# RELATÓRIO PARCIAL 5

**Projeto Temático:** "Saberes e práticas em fronteiras: por uma história transnacional da educação (1810-...)"

**Pesquisador Responsável:** Diana Gonçalves Vidal (FEUSP, IEA-USP e IEB-USP)

**Instituição Sede do projeto:** Faculdade de Educação e Instituto de Estudos Brasileiros, Universidade de São Paulo (FEUSP/IEB-USP)

**Equipe de pesquisa**:

**Pesquisadores principais**: Diana Gonçalves Vidal (FEUSP, IEA e IEB); Carlota Josefina Malta Cardozo dos Reis Boto (FEUSP); Circe Maria Fernandes Bittencourt (FEUSP) e Vivian Batista da Silva (FEUSP).

**Pesquisadores associados**: Alessandra Arce Hai (CECH/UFSCAR); Ana Laura Godinho Lima (FEUSP); André Luiz Paulilo (FE/UNICAMP); Angelica Pall Oriani (UNESP Marilia); Ariadne Ecar (UNIB); Bruno Bontempi Júnior (FEUSP); Heloísa Helena Pimenta Rocha (FE/UNICAMP); Kazumi Munakata (PUCSP); Marcia Razzini; Maria Rita de Almeida Toledo (EEFLCH/UNIFESP); Paula Perin Vicentini (FEUSP); Rachel Duarte Abdala (PRG/UNITAU); Rafaela Silva Rabelo (FACED UFU); Raquel Lazzari Leite Barbosa (FCLASSIS/UNESP); Renata Marcílio Cândido (EFLCH/UNIFESP); Rita de Cassia Gallego (FEUSP); Rosa Fátima de Souza Chaloba (FCLAR/UNESP); Rosario Silvana Genta Lugli (CG/UNIFESP); Vera Teresa Valdemarin (FCLAR/UNESP); Vinicius Monção (UFF), Wiara Rosa Rios Alcântara (ICAQF/UNIFESP).

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## 1. RESUMO DO PROJETO

Este projeto se inscreve no que a literatura educacional contemporânea vem denominando história transnacional da educação. Por cruzar fronteiras, essa referência historiográfica redefine territórios e dispõe as histórias nacionais no interior de contextos internacionais, apresentando relações transnacionais, conexões, interdependências.

Mais especificamente, o projeto foca na circulação de sujeitos, de artefatos, de saberes e de práticas entre o Brasil e demais países do mundo, no período que se estende do princípio do século XIX aos dias atuais. Tem como marco inicial a transferência da Corte portuguesa para o Rio de Janeiro, momento de implantação da primeira imprensa régia em terras brasileiras e de iniciativas que levariam à primeira lei geral do ensino primário, de 1827, e à criação dos cursos secundários e superiores, além das primeiras escolas normais. Desfolha as apropriações, intercâmbios, partilhas e trocas de conhecimentos e de ações em nível internacional que desde então se processaram, procurando compreender como esse universo simbólico inscreveu marcas de inovação nas diferentes tradições que compunham e compõem os saberes e as práticas educacionais ainda na atualidade.

De modo a viabilizar essa proposta, o Projeto constitui-se em torno de quatro Eixos temáticos, assim denominados: 1) arquivos digitais e bibliotecas: história do livro e da leitura; 2) sujeitos e artefatos: movimentos e vestígios; 3) inovação e tradição: fugas e contrapontos; 4) material didático para o ensino público e formação docente. Cada um desses Eixos é coordenado por dois pesquisadores da Faculdade de Educação da Universidade de São Paulo e conta com a colaboração de pesquisadores de outras instituições paulistas e estrangeiras.

**Pesquisadoras Responsáveis:** Diana Vidal (FEUSP, IEA e IEB-USP) e Carlota Boto (FEUSP)

## 2. REALIZAÇÕES

O presente relatório parcial refere-se às atividades desenvolvidas no quinto ano do Projeto Temático (julho de 2023 a junho de 2024). Não se trata de relatório final, posto que solicitamos e tivemos atendido nosso pedido de extensão de um ano, em virtude das restrições impostas pela pandemia às viagens e ao trabalho de campo.

Além da pesquisadora responsável e de três pesquisadoras principais, atualmente, o Projeto Temático conta com 21 pesquisadores associados. Até o momento foram implementadas 21 bolsas BCO, ampliando a cota inicial (Tabela 1). Em fase de habilitação, temos uma bolsa de Jornalismo Científico 2. Em fluxo contínuo, foram aprovadas pelas FAPESP 4 IC, 1 mestrado, 1 doutorado, 4 Pós-doutorado, 1 Visitante do exterior, 2 BPE e 1 SPRINT com Nova Zelândia. Além disso, o projeto foi contemplado com 2 bolsas IC no edital Jornalismo científico – Comunicar ciência. Com fomento de outras agências, temos uma bolsa Ensino Médio (CNPq), uma IC (PIBIC-CNPq), 6 mestrados (4 CAPES e 2 CNPq), 8 doutorados (4 CAPES, 3 CNPq e um FAPERJ nota 10), 3 Pós-doutorados (2 CAPES e um CNPq), e 5 Produtividade em Pesquisa (CNPq, níveis 1A, 1D e 2). Vinculados ao Projeto Temático, mas sem apoio financeiro, estão ainda 2 Ensino Médio, 8 IC, 12 mestrados, 17 doutorados e 4 Pós-doutorados.

**Tabela 1:** Bolsas Concedidas no Orçamento do Auxílio (BCO)

| | Status e Quantidade | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Tipo de bolsa | Concessão inicial | Implementadas/em implementação | Disponíveis |
| Aperfeiçoamento Pedagógico (EP-2) | 2 | 2 | 0 |
| Iniciação Científica (IC) | 5 | 6 | 0 |
| Iniciação Científica JC | 0 | 2 | 0 |
| Jornalismo Científico (JC-2) | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Pós-doutorado (PD) | 7 | 7 | 0 |
| Treinamento Técnico (TT-3) | 4 | 5 | 0 |
| Treinamento Técnico (TT-5) | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| Total | 19 | 24 | 0 |

No período de vigência deste relatório, foram publicados 34 artigos em periódicos com seletiva política editorial, além de 12 que se encontram no prelo; 7 livros, e mais 5 em elaboração; e 40 capítulos, mais 23 no prelo. Contabilizam-se, ainda, 18 textos de divulgação e/ou apresentações. Doze artigos foram submetidos a periódicos e aguardam avaliação e 19 estão em elaboração. A esses números se somam dois livros autorais em fase de análise pelas editoras Cultura Acadêmica (UNESP) e EdUSP; e cinco livros em elaboração. Ressalta-se que o livro, de autoria de Diana Vidal e Wiara Alcântara, *História econômica educação* acaba de

ser lançado na coleção História da Educação, da EdUNESP em parceria com a SBHE; e que o livro *Rethinking Centre-Periphery Assumptions in the History of Education: exchanges among Brazil, USA, and Europe*, com as contribuições dos Eixos 2 e 3, saiu pela Routledge neste ano.

**Tabela 2**: Comparativo publicações 2023 e 2024

| | Artigo publicado | Artigo no prelo | Livros | Capítulos | Capítulos no prelo | Artigo em avaliação | Artigo em elaboração | Livro em elaboração |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 2023 | 25 | 7 | 7 | 14 | 20 | 9 | 7 | 2 |
| 2024 | 34 | 12 | 7 | 40 | 23 | 12 | 19 | 5 |

Submeteram-se 96 comunicações orais a Congressos internacionais e nacionais, 44 das quais já foram apresentadas e as demais estão programadas para o segundo semestre. A este quantitativo se somam 47 palestras ou conferências em eventos no Brasil e no exterior, a oferta de dois minicursos, a participação no comitê científico de 11 certames e na organização de 8, dentre eles o XII Congresso Brasileiro de História da Educação, 45 International Standing Conference for the History of Education, X Congresso Internacional de Pesquisa (Auto)Biográfica e VI Congresso Nacional de Formação de Professores e XVI Congresso Estadual Paulista sobre Formação de Educadores. Os números impressionam quando comparados com relatório anterior, evidenciando a consolidação da pesquisa, os esforços de comunicá-la e o reconhecimento acadêmico advindo do campo (Tabelas 2 e 3).

**Tabela 3**: Comparativo eventos científicos 2023 e 2024

| | Comunicações realizadas | Comunicações aceitas | Palestras | Minicursos |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 2023 | 57 | 21 | 29 | 0 |
| 2024 | 44 | 52 | 47 | 2 |

A reunião anual do Projeto Temático comportou uma sessão interna de apresentação de trabalhos, uma sessão interna para elaboração de planejamento conjunto de atividades futuras, e duas sessões abertas ao público, intituladas “Educação em fronteiras”, transmitidas pelo canal YouTube da FEUSP, nos dias 27 e 28 de maio de 2024. Este ano inovamos no formato de duas maneiras: a) convidamos três pesquisadores estrangeiros – Silvina Gvirtz (Universidad Nacional San Martin), Antonio Gomes Ferreira (Universidade de Coimbra) e Izabel Galvão (Université Paris 8) - e um pesquisador brasileiro – Cesar Castro (UFMA) – como observadores, respectivamente para os Eixos 2, 3, 4 e 1; b) solicitamos aos pesquisadores que apresentassem as pesquisas em andamento, explicitando: tema/objeto; fontes; categoria de análise, diálogo com o eixo; diálogo com o projeto geral; e resultados. No dia 27, no período da manhã, aconteceu a sessão de apresentação dos trabalhos por Eixo, acompanhada pelos observadores. No período da tarde, os observadores assistiram a sistematização geral, efetuada por Vivian Batista da Silva, Bruno Bontempi Jr., Carlota Boto e Paula Vicentini, em mesa-redonda

coordenada por Ana Laura Godinho, em sessão aberta. No dia 28, os observadores comentaram as pesquisas, estabelecendo diálogos com o Projeto Temático, em mesa-redonda coordenada por Diana Vidal, também em sessão aberta. Todo o evento foi conduzido de forma remota (https://www4.fe.usp.br/eventos/evento?evento=7193). A proposta visava a ampliação do intercâmbio internacional e nacional e o incremento de parcerias internas e externas.

A página web do Projeto Temático, vinculada a domínio da USP (https://sites.usp.br/educacaoemfronteiras/), com enlaces nos sites da FEUSP (aba Grupos de Pesquisa) e IEB-USP (aba Extroversão), serve de veículo para conferir visibilidade às atividades de pesquisa, às publicações acadêmicas e aos canais do YouTube criados para aglutinar os vídeos produzidos como material didático em apoio à disciplina de pós-graduação (Educação em fronteiras: https://www.youtube.com/@educacaoemfronteiras3426?reload=9&app=desktop) e os vídeos didáticos para o ensino de graduação e uso nas escolas da educação básica (Vozes da escola pública: https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCdoGWFaBsbn7zrbKxFv_m9g).

Outras ações de divulgação de resultados, em parte constantes da página, têm sido a criação/oferta de disciplinas de pós-graduação, colaborações com outras universidades e outras unidades da USP. Entre 2023/2 e 2024/1, houve a oferta de uma disciplina no PPGE da FEUSP e uma no PPG do IEB-USP (Cf. Apêndice F). Foram elas: EDF5130 - História da historiografia da educação no Brasil: epistemologia e formação do campo, por Bruno Bontempi Jr.; e IEB 5059 – Humanidades Digitais e Acervos, por Diana Vidal e Patrícia Raffaini. No próximo período, estão previstas as ofertas das disciplinas “História Transnacional da Educação” no Programa de Mestrado em Desenvolvimento Humano-UNITAU, em 2024/2, e “História transnacional da educação: agências, métodos e artefatos no processo de escolarização do social (séculos XIX-XX)” no PPG do IEB-USP, em 2025/1. Prevê-se, também, a proposição para o 1o semestre de 2025 de uma disciplina de Pós-Graduação, envolvendo as professoras das FEUSP, UNESP e UNIFESP, participantes do Eixo 4.

No que concerne às iniciativas de internacionalização, destacam-se o estágio de pesquisa no exterior de Ana Laura Godinho Lima, realizado na Universitat de Barcelona de dezembro de 2023 a maio de 2024, com bolsa de Professor Visitante Sênior para o desenvolvimento do projeto de pesquisa “O Desenvolvimento da Criança, a Psicologia Escolar e a Pedagogia na Espanha e no Brasil: uma análise dos discursos de Mira y López e seus interlocutores brasileiros (1919-1964)”, CAPES (EDITAL Nº 58/2022 - PrInt USP); a missão de trabalho, de Bruno Bontempi Jr., para Chicago (EUA), no período de 9 a 17 de outubro de 2023, com recursos FAPESP; e visita técnica ao Rockefeller Archive Center (RAC), feita por

Rafaela Rabelo, com financiamento do RAC em dezembro de 2023; e o minicurso e conferência oferecidas por Carlota Boto, entre 15 e 19 de abril, na Universidad Pedagogica Nacional da Colômbia.

Além disso, Heloisa Pimenta Rocha (com o projeto "Conexões entre o Brasil e os Estados Unidos: mapeando a circulação de propostas e impressos de educação sanitária") e Rosa Fátima de Souza-Chaloba (com o projeto "A Circulação dos Recursos Audiovisuais na Educação na América Latina: contribuições do Programa Ponto IV (1949 - 1961)") tiveram suas solicitação de Bolsa Pesquisa no Exterior aprovadas pela FAPESP e preparam-se para implementá-la em 2024/2 e 2025/1, com viagens previstas para os Estados Unidos, em colaboração a Jerry Dávila e Noah Sobe, respectivamente. Diana Vidal estima, para outubro de 2024, uma missão de pesquisa de um mês junto à Universidade de Buenos Aires, Argentina, associada à Silvia Finocchio.

A isto se somam o estágio de doutorado sanduíche de Lara Chaud Palacios Marin, orientanda de Ana Laura Godinho Lima, na Universidade de Lisboa, com co-orientação de Luís Miguel de Figueiredo Silva de Carvalho para desenvolvimento do projeto intitulado "Futuros imaginados da profissão docente: uma história transnacional entre Brasil e Portugal", com bolsa da CAPES (Processo: 88887.837171/2023-00. Período: 01/09/2023 a 29/02/2024); e de Clarissa Santos Silva, orientanda de Paula Perin Vicentini, na Universidade Paris 8 (França), com co-orientação Izabel Galvão para a realização da pesquisa "Narrativas (auto)biográficas e a formação-atuação de professoras de Artes no Ensino Superior" (Processo: 88887.886377/2023-00. Período: 01/10/2023 e 31/03/2024); e a BEPE de Bruna Polachini em Portugal, sob supervisão de Antonio Nóvoa. Destaca-se, também, que, de 18 a 22 de setembro de 2023, ocorreu o Seminário Internacional Desafios e Reinvenções da Escola Pública, organizado por membros do Eixo 1, Carlota Boto e Bruna Polachini, e do Eixo 3, Ana Laura Godinho, na FEUSP, com a presença de Anne Lin Goodwin do Boston College (EUA).

Estas iniciativas se combinam com as publicações internacionais. O lançamento do livro *Exchanges among Brazil, USA and Europe: rethinking centre-periphery assumptions in the History of Education*, pela editora Routledge, gerou duas repercussões positivas: o convite para publicar artigo na revista *Encouters in Theory and History of Education,* assinado por Vivian Batista da Silva, Diana Vidal, Ana Laura Godinho e Bruno Bontempi Jr.. e já no prelo; e o convite para os mesmos autores entregarem em setembro capítulo para o volume *History of education*, organizado por Damiano Matasci, para Presses Universitaires du Septentrion.

Outras iniciativas foram os capítulos, de Wiara Alcântara e Diana Vidal, saídos no livro *Fer-se a la mar. Narratives d'una descoberta pedagógica*, editado pela Edicions de la

Universitat de Barcelona; e de Heloisa Rocha, em *The curriculum of the body and the school as clinic*: Histories of public health and schooling, pela Routledge. Com data para publicação em 2024, encontram-se de Diana Vidal e Rafaela Rabelo capítulo para o livro *Gender, Intersectionality, and the History of Education: Networks, Time, and Place,* ISCHE Global Series, Palgrave Macmillan; de Diana Vidal para o livro *Historiadores de la educación,* a ser publicado no México, pelo Instituto de Investigaciones sobre la Universidad y la Educación; e de Paula Vicentini, Rita Gallego, Genaro Oliveira e Lucila Carvalho para o livro *Postdigital learning spaces: Towards convivial, equitable and sustainable spaces for learning*. Aprovados para publicação, ainda, há artigos nas revistas estrangeiras *Encouters in Theory and History of Education, History of Education & Children's Literature, Revista Historia de la Educación* (Universidad de Salamanca) e *Temps d'Educació* (Universitat de Barcelona), além do artigo de Bruno Bontempi Jr., saído na revista *Qeios*.

Vale uma menção especial ao esforço dos membros do Projeto Temático na estruturação de ações inter-eixos, demonstrando a capacidade de integração das pesquisas e da realização de atividades comuns, como o citado Seminário internacional; o livro *Cultura Digital e Educação,* organizado por Carlota Boto e publicado pela Contexto; participação em disciplinas de pós-graduação, bancas de qualificação e defesa, elaboração de textos e organização de dossiês. Todas estas iniciativas afiançam o bom desenvolvimento do Projeto e evidenciam o cumprimento dos objetivos declarados na proposta enviada à FAPESP de constituição de uma rede paulista de pesquisadores em história da educação, que no momento já se espraia para outros estados brasileiros, como Minas Gerais, Espírito Santo, Maranhão. Rio Grande do Sul, Paraná e Rio de Janeiro.

Por fim, cabe destacar que Circe Bittercourt foi agraciada com o Prêmio Medalha Anpuh 2021-2023. A seguir, são descritas, por Eixos, as realizações no período.

**Eixo 1: Arquivos digitais e bibliotecas – história do livro e da leitura**

**Pesquisadoras principais:** Carlota Boto e Circe Bittencourt.

**Pesquisadores associados:** Heloisa Rocha, Kazumi Munakata, Maria Rita Toledo e Vera Valdemarin,

**Pós-doutoranda BCO:** Carolina Mostaro Neves da Silva

**BCO TT3:** Lorena Gnaccarini Falavigna (em contratação)

**Bolsistas FAPESP vinculados**: Bruna Polachini (PD), Alexandre Ribeiro e Silva (DR) e Tiziana Ferrero (MS).

RESUMO DOS PRINCIPAIS RESULTADOS E PRÓXIMAS AÇÕES PREVISTAS

Os pesquisadores do Eixo 1 apresentaram 13 trabalhos e foram convidados a palestrar em 18 em diferentes congressos nacionais e internacionais de história da educação e outras áreas relacionadas, como a filosofia da educação, história da linguística e história em geral, a saber: ISCHE 44, ISECS2023 Congress, X Congreso Internacional de Filosofia de la Educación (CIFE 2023), XV Congreso Iberoamericano de Historia de la Educación Latinoamericana, 16th World Conference on Education Sciences, XV Encontro Maranhense de História da Educação, XX Congresso Internacional da Associação de Linguística e Filologia da América Latina, 69° Seminário do Grupo de Estudos Linguísticos do Estado de São Paulo. Seus trabalhos versaram sobre diversas temáticas, notadamente a respeito de livros didáticos, livros de pedagogia e história de bibliotecas. Planejam-se, ainda, para apresentar 10 comunicações no próximo ano no ISCHE 44, XXII Coloquio de Historia de la Educación: transnacionalidad y transculturalidad en la historia de la educación durante la modernidad y la contemporaneidad, X Congresso Nacional de Educação, entre outros.

Os 7 artigos, 2 livros e 13 capítulos de livro publicados também vão nessa direção, com textos publicados em coautoria, como o artigo de Tiziana Ferrero com Carlota Boto sobre livros de leitura, as duas autoras anteriores com Julia Giardino sobre os livros para ensino de português. Há também artigos de Boto com César Castro acerca dos livros de Antonio Feliciano de Castilho. Bruna Polachini tem tratado da história das gramáticas, e da autoria feminina no final do século XIX. Além disso, Carlota Boto organizou uma coletânea de artigos de pesquisadores deste eixo nos quais cada autor trata de aspectos centrais de sua pesquisa no último ano. O livro, intitulado *Biblioteca, livros e leituras* sob clivagem transnacional, deve ser publicado no 2° semestre de 2024.

