

Chapter 223

Common breeding sites surrounded in the region of the araucaria forests

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ABSTRACT

Investigations in the area of the history of traditional peoples, specifically of the faxinalenses, tend to the scope of the present time, either because of the emphasis on the aspect of territorialities, or due to the lack of written documents that go beyond the field of memories and images. For this reason, we suppose, it has been difficult to understand the collective fence that surrounds the common breeding facilities located in cleaning areas, as an event restricted to a region of the current state of Paraná. We investigate how this

distinct way of organizing the relations between the chamber of humans and that of nonhumans was constituted. It is assumed that, due to the model of occupation of the Brazilian territory by the Portuguese, the rocios served as a certain pattern to the common breeding sites surrounded by the sharing of the inhabited space between domestic animals and human beings. As the elevation of the parishes to the category of villages marks the beginning of the local legislation regarding the use of the rocios, and the terms of the municipalities, the documentary body of this project is constituted by these legislations. Curitiba because it is an important urban center in which communities are organized in the form of faxes in the area of metropolitan coverage will have centrality in terms of spatial cut.

1 INTRODUCTION

Faxinais is a generic way of naming a certain population organization adopted by farmers in the southern region of Brazil. They have belonged to the category of traditional peoples since 2006 when their representatives were included in the National Commission for the Sustainable Development of Traditional Peoples and Communities. One of its basic characteristics is the collective use of natural resources, especially water access points, and pastures, but in a certain region of the state of Paraná, most of them have assumed the character of the common fenced breeding site. The first studies, related to this theme, are from the 1980s, and the first of them in the area of history dates from the year 2000. Perhaps this mismatch is because groupings like these belong to the peoples of oral tradition. Thus, the scarcity of written documents becomes, effectively, a considerable limiter for the writing of its history, especially in a period that goes back more than a century. Although this limitation can be circumvented through the techniques of oral history or the use of images and photographic records, such lack has easily forced researchers from areas with rural development, as is the case of Chang's (2008) study, to create, or invent, parts of the contexts, dispensing with a documentary basis. Or by the sociological way, in the case of Souza (2001), to shelter the discussion in the present next time, under the allegation that recourse to the past can even be

harmful to popular claims. In other cases, it has shifted to the description of spatialities, adding concepts borrowed from geographies such as territory and landscape. This case is already manifested in the title of the first historiographical work mentioned above, the doctoral thesis of Maria Magdalena Nerone (2000) *Sistema faxinal: terras de plantar, terras de criação*. As the statement indicates, the cleaners are taken by the author as common fenced breeding grounds characterized by being areas of land (spaces) divided into two parts: one for planting and the other for creation. Such a division forces the emphasis on the geographical aspect in terms of historiographical production referring to these populations. It follows that, generally, spatiality becomes the main attribute when preparing a scenario for the introduction of the theme 'common creation', which, as Souza (2001) demonstrated, resulted in serious harm to the faxinalenses since it excluded those communities that never used the common breeding surrounded or that, having organized themselves in this way, abandoned this practice. The fenced common breeding is a space of collective use in which the animals belonging to the residents of the faxinal are raised collectively, that is, the livestock activity is developed on lands belonging to different owners, lands placed in common for this same purpose. By far, it is the most outstanding reference mark in terms of history (and other productions) referring to these locations, but we must consider that there are other forms of organization typical of cleaning areas. In a first approximation, it can be said that studies after that of Nerone, such as those of Sochodolak & Campigoto (2009), Rupp & Martins (2009), Schörner (2009) added little to this binary division centered on the coordinate of space, a split that strengthened even more from the increase of bibliographic production dealing with this same theme in the scope of geography, which was the case since 2008. The territorial division into two environments proved to be a didactic scheme, but of reduced scope to capture the historical complexity of this range of rurality in the southern region of Brazil. It reduces the focus to aspects of economic activity, and even more, to two occupations: planting and creating. Thus, historians of the cleaners have sheltered in the theoretical methodological framework of the history of the present time as a solution to the problem of documentary scarcity. In addition to the use of images and oral history, already mentioned, there has currently been recourse to criminal cases filed in specific documentation centers, government reports made available by the public archive of the state of Paraná, and also to newspaper articles circulating in the South Central region of the State. Such incursions into the scope of sources offer documentary support to extend the historical investigation to the mid-nineteenth century since the oldest municipalities in this region became villages in this period. Such 'mining', however, provided a less accurate perception concerning the possibilities of research on cleaning, but, at the same time, provoked a certain broadening of the horizon, perhaps even because of the geographical ballast accumulated from the aforementioned surveys. Be that as it may, this implied the prospect that, even in the present time, the cleaners are not restricted to the Central-South region of Paraná. There are these localities faxinalenses, for example, in the metropolitan region of Curitiba: in municipalities such as Mandirituba, Quitandinha, and Tijucas do Sul. This finding implied the expansion of documentary possibilities, at least until the beginning of the nineteenth century when the city was founded; moreover, until the beginning of the XVIII in which

