a natureza alterada pelo homem – como um dos valores universais excepcionais do sítio. O interessante no sítio de Ferrara é que essa característica foi utilizada para unir ações de economia local (e tradicional) com a preservação. Obviamente, o processo não foi simples. E foi iniciado ainda antes da inserção do sítio na Lista, com o plano de expansão da cidade realizado na década de 1970.

Na época, o norte da Itália, partindo de Ferrara e de Bolonha, passaram por ações que foram depois definidas como *conservação integrada*. A ideia foi ratificada na declaração de Amsterdã, em 1975, e é até hoje reconhecido como um método eficiente de recuperação de centros históricos, buscando evitar a gentrificação local. Seja no caso de Ferrara (a primeira onde foi desenvolvida a ideia), seja no de Bolonha (onde o processo foi aprimorado e ganhou repercussão mundial), o objetivo primeiro era o de frear o crescimento das periferias das cidades. Em poucas palavras, foram estabelecidos limites para esse crescimento, ao mesmo tempo em que projetos e programas específicos incentivaram a população a retornar ao centro. Além da recuperação do centro, o plano considerou a inserção da cidade na região, pensando então, e com base em um planejamento estratégico, as regiões industriais e rurais da cidade (dentro da província, e dentro da região).

No caso de Ferrara, esse plano garantiu a preservação da área das *delizie*. Começava então o processo para mostrar – e incentivar a população – que era possível continuar produzindo de forma competitiva dentro de uma estrutura histórica. Ainda hoje, o sucesso da ação depende da participação ativa de associações de moradores e de trabalhadores. E de uma comunicação eficiente entre elas e o poder público (qualquer que seja a esfera). É interessante notar que um dos fatores que vem ajudando tal ideia a dar certo foi a crise econômica que atingiu quase todo o mundo em 2008. Na época, notou-se um afluxo de retorno de uma população que tinha saído dessas pequenas cidades em busca de trabalho em grandes centros. Com a crise, a opção de trabalhar no local onde você nasceu, inserido em uma rede de velhos conhecidos, parecia mais reconfortante – e também mais segura.

Além da paisagem, um dos aspectos de valorização dessa economia local vincula-se a um patrimônio que é imaterial. Dessa forma, além das atividades econômicas tradicionais da região, eventos histórico-culturais são desenvolvidos respeitando as características de cada localidade, mas buscando sempre uma lógica de sistema, de valorização e de inserção em todo o território. Em dois exemplos, o Palio e as *sagre*. O Palio de Ferrara é um evento de tradição medieval, com jogos e festas. Se à primeira vista o Palio pode parecer uma ação teatral de reencenação histórica (como as realizadas em alguns sítios históricos nos Estados Unidos da América, como Williamsburg), ele é na verdade uma ação que envolve os habitantes locais em seu cotidiano. Nessa perspectiva, é uma ação de valorização histórica, seja do patrimônio intangível – no que diz respeito às danças e competições –, seja do patrimônio construído – ao valorizar os espaços em que são realizadas as provas.



28_Competição de bandeiras no Palio de Ferrara, na piazza Municipale, em frente à catedral.

Já as *sagre*, são festivais ou feiras que valorizam determinada produção local. Realizadas em toda a Itália, esses festivais têm o apelo de divulgar a produção local. Mais do que isso, o de valorizar essa produção, incentivando que os jovens participem dos processos

produtivos. Um exemplo é o festival da enguia, realizado na cidade de Comacchio, que é uma das principais do Parque do Delta do Pó. A pesca da enguia, bem como seu beneficiamento, é a atividade econômica mais tradicional da região.

Os festivais estão inseridos em diversos roteiros que foram elaborados para valorizar o território, considerando públicos diversos como turistas estrangeiros ou locais e os moradores da região. O contrário, no entanto, não acontece com o Palio. Os moradores da cidade, aliás, fazem questão de apontar a diferença entre o evento realizado na cidade e o que ocorre em Siena (cidade localizada na região vizinha, a Toscana, também presente na lista do Patrimônio Mundial). Enquanto o palio realizado em Siena atrai turistas de todo o mundo, o que é realizado em Ferrara tenta se manter restrito às comunidades locais. O ponto visível dessa postura é a venda de souvenires. Enquanto em Siena se encontram bandeiras, camisetas ou ímãs de geladeira representando cada um dos grupos participantes (as *contradas*), em Ferrara só é possível compra-los nas próprias sedes dos grupos. Não sem antes uma conversa sobre o que representa aquela bandeira, sob o risco de não se conseguir compra-lo. Dentro da lógica da economia do turismo, tal diferença torna-se crucial. O resultado é que o palio de Ferrara atrai sim uma plateia grande, porém quase toda formada por moradores da província. E continua como uma atividade tradicional da cidade, incluindo também crianças o que mantém viva a tradição[29].

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Vale aqui fazer uma análise mais aprofundada sobre essas atividades vinculadas a festas tradicionais – ou a recriação de eventos específicos. Mencionamos anteriormente o perigo de tradições fora do local ou de época. Um primeiro cuidado que se deve ter é justamente avaliar em que medida é uma atividade que envolve uma comunidade em seu cotidiano, ou se configura como um evento teatral. No caso de um evento teatral, de reencenação, ela pode ser considerada uma ação [válida] de educação patrimonial.

> A destruição do passado – ou melhor, dos mecanismos sociais que vinculam nossa experiência pessoal à das gerações passadas – é um dos fenômenos mais característicos e lúgubres do final do século XX. Quase todos os jovens de hoje crescem numa espécie de presente contínuo, sem qualquer relação orgânica com o passado público da época em que vivem. (Hobsbawm, 1995, p. 13)

O risco que se corre é a criação de uma 'nova' história, fato que recentemente começou a acontecer em projetos vinculados a tradições indígenas, ou do que é acusada a reencenação realizada em Williamsburg (outro projeto já mencionado aqui, e um dos marcos iniciais das ações de preservação norte-americanas). A questão que se deve colocar é aliar um rigor científico a tais ações. É preciso ter consciência do que representa aquela reencenação, em especial para um público jovem, evitando tornar-se um grande parque temático.

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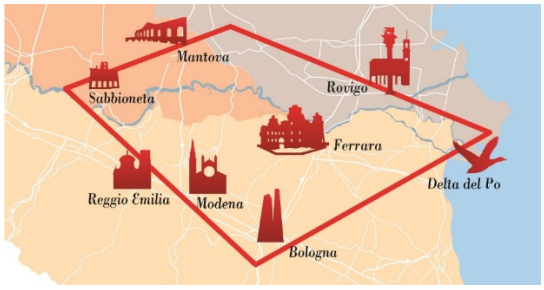
Não obstante sua relevância histórica, o sítio de Ferrara não faz parte do patrimônio mundial 'clássico', como entendido pelo imaginário popular. Ainda que a realidade de um pequeno sítio italiano não se possa comparar com o cenário de sítios efetivamente periféricos (como os localizados em países em desenvolvimento ou em locais onde não existe uma tradição de preservação), dentro do universo europeu ele é um sítio que tem mais dificuldade de acesso aos recursos disponíveis. Para buscar uma inserção – e consequentemente, acesso – a tais recursos, identificar pontos em comum com outros sítios ajuda a fortalecer a

[29] Uma comparação mais detalhada sobre os dois eventos seria bastante interessante. O fato de se abrir a um turismo mais amplo, ou mesmo 'de massa', afeta a autenticidade do palio de Siena? Houve alguma mudança significativa nos eventos em função do grande afluxo turístico ou a tradição conseguiu se manter?

sua preservação. Nesse sentido, é possível destacar a atuação do sítio junto à OCPM e à universidade. Uma contribuição relevante da universidade para a preservação do centro histórico de Ferrara está na utilização de edifícios históricos. Ainda no âmbito do projeto de conservação integrada realizado nos anos 1970 para a cidade foi definido que os departamentos da universidade ocupariam os edifícios históricos institucionais que não tinham mais uso (por exemplo, o curso de medicina se instalou no antigo hospital). Dessa forma a prefeitura garantiu não apenas o restauro do edifício, mas também sua manutenção, que fica sob responsabilidade dos departamentos ali instalados.

Há também a colaboração com projetos de pesquisa. Aliás, tal é uma característica vista em quase todos os sítios Patrimônio Mundial: é a participação ativa das universidades [30]. Raramente envolvidas no processo direto na gestão cotidiana, elas quase sempre participam ativamente dos processos para elaboração de planos de gestão, diretrizes de monitoramento, definição de indicadores, elaboração de inventários e projetos, etc.

O sítio também busca inserção em temáticas de preservação que lhe são peculiares, com destaque para gestão de risco de patrimônio em zonas propensas a terremotos. Após o terremoto de 2012, um projeto pontual reuniu as cidades Patrimônio Mundial da zona afetada, com o objetivo de gerenciar os recursos disponibilizados pelo governo italiano em âmbito regional e de organizar os esforços técnicos na região, com as universidades de Ferrara, Bologna e Modena trabalhando juntas. Nesse âmbito, destacamos também um projeto em parceria com a cidade de Valparaíso – também em zona de terremotos – desenvolvido entre 2007 e 2008[31].



29_Projeto 'Quadrilatero Unesco', reunindo os sítios Unesco afetados pelo terremoto de 2012.

Parque Nacional Mesa Verde

Agora recuamos um pouco no tempo. O Parque Nacional de Mesa Verde já foi mencionado aqui algumas vezes. Novamente, ele nos interessa como registro de uma das primeiras ações de cooperação lideradas fora da Europa, e depois da assinatura da Convenção do Patrimônio Mundial. Falamos da *World Conference on Cultural Parks*, realizada em 1984, organizada e sediada no parque.

A Conferência começou a ser organizada logo depois da inserção do parque nacional de Mesa Verde na Lista. A intenção era estabelecer um fórum de troca de experiências a partir das características de Mesa Verde: um sítio arqueológico em meio a uma área de preservação natural. A conferência foi estruturada em três grandes temas[32]. O primeiro, 'tecnologia e preservação', discutiu os impactos das mudanças tecnológicas e como deveria ser a abordagem a ela. Foi uma sessão essencialmente técnica, com discussões sobre restauro de tecidos, por exemplo.

O segundo tema, 'turismo e usos', discutiu a necessidade de novas abordagens de gestão de parques culturais, considerando o

[30] Podemos citar como exemplo dois projetos de pesquisa: um que realizou todo o mapeamento e inventário do centro histórico, considerando o perímetro dentro das muralhas, que é aquele contemplado como núcleo central pela Unesco. O outro foi realizado após o terremoto que atingiu a cidade em 2012, com o cadastramento e levantamento de danos de edifícios de interesse histórico no centro da cidade.

[31] Chamado 'Mar vasto', o projeto foi liderado pela Universidade de Ferrara e contou com patrocínio do BID e teve o objetivo de identificar mapas de risco específicas para patrimônio.

[32] Cf. NPS, documento de setembro de 1984.

impacto dos turistas e atratividade econômica. Por fim, o tema 'parques culturais e culturas nativas', abordou a dinâmica entre as populações originárias da área, e a necessidade de incluí-los nos processos de planejamento, de gestão e de interpretação da área.

Cinquenta países foram convidados para a Conferência, sendo os conferencistas profissionais que trabalhavam na gestão dos parques norte-americanos. Desta forma, a ideia da Conferência era discutir algumas questões chave identificadas como potencialmente problemáticas a partir de sítios norte-americanos, como um ponto de início para discussão sobre as alternativas possíveis.

A realização da conferência nos mostra a participação ativa dos EUA no momento de implantação da Lista. Os Estados Unidos foram o primeiro país a assinar a Convenção de 1972, e colaborou ativamente para a estruturação do Fundo do Patrimônio Mundial, com a definição de valores de contribuição de cada país. E participando das negociações para garantir novas adesões à Convenção, como no caso da participação do Reino Unido, que a ratificou apenas em 1984. Apesar dessa atuação importante – e até crucial para a efetivação da Convenção – a partir dos anos 1990 os EUA se afastaram do Patrimônio Mundial.

O principal ponto de impasse é a própria estrutura legal de preservação do país. Por uma questão de defesa à propriedade, não existe uma figura similar ao mecanismo do tombamento brasileiro. A preservação é realizada a partir de inventários, de ações de conscientização e de mecanismos fiscais e financeiros que incentivem a preservação. Mas a obrigatoriedade legal da preservação só existe para os casos de propriedade estatal. Tal aspecto inviabilizou a candidatura do centro histórico de Savannah (no estado da Georgia).

No início dos anos 1990, foi apresentada uma proposta para inclusão de seu centro histórico – representativo do período colonial norte-americano – considerando seu sistema viário e edifícios públicos. O parecer o Icomos à época foi que o processo deveria também incluir outros edifícios e o tecido urbano em si. Dessa forma, seria necessário coletar uma carta de apoio à candidatura de todos os proprietários, se comprometendo com a preservação da propriedade tal qual encontrada de forma definitiva, impedindo a continuidade do processo[33]. Tal exigência – manter uma área urbana integral da forma como se encontra em determinado momento – é o principal motivador das críticas que identificação nos mecanismos de preservação da Lista um 'congelamento' do sítio a ser preservado.

Hoje o NPS tenta uma reaproximação[34], que passa por um processo de autocrítica válido: identificar, afinal, qual parte do nosso patrimônio nacional tem os valores que o qualifiquem para representar a humanidade?

Para além das fronteiras

A ideia de um patrimônio mundial, ao ser entendido como algo maior que o patrimônio de uma Nação, pode ser reconhecido para além de fronteiras geográficas. O texto da Convenção de 1972 já considerava tal possibilidade em seu artigo 11[35], e na revisão de

[33] Cf. Morris, 2015. No caso de países com legislação similar à brasileira, a existência do instrumento do tombamento permite ao governo federal se responsabilizar por sua preservação.

[34] Cf. Morris (2015) e Hazen (2008).

[35] "Artigo 11. 3. A inscrição de um bem na lista do património mundial apenas poderá ser feita com o consentimento do Estado interessado. A inscrição de um bem situado num território que seja objecto de reivindicação de soberania ou de jurisdição por vários Estados não prejudicará em nada os direitos das partes no diferendo." (documento Unesco, 1972)

1980 das Diretrizes Operacionais se mencionou a possibilidade de uma candidatura apresentada por mais de um país. Porém, foi a revisão de 2005 que inseriu a figura de um patrimônio transfronteiriço.

Patrimônio Mundial transfronteiriços e seriados

As Diretrizes de 2005 oficializaram dois novos tipos de candidaturas: bens transfronteiriços ou seriados. Na prática, tais tipologias já existiam, no entanto, ao estabelecer nas Diretrizes as duas possibilidades, o WHC sinalizou a relevância desse tipo de candidatura, que passou a ser incentivada pela Unesco.

