

THE CONSTRUCTION OF PEDAGOGIES ON FEMININITIES: SCENES IN PREHISTORIC ROCK ART IN SERRA DA CAPIVARA NATIONAL PARK IN SÃO RAIMUNDO NONATO, PIAUÍ, BRAZIL

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Abstract

This study focused on rock art in Brazilian prehistory in the Serra da Capivara Park in the city of São Raimundo Nonato, in the northeast of the state of Piauí. The objective of the article was to investigate representations of femininity in the region in a bibliographic review using a cultural history approach. We investigated two images: the figure from the Northeast Tradition of the sex scene at Toca do Paraguai and another from the Northeast Tradition, Serra da Capivara style, at Sítio Toca do Baixão. Feminist and gender research can influence the interpretations of these representations. In the paintings captured in PARNA, the phallus and vulva are represented and suggest a scene of monogamous sex in Figure 1. Researchers disagree on the interpretation of Figure 2 as childbirth or a scene of polyandry.

Keywords: Pedagogies, Identity, Heritage, Femininities.

INTRODUCTION

When investigating Prehistory in History and Art History textbooks, authors offer only brief remarks on rock art. Even more succinctly, we find only a few notes on these cultural manifestations in

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Brazilian territory. In this sense, did individuals from diverse and different places in Prehistory live and represent their existence in the same way? The testimonies of art suggest that they did not.

Behaviors, ideas, and ways of life are mutable, and when we select a cultural practice to analyze, we uncover complex relationships among artistic, social, economic, political, and historical factors (Chauí, 2002). Thus, like any other human production—far from a single, homogeneous style—paintings produced on rocky slopes or in caves deserve recognition of their particularities, which may diverge from the information conveyed by patriarchal, sexist, misogynistic, racist, and ethnocentric discourses.

To discuss Prehistory, given that it spans a very long period, historians divide it into the Lower Paleolithic (500,000 BC), Upper Paleolithic (30,000 BC), and Neolithic (10,000 BC). However, as is evident, for example, in the books most commonly used in Art History courses, emphasis falls above all on the bison paintings at Altamira in Spain, and at Niaux, Font de Gaume, and Lascaux in France (Gombrich, 2001; Janson, 2001; Proença, 1997; Prous, 2007; Strickland; Boswell, 2014). It is important to note that, right on the opening pages of these books, the emphasis presents Europe as the center of cultural production from Prehistory to the contemporary era.

In some works—even by Brazilian authors—disregard for, or the belittling of, “our” art also prevails, especially before 1970, when feminist theories had not yet influenced (or claimed space within) historical discourses. In the 1970s, as Niède Guidon’s research was beginning, her proposals received only small spaces in textbooks. Nevertheless, in publications addressing national Prehistory, such as those by Funari and Noelli (2002), the authors argue that unknown meanings still remain regarding rituals, festivities, and activities such as fishing, hunting, among others, in that distant period.

By contrast, in more recent editions of textbooks by various authors, artistic manifestations in Brazilian territory are timidly listed. Some include notes on rock art in Piauí, the production of Indigenous ceramics, and sambaquis in the coastal region of São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro. Alongside these presentations, one also finds the female fossil that received the name Luzia. The mortal remains of

this woman constitute, up to the present moment, the oldest evidence of human presence found in South America, in Minas Gerais (Proença, 2014).

It should also be highlighted that, although some researchers have referred to Prehistoric art as “primitivism,” this term is regarded as surrounded by mistaken judgments regarding human expressiveness. Certain studies, such as those by Mauduit (1964), express prejudice toward the art of the period termed Prehistory by comparing it to children’s art, in which images and reality are confused. Moreover, they also disparage the technique by considering it to be poorly developed. From another angle, this study emphasizes that rock art requires care in the search for materials, the development of techniques, and a refined symbolic universe.

Today it is considered certain that, beyond the capacity for logical reasoning that has always characterized intelligence, it is also revealed through other intelligent abilities, such as sensitivity to colors, sounds, and images, and the capacity to express ourselves through these languages. Developing this capacity is, therefore, becoming more intelligent (Costa, 2013, p. 13).

In light of this, we begin to question: even though the paintings at Altamira in Spain are the oldest found to date, what about the gaps concerning other forms of creative expression and their possible symbolic systems, so vital to intelligent acts? More specifically, we turn to those found—perhaps not as well known or widely disseminated—namely, the rock art in Serra da Capivara National Park, in the city of São Raimundo Nonato, in the Brazilian Northeast, State of Piauí, and the interpretations of these works beyond those presented above.