Do ponto de vista de realizações individuais, no que diz respeito às atividades de internacionalização, Carlota Boto foi conferencista em um minicurso intitulado Seminário Doutoral: pensar a escola hoje – modos, liturgias, e espaços, realizado junto a estudantes e professores da ênfase de História da Educação, Pedagogia e Educação Comparada, entre 15 e 19 de abril, na Universidad Pedagogica Nacional da Colômbia. Proferiu, ainda, a conferência intitulada Educação e Ética no Território da Pedagogia, ministrada em 18 de outubro de 2023, no âmbito da VII Semana de la Pedagogia y III Semana Internacional de la Pedagogia: es aún posible la educación?, promovida pelo Departamento de Psicopedagogia da Universidad Pedagogica Nacional, em Bogotá, Colômbia, entre 17 e 20 de outubro de 2023. Apresentou dois trabalhos em eventos internacionais: tanto a comunicação intitulada Whereabouts of the spirit: philosophy of history as a guide to Modernity in Condorcet - no âmbito do ISECS2023

Congress, ocorrido em formato presencial na Universidade de Roma/Sapienza, entre os dias 3 e 7 de julho de 2023 -, quanto a apresentação da comunicação intitulada The university and intellectuals in days of disillusion, no âmbito do X Congreso Internacional de Filosofia de la Educación (CIFE 2023), ocorrido em formato presencial na Universidade de Barcelona, entre os dias 6 e 8 de setembro de 2023. Publicou resultados de trabalhos de sua autoria ou em coautoria em várias revistas bem qualificadas no Brasil e, no tocante a questões relativas à temática do Eixo 1, voltado para a história da leitura, publicou o livro *Cultura Digital e Educação*, pela Editora Contexto.

Marcia Razzini tem feito estudos relacionados à Biblioteca Macedo Soares, sucessora da Biblioteca Pedagogica Central, da Secretaria de Estado da Educação de São Paulo, cuja parte do acervo foi doada para a Faculdade de Educação, da Universidade de São Paulo (USP), em 1977. Seus estudos versam sobre a biografia de Macedo Soares e a história dessa biblioteca. Além disso, está preparando os originais do livro, sobre as obras escolares da Livraria Francisco Alves, desde sua fundação no Rio de Janeiro, em 1854, passando por sua expansão em São Paulo, em 1894, com a abertura de sua primeira filial, até 1930. A mestranda Tiziana Ferreira tem trabalho com valores e saberes que eram transmitidos à infância durante a Primeira República brasileira, a partir da análise de um dos maiores artefatos da escolarização: o livro didático, pesquisa que tem resultado em artigos e apresentações em congressos. A mestranda Julia Giardino tem se debruçado sobre os livros didáticos de Português, com a finalidade de compreender como esse processo de ensino-aprendizado da língua portuguesa perpassa a cultura escolar à luz da interpretação dos livros escolares prescritos para uso da sala de aula.

Carolina Mostaro tem investigado a formação da Biblioteca da Escola Normal de São Paulo a partir de documentos e notícias de jornais da época. Além disso, procura em parte de sua pesquisa os indícios de leitura e apropriação de livros estrangeiros na Escola Normal de São Paulo, mediante a abordagem do manual *Pedagogia e Methodologia*, publicado em 1887, por Camillo Passalacqua, professor da instituição. Vera Valdemarin também tem analisado, em perspectiva transnacional, três obras que integram o acervo Paulo Bourroul. Trata-se de manuais voltados para a formação de professores primários que pretendiam traduzir metodologicamente os princípios formulados por Pestalozzi, estabelecendo prescrições para a prática do método de ensino intuitivo. Os resultados dessas pesquisas estão previstos para publicação no próximo ano.

A pós-doutoranda Bruna Soares Polachini tem investigado a aquisição de livros de português e linguística para a biblioteca da Escola Normal de São Paulo no final do século XIX através da pesquisa de documentos da época. Realizou no último ano, com auxílio da BEPE,

estágio de pesquisa, com pós-doutorado, na Universidade de Lisboa sob orientação de António Nóvoa. Ademais, a pesquisadora tem adentrado na pesquisa sobre mulheres autoras de materiais para o ensino de português na virada do século XIX para o XX no Brasil, já tendo um texto publicado sobre o tema intitulado As mulheres nos estudos linguísticos brasileiros (1890-1960): uma primeira aproximação.

Heloísa Helena Pimenta Rocha tem trabalhado com livros de literatura infantil na história brasileira, como os do canônico José Bento Monteiro Lobato e do menos conhecido Júlio César de Mello e Souza (Malba Tahan), a fim de compreender a formação desse cânone. Maria Rita de Almeida Toledo tem estudado o lugar de Raymond Williams na Coleção Cultura, Sociedade e Educação (1966-1970). Tal coleção foi criada e dirigida por Anísio Teixeira na Companhia Editora Nacional, entre 1966 e 1971, quando Anísio viria a falecer. Toledo, por ser especialista no estudo de coleções e da história do livro no Brasil, oferece registros, não apenas do conteúdo das obras traduzidas por iniciativa de Anísio – a saber Jerome Bruner, John Dewey, Marshall McLuhan, dentre outros – mas debate também a materialidade de tais livros, analisando, por exemplo, suas capas. Recentemente, teve BEPE aprovada pela FAPESP para estágio de pesquisa nos Estados Unidos, em colaboração a Jerry Dávila.

Kazumi Munakata e Joana Borges de Faria são responsáveis pela criação de um banco de dados que reúna a produção bibliográfica sobre livro didático. Com o software Zotero, já têm catalogados 4991 itens, entre pesquisas acadêmicas (teses, dissertações, relatórios de pós-doutorado, relatórios de iniciação científica e monografias), livros, sessões de livros, artigos de periódicos, artigos de jornais e trabalhos apresentados em congressos. A maior parte da bibliografia sobre livro didático catalogada foi elaborada e publicada no Brasil; há, no entanto, algumas produções de outros países do mundo, especialmente latino-americanos, Portugal, Espanha, França, entre outros.

Finalmente, Circe Bittencourt tem realizado uma série de atividades relativas ao Bando de Dados LIVRES, como intercâmbios e adaptações do LIVRES a projetos do Leibniz Institut Georg Eckert para desenvolvimento de pesquisas sobre livros didáticos e pela integração de obras digitalizadas segundo fluxo de trabalho de digitalização (GOOBI) segundo parâmetros das Humanidades Digitais. Tem também desenvolvido o trabalho de integração aos processos de digitalização das obras por intermédio de scanner adquirido com apoio FAPESP das obras da BLD do século XIX e do acervo livros de escolas indígenas. Além da incorporação ao Livres de obras didáticas de outras bibliotecas da USP – como do Acervo do LEMAD (Depto de História da FFLCH/USP) e a Biblioteca Brasiliana Guita e José Midlin: obras do século XIX a 1930 –, da UNIFESP/Guarulhos e da Biblioteca Nacional do Rio de Janeiro (BNF).

No que diz respeito à Biblioteca de Livros Didáticos BLD-FEUSP, Circe Bittencourt incorporou: obras didáticas indígenas provenientes de doações do CTI (Centro de Trabalho Indigenista) e doações do LEMAD (Depto de História da FFCLH/USP); Catálogos de editoras de obras didáticas do século XIX e primeiras décadas republicanas; publicações e de obras do PNLD; Catálogos de Editoras do século XIX e primeiras décadas do século XX da Bibliothèque National de France (BNF) François Mitterand, Paris. É organizadora da exposição de Livros Didáticos de Escolas Indígenas do Brasil (título provisório) – adaptação da Exposição Scuole come Capanne- Libri come opere d'arte -organizada pelo MUSLI (Museo de la Scuola de Torino) e Università de Torino – Itália e pelo LIVRES (2018-2019) – prevista para ocorrer em março 2025. Realizou seminários para seleção de temas de investigação decorrentes de estudos comparados com demais grupos integrantes do Glotrec (MANES; EDISCO, GEI) entre novembro de 2023 e fevereiro de 2024). A diretoria da Anpuh-Brasil, reunida no dia 19 de junho de 2023, escolheu em votação a professora Circe Maria Fernandes Bittencourt (USP/PUC-SP/UNIFESP) como ganhadora do Prêmio Medalha Anpuh 2021-2023.

**Eixo: 2 - Sujeitos e artefatos: movimentos e vestígios.**

**Pesquisadoras principais:** Diana Gonçalves Vidal e Vivian Batista da Silva.

**Pesquisadores Associados**: Alessandra Arce, Rosa Fátima de Souza-Chaloba, Vinicius de Moraes Monção, Rafaela Rabelo, Angélica Pall Oriani, Rachel Abdala e Wiara Alcântara.

**Bolsistas BCO:** Franciele F. França (PD), Ana Laura Sabino (IC), Ariadne Ecar (TT5) e Matheus dos Santos Silva (JC2 – em habilitação).

**Bolsistas FAPESP vinculados**: Jonatas Roque Ribeiro (PD), Renata Brião de Castro (PD), Isabela Ribeiro Espindola (IC/Rosa Fátima de Souza-Chaloba) e Rutelaine Mauricio Pinheiro (IC/Rosa Fátima de Souza-Chaloba).

RESUMO DOS PRINCIPAIS RESULTADOS E PRÓXIMAS AÇÕES PREVISTAS

Em 2023/2 e 2024/1, da mesma forma que no período anterior, os eventos internacionais e nacionais assumiram diferentes formatos: presencial, remoto e híbrido. Destaca-se a participação presencial na 44 International Standing Conference for the History of Education (ISCHE) (Hungria), VII Jornadas de Estudios Afrolatinoamericanos del GEALA (Argentina), Workshop internazionale Oggetti che viaggiano: la circolazione commerciale degli oggetti didattici tra Otto e Novecento (Itália), I Colóquio Internacional Manuais Escolares: Perspetivas Históricas Nacionais e Globais, Universidade de Coimbra (Portugal) e XXXI Colóquio Afirse

Portugal; e a participação remota na 8ª Jornada Virtual Internacional em Pesquisa Científica: educação, saberes pedagógicos e práticas educativas, Centro português de Apoio à Pesquisa Científica e à Cultura, Porto- Portugal, VII EHECO - Encontro de História da Educação do Centro-Oeste e 31º Simpósio Internacional de Iniciação Científica e Tecnológica da USP. Ao todo, foram 17 comunicações em Congressos. No que concerne às palestras e conferências a convite, registram-se 15 participações, com destaque para o International Symposium Interdisciplining Knowledge: Humanities, Science and Culture. Interdisciplinary Interrogations (Universidade de Coimbra) e a Conferência de encerramento XIX Jornadas Nacionales y VIII Internacionales de Enseñanza de la Historia. Cultura (s) y escuela (s): relaciones ambiguas y multifacéticas (Buenos Aires).

A equipe colaborou ativamente com a organização do Seminário aberto do Projeto Temático, realizado, em modo remoto, na Faculdade de Educação da USP. Vivian Batista da Silva, representando o Eixo 2, integrou, no dia 27 de maio, a mesa-redonda "Educação em fronteiras": Diana Vidal coordenou, no dia 28 de maio, a mesa-redonda também intitulada "Educação em fronteiras", para qual foram convidados os pesquisadores Silvina Gvirtz (Universid Nacional de San Martin), Antonio Gomes Ferreira (Universidade de Coimbra), Izabel Galvão (Université Paris 8) e Cesar Castro (UFMA). No dia 27, no período matutino, Rafaela Rabelo, Rosa Fátima de Souza-Chaloba, Renata Castro, Wiara Alcântara, Wagner Ribeiro, Carolina Cardoso, Angelia Oriani e Jonatas Ribeiro apresentaram as pesquisas em andamento.

Até o momento, os membros do Eixo 2 receberam 23 aceites de trabalhos para, dentre outros, o 45 ISCHE (Natal), Third Continental Conference on Afro-Latin American Studies 2024, XXII Coloquio de Historia de la Educación: transnacionalidad y transculturalidad en la historia de la educación durante la modernidad y la contemporaneidad e XII Congresso Brasileiro de História da Educação (CBHE). No que concerne à organização de eventos, em parceria com o Instituto de Estudos Avançados da USP, Vinicius Monção e Diana Vidal realizaram em outubro de 2023 o Seminário "História Digital e História Digital da Educação: caminhos cruzados. Diana Vidal, ainda, tem atuado como membro da comissão organizadora do 45 ISCHE e foi convidada para proferir a conferência de encerramento do XII CBHE. Todos estes indicadores somados totalizam 63 participações em eventos nacionais e/ou internacionais, o que demonstra um relevante esforço para socialização das pesquisas.

Neste âmbito, encontra-se ainda a oferta da disciplina "IEB 5059-1 – Humanidades digitais e acervos", no PPG do Instituto de Estudos Brasileiros (USP), por Diana Vidal, com a colaboração de Patrícia Raffaini. A disciplina, fruto de um duplo agenciamento, traz os

resultados do Projeto "Humanidades digitais: estudo piloto a partir do Fundo Fernando de Azevedo do Instituto de Estudos Brasileiros", fomento da Pró-reitoria de Pesquisa (PRP), por meio do Edital de Apoio a projetos integrados de pesquisa em áreas estratégicas (PIPAE), no qual Patrícia Raffaini atuou com bolsa de Pós-doutorado; e representa os investimentos do Projeto "e-história da educação: uma abordagem crítica das humanidades digitais", submetido por Diana Vidal ao edital de Ano Sabático do Instituto de Estudos Avançados (USP) e por ele aprovado para duração de um ano (fevereiro de 2023 a janeiro de 2024).

No que concerne às publicações, saiu, pela editora Routlegde, o livro *Exchanges among Brazil, USA and Europe: rethinking centre-periphery assumptions in the History of Education*, já mencionado neste relatório. Também foram publicados o livro *História economica da escola: uma abordagem antropológica em circuito transnacional (1870-1910)*, de autoria de Diana Vidal e Wiara Alcântara, pela EdUNESP em convênio com a SBHE (Sociedade Brasileira de História da Educação), com lançamento previsto para o CBHE; e o ebook *Ciclo 22: uma experiência de extensão e formação na USP* no Portal de livros abertos da USP, organizado por Diana Vidal.

Em fase de avaliação pela EdUSP, encontra-se o livro *Faculdade de Educação: uma história de compromisso com a formação docente na USP*, de autoria de Diana Vidal e Bruno Bontempi Jr. no âmbito do Edital de Seleção n. 1 Edusp 2023. Em avalição, ainda temos, de autoria de Angélica Oriani, o livro *Entre cartilhas e livros de leitura: por uma história da alfabetização no Brasil - a série "Leituras Infantis" (1908-1919), de Francisco Vianna,* pela Cultura Acadêmica, da Unesp-Marília.

Do relatório constam também a informação de 17 artigos publicados em revistas de seletiva política editorial e reconhecimento acadêmico, como *Cadernos De História Da Educação, História da Educação, Revista Brasileira de História da Educação, Linhas, Revista da USP, Revista História da Educação,* dentre outras. Aprovados para publicação, há artigos nas revistas estrangeiras *Encouters in Theory and History of Education, History of Education & Children's Literature, Revista Historia de la Educación* (Universidad de Salamanca) *e Temps d'Educació* (Universitat de Barcelona), e brasileira *Educação em revista* (a sair em português e inglês). Somam-se a esta produção 15 capítulos de livros publicados, além de outros 6 no aguardo de publicação, sendo um deles para sair no livro *Gender, Intersectionality, and the History of Education: Networks, Time, and Place* (ISCHE Global Series, Palgrave Macmillan, organizado por Stephanie Spencer e Deirdre Raftery, e outro lançado no livro *Fer-se a la mar. Narratives d'una descoberta pedagógica*, editado por Oriol Brugarolas; Eric Ortega González;

Angel Pascual Martín, para as Edicions de la Universitat de Barcelona, o que totaliza 48 produtos.

Cabe realçar cinco iniciativas. Saiu publicado o dossiê "LGBTQ+ HISTORIES OF EDUCATION", na revista espanhola *Historia y Memoria de la Educacion*, nr.*18,* organizado por Karen Graves (US), Melanie Velazquez (US) e Diana Vidal, em 2023. No mesmo ano, Rachel Abdala e Vinicius Monção foram os editores do dossiê temático "Práticas educacionais em fronteiras e interseccionalidade" para a *Revista Ciências Humanas*, da Universidade de Taubaté (volume 16, nr. 2). Diana Vidal, Patrícia Raffaini e Vinicius Monção organizam o dossiê "História Digital e História Digital da Educação" para a *Revista de Estudos Iberoamericanos*, ainda aberto para contribuições. Junto com Rogério Andrade Maciel e Vitor Cunha Nery, Diana Vidal organiza o dossiê "Cultura material, práticas educativas e representações culturais" para a *Revista Humanidades e Inovação*. Por fim, Diana Vidal, Ignacio Frechtel (Argentina) e Camila Pérez Navarro (Chile) são editores do dossiê "Apropiaciones e innovaciones de la Escuela Nueva en América Latina. Experiencias locales en diálogo con una pedagogía en circulación global", com vistas à publicação na *Revista Mexicana de Historia de la Educación.*

Não é de somenos importância o trabalho de orientação de Iniciação Científica no Ensino Médio, IC na Graduação, Mestrado e Doutorado, bem como de supervisão de Pós-doutorados efetuado pelos membros do projeto. Nesse sentido, os números também são expressivos. Temos 3 alunos do Ensino Médio, sendo um com bolsa CNPq; 7 alunos de IC, sendo 4 sem bolsa; 6 de Mestrado; 5 de Doutorado, sendo uma bolsista FAPERJ nota 10; 6 de Pós-Doutorado, sendo 2 sem bolsa (agregando professores da UFES, UFPel e Universidade Federal de Jataí); e 1 Bolsista TT5. Envolvem distintas unidades da USP (IEB e FE) e outras universidades (UFRJ, UNESP E UFU), como mobilizam várias agências (CAPES, FAPERJ e CNPq), além da FAPESP. Demonstram, assim, a capacidade articuladora dos pesquisadores do Eixo. Recentemente, Vivian Batista da Silva teve aprovada a concessão de 2 bolsas de IC no Edital FAPESP/ Canal Futura - Comunicar Ciência. As bolsas estão em fase de implementação. Matheus dos Santos Silva vai assumir a BCO Jornalismo Científico 2, somando-se ao exercicio das IC em Comunicar Ciência.

Dois últimos destaques são necessários. Em dezembro de 2023, Rafaela Silva Rabelo fez visita técnica ao Rockefeller Archive Center (RAC) com financiamento do RAC. Em 27 de maio, como resultado da intervenção da bolsista TT5, Ariadne Ecar, no Núcleo de Memória e Acervo Histórico-NUMAH, foi inaugurada a exposição "Caetanistas negros: outros que honram a galeria dos pretos no Brasil", em uma colaboração CRE Mário Covas, Secretaria de

Educação de São Paulo e Escola de Formação dos Profissionais da Educação Paulo Renato de Souza.

Como ações futuras, acrescem-se às iniciativas já mencionadas, como publicações no prelo, dossiês em fase de organização, aceites para eventos e convites para conferências e as 2 IC em Comunicar Ciência e 2 BEPEs em implementação, a manutenção das ações intereixo, como as publicações decorrentes do lançamento do livro *Rethinking Centre-Periphery Assumptions in the History of Education: exchanges among Brazil, USA, and Europe* e a oferta das disciplinas "História Transnacional da Educação" no Programa de Mestrado em Desenvolvimento Humano-UNITAU, em 2024/2, e "História transnacional da educação: agências, métodos e artefatos no processo de escolarização do social (séculos XIX-XX)" no PPG do IEB-USP, em 2025/1.