O primeiro tipo (transfronteiriços) trata de um território que se espalha por mais de um país. Ele está normalmente vinculado a sítios naturais, como é o caso de cadeias montanhosas. O outro tipo, os bens seriados, contempla um conjunto que tenha partes que se relacionam por meio de vínculos culturais, sociais ou funcionais. Dessa forma, cada uma das partes contribuiria para a compreensão geral do valor universal excepcional do conjunto. Vale ressaltar que o tipo seriado pode ou não ser uma candidatura transnacional, sendo que o mesmo raciocínio não se aplica aos bens transfronteiriços.

Em julho de 2016, a Lista apresentava 34 sítios transfronteiriços, contemplando 59 países signatários [36] . Esses sítios começaram a ser inscritos na Lista logo em seu início: os primeiros, a floresta Białowieża (Polônia e Bielorússia, transfronteiriço) e um sistema de quatro parques em um complexo de glaciares e montanhas (Canadá e EUA, transfronteiriço e seriado), foram inscritos na Lista em 1979. Depois foram 18% na década de 1980, 23% na década de 1990, 27% no primeiro decênio do século XXI, marca igualada entre 2011 e 2016[37]. Outro exemplo, e bastante recente, foi a entrada na Lista de um conjunto de obras do arquiteto Le Corbusier[38]. A candidatura contemplou 17 obras localizadas em sete países (Alemanha, Argentina, Bélgica, França, Índia, Japão e Suíça). A aprovação da candidatura foi divulgada pela Unesco como um convite à cooperação internacional.

Para as candidaturas envolvendo mais de um país, as Diretrizes recomendam expressamente o estabelecimento de uma espécie de comitê, visando a gestão uniforme do bem. Afinal, aqui o desafio da interlocução de diferentes instrumentos de gestão se agrava, com a existência de estruturas legais de preservação diferentes.

Além do incentivo a candidaturas novas baseadas na transnacionalidade, também passou a ser incentivada a ampliação de sítios já inseridos na Lista. Tal foi o caso, por exemplo, do sítio de Ferrara: inserido na Lista em 1995, a área foi ampliada para a inclusão do Delta do Pó em 1999. Mesmo não sendo um caso de ampliação transnacional, o dossiê de candidatura colocou em prática a ideia de que é importante entender um sítio complexo com todas as suas partes. E que a ideia de que pequenas partes formam um todo reforça a relevância do sítio, em especial de seu valor universal excepcional. Tal seria uma estratégia interessante em especial para os casos de sítios que não contam com uma grande estrutura de preservação, já que seria possível pensar na ampliação das ações de forma mais gradual. Outro exemplo, que vai além da atuação na

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[36] Dados estatísticos oficiais do WHC. Aqui a distribuição entre sítios naturais e culturais é mais equilibrada, sendo 18 culturais, 14 naturais e 2 mistos. Um deles está inscrito na lista de Patrimônio em perigo (reserva natural do Monte Nimba, na Guiné e Costa do Marfim).

[37] Como comparação, a divisão de inscrições dos sítios na Lista em julho de 2016 era: 1978-1980: 8%; 1981-1990: 24%; 1991-2000: 34%; 2001-2010: 21%; 2011-2016: 13%. (Dados produzidos pela autora a partir das estatísticas oficiais do WHC)

[38] The Architectural work of Le Corbusier, an outstanding contribution to the Modern Movement (processo WHC.1321rev-2016).

Lista, é o caso das Missões Jesuíticas dos Guaranis.

Missões (jesuíticas e franciscanas)

Vamos inicialmente abordar as Missões Jesuíticas, entendendo como foi formado o conjunto do patrimônio missioneiro jesuítico nas Américas.

A ordem católica jesuítica teve um papel importante na colonização das Américas portuguesa e espanhola. Os missionários jesuítas, com suas escolas, tinham a missão de catequizar os indígenas, e inseri-los na visão de mundo cristã. No sul da América, essa lógica adquiriu uma outra proporção, com a fundação dos Trinta Povos das Missões. Instalados em uma área nos atuais Argentina, Brasil e Paraguai, os índios Guarani, que ocupavam a região, submeteram-se às missões em troca da proteção dos missionários espanhóis aos ataques dos bandeirantes paulistas que buscavam escraviza-los, inserindo-os na produção econômica colonial portuguesa[39].

As Missões funcionavam, ao mesmo tempo, como um sistema de proteção e exploração dos indígenas – ao protege-los dos bandeirantes e ao submete-los ao trabalho na agricultura local. O processo não foi pacífico, e há registros de rebeliões indígenas que, com o tempo, se apaziguaram. Durante o século XVII e início do XVIII, as reduções missionais atenderam aos interesses das Coroas espanhola e portuguesa. No entanto, em meados do século XVIII os jesuítas passaram a ser vistos com desconfiança, e tanto portugueses quanto espanhóis temiam a autonomia existente nos Trinta Povos das Missões. Tal descontentamento com os jesuítas levou a sua expulsão de Portugal, em 1759, da Espanha em 1767, e por fim das Américas em 1768. Com a saída dos jesuítas, os índios – que permaneceram nas missões – foram massacrados pelas tropas ibéricas[40].



30_Planta indicando a amplitude do sistema missioneiro jesuíta na América do Sul, com localização das 30 missões guaranis, situadas nos atuais Argentina, Brasil e Paraguai.

E dessa forma, as estruturas construídas das missões, que chegaram a abrigar mais de um milhão de pessoas, ficaram abandonadas, sendo que muitos de seus remanescentes hoje se encontram em estado de ruína.

Ressaltamos ainda que o sítio brasileiro de São Miguel das Missões é representativo também do início das ações de preservação no país. Um dos primeiros trabalhos de restauro realizados pelo Iphan, logo após a sua criação em 1937, São Miguel contou com a supervisão próxima de Lucio Costa, que fez o projeto para a instalação do museu local. O projeto seguiu a lógica arquitetônica das residências das Missões, porém construído como uma caixa de vidro. O projeto de consolidação da torre de São Miguel, bem como a pesquisa para identificação dos vestígios do conjunto das missões continuou ao longo de todo o século XX[41]. O museu ali

[39] Cf. Botelho et al (2015).

[40] Guerras Guaraníticas (1754-1756), ver Botelho et al (2015).

[41] Ainda hoje as ações de pesquisa relativas ao levantamento arquitetônico da área continuam. Em parceria do Iphan e da Universidade Federal do Rio Grande do Sul, foi realizado o levantamento tridimensional digital de São Miguel das Missões e São Nicolau. O projeto é um bom exemplo de pesquisa em alta tecnologia a favor da preservação (ver <https://www.ufrgs.br/lafoto/>).

instalado continua a ser uma referência importante, principalmente fora do eixo Rio-Minas, que dominou as ações do Iphan em seus primeiros anos.

O processo na Unesco

> It was pointed out that this property [ruins of São Miguel das Missoes] belongs to a series of similar properties and that Argentina, on its side, has announced its intention of proposing the Jesuit missions of San Ignacio Mini and Santa Maria la Mayor. (Unesco WHC, document SC/83/Conf. 009/8, item VIII.29)



31_As ruínas de São Miguel das Missões. No primeiro plano, à direita, o edifício que abriga o museu projetado por Lucio Costa.

O sítio das Missões Jesuíticas entrou na Lista ainda em sua primeira fase de atuação: em 1983, com a candidatura brasileira de São Miguel das Missões. Logo no ano seguinte, o sítio foi ampliado, a partir da candidatura argentina e com o entendimento que São Miguel fazia parte de um sistema que incluía também outros cinco remanescentes do patrimônio missioneiro, todos localizados na Argentina.

Além dos seis remanescentes existentes no Brasil e na Argentina, encontram-se na Lista do Patrimônio Mundial outros dois sítios relacionados ao sistema missioneiro: as Missões de Chiquitos, na Bolívia, e as Missões da Santíssima Trindade do Paraná, no Paraguai.

Ainda que a Unesco compartilhe a visão da importância de se tratar esses sítios em sistema (há uma recomendação no processo do sítio paraguaio para o estabelecimento de um contato com Brasil e Argentina no sentido de inseri-lo aos outros sítios missioneiros na Lista[42]), a verdade é que sua atuação nesse sentido ainda é muito fraca. A percepção que se tem da atuação da Unesco por diversos gestores de sítios é que ela é mais fiscalizadora que propositiva. Sim, existe a rede formada – em especial – pelo Iccrom, Icomos e IUCN, além do próprio Centro do Patrimônio Mundial, mas eles atuam quando acionados. E sempre no sentido de uma assessoria, mas considerando que a iniciativa e as ideias devem ser locais.

> Yo creo que la Unesco, no que ha podido hacer, solamente de vez en cuando, son asistencias técnicas, no tiene capacidad económica para afrontar otra alternativa. Con lo cual esto sirve más que nada para mentalizar los países para que se ocupen de su patrimonio. Creo que Unesco se he equivocado en la formulación de todo ese proceso. Porque ha visto con ojos demasiado de puntura, unos sitios que fano parte de un sistema. E no ha visto el sistema. E no ver el sistema… Es lo mismo que sucede con la región minera del Brasil. Ha declarado Oro Preto, Mariana, Diamantina, pero no se entiende que esto es una región que funciona con una forma de producción, de comunicación, con valores culturales... (Ramón Gutiérrez, em entrevista à autora)

Mercosul Cultural: uma alternativa?

Tal ideia de pensar a preservação dos sítios missioneiros em sistema foi ampliada recentemente dentro do Mercosul Cultural[43]. Em maio de 2015, foram reconhecidos como um bem cultural do Mercosul sítios missioneiros na Argentina, Brasil, Paraguai,

[42] Para o sítio paraguaio ser considerado dentro do mesmo processo, como um único sítio preservado é o estabelecimento de parâmetros de preservação iguais para todos os remanescentes. Como já apontamos aqui, uma das exigências da Unesco para considerar candidaturas em mais de um país é a instituição de um Comitê de gestão, que busque elaborar ações de preservação em conjunto.

[43] Criado em 2012, o Mercosul Cultural reconheceu até julho de 2016 outros dois conjuntos, além das Missões Jesuíticas: a ponte internacional Barão de Mauá (Brasil e Uruguai) e *la Payada* (Argentina, Chile, Paraguai e Uruguai).

Uruguai e Bolívia. No entanto, o processo para estruturação da proposta começou bem antes, em 2006. A ideia foi lançada em uma reunião do Centro Regional para a Salvaguarda do Patrimônio Cultural Imaterial da América Latina (Crespial). A primeira proposta foi a de realizar um inventário regional sobre a cultura Guarani. Foram realizadas diversas reuniões para o estabelecimento da melhor metodologia, até que em 2008 foi assinado um Protocolo de Intenções entre os cinco países para realização do registro[44]. A partir desse processo é que o conjunto foi reconhecido pelo Mercosul.

Outro resultado desses encontros foi o estabelecimento da 'Rota das Missões Jesuíticas Guaranis, Moxos e Chiquitos'. O projeto é uma proposta de itinerário cultural, um percurso físico percorrido em determinada época onde se produziram novas expressões culturais. A ideia dos itinerários vem sendo estimulada pela Unesco e pelo Icomos como uma forma de promoção do patrimônio cultural, bem como um estímulo ao desenvolvimento de projetos que envolvam diversas tipologias de patrimônio (paisagens, imóveis, sítios arqueológicos, além dos imateriais). Trabalhar identidades regionais – ou mesmo locais – dentro de um mesmo sistema cultural seria uma forma de contribuir não apenas para a preservação desse patrimônio, mas também para o desenvolvimento regional sustentável[45].

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Ainda que não seja possível fazer uma correlação direta, vale notar que sítios das Missões Jesuíticas e do Parque Nacional Mesa Verde possuem algumas características em comum na sua preservação. Em especial a busca da valorização dos povos que habitavam originariamente o local, por meio de seu patrimônio móvel e intangível. Além disso, ambos inserem a sua preservação dentro de um sistema (no caso de Mesa Verde, o de parques nacionais nos EUA), que valoriza e justifica ainda mais a preservação daqueles sítios.

Missões de San Antonio

Tal visão de sistema também está presente em outro sítio Unesco localizado nos EUA: as Missões de San Antonio. Ao contrário do parque de Mesa Verde, que ilustra o início das ações de preservação norte-americanas, o sítio das Missões de San Antonio são o resultado da retomada da participação do país na Lista (a candidatura foi aprovada em 2015).

O conjunto das Missões de San Antonio é formado por cinco núcleos localizados ao longo do rio San Antonio (sul do Estado do Texas), construídos no começo do século XVIII. Tal como o sítio das Missões Jesuíticas, o de San Antonio nos mostra o processo de colonização nas Américas. No caso, a partir de missionários franciscanos, em nome da Coroa espanhola. Também ali os missioneiros buscaram evangelizar os indígenas locais, no caso, os Coahuiltecan. No sítio é possível ver não apenas edificações do período, como remanescentes do sistema agrícola realizado ali. E a arquitetura local mostra traços da arte indígena, em especial nos motivos que remetem à natureza[46].



32_Fachada da igreja da Missão Concepción

[44] Em 2007 foram realizadas duas reuniões (em São Miguel das Missões, Brasil, e na sede do Crespial, Cusco, Peru). Em 2010, após a assinatura do protocolo de intenções, foi realizada outro encontro (em Córdoba, Argentina) para discutir ações em toda a região cultural dos povos Guarani.

[45] Sobre o Mercosul Cultural, consultar o sítio eletrônico do Iphan (<www.iphan.gov.br>).

[46] Cf. processo Unesco WHC 1466-2015.



33_Mapa com as colônias espanholas no século XVII, com a identificação dos sítios Patrimônio Mundial vinculados a esse processo histórico.

Ao analisar o processo de candidatura do sítio salta aos olhos a forma como o sítio foi inserido em um sistema muito mais amplo – e transnacional. Um primeiro mapa localiza o conjunto no processo maior que ele representa (o da colonização espanhola nas Américas). Logo em seguida, apresentam a relação que o conjunto tinha com os outros sítios presentes nos EUA. Vale ressaltar que nesse primeiro momento não há menção a quais sítios integram a lista do Patrimônio Mundial. Ou seja, é uma visão de conjunto, que buscou mostrar a relevância do sistema que aquele conjunto pretende representar.



34_Mapa com as rotas na Nova Espanha.
Vermelho: El Camino Real de California; Amarelo: Juan Bautista de Anza; Verde escuro: El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro; Verde claro: El Camino Real de los Tejas.

Em um segundo momento, foi feita uma análise comparativa entre as propriedades presentes na Lista que se relacionavam com as Missões de San Antonio. Em tal quadro, foi feita uma comparação entre os estados de conservação e os valores que cada um dos sítios representam.