METHODOLOGY

For the purposes of this article, we delimit our investigation to representations of femininities within the research that has, to date, been presented in academic settings in this region. In which scenes do these women appear? What symbolisms are involved? What do these scenes narrate? Are discussions

of gender diversity and sexuality included? Does the construction of these interpretations differ between male and female researchers?

In this context, the present study takes as its theme the examination of prehistoric rock art in Serra da Capivara National Park as a means of constructing pedagogies of femininities, through the approach of Cultural History and the discussion of gender. From this perspective, we acknowledge that “[...] the behaviors, beliefs, and representations of feminist researchers interfere with the results of their research—in the same way that those of any researcher do” (Louro, 2016, p. 158).

Even in this region, researchers—especially archaeologists and historians—have distinguished the styles or traditions encountered by seeking elements that group them according to similar characteristics. Nevertheless, the researcher’s activity is not neutral. The works do not come to meet the researchers. On the contrary, researchers, with their intentions and concerns—or, put differently, with the ways in which we distinguish and recognize ourselves academically—seek, within their lines of inquiry and approaches, answers or directions that often lead, not to say always, to interpretations of the past and to the construction of the memory one wishes to reinforce or to forget.

In view of these aspects, we examine rock painting in its symbolic, social, and cultural dimensions. As Pessis (1992, p. 37) advises us, “[...] knowing the society in which the work was produced makes it possible [...] to establish relationships between the graphic characteristics of the work and the possible meanings such a work could have had in the society in which it was produced.”

Given historical considerations regarding the importance of the site, this park was selected due to the breadth of research on rock art and its initial considerations of gender and sexuality; however, up to the present, few studies have provided illustrations enabling other interpretations. On the basis of these considerations, the study will focus on investigating prehistoric rock art in Serra da Capivara National Park through two visual documents: the figure from the Northeast Tradition depicting of the sex scene at Toca do Paraguai, and another from the Northeast Tradition, Serra da Capivara style, from the Toca do Baixão site. After this introduction, we will discuss Prehistory and the divergences among interpretations

of art in that period. Next, we will indicate the presence of gender in art. Finally, we will provide a brief presentation of the park's rock art and the two visual sources proposed for this study, in order to consider certain narratives that interpret representations of women and their social insertion in that context.

PREHISTORY AND SOCIAL RELATIONS OF POWER

At the end of the nineteenth century, researchers regarded prehistoric humanity as primitive, or, in other words, as lacking artistic abilities. At Altamira, for example, when it was discovered in 1878, historians believed the rock paintings were forgeries, since a painter lived in the vicinity of the region (Prous, 2007).

In this regard, the term “primitivism” is linked to a Eurocentric view of the world: in the nineteenth century, social scientists posited a supposed evolution of societies in which those holding beliefs in gods or in God would progress to a stage of reason. Some of these societies might then evolve to the apex of human development, according to the uses of reason and science, with urban and industrial Europeans serving as the model to be followed. On the basis of this theoretical support, we may consider certain ethnocentric interpretations of rock art, briefly listed below.

In such approaches, rock arts “[...] suggest that they were conceived as a visual aid, a hunting manual composed to recreate the problems of hunting and reinvigorate the hunter's knowledge, as well as to instruct those who were still inexperienced [...]” (Dondis, 1999, p. 170). In the same vein, images that we interpret as arrows indicated and instructed other individuals about the most suitable place to strike animals during hunting. Other researchers emphasize that these images, more than teaching new generations their practices, were also associated as an “instrument of magic” (Guerra; Martins; Picosque, 1998, p. 35). Regarding this magic, Proença argues that:

[...] the most accepted explanation is that this art was produced by hunters, and that it formed part of a magical process through which one sought to influence the capture of animals. That is, the painter-hunter of the Paleolithic assumed he had power over the animal as long as he possessed its image. He believed he could kill the real animal provided he represented it mortally wounded in a drawing. Thus, for him, the drawings were not representations of beings, but the beings themselves (Proença, 1997, p. 11).