No que concerne às estratégias de internacionalização e alargamento/consolidação das redes internacionais de pesquisadores, prevê-se, em outubro, a realização de trabalho campo em Buenos Aires, por parte de Diana Vidal, dando continuidade às investigações sobre a Escola Nova na América Latina, junto a Silvia Finocchio da Univesidad de Buenos Aires. A pesquisadora associada Rosa Fatima de Souza-Chaloba teve BPE concedida para viagem aos EUA, em colaboração a Noah Sobe da Loyola University. Jonatas Ribeiro e Renata Castro foram contemplados com BEPE e estarão saindo em viagem em setembro com destino aos Estados Unidos da América e à Itália, respectivamente. Além disso, Rafaela Rabelo e Diana Vidal preparam os originais do livro *Brazilian education connections: transnational circuits of innovation (1920-1950)*, a ser publicado na Theory and History of Education Open Monograph Series, da Queen's University Library.

As essas atividades se associam à continuidade de escrita de textos e de submissão de trabalhos a eventos nacionais e internacionais; às orientações de Ensino Médio, IC, Mestrado e Doutorado, bem como supervisão de Pós-doutorados; e à organização de exposições em espaço físico ou virtual, particularmente como decorrência do trabalho da bolsista TT5.

**Eixo 3: Inovação e tradição: fugas e contrapontos**

**Coordenadores e Pesquisadores Associados:** Ana Laura G. Lima e Bruno Bontempi Júnior.

**Pesquisadores Associados:** Ariadne Lopes Ecar e André Luiz Paulilo

RESUMO DOS PRINCIPAIS RESULTADOS E PRÓXIMAS AÇÕES PREVISTAS

A produção acadêmica realizada pelos integrantes do Eixo 3 no último ano envolveu a publicação de oito artigos em periódicos acadêmicos qualificados nacionais e internacionais; a

publicação de três livros e oito capítulos de livros nacionais, incluindo a publicação de um livro internacional em colaboração com colegas do Eixo 2 do projeto; a participação em diversos eventos científicos no Brasil e no exterior; a oferta de disciplinas vinculadas ao Projeto Temático; a realização de palestras, conferências e minicursos; a participação em comissões organizadoras e científicas de eventos. Além disso, foram produzidos outros quatro artigos já aprovados para publicação.

Merece destaque a participação de Bruno Bontempi Junior e Ana Laura Godinho Lima no livro *Rethinking Centre-Perifery Assumptions in the History of Education. Exchanges among Brazil, USA, and Europe* (New York: Routledge), tanto na escrita da introdução, quanto com capítulos próprios. O livro é resultado de um trabalho de colaboração com Diana Gonçalves Vidal e Vivian Batista da Silva, organizadoras da coletânea e coordenadoras do Eixo 2 deste projeto. Vale mencionar que essa colaboração teve continuidade na elaboração de outro artigo internacional com as mesmas colegas, já aprovado para publicação na revista *Encounters in Theory and History of Education*, e deverá resultar ainda na publicação de capítulo em livro internacional, como mencionado na introdução.

Também deve ser realçada a publicação do artigo internacional "The History of Education in Antiquity and its Teaching: Epistemological Problems", de Bruno Bontempi Jr. na revista *Qeios*, do artigo "A materialidade do ambiente adequado à alfabetização: uma análise dos discursos pedagógicos (1930-1990)", escrito em colaboração pela doutoranda Andressa Leme e sua orientadora Ana Laura Godinho Lima na *Revista Brasileira de História da Educação* (RBHE) (Qualis CAPES A1) e do artigo "Cinema educativo entre o documentário e a ficção", de André Luiz Paulilo em colaboração com Anderson Ricardo Trevisan, em *Cadernos de História da Educação (online)* (Qualis A-2), assim como a entrevista concedida por Ariadne Lopes Ecar, Rosa Fátima de Souza-Chaloba, pesquisadora associada ao Eixo 2, e Dermerval Saviani à revista *Pesquisa* da FAPESP, matéria intitulada "Uma nova organização para o ensino paulista". Cumpre mencionar ainda a oferta da disciplina EDF5130 - História da historiografia da educação no Brasil: epistemologia e formação do campo, ministrada por Bruno Bontempi Junior no PPGE da FEUSP.

O trabalho realizado no âmbito do Eixo 3 envolveu também a orientação de pesquisadores em nível de iniciação científica (1), mestrado (cinco, dos quais um com bolsa FAPESP e dois com bolsas de outras agências de fomento) e doutorado (dez, dos quais três com bolsas de outras agências de fomento). A produção do Eixo 3 é temática e cronologicamente bastante variada, caracterizando-se, em seu conjunto, por reflexões sobre as fronteiras da tradição e da inovação, associadas ao atraso e ao progresso em educação. Sobretudo a partir de

meados do século XIX, difundem-se a noção de evolução nas ciências naturais e sociais e a ideologia do progresso, pelas quais as diferenças entre grupos humanos e nações são apreendidas e definidas em termos de estágios de civilização e progresso. Nesse contexto, a educação torna-se um índice comparativo de progresso social e um insumo de poder e prosperidade das nações. As pesquisas interpretam as formas históricas pelas quais critérios de avaliação, comparação e hierarquização de sistemas escolares, instituições, saberes e práticas se formaram e se difundiram em termos de inovação e tradição.

Como atividades de internacionalização, houve: Bruno Bontempi Junior com visitas técnicas em diferentes instituições de Chicago, nos Estados Unidos para prospecção de fontes e bibliografia sobre a Columbian World Exposition, de 1893, e a exibição educacional do Brasil; Ana Laura Godinho Lima com pós-doc na Universidade de Barcelona; e Lara Chaud Palacios Marin com doutorado sanduíche na Universidade de Lisboa, ambas com financiamento do Programa de Internacionalização (PrInt) da CAPES.

Finalmente, ressaltamos a expressiva participação de todos os pesquisadores associados nos congressos de história da educação. Tivemos 12 trabalhos aprovados no total, seis dos quais para o XII Congresso Brasileiro de História da Educação e outros seis para a 45a. International Standing Conference for the History of Education. Trata-se dos eventos mais importantes da área da história da educação em nível nacional e internacional, os quais irão ocorrer na cidade de Natal, RN, de 13 a 17 e de 18 a 21 de agosto de 2024, respectivamente.

Nos dias 27 e 28 de maio de 2024, realizou-se o encontro Educação em Fronteiras, organizado pela equipe do Projeto Temático “Saberes e práticas em fronteiras: por uma história transnacional da educação (1808-...), na Universidade de São Paulo (online). Houve quatro sessões, das quais participaram os integrantes do Eixo 3. Na sessão 1, presidida por Bruno Bontempi Jr., com a participação de Ana Laura Godinho Lima e Andressa Leme, foram apresentados os trabalhos mais recentes das(dos) pesquisadores do Eixo, observados e comentados por António Gomes Ferreira, da Universidade de Coimbra (Portugal). Na sessão 2, presidida por Ana Laura Godinho Lima, Bruno Bontempi Jr. (pelo Eixo 3) e Vivian Batista da Silva (pelo Eixo 2) apresentaram as ementas e as produções dos respectivos eixos e o livro recém-publicado pela editora Routledge, que reúne autores(as) de ambos. Na sessão 3, fez-se um balanço das investigações e debateram-se perspectivas futuras. Na sessão 4, presidida por Diana Vidal, os observadores externos César A. Castro (UFMA); Silvina Gvirtz (UNSM-Argentina); António Gomes Ferreira (UC-Portugal) e Izabel Galvão (UP-França) comentaram todos os trabalhos apresentados no evento.

Quanto a realizações futuras, o Eixo 3 seguirá produzindo com a mesma regularidade dos anos anteriores, almejando sempre as publicações nos melhores veículos especializados. Ana Laura Godinho Lima, Bruno Bontempi Jr., Ariadne Lopes Ecar contam com três artigos já aceitos em periódicos científicos, sendo dois deles em publicações estrangeiras. Ana Laura Godinho Lima é autora de um artigo aguardando avaliação, e André Paulilo, de dois artigos em avaliação. Há, além disso, mais três artigos em fase de elaboração, sendo um de André Paulilo e dois de Bruno Bontempi Jr.; e duas coautorias em uma coletânea e um livro autoral. Neste último ano de vigência do Projeto Temático deverá ser realizada a organização do dossiê "Inovação e tradição na história transnacional dos saberes e práticas educacionais", contemplado no Edital 01/2023 do periódico *Educar em Revista*, da UFPR, que contará com a participação de autores de instituições estrangeiras.

No que respeita à divulgação de resultados, estão previstas as seguintes participações de integrantes do Eixo 3, com apresentação de trabalhos, no XII Congresso Brasileiro de História da Educação (14 a 17 de agosto de 2024, em Natal-RN): Bruno Bontempi Jr., Ana Laura Godinho Lima, Lara Chaud Palacios Marin, André Paulilo. Da mesma forma, no 45th International Standing Conference for the History of Education (18 a 21 de agosto de 2024, em Natal-RN), apresentarão comunicações: Ana Laura Godinho Lima, Andressa Caroline Francisco Leme, Ariadne Lopes Ecar e Bruno Bontempi Jr. Este último será palestrante em mesas-redondas nos seguintes eventos: “Escola e Universidade: história e trajetórias”, a ser realizado em setembro de 2024, on-line; e Fórum “Circulação científica e o mundo das ciências sociais”, a ser realizado durante o 48º Encontro Anual da Anpocs, de 23 a 25 de outubro de 2024.

**Eixo 4: Material didático para o ensino público e formação docente**
**Coordenadoras e pesquisadoras associadas**: Rita de Cassia Gallego e Paula Perin Vicentini.
**Pesquisadoras associadas:** Raquel Lazzari Leite Barbosa, Renata Marcílio Cândido, Rosario S. Genta Lugli e Renata Mourão Macedo.
**Bolsistas FAPESP:** Camila Pena de Lima (JC), Fernanda Cavalcante Ramos (JC) ambas em fase de implementação

RESUMO DOS PRINCIPAIS RESULTADOS E PRÓXIMAS AÇÕES PREVISTAS

O trabalho realizado pelo Eixo 4 entre julho de 2023 e junho de 2024, no que tange às pesquisas efetuadas sob a orientação de Renata Cândido, continua privilegiando a história da educação municipal da cidade de Guarulhos, tratando de diferentes aspectos da cultura escolar

das instituições locais, assim como do magistério na região, em períodos distintos do século XX. Enquanto Pedro Amorim tem dado prosseguimento às atividades do Mestrado, iniciado no ano passado, Camila da Silva - tal como previsto - concluiu a escrita do TCC e ingressou no Mestrado em março de 2024, dedicando-se à temática investigada em nível de Iniciação Científica, com o trabalho *História da profissão docente nas escolas de educação infantil do município de Guarulhos (1958 – dias atuais)*. Ambos, juntamente com a sua orientadora, têm se dedicado à divulgação dos resultados obtidos em suas pesquisas.

Já Raquel Lazzari Barbosa tem desenvolvido pesquisas sobre formação de professores, com destaque para os vínculos entre docência e literatura, assim como para as diferentes dimensões da prática pedagógica no Ensino Médio e Superior, incluindo os Cursos de Pós-Graduação e as diferentes configurações do estágio nos Cursos de Licenciatura, notadamente as especificidades do PIBID e da Residência Pedagógica. Entre os trabalhos realizados sob a sua orientação, vale ressaltar o Doutorado, a ser concluído por Mariana da Silva, em 2025, intitulado *Brasil e Angola: a formação do professor de língua e literatura*, no qual se analisam os Cursos de Licenciatura em Letras nos dois países. Outra pesquisa que teve início neste ano é o Pós-Doutorado de Maria Piemonte Constantino, *Análise dos níveis epistêmicos e da construção do conhecimento nos relatórios dos alunos de Ciências Biológicas*, a qual busca compreender as aproximações entre Brasil e Estados Unidos acerca da formação em Ciências Biológicas. Tal perspectiva de análise articula os estudos sobre formação docente à ideia de uma educação transnacional nuclear para este Projeto Temático, oferecendo uma contribuição importante para as atividades do Eixo 4, incluindo a participação delas na disciplina em nível de Pós-Graduação a ser proposta em 2025, envolvendo UNIFESP, UNESP e FEUSP.

A equipe associada à FEUSP, por sua vez, tem dado prosseguimento às pesquisas com a EAFEUSP, no que concerne a diversos aspectos do cotidiano da escola, destacando-se a realização, no primeiro semestre deste ano, dos Exames de Qualificação de Thays Flor da Silva e de Graziela A. P. Cebotarov, sob a orientação de Paula Vicentini e Rita Gallego, respectivamente. Enquanto o primeiro trabalho volta-se para as práticas diferenciadas nos anos iniciais do Ensino Fundamental I, o segundo analisa as referências à autoestima dos seus estudantes no projeto político-pedagógico da instituição, ambos procurando compreender como a EAFEUSP lida com a diversidade de seu alunado. Ainda nesse sentido, a pesquisa de Iniciação Científica, de Francinny Lima, tem tratado dos desafios da heterogeneidade no processo de alfabetização mediante a análise do *Projeto Atendimentos* nas turmas de 2o ano. Além disso, os estudos sobre o *Clube de Leitura e Escrita* continuam sendo desenvolvidos, assim como os que têm reconstituído as memórias dos/as professores/as, os Doutorados de

Francisco da Silva e Clarissa Santos Silva, que realizou seu estágio sanduíche na Universidade Paris 8 (França), com co-orientação de. Izabel Galvão, entre outubro de 2023 e março de 2024).

O trabalho em conjunto com a EAFEUSP inclui, também, a organização de palestras para as disciplinas de *Didática*, *Didática II*, *Projetos, Prática e Formação Docente* pelas professoras Fabiana Dias, Brenda Paes, Kamila Rumi, Andreia Pirani e Rosanna Bendinelli, nas quais elas descrevem aos/às nossos/as licenciados/as a proposta pedagógica da escola e seus projetos e práticas. Conhecer a origem dos projetos da EAFEUSP e como eles são desenvolvidos, envolvendo os docentes da escola, tem sido muito enriquecedor para os/as professores/as em formação - o que reforça a importância de se fortalecer as relações entre universidade e escola para se compreender as relações entre as práticas pedagógicas e a diversidade presente no ambiente escolar. Na mesma direção, tem se mostrado muito fecunda a difusão dessas iniciativas para outros profissionais do campo educativo no âmbito do canal *Vozes da Escola Pública*, criado no ano anterior e no qual consta a série de vídeos sobre o projeto *Gênero e Sexualidade*. No último ano, demos início à elaboração de um novo conjunto de vídeos, intitulado *"Ninguém fica para trás": as práticas diferenciadas e projeto Clube de Leitura e Escrita - EAFEUSP*, tendo como base os resultados até então obtidos pelos estudos desenvolvidos a esse respeito. Para tanto, o auxílio da doutoranda Clarissa Santos Silva, novamente para a escrita do roteiro, tem sido essencial. A divulgação desse trabalho contará, ainda, nos próximos seis meses, com a colaboração de duas bolsistas IC de jornalismo científico, cujo objetivo é produzir conteúdo sobre as pesquisas desenvolvidas a serem veiculados por outra mídia, a ser escolhida pelas mesmas com as coordenadoras e demais pesquisadores do Eixo.

A análise dessas ações, realizada por Izabel Galvão, como observadora e comentarista do Eixo 4, no âmbito da reunião anual do Projeto Temático, mostrou-se extremamente relevante para o planejamento da continuidade das pesquisas e atividades a serem concluídas no próximo ano. Tendo sido realizada nos dias 27 e 28 de maio de 2024, de forma remota, a reunião contou, na manhã do primeiro dia, com uma sessão interna do Eixo, na qual foram apresentados dez trabalhos e, em seguida, foram discutidos delineamentos de perspectivas para o último ano do projeto, com a participação da observadora que teceu considerações acerca dos trabalhos em desenvolvimento trazendo contribuições importantes. À tarde, numa sessão aberta, transmitida por *streaming* pela FEUSP, Paula Vicentini, junto aos/às coordenadores/as de eixo Bruno Bontempi Jr., Carlota Boto e Vivian Batista da Silva, fez um relato dos trabalhos da sessão matutina, sublinhando elementos mais amplos das investigações do Projeto Temático. No dia seguinte, houve uma mesa-redonda, na qual os observadores dos quatros eixos puderam

apresentar os seus comentários, que, no caso de Izabel Galvão, devido à impossibilidade de sua presença, foram lidos por Rita Gallego.

Entre as observações feitas por Izabel, pode-se destacar as relativas à natureza da cooperação "entre EA e FEUSP", distinta da "visão predatória", a qual "infelizmente ainda [é] muito comum, em que os pesquisadores acadêmicos veem a escola somente como *campo de coleta de dados*", sem nem prever "uma restituição dos resultados. Muito distante dessa concepção, nota-se que as pesquisas do Eixo 4 apoiam-se em preocupações comuns entre pesquisadores acadêmicos e membros da equipe docente da escola, os quais, em alguns casos, ocupam também o lugar de pesquisadores". Tal fato - em seu entender - deveria originar a escrita de um texto sobre esse "modo de fazer pesquisa com a escola", narrando e problematizando "o processo de construção dessas parcerias," pois se trata de "uma relação de cooperação pautada na reciprocidade e horizontalidade, construída gradativamente, que beneficia a todas as partes envolvidas." Outro aspecto ressaltado é a maneira como "o atendimento à diversidade" - valorizado tanto pelas professoras da escola quanto da universidade - é tratado nas pesquisas, incluindo "a descrição e compreensão das práticas e dos processos de criação e transformação das mesmas" e fazendo uso da memória como "um recurso muito fecundo para ajudar na construção do sentido do trabalho realizado e para dar voz aos seus protagonistas." Por fim, a forma como a difusão das pesquisas realizadas na EAFEUSP e nas instituições de Guarulhos junto às escolas das redes públicas tem se preocupado "em caracterizar a singularidade da experiência" foi salientada um aspecto importante das produções para evitar a ideia de um "*modelo* e prescritor de receitas" e se aproximar de "um efeito inspirador para outras realidades."

Ao longo do último ano, a equipe de pesquisadores do Eixo 4 tem participado sistematicamente de eventos científicos, tendo totalizado 16 trabalhos apresentados, sendo 12 apresentações orais e 6 participações como palestrante ou conferencista. Desses, cinco são internacionais, tendo dois ocorrido fora do Brasil – XXXI AFIRSE (Lisboa, 2024) e XV CIHELA (Paraguai, 2023). Em nível nacional, se destacam - Seminário Internacional Desafios e Reinvenções da Escola Pública (FEUSP, 2023), VI Congresso Nacional de Formação de Professores e XVI Congresso Estadual Paulista sobre Formação de Educadores e X CIPA (Salvador, 2024). Ainda no que concerne à divulgação dos resultados em eventos, há 8 participações previstas para o próximo semestre: três trabalhos aprovados para o ISCHE 45 e três trabalhos aprovados para o XII CBHE, ambos a serem realizados em agosto de 2024, em Natal; um trabalho aprovado para o XIII Congresso Iberoamericano de Docência Universitária, a ser realizado entre os dias 10 e 12 de julho, no Instituto de Educação da Universidade de

Lisboa, em Portugal; e um para a 34° Reunião Brasileira de Antropologia, a ser realizada de 23 a 26 de julho de 2024, Belo Horizonte. Além das apresentações de trabalho, houve a participação de membros do eixo 4 em comissões científicas: XVI Congresso Estadual Paulista sobre Formação de Educadores - Paula Vicentini, Rita Gallego e Renata Cândido; e X CIPA - Rita Gallego e Paula Vicentini, que participou também da comissão organizadora.