Properties currently inscribed on the World Heritage List are in shaded boxes MISSION(S)	Number of attributes that remain from the colonial mission period	Condition of the physical attributes from the colonial mission period	Presence of the physical values and attributes necessary to convey the potential Outstanding Universal Value of the property [criteria (ii), (iv)]			Physical and non-physical attributes related to mission life persist in the property and/or the surrounding area [criteria (ii), (iii)]		
			Coloniza-tion	Evangeli-zation	Defense	Active religious congregations using the ecclesiastical infrastructure	Active social institutions that have been his-torically linked to the missions	Other
ENSEMBLES OF MISSIONS								
Five San Antonio Missions in Texas (United States of America)	50+	Good	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Six missions in south-central California (United States of America)	25	Good	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Five Franciscan Missions in the Sierra Gorda of Querétaro (Mexico)	10	Good		✓		✓	✓	✓
Seven missions in southern California (United States of America)	19	Fair	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Seven missions in Baja California (Mexico)	7	Fair	✓	✓		✓		✓
Six Jesuit Missions of the Chiquitos (Bolivia)	7	Good	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓
Four Baroque Churches of the Philippines	4	Good		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Sixteen Churches of Chiloé (Chile)	16	Good		✓				✓
Five Jesuit Missions of the Guaranís (Argentina and Brazil)	4	Ruins	✓	✓	✓			
Jesuit Missions of La Santísima Trinidad de Paraná and Jesús de Tavarangue (Argentina)	2	Ruins	✓	✓	✓			
Four Salinas Missions	4	Ruins		✓			✓	

Quadro comparativo apresentado no processo de candidatura das Missões de San Antonio[47].

As Diretrizes Unesco enfatizam a necessidade da realização de tal análise, considerando que a partir de estudos desta ordem é possível analisar o sítio em sua representatividade mundial. Para além de uma mera pesquisa, o processo coloca em contato os gestores de tais sítios, criando uma comunicação que prescinde da intermediação da Unesco, Icomos ou Iccrom.

Ainda, ressalta-se que um processo de candidatura, na complexidade conforme é realizada hoje, não é feito de forma isolada[48]. No caso das Missões de San Antonio, além da equipe do NPS – para além do Texas – colaboraram também técnicos do Icomos norte-americano, da Espanha, Canadá e México.

[47] Unesco Nomination File. San Antonio Missions. Nomination to the World Heritage List by the United States of America, 2014, p. 173.

[48] O chefe do escritório de assuntos internacionais do NPS, Stephen Morris, fez uma análise sobre o custo para se produzir material de tal complexidade: "With rising standards for nominations, developing these documents has become very time-consuming and expensive. [...] While the NPS OIA provides oversight and guidance, the proponents of nominations are responsible for the research, writing, and production of the nomination document, as well as the costs of workshops and hosting the evaluation visits by ICOMOS or IUCN. This is asking a lot of groups that may not be well funded and dependent on volunteer resources." (Morris, 2015, p.4)

Encruzilhadas *ou* A lista de Patrimônio em perigo

Ao enfrentar tantos desafios, inevitavelmente surgem questionamentos sobre o status de Patrimônio Mundial. Seja por dificuldades do cotidiano, por ameaças ambientais ou por incompatibilidade de visões dos atores envolvidos, um sítio pode se encontrar em uma situação em que deve fazer uma escolha. Considerando que a Unesco não tem como intervir diretamente em um bem inserido na Lista, o mecanismo criado foi a lista de Patrimônio em perigo.

Tal mecanismo pode ser muito eficiente para a preservação de um sítio, tanto para angariar recursos, quanto para despertar uma consciência sobre o risco em que se encontra determinado patrimônio. O último cenário é o que nos interessa aqui, e podemos analisá-lo a partir de duas óticas. Uma, em que a tomada de consciência gera resultados em prol da preservação do sítio. Outra, em que o processo deflagra um questionamento sobre a validade de permanecer na Lista. No primeiro cenário, podemos considerar como exemplos Pompeia e Ouro Preto[49].

Pompeia e Ouro Preto

> If for any reason, the on-going initiatives fail to deliver substantial progress in the next two years, the World Heritage Centre and the Advisory Bodies recommend to the Committee to consider the possible inscription on the List of World Heritage in Danger in 2015. (SOC report 2013, decision 35 COM 7B.96)

Dessa forma terminava o relatório de estado de conservação de 2013 (*SOC report*) para o sítio de Pompeia, elaborado pelo Iccrom e Icomos para o WHC. Como causas que afetavam a boa preservação do sítio já antes de 2013, e se mostravam agravadas, estavam o modelo de gestão, recursos humanos (em especial, falta de capacitação da equipe) e pressões dos visitantes.

Pompeia é o museu com a segunda maior visitação na Itália. Fica atrás apenas do Coliseu (Roma) e à frente da galeria Uffizi (Florença)[50]. Por isso, um dos grandes desafios para a sua preservação é lidar com a quantidade de turistas que recebe diariamente. Outro problema estrutural do sítio era vinculado à sua gestão. Questões burocráticas dificultavam compras e contratações, que ficavam parados em processos lentos e muitas vezes com resultados não adequados ao objetivo final.

A ameaça de inserir um dos sítios que iniciou o processo contemporâneo de preservação de patrimônio na Itália (e em boa medida no mundo), ainda na época pré unificação, teve um impacto enorme na mídia e na sociedade. E provocou uma revolução na gestão do sítio de Pompeia[51].

A principal mudança no sítio começou na estrutura federal de preservação. Dentro do sistema de *Soprintendenze* – ou as diretorias regionais de preservação – já existia uma unidade específica para a gestão do sítio. No entanto, o fato de estar vinculada diretamente ao ministério provocou os problemas burocráticos mencionados anteriormente. A burocracia nesse caso foi um problema pois impossibilitava contratações emergenciais

[49] A pesquisa está centrada em sítios nas Américas e na Europa, mas é importante registrar que bons exemplos dos benefícios de entrar na lista de Patrimônio em perigo podem ser vistos na África e na Ásia, em especial no caso de sítios naturais.

[50] Dados de visitação dos museus italianos disponíveis no site do Ministero dei beni e delle attività culturali e del turismo (<http://www.beniculturali.it/mibac/export/MiBAC/sito-MiBAC/Contenuti/MibacUnif/Comunicati/visualizza_asset.html_1708275412.html>).

[51] O sítio está inserido na Lista do Patrimônio Mundial desde 1997, como Áreas arqueológicas de Pompeia, Herculano e Torre Annunziata.

qualificada, ou a realização de parcerias com instituições privadas.


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Pompeii ruins preservation to begin in 2014 after years of neglect

The Italian government, the EU and a consortium of academics and corporate sponsors will rescue the city from 79AD

Lizzy Davies, Rome
The Guardian, Friday 30 August 2013 17.12 BST

l'Italie laisse les ruines de Pompéi à l'abandon

LE FIGARO

35_A inclusão de Pompeia na lista de Patrimônio mundial em perigo, em 2014, nos jornais The Guardian e Le Figaro.

Com o ultimato da Unesco, em 2011 foi criado o *Grande Progetto Pompei*. Em uma parceria público-privada, foi criado um Comitê de gestão, com representantes das esferas federal, regional e municipal, além de setores privados e universidades. A partir disso, uma visão administrativa de gestão estabeleceu metas claras, a curto, médio e longo prazo. O olhar de gestão de fora do campo foi essencial aqui. Essa visão pode estabelecer diversas parcerias com instituições públicas e privadas, em campos como restauro, divulgação, museologia... Tal abertura, aliada a uma transparência total na gestão dos recursos disponíveis e à elaboração de planos [52] com objetivos claros e mensuráveis, atraiu profissionais altamente qualificados, e também permitiu o estabelecimento de parcerias com universidades e instituições estrangeiras em projetos de longo prazo. Ainda, tal transparência permitiu que se rompesse com vícios da administração pública, que impediam a qualificação das ações, em especial, as de restauro e conservação.

*

> The World Heritage Committee [...] 2. Expresses concern for the damage caused by the 15 April 2003 fire, which destroyed an 18th century building in the historical centre of Ouro Preto; [...] 5. Requests the State Party to submit a report to the World Heritage Centre by 1 February 2004 in order that the World Heritage Committee can examine the state of conservation of the property at its 28th session in 2004. (Unesco WHC, documento WHC-03/27.COM/7B)

Como em Pompeia, vislumbrar a possibilidade de entrar na lista de Patrimônio em perigo fez com que algo se movesse na inércia em que estava submersa a bela Ouro Preto. No entanto, se algo de efetivo foi feito, não chegou a ser a revolução vista em terras italianas.

Nas Américas, tal como o parque de Mesa Verde nos EUA, Ouro Preto foi um dos primeiros alvos de preservação no Brasil. Ainda antes da criação do Iphan, decretos municipais de 1931 e 1932 estabeleceram a preservação das fachadas coloniais [53]. Em 1933, o presidente Getúlio Vargas declarou a cidade como monumento nacional. Mas foi em 1938, após a criação do Iphan (então Sphan), que foram estabelecidos critérios jurídicos para a sua preservação. A legislação, no entanto, não garantiu a sua preservação, e a cidade ainda luta, constantemente, contra danos provocados pelo crescimento urbano (em especial na década de 1950, com a intensificação da indústria de ferro na região) e com o fluxo de turistas. Na década de 1980, o Iphan instalou um escritório técnico

[52] O *Grande Progetto Pompei* atua a partir de cinco planos específicos: plano de obras, plano de segurança, plano de capacitação, plano de fruição e comunicação e plano de conhecimento (aqui entendido como pesquisa, compreensão das especificidades do sítio). Através do endereço www.pompeiisites.org é possível acompanhar a evolução de cada um dos planos, bem como a aplicação dos recursos disponíveis.

[53] Um relato sobre a trajetória da preservação do patrimônio em Ouro Preto pode ser visto em Leonardo B. Castriota (2009, a partir da página 131).

na cidade, com uma equipe multidisciplinar que apresentou a candidatura da cidade à Lista da Unesco. Ouro Preto foi o primeiro sítio brasileiro presente na Lista e a terceira cidades das Américas (as primeiras foram Quito, no Equador, e Guadalajara, no México).



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14/04/2003 - 23h09

Incêndio atinge construções dos séculos 17 18 em Ouro Preto

da **Folha Online**
da **Agência Folha**, em Belo Horizonte

Um incêndio destruiu na noite desta segunda-feira um conjunto de construções históric principal praça de Ouro Preto, em Minas Gerais. Construções dos séculos 17 e 18 foram atingidas. Não há informações sobre feridos.

Segundo o Corpo de Bombeiros, o fogo teria começado no segundo andar de um casarã praça Tiradentes que abrigava o antigo hotel Pilão e duas lojas. O incêndio, iniciado por das 18h, provocou o desabamento do casarão.

O fogo, de causas ainda desconhecidas, se espalhou com facilidade. Os bombeiros afirm não houve como controlar as chamas porque as casas eram feitas de material altament inflamável, como pau-a-pique e assoalhos de madeira.

Nas casas destruídas funcionavam uma joalheria, um café, uma loja de artesanato, uma farmácia, uma loja de móveis e um hotel na parte superior.

36_Reportagem de 2003, sobre incêndio no centro de Ouro Preto, com destaque para a vistoria a ser realizada pelo Icomos..

O Iphan continuou atuando na cidade, trabalhando em conjunto com a prefeitura de Ouro Preto, que mantem representante no grupo de assessoramento técnico (GAT) presente na cidade, criado na década de 1990. Sempre em confronto com o crescimento da cidade, o grupo desenvolveu uma série de diretrizes para uso e ocupação do solo no centro da cidade, que passou a ser considerada uma zona de proteção especial, e que foram publicadas pelo Iphan em 2004. Em paralelo, o plano diretor do município de 1996 também apresentou mecanismos de proteção, incluindo assistência técnica aos proprietários de imóveis. A revisão do plano, dez anos depois, reforçou essa visão de uma gestão compartilhada, com a criação de uma secretaria municipal para patrimônio e desenvolvimento urbano, conselhos municipais de patrimônio cultural e natural e de políticas urbanas, e mecanismos de financiamento, com a criação de um fundo de preservação do patrimônio. Em 2010, o Iphan estabeleceu novos critérios de intervenção em Ouro Preto, incluindo normativas para conduzir investigações sobre intervenções danosas ao patrimônio.

No entanto, todas essas ações não impediram os problemas de conservação relatados.

O problema que atraiu a atenção da Unesco em 2003 foi um incêndio, que não teve relatório conclusivo, mas que muitos apontaram como criminoso [54]. Na época, a cidade não contava com um plano específico para a gestão do sítio Unesco, e os instrumentos municipais eram bastante frágeis. Após a vistoria realizada pelo Icomos – que gerou o relatório alertando o WHC para a situação de perigo na cidade – o Iphan e a prefeitura se mobilizaram. A primeira medida foi a lei para uso e ocupação do solo de 2004. Outro ponto foi a colaboração dos técnicos do Icomos da Argentina e do Peru, para o estabelecimento de diretrizes nessa nova legislação que pudessem trazer mais segurança ao patrimônio urbano da cidade.

Ainda que Ouro Preto tenha saído do foco na época, a cidade ainda conta com uma posição delicada. Seu plano de gestão não conseguiu estabelecer uma comunicação efetiva com os outros instrumentos de gestão do município, dificultando muito sua aplicação. Além disso, a cidade é politicamente muito vulnerável a pressões turísticas, o que dificulta qualquer tipo de ação de médio e longo prazo.

Liverpool

Os dois sítios vistos agora tiveram suas candidaturas à Lista aprovadas antes da Declaração de Budapeste, em 2002: o sítio de Ouro Preto é de 1980 e o de Pompeia, 1996. Ao contrário, a candidatura de Liverpool à Lista foi aprovada em 2004, e como Valparaíso, também apresentou um processo bastante consistente e

[54] Cf. Lopes, 2003.

com um plano de gestão bem detalhado. No entanto, em 2012, Liverpool entrou para a lista de Patrimônio em perigo – ou a lista vermelha da Unesco –, por conta da aprovação pela prefeitura da construção de um grande complexo comercial próximo à área preservada.