These are ethnocentric views, as if the various rock arts did not involve particular symbolic appropriations, or as if there existed a superior artistic manifestation of white Europeans and another, inferior one of other cultures which, within their beliefs, would associate art with mystical aspects. On the other hand, even today:

[...] prehistoric images often reflect the concepts prevailing in their time and, for this reason, interpretations of prehistoric art have varied considerably since modern Westerners first noticed its manifestations. [...] In the absence of explanatory texts, the meaning of art in prehistory should be found in the vestiges themselves and not in the projection of our beliefs and our prejudices onto what our distant predecessors might have been (Prous, 2007, p. 12–13).

Nevertheless, in light of the authors' discussions, we may consider that the image could have functioned as a pedagogical instrument for other members, a way of recording their history, given that writing had not yet been created.

Another important point that may be taken into account when choosing to use the term Rock Art is the fact that this term is already traditionally consolidated in international Archaeology. In English, for example, the term "Rock Art" seems to be preferred when referring to paintings made on rocks in prehistoric times, not only because it is consolidated, but because there is no better way to refer to them (Santos, 2010, p. 30).

Therefore, in accordance with cultural relativism, we adopt the term rock art. These cultural productions, although they are the oldest in humanity, involve numerous controversies regarding their "true" meaning even among specialists in the field. For this reason, we will use the term rock art in this study. Next, we will present some studies on issues of gender in art.

THE CONSTRUCTION OF GENDER IN ART

Discussions about art and gender in Brazil have long been overlooked, given that Brazilian history is told from a male perspective following the great European voyages of discovery. In this regard, historians often render women's participation in society invisible, or only present the version narrated by the “victors.” Given this, “[...] the reproduction of inequality (whatever it may be) will continue to occur as long as there are dominant parties with vested interests and subjugated parties who are complacent and/or ignorant” (Pinsky, 1994, p.41).

In this vein, in 1963 the researcher Elizabeth Baity went so far as to propose, in her description of what Americans would have been like during the Ice Age, that labor would be divided. Women would be responsible for caring for animal hides or for what would become the family's future protections, while men would prepare the utensils for the hunt. In the author's words, “[...] women wore aprons made of tanned bison leather and the man a leather loincloth. Everyone looked alike, with their brown skin, their slanted black eyes, and their straight, black, loose hair” (Baity, 1963, p. 14).

It is precisely such expressions that lead us to believe that this appearance does not point to equality; on the contrary, it is associated with differences proposed through clothing, as well as with social relations of power among individuals through the gendered division of activities. Moreover, this narrative helps construct the social imaginary of what those ancient societies would have been like within dichotomous frameworks that separate “proper” achievements of women and men. By proposing this scene in which the woman wears an apron, the author symbolically perpetuates, from the very beginning, domestic and private work as something considered “natural” to women, while men would occupy public spaces and activities such as hunting.

Another construction in her book that links childcare to women's responsibilities appears when Elizabeth Baity (1963) narrates that, in order to reach the Americas, men went ahead and carried their hunting belongings as they forged into new territory. This occurred at the same time that women carried small children on their backs, while the older children walked behind along with the other animals. As she

continues her description, the author's assertion becomes contradictory when she states that these traces of humanity disappeared and that only a few indications remained for us.

In this regard, we observe that many suppositions were formulated in accordance with social inequality, based solely on biological factors, and that they neglected cultural factors in representations of what social relations would be—relations that are constructed rather than given to the individual at birth and tied to biological sex. On issues of gender, the researcher Guacira Lopes Louro emphasizes:

It is intended, in this way, to reposition the debate in the social field, because it is there that (unequal) relations among subjects are constructed and reproduced. The justifications for inequalities would need to be sought not in biological differences (if even these can be understood outside their social constitution), but rather in social arrangements, in history, in conditions of access to the resources of society, and in forms of representation. The concept then comes to be used as a strong relational appeal—since it is within the scope of social relations that genders are constructed (Louro, 2001, p. 26).

Based on these analyses, early research led by women associates women's invisibility throughout history with patriarchal discourse. In such discourses as those of Elizabeth Baity, a narrative was supposedly reinforced that diminished the role of women throughout human formation, which contributed to ethnocentric theories and disregarded the cultural relativism of Prehistory.

On the other hand, as Simone de Beauvoir (1949) highlights, and as the interview with Alison Wylie on gender archaeology indicates (Koide; Ferreira; Marin, 2014), it is difficult to think about women in the period before agriculture—whether their musculature was more developed, as in the era of hunter-gatherer peoples that demanded greater physical effort, or what their social role may have been. Other interpretations, such as those found in ethnographic research, report distant matriarchal societies, with the appreciation of and effective participation by women in their respective societies. “One might even suppose that, at certain stages of food abundance, the protective and nurturing role of the male subordinated him to the mother-woman” (Beauvoir, 1949, p. 91).