Quanto às publicações, o Eixo 4 tem um artigo em periódico, três artigos já aprovados para publicação, sendo um deles na *Revista Historia de la Educación* (Universidad de Salamanca); quatro capítulos de livros e estão previstos mais dois a serem lançados no próximo semestre ou 1o. semestre de 2025, sendo um deles com editoração internacional. Tais produções envolvem pesquisas desenvolvidas pelos integrantes do eixo e inter-eixos, destacando-se parcerias não só entre docentes, mas desses com seus orientandos. Sublinham-se, ainda, aquelas realizadas junto a colegas de outras instituições de ensino, como é o caso do capítulo escrito em co-autoria entre Paula Vicentini e Rita Gallego junto aos professores Genaro de Oliveira e Lucila Carvalho – ambos da Massey University de Auckland –, cujo livro tem previsão de ser publicado até o primeiro semestre de 2025, o qual é organizado pelos pesquisadores James Lamb (Centre for Research in Digital Education and Edinburgh Futures Institute) e Lucila Carvalho (Massey University - Auckland). Outra produção entre os mesmos pesquisadores deverá ser publicada (previsão 2o. semestre de 2025) no dossiê *Educação digital: pesquisas e tendências*, pela *Revista da FAAEBA*, organizado por Mônica Garbin (UNIVESP) e Thaís Tezani (UNESP). Ainda sobre produções em parceria, alguns dos textos produzidos, e mesmo apresentações em eventos, foram elaborados com Vivian da Silva, do Eixo 2.

Há, ainda, duas outras produções publicadas, sendo uma delas o TCC da estudante Camila Fernandes e o artigo escrito por Barbara Bigas, *Práticas de leitura e escrita ajudam a superar diferentes demandas de aprendizado dos alunos*, publicado na Agência Universitária de Notícias da USP, em dezembro de 2023, o qual versa sobre a experiência do *Clube de Leitura e Escrita*, tendo sido entrevistadas a pesquisadora Rita Gallego e as docentes coordenadoras do projeto à época - Brenda Paes e Fabiana Dias. Há, também, um artigo aguardando avaliação e um em elaboração, a ser submetido para periódico internacional. As pesquisadoras do Eixo 4 também estão envolvidas na organização de uma coletânea, mencionada no relatório anterior. A produção da coletânea (e-book), referente às memórias dos professores da EAFEUSP - *Tempos, espaços e vivências escolares* - organizada pelas coordenadoras deste eixo e Brenda Gonçalves, está em desenvolvimento, tendo sido cumpridas várias etapas do processo. Salienta-se que essa publicação envolve a produção pelo corpo docente, gestores e outros sujeitos da EA de relatos sobre as experiências vivenciadas na instituição. Outra publicação em curso, prevista

para o segundo semestre de 2024, organizada por pesquisadoras que realizaram pós-doutoramento em diferentes eixos - Carolina Mostaro, Bruna Polachini e Renata Macedo -, visa reunir pesquisas de pós-doutorado e doutorado do Projeto Temático.

Outra atividade prevista é a proposição para o 1o semestre de 2025 de uma disciplina de Pós-Graduação, envolvendo as professoras das FEUSP, UNESP e UNIFESP, participantes do Eixo 4. A disciplina tratará dos principais autores que fundamentam teórica e metodologicamente as investigações realizadas no Eixo, bem como apresentará os resultados das pesquisas desenvolvidas. A ideia é que a disciplina organizada pelas professoras responsáveis conte, ainda, com a participação dos demais pesquisadores do Eixo (doutorandos, pós-doutorandos e mestrandos). Assim como se pode depreender, no âmbito do Eixo 4, deu-se continuidade às pesquisas e foram realizadas diversas atividades com vistas a divulgar os resultados das pesquisas em desenvolvimento, com a participação em eventos e publicações, incluindo parcerias com colegas de outros eixos e que atuam em outros países; foram incorporados novos pesquisadores em diferentes momentos da formação, com destaque às duas bolsas de jornalismo científico. Sublinham-se, ainda, as diversas ações realizadas inter-eixos, em eventos, publicações e em bancas. Em linhas gerais, para o próximo ano, além de prosseguir com as pesquisas em curso, pretende-se finalizar a produção da coletânea (E-book), da nova série de vídeos e de outros materiais de divulgação e, ainda, oferecer uma disciplina de pós-graduação. Além das propostas de participação em eventos e publicações já confirmadas, outras serão submetidas em eventos nacionais e internacionais, assim como em publicações.

## 3. APOIO INSTITUCIONAL

O Projeto Temático tem sido beneficiado pelo apoio institucional da FEUSP, do IEB-USP e do IEA-USP.

No que concerne à FEUSP, vem sendo de fundamental valia o trabalho efetuado pelo Centro de Gerenciamento de Projetos. A funcionária técnico-administrativa, Daniela Borges, recentemente substituída por Gabriela Ximenes, tem sido responsável pelo andamento e prestação de contas da atividade financeira do Projeto. Elas também procedem à elaboração do relatório financeiro de prestação de contas enviado à FAPESP. Além disso, auxiliam no processo de implementação de bolsas no sistema SAGe. Executam com extrema seriedade um trabalho minucioso, sobre o qual depositamos total confiança. O Setor Acadêmico tem cuidado da implementação e acompanhamento da vinculação dos pós-doutorandos FAPESP ao programa institucional de Pós-doutorado da FEUSP, bem como de ICs além das atividades de difusão do Seminário anual do projeto; com apoio do STIFE e do setor de Midia. A Escola de Aplicação (EAUSP) contribui com as atividades constitutivas do Eixo 4.

A parceria estabelecida com o IEA-USP visou a organização do Seminário História Digital e História Digital da Educação, como concessão de passagens e diárias aos professores convidados, além de toda a logística para a implementação dos gastos. Ressalte-se também, a colaboração da FEUSP, com o complemento de uma passagem para convidado do evento. O IEB-USP auxiliou com a oferta de espaços e apoio de atividades de secretaria, bem como a infraestrutura para a disciplina de pós-graduação.

Como se pode notar, tanto as equipes da FEUSP e da EAUSP quanto do IEB-USP e IEA-USP têm sido fundamentais para a boa execução do Projeto Temático e seu auxílio denota a relevância conferida pelas unidades da USP às atividades de pesquisa e extroversão a ele vinculadas. Acrescenta-se o apoio institucional recebido das universidades parceiras. A UNIFESP e a UNESP Assis têm fomentado ações junto aos alunos de graduação e às escolas públicas associadas ao Eixo 4. Da mesma forma, estas escolas públicas têm mobilizado alunos e docentes em ações ligadas à pesquisa. A UNICAMP incluiu a disciplina geral de pós-graduação em seu cardápio de opções, da mesma forma que a UNESP, a UNITAU e a UFRJ. Portanto, é importante destacar o efeito de irradiação que o Projeto Temático tem propiciado correspondendo a seus objetivos iniciais de constituir uma rede paulista de investigadores em história da educação, que vêm se alargando para outros estados, como Rio de Janeiro, Minas Gerais, Espírito Santo, Maranhão, Rio Grande do Sul e Paraná.

## 4. PLANO DE ATIVIDADES

O sexto ano do Projeto Temático prevê as seguintes atividades:

- Realização de um Seminário Internacional para abrigar a sexta reunião geral da equipe, prevista para o primeiro semestre de 2025;
- Participação em congressos nacionais e internacionais;
- Organização de eventos;
- Submissão de artigos a revistas nacionais e estrangeiras de seletiva política editorial, bem como de dossiês a revistas nacionais e estrangeiras;
- Pesquisas bibliográficas, levantamentos documentais e visitas a acervos e continuidade das pesquisas em bases *online;*
- Oferta de disciplinas de pós-graduação e graduação, inclusive duas disciplinas conjuntas USP/UNIFESP/UNESP e USP/UNITAU/UNICAMP;
- Revisão, manutenção e alimentação do site do Projeto Temático;
- Orientações de IC, mestrado e doutorado, e supervisão de Pós-Doutorado;
- Continuidade da produção de vídeos curtos como forma de subsídio didático a alunos da educação básica e superior;
- Realização de divulgação do projeto em mídias sociais (Instagram e Twitter) e plataformas de divulgação científica, com a implementação das bolsas IC JC e JC2;
- Organização de livro para socializar as pesquisas de Pós-doutorado;
- Missões de trabalho e de estudo ao exterior, como referido nos relatos de cada Eixo;
- Proposição de um curso online sobre arquivos digitais.

## 5. PLANO DE GESTÃO DE DADOS

A página web do projeto tem sido o meio utilizado para dar acesso aos dados produzidos pela investigação, seja por meio da inclusão direta das informações, de documentos em pdf, de links para publicações open access e dos canais de YouTube. Dentre as metas para o próximo ano, está a manutenção e revisão do conteúdo de modo a tornar o site ainda mais amigável e responsivo, dando continuidade ao trabalho realizado por Ana Laura Sabino (IC-BCO), além de continuidade da alimentação das informações, com o início das atividades do bolsista de Jornalismo científico, Matheus dos Santos Silva, e das novas bolsistas IC, contempladas no edital Comunicar Ciência (FAPESP/Canal Futura).

## 6. PARTICIPAÇÃO EM EVENTO CIENTÍFICO

### 6.1 Realizados

**- Congresso Acadêmico da UNIFESP: Universidade na (re)construção da nação, 19 a 23 de junho de 2023. Presencial. Guarulhos, São Paulo, UNIFESP.**

1. SILVA, Camila Fernandes da; CÂNDIDO, Renata Marcílio. (apresentação oral) "Estudo da história da profissão docente nas escolas de Educação Infantil do município de Guarulhos".

**- ISCHE 44 e Pre-Conference Workshop. Histories of Education and Reform: Traditions, Tensions and Transitions. Jul/2023. Budapeste/Hungria**

2. BITTENCOURT, Circe.; RIBEIRO Jr., Halferd. Apresentação da comunicação intitulada: War and Peace in History Textbooks: The Proposal for an International Understanding of UNESCO.
3. FERRERO, Tiziana. Apresentação da comunicação intitulada: The Brazilian school textbooks in the First Brazilian Republic.
4. LEME, Andressa Caroline Francisco Leme. Apresentação da comunicação oral intitulada: Testes ABC no Brasil: análise dos discursos pedagógicos sobre a idade mais indicada à alfabetização. On-line.
5. LIMA, Ana Laura Godinho. Apresentação da comunicação intitulada: Psychology in Brazilian Educational Reforms in the Context of the International Dissemination of the New School.
6. MARIN, Lara Chaud Palacios. Apresentação da comunicação intitulada: A figura do professor no discurso da Escola Nova em uma perspectiva transnacional entre Brasil e Europa. On-line.
7. PRIEM, Karin; ISENSEE, F.; KOBAYASHI, Ami; RABELO, Rafaela. S.; TÖPPER, D.; SCAGLIOLA, S. EC Workshop by the ISCHE Education & Pandemics Archive on Digital Source Criticism.
8. RABELO, Rafaela. S. Apresentação da comunicação intitulada: Latin American Educationalists On The Move: Study Trips, Networks, And Educational Reforms (The 1920s-1930s).
9. RABELO, Rafaela. S. Apresentação da comunicação intitulada: Revisiting the Past, Setting Grounds for the Future: Exploring Ecological Shifts in Brazilian Education Narratives.
10. VIDAL, Diana G. Apresentação da comunicação intitulada: New education and educational reforms in Brazil: transnational connections and national specifities.
11. VIDAL, Diana G. Apresentação da comunicação intitulada: Digital humanities: a pilot project about the Fernando de Azevedo Collection.

**- 69° Seminário do Grupo de Estudos Linguísticos do Estado de São Paulo na FFLCH/USP – presencial – 4 a 7 de julho de 2023.**

12. POLACHINI, Bruna. Apresentação da comunicação intitulada: As duas primeiras gramáticas de autoria feminina no Brasil: Bandeira (1897) e Maia (1899).

13. POLACHINI, Bruna. Apresentação da comunicação intitulada: *A didatização da gramática de língua portuguesa no século XIX: alguns exemplos* dentro do Simpósio 'Historiografia linguística: o papel explicativo do contexto na criação, desenvolvimento e difusão de conceitos linguísticos'

**XIV Reunião de Antropologia do Mercosul, 1 a 4 de agosto de 2023, Presencial, Niterói, RJ, Universidade Federal Fluminense.**

14. MACEDO, Renata Mourão. Apresentação da comunicação intitulada: "Direitos sexuais e reprodutivos em políticas educacionais brasileiras (2000-atual)".

**- IV Seminário Historiar a Educação, 2023**

15. PAULILO, Andre Luiz. Apresentação da comunicação intitulada: O Programa de Estudos e Pesquisa em História da Educação como espaço de pesquisa.

**- XI Seminário Nacional do Centro de Memória-Unicamp, 2023**

16. PAULILO, Andre Luiz. Apresentação da comunicação intitulada: História local, pública e do tempo presente: perspectivas da pesquisa no Centro de Memória-Unicamp.

**- ISECS2023 Congress, ocorrido em formato presencial na Universidade de Roma/Sapienza,** entre os dias 3 e 7 de julho de 2023.

17. BOTO, Carlota. Apresentação da comunicação intitulada: Whereabouts of the spirit: philosophy of history as a guide to Modernity in Condorcet

**- VII Jornadas de Estudios Afrolatinoamericanos del GEALA (4 a 6/09/2023, Universidad de Buenos Aires/ARG).**

18. RIBEIRO, Jonatas Roque. Apresentação da comunicação intitulada: "'Artistas coloreds': intelectuais afrodescendentes e sua produção cultural na diáspora negra".

**- X Congreso Internacional de Filosofia de la Educación (CIFE 2023), ocorrido em formato presencial na Universidade de Barcelona, entre os dias 6 e 8 de setembro de 2023.**

19. BOTO, Carlota. Apresentação da comunicação intitulada The university and intellectuals in days of disillusion.

**- Workshop internazionale Oggetti che viaggiano: la circolazione commerciale degli oggetti didattici tra Otto e Novecento. Torino, 5 e 6 ottobre 2023.**

20. SOUZA-CHALOBA, Rosa Fátima de. Apresentação da comunicação intitulada: O artefato da apresentação moderna e eficiente: circulação e comercialização do retroprojetor (São Paulo - Brasil, 1960 - 1990).

**- IX Congresso Nacional de Educação (CONEDU)**. João Pessoa-PB, 12 a 14 de outubro de 2023 (presencial).

21. SILVA, Alexandre Ribeiro e. Apresentação da comunicação intitulada: Intérpretes" da educação nacional no Brasil Império: apontamentos sobre um projeto de reforma da instrução pública no Município da Corte em 1847.

**- Seminário História Digital e História da Educação: caminhos cruzados. Instituto de Estudos Avançados – USP, outubro, 2023. Atividade presencial.**

22. MONÇÃO, Vinicius de Moraes. Apresentação da comunicação intitulada: A pesquisa em História da Educação via CAQDAS.

**- XV Congreso Iberoamericano de Historia de la Educación Latinoamericana (CIHELA)**, 24 a 28 de outubro de 2023, Paraguai, Universidad Nacional de Villarrica del Espíritu Santo,

23. FREITAS, Stefane Lino de; AMORIM, Pedro Henrique Gonçalves; CÂNDIDO, Renata Marcílio; SILVA, Camila Fernandes da. Apresentação da comunicação intitulada: "O que os objetos e as pessoas contam sobre a história da educação no município de Guarulhos (1926 - 1971)".

**- XV Congreso Iberoamericano de Historia de la Educación Latinoamericana (25-27/10/2023)**

24. MUNAKATA, Kazumi. Comunicação oral individual. Título: "O declínio da retórica no ocaso das palavras", trabalho apresentado oralmente.

**- I Colóquio Internacional *Manuais Escolares: Perspetivas Históricas Nacionais e Globais*. 4 e 12 de novembro de 2023. Universidade de Coimbra.**

25. SILVA, Vivian Batista da; VIEIRA, Keila da Silva. Apresentação da comunicação intitulada: A história ensinada aos professores: *Os primórdios da educação no Brasil* (1958) e a construção da identidade nacional.

**- Mesa-Redonda Ideias e sujeitos viajantes: histórias transnacionais em educação** (12/11/2023, Universidade de São Paulo)

26. RIBEIRO, Jonatas Roque. Apresentação da comunicação intitulada: "Forjando redes afro-atlânticas: experiências negras, racismo e a escola no circuito transnacional dopós-abolição".

**- XV Encontro de pós-graduandos em Historiografia Linguística promovido pelo CEDOCH-USP** – On-line – de 27 de novembro a 1° de dezembro de 2023.

27. POLACHINI, Bruna. Apresentação da comunicação intitulada: *Uma nova história serial da gramaticografia brasileira de língua portuguesa*.

**- XII Simpósio de pós-doutorado da FEUSP: Diversidade, desigualdade e equidade** (5 a 7/12/2023, Universidade de São Paulo)

28. RIBEIRO, Jonatas Roque. Apresentação da comunicação intitulada: "Forjando redes afro-atlânticas: experiências negras, racismo e a escola no circuito transnacional do pós-abolição".

**- XI Seminário Nacional - Centro de Memória-UNICAMP - Memória e patrimônio acadêmico-científico**. Campinas, São Paulo. 5 a 7 de dezembro de 2023.

29. FERRERO, Tiziana. Apresentação da comunicação intitulada: O livro didático como patrimônio da história da educação: o caso do Banco de Dados LIVRES (FE-USP).

**- VI Congresso Nacional de Formação de Professores e XVI Congresso Estadual Paulista sobre Formação de Educadores, Águas de Lindóia-SP, 29 de novembro a 01 de dezembro, 2023.**

30. ORIANI, Angélica P. Apresentação da comunicação intitulada: "Ensinando a ser coordenador pedagógico: um panorama dos Projetos Político-Pedagógicos dos cursos de Pedagogia das universidades públicas paulistas".
31. BARBOSA, Raquel Lazzari Leite; MENDONÇA, Sueli Guadelupe de Lima. Coordenadora no "Grupo de Trabalho - PIBID e Residência Pedagógica".

**- I Encontro PROIAD: partilha de aprendizagens e resultados. 11 de dezembro de 2023, Centro de Inovação da USP - INOVA USP**

32. LIMA, Francinny da Rocha; POLONI, Giovana. Apresentação da comunicação intitulada: Construção de propostas com temas geradores na perspectiva de Paulo Freire.

**- 8ª Jornada Virtual Internacional em Pesquisa Científica: educação, saberes pedagógicos e práticas educativas, Centro português de Apoio à Pesquisa Científica e à Cultura, Porto-Portugal, 2023.**

33. ORIANI, Angélica P. Apresentação da comunicação em vídeo intitulada: "Estudo histórico do trabalho do coordenador pedagógico no estado de São Paulo-Brasil: apontamentos iniciais".

**- XX Congresso Internacional da Associação de Linguística e Filologia da América Latina (ALFAL) na Universidad de Concepción do Chile – presencial – de 22 a 26 de janeiro de 2024.**

34. POLACHINI, Bruna. Apresentação da comunicação intitulada: *Duas gramáticas de autoria feminina no Brasil oitocentista: Bandeira (1897) e Maia (1899)* dentro do Projeto 31 – Gênero e Ciências da Linguagem: Américas.

**- V Colóquio Internacional de Ciências Sociais da Educação (CICSE) – 50anos de educação em democracia – 01/02/2024 – Braga/Portugal.**

35. MARIN, Lara Chaud Palacios. Apresentação da comunicação intitulada: O futuro dos professores sob uma perspectiva histórica: modos de projeção da profissão docente no discurso pedagógico.

**- X Congresso Internacional de Pesquisa (Auto)Biográfica**, 20 a 23 de maio de 2024, Salvador, Bahia, UNEB, Presencial.

36. SILVA, Vivian Batista; VICENTINI, Paula Perin; GALLEGO, Rita de Cassia. Apresentação da comunicação intitulada: "Espaços de iniciação no magistério: narrativas sobre os efeitos dos estágios na licenciatura".

37. GALLEGO, Rita de Cassia; VICENTINI, Paula Perin. Apresentação da comunicação intitulada: “Histórias de vida que se encontram e se transformam nas telas de cinema: a escrita de si como estratégia pedagógica do filme Escritores da Liberdade”. Trabalho apresentado em Simpósio juntamente com as docentes Renata Marcílio Cândido e Patrícia Amparo (coordenadora).
38. SILVA, Thays Fernandes Flor da. Apresentação da comunicação intitulada: "*Mais uma forma de resistência*: saber-fazer docente e incorporação do ensino diferenciado nos anos iniciais da Escola de Aplicação da FEUSP (2011-...)”.
39. BARBOSA, Raquel Lazzari Leite. Apresentação da comunicação intitulada: “Personagens e enredos da história da profissão docente: invenções de si e formação de professores em diálogos imprevistos”.