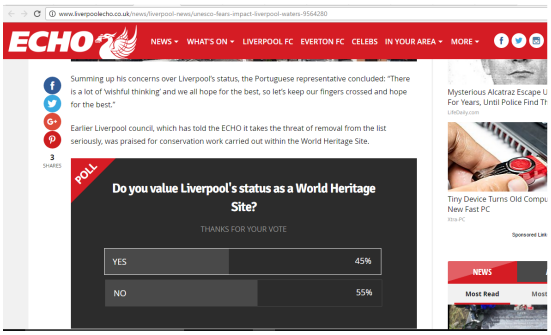
Vale notar que, em 2007, dentro do grupo de trabalho do WHC que discutiu indicadores para a avaliação periódica dos sítios, um dos especialistas presentes era Christopher Young, do *English Heritage*. Na reunião, ele fez uma apresentação dos principais elementos que afetavam a preservação dos valores de sítios Patrimônio Mundial na Grã-Bretanha[55], no caso específico do projeto para o plano de preservação de corais. Como itens principais ele citou: mudanças climáticas; uso de recursos naturais (como pesca e navegação); pressões pelo uso de terras adjacentes aos sítios; pressões pelo aumento da população; mudanças bruscas de tecnologias; mudanças de populações de espécies animais; espécies exóticas; turismo. Com exceção das questões vinculadas às espécies animais, é possível dizer que o sítio de Liverpool passa hoje pelas ameaças listadas há quase dez anos.



37_Acima o polêmico projeto para Liverpool, a ser construído na borda da área listada como Patrimônio mundial. abaixo, A mesma área hoje.

O projeto que ameaça tirar Liverpool da Lista é semelhante ao que foi proposto para Valparaíso. Uma construção de grande porte, no limite da área de preservação inscrita na Unesco. Qual a diferença entre os dois processos? Em Valparaíso foi possível uma negociação, buscando um equilíbrio, graças à intervenção da esfera federal no processo (aliás, uma crítica da prefeitura é justamente em relação a um certo afastamento do Conselho de Monumentos do cotidiano da cidade). A dificuldade que a prefeitura de Liverpool vem enfrentando é a mesma a que se referiram os norte-americanos: em uma estrutura legal de preservação que defende fortemente a propriedade privada, restam poucos recursos para uma ação mais enérgica frente a tais proprietários. Eis o impasse.

Em 2008, Liverpool foi a capital europeia da cultura e hoje a cidade tem dois grandes museus – outra prerrogativa para um centro urbano que se pretende dentro de uma rede turística mundial. Ou seja, o status de cidade cultural é relevante – e isso se nota no temperamento da cidade. O que a mídia local nos mostra é que há realmente uma divisão entre uma visão de que a cidade precisa 'poder' mudar, e outras que acreditam que o projeto realmente é danoso ao patrimônio local.



38_Página do principal jornal de Liverpool (*The Liverpool Echo*), em julho de 2015, com enquete sobre o valor de estar na lista do Patrimônio Mundial.

Em síntese, essa é novamente a discussão sobre a patrimonialização de um centro histórico. O grupo que defende o projeto alega

[55] Ver documento 368-5 da reunião, e Parte II, Capítulo 1, sub-item 'Monitoramento e indicadores' da presente tese.

que as ruas históricas estão sendo preservadas, e que não é possível pensar que o *skyline* da cidade continue como era há cem anos. Debate longo – e talvez sem uma resposta. O fato é que, na mesma época, o governo inglês começou uma consulta pública, que terminou na alteração do sistema de preservação de patrimônio no país, com uma atuação maior do governo, em detrimento da ideia iniciada no século XIX, com associações da sociedade civil no papel principal de controlar a preservação. Com o novo *Historic England* e uma participação mais próxima do governo, casos como o de Liverpool poderiam ser enfrentados de forma diferente. Porém, mais do que os mecanismos legais existentes, devemos nos perguntar para quem o sítio está sendo preservado? Para turistas que cruzam o globo ou para os moradores locais? A imagem abaixo mostra uma enquete realizada pelo principal jornal local de Liverpool. Ainda que tal tipo de pesquisa não tenha representatividade científica, serve como início de uma reflexão.

O debate sobre o valor de ser Patrimônio Mundial

> É muito difícil quantificar os custos da designação Unesco: apesar de sermos uma organização Patrimônio Mundial, todas as nossas atividades poderiam ser realizadas por uma organização empreendedora em outra cidade sem o status. O argumento que temos é que a designação nos dá um foco e um ímpeto adicional ao nosso trabalho. Como organização nós usamos o status Unesco para melhorar um trabalho já existente, ao invés do contrário. (Adam Wilkinson, director, Edinburgh World Heritage Site, UK National Comission for Unesco, 2013, p. 56, tradução nossa)

A análise de um dos gestores de um sítio britânico presente na Lista ilustra a análise que Liverpool está fazendo agora. Vale a pena ter o status de Patrimônio Mundial?

Tal é também a análise feita pelos EUA e Canadá. A participação de ambos os países no início da Lista foi intensa. Entre 1978 e 1990, os EUA inscreveram dezesseis sítios na Lista, e o Canadá nove. Entre 1991 e 2000 o número caiu para dois nos EUA e dois no Canadá. Já no século XXI, até 2016 os EUA inscreveram três sítios e o Canadá cinco. Pode-se contabilizar mais dois sítios transnacionais, localizado nos dois países, inscritos em 1979 e 1995[56].

Ainda que o discurso do NPS hoje seja o de uma retomada das candidaturas, há muita cautela sobre os sítios a serem apresentados. Também é curioso notar que, se na Europa o status de Patrimônio Mundial é buscado como um selo de qualidade em destinos turísticos, o mesmo não acontece nos EUA. O material de divulgação oficial do parque Mesa Verde não utiliza o logotipo da Unesco para os bens presentes na Lista. Ao contrário, na cidade do Porto, o logo é utilizado inclusive nas placas de sinalização viária.

> É sabido que os custos econômicos associados à manutenção das cidades históricas e dos conjuntos patrimoniais em geral são avultados. [...] Acresce que, em comunidades que estão ainda longe de assegurar uma satisfação conveniente das necessidades primárias, o ato de consagrar recursos à conservação do patrimônio é frequentemente encarado como um luxo. Como explicar, então, a intensificação na patrimonialização e mais concretamente a corrida ao status de patrimônio mundial? (Peixoto, 2002, p. 25)

Buscando responder a essa pergunta, dois países signatários da Convenção do Patrimônio Mundial, Portugal e Reino Unido, desenvolveram estudos sobre o 'valor Unesco'[57].

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[56] Cf. Totcharova, 2016, p. 13.

[57] Enquanto as pesquisas realizadas pelos dois países buscaram o valor econômico de uma maneira mais ampla, estudos econômicos não são uma exceção, principalmente quando se considera a elaboração de projeções voltadas ao turismo. Um exemplo é o estudo realizado pelo Parque Nacional de Mesa Verde, especificamente sobre o impacto do quanto gasta um visitante na economia local. Desenvolvido em 2012, a primeira versão do relatório apresentou dados referentes à venda direta de produtos, empregos criados e impostos gerados por ambos. "The combined impacts to the region of visitor spending attributable to the park and NPS payroll were $44.4

Em 2012, a Comissão Unesco do Reino Unido iniciou um processo de análise do valor ampliado (*wider value*) da Unesco para o país[58]. Partindo da premissa que a Unesco contribui para o estabelecimento de uma agenda nas áreas de educação, ciência, patrimônio e cultura no Reino Unido, o estudo analisou valores econômicos disponíveis para diversos programas e sítios antes e depois da filiação a algum dos programas da Unesco. O primeiro número apresentado parece já responder à questão levantada no início (ao menos do ponto de vista econômico): em 2012, o Reino Unido contribuiu com £ 14.1 milhões para a Unesco. Analisando 180 organizações e sítios vinculados à Unesco, no mesmo ano o benefício financeiro estimado foi de £ 89.4 milhões, divididos como mostra a tabela abaixo[59].

Programa Unesco	Benefício financeiro estimado por ano (em £)
Sítios Patrimônio Mundial	61.1 milhões
Rede mundial de geoparques	18.8 milhões
Cátedras Unesco e UNITWIN	2.9 milhões
Reservas da Biosfera	2.3 milhões
Aquisições e serviços e outras ciências, mídia e cultura Unesco	4.3 milhões

Os números para cada categoria[60] foram obtidos considerando os recursos obtidos em cada programa (como por meio de ingressos, fluxos turísticos ou financiamentos a projetos) e o custo do 'status Unesco' (o valor investido para a candidatura ou implantação do programa e custos anuais de relatórios e acompanhamentos). No caso dos sítios Patrimônio Mundial (o Reino Unido conta com 28 sítios na Lista), o valor total estimado de benefício por ano é de mais de £ 76 milhões, e o 'custo Unesco', de quase £ 16 milhões.

No entanto, chegar a tais valores não é simples. A pesquisa mostrou que foi difícil obter dados confiáveis e organizados referentes aos períodos pré e pós implantação do programa. Dessa forma, a Comissão estabeleceu alguns critérios e indicadores que devem começar a ser seguidos logo no início da atuação dentro de um programa Unesco.

A pesquisa não apresenta uma conclusão assertiva, mas ressalta que o 'status Unesco' pode sim contribuir para o aumento de recursos, desde que se trabalhe buscando isso. Apresenta ainda que nas regiões da Europa, América do Norte e Australásia, entre 70 e 80% dos sítios Patrimônio Mundial estão fazendo pouco ou nada com a nominação à Lista para buscar um

million in sale, which supported 721 jobs with labor income of $19.8 million, which was part of a total value added of $ 32.8 million." (National Park Service, documento NPS/NRSS/EQD/ NRR- 2013/XXX, 2013, p. 11) O estudo não apresentou um comparativo com o valor de manutenção do parque, visto que o quanto se investe na preservação do parque não estaria em discussão.

[58] Documentos *Wider Value of Unesco to the UK*, 2012-13 e 2014-15, produzidos pela United Kingdom National Comission for Unesco.

[59] UKNCU, documento *Wider Value of Unesco to the UK 2012-13*, p. 3 (tradução nossa).

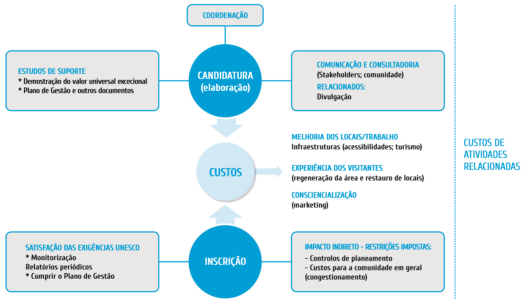
[60] Como é possível ver da relação de programas Unesco, o patrimônio mundial é um dos programas relacionados. Os geoparques são sítios com um patrimônio geológico singular, que contam com uma estrutura de visitação baseada no desenvolvimento sustentável. No início de 2016 eram 119 geoparques, sendo um no Brasil (Araripe, no estado do Ceará). As reservas da Biosfera são definidas pela Unesco em seu sítio eletrônico como "laboratórios vivos, onde se desenvolvem como funções principais, a conservação de paisagens, ecossistemas e espécies, o desenvolvimento sustentável a nível social, econômico, cultural e ecológico". São 669 reservas localizadas em 120 países (no Brasil, são seis reservas). Em alguns casos, a reserva da Biosfera se sobrepõe ao Patrimônio Mundial (é o caso do parque do Delta do Pó, parte do sítio de Ferrara). Por fim, as Cátedras Unesco, que são programas para "o desenvolvimento de competências nas instituições de ensino superior e investigação mediante o intercâmbio e a partilha do saber em prol de um espírito de solidariedade internacional". No Brasil, há diversas cátedras, em especial vinculadas a questões de educação. A que mais se aproxima das questões de patrimônio é a Cátedra Memorial da América Latina (Unesco, USP, Unesp e Unicamp). Ressaltamos também que o resumo executivo da pesquisa apresenta antes dos benefícios financeiros, outros não mensuráveis economicamente, como ações de desenvolvimento de políticas públicas (em especial na gestão de águas) e de combate à liberdade de expressão.

retorno socioeconômico[61]. Retomando a fala do diretor Adam Wilkinson, no início dessa seção, o status Unesco pode contribuir, mas não funciona de forma independente, isto é, não trará nenhum benefício direto sem o envolvimento local. O relatório referente ao período 2012-13 ressalta tal ponto, em particular no caso de sítios pouco conhecidos mundialmente, que passaram a utilizar o status Unesco como um diferencial para atrair investimentos.

Além do fato que o benefício não virá meramente pela associação à Unesco, foram apontados os conflitos inerentes ao processo:

> The financial benefits need to be weighed against opportunity costs of not being a WHS. Unesco status aims to preserve and manage these sites for future generations. Related planning restrictions may conflict with commercial or industrial development that would be economically advantageous. Recent examples include the tension between Unesco and waterfront development plans in Liverpool, mineral extraction plans at the Cornish Mining WHS and a hotel development plan in Giant's Causeway. If, and how, to measure culture is hotly debated. DCMS [Department for Culture, Media and Sport] commissioned research in 2010 that suggests economic approaches to valuing culture must not be used in isolation: economic analysis needs to be placed within robust and detailed narrative accounts of cultural value. (UKNCU, documento de 2013, p. 45, grifo nosso)

Tomando como referência o estudo britânico, a Comissão Nacional da Unesco de Portugal elaborou em 2014 um estudo sobre o valor econômico da ligação às redes da Unesco em Portugal, analisando sítios Patrimônio Mundial, reservas da Biosfera, geoparques e cátedras Unesco. A pesquisa portuguesa se apresentou em tom mais positivo que a britânica, logo em seu início: "os benefícios líquidos totais da ligação às redes da Unesco (mensurados como o diferencial entre os benefícios e os custos totais acumulados desde a inclusão) são globalmente muito positivos"[62].



39_Quadro com esquema da visão global dos custos de um sítio Unesco.

O estudo português apresentou os resultados da pesquisa em maiores detalhes, mas a metodologia seguida foi a mesma do estudo britânico. Os principais indicadores levantados por classificação foram os seguintes[63]:

	Sítios Patrimônio Mundial	Reservas da Biosfera	Geoparques	Cátedras
Tempo médio no processo de candidatura (meses)	48,2	5,75	26	1,25
Custo médio da candidatura (€)	320.706	14.250	54.969	13.250
Custo médio anual de afiliação (€)	47.123	2.760	54.969	13.250
Benefício total médio (€)	14.060.633	957.789	424.940	49.667
Fonte de receita representativa (%)	Governamentais (46%)	Externas (52%)	Governamentais (57%)	Governamentais (68%)

[61] UKNCU, documento *Wider Value of Unesco to the UK 2012-13*, p. 45.

[62] Unesco, 2014, p. 5.

[63] Ibidem, p. 62. Os valores foram aproximados.

Também em Portugal houve dificuldade no acesso a determinados dados, reforçando a ideia de que o processo de monitoramento e gestão de um sítio deve também contemplar a sistematização de alguns dados, seguindo uma metodologia que permita uma comparação *a posteriori*.