From this perspective, cultural factors begin to be emphasized in order to study social relations and the constructive process of what would count as a woman or a man. In other words, the research

record often reflects the sexist interpretations within which the researcher is situated. At the other extreme, when considering discussions of gender, we seek to examine social relations and disputes, in order to dialogue about diverse activities, aspirations, and occupations that individuals may perform, regardless of gender, but as human beings.

Once again, we turn to Guacira Louro for explanations concerning the importance of studying cultural aspects and showing the construction of pedagogies of femininities in each place and in each period:

Initially related to biological distinctions, the difference between genders served to explain and justify the most varied distinctions between women and men. Theories were constructed and used to “prove” physical, psychological, and behavioral distinctions; to indicate different social skills, talents, or aptitudes; to justify social places, possibilities, and the “proper” destinies of each gender. The feminist movement then becomes centrally occupied with this difference—and its consequences (Louro, 2014, p. 49).

For example, research conducted by Loredana Ribeiro investigates the particularities of material culture in Serra do Ramalho, in the southwest of Bahia on the left bank of the São Francisco River, and concludes that “[...] the production of this same rock art has, for more than one hundred years, been attributed by many archaeologists to male individuals, principally to shamans and hunters” (Ribeiro, 2009, p. 162). However, by the end of the twentieth century, new horizons—such as feminist and gender theories—made it possible to question women’s involvement in various other practices, including those associated with shamanism, which had previously been linked only to forms of masculinity. In light of these considerations regarding gender studies, we will next present the construction of pedagogies of femininities in the rock-art images of Serra da Capivara National Park.

ROCK ART IN SERRA DA CAPIVARA NATIONAL PARK

The general population of Brazil’s Northeast prior to European colonization—the so-called hunter-gatherers—did not master fishing, did not develop skills for building houses, and did not know the

wheel or the domestication of animals. In addition, communities were not divided into social classes and walked around naked or half-naked (Martin, 2008). In this context, we will briefly present the research on the site that is now Serra da Capivara National Park (PARNA), selected as the focus of this study.

The first photographs of the region were taken in 1963. As soon as Niède Guidon came into contact with these photographs, she did not recognize them from anywhere else. In other words, they were images of a new tradition in rock art that was, until then, unknown. Only seven years later did the researcher visit São Raimundo Nonato and thus become acquainted with Serra da Capivara. Later, in 1973, Niède took part in the first Franco-Brazilian mission to the site to search for archaeological sites. From 1980 onward, Niède benefited from the contributions of Anne-Marie Pessis, currently a professor at UFPE. In Nelson Piletti's *History of Brazil*, we find some traces of that moment:

Until the end of the 1960s, the state of Minas Gerais was the region where the greatest quantity of rock art was found. In 1969, the then mayor of São Raimundo Nonato, in southern Piauí, took 69 photographs of rock shelters and paintings from the area to the Museu Paulista. From that point on, several expeditions were carried out at the site, including international collaboration—especially from France—and more than 220 shelters and approximately 9,000 figures were discovered. These numbers are highly significant, given that Europe has little more than forty catalogued shelters (Piletti, 1991, p. 9–10).

After years of struggle and political disputes, Niède and her team succeeded in formally establishing Serra da Capivara National Park, encompassing 129,140 hectares (Prous, 2007, p. 123). According to De Almeida (2013), archaeological studies have identified more than 1,000 registered sites in Brazil alone, 657 of which contain rock paintings, while others constitute villages and cemeteries.

Another contribution of researcher Niède Guidon to History is the proposal that humans arrived in the Americas much earlier than is commonly assumed—more precisely, in South America. This claim is supported by charcoal remains found at Toca do Boqueirão, located within the same Park, which, through carbon-14 analysis, date to 31,500 years (Pinsky, 1994). In light of this information, we question the invisibility of Brazilian rock art in international art history books, since, according to Gabriele Martin

(2008), Serra da Capivara Park has been recognized as a UNESCO Natural and Cultural World Heritage site since 1991.