**- VII EHECO - Encontro de História da Educação do Centro-Oeste, 22-24 maio 2024 (online)**

40. CANDIDO, Maria Fernanda; RABELO, Rafaela Silva. Apresentação da comunicação intitulada: Pan-americanismo e Latino-americanismo na Revista do Ensino de Minas Gerais (Anos 1920 e 1930).
41. POLITO, Rafaela Montes; RABELO, Rafaela Silva. Apresentação da comunicação intitulada: Impactos da pandemia de Covid-19 na educação noticiados pelo Jornal Estado de Minas na era digital.

**- XXXI Colóquio Afirse Portugal “Aprendizagem, diversidade e equidade: a investigação em educação”. 7 e 9 de fevereiro de 2024. Instituto de Educação da Universidade de Lisboa.**

42. VICENTINI, Paula Perin; GALLEGO, Rita de Cassia; LUGLI, Rosario Genta, SILVA, Vivian Batista da. Apresentação da comunicação intitulada: Sobre os efeitos dos Estágios de Docência na Licenciatura: formação para a inclusão na sala de aula. Trabalho apresentado oralmente, na modalidade presencial
43. SILVA, Vivian Batista da; BORTOLACI, Natalia Apresentação da comunicação intitulada: Manejos da heterogeneidade: práticas pedagógicas diferenciadas na busca por equidade escolar. Trabalho apresentado oralmente, na modalidade presencial.

**- 16th World Conference on Education Sciences -** The United Nations 17 Sustainable Development Goals. Barcelona, Universitat de Barcelona, Espanha, 1 a 3 de fevereiro de 2024.

44. FERRERO, Tiziana. Apresentação da comunicação intitulada: Education and civilization: an analysis of textbooks used in Brazilian primary schools.

### 6.1.1 Participação como palestrante e/ou conferencista em eventos nacionais e internacionais

1. BITTENCOURT, Circe. VI Congresso Municipal de Educação de São Paulo. Participação Mesa-Redonda: Educação é direito: Educação Integral. Título da Apresentação: Educação dos povos indígenas: integração ou emancipação? 5 de outubro de 2023, presencial.
2. BONTEMPI Jr., Bruno. Educação em Fronteiras. Apresentação de trabalho. Mostrando avanços ao mundo: o relatório “Education in the State of São Paulo (1903)”.

Coordenação da Sessão I. Eixo 3. Universidade de São Paulo, 27 de maio de 2024. On-line.

3. BONTEMPI Jr., Bruno; SILVA, Vivian B. Educação em Fronteiras. Apresentação de trabalho. Nossas pesquisas e intersecções. Eixos 2 e 3. Universidade de São Paulo, 28 de maio de 2024. On-line.
4. BOTO, Carlota. Conferência de encerramento – intitulada Tempos e Narrativas para uma Educação Democrática: o que pode a formação de professores? – ministrada em 1 de dezembro de 2023, no âmbito do VI Congresso Nacional de Formação de Professores e XVI Congresso Estadual Paulista sobre Formação de Educadores, promovido pelo Pró-Reitoria de Graduação (PROGRAD) da UNESP, em Águas de Lindóia, entre 29 de novembro e 1 de dezembro de 2023.
5. BOTO, Carlota. Conferência intitulada História do Conhecimento na História da Educação, ministrada em 7 de dezembro de 2023, no âmbito do VII Colóquio História e Memória da Educação no Rio Grande do Norte / II Ciclo de Palestras do LAHMED/UFRN, promovido pelo Programa de Pós-Graduação em Educação da UFRN, entre 6 e 8 de dezembro de 2023.
6. BOTO, Carlota. Conferência intitulada Educação e Ética no Território da Pedagogia, ministrada em 18 de outubro de 2023, no âmbito da VII Semana de la Pedagogia y III Semana Internacional de la Pedagogia: es aún posible la educación?, promovida pelo Departamento de Psicopedagogia da Universidad Pedagogica Nacional, em Bogotá, Colômbia, entre 17 e 20 de outubro de 2023.
7. BOTO, Carlota. Expositora, em 22 de maio de 2023, na condição de palestrante, em webinário voltado para a Reestruturação da política nacional para o Ensino Médio,a conviete de Maurício Holanda Maia, por iniciativa da Secretaria de Articulação Intersetorial e com os Sistemas da Ensino (SASE) do Ministério da Educação do Governo Federal, atividade do GT Internunidades em Políticas Linguísticas para a USP – PoLínguasUSP, na Universidade de São Paulo.
8. BOTO, Carlota. Expositora, em 15 de junho de 2023, na condição de palestrante, junto com Mozart Ramos Neves, de Mesa Redonda sobre a A universidade e a formação de professores da Educação Básica, a convite da professora Maria Lúcia Marcondes Carvalho Vasconcelos, na Universidade Presbiteriana Mackenzie.
9. BOTO, Carlota. Expositora, em 11 de agosto de 2023, na condição de palestrante, tendo apresentado o trabalho intitulado *O papel de Pombal na reconstrução de Lisboa pós-terremoto: uma pedagogia de estado*, na Mesa Redonda sobre a Ilustração e políticas ibéricas da América, coordenada por Álvaro de Araúno Antunes, no âmbito das atividades do *VI Colóquio Internacional – CEIbero – Colóquio Cultura e Educação no Mundo Ibérico*, realizado entre os dias 8 e 11 de agosto de 2023, na Universidade Federal de São João Del-Rei.
10. BOTO, Carlota. Expositora, em 26 de julho de 2023, na condição de palestrante, no Simpósio intitulado Educação como direito humano no sudeste brasileiro: a escola para todos e todas em questão, no âmbito das atividades do *I Seminário Regional da Educação Brasileira - Sudeste*, realizado pelo CEDES, entre os dias 24 e 26 de julho de 2023, na Universidade Federal Fluminense.

11. BOTO, Carlota. Expositora, em 21 de novembro de 2023, na condição de palestrante da Mesa 2 Escola e reformas educacionais: tradição e inovação, no âmbito do *VI Seminário Internacional do PPGE/UNIFESP: a escola pública como desafio para a pesquisa educacional*, promovido pelo Programa de Pós-Graduação da Escola de Filosofia, Letras e Ciências Humanas da Universidade Federal de São Paulo (UNIFESP/Campus Guarulhos), entre os dias 21 e 23 de novembro de 2023.
12. BOTO, Carlota. Expositora, em 21 de outubro de 2023, na condição de palestrante, com trabalho intitulado A escola pública como projeto de nação: história e atualidade do tema, no âmbito do *II Simpósio Internacional de Educação*, promovido pela Associação Comunitária Educacional Cícera Tereza dos Santos em parceria com o Instituto Federal de Educação, Ciência e Tecnologia de São Paulo.
13. BOTO, Carlota. Participação em 25 de setembro de 2023, da Mesa de Abertura do Seminário Internacional *Tendências globais da educação: o impacto das estruturas de governança, da privatização e da digitalização*, realizado no Instituto de Relações Internacionais da USP, nos dias 25 e 26 de setembro, em parceria com a Campanha Nacional pelo Direito à Educação.
14. CASTRO, Renata. Palestra: Le Società Italiane di Mutuo Soccorso costituzioni, traiettorie e permanenza (1872-1938). Evento: Dall'Italia al Sud America. L'idea di "fraternité" e il mutuo soccorso fra gli emigranti in Argentina e Brasile. Università degli Studi di Siena. Data: 28 e 29 de novembro de 2023. Formato híbrido.
15. CASTRO, Renata. Palestra: Os livros didáticos italianos em perspectiva transnacional. Mesa-redonda: Ideias e sujeitos viajantes: histórias transnacionais em educação. Data: 17/10/2023. Formato presencial.
16. ECAR, Ariadne Lopes. Avaliadora na Sessão 5 - Universalização da educação: experiências de formação docente e de escolarização. 1º SIICUSP - Simpósio Internacional de Iniciação Científica e Tecnológica da USP - 30/10/2023 a 01/11/2023.
17. ECAR, Ariadne Lopes. Convidada para o evento Semana Nacional dos Museus 2024 no Instituto Butantan. Presencial. (17/05/2024). Tema do evento: O ruralismo pedagógico do início do século XX e o Instituto Butantan: práticas, ideário e projeto de nação, 2024. Comunicação: "A prática pedagógica de Noêmia Cruz". https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6nJRj5mP9lU&t=5245s
18. FRANÇA, Franciele F. Participação como palestrante no Evento Quinze anos do NEPIE- Núcleo de Estudos e Pesquisas em Infância e Educação Infantil-UFPR. Nov./2023.
19. GALLEGO, Rita de Cassia. (coordenação) Mesa-redonda intitulada *Sofrimento Psíquico e Educação.* Seminário Internacional Desafios e Reinvenções da Escola Pública, 18 a 22 de setembro de 2023, Presencial. São Paulo, FEUSP.
20. GALLEGO, Rita de Cassia. "Memórias de professoras iniciantes: desafios e perspectivas para a prática docente". Mesa: *A narrativa autobiográfica e a formação docente: desafios e perspectivas para um novo fazer pedagógico*. IV Congresso Internacional Brasil in teias culturais. 20 de dezembro de 2023. Online.
21. GALLEGO, Rita de Cassia. "Dos tempos escolares aos tempos sociais, dos tempos sociais aos tempos escolares: desafios de (re)construir regularidades de ritmos". Mesa:

*Da prática escolar à prática cultural no processo de escolarização*. XV Encontro Maranhense de História da Educação. 07 de junho de 2024. Online.

22. LEME, Andressa Caroline Francisco. Apresentação de trabalho. Circulação internacional de pessoas e perspectivas educacionais sobre a idade mais indicada à alfabetização. Educação em Fronteiras. Apresentação de trabalho. Coordenação da Sessão II. Universidade de São Paulo, 28 de maio de 2024. On-line.
23. LIMA, Ana Laura Godinho. Afetividade e emoções nos discursos da psicologia: uma análise da perspectiva da história da educação na mesa Sofrimento Psíquico e Educação no Seminário Desafios e Reinvenções da Escola Pública. 20/09/2023. Presencial na Faculdade de Educação da Universidade de São Paulo.
LIMA, Ana Laura Godinho. Apresentação de trabalho. Educação em Fronteiras. Apresentação de trabalho. Educação e desenvolvimento afetivo na perspectiva de Mira y López (1896-1964). Sessão I. Eixo 3. Universidade de São Paulo, 28 de maio de 2024. On-line.
24. MUNAKATA, Kazumi. Conferência na mesa-redonda "Democracia e Universidade Pública (1983 - 2023)". Seminário Aqui estávamos, aqui estamos: ocupação UNESP-Assis em luta pela democracia (1983-2023) (18/8/2023). Mesa Redonda
25. MUNAKATA, Kazumi. Conferência. "Ditadura e ensino de História". Seminário Internacional Golpe de 1964: lembrar para não esquecer (17/4/2024). Conferência.
26. MUNAKATA, Kazumi. Conferência "Livros Didáticos e Cultura Histórica Escolar". I Seminário Livros Didáticos e Cultura Histórica Escolar (9/5/2024). Conferência.
27. MUNAKATA, Kazumi. Conferência "História das Disciplinas Escolares no Brasil". Seminário História da Disciplina Escolar Geografia (22/5/2024). Conferência de encerramento.
28. PAULILO, André Luiz. História da Educação: ensino e extensão. 28º Encontro da Associação Sul-Riograndense de Pesquisadores em História da Educação**,** 2023. Presencial.
29. PAULILO, André Luiz. 200 anos da escola pública no Brasil. Roda de Conversa do Portal do Bicentenário da Independência. 1827-2027**.** 2023. Remoto.
30. POLACHINI, Bruna. A história da gramática brasileira pelo acervo da Fundação Biblioteca Nacional. Palestra proferida no Seminário Gramáticas e dicionários do português no cervo da Biblioteca Nacional. 15 e 16 de abril de 2024 - Presencial.
31. POLACHINI, Bruna. A metodologia da historiografia linguística aplicada à história da gramática brasileira oitocentista Conferência realizada dentro da disciplina de pós-graduação História das Ciências da Linguagem da UFJF. 15 de maio de 2024. On-line.
32. ROCHA, Heloísa H. P. Conferência na Mesa "Os saberes e a produção de sentidos nas instituições de ensino": Iniciar as meninas nos primórdios da arte de ser mãe": novos saberes, velhas representações no XV Encontro Maranhense de História da Educação na mesa. São Luís, 05/06/2024.
33. ROCHA, Heloísa H. P. Quando um pequeno livro cruza fronteiras: conexões entre o Brasil e os Estados Unidos (Conferência proferida na Faculdade de Formação de Professores da UERJ – Núcleo Interdisciplinar de Pesquisa em História da Educação e Infância). São Gonçalo (RJ), 20/03/2024 (Presencial).

34. ROCHA, Heloísa H. P. Das “lides do magistério” à difusão do “abc da saúde”: formação e atuação das educadoras sanitárias em São Paulo (Conferencista na Mesa “O surgimento da enfermeira diplomada: modelos internacionais e negociações locais”). Seminário História e Memória da Enfermagem – Haydée Guanais Dourado (1915-2005). Salvador, 30/10/2023 (Presencial).
35. SILVA, Vivian Batista da; GALLEGO, Rita de Cassia. Palestra proferida no I Encontro dos bolsistas PROIAD. *Aprender, desaprender, reaprender: a importância das intervenções nos processos educativos*. 11 de dezembro de 2023. Formato presencial com transmissão ao vivo. Acesso em: (82) I Encontro dos Bolsistas PROIAD – Programa de Iniciação e Aperfeiçoamento à Docência - YouTube.
36. VALDEMARIN, Vera. Palestra: Brincadeiras e Jogos na revista O Tico-Tico (década de 1950). Mesa: Da prática escolar à prática cultural no processo de escolarização. XV Encontro Maranhense de História da Educação, de 05 a 07/06/2024. Formato Híbrido.
37. VICENTINI, Paula Perin. (apresentação oral). Participação na Mesa-Redonda do Encontro Educação em Fronteiras. 27 de maio de 2024. Online.
38. VICENTINI, Paula Perin. (apresentação oral) “Da observação sensível às práticas inclusivas: formação de professores para a equidade na aprendizagem” no âmbito da Mesa-Redonda *A formação do professor nas políticas educacionais e o futuro da educação.* Seminário Internacional Desafios e Reinvenções da Escola Pública, 18 a 22 de setembro de 2023, Presencial. São Paulo, FEUSP
39. VIDAL, Diana G. Conferencista no Encontro com pesquisadores da Flacso Argentina. Cultura (material) escolar en tiempos de pós pandemia.
40. VIDAL, Diana G. Aula Inaugural do PPG UNITAU Desenvolvimento Humano. Desafios da produção de conhecimento em Humanidades (digitais).
41. VIDAL, Diana G. Conferencista no Seminar for graded students at Queen’s University. For a polycentric history of education: rethinking the center-periphery paradigm. 2023.
42. VIDAL, Diana G. Conferencista. CEINCE – UNISANTO. Conversa sobre inovações na história da educação História digital da educação: questões para debate. 2023.
43. VIDAL, Diana G. Participação em mesa-redonda no 31º SIICUSP - Simpósio Internacional de Iniciação Científica e Tecnológica da USP. E-investigação em Humanidades. Período: 30/10/2023 a 01/11/2023.
44. VIDAL, Diana G. Participação em mesa-redonda no Encontro História Digital e História Digital da Educação: Caminhos Cruzados. 17-18/10/2023 – IEA-USP História Digital e História Digital da Educação: caminhos cruzados.
45. VIDAL, Diana G. Participação em mesa-redonda no II Encontro Paranaense de História da Educação. no Preservação de acervos, pesquisa e formação de pesquisadores. As práticas do arquivo em educação/ Mesa-redonda II: Formação e práticas educativas: acervos e fontes. Período: 08-10/11/2023.
46. VIDAL, Diana G. Participação em mesa-redonda no International Symposium Interdisciplining Knowledge: Humanities, Science and Culture. Interdisciplinary Interrogations. 6-7/12/2023. Coimbra/PT.
47. VIDAL, Diana G. Conferência de encerramento XIX Jornadas Nacionales y VIII Internacionales de Enseñanza de la Historia. Cultura (s) y escuela (s): relaciones ambiguas y multifacéticas. 14-16/09/2023. Buenos Aires/Argentina.

### 6.1.2 Organização de evento e/ou participação comissão científica.

1. BOTO, Carlota. LIMA; Ana Laura Godinho; POLACHINI, Bruna. Organização. Seminário Internacional Desafios e Reinvenções da Escola Pública. De 18 e 22 de setembro de 2023 na FEUSP.
2. BOTO, Carlota. Coordenação da Comissão Organizadora do Seminário Internacional Desafios e Reinvenções da Escola Pública, realizado entre os dias 18 e 22 de setembro de 2023 na Faculdade de Educação da Universidade de São Paulo.
3. BONTEMPI Jr., Bruno. Comitê Científico. Avaliador de submissões. XII Congresso Brasileiro de História da Educação. Natal-RN, a ser realizado de 14 a 17 de agosto de 2024.
4. CÂNDIDO, Renata Marcílio. Comissão Avaliadora. VI Congresso Nacional de Formação de Professores e XVI Congresso Estadual Paulista sobre Formação de Educadores. São Paulo, Águas de Lindóia, novembro/2023. Site do evento: https://eventos.reitoria.unesp.br/vicnfp-xvicepfe/
5. ECAR, Ariadne L. Organização do III Simpósio - Seres, Sujeitos e Sentidos da Educação Básica - A Educação do Futuro entre o Real, o Simbólico e o Imaginário, 2023. Referências adicionais: Brasil/Espanhol. Meio de divulgação: Meio digital https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4nVgfFl3gL4
6. ECAR, Ariadne L.; DOMENE, S. M. A.; MESCOLOTO, S. B.; ANDRADE, J. S.; FLORENCIO, E. Organização do Minicurso - Formação Docente em Temas Contemporâneos Transversais na Educação Básica, 2023. Referências adicionais: Brasil/Espanhol. Meio de divulgação: Meio digital. Divulgação no Jornal da USP: https://jornal.usp.br/cultura/visao-transversal-da-alimentacao-na-escola-e-tema-de-minicurso/ Disponível em https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Hi_DAfqX-4U&t=530s
7. ECAR, Ariadne L.; GATTI, B. Organização do Minicurso - Limites e possibilidades da formação pedagógica de professores, 2023. Referências adicionais: Brasil/Espanhol. Meio de divulgação: Meio digital. Disponível em https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zpLjXXmLQ6w
8. GALLEGO, Rita de Cassia. Comissão Científica. VI Congresso Nacional de Formação de Professores e XVI Congresso Estadual Paulista sobre Formação de Educadores. São Paulo, Águas de Lindóia, novembro/2023. Site do evento: https://eventos.reitoria.unesp.br/vicnfp-xvicepfe/
9. GALLEGO, Rita de Cassia. Comissão Científica. X Congresso Internacional de Pesquisa (Auto)Biográfica. Bahia, Salvador, maio/2024. Site do evento: https://xcipa.biograph.org.br/simposios-tematicos-nacionais-e-internacionais/
10. PAULILO, André Luiz. Comissão Científica do XI Seminário Nacional do Centro de Memória-Unicamp. 2023.
11. PAULILO, André Luiz; HADLER, M. S. D. Organização do XI Seminário Nacional do Centro de Memória-Unicamp. 2023.
12. PAULILO, André Luiz; PHILIPPI, C. C. Organização do IV Seminário Historiar a Educação. 2023. (Congresso).
13. RABELO, Rafaela Silva. Membro da Comissão do Programa de Bolsas IC (ProPP/UFU).
14. ROCHA, Heloísa H. P. Membro de Comitê Científico. XII Congresso Brasileiro de História da Educação. Natal, 14 a 17/08/2024.