Voltando ao Reino Unido, dois anos mais tarde, a Comissão voltou a fazer uma análise do valor ampliado do status Unesco no Reino Unido (período 2014-15). Nesse período, identificou três benefícios principais: valor econômico, valor ampliado (não econômico) e suporte a políticas públicas. Na avaliação econômica, foi possível obter um detalhamento sobre a origem dos recursos: federais, municipais, de organizações não governamentais, da União Europeia, de universidades, de doadores privados, etc. Considerando o lado da preservação de divulgação e produção de conhecimento, tais dados são importantíssimos, visto que permitem pensar em estratégias diversas para a manutenção do sítio.

Também identificaram cinco pontos como primeiros benefícios para sítios Patrimônio Mundial: "maior valorização do patrimônio entre os residentes levando-o de um contexto local para um global; um destino turístico de classe mundial e uma experiência aprimorada para o visitante; trabalho em parcerias locais; melhoria nos planos locais de desenvolvimento; reorganização social e econômica"[64].

Destacamos aqui o primeiro item, de maior valorização do patrimônio entre os moradores locais. Aos questionarmos qual havia sido o impacto – e benefício – da inclusão dos sítios aqui relacionados na Lista, a resposta sempre passou pela valorização do sítio pelos próprios moradores locais. Como em um processo efetivo de apreciação de sua própria cultura, o reconhecimento pela comunidade internacional que a 'sua' cidade tem importância mundial tem um impacto real em uma valorização local. E como já nos mostrava Bauman no início do presente capítulo, é a comunidade local que poderá preservar tal patrimônio.

Em tempo, o caso de Liverpool não foi mencionado na edição 2014-15 da pesquisa.

[64] UKNCU, documento Wider Value of Unesco to the UK 2014-15, p. 67, tradução nossa.

Parte III. Preservando em sistema

> Acho que o problema da globalização está em sua aspiração a garantir um acesso tendencialmente igualitário aos produtos em um mundo naturalmente marcado pela desigualdade e pela diversidade. Há uma tensão entre esses dois conceitos abstratos. Tentamos encontrar um denominador comum acessível a todas as pessoas no mundo, a fim de que possam obter coisas que naturalmente não são acessíveis a todos. [...] Ao mesmo tempo, o processo técnico da globalização requer um elevado grau de padronização e homogeneização. Um dos grandes problemas do século XXI será definir qual o nível máximo de homogeneidade, além do qual haveria uma reação aversiva, e em que medida esse processo pode ser compatibilizado com a diversidade presente no mundo.
>
> Hobsbawm, 2000, p. 75

O historiador inglês Eric J. Hobsbawm se referia às questões econômicas de um mundo globalizado, mas o mesmo raciocínio pode ser considerado para o patrimônio. Isto posto, nos colocamos mais uma pergunta: como pensar a preservação em nível mundial de forma a garantir um equilíbrio entre a diversidade e a homogeneização das ações de preservação?

Uma hipótese de resposta é pensar a preservação em sistema. A partir da declaração de valor universal excepcional de cada sítio, é possível entendê-los dentro de uma lógica para além de suas fronteiras nacionais. Eventualmente, essas relações podem ser vistas em sítios do outro lado do mundo (como no caso do patrimônio vinculado à colonização portuguesa) ou na cidade vizinha, porém sem o status de Patrimônio Mundial (como nos remanescentes das Missões Jesuíticas). Mas antes de aprofundarmos essa possibilidade, é preciso avaliar a política da Unesco para buscar tal equilíbrio.

Estratégias globais Unesco

Em 1994, o Comitê do Patrimônio Mundial criou um programa de estratégias globais. A intenção da ação foi garantir uma representatividade efetivamente mundial na Lista considerando que, após o balanço feito nos 20 anos da Convenção, foram feitas diversas críticas ao que seria um posicionamento eurocêntrico do Comitê do Patrimônio Mundial, verificado no grande número de sítios europeus presentes na Lista[1].

A avaliação feita na época foi que esse desequilíbrio se devia, basicamente, a dois motivos. O primeiro, de ordem estrutural, relacionado ao processo de candidatura e aos mecanismos de preservação existentes nos sítios. O segundo, de ordem qualitativa, vinculado à forma como os sítios eram avaliados. Foi nesse

[1] Um estudo desenvolvido pelo Icomos entre 1987 e 1993 mostrou que a maioria dos bens presentes na Lista relacionavam-se a cidades históricas, monumentos europeus ou vinculados a religiões (com destaque para as cristãs).

mesmo período que a Unesco começou a lançar diversas publicações em forma de manual, como uma forma de oferecer subsídios aos países signatários que não possuíam pessoal técnico habilitado.

Em particular visando resolver o último ponto, além das estratégias globais foi instituída uma lista indicativa, que passou a ser uma etapa antes da candidatura à Lista do Patrimônio Mundial. Tal mecanismo funciona como uma fase de avaliação do sítio, principalmente quanto aos aspectos que deveriam ser alterados para que o mesmo pudesse se qualificar à Lista. Também vale como uma etapa crucial de discussão dentro do país, para a definição de quais seriam os seus representantes com potencial de representação universal.

Quando um Estado signatário da Convenção do Patrimônio Mundial apresenta uma candidatura, ele não está apenas se comprometendo com a preservação daquele sítio. Ele está também afirmando perante a comunidade internacional que tal sítio apresenta um valor universal. Considerando o peso que o status de Patrimônio Mundial ganhou no mercado turístico, em alguns países é possível ver uma verdadeira batalha interna para a definição de qual será o sítio apresentado à lista indicativa. Isso porque as estratégias globais da Unesco definiram algumas regras a serem seguidas, com uma espécie de ordem de prioridade, bem como um limite de candidaturas a serem analisadas por ano. A ideia por trás da regra é a de promover a diversificação dos sítios da Lista, seja no que diz respeito à natureza do patrimônio, seja em sua localização. Ou seja, centros históricos europeus – como já vimos, bastante representados na Lista – poderiam ter que ceder lugar a sítios em outros continentes ou com outras características. Tal regra criou uma competição interna, por vezes motivo de conflito nacional, como nos relata Peixoto.

> De um ponto de vista doutrinal, a nova política da Unesco revela e acentua o fato de antes de ser coletivizado pela comunidade internacional, por via da sua inscrição na lista, o bem é nacionalizado e localizado, no sentido em que é objeto de escolhas políticas num contexto de forte concorrência entre diversos locais ou bens. A decisão de transferir para o nível nacional a seleção de uma candidatura entre as existentes, reforça a evidência que o patrimônio mundial funciona mais como uma causa de conflito nacional e local que como um instrumento de reconciliação mundial. (Peixoto, 2002, p. 35)

O caso se refere a uma disputa entre três sítios em Portugal, que eram analisados, incluindo o apoio do Icomos, para candidatura. Em um primeiro momento, houve a recomendação de não apresentar a candidatura, visto que se tratava de bem já bastante representado na Lista. Passou-se então a uma análise sobre a viabilidade de inserir o mesmo bem em outra categoria, a de paisagem cultural, menos representada na Lista. Eis um outro aspecto não positivo dos manuais, diretrizes e regras criados: as candidaturas passaram a ser elaboradas como em uma competição, destacando características que as colocariam mais próximas aos critérios que aumentam as chances de seleção.

Ao contrário, nos Estados Unidos a seleção dos sítios à lista indicativa criou um debate diverso do português. Após anos afastados da Lista, o National Park Service retomou, em torno de 2010, uma discussão sobre quais sítios norte-americanos deveriam estar presentes na lista indicativa do país. A análise feita pelo escritório de assuntos internacionais do NPS foi de que a Lista passou de uma fase em que os bens inscritos foram os icônicos, ou os '*the best of the best*' (e mencionou como exemplos norte-americanos os parques de Mesa Verde e do Grand Canyon e a Estátua da Liberdade), para uma fase onde a ênfase estava no registro de diferentes regiões e culturas em todo o mundo. Logo, a primeira conclusão a que o NPS chegou foi que "a meta do atual esforço para revisar a lista indicativa, ou de candidatos, dos EUA é identificar propriedades norte-americanas que poderiam ajudar a preencher as lacunas remanescentes na Lista do Patrimônio Mundial em termos de

temas ou categorias de patrimônio"[2]. Depois a discussão foi feita a partir de quatro perguntas, que buscavam entender qual o papel do patrimônio norte-americano no cenário mundial[3]. A conclusão foi que a Lista deveria incluir sítios e bens por conta de seu valor para toda a humanidade, e não deveria funcionar como um catálogo da história mundial ou mesmo da história norte-americana. Se tal conclusão pode parecer óbvia, ela não o é quando se considera que em muitos casos a presença na Lista é vista como uma forma de valorização de um sítio no mercado turístico. A candidatura do sítio das Missões de San Antonio mostram de forma clara essa visão, inserindo o conjunto em seu contexto para além do patrimônio norte-americano.



40_ Lançamento da primeira edição do *World Heritage Festival*, nas Missões de San Antonio. Na foto, Colleen Swain, diretora do Comitê consultivo para o sítio das Missões de San Antonio.

Uma outra crítica não se relaciona a questões técnicas, mas sim, políticas. O fato do WHC não ter de se reportar à Assembleia da Unesco em suas decisões sobre a Lista ao invés de ser um ponto de força – com uma hipotética menor burocracia – coloca-os mais frágeis às pressões de determinados grupos. O diretor do WHC no período de 2000 a 2010, Francesco Bandarin, admitiu esse problema: "a inscrição se tornou uma questão política. Trata-se de prestígio, publicidade e desenvolvimento econômico"[4].

*

Mas a lista indicativa é somente um dos mecanismos criados para buscar ampliar a representatividade da lista do Patrimônio Mundial.

Dentro das estratégias globais, a Unesco – sempre através do WHC – instituiu planos de ação para cada uma de suas regiões a serem estruturados e revistos nos relatórios periódicos. Em linhas gerais, os planos buscaram estabelecer ações de cooperação, de viabilidade econômica (incluindo editais específicos), projetos de monitoramento e de capacitação. Os dois últimos costumam ser bastante incentivados, buscando estabelecer mecanismos de controle e, por outro lado, de formação de profissionais que possam trabalhar nos projetos estabelecidos.

Dados oficiais da Unesco mostram que desde o lançamento das estratégias globais, o número de países signatários da Convenção aumentou de 139 para 178. E que o número de países que submeteram propostas à lista indicativa aumentou de 33 para 132[5]. Porém, os dados apresentados por Frey e Steiner revelam que os números finais da Lista continuam em

[2] Morris, 2015, p. 4, tradução nossa. Texto original consultado: "the goal of the current effort to revise de U.S. tentative, or candidate, list is to identify U.S. properties that could help to fill the remaining gaps in the World Heritage List in terms of themes or categories of heritage."

[3] "Should the U.S. favour candidate sites that highlight U.S. contributions to global culture? Should we put forward sites that illustrate the overcoming of painful episodes in our national history (i.e. the Civil Rights movement, though it is as yet unfinished)? To what extent should we consider nominating sites specifically to reflect the diversity of our people and the totality of our history? How should we consider world-wide trends and developments pioneered by the U.S. that some would regard as negative (e.g. the development of nuclear weapons, the globalization of consumer culture)?" (Morris, 2015, p. 2)

[4] Apud Frey e Steiner, 2012, p. 29, tradução nossa. O mesmo artigo apresenta estatísticas que mostram o desequilíbrio da Lista, bem como apontam indícios da problemática política na aprovação dos sítios. Texto original consultado: "inscription has become a political issue. It is about prestigie, publicity, and economic development."

[5] Página oficial do WHC para as estratégias globais: <http://whc.unesco.org/en/globalstrategy/>, acessada em 18 mai. 2016.

desequilíbrio, em especial na comparação entre sítios culturais e naturais (os últimos correspondendo a 19,30% da Lista) [6] . A diferença aumenta quando se olha para as estatísticas oficiais da Lista, que mostram que a Europa continua com grande maioria de sítios culturais (89%), enquanto a América do Norte – ou melhor, Estados Unidos e Canadá – tem a maioria de sítios inscritos na categoria natural, refletindo as primeiras ações de preservação daqueles países[7].

Então, resta a dúvida se os planos de ação não apenas reforçam ainda mais a visão de um posto na Lista como um fator político – e de inserção no mercado do turismo cultural – ao invés de atuar como uma forma de contribuir para a preservação daquele sítio.

Europa

O plano de ação previsto para a região da Europa [8] está dividido em três partes. A primeira, "Identificação e proteção do valor excepcional universal"; a segunda, "gestão eficaz dos sítios Patrimônio Mundial"; e por fim, "aumento da conscientização sobre a Convenção". Para cada uma dessas partes, são definidas áreas de prioridades, cada qual com objetivos, ações e indicadores específicos. São também estabelecidas metas para cada item, e o responsável pela ação. Esses responsáveis podem ser o próprio WHC, como os órgãos assessores, os países signatários ou os gestores locais. Por fim, as ações são também categorizadas de acordo com a sub-região e o foco da ação.

Credibility	Conservation	Capacity-Building	Communication	Communities	Priority Area(s)	Objective	#	Action	Lead partner(s)	Monitoring Indicator(s)	Regional Target for Europe before the end of the Third Cycle of Periodic Reporting	Sub-regional priorities: CE SEE	MED	WEST	N-B
INCREASED AWARENESS OF THE CONVENTION															
	x		x	x	**Decision makers, especially outside the heritage sector, fully aware of WH and its benefits to society**	Harnessing benefits of heritage for society through informed decision-making	26	Heritage practitioners and communities advocate to increase understanding of key concepts and processes of the World Heritage Convention by the decision makers at national and regional levels, for example: - Sensitisation to World Heritage through targeted activities (e.g. 'retreats' for key actors); - Public hearings and/or consultations; - Development of national guidance materials on communication and participatory processes	States Parties Site Managers	Number of workshops and/or sensitisation activities Number of public hearings and/or consultations Number of national guidance materials on communication and participatory processes	At least 25 workshops and/or sensitisation activities organised *baseline unknown* At least 75 public hearings and/or consultations organised *baseline unknown* At least 25 guidelines on communication and participatory processes developed *baseline unknown*		x	x	x
		x	x	x	**Community engagement and ownership of WH properties**	World Heritage properties that are well cared for by the community and where the community advocates for their heritage	27	World Heritage professionals to: - identify and engage communities (identity mapping); - empower those communities through the formalisation of continuous participatory processes in the management systems	Site Managers	Number of properties with a Management Plan comprising a formalised framework for community participation	At least 50% of properties have a Management Plan comprising a formalised framework for community participation *baseline unknown*	x	x		x

Extrato do plano de ação para a Europa[9].