the ordinations of Dr. Raphael Pires Pardiniho, Ombudsman-General of the Village, were issued in 1721. Thus, we see the documentary basis for the historical studies of the cleaners expanded, expanding the traditional view that one has about the object: the cleaners are something beyond an isolated way or a parallel system to the form of occupation and settlement of the southern region of Brazil since the junctions between the native ways of occupying the space and the European forms of colonization of their domains. Because of one of the modalities of cleaning, those with *the common component* in which humans and animals cohabit in the same space, a link is maintained with the usual way of life in the first towns and villages of the southern region of Brazil. The hypothesis is that this way of inhabiting has been changing from the transformation of these villages into cities, or in urbanized areas under the same legislation that ordered the cleaning. Such conclusions are also based on several studies on settlement patterns such as those gathered from the point of view of geography by Joélcio Gonçalves Soares and Cicillian Luzia Löven Zahr. This deals with structures and spatial patterns of settlement in faxinal communities. The analysis was based on classical reflections such as those of Smith (1971), Leonard and Clifford (1971), Bertrand (1973), Vasconcelos (1977), and Mendras (1978). It supports the conclusion that of all the models, the nucleated village has similarities with the cleaners because of its

[...] The most evident feature is that the houses of the farmers are crowded, and the planting lands are far from their residences. It is not uncommon for animals and birds to share in the owner's quarters or be sheltered nearby. Villages vary in their shapes but are usually circular or rectangular or irregularly outlined. There is a strong interconnected social organization, due to the proximity of the residences. (SOARES & SAHAR, 2013, p. 112)

Although the detailed study of this typology that, "[...] in terms of the number of people affected, the form of colonization of the nucleated village type is by far the most important in the world (SMITH 1953, apud, BERTRAND, 1973, p. 99) allows a singular view of the spatiality of Faxinalense, by reference to animals, we will retain from the discussion the following indicative:

This type of community could be found in the United States, because of the influence of English colonization, and also present in Germany, Russia, Italy, Switzerland, Spain, and others (VASCONCELOS, 1977). In Brazil, according to Anjos (2009, p. 114), occurrences of this type are verified mainly in the northeast, center-west, and south of the country, in quilombola communities, and may influence indigenous communities. (SOARES & SAHAR, 2013, p. 112)

Thus, in Brazil, linear and nucleated communities predominated in areas predominantly of small farms. Sparse stand structures were predominant in latifundia and farm regions. (SOARES & SAHAR, 2013, p. 112). Although we have to agree that the sparse model predominated in Brazil until the mid and late nineteenth century when small properties began to appear, municipal legislation, in general, indicates that animals were sheltered if not in the lodgings of the residents of the first cities of this region, sheltered nearby. It is possible to identify, from the analysis of municipal laws made on another occasion, (V. SCHORNER & CAMPIGOTO, 2015) a certain restlessness and even anxiety for animals raised on the loose in the so-called urban housing areas. It can be said that the subject occupies a considerable fraction

of the energies expended by the Curitiba chamberlains during the eighteenth century, entering, in part, the nineteenth.

... From the village the pigs make themselves on their postures and accord so that whoever had them would put them out of this village or fill them in such a way that they would never again walk loose in the village for the great damage and damage they did in breaking yards and even walls of the houses of this village of which residents who have houses in it have experienced great damage both in the said houses and yards as in the neighboring gardens of this village. (PEREIRA, 1993, pp. 18-19)