Within the Park, rock art displays notable differences, given that various groups inhabited the region and, over time, new elements were incorporated. Accordingly, we will address the traditions present in Serra da Capivara National Park. These artistic productions in the area now occupied by PARNA are probably associated—by locality—with what is termed the “Macro-Jê subculture” (Melatti, 1993 apud Justamand, 2007, p. 23), which still warrants further study. It should be emphasized that human relationships with each other and with the environment were different. These archaeological sites show that humanity adapted to a space that is currently semi-arid but that, in the past, included the presence of rivers (at least prior to the seventeenth century) and, consequently, other fauna and flora, some of which are now extinct.

These traditions consist of graphic works produced by the same cultural group and which can be grouped independently of the chronology of their analysis. The graphic motifs found can be classified into the Northeast Tradition, Agreste, Geometric, and Itacoatiara. The *Tradição Nordeste* [Northeast Tradition] is characterized by human figures, animals, and objects arranged in everyday scenes or in ceremonies. In turn, the *Tradição Agreste* [Agreste Tradition] is composed of static paintings that represent humans, inert animals, or hunting scenes. The *Tradição Geométrica* [Geometric Tradition] involves simpler motifs, such as human hands or reptiles. There are also additional motifs that remain unrecognizable and are produced in isolation, belonging to the *Tradição Itacoatiara* [Itacoatiara Tradition] (Pessis, 1992).

However, the Northeast Tradition is the most open to interpretations that may yield further information depending on their temporalities, and it encompasses works dating from at least 12,000 to 6,000 years ago—that is, 6,000 years of rock paintings. Anne-Marie Pessis assists us insofar as she developed three characteristics taken into account in subsequent research on rock art: the material dimension (the technique used in its production), the thematic dimension (choices of scenes and themes),

and the graphic presentation (the figures themselves—how they are presented, size, frontal view or profile, spatial arrangement, movement, and which elements are employed for the recognition of beings) (Pessis, 1992).

To study the Northeast Tradition, we have two subdivisions, or subtraditions, called *Várzea Grande*, located in the city of São Raimundo Nonato, and *Seridó*, located in the city of the same name in Rio Grande do Norte. In the *Várzea Grande* subtradition, the presence of human figures can be identified through the temporal ensemble. Moreover, *Várzea Grande* is further subdivided into styles in terms of technique or presentation, such as the *Serra da Capivara* style or the *Serra Branca* style (Pessis, 1992).

Furthermore, studies on representations within the *Serra da Capivara* style in *Serra da Capivara* Park generally interpret human figures in scenes of sex in various positions, masturbation, hunting, fighting, and dancing (De Almeida, 2013; Oliveira, 2013; Justamand, 2007; Justamand, 2012; Santos, 2010), and some depict rituals in front of a tree:

Some of these scenes are being interpreted by certain researchers in light of the rituals of the present-day Fulnió Indians: the tree could be the *Jurema*, which provides a hallucinogenic substance; the scenes of masturbation would actually be ritual flagellation of the penis with a stinging plant [...] (Prous, 2007, p. 33).

In these paintings captured in PARNA, women are depicted in scenes of pregnancy, childbirth, breastfeeding, and sexual intercourse. Depictions of childbirth, for example, may be associated with fertility or religious rituals (Justamand, 2007). We understand that women during this period participated fully in their society, both in art and in political matters (Justamand, 2012). However, in other ritual scenes, hunts do not show the genitals of the anthropomorphic figures involved (Justamand, 2012; Santos, 2010).

This leads us to the following reflection: was sex an important distinction in ancestral societies? Did these individuals have greater freedom to express themselves, and was it not significant to indicate gender in ritualistic activities only in sexual ones? At this point, we highlight that the following two

images were selected due to the greater number of publications regarding their interpretations of sex scenes supposedly involving women.

Figure 1

Northeastern tradition: sex scene. Toca do Paraguai. Serra da Capivara National Park in Piauí. Cave painting approximately 12,000 years old.



Source: FUNDHAM Collection apud Borges (2007)

The possible interpretations (**Figure 1**) are based on studies by Anne Marie Pessis (1992), Síría Borges (2007), and Michel Justamand (2007), who briefly analyzed the scene. These researchers follow the line initially presented by researcher Anne Marie, who considers a circle or semicircle at the end of the figure on the right to be one of the clues that would represent the vulva, while the phallus would be represented as an erect protrusion between the legs of the other figure. According to their interpretations, this figure would be a representation of sexual intercourse between a man and a woman.