Dentre as 34 ações previstas, destacamos as seguintes ações: registros de boas práticas; acompanhamento de candidaturas não aprovadas (mesmo para a lista indicativa); prospecção de candidaturas de patrimônio natural; monitoramento e avaliação mais

[6] Cf. Frey e Steiner, 2012. A pesquisa deles é reforçada pelos dados apresentados por Paulo Peixoto (2002), e atualizados na presente pesquisa (apresentados no capítulo anterior, item 'Turismo cultural').

[7] Em junho de 2016, a Europa tinha 89% de sítios culturais, 9% naturais e 2% mistos. Na região da América Latina e do Caribe, a proporção é de 70% culturais, 27% naturais e 3% mistos. Já na América do Norte são 43% culturais, 55% naturais e 2% mistos. Nas estatísticas oficias do WHC (disponíveis em <http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/stat>), com os bens da Europa com a América do Norte junto, o cenário fica diferente, com aproximadamente 85% de sítios culturais, 13% naturais e 2% mistos.

[8] Cf. Rössler e Menétrey-Monchau, 2007 e Unesco WHC, documento WHC-15/39.COM/10A, 2015.

[9] Periodic report Unesco (documento WHC-15/39. COM/10A).

eficazes (incluindo treinamento para isso); integração com as ações na União Europeia; reforçar interdisciplinaridade dos gestores dos sítios; divulgação dos planos de gestão, em especial para os jovens (em especial por meio dos programas *World Heritage in Young Hands kit* e *World Heritage Youth Forums*).

Américas

O caro leitor há de se lembrar da menção feita anteriormente à forma de agrupamento das estatísticas do WHC. Se o plano de ação separa a América do Norte da Europa (lembrando que o Oceano Atlântico não estabelece apenas uma diferença geográfica), ainda não a une à América Latina e ao Caribe (que continua isolado da América Central). Bairrismos e humorismos à parte, os dois planos de ação apresentam detalhamento – e aprofundamento - diversos.

No caso do plano para a América do Norte, são consideradas cinco áreas de interesse, cada uma com ações especificas (com indicação de ações para implementação e responsáveis). Com exceção das ações voltadas ao público jovem, em geral o plano para a América do Norte segue as mesmas linhas do plano europeu. Vale destacar dois pontos diversos: a busca por identificação de sítios transnacionais, considerando os EUA e o Canadá. E a indicação para explorar e reforçar ações em parceria com a IUCN, bem como em outras áreas possíveis de cooperação.

Apesar do México estar incluído na região da América Latina, ele aparece em algumas ações, em especial em relação ao patrimônio de origem hispânica presente nos EUA.

> Propriedades culturais que refletem a experiência colonial europeia compartilham temas e características com propriedades na América Latina e na região do Caribe (por exemplo, La Fortaleza e o sítio histórico de San Juan em Porto Rico, bairro histórico de Old Quebec). (Totcharova, 2016, p. 97, tradução nossa[10])

O plano para a América Latina e o Caribe[11] é mais sintético. Começa reforçando a necessidade de trabalhar em conjunto com os órgãos assessores da Unesco, bem como os centros de categoria 2 na região[12]. O plano de ação não apresenta ações, mas sim prioridades para a região, bem como um parecer sobre a situação de categorias de patrimônio consideradas relevantes para a região, e que deverão receber atenção especial no próximo ciclo (2014-2024). São três as prioridades indicadas: educação, comunicação e informação; gestão integrada do patrimônio; e turismo sustentável em sítios Patrimônio Mundial. Já as categorias de patrimônio apresentadas foram: patrimônio urbano; sítios naturais; paisagens culturais e patrimônio arqueológico.

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Considerando que parte importante dos planos de ação recai justamente em ações realizadas em cooperação, vale retomar os relatórios de avaliação periódica, em especial sob o aspecto da análise de potencialidades. Como já indicamos, a metodologia utilizada via de regra para a elaboração desses planos é a desenvolvida na área da administração[13]. Nesse

[10] Texto original consultado: "Cultural properties that reflect the European colonial experience share themes and attributes with properties in the Latin America and the Caribbean Region (i.e. La Fortaleza and San Juan National Historic Site in Puerto Rico, Historic District of Old Quebec)."

[11] Cf. Piras e van Hooff, 2006 e Unesco WHC, documento WHC-13/37.COM/10A. A região é dividida em três sub-regiões: América do Sul, Caribe e América Central/México.

[12] A região da América Latina e Caribe tem dois centros Unesco classe II: Zacatecas, no México, e Centro Lucio Costa, no Brasil.

[13] Quando, depois dos anos 1970, o patrimônio ganhou destaque no campo do turismo e na indústria cultural, pensa-lo dentro de uma gestão de resultados parecia essencial. Tal processo no início não se mostrou adequado. No entanto, já no final dos anos 1990, as ferramentas antes exclusivas da administração tinham sido adequadas às especificidades do campo. Hoje, em um cenário em que é necessário disputar recursos, não é possível pensar na gestão do patrimônio sem utilizar alguma ferramenta administrativa.

cenário, no processo de elaboração dos planos de gestão desponta outra ferramenta, utilizada em quase todos os planos elaborados: a análise SWOT[14], com a identificação dos pontos fortes e fracos, ameaças e oportunidades. No último ciclo de relatórios periódicos, a região da Europa seguiu uma metodologia similar, que pode ser vista com menor ênfase nos relatórios da sub-região da América do Norte e da região da América Latina e do Caribe.

A região da Europa identificou como fatores que afetam a preservação dos sítios culturais:

> Os fatores positivos mais frequentemente relatados que afetam bens culturais Patrimônio Mundial estão relacionados a: 1) Instalações explicativas e de visitantes; 2) Atividades gerenciais; 3) Atividades de pesquisa/monitoramento de baixo impacto; 4) Impactos de turismo/visitantes/recreação. [...] Fatores negativos que afetam bens culturais estão relacionados a três questões principais: 1) Impactos do turismo/visitantes/recreação; 2) Ambiente construído e efeitos decorrentes do uso de infraestrutura de transporte e infraestrutura de transporte terrestre; 3) Fatores relacionados a mudanças climáticas (por exemplo relativos à umidade, água/água de chuva, micro-organismos). [...] Mudanças nas modos de vida tradicionais e nos sistemas de conhecimento são também relatados com um alto potencial de impacto negativo. (Totcharova, 2016, p. 52, grifo nosso, tradução nossa[15])

Os gestores dos sítios também indicaram como os fatores negativos que cresceram no último período de avaliação como "habitação; impactos de ameaças ambientais (ventos, temperatura); energia renovável; mudanças na identidade e em estilos de vida tradicionais"[16]. E que a maioria desses fatores seriam originários de zonas fora da jurisdição das autoridades. Como já abordamos, tal fato é um dos grandes desafios para a implantação de sistemas eficientes de gestão: a coordenação dos diversos atores e níveis governativos envolvidos em um sítio complexo. Voltando à avaliação feita pela região Europa, outro ponto avaliado foi o da cooperação internacional. Esse foi um item bem avaliado, com a indicação de vários países signatários como participantes também de outras convenções, com destaque para as atividades realizadas pelo Conselho Europeu. Deram destaque também ao fato de que metade dos países tinham sítios 'gemelados'.

O mecanismo do sítio gemelado – do inglês *twinned* – ainda tem sido pouco explorado no Brasil, no que se refere ao patrimônio. O termo utilizado aqui também é diverso: fala-se em 'cidades irmãs'. O mecanismo funciona com a identificação de um sítio que apresente alguma característica similar – seja na sua essência, seja nos problemas que enfrenta – e firmam uma série de atividades em conjunto[17].

No relatório da sub-região da América do Norte (junto com o relatório final da Europa)

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[14] Ferramenta tradicional do planejamento estratégico, a análise – ou matriz – SWOT é um acrônimo de *strenghts, weaknesses, opportunities* e *threats*. Os dois primeiros pontos são avaliados em relação à dinâmica interna e os outros a fatores externos.

[15] Texto original consultado: "The most frequently reported current positive factors affecting cultural World Heritage properties are related to: 1) Interpretative and visitor facilities; 2) Management activities; 3) Low impact research/monitoring activities; and 4) Impacts of tourism/visitor/recreation. […]Negative factors affecting cultural properties are related to three main issues: 1) Impacts of tourism/visitors/recreation; 2) Built environment and effects arising from use of transportation infrastructure and ground transport infrastructure; 3) Climate change related factors (e.g. relative humidity, water/rainwater, micro-organisms). […] Changes in the traditional ways of life and knowledge systems are also reported to have a high potential negative impact."

[16] Totcharova, 2016, p. 52, grifo nosso. Texto original consultado: "housing; impacts from environmental threats (wind, temperature); renewable energy; changes in identity and traditional lifestyle."

[17] Um exemplo no Brasil é Campinas (interior de São Paulo), cidade-irmã da norte-americana San Jose, ambas de vocação tecnológica. Na Europa, na área de patrimônio industrial podemos citar como exemplo a Associação Flaminga de Arqueologia Industrial (VVIA), gemelada com a catalã Associação do Museu de Ciência, da Técnica e da Arqueologia Industrial da Catalunha (AMCTAIC).

foram identificados como oportunidades a serem exploradas:

> Consciência e compreensão limitadas da Convenção do Patrimônio Mundial; pressões externas de desenvolvimento, especialmente em áreas onde o governo nacional não tem jurisdição direta; os interesses público e de outros atores na revisão da lista indicativa; oportunidade para cooperação internacional; os potenciais efeitos da mudança climática; como melhor refletir as visões de mundo de populações autóctones e seu entendimento de patrimônio no contexto da Convenção do Patrimônio Mundial; atividades de promoção do Patrimônio Mundial na América do Norte. (Totcharova, 2016, p. 14, tradução nossa[18])

A avaliação seguia com os fatores que vinham afetando os sítios, com destaque para mudanças climáticas, invasão de espécies não nativas (no caso de sítios naturais), desenvolvimento urbano, em especial questões de transporte e energia. Ainda foram citadas atividades de vandalismo e restrições orçamentárias. A menção à cooperação internacional não veio com exemplos de boas práticas, mas sim como uma oportunidade a ser explorada.

O relatório elaborado pela região da América Latina e Caribe não trouxe a identificação das ameaças e oportunidades de forma tão explícita. No entanto, apresentou uma análise interessante sobre a questão da cooperação internacional:

> No que diz respeito à co-operação e captação de recursos, enquanto a Convenção do Patrimônio Mundial pode ser considerada como um instrumento importante para uma cooperação internacional, seu potencial não é totalmente utilizado na região, quer em termos de cooperação técnica como em termos de geração de recursos financeiros para a conservação e gestão do Patrimônio Mundial. Cooperações bilaterais parecem mais frequentes na região. no nível local, no entanto, já muito poucos sítios Patrimônio Mundial gemelados o que indica que muitas oportunidades para compartilhar experiências e lições aprendidas são perdidas. (Piras e van Hooff, 2006, p. 20, tradução nossa[19])

Essa foi a avaliação feita no ciclo anterior. No último relatório, emitido em 2014, era possível ver uma movimentação um pouco diferente, mas ainda aquém das potencialidades. E foi registrada também a grande diferença dentro da região.

> The type of cooperation most commonly used differs from one sub-region to another. In the Caribbean, participation in foundations for international cooperation is the most common type of cooperation process but this is not the case in South America which mainly cooperates through financial support, sharing capacity building expertise and distributing material and information. In Mexico and Central America, contributions to private organizations for the preservation of cultural and natural heritage, and participation in other UN programmes remain the main types of international cooperation. States Parties express the need to strengthen international cooperation, especially in the Caribbean sub-region (Saint Kitts and Nevis, and Trinidad and Tobago) and state that best practices should be published and disseminated.

[18] Texto original consultado: "Limited awareness and understanding of the World Heritage Convention; external development pressures, especially in areas where the national government does not have direct jurisdiction; public and stakeholder interest in the revision of Tentative Lists; opportunities for international cooperation; the potential effects of climate change; how to best reflect the world views of indigenous peoples and their understanding of heritage in the context of the World Heritage Convention; promotional opportunities for World Heritage in North America."

[19] Texto original consultado: "As for International Co-operation and Fund-raising, while the World Heritage Convention can be considered as a major instrument for international cooperation, its potential in this respect is not fully utilized in the region, either in terms of technical cooperation or in terms of generation of financial resources for World Heritage conservation and management. Bi-lateral cooperation seems frequent in the region. At the site level, however, there are very few twinned World Heritage Sites which suggests that many opportunities to share experiences and lessons learned are lost."

> (Unesco WHC, documento WHC-13/37. COM/10A, p. 25, grifo nosso)

O destaque positivo ficou com o processo de candidatura para o sítio de Qhapaq Ñan, o sistema andino de estradas que envolveu Argentina, Bolívia, Chile, Colômbia, Equador e Peru, que foi mencionado como um exemplo de boa prática a ser disseminada e incentivada. Ainda, o incentivo a parcerias com sítios irmãos feitas por Bolívia, Colômbia, Cuba, Equador, Guatemala, Grenada, México, Panamá, Paraguai e Uruguai. Todos mencionaram as iniciativas como tendo produzido efeitos benéficos.

Depois de três décadas de atuação da Lista na América Latina, o relatório periódico de 2004 registrou cinco mensagens – que foram integradas no plano para 2014-2024 –, com temas que deveriam ser considerados na continuidade das ações de preservação. A primeira, *filling the gaps*, indicava a distância existente entre o WHC e seus órgãos de apoio dos centros de gestão dos sítios ali e também entre o próprio governo dos países signatários. O segundo, *linking culture with nature*, lembrava sobre a necessidade de reforçar a ligação cultura e natureza nos sítios – pode-se ler aí a categoria, então recente, de paisagem cultural. Depois, *credibility is more than representativity*, sobre como os sítios presentes na Lista deveriam servir como exemplo e modelo de preservação. A quarta, *heritage and society*, ressaltava a necessidade da preservação de sair das mãos de poucos especialistas, integrando a sociedade no processo. Por fim, *regional integration and synergy*, que afirmava:

> Durante várias décadas, a região se beneficiou do PNUD/Unesco projeto regional para o patrimônio cultural, urbano e ambiental que providenciou treinamento, assessoria técnica, monitoramento sistemático do Patrimônio Mundial, mas acima de tudo serviu como um mecanismo para integração e sinergia dentro da região. Este projeto foi encerrado em 1995 e desde então nenhuma estrutura alternativa foi estabelecida para substituí-lo completamente.
>
> No contexto das estratégias globais e dos relatórios periódicos, novas oportunidades regionais para integração e sinergia devem ser promovidas em várias maneiras. A Convenção do Patrimônio Mundial é o único instrumento internacional que tem o potencial de criar condições para cooperação, integração e promoção de padrões de conservação e gestão comumente aceitos. A América Latina e o Caribe têm a capacidade técnica e profissional para alcança-los. (Piras e van Hooff, 2006, p. 28-29, grifo nosso, tradução nossa[20])

O UNDP (ou Pnud na sigla em português e espanhol) foi liderado por quase trinta anos por Sylvio Mutal. A conclusão apontada no relatório mostra, na realidade, a fragilidade das organizações de defesa e preservação do patrimônio na América Latina, suscetíveis a humores políticos e que em raras oportunidades consegue estabelecer programas de longo prazo.