15. SILVA, Thays Fernandes Flor da. Comissão Científica. Congresso Internacional Movimentos Docentes. São Paulo. outubro/2023. Site do evento: https://congresso.movimentosdocentes.com/2023
16. VICENTINI, Paula Perin. Comissão Científica. VI Congresso Nacional de Formação de Professores e XVI Congresso Estadual Paulista sobre Formação de Educadores. São Paulo, Águas de Lindóia, novembro/2023. Site do evento: https://eventos.reitoria.unesp.br/vicnfp-xvicepfe/
17. VICENTINI, Paula Perin. Comissão Organizadora. X Congresso Internacional de Pesquisa (Auto)Biográfica. Bahia, Salvador, maio/2024. Site do evento: https://xcipa.biograph.org.br/simposios-tematicos-nacionais-e-internacionais/
18. VICENTINI, Paula Perin. Comissão Científica. X Congresso Internacional de Pesquisa (Auto)Biográfica. Bahia/Salvador, maio/2024. Site do evento: https://xcipa.biograph.org.br/simposios-tematicos-nacionais-e-internacionais/
19. VIDAL, Diana G. Comitê organizador do 45 ISCHE, Natal, Agosto/2023.
20. VIDAL, Diana G.; MONÇÃO, Vinicius de Moraes. Organização. Seminário História Digital e História da Educação: caminhos cruzados. Instituto de Estudos Avançados – USP (Atividade presencial – outubro, 2023).

### 6.1.3 Participação como ministrante e/ou organização de minicurso.

1. ECAR, Ariadne Lopes. Minicurso *História da alimentação escolar em São Paulo (1920-1930)*. Cátedra de Educação Básica – IEA/USP. On-line. Disponível em: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Hi_DAfqX-4U&t=530s
2. FERRERO, Tiziana; FRANCO, Millena Mirana. Minicurso *Além das fronteiras nacionais: desvendando a internacionalização, através de experiências feuspianas*. Ministrado na **Semana da Educação**. A escola da ponte pra cá: intersetorialidade em diálogo. Faculdade de Educação da Universidade de São Paulo, São Paulo. 17 e 18 de outubro de 2023.

## 6.2 Participação em evento futuro com aceite confirmado

**- III Congresso Internacional de Ciências Sociais e Humanas** (a ser realizado pela Universidade de Salamanca no período de 26 a 28 de junho de 2024).

1. SILVA, Alexandre Ribeiro e. Produção de conhecimento, centralização e descentralização na instrução pública do Brasil Império: explorando os Estudos Administrativos de Francisco Octaviano (1851). (Comunicação individual)

**- XXIV Encontro Regional de História da ANPUH-MG 2024**, a ser realizado entre os dias 15 a 19/07/2024, na cidade de Belo Horizonte/MG.

2. MUNAKATA, Kazumi. Conferência. O livro didático durante a ditadura. Mesa-redonda.

**- 70° Seminário do Grupo de Estudos Linguísticos do Estado de São Paulo no IEL/UNICAMP – presencial – 16 a 19 de julho de 2024.**

3. POLACHINI, Bruna. A língua como objeto histórico: gramáticas e antologias no final do século XIX no Brasil e em Portugal. (Comunicação individual)
4. POLACHINI, Bruna. Uma reflexão sobre a gramaticografia brasileira da virada do século sob o ponto de vista do gênero da autoria. No Simpósio "O feminino em Historiografia Linguística". (Comunicação individual)
5. POLACHINI, Bruna. Simpósio "O feminino em Historiografia Linguística". (Coordenação)

**- XII Congresso Brasileiro de História da Educação (CBHE), a ser realizado em agosto de 2024,** na cidade do Natal/RN.

6. AMORIM, Pedro Henrique Gonçalves e CÂNDIDO, Renata Marcílio. "Os professores artesãos: produção artesanal e trabalho docente no ensino primário na virada do século xix para o século XX" (Comunicação Individual).
7. BONTEMPI Jr., Bruno. Molde nacional e fôrma cívica: uma tese radical sobre a ABE (1986). (Apresentação presencial de trabalho em Comunicação Coordenada).
8. CASTRO, Renata Brião de. Os livros de leitura para as escolas italianas de São Paulo e de Buenos Aires durante os anos de 1929 a 1932" (Comunicação Individual).
9. ECAR, *O Centro de Puericultura do Instituto de Educação Caetano de Campos (Déc. 1930)*. (Comunicação Individual).
10. FRANÇA, Franciele F. A New Education Fellowship nos países Sul-Americanos. (Comunicação Individual).
11. LEME, Andressa Caroline Francisco. A idade mais indicada para a alfabetização: entre saberes nacionais e estrangeiros. (Comunicação Individual).
12. LIMA, Ana Laura Godinho; SILVA, Vivian Batista da. Leituras interconectadas de didática e psicologia para professores em formação (1900-1960) (Apresentação presencial de trabalho em Comunicação Coordenada).
13. MUNAKATA, Kazumi e ZANCUL, Maria Cristina de Senzi. A coleção "Os Cientistas": indícios de aulas de ciência?" (Comunicação Individual).
14. ORIANI, Angélica P. Apresentação de trabalho: *Formando diretores para os grupos escolares: investigações iniciais (São Paulo, 1894-1933).* (Comunicação Individual).
15. PAULILO, A. L. A circulação atlântica de modelos pedagógicos e as reformas da educação em São Paulo e no Rio de Janeiro entre 1927-1935. Ago. 2024. (Comunicação Individual).
16. RIBEIRO, Jonatas Roque. Pensadores negros transnacionais e circulação de ideias de escola e raça no Brasil e EUA. (Comunicação Individual)
17. ROCHA, Heloísa H. P. A menina, a boneca e o bebê: notas sobre a cultura material da educação sanitária. (Comunicação a ser apresentada na Sessão de Comunicação Coordenada "Cultura material escolar, renovação pedagógica e educação sanitária: circulação transnacional de saberes, objetos e práticas", coordenada pela Profa. Gizele de Souza).
18. SILVA, Alexandre Ribeiro e Silva. Da difusão do modelo à circulação do fracasso: críticas ao ensino mútuo na Inglaterra, França e Brasil na década de 1830. (Comunicação Individual)

19. SILVA, Camila Fernandes da e CÂNDIDO, Renata Marcílio. “A elaboração do moderno: O projeto arquitetônico do ginásio estadual de Guarulhos (Escola Estadual Conselheiro Crispiniano (1932-1962)”. (Comunicação Individual).
20. SILVA, Carolina Mostaro Neves da; POLACHINI, Bruna. Coleção Paulo Bourroul (FEUSP): estudos sobre uma biblioteca escolar oitocentista. (Comunicação Individual).
21. SILVA, Vivian Batista da. Comunicação em Sessão Coordenada junto ao Eixo 4 – Formação e profissão docente. (Comunicação Individual)
22. VALDEMARIN, Vera. Uma segunda maneira de exercer o ensino: o debate nos jornais sobre a renovação pedagógica (São Paulo, 1914-1936). (Apresentação de travalho na sessão coordenada Imprensa e impressos educacionais, coordenada por Raquel Discini de Campos.)
23. VICENTINI, Paula Perin; GALLEGO, Rita de Cassia. Clube de Leitura e Escrita da EAFEUSP: práticas de leitura, inovação docente, protagonismo estudantil e mudanças na cultura escolar (2010-2023). (Comunicação Individual).
24. VIDAL, Diana G. Apresentação de trabalho: Nas redes de Anísio Teixeira: a experiência na UNESCO (1946-1947) (Comunicação Individual).
25. VIDAL, Diana G. Conferência de encerramento.
26. VIDAL, Diana G.; BOTO, Carlota. Ideias e sujeitos viajantes: histórias transnacionais em educação (Organização da Comunicação coordenada)

**45 ISCHE, a acontecer em agosto de 2024 na cidade de Natal**

27. ALCÂNTARA, Wiara. Apresentação de comunicação e também coordenação de painel: The Teaching Of Natural Sciences And The (De)naturalization Of The Center-periphery Idea In Education. (Preformed Panel).
28. ALCÂNTARA, Wiara. Apresentação de trabalho: Neocolonialism And The Global Trade In School Objects: An Approach From Foreign Trade Sources. Comunicação oral individual (Paper).
29. BONTEMPI Jr., Bruno; SILVA, Carolina Mostaro Neves da. We, the Greeks: Ethnocentric Foundations of Teaching History of Education. (Comunicação Individual)
30. CÂNDIDO, Renata Marcílio e AMORIM, Pedro Henrique Gonçalves. “Gender and Power in Educational Reforms in São Paulo, Brazil (1890s-1920s)”. (Comunicação Individual).
31. CASTRO, Renata Brião de. Italian schools and schoolbooks in São Paulo and Buenos Aires during the 1920s and 1930s (natureza da participação – apresentação).
32. GALLEGO, Rita de Cassia; VICENTINI, Paula Perin; SILVA, Vivian Batista da. Attendance Program at School of Application (USP): management of heterogeneity and cultures at school (São Paulo, 2011-...). (Comunicação Individual).
33. LEME, Andressa Caroline Francisco. Entre as fronteiras da Escola Nova e do Construtivismo: uma análise dos discursos sobre a idade mais adequada à alfabetização. (Comunicação Individual).
34. LIMA, Ana Laura Godinho. Differences in Child Development Associated with the Environment from the Perspective of Emilio Mira y López. (Comunicação Individual).
35. MARIN, Lara Chaud Palacios. O discurso da Escola Nova e os saberes docentes: colonizações e resistências. (Comunicação Individual).

36. ORIANI, Angélica P. For a history of the organization of Education in São Paulo-Brazil (1892-1933): ideas in circulation. (Comunicação Individual).
37. POLACHINI, Bruna. The Feminization of Teaching and the First Grammar Books Written by Women in Brazil. (Comunicação Individual).
38. RABELO, Rafaela Silva. Building Permanent Goodwill with "the Other Americas": Latin American Education as a Space for the Good Neighbor Policy Networks. (Comunicação Individual).
39. RABELO, Rafaela Silva; BAEZA, Andrés. Possibilities Of Exploring The (De)colonial Processes In The History Of Latin American Education From a Transnational Perspective (Coordenação de Simpósio).
40. RIBEIRO, Jonatas Roque. Racial Ideologies and Thought-Another: Black Educators and Pedagogical Ideas About Race and School in the Early 20th Century. (Comunicação Individual).
41. SILVA, Alexandre Ribeiro e. Algumas considerações sobre a diversidade regional na historiografia da educação brasileira relativa ao período imperial (1822-1889). (Comunicação Individual).
42. VICENTINI, Paula Perin; SILVA, Thays Fernandes Flor da; GALLEGO, Rita de Cassia. School of Application from the University of São Paulo Faculty of Education, Diversity and Differentiated Teaching: continuities and ruptures (2011-…). (Comunicação Individual).
43. VIDAL, Diana G. Gender and intersectionality: feminine strategies in the teaching career (Brazil, first half of 20$^{th}$ century). (Comunicação Individual).
44. VIDAL, Diana G. Symposium ISCHE - Transnational History of Latin American Education (Comentadora do painel).

**- ISCHE 45, 5-6 setembro 2025 (online).**

45. ECAR, Ariadne Lopes. Education, Health and Experimentalism: Butantan Rural School Group. (Comunicação Individual).
46. RABELO, Rafaela Silva. Intellectual Exchanges as Spaces of Imperialism and Resistance. (Coordenação de painel)
47. RABELO, Rafaela Silva. The Office of Inter-American Affairs and Educational Programs in Latin America: a Contrapuntal Reading of Intellectual Exchanges. (Comunicação Individual).

**- XIII Congresso Iberoamericano de Docência Universitária** (a ser realizado entre os dias 10 e 12 de julho, no Instituto de Educação da Universidade de Lisboa, Lisboa, Portugal).

48. AMORIM, Pedro Henrique Gonçalves e CÂNDIDO, Renata Marcílio. Residência pedagógica na Universidade Federal de São Paulo (UNIFESP): por uma epistemologia da prática profissional docente. (Comunicação Individual).

**- Third Continental Conference on Afro-Latin American Studies 2024**, a ser realizado entre os dias 10 a 12/07/2024 na cidade de São Paulo/SP.

49. RIBEIRO, Jonatas Roque. Diálogos e movimentos transnacionais: educadores negros e a circulação de ideias de raça e escola entre Brasil e EUA. (Comunicação Individual).

**- Escola e Universidade: história e trajetórias, a ser realizado em setembro de 2024, on-line.**

50. BONTEMPI Jr., Bruno. Formação de professores na Universidade de São Paulo. (Palestrante na mesa-redonda)

**- XXII Coloquio de Historia de la Educación: transnacionalidad y transculturalidad en la historia de la educación durante la modernidad y la contemporaneidad** (a ser realizado na data de 11 a 13 de setembro de 2024 em Almería, Espanha).

51. CASTRO, Renata Brião de. Os livros didáticos italianos em São Paulo e Buenos Aires (Brasil e Argentina) durante as décadas de 1920 e 1930: circulação transnacional e cultura material escolar (Comunicação individual).
52. ROCHA, Heloísa H. P. Saúde infantil e educação sanitária: notas sobre a circulação transnacional de saberes, sujeitos e objetos. (Comunicação a ser apresentada no Eixo 1: Centros y periferias: movimientos culturales y pedagógicos y la formación de redes transnacionales y transculturales).

### 6.3 Previsão de participação em evento científico – aguardando avaliação.

**- XXIV Encontro Regional de História da ANPUH-MG 2024**, a ser realizado entre os dias 15 a 19/07/2024, na cidade de Belo Horizonte/MG.

1. RIBEIRO, Jonatas Roque. Eu quero que você me leia, mas sem seu branco olhar': dilemas, desafios e esperanças de um professor com a educação das relações étnico-raciais. (Comunicação individual)

**- 109th Annual Conference of the Association for the Study of African American Life and History**, a ser realizada entre os dias 25 a 29/09/2024, na cidade de Pittsburgh/PA (EUA)

2. RIBEIRO, Jonatas Roque. José Eutrópio, a Brazilian Reader of Carter G. Woodson. (Comunicação individual)

**- XIX Encontro Regional de História- *Emancipações: sujeitos e territórios* Campus de Jacarezinho /Paraná,** a ser realizado entre no dia 29/09/2024, na cidade de Pittsburgh/PA (EUA)

3. BITTENCOURT, Circe. Conferência de abertura.

**- X Congresso Nacional de Educação - "Contrastes, diversidade, inclusão: a educação no próximo decênio".** Fortaleza (Ceará). Entre 19 a 23 de setembro de 2024.

4. FERRERO, Tiziana. O livro didático usado na escola republicana e suas multifacetas. (Comunicação Individual)

**- II Seminário da Rede Iberoamericana de História da Educação em Ciências (REDiHEC) – Educação: Ciência, Tecnologia, Inovação por uma análise histórica. (21/10)**

5. MUNAKATA, Kazumi. Conferência. Como fala a ciência? Mesa-redonda Discursos sobre a objetividade e formas de comunicar a ciência.

# 7. LISTA DE PUBLICAÇÕES

## 7.1 Artigos já publicados


1. ALCÂNTARA, Wiara Rosa. Por terras e mares: os nós e os links do lucrativo mercado francês de objetos escolares (século XIX-XX). REVISTA BRASILEIRA DE HISTÓRIA DA EDUCAÇÃO, v. 23, p. e268-1, 2023. Disponível em: https://periodicos.uem.br/ojs/index.php/rbhe/article/view/65256
2. ALCÂNTARA, Wiara Rosa; PALMA, Raquel Santos. Breve biografia cultural do patrimônio científico-educativo: a fase mercantil dos aparelhos Bohnenberger e Odstrcil. MUSEOLOGIA E PATRIMÔNIO, v. 16, p. 16-39, 2023. Disponível em: http://revistamuseologiaepatrimonio.mast.br/index.php/ppgpmus/article/view/1007
3. BONTEMPI JUNIOR, Bruno. The History of Education in Antiquity and its Teaching: Epistemological Problems. *Qeios*, p. 1-7, 2024. Disponível em: https://doi.org/10.32388/UR0EPU
4. BONTEMPI JUNIOR, Bruno. Uma nova-velha história das ideias: pensamento educacional no I Congresso Brasileiro de História da Educação. *Scielo Preprints*. Disponível em: https://preprints.scielo.org/index.php/scielo/preprint/view/5586, 2023.
5. BONTEMPI JUNIOR, Bruno. Uma nova-velha história das ideias: pensamento educacional no I Congresso Brasileiro de História da Educação. *Educação e Pesquisa*, São Paulo, v. 50, e272750, 2024. Disponível em: https://preprints.scielo.org/index.php/scielo/preprint/download/5586/10773/11389
6. BOTO, Carlota; FERRERO, Tiziana. O letramento das crianças pela história dos livros de leitura. *Revista Brasileira de Alfabetização*, n. 19, p. 1-16, 30 jun. 2023. https://doi.org/10.47249/rba2023693. ISSN: 2446-8584 Disponível em: https://revistaabalf.com.br/index.html/index.php/rabalf/article/view/693
7. BOTO, Carlota; GIARDINO, Júlia Souza Santos; FERRERO, Tiziana. Educar para o progresso da nação: recortes de livros didáticos de português do ensino primário e secundário brasileiro (1930-1971). *Revista Teias, [S. l.]*, v. 25, n. 76, p. 267–279, 2024. DOI: 10.12957/teias.2024.73217. Disponível em: https://www.e-publicacoes.uerj.br/revistateias/article/view/73217
8. BRUNO-JOFRÉ, ROSA; VIDAL, Diana G.. Visions and practices of education as transformative tools. CADERNOS DE HISTÓRIA DA EDUCAÇÃO (ONLINE), v. 22, p. 1-4, 2023. https://seer.ufu.br/index.php/che/article/download/70066/36419/317056
9. BUENO, Manuela e VALDEMARIN, Vera Teresa. A formação de professores primários nas dissidências entre o velho e o novo (São Paulo, 1936-1941). Educação: Teoria e prática. Rio Claro, SP, v. 33, n. 66/2023. eISSN 1981-8106 e13[2023] Periodicos.rc.biblioteca.unesp.br/index.php/educacao/article/view/17456/1287 - http://dx.doi.org/10.18675/1981-8106.v34.n.67.s17456
10. CASTRO, Renata B. Pesquisa histórico educativa e a imigração italiana: uma revisão dos estudos. História da Educação, v. 27, p. 01-29, 2023. Disponível em: https://seer.ufrgs.br/index.php/asphe/issue/view/4782
11. CASTRO, César Augusto; BOTO, Carlota; CASTELLANOS, Samuel Luis Velazquez. Antonio Feliciano de Castilho: um autor, seus escritos e um método de leitura. Cadernos de Pesquisa. Programa de Pós-Graduação em Educação / EDUFMA, São Luís, v.30, nº 4, out/dez 2023. p.31-51. ISSN: 2178-2229. Disponível em: https://cajapio.ufma.br/index.php/cadernosdepesquisa/article/view/22927

12. CASTRO, César Augusto; BOTO, Carlota. As contribuições de Castilho para as artes em São Miguel (1847-1850). Cadernos de Pesquisa. Fundação Carlos Chagas, São Paulo, v.53, e1061, 2023, eISSN: 19805314. p.1-16. Disponível em: https://publicacoes.fcc.org.br/cp/article/view/10161
13. CASTRO, César Augusto; BOTO, Carlota. O método de Castilho nas páginas da Revista da Instrução Pública para Portugal e Brasil (1857-1858). Educar em Revista, Curitiba, v.39, e86995, 2023. DOI: 10.1590/1984-0411.86995. .1-22
14. CASTRO, César Augusto; SALOMÃO, Kathia BOTO, Carlota. Os paratextos nas edições do Método Português de António Feliciano de Castilho. Revista Brasileira de História da Educação. e-ISSN: 2238-0094. v. 24, 2024, p.1-20. https://doi.org/10.4025/rbhe.v24.2024.e312
15. CORBUCCI, G. S.; VIDAL, Diana G.. ANÍSIO TEIXEIRA, MÁRIO DE ANDRADE: “exílios” e (des)encontros. REVISTA CIÊNCIAS HUMANAS, v. 16, p. 1-12, 2023. https://www.rchunitau.com.br/index.php/rch/article/view/1023
16. FEITOZA, Joanízia.; ECAR, Ariadne L. Democracia racial nas obras de autoras e autores negros. *África (USP)*. , v.1, p.149 - 181, 2023. Referências adicionais: Português. Meio de divulgação: Meio digital. Home page: https://www.revistas.usp.br/africa/article/view/204088/195602
17. FERRO, M. E.; VIDAL, Diana G.. O ENSINO DE DATILOGRAFIA EM ITAPORÃ (MT) NA DÉCADA DE 1960 cultura material e educação não formal. Revista Comunitas, v. 7, p. 50-66, 2023. https://periodicos.ufac.br/index.php/COMMUNITAS/article/view/6579
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# 9. APÊNDICE A: TRABALHOS APRESENTADOS EM EVENTOS CIENTÍFICOS COM O USO DE RECURSO DO AUXÍLIO

Trabalho apresentado, por Diana G. Vidal, no ISCHE 44, em Budapeste, Hungria entre 18 a 21 de julho de 2023. O recurso da FAPESP foi utilizado para participação no evento e tradução para o inglês.