The problems of coexistence between humans and farm animals, especially pigs and dogs, were not solved with the code of conduct of 1748, approved in September. According to the book prepared in commemoration of the 300th anniversary of the city council of Curitiba, the creation of pigs released through the streets was such an ingrained habit that neither the police chiefs nor even the mayors took effective measures that would modify it. The conflict reached the extremes that the order was instituted, utilizing an edict, to the gatekeeper, to the mayor, or any aggrieved person who killed the 'damned' animals (pigs and dogs) released in the streets and easements. The population disobeyed the determination and the prosecutor requested an arrest warrant from the mayor and the porter (PEREIRA, 1993, p. 19). In any case, the legalization of the summary slaughter of animals that circulated outside the space destined for them in Curitiba at the beginning of the eighteenth century will be taken here as a precedent to the cases of poisoning of cattle in areas of cleaning occurred in the early XXI, in the southeast region of Paraná. The term 'harmful animal', currently used in communities that have already functioned or continue in the cleaning system, therefore, has a centuries-old tradition in this region of the state of Paraná. It appeared already in the Minutes of the Municipality of Curitiba in 1770 (B.C.M.C, v.29, p.25). It is a legislative category also applied to tall farms: cattle, horses, and mules so riding animals were the targets of this legislation in the year 1737. Through such code "... *the councilors determined 'to have the horses removed as well as those absent as well as the residents of this village out of it and cattle for doing damage to this village by tearing down houses'.*" (PEREIRA, 1993, p. 19). The cows raised out of a proper fold, seen roaming the alleys and easements, were 'accused' as indecent beings: the order was for them to be 'closed'. One of the arguments used at the time was to "*be said cattle doing corral in the Mother Church of this village with so little decency*". (PEREIRA, 1993, p. 20). We can say that the injury, the breakdown, or the damage, the matter of the discussion undertaken by the Curitiba chamberlains, extrapolated to the economic domain and even to the field of 'materiality'. For some scholars of the subject, the legal determination is since the "... *full of animals the city could stop looking like a city.*" (PEREIRA, 1993, p. 19). It can be said, however, that this would only be valid in a strictly Westernized frame of reference. Just think, for example, of the current Indian metropolises in which cows and various other animals dispute the streets and spaces of temples with the residents of the city. Based on urban studies the first trading posts were scattered along the coast of Brazil

[...] they cannot be taken over by urban settlements because of their precariousness and because they did not present the physical and social elements characteristic of an urban settlement, no matter how small[...]. This is due to the initial little importance of the colony and mainly because no minerals and precious stones were found in the explored regions of the coast. (NEVES, 2009, p. 225)

According to this line of investigation, the crown reserved for itself the prerogative of the foundation of cities from the adoption of the policy of hereditary captaincies but transferred to the grantees the right to found villages. Then, points out Reis (1995, p.17), the king invested financially and with technical support only in cities built on the crown lands. On the donated lands, royalty

[...] he left the initiatives to the grantees of the captaincies and to the population itself. The grantees authorized by the forais to create villages in the territories of the captaincies acted as businessmen and transferred to the settlers the greater cost of these investments. Like all the pioneers, they reproduced with the economy of means the modest patterns of the Portuguese villages from which they mostly originated. Without plans, without specific guidelines, at first, the villages had nothing of the characteristics of the Hispanic-American cities and the formal order imposed by the Philippine Ordinations.

It should also be added that these cities or towns had defense objectives, which we can link to the aforementioned economy of means employed by the pioneers, that is, the construction of fences and palisades. Thus, some authors indicate that the main square of Olinda had such a siege for the defense against the Indians of the Caetés tribe, resembling a traditional *fortress*¹. (NEVES, 2009, p. 235). In the case of Rio de Janeiro, the second city founded in the Colony, there was a stone wall. And also, as stated in the Regiment given to Tomé de Souza by Dom João III for the construction of Salvador, if it was not found, on earth, material to make the wall of stone and lime, which was made of clay and stone, or of rammed earth or wood or as best they could. (NEVES, 2009, pp. 238-239). In the same way, São Luiz, also has the structure of the fortresses. They are defense frames even if they were made of wood, that is, of tree trunks and branches, which approximates the old fences made by the faxinalenses. São Paulo will be even more emblematic in this study for being the first village founded far from the coast in the sixteenth century. moreover, it became the capital of the Province that covered the region under study, until 1853. At first, it was surrounded by a stockade, a cliff with "[...] four doors, which were the ends of the four paths that departed from the college[...]. " Subsequently, the original palisade was replaced by a rammed earth wall that would have lasted until the beginning of the seventeenth century. (NEVES, 2009, p. 244). The 'palisade' or stake model can be linked to cleaning, and then the technique of the cleaning fortress would be at the origin of the name faxinal. There are indications of this type of technique being used at the beginning of the occupation of the extreme south of Brazil, as was published on June 25, 2007, on the occasion of the celebrations of the 150th anniversary of the municipality of Canguçu-RS.

Like this

¹ Citadel.