Outro destaque positivo foi o processo de elaboração do relatório. Ao menos no caso da América Latina, a elaboração do relatório periódico se mostrou como um período bom para troca de experiências, em especial de boas práticas. O relatório, entregue em 2013, começou a ser preparado em 2009, com um workshop realizado entre os dias de 26 e 28 de novembro em Buenos Aires. Seguiram-se reuniões sub-regionais[21] e uma reunião final,

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[20] Texto original consultado: "For several decades, the region benefited from the UNDP/UNESCO Regional Project for Cultural, Urban and Environmental Heritage that provided training, technical advice, systematic monitoring of World Heritage, but above all served as a mechanism for integration and synergy within the region. This project closed in 1995 and since then no alternative structure has been established that fully replaces it.

In the context of the Global Strategy and the Periodic Reporting, new regional opportunities for integration and synergy must be fostered in various ways. The World Heritage Convention is the only international instrument that has the potential to generate conditions for cooperation, integration and the promotion of commonly accepted standards of conservation and management. Latin America and the Caribbean have the technical and professional capacity to achieve it."

[21] As reuniões foram realizadas em Zacatecas, México (6-8 de setembro de 2010); Rio de Janeiro, Brasil (7-10 de

realizada em Santiago do Chile, entre 3 e 5 de dezembro de 2012.

Sobre sistemas e o Valor Universal Excepcional

> Na pesquisa, a obra é assim analisada em seus componentes estruturais, e aquela que parecia ser a sua unidade indivisível aparece, ao contrário, como um conjunto de experiências estratificadas e difusas, um sistema de relações, um processo. (Argan, 2005, p. 15)

Retomando a hipótese apresentada no início deste capítulo: a de pensar a preservação por meio de uma lógica de sistema. A partir desse ponto de vista, propomos um outro indicador para o desenvolvimento de ações de preservação. A inserção do sítio em um sistema.

Mais uma vez, recorremos a uma fonte tradicional. O dicionário Aurélio[22] define assim sistema: "[do gr. *Systema*, 'reunião, grupo', pelo lat. *systema*.] *S. m.* 1. Conjunto de elementos, materiais ou ideais, entre os quais se possa encontrar ou definir alguma relação".

Pensando nas tais relações, voltamos a Argan[23], quando afirma que um novo sistema cultural não precisaria mais estar fundamentado no juízo histórico. Poderíamos, então, pensar em sistemas geográfico, temático, estilístico... Ou mesmo uma combinação entre eles. Nessa perspectiva, entendemos aqui preservação em sistema como o conjunto de ações para a preservação concebido considerando o bem (ou o sítio) dentro de um sistema cultural que vai além de seus limites. Se a definição do núcleo central e da zona de amortecimento são mecanismos eficientes – e mesmo imprescindíveis – para a preservação física de determinado sítio, sua preservação entendida como 'universal' deve considerar também a sua inserção, mais, a sua relação com o restante do globo.

Vale ressaltar que essa é uma ideia bastante diversa de um roteiro turístico temático, como o que existe em tantas cidades no mundo[24]. Mas um roteiro turístico é apenas um dos inúmeros aspectos a serem considerados na preservação de um patrimônio, dentro da visão de preservação apresentada aqui.

A ideia dos roteiros turísticos está mais vinculada à ideia de rede, que é diversa da proposta de sistema. "Rede [Do lat. *rete*] S.f. *Fig.* O conjunto de estabelecimentos, agências, ou mesmo de indivíduos, pertencentes a organização que se destina a prestar determinado serviço"[25]. Existem também redes como a das cidades patrimônio Mundial (OCPM), já vista aqui. A inserção de um sítio em uma rede é sim importante para a sua preservação. Não apenas, é um dos aspectos de uma preservação pensada de forma mais ampla.

A ideia de preservação em sistema não é nova. Ela pode ser vista na gestão dos parques nacionais nos EUA – ainda na primeira metade do século passado. Tentativas recentes foram o projeto aprovado no Mercosul Cultural para as Missões Jesuíticas e a candidatura à Lista do sítio das Missões de San Antonio. Ou o incentivo da Unesco a candidaturas transfronteiriças e seriadas.

> National representatives consider that Latin America and the Caribbean is a region that has shown that it has optimal conditions to develop multinational World Heritage projects and that it is necessary to continue developing serial national

dezembro de 2010); Bridgetown, Barbados (6-8 de abril de 2011); Ouro Preto, Brasil (9-11 de fevereiro de 2011); Santo Domingo, República Dominicana (15-17 de fevereiro de 2012) e novamente Zacatecas (12-17 de março de 2012). (documento WHC-13/37. COM/10A, p. 10).

[22] De acordo com o *Novo Dicionário Aurélio da Língua Portuguesa*.

[23] Argan, 2005, p. 17.

[24] Para ficarmos em um exemplo nos sítios mencionados até aqui, na cidade do Porto estão disponíveis diversos roteiros que integram os sítios Patrimônio Mundial da própria cidade do Porto, de Guimarães e do Vale do rio Douro.

[25] De acordo com o *Novo Dicionário Aurélio da Língua Portuguesa*.

> nominations initiatives (Guatemala, Dominican Republic), binational nominations (St Vincent and Grenadines/Grenada); Pacific Jesuit missions (Mexico/USA); and multinational nominations (rock art in the Caribbean) or intercontinental (Slave Route). (Unesco WHC, documento WHC-13/37. COM/10A, p. 73).

No entanto, essas ainda são ações isoladas, que testam seus limites para tentar entrar em operação. Mas o quê, então, poderia ser a base para o estabelecimento efetivo desses sistemas mundiais de preservação?

O Valor Universal Excepcional.

> Considerando que determinados bens do patrimônio cultural e natural se revestem de excepcional interesse que necessita a sua preservação como elementos do patrimônio da humanidade no seu todo; [...] Artigo 7. Para fins da presente Convenção, deverá entender-se por proteção internacional do patrimônio mundial, cultural e natural a criação de um sistema de cooperação e de assistência internacionais que vise auxiliar os Estados parte na Convenção nos esforços que dispendem para preservar e identificar o referido patrimônio. (Unesco, 1972)

O próprio texto da Convenção, de 1972, parece nos indicar a resposta. A partir da declaração de valor universal excepcional de cada sítio, é possível entendê-los dentro de uma lógica para além de suas fronteiras nacionais. Afinal, toda a base da atuação com o Patrimônio Mundial está na preservação de seu valor universal excepcional [26] . Pesquisas abordam a dificuldade de se definir o que é tal valor. Pois bem, pensar a preservação em sistema pode contribuir de forma decisiva para reforçar esse valor.

É curioso notar que ações de cooperação internacional parecem mais bem estabelecidas – em especial no indicador da participação da sociedade civil – quando pensamos no patrimônio natural. Uma possível explicação é que o tal valor universal excepcional (VUE) – ou seja, o valor que caracteriza aquele patrimônio como sendo importante para toda a humanidade – é muito mais facilmente reconhecível quando se fala da natureza.

Assim, uma primeira dificuldade para se pensar em sistema é o reconhecimento efetivo do VUE. A segunda dificuldade: conciliar os diferentes interesses das diversas esferas envolvidas.

> Mas não devemos esquecer, nesta leitura segmentada, que se a cidade são seus sítios, são também, e fundamentalmente, seus habitantes que, com suas referências de pertencimento, constituem as manifestações substanciais da identidade. (Ramón Gutiérrez, in IAPH, 1999, p. 116, tradução nossa[27])

É ainda interessante ver como Valparaíso, em seu plano de gestão, se define como um patrimônio cultural dentro de um sistema. A ideia é valorizar ainda mais o sítio, inserindo-o no comércio realizado na virada do século XIX para o XX no Pacífico. E como isso foi crucial para a revolução industrial na América Latina[28].

> *A mundialização dos valores e das referências ocidentais* contribuiu para a *expansão ecumênica* das práticas patrimoniais. Essa expansão pode ser simbolizada pela Convenção relativa à proteção do patrimônio mundial cultural e natural, adotada em 1972 pela Assembleia Geral da Unesco. Esse texto baseava o conceito de patrimônio cultural universal no de monumento histórico – monumentos, conjuntos de edifícios, sítios arqueológicos

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[26] Cabe registrar que o decreto-lei de 1937 que estabeleceu as bases de atuação do Iphan, já falava, em seu artigo 1º, em um 'valor excepcional': "Art. 1º Constitui o patrimônio histórico e artístico nacional o conjunto dos bens móveis e imóveis existentes no país e cuja conservação seja de interesse público, quer por sua vinculação a fatos memoráveis da história do Brasil, quer por seu excepcional valor arqueológico ou etnográfico, bibliográfico ou artístico" (Brasil, Decreto-lei nº 25, de 30 de novembro de 1937, grifo nosso).

[27] Texto original consultado: "Pero no debemos olvidar, en esta lectura segmentada, que si la ciudad son sus sitios, son también, y fundamentalmente, sus habitantes quienes, con sus referencias de pertenencia, constituyen las manifestaciones sustantivas de la identidad."

[28] Ver plano de Valparaíso, p. 232.

> ou conjuntos que apresentem "um valor universal excepcional do ponto de vista da história da arte ou da ciência". Estava assim proclamada a universalidade do sistema ocidental de pensamento e de valores quanto a esse tema. (Choay, 2001, p. 207)

Um terceiro desafio – não abordado nessa pesquisa, mas que deve ser registrado – é a visão de patrimônio presente na Convenção. É a visão de patrimônio, e de valores, de Riegl. Ou seja, ocidental. Como então estruturar ações de preservação que consigam manter um padrão mundialmente? Se a ideia de sistemas resolveria a questão – justamente por tratar de sítios que se relacionam culturalmente, civilizatoriamente, entre si – candidaturas seriadas, como a do conjunto de obras de Le Corbusier, coloca novamente a questão na mesa.

CONSIDERAÇÕES FINAIS. Novos e velhos caminhos

> Nothing that lives is, or can be, rigidly perfect; part of it is decaying, part nascent. The foxglove blossom, - a third part bud, a third part past, a third part in full bloom, - is a type of the life of this world.
>
> John Ruskin (*Stones of Venice*, 1903, p. 846)

A dialética passado e presente que se entrevê no trecho acima pode ser vista, na *longue durée*, não apenas na obra de Ruskin, mas em todo o debate sobre patrimônio, desde o Renascimento. Da atuação de artistas italianos e da postura dos papas em relação à apropriação das obras e monumentos da Antiguidade no período, às acaloradas sessões do parlamento francês, em meio à Revolução. Do testamento de um inglês com pouca projeção à construção de uma ideia de patrimônio de uma nova nação – cheia dos ideais da tal Revolução Francesa – e que se tornaria a maior potência mundial atual. Da mesma construção de uma ideia de patrimônio nacional – com tantas formas e cores diferentes –, que buscava estabelecer claramente as diferenças entre o Velho e o Novo Mundo, à visão de um patrimônio pertencente à humanidade. Do monumento 'histórico e artístico nacional' a um patrimônio sem matéria e sem fronteiras. Em destruições, reconstruções, preservações.

A tentativa de conviver de forma harmônica entre o velho e o novo foi um dos propulsores por trás de ações de preservação das mais diversas – de pequenos objetos a construções monumentais. O debate gerado na busca por tal harmonia partiu de um primeiro questionamento, o que preservar? Que surgiu entremeado por outro, por que preservar? Dessa forma, despontaram teorias diversas, que consolidaram e alargaram o conceito de patrimônio. Tais diálogos – ou disputas em alguns casos – criaram uma rede de contatos internacional. Que foi institucionalizada com o acréscimo de um outro componente à equação: a ideia de um patrimônio que pertence a toda a humanidade.

A existência de tal rede de cooperação internacional foi o motivador da presente tese. Considerando a ótica local, como lidar com diferentes realidades e formações técnicas as mais diversas, para a preservação de um patrimônio mundial? E em um cenário onde há ainda tanto por fazer para se garantir uma preservação plena? Apresentamos como alternativa o estabelecimento de ações de preservação dentro de um sistema, que vai além de seus limites físicos, e com base em uma visão integrada de tais ações.

Quando um sítio recebe a qualificação de Patrimônio Mundial – as maiúsculas não são por acaso – ele ganha uma atenção que passa a exigir uma sustentação coerente e concreta. Se bem sucedido, tal sítio pode se tornar um estímulo ao crescimento econômico. No caso contrário, pode colocar em risco os próprios valores que pretende preservar. Os possíveis caminhos a percorrer são inúmeros, bem como as variáveis a serem consideradas. Como fechamento da pesquisa, recuperamos alguns dos caminhos identificados ao longo do processo.

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Antes, vale retomar uma questão: o que é preservar?

Vimos que a preservação do patrimônio hoje vem sendo pensada como uma ação integrada, em diversos campos de atuação, em diversas esferas políticas. Tal integração passa pela disputa entre interesses vinculados às esferas locais, regionais e mundiais. Temos, então, os moradores tradicionais, os moradores que querem o 'progresso', as políticas regional e nacional, visitantes que podem chegar da cidade vizinha ou do outro lado do globo, o padrão de preservação da Unesco, etc. Cada qual com sua visão da 'identidade local' a ser preservada, e com uma expectativa diversa sobre o futuro daquele lugar.

No imaginário coletivo, preservar é manter uma determinada configuração, em um bom estado de conservação. Quando se pensa na preservação de patrimônio móvel, é desejável que sua preservação física busque a forma como a obra (quadro, escultura, mobiliário, objetos, etc.) foi executada originalmente. Porém, seguir tal raciocínio para o patrimônio imóvel não é tão simples. Afinal, mudam-se os costumes e não há forma de continuar utilizando algumas estruturas da mesma maneira – mesmo considerando os mesmos usos – em arcos temporais que podem ultrapassar centenas de anos. O mesmo vale para uma área urbana, onde a lógica de se manter 'parado no tempo' foge à própria dinâmica humana de viver em sociedade. Dependendo do mecanismo utilizado para a proteção legal do sítio, corre-se o risco de um 'congelamento' da área. E normalmente é o que ocorre nas candidaturas a Patrimônio Mundial.