Title: New education and educational reforms in Brazil: transnational connections and national specificities

Abstract

In October 1930, Ad Ferrière landed in Rio de Janeiro. He traveled throughout Latin America with the aim of publicizing the New Education Fellowship (NEF) and had his last stop in Brazil. The forecast was to spend a period in Brazilian lands, but the coincidence with the 1930 revolution, which raised Getulio Vargas to power, meant that contact with Brazilian educators, whom he had previously met through letters or visits to Switzerland, was shortened. In his luggage back to Geneva, Ferrière took papers by Deodato de Moraes and Fernando de Azevedo on the reforms carried out in Espírito Santo and Rio de Janeiro, respectively. The articles were published in **Pour l'ére nouvelle** in April/May 1931. The episode is not fortuitous. On the contrary, it is just one of many evidences of the harmony of Brazilian educators with the international movement of new education. However, unlike other countries, where initiatives related to the ideal of new education were limited to specific actions, in the Brazilian case (as well as in Russia), new education became a state investment. Between 1920 and 1930, reforms of the educational systems were carried out in Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo, Espirito Santo, Pernambuco, Ceará, Minas Gerais and Bahia, based on principles of new education, which led to changes in the curriculum guidelines of primary schools and teacher training. At the time, the illiteracy rate in Brazil was around 80%, with significant local variations. The lack of a national educational system had repercussions on regional disparities in terms of attending the school-age population, construction of school buildings and equipping schools and the number of teachers in service, since public education was subject to state budgets, which were unequal due to the wealth of each state. On the one hand, the reforms of the state educational systems aimed to overcome this scenario, betting on active methodologies such as the centers of interest and the project method. On the other hand, Brazilian educators at the forefront of these reforms proposed national integration through a ministry that would offer general guidelines for teaching levels and a budget fund that would compensate for regional differences. The model, which was based on a pedagogical proposal based on new education, was recorded in the document **Manifesto of the pioneers of new education**, published in 1932, containing 26 signatories. However, the setbacks in Brazilian and world history with the rise of authoritarian governments to power and the beginning of the Second World War had an impact both on the course of education in Brazil and on the movement led by the NEF. Alternating between micro and macro analysis, this presentation intends to demonstrate the connections of Brazilian educators with the transnational network organized by NEF, while paying attention to the specificities of the national reality. The research is supported by FAPESP (2018/26699-4).

Keywords: New education, Educational systems, Transnational history

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Título: A educação nova e as reformas educativas no Brasil: conexões transnacionais e especificidades locais

Resumo:
Em outubro de 1930, Ad Ferrière desembarcou no Rio de Janeiro. Viajava pela América Latina que com o objetivo de divulgar a New Education Fellowship e tinha no Brasil seu último porto. A previsão era passar um período em terras brasileiras, mas a coincidência com a revolução de 1930, que alçou Getulio Vargas ao poder, fez com que fosse abreviado o contato com educadores brasileiros, que conhecera anteriormente por meio de cartas ou de visitas à Suíça. Na bagagem de volta a Genebra, Ferrière levou textos de Deodato de Moraes e Fernando de Azevedo sobre as reformas realizadas no Espírito Santo e no Rio de Janeiro, respectivamente. Os artigos foram publicados na revista **Pour l'ére nouvelle** em abril/maio de 1931. O episódio não é fortuito. Ao contrário, é apenas uma das muitas evidências da sintonia de educadores brasileiros com o movimento internacional da educação nova. No entanto, diferentemente de outros países, em que as iniciativas relacionadas ao ideário da educação nova se circunscreveram a ações pontuais, no caso brasileiro (como aliás também na Rússia), a educação nova tornou-se um investimento estatal. Entre 1920 e 1930, reformas dos sistemas educativos foram feitas no Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo, Espirito Santo, Pernambuco, Ceará, Minas Gerais e Bahia, tomando por base princípios da educação nova, o que incidiu em alterações nas diretrizes curriculares das escolas primárias e da formação de professores nos diferentes estados. À época, a taxa de analfabetismo no Brasil girava em torno de 80%, com significativas variações locais. A falta de um sistema educativo nacional repercutia em disparidades regionais em termos de atendimento à população em idade escolar, construção de prédios escolares e aparelhamento de escolas e número de docentes em serviço, posto que a educação pública estava sujeita aos orçamentos estaduais, desiguais em função da riqueza de cada estado. Por um lado, as reformas dos sistemas educativos estaduais visavam superar este cenário, apostando em metodologias ativas como os centros de interesse e o método de projetos. Por outro lado, educadores brasileiros à frente destas reformas propunham a integração nacional por meio de um ministério que oferecesse as diretrizes gerais para os níveis de ensino e de um fundo orçamentário que compensasse as diferenças regionais. O modelo, que se assentava em uma proposta pedagógica alicerçada na educação nova, foi registrado no documento **Manifesto dos pioneiros da educação nova**, publicado em 1932, contendo 26 signatários. Entretanto, os revezes da história brasileira e mundial com a ascensão de governos autoritários ao poder e o início da Segunda Grande Guerra tiveram impacto tanto sobre os rumos da educação no Brasil, quanto no movimento capitaneado pela NEF. Alternando entre micro e macroanálise, esta apresentação pretende demonstrar a conexão de educadores brasileiros com a rede transnacional organizada pela NEF, ao mesmo tempo que atentar para as especificidades da realidade nacional. A pesquisa tem apoio da FAPESP (2018/26699-4).

Palavras-chave: Reformas educacionais, História Transnacional, Escola Nova

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Berlin, 27 July 2023

**Confirmation of Participation**

**To Whom It May Concern**

We confirm that **Prof. Diana Vidal** participated at the Pre-Conference Workshop **"Changing forms and formats - Digital Writing and Digital Publishing in the History of Education"**.

The Pre-Conference Workshop was held on-site 17 July 2023 at ISCHE 44 in Budapest, Hungary.

With best regards,

Beatrix Vincze
ISCHE 44 - Local Organizing Committee

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**To Whom It May Concern**

Dear Madam or Sir,

We confirm that **Prof. Diana Vidal** participated at ISCHE 44 - Budapest. ISCHE 44 took place from 18 to 21 July 2023 in Budapest, Hungary and online on 24 and 25 July 2023.

Prof. Diana Vidal is author/co-author of the following accepted contribution(s):

New Education and Educational Reforms in Brazil: Transnational Connections and National Specificities
**Author(s):** Vidal, Diana
**Presenting Author:** Vidal, Diana
**Submission Type / Conference Strand:** A3) Politics, policies and reform
**Format:** Paper
**Presented:** In-Person Presentation (Budapest)

With best regards,

ISCHE 44 Organizers

**BOTO, Carlota.** Apresentação da comunicação intitulada *The university and intellectuals in days of disillusion*, no âmbito do X Congreso Internacional de Filosofia de la Educación (CIFE 2023), ocorrido em formato presencial na Universidade de Barcelona, entre os dias 6 e 8 de setembro de 2023. O recurso foi utilizado para participação no evento e tradução do texto para o inglês.

## The university and intellectuals in days of disillusion

This paper aims to reflect on the social place of universities and the public place of intellectuals, in the light of a bibliographic review of the subject. Conceptually, universities were born in the Middle Ages; therefore, that is where the trail of this winding path between teaching and research begins. In methodological terms, this article intends to investigate different perspectives on the university craft. The text, therefore, will focus on different conceptions of the intellectual and, consequently, on different ways of understanding the role of the university professor.

Addressing the topic of intellectuals always leads us to think about the situation of universities. Universities were born between the 12th and the 13th century as craft corporations. It was a corporation between masters and apprentices around knowledge. Knowledge was the raw material of that new institution that had emerged from the cathedral schools and the grammar schools of the medieval cities. Another original feature of universities was their autonomy. Although they were born within the clergy, the universities soon acquired independence from all the powers in force.

Universities were shared havens, in the sense that all portions of society turned to them. It was not only the nobles who attended the university benches. The topic of intellectuals has always challenged university students, especially because its mark would be established since that origin. Jacques Le Goff even says that the intellectual of the Middle Ages is born with the cities. Therefore, the intellectual would be the city man who had professionally performed the

activities of teaching or writing as a craft – or, "more precisely, both at the same time" (Le Goff, 1973, p.14).

It was not by chance that the first universities were established in medieval cities, between the 12th and 13th centuries. There was a secular spirit in them, even though many of their members were not exactly lay. The figure of the modern intellectual – as Le Goff continues – is expressed by Pedro Abelardo. Abelardo said to Heloísa that the Philistines were those who hoarded science for their own consumption, without taking any advantage of it and without sharing it with others.

Le Goff (1973, p.73) says that "the 13th century is regarded as that of universities because it is that of corporations. In every city where there is a craft that groups a sufficient number of members, they organize themselves for the defense of their interests, the establishment of a monopoly for their benefit". University corporations slowly organized themselves from incidents, which took place on several occasions.

In Paris, autonomy was achieved as a result of direct confrontation between students and royal politics. The students are murdered by the police and the university goes on strike, thereby recognizing its independence, its autonomy. In Bologna and Oxford, the conflict was between university students and the bourgeois. But, by all accounts, it can be said that in the cities where there was a university, it constituted a force that disturbed the other institutions.

It is in the struggle, sometimes against ecclesiastical powers, sometimes against lay powers, that they manage to conquer their autonomy" (Le Goff, 1973, p.74). The city of Paris, for example, was eventually divided at the end of the 13th century into three parts: that of merchants and artisans; that of noblemen and kings; and that of students and scholars, "which they call the University" (Le Goff, 1973, p.81). To compose the idea of the intellectual, the medieval world established rites, which are expressed by the steps of the investiture ceremony, which conferred the degree of licentiate and later of doctor on the subject.

Verger (1999, p.81) notes that universities are, among medieval educational institutions, those that left the richest collections, in addition to being recognized as "one of the most original and fruitful creations of medieval Western civilization". This originality has to do with the very process of renewal of knowledge that was underway at the time.

Unlike Le Goff, however, Verger does not think that the emergence of the first universities occurred as a spontaneous phenomenon, as an autonomous creation of masters and students; however important these actors have been. The creation of universities would have required a political will, "which made it possible to overcome resistance (especially that of the local powers, of the bishop and his chancellor in Paris, of the city in Bologna) and give the new institution its legitimacy and legal status" (Verger, 1999, p.83).

In any case, universities trained people capable of producing and spreading new ideas, with members that felt independent from ecclesiastical and lay political powers. The universities trained the ecclesiastical and administrative elites of the kingdoms.

Teaching in universities consisted of lectures (*lectio*) and debates (*disputatio*). Lectures comprised the professor's exposition, which was, above all, guided by the commentary on a specific text, considered to be an authority to be known by the students. The debate or dispute was "the occasion to put the principles of Dialectics into practice, to experience the vivacity of its spirit and the precision of its reasoning" (Verger, 1990, p.56). Lectures could be taught by the professors themselves or by the bachelors: "the professor, after an introduction class, would read the text to be explained, interrupting himself in some passages for a more or less profound comment; the students would follow in their own copy of the text and take notes" (Verger, 1990, p.56-7).

As Verger argues, the debates were the most original and least dogmatic part of the scholastic method. The master would present a question that would be answered, commented on, or refuted by the students during the debate process. About this topic Verger says that "the

day after the debate, the master would determine, that is, present the synthesis of the discussion and expose his personal thesis" (Verger, 1990, p.57). There was still the medieval belief that "all accessible knowledge rested on a certain number of texts, venerable 'authorities', inherited from ancient history, and that all progress in the field of knowledge could only derive from a deeper exegesis of these same texts" (Charle; Verger, 1996, p.15-6).

In the Middle Ages, then, not only church members but students and educated men were named clerics; those that Le Goff and Verger will call intellectuals. The intellectuals of the Middle Ages were to remain celibate, holding ecclesiastical privileges. This is how the "social figure of the intellectual" (Charle; Verger, 1996, p.31) was historically composed. At the end of the 14th century, the idea that every university should have the four traditional faculties: Arts, Law, Theology, and Medicine, came into force.

From the very beginning of the universities, there was a sense of academic freedom (*libertas scholastica*), given by the existence of legal privileges for professors and students – as outlined above. But the term scholastic freedom also implied institutional autonomy and some degree of "intellectual freedom, freedom of teaching and therefore freedom of speech and thought, which is one of the characteristics of the medieval university" (Riché; Verger, 2013, p.187). As Riché and Verger (2013, p.189) characterize, the university was as if endowed with a moral personality, placed by the "community (*universitas*) of masters and students."

Weber thinks about the topic of objectivity in the territory of the social sciences, which we could understand here as the human sciences. For Weber, unlike the natural sciences, the objectivity of the human sciences is not at the starting point, but at the point of arrival. In other words, values, among other aspects, are what drive us to research this or that. Of course, when effectively approaching a subject of study, we will try to build an objective response to it; not confusing objectivity with neutrality. But investigating one problem and not another is an issue that is not based on reason alone. It is based on choice, therefore, a given social appraisal.

Weber will even say that "the domain of scientific work is not based on the objective connections between things, but on the conceptual connections between problems" (Weber, 2006, p.37). In a way, the researcher in the human sciences, and among them the one in education, is a subject in a given society, inscribed in time and space, who acts as a being of culture, endowed with "the ability and the will to assume a conscious position before the world and to give it a meaning" (Weber, 2006, p.58). The objectivity of knowledge in the human sciences is structured through empirical testing of rational ideas and values.

When, in another work, he addresses the issue of the university, Weber asks about the institution: "what ideals must the individual serve – before which gods must he bow?" (Weber, 1989, p.70). As Tragtenberg demonstrates, in a study on the topic, to Weber, universities are not schools tied to any moral values set as absolutes.

The big question that arises – to Weber – is, as pointed out above, the question of which gods the intellectuals must bow down to. The intellectual, as a professor, must not, in the Weberian perspective, carry the alibi of the authority of a cultural reformer. The role of the professor, according to Weber, is to devote himself to the subject he teaches and to producing knowledge in his field of expertise. In this regard, Julien Freund (1987, p.64) notes that if the professor cannot distance himself from political passions, "let them at least have the courage and the probity to tell his students what in his class is based on pure logical reasoning or empirical explanation and what is based on his personal judgments and subjective beliefs". Weber says, however, that academics very often "use the unattainability of the academic lecture stand for expressing political feelings" (Weber, 1989, p.70). The sole and invaluable duty of the university professor is that of "intellectual integrity". So thought Weber. A duty that needs to be assumed by them and which they must offer their students, "for life", which would therefore generate "an inexorable lucidity about themselves" (Weber, 1989, p.70). However, Weber says that it is very difficult to understand the craft of scientific research. Most people

are not able to grasp the meaning of what constitutes the everyday activity of investigation. In fact, it is not very easy to understand what the university professor actually does: what his tasks are, and how to transform a first impression of the world into a hypothesis for investigation work. It is a calling, in the Weberian sense. And it is necessary that we keep what is essential in this attribute: intellectual curiosity and the will to interpret the world.

Weber discusses the impact of the institutionalization of the North American university system, which eliminated the professorship and established the department as the smallest organizational unit of faculties. With this departmentalization process, young professors were supposed to live as peers with their more experienced and more titled colleagues, without being placed under the tutelage of their elders. Weber understood that this North Americanization of the world's universities would tend to transform them into large scientific companies. This would include what could be characterized as the bureaucratization of science (Schluchter , 2008, p.247)

To Weber – says Schluchter (1985, p.22) – the coming of modern rationalism indicated a significant change in consciousness, a new worldview, which was characterized by the disenchantment of the world. This process of rationalization and disenchantment had a major impact on the ways in which Western Modernity was established.

In the same perspective which Weber took, Wolff argues, pointing out that what characterizes intellectual activity is primarily the individual's relationship with an investigation problem. The academic profession, which is the one that presents itself as the natural inhabitant of the university, leads to the professor being fundamentally the one who professes. The professor, by being so, takes as his mission the task of initiating others in the traditions of research and in the mastery of the cultural heritage bequeathed by Humanity and cut across the countless subjects of study. This mutual agreement between master and disciple would be, at the same time, intellectual, moral, and emotional: "in short, the professor, when successful,

teaches values. Only he can best teach them without ever mentioning them!" (Wolff, 1993, p.137)

What characterizes the university professor or the researcher in the human sciences as an intellectual is, however, their insertion and intervention in the public space. One of the features of intellectuals, as Chauí (2006, p.20) reminds us, is the tendency for "transgression with reference to the established order". According to Chauí, today we witness the shrinking of this public space, as well as "the enlargement of the private space under the imperatives of the new form of capital accumulation, known as neoliberalism" (Chauí, 2006, p.30). In this retreat of citizenship, there would be, along with the transformation of the citizen into a consumer, a depoliticization effect.

Wolff (2006, p.47) qualifies the intellectual as "one who transforms an academic authority into a political authority in the name of a moral authority." To some extent – the author continues –, in the tradition inherited from the West, particularly evoking the figure of Socrates, the intellectual usually goes in the opposite direction of the values accepted by the society in which he is inscribed. The intellectual would be characterized by his speech and the distrust of many of the values assumed by society. And, echoing Sartre, Wolff (2006, p.50) also points out the intellectual is, above all, "someone who meddles in what does not concern him". In this sense, we could say that there are two attributes that characterize the intellectual: free-thinking, intellectual curiosity or the effort of thinking, and the commitment to a more just society. The "critical attitude" (Wolff, 2006, p.61) is therefore his identity.

Ribeiro (2006, p.141) notes that scientist etymologically means someone who knows, "whereas the intellectual is the one who sees, understands, realizes". Thus, he notes that what distinguishes the intellectual from the scientist are their respective attitudes. For this reason – the philosopher continues – "the intellectual is more the one who discusses the appropriation, the use of knowledge, than the one who disseminates it. The role of the intellectual is to

articulate values and knowledge, ideas and ideals" (Ribeiro, 2006, p.142). Because of this, the researcher or university professor who refuses to make his ideas public, who "refuses to say in public what he thinks in private" (Ribeiro, 2006, p.142), is not an intellectual. It is necessary to expose in the public space what one thinks about society, about the country, about politics, about the world.

Sartre was the one who first said that "the intellectual is someone who meddles in what does not concern him and who intends to challenge the body of received truths, and the conduct inspired by them, in the name of a conception of man and society" (Sartre, 1994, p.15). For Sartre, it was because the intellectual acquired some notoriety in the area of his expertise (which is also important) that he chooses to leave his domain to question society and the established powers. For this reason, it can be said that it is not for technical reasons that intellectuals condemn the use of atomic bombs or the carrying of weapons as a state policy, but they reject this "in the name of a system of eminently contestable values that take human life as their supreme norm" (Sartre, 1994, p.16). Sartre notes that the intellectual does not hold a mandate from anyone: he is regarded with suspicion by the working classes and seen as a traitor by the ruling classes.