Figure 2

Northeastern tradition, Serra da Capivara style: representation of an anthropomorphic figure with sexual distinction in a sexual scene. Toca do Baixão da Vaca site. Serra da Capivara National Park in Piauí. Cave painting approximately 12,000 years old.



Source: FUNDHAM Collection apud Borges (2013)

The other image we present (**Figure 2**) appears to have been created at the same time as the artist. The scene on the left could be a representation of a man and a woman having sex (Oliveira, 2013). However, researchers disagree on the thematic dimension of the scene on the right. While Michel Justamand's (2014) study interprets the image as a representation of a woman giving birth, another study by Sara Oliveira (2013) on the same scene describes it as a possible representation of sexual intercourse between a group of three men and a woman in the center.

It is worth noting that in both scenes in **Figure 2**, the woman, considering studies that indicate the vulva as a distinctive marker in some scenes, is represented larger than the other anthropomorphic figures. Does this difference in the proportion of the figures have any meaning? Could the woman be considered, as in other studies, a deity or at least deserving of more respect in her social relationships? Could she have produced these scenes in a pedagogical way for the other inhabitants?

Given these considerations, we add that in other scenes, sexual acts are seen between two or three individuals, in groups, or with animals in a society with different moral values (Justamand, 2007). Given

this, we can indicate that “[...] concerns about sexuality and reproduction seem strong in certain styles of this tradition” (Prous, 2007, p. 34).

Based on the premises of Michelle Perrot (2012) when commenting on images of women over time, we also ask ourselves whether women really lived their representations, whether they liked or disliked them, and what uses they made of these image sources. It is important to note that, in this relational game of the scene, as presented by Guacira Louro (2014), we have the possibility of deconstructing the dichotomy between man and woman, feminine and masculine, the opposite and distinct poles.

Upon encountering these interpretations of Figure 1 and Figure 2, we question whether the researcher's tendency to interpret the scene on the left as a birth is influenced by his current context or even by moral values that value monogamous relationships or patriarchal sex between a man and a woman. Furthermore, we wondered whether the researcher, upon encountering studies on the multiple ways in which educators construct femininity, had adopted an approach that would shock the most puritanical and conservative observers today by interpreting the scene as perhaps a pleasurable or imagined act among the group.

FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

Over the course of the study, it was found that textbooks address rock art in other countries while concealing many of Brazil's cultural productions. For example, only national textbooks present the discoveries of the archaeologist Niède Guidon, who since the 1970s has studied the prehistoric rock art of São Raimundo Nonato in the state of Piauí. However, it is only in publications specifically devoted to art in Brazilian national Prehistory that the narrative proposed by the author differentiates art in Brazil from other artistic productions worldwide by emphasizing its distinctive and challenging character.

Following these initial considerations, research on the history of rock art in Brazil, in the region of Serra da Capivara National Park—recognized as a Natural and Cultural World Heritage site—involves a

complex web of diverse and mutually divergent discourses, with emphasis on certain social actors and female actors. Yes, female actors and researchers in the sense that many women contest academic spaces, seek recognition for their research, and contribute to other possible interpretations of hunter-gatherer societies prior to the adoption of agriculture and the establishment of patriarchy.

The Serra da Capivara subdivision of the Northeast Tradition includes diverse cultural practices that narrate sex in greater detail, while at the same time these scenes remain open to other interpretations. Feminist and gender research may influence the interpretations of these representations. In the paintings recorded in PARNA, the phallus and the vulva are represented and suggest a monogamous sex scene in Figure 1. Researchers diverge in their interpretation of Figure 2 as childbirth or a scene of polyandry..

When combined with future research that connects information about the region's lithic remains, or with studies that examine additional scenes within the Northeast Tradition in the Serra da Capivara style, it may become possible to develop clearer directions regarding cultural practices—including artistic productions—through gender-related questions that move beyond the opposing and antagonistic poles of masculine and feminine, both in representations and in in their sexualities.

Finally, these reflections lead us to consider that “it has not always been this way,” or at least that there are other possible approaches to relations among diverse and different social groups. Moreover, we can think about the construction of pedagogies of gender in the construction of what it means to be a woman in relation to a man—that is, between femininities and masculinities in the case addressed here—and about the relations among social groups disputing spaces of visibility from Prehistory to the present, in culture, society, and in possible artistic manifestations and representations of their sexualities and lived experiences. Therefore, it falls to future research to seek the particularities of each society and to (re)think historiographical production.

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