O risco aqui é o da 'museificação', da criação de 'parques temáticos', considerando a cidade como um cenário. Tal risco se torna uma ameaça efetiva quando se considera os usos encontrados na área. Retomando novamente a ideia de dinamismo, uma cidade não tem um uso único. Seu dinamismo se dá em função de múltiplas funções – e da mudança de tais funções. Uma forma de evitar a armadilha da museificação é garantir a continuidade da diversidade nas zonas preservadas. O caso do sítio de Ferrara, com a implantação da universidade no centro histórico é um possível caminho: o centro histórico tem suas ruas comerciais e áreas onde a predominância é de turistas (incluindo a estrutura para atendê-los). Mas tem também atividades constantes em outras áreas, o que garante o uso efetivo da cidade, tal qual a dinâmica de uma cidade qualquer.

Considerando os interesses conflitantes em um sítio Patrimônio Mundial, torna-se muito fácil cair na tal museificação. Isso porque a homogeneidade presente na ideia interessa como produto turístico. Entra em cena o fator globalização, em sua definição como a ideia de considerar elementos em conjunto, sem atentar a minúcias ou detalhes. Parece-nos que o impasse está no aceitar as 'minúcias' dos outros. Ou aquelas que são muito diversas da sua cultura (este é, aliás, o problema do mundo hoje: aceitar as nossas diferenças – e conviver com elas). O impasse ocorre no sentido em que o valor do patrimônio está justamente nesses detalhes. No entanto, o mercado turístico cultural – de massa – exige cada vez mais padrões universais (quartos de hotel, refeições, atendimento, etc., etc.). Nos últimos anos, porém, surgiu um novo mercado turístico: aquele que vai em sentido oposto, que 'foge' das grandes cadeias de hotéis, que busca o 'pitoresco'.

É possível utilizar esse movimento em prol da preservação. A atuação do museu Gadagne, em Lyon, é um exemplo. Ao incentivar a pesquisa interpretativa do sítio histórico, procurando estabelecer relações do mesmo com áreas da cidade fora do perímetro Unesco, se estabeleceria uma distribuição mais homogênea dos turistas pela cidade, além da valorização de outros patrimônios. Tal ação, no entanto, luta com outros interesses: o dos agentes turísticos e do comércio local, estruturado para atender a grandes grupos.

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Os interesses conflitantes podem efetivamente colocar em risco a preservação de um sítio. Um dos mecanismos existentes na Convenção do Patrimônio Mundial é uma segunda lista, a do patrimônio em perigo. A lista do Patrimônio em perigo pode ser um motivador para a recuperação do sítio. Vimos três casos. O de Pompeia, onde houve uma mudança efetiva – e radical – de postura em relação à forma de gestão do sítio. O de Ouro Preto, onde a ameaça à inclusão na 'lista vermelha' fez com que fossem realizadas algumas ações. No entanto, o sítio permanece extremamente vulnerável a pressões políticas, de forma que não podemos afirmar que houve algum tipo de mudança palpável no sítio[1]. E o caso de Liverpool, presente na lista de Patrimônio em perigo desde 2012, e ainda sem perspectivas de solução.

O caso de Liverpool nos remete à discussão sobre o valor do status Unesco. Os estudos realizados pelos governos de Portugal e do Reino Unido mostraram que a presença na Lista traz um benefício econômico. Ambos os relatórios foram também categóricos em afirmar que o valor econômico não deve ser o único a ser considerado, visto os benefícios do vínculo com a Unesco, em sua maioria, de ordem de políticas públicas. O que os estudos não conseguem mostrar é se haveria algum impacto negativo se tais sítios não estivessem presentes na Lista. Vale lembrar que o relatório do Reino Unido do ciclo 2012-13 mencionou a tensão existente em Liverpool. No entanto, o relatório do período seguinte não faz menção ao problema – então agravado, e com contínuos relatórios alertando para a possibilidade de exclusão do sítio da Lista.

Vale também lembrar a posição dos EUA. Após uma participação ativa no início da Lista, contribuindo para a efetiva implantação da Convenção, o país se afasta na década de 1990. Em torno de 2010, o National Park Service retomou a discussão sobre a participação norte-americana na Lista. Ressaltam, no entanto, dois fatores de dificuldade. O primeiro, a própria estrutura legal de preservação do país (similar à britânica), que acaba inviabilizando candidaturas de áreas urbanas, por exemplo (por conta da questão da propriedade privada). O segundo, o custo da elaboração da candidatura. Tanto o relatório de Portugal quanto o do Reino Unido apontam os valores necessários para a elaboração do dossiê de candidatura. Os valores são altos por conta do nível de detalhamento exigido e, no caso dos EUA, na maior parte das vezes o valor é custeado por organizações não governamentais, que são responsáveis pelo sítio. Tal seria um motivador para a diminuição do número de candidaturas apresentadas.

Outra possibilidade se relaciona ao mercado turístico. O turismo interno nos EUA é muito forte, e tal fato poderia justificar o não interesse dos sítios em investir no 'status Patrimônio Mundial'. Na Europa, onde o maior volume de turistas é estrangeiro, a presença na Lista conta como uma espécie de 'selo de qualidade', o que leva os países a investirem nas candidaturas.

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Retomamos agora alguns dos caminhos identificados.

Nas entrevistas realizadas ao longo da pesquisa, houve um item sempre presente: a dificuldade de lidar com os tantos interesses presentes nos sítios. O modelo indicado pela Unesco e seu Centro do Patrimônio Mundial para equilibrar tais interesses é a implantação de planos de gestão.

[1] A vulnerabilidade política de Ouro Preto infelizmente reflete um quadro corriqueiro no Brasil. No último ano, incêndios destruíram grande parte de dois edifícios importantes para o patrimônio paulista (estação da Luz e auditório do Memorial da América Latina). E em 2016, no momento de finalização do texto da presente tese, uma tentativa de aprovação de um edifício fora dos parâmetros no centro histórico de Salvador (Patrimônio Mundial) causou a queda de dois ministros no governo federal.

Desde a assinatura da Convenção do Patrimônio Mundial, em 1972, as diretrizes da Unesco para as candidaturas à Lista passaram por diversas revisões. A última versão dá um peso grande ao modelo de gestão proposto para o sítio. Apesar de um bom plano de gestão não garantir a sua preservação (como vimos no caso de Liverpool), ele é uma premissa importante para a preservação de um sítio. Em um aspecto, por identificar quais são as possíveis ameaças à preservação do sítio e quais são as suas especificidades. Ao realizar tal análise, os próprios gestores tomam consciência de alguns fatores que não estavam claros anteriormente. O outro aspecto é o estabelecimento de mecanismos de monitoramento do sítio. Apesar da diversidade de sítios presentes na Lista, bem como as diferentes realidades, dificultarem o estabelecimento de parâmetros que possam ser universais, estabelecer – e acompanhar – alguns indicadores é crucial para a preservação do sítio a longo prazo.

Mesmo reconhecendo a importância da elaboração de planos de gestão especificamente elaborados para as áreas Unesco, apresentamos como um possível caminho para a preservação a estratégia adotada pelo parque das Dolomitas. Visto que é consenso que um dos grandes desafios na preservação é a coordenação dos diversos atores presentes nos sítios – e suas diversas camadas de legislação –, a alternativa proposta pelo parque foi a de estabelecer **estratégias de gerais de gestão**, que articulam diversos planos existentes na área. Um primeiro ponto a favor é o fato de cada plano ser elaborado de acordo com suas necessidades específicas. Assim como para um sítio do porte das Dolomitas, com uma grande área física, valeria também para casos como a cidade de Valparaíso, que no caso da área do porto, precisa articular interesses bastante diversos. Outro ponto a favor da estratégia adotada pelo parque das Dolomitas é o longo prazo. Qualquer ação de preservação lida com a temporalidade, e no caso dos aspectos físicos de conservação, pensar em estratégias de longo prazo podem viabilizar a realização de intervenções maiores. O documento baseado no longo prazo também dá segurança política às ações de preservação. Inevitavelmente, qualquer sítio está sujeito a pressões políticas ou a mudanças de posicionamento na direção da gestão. O estabelecimento de diretrizes de longo prazo pode garantir a continuidade das ações.

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Como vimos, os momentos de elaboração dos relatórios periódicos se mostraram pontos de trocas de experiências importantes. Partindo do fato que o primeiro passo para preservar é conhecer, o contato com realidades diversas contribuiu muito para os processos de preservação de forma ampla. Como o caso dos momentos de elaboração dos relatórios nos mostra, ressaltamos que por 'troca de experiências' não entendemos meramente a realização de congressos ou eventos similares. Que são importantes e podem contribuir muito. No entanto, tais trocas deveriam ser pensadas não de forma pontual, mas em fóruns permanentes. O que nos leva a retomar a questão da **participação em redes, associações ou outras organizações de cooperação**. Além de redes temáticas e daquelas criadas por eventos pontuais (como no caso de tragédias naturais), é importante estimular a criação de fóruns internacionais fortes, para além da mediação da Unesco (como os existentes dentro da União Europeia e como poderiam ser a OEA e o Mercosul Cultural).

As redes – ou itinerários, como vem sendo estimulado pela Unesco – são além de uma forma de promoção do patrimônio, um estímulo ao desenvolvimento de projetos em conjunto. Em especial no caso de sítios pequenos ou periféricos, pensar em projetos em conjunto aumenta a capacidade técnica e de acesso a recursos diferentes.

Dentro de tal cooperação, a universidade assume também um papel importante. Com o estabelecimento de linhas de pesquisa alinhadas ao planejamento e às necessidades do sítio, a universidade pode contribuir muito para a preservação do patrimônio. Para além das questões tecnológicas, inventários e

monitoramento em médio e longo prazo são ações que diversos sítios já realizam em parceria.

Trabalhar em conjunto é possível, é desejável, é uma ação incentivada. No entanto, vimos que tirar uma ideia do papel não é fácil. No cenário de concorrência entre os sítios presentes na Lista, criado pelo mercado turístico, é muito fácil as redes passarem a operar como instrumentos de *promoção*, ao invés de *valorização*. O mesmo pode acontecer com eventos que se pretendem científicos. Uma forma de avaliar até que ponto uma rede está voltada para a preservação do bem é olhar para as ações desenvolvidas fora dos holofotes da imprensa.

Outra rede, aquela que assessora diretamente a Unesco na preservação do patrimônio (com o Icomos, o Iccrom e a IUCN) funciona e está presente em todo o mundo. Mas ela opera dentro das diferentes realidades de cada país, e de limitações como falta de recursos, outras prioridades, interesses contrários, especuladores de toda a ordem, disputas políticas, etc. Ademais, na maioria dos casos ela ainda se apresenta como uma presença mais fiscalizadora que colaborativa.

Um dos prováveis motivos é a distância. Ainda que a globalização tenha 'encurtado' as distâncias, aquelas culturais, de ordem técnica e econômica, de interesses até, permanecem. Como, então, diminuir tais distâncias?

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Mais uma distância a ser considerada é a entre os gestores e a população local. Um dos lados perversos da patrimonialização é a dificuldade da população em reconhecer qual é seu patrimônio. Se a esse fator se aliam projetos que contribuem para a expulsão da população local, a própria comunidade cuja cultura está ali representada passa a não contribuir para a preservação daquele sítio. Vivemos hoje em um mundo com relações fluidas, novos parâmetros sociais e morais e centrada no agora – a tal modernidade líquida do sociólogo Zygmunt Bauman – que provoca uma falta de interesse coletiva.

Por isso, a **participação social no processo de preservação** tornou-se essencial. A Convenção de 2003 para o patrimônio imaterial alterou de maneira radical o entendimento dos processos de preservação e de produção do patrimônio. E tal mudança precisa ser considerada. Alguns bons exemplos: Porto, com uma biblioteca de materiais que incentiva e inclui a população no cotidiano da manutenção de um patrimônio. Ferrara, com ações que integram as comunidades na identificação de seu patrimônio. Valparaíso, com a participação da população em diversas etapas dos processos decisórios.

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Por fim, retomamos a ideia de **pensar a preservação do Patrimônio Mundial por meio de uma lógica de sistemas**. Tal atuação sistêmica seria o conjunto de ações para a preservação concebido considerando o bem (ou o sítio) dentro de um sistema cultural que vai além de seus limites. As candidaturas transfronteiriças ou seriadas podem ser o início de uma visão em sistema. Porém, ela fica ainda restrita aos sítios presentes na Lista, enquanto poderia pensar sua articulação com sítios que não apresentem o mesmo status. Nesse sentido, o processo do Mercosul Cultural para as Missões Jesuíticas pode vir a ser um bom exemplo (o condicional se justifica, pois, o projeto é ainda muito recente para qualquer avaliação).

De outro lado, mais especificamente ao norte, o processo de candidatura do sítio das Missões de San Antonio apresenta uma leitura interessante do sítio dentro de um sistema. O material preparado analisa o sítio em comparação com outros presentes na América Latina e vinculados à colonização espanhola. Também aqui, o processo é recente, mas vale ser acompanhado, para avaliar se será buscada algum tipo de aproximação com os outros sítios mencionados na candidatura.

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Em março de 2012, o National Park Service lançou um vídeo[2] em comemoração ao aniversário de 40 anos da Convenção do Patrimônio Mundial. Em pouco mais de três minutos, são apresentados os sítios Patrimônio Mundial nos EUA, bem como alguns outros que são icônicos, como as pirâmides do Egito, o Taj Mahal e a grande muralha da China. Em meio a imagens que estão em sua maioria relacionadas ao patrimônio natural, algumas frases são inseridas, destacando o valor universal do Patrimônio Mundial e nossa responsabilidade na sua preservação. Afinal, é preciso retomar uma outra pergunta: de quem é a responsabilidade pela preservação de um patrimônio que pertence à humanidade? A resposta apresentada ali: "é dever da comunidade internacional proteger os lugares de valor universal excepcional"[3].

Se é verdade que apenas os moradores locais podem atuar diretamente na preservação de tal bem, também é verdade que nós podemos colaborar. Devemos. A partir de uma articulação técnica e política. Com trocas de experiências que possam trazer um algo mais. Deixando de lado nossos pré-conceitos e nos apresentando disponíveis para entender outras formas de se relacionar com seu patrimônio, com sua história. Mais do que encontrar respostas, a presente pesquisa procurou – com um olhar horizontal – levantar questões e discutir possibilidades para uma preservação ampla, integrada e efetiva.

> What about helping each other just to do something better? If we have each other, we can do something. But let us do something about it, and not wait until too late.
>
> *Bruno Zevi, 1961*

[2] Disponível em: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UySOekRPNfM&feature=youtu.be>

[3] Extraído do vídeo citado anteriormente, tradução nossa.