In 1763 the governor of Buenos Aires, D. Pedro Ceballos invaded Rio Grande do Sul. Before this invasion, coming from Rio Pardo, the troop of Dragons of the Rio Grande based there crossed the lands of Canguçu to go beyond the Chuí and found the Fortress of Santa Tereza in the territory then of Portugal. Fortress built precariously on the sand and cleaned (fences of pau a pique).²

Several cleaners would form a faxinal. São Paulo could, in this way, be the first cleaning (faxinal) of Brazil away from the coastal region. In the south-central region of Paraná, Diogo de Azevedo Pinto Portugal, who arrived in the fields of Guarapuava in 1810, had the Fortin do Atalaia erected, in a palisade, erected to shelter his men from the indigenous attacks. Soon after, the point of the stakes was erected where the local population moved definitively. The 'wooden fences' are the origin of the various enclosure techniques used in cleaning. One even talks about typologies, sociologies, and the archaeology of fences. In addition, the codes of postures of the city of São Paulo served as a basis for the other cities of the province. It was the fundamental element for the ordering and legal delimitation of the ways of dwelling perhaps even in the faxinal.

Thus, the objective of this research has been to understand, through municipal legislation, the constitution of the common breeding sites fenced, in the period that extends between the mid-eighteenth century and the end of the twentieth. People who visit a faxinal, those who keep the community breeding closed will have the impression of entering a village or city of the colony or the empire due, mainly, to the presence of animals amid the dwellings of the faxinalenses. This can be affirmed based on documentary evidence that reveals a long process of separation and gathering of the chamber of humans and non-humans in the southern region of Brazil and, especially in the region of the mixed ombrophilous forest, or araucaria forests. As seen earlier, at the beginning of the settlement in Brazil, the foundation of the villages was left to the grantees, who passed the responsibility to the settlers. This means that in the beginning, farm animals shared the living space with humans as it is in most cleaning animals today. We can point out except for the so-called tall cattle that soon, also according to municipal legislation, was being separated and excluded at least for the rocios. Even so, the riding animals were the target of the municipal legislation of Curitiba, in the year 1737. Through her "... the councilors determined 'to have the horses removed as well as those absent as well as the residents of this village out of it and cattle for doing damage to this village by tearing down houses'. " (CURITIBA, 1993, p. 19). We can think that the legislation on the rocks "removed the faxinal from the middle of the village", in terms of tall cattle because pigs, goats, birds, and dogs would remain in this same inhabited space, for a long time. It turns out that, in the fenced common breeding site, it would be as if the dwellings of the faxinalenses invaded the rocio. The municipal legislation is registering these processes and at the same time, determined the forms of construction of the fences and fences, the gates and gates, the access to water, the circulation and transport of animals, the slaughter and taming, and so on. So, the documents that are being analyzed are the municipal legislations of Curitiba and Ponta Grossa, mainly. The methodology is documentary analysis. According to Sá-Silva (2009, p. 2), the

² <http://cairopinheiro.blogspot.com.br/2008/01/canguu-antes-de-1857-uma-retrospectiva.html>. Last accessed on 11/27/2016.

advantage of the " use of documents in research is that it allows adding the dimension of time to the understanding of the social. The documentary analysis favors the observation of the process of maturation or evolution of individuals, groups, concepts, knowledge, behaviors, mentalities, and practices, among others. " The time frame, based on legislation, can be extended to the beginning of the eighteenth century (with the ordinations of the ombudsman Pardino) and the early twentieth-century first code of postures of Irati). This research will be given greater attention to the legislation related to Curitiba due to the greater ease of access to documentation, especially concerning permits, terms of council, and minutes of the chamber. They are the laws regarding the rocios, the yards, the fences, and enclosures, as well as the creation, circulation, taming, transport, and slaughter of the animals, also devoting attention to the water springs or the drinking points for the animals, with special attention to the laws referring to the municipal rural area. One of the important political moments is the elevation of the parishes to the category of Village, because it is then that, at least officially, the local authorities separate the lands of Plantar and Criar (rossio) from the lands of habitat (urban framework). A new ordering of space, a conflicting historical process, full of resistance, with arbitrary moves, with imposing and reactive power relations, in which the tactics and strategies of the groups involved are perceptible. The first moment of this investigation is the rereading of the documentary body, in the archive of the Bandeirantes Study Circle. It is about revisiting the documents collected during the postdoctoral internship held in 2018 under the title *Animais, quadros urbanos e faxinais: relações entre a camara dos humanos e dos nonhumanos nas matas de araucária* (century. XVIII and XIX). Interpreting the unfolding of municipal legislation means thinking of the documentary body as a construction that is related to the ordering of the inhabited space, but also to the imaginary, to certain aesthetics, to conceptions of development and civility, of urbanism and hygiene, to status and even morality. It is, to some extent, an essay to tell a version of the older history of the faxinalenses, better grounded in documents.

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