Characterized by Sartre as "the product of shattered societies, the intellectual is their witness because he internalized this shattering" (Sartre, 1994, p.31). Although he is a product of the middle class, he is not identified by any class, he is still an advocate for the lower classes. He has loneliness almost as a fate and lives the contradiction of his radicalism. Sartre says that it is this very contradiction that leads him to be a guardian of democracy; and not only of bourgeois democracy, which he also wants to preserve when threatened. But more than that, he wants to prolong this democracy, completing it "with the concrete rights of socialist democracy, preserving, in every democracy, the functional truth of freedom" (Sartre, 1994, p. 53).

Edward Said, going back to this discussion by Sartre, displaces it to face the dilemmas of contemporary intellectuality. To the author, the great threat to the intellectual today is set by the phenomenon of what he calls professionalism. The professional is, above all, a specialist: recognized by the competent authorities, who teach him to "speak the right language, to quote the right authorities, to subject oneself to the concrete territory" (Said, 2005, p. 81).

Kourganoff points out that the activity of research and the calling of research, so to speak, is different from the act of teaching and the propensity for teaching. From such a perspective, the author polemically recommends that universities dissociate the two roles to some extent, in order to have specialists in both fields. For the author, the characteristic attitude of the researcher would be a concern with originality and novelty, as well as a tendency to not share the results of his investigative procedures. Moreover, the authentic researcher would have no interest in the unity of knowledge: "general knowledge interests him very little. His only desire is to surpass current knowledge within a very narrow scope" (Kourganoff, 1990, p.48).

About the concealment of knowledge, very little is said about it in scientific circles, but it exists: "in fact, because of overspecialization, only a competitor can truly understand what he does. But how can you trust a competitor? One cannot even manifest their ideas around them, on pain of allowing them to be stolen" (Kourganoff, 1990, p.49). Therefore, this generates an absence of interest in teaching – in the explanations of one's own research results, creating a possessive relationship with knowledge. The educator, the one who effectively has the calling for teaching, is concerned with didactic explanation and has a taste for apprehending topics in their general dimension. Because this is so, the professor structures what he proposes to teach in relation to his students' prior knowledge, so that he can make himself understood. The calling for teaching – according to Kourganoff (1990, p.53) – embraces an interest in general ideas and a way of rationally classifying the same ideas.

Kourganoff is also very critical of the primacy of research in the career of professor-researchers. For the author, the career of the university professor would not depend directly on the value of his work, "but, above all, on his prestige, that is, on the set of opinions of his peers about his work and about him" (Kourganoff, 1990, p.102). What establishes the image of a university professor is reputation, expressed as an average of opinions about his worth. His reputation is the basis for admission contracts and career advancement mechanisms. This reputation is established as the source of the researcher's prestige built through the impact of his work, but also through his international insertion, his presence in seminars and congresses of his field, and especially through the public resonance of his publications.

The professor-researcher's entire career will therefore be evaluated by virtue of his success in publications in academic journals recognized by his peers, specializing in the different fields of knowledge, in which the results of his research path are usually registered. His background as a professor matters little in building his public image. It is a *publish or perish*. The academic merit of the individual will be measured not only by the quality but also by the quantity and public impact of his publications.

From such a perspective, a deviation is created in the very original meaning of university, for which the interaction between professors and students laid the foundation of the university craft. In our time, "the dominant idea is that time devoted to students represents time lost to the formation of prestige" (Kourganoff, 1990, p.105). Publications are taken, in inverse proportion, as the objective criterion to measure the excellence of the researcher. As it is, teaching ability and diligence are hardly considered in the evaluation criteria of the professor in his evaluation mechanisms and progression in the university.

Such a situation disfigures the original format of what a university would be. As noted earlier, in the Middle Ages, teaching was a fundamental component of the university's very existence. Even today, what characterizes a university institution is, above all, its research, but

also, in the same proportion, its teaching. However, teaching is not one of the elements measured when it comes to calculating the value of this or that university institution.

Even so, university institutions are proud to declare the inseparability between teaching, research, and extension, claiming that, by definition, every good researcher must be a good professor – and vice versa, on principle, making believe that everyone would be reasonably busy with the dissemination of their investigation work. Kourganoff considers this thesis controversial. And he seeks to answer each of its premises. Some will say, for example, that higher education should only cover science in process. Against this argument, the author counterposes the idea that the student does not exactly need to get in touch with the ways of doing science, but fundamentally, to learn knowledge already established in a given field of knowledge.

In order to teach, it is necessary to systematically expose the results obtained by scientific investigation. One must remember – Kourganoff says (1990, p.171) – that the "capacity for invention depends above all on an individual's level of general culture". Thus, the author argues that it is fundamental, even to train new researchers, the pedagogical method of what he calls rediscovery, "where a portion of the acquired science, still ignored by the student, is proposed to them in the form of a problem of which he ignores the answer" (Kourganoff, 1990, p.171).

The university should not be thought of solely as the territory of ultra-specialized knowledge, although this is fundamental for the advancement of science. It is necessary that there is, within each subject, a process of didactic synthesis. In this sense, it would be up to the university to ensure that both territories were coexisting in harmony: that of general culture and great didactic syntheses and that of extreme particularization, responsible for the advancement of knowledge. It is not necessarily the same people who ensure that the two universes can exist. In other words: the best researcher will not always be the best professor. And vice versa: it

would not be enough to congregate in universities only the individuals involved in the task of didactic transposition – generalists and synthesizers. The craft of research is, like teaching, the very reason of university life. What happens is that the two things do not always fit in the same person.

It is also necessary to have professors who are fully dedicated to the task of giving beginner students a general basic training, prior to their initiation into research or higher-level training" (Kourganoff, 1990, p.220). Professors, who need to have this calling to make themselves generalists, need to combine a deep command of their own subject with a broad humanist culture.

In turn, the university also needs this kind of professional, who is not necessarily interested in research, but who is an extremely general culture-oriented individual. Research, on the other hand, requires mastery of the tool of specialization.

The great challenge for universities today is to incorporate new content of knowledge that includes environmental issues, black and indigenous issues, the history of the indigenous peoples of the Southern Cone, and the paths that have been put forward to confront the Western logic that has prevailed in our repertoire, however adopting that same logic as a reference, through the appropriation and transmission of classical content that still makes sense; and which are possible aspects for explaining even the contemporary world.

Thus, it is necessary that intellectuals fully experience their time, seek to interpret their facets, and even propose paths of transformation, towards a fairer, more egalitarian, and more fraternal world. As Wolff (2006, p.46) already recorded, the silence of the intellectuals is deafening. Such silence reminds one – in the words of Benda (1999, p.68) – of "Michelangelo scolding Da Vinci for his indifference to the misfortunes of Florence, and the master of the Supper replying that, in fact, the study of beauty monopolizes his whole heart". This is perhaps why Fuller (2006, p.131) highlights the tense relationship between intellectuals and scientists.

The latter usually claim to resort to facts to demonstrate the veracity – to some extent, incontestable – of their ideas and beliefs. Finally, what is at the root of this possible quarrel, or at least disagreement, among academics, scientists, and intellectuals is a certain model – almost a paradigm – of the university that is now in disuse. Readings (2003, p.133) explores the "exhaustion of the metanarrative that centers the university on the production of a national individual." In losing the narrative of its institutional place, the university has witnessed major and significant changes in its own craft: "the university no longer has a hero for its grand narrative and, as a consequence, has taken refuge in 'professionalization'. Professionalization deals with the loss of the individual that was the subject of the educational experience". Accordingly, in the face of the challenges of our times, it will be necessary to reinvent university life, in its rites, in its uses, and in its customs. For such reinvention it will be necessary, on the one hand, to know its history; and, on the other hand, to understand what this institution – historically occupied with the production and sharing of knowledge – can contribute to the making of a better distributed and more supportive world. We hope that the reflections presented here contribute, at the very least, to provoke thought on the topic.

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**TEXTO EM PORTUGUÊS**

# A UNIVERSIDADE E OS INTELECTUAIS EM DIAS DE DESENCANTO

**Carlota Boto**

Este trabalho propõe-se a refletir acerca do lugar social das universidades e do lugar público dos intelectuais, à luz de uma revisão bibliográfica acerca do objeto. Conceitualmente, as universidades nasceram na Idade Média; sendo, portanto, lá que inicia a trajetória desse percurso sinuoso entre a docência e a investigação. Em termos metodológicos, este artigo pretende averiguar distintas perspectivas a propósito do ofício universitário. O texto, portanto, irá se debruçar acerca de diferentes concepções de intelectual e, por decorrência, de diversas maneiras de se compreender o papel do professor universitário.

Abordar o tema dos intelectuais sempre nos remete a pensar na situação das universidades. As universidades nasceram entre o século XII e o XIII como corporações de ofícios. Tratava-se de uma corporação entre mestres e aprendizes, em torno do conhecimento. O conhecimento era a matéria-prima daquela nova instituição que surgira das escolas catedrais e das escolas dos gramáticos das cidades medievais. Outra característica original das universidades era sua autonomia. Embora tenham nascido no seio do clero, as universidades logo adquiriram uma independência frente a todos os poderes constituídos.

As universidades eram redutos compartilhados, no sentido de que a elas recorriam todas as frações da sociedade. Não eram apenas os nobres que frequentavam os bancos universitários. A temática dos intelectuais sempre interpela os universitários, especialmente porque sua marca estaria dada desde essa origem. Jacques Le Goff chega mesmo a dizer que o intelectual da Idade Média nasce com as cidades. O intelectual seria, portanto, o homem da cidade que teria profissionalmente por ofício as atividades de ensinar ou de escrever – ou, “mais precisamente, as duas coisas ao mesmo tempo” (Le Goff, 1973, p.14).

Não por acaso foi também nas cidades medievais, entre os séculos XII e XIII, que se constituíram as primeiras universidades. Nelas havia um espírito secular, a despeito de muitos de seus integrantes não serem propriamente laicos. A figura do intelectual moderno – continua Le Goff – é expressa por Pedro Abelardo. Abelardo dizia para Heloísa que eram filisteus aqueles que entesouravam a ciência para consumo próprio, sem dela tirar qualquer proveito e sem partilhá-la com os outros.

Diz Le Goff (1973, p.73) que "o século XIII é o século das universidades porque é o século das corporações. Em cada cidade onde existe um ofício que agrupe um número suficiente de membros, estes organizam-se para a defesa dos seus interesses, a instauração de um monopólio em seu proveito". As corporações universitárias organizaram-se lentamente a partir de incidentes, postos em várias ocasiões.

Em Paris, a autonomia foi conquistada em virtude de confronto direto entre estudantes e a política real. Os estudantes são assassinados pela polícia e a universidade entra em greve, reconhecendo-se com isso sua independência, sua autonomia. Em Bolonha e em Oxford, o conflito se deu entre universitários e burgueses. Mas, sob todos os aspectos, pode-se dizer que, nas cidades em que havia universidade, ela constituía uma força que incomodava as demais instituições.

É na luta, ora contra os poderes eclesiásticos, ora contra os poderes laicos, que elas conseguem conquistar sua autonomia" (Le Goff, 1973, p.74). A cidade de Paris, por exemplo, acabou dividida, no final do século XIII, em três partes: a dos mercadores e artesãos; a dos homens nobres e dos reis; e a dos estudantes e colégios, "a que chamam a Universidade" (Le Goff, 1973, p.81). Para compor a ideia de intelectual, o mundo medieval estabeleceu ritos, que são expressos pelas etapas da cerimônia de investidura, que conferia o grau de licenciado e posteriormente de doutor ao sujeito.

Observa Verger (1999, p.81) que as universidades são, dentre as instituições educativas medievais, aquelas que deixaram os acervos mais ricos, além de serem elas reconhecidas como "uma das criações mais originais e mais fecundas da civilização do Ocidente medieval". Essa originalidade teria a ver com o próprio processo de renovação do saber que estava em curso na época.

Diferentemente de Le Goff, entretanto, Verger não pensa que o surgimento das primeiras universidades tenha ocorrido como um fenômeno espontâneo, como uma criação autônoma de mestres e estudantes; por mais importantes que esses atores tenham sido. A criação das universidades teria exigido uma vontade política, "que permitiu conseguir vencer as resistências (principalmente aquelas dos poderes locais, do bispo e de seu chanceler em Paris, da cidade em Bolonha) e oferecer à nova instituição sua legitimidade e seu estatuto jurídico" (Verger, 1999, p.83).

De todo modo, as universidades formavam pessoas aptas a produzir e divulgar novas ideias, com quadros que se sentiam independentes dos poderes eclesiásticos e dos poderes políticos laicos. As universidades formavam as elites eclesiásticas e administrativas dos reinos.

O ensino nas universidades era composto pela aula (*lectio*) e pelo debate (*disputatio*). A aula compreendia a exposição do professor, a qual era, sobretudo, pautada pelo comentário de um texto específico, considerado uma autoridade a ser conhecida pelos estudantes. O debate ou disputa era "a ocasião de pôr em prática os princípios da Dialética, de experimentar a vivacidade de seu espírito e a precisão de seu raciocínio" (Verger, 1990, p.56). As aulas poderiam ser ministradas pelos próprios professores ou pelos bacharéis: "o professor, após uma aula de introdução, lia o texto a ser explicado, interrompendo-se em alguns trechos para um comentário mais ou menos profundo; os estudantes acompanhavam em seu próprio exemplar do texto e tomavam notas" (Verger, 1990, p.56-7).

Conforme argumenta Verger, os debates eram o que havia de mais original e de menos dogmático no método escolástico. O mestre apresentava uma questão que seria respondida, comentada ou refutada pelos estudantes, durante o processo do debate. Diz Verger acerca do tema que "no dia seguinte ao do debate, o mestre determinava, isto é, apresentava a síntese da discussão e expunha sua tese pessoal" (Verger, 1990, p.57). Ainda havia a crença medieval de que "todo saber acessível repousava em um determinado número de textos, de 'autoridades' veneráveis, herdados da Antiguidade, e que todo progresso no campo do saber apenas podia derivar de uma exegese mais aprofundada desses mesmos textos" (Charle; Verger, 1996, p.15-6).

Na Idade Média, então, começa-se a se chamar clérigo não apenas os membros da igreja mas os estudantes e os homens instruídos; esses que Le Goff e Verger vão chamar de intelectuais. Os intelectuais da Idade Média deveriam permanecer celibatários, detendo os privilégios eclesiásticos. Assim compôs-se historicamente a "figura social do intelectual" (Charle; Verger, 1996, p.31). No final do século XIV, passou a vigorar a ideia de que toda universidade deveria possuir as quatro faculdades tradicionais: Artes, Direito, Teologia e Medicina.

Desde o princípio das universidades, vigia a acepção de liberdade escolar (*libertas scholastica*), dada pela existência de privilégios jurídicos para professores e estudantes – conforme se destacou acima. Mas a expressão liberdade escolar implicava também autonomia institucional e algum grau de "liberdade intelectual, liberdade de ensino e, portanto, liberdade de palavra e de pensamento, que é uma das características da universidade medieval" (Riché; Verger, 2013, p.187). Conforme caracterizam Riché e Verger (2013, p.189), a universidade era como se fosse dotada de uma personalidade moral, posta pela "comunidade (*universitas*) de mestres e estudantes".

Weber pensa a temática da objetividade no território das ciências sociais, que aqui poderíamos compreender como as ciências humanas. Para Weber, diferentemente das ciências da natureza, a objetividade das ciências humanas não se coloca no ponto de partida, mas no ponto de chegada. Ou seja, são valores, dentre outros aspectos, que nos impulsionam a pesquisar isso ou aquilo. Evidentemente que, ao abordar efetivamente um objeto de estudo, nós procuraremos construir para ele uma resposta que seja objetiva; não confundindo aqui objetividade com neutralidade. Mas investigar um problema e não outro é uma questão que não está na base da razão apenas. Está na base da escolha, portanto, de uma dada valoração social.

Weber dirá inclusive que "o domínio do trabalho científico não tem por base as conexões objetivas entre as coisas, mas as conexões conceituais entre os problemas" (Weber, 2006, p.37). De certo modo, o pesquisador das ciências humanas, e dentre elas o da educação, é um sujeito circunstanciado em uma dada sociedade, inscrita no tempo e no espaço, que atua como ser de cultura, dotado "da capacidade e da vontade de assumir uma posição consciente diante do mundo e de lhe conferir um sentido" (Weber, 2006, p.58). A objetividade do conhecimento nas ciências humanas é estruturada mediante o teste empírico de ideias racionais e de valores.

Quando, em outro trabalho, aborda a questão da universidade, Weber indaga sobre a instituição: "a que ideais o indivíduo deve servir – diante de que deuses deve curvar-se?" (Weber, 1989, p.70). Como bem demonstra Tragtenberg, em estudo sobre o tema, para Weber, universidades não são escolas atreladas a quaisquer valores morais postos como absolutos.

A grande questão que se coloca – para Weber – é, como já se assinalou acima, aquela que se pergunta diante de que deuses devem curvar-se os intelectuais. O intelectual, quando professor, não deveria, na perspectiva weberiana, trazer o álibi da autoridade de reformador cultural. A função do professor, de acordo com Weber, é a de dedicar-se à disciplina que ministra e à produção do conhecimento em seu campo de especialidade. Julien Freund (1987, p.64) observa, a propósito que, se o professor não puder se afastar das paixões políticas, "que

tenha, pelo menos a coragem e a probidade de dizer a seus alunos o que, em sua aula, se apoia o puro raciocínio lógico ou na explicação empírica e o que se apoia em suas apreciações pessoais e em suas crenças subjetivas". Diz Weber que, contudo, os acadêmicos, com muita frequência, costumam "utilizar da inatingibilidade da tribuna da preleção acadêmica para a expressão de sentimentos políticos" (Weber, 1989, p.70). O único e inestimável dever do professor universitário é o da "integridade intelectual". Assim pensava Weber. Dever que precisa ser assumido por ele e o qual ele deve oferecer a seus estudantes, "pela vida afora", o que geraria, por conseguinte, "uma inexorável lucidez a respeito de si mesmos" (Weber, 1989, p.70). Porém, diz Weber que é muito difícil compreender o ofício da pesquisa científica. A maior parte das pessoas não é capaz de alcançar o significado do que constitui a atividade cotidiana da investigação. De fato, não é muito fácil compreender o que faz efetivamente o professor universitário: quais são suas tarefas, como transformar uma primeira impressão sobre o mundo em hipótese de trabalho de investigação. Trata-se, sim, de uma vocação, no sentido weberiano. E é necessário que mantenhamos o que há de essencial nesse atributo: a curiosidade intelectual e a vontade de interpretar o mundo.

Weber discorre sobre o impacto da institucionalização do sistema norte-americano de universidade, o qual eliminou a figura da cátedra e instaurou a do departamento, enquanto menor unidade de organização das faculdades. Com esse processo de departamentalização, os professores jovens deveriam conviver como pares com seus colegas mais experientes e mais titulados, sem que fossem colocados sob a tutela desses mais velhos. Weber compreendia que essa norteamericanização das universidades no mundo tenderia a transformá-las em grandes empresas científicas. Isso incluiria o que se poderia caracterizar como a burocratização da ciência (Schluchter , 2008, p.247)

Para Weber – diz Schluchter (1985, p.22) – o advento do moderno racionalismo indicou uma significativa mudança de consciência, uma nova mundividência, que se caracterizou pelo

desencantamento do mundo. Esse processo de racionalização e de desencantamento impactou sobremaneira os modos pelos quais se constituiu a Modernidade ocidental.

Na mesma perspectiva na qual caminhara Weber, Wolff argumenta, destacando que o que caracteriza a atividade intelectual é sobretudo a relação do sujeito com um problema de investigação. A profissão acadêmica, que é aquela que se apresenta como habitante natural da universidade, leva a que o professor seja fundamentalmente aquele que professa. O professor, por ser assim, toma como missão a tarefa de iniciar outras pessoas nas tradições de pesquisa e no domínio do acervo cultural legado pela Humanidade e recortado pelas inúmeras matérias de estudo. Esse acordo mútuo entre mestre e discípulo seria, a um só tempo, intelectual, moral e emocional: “resumindo, o professor, quando obtém sucesso, ensina valores. Só que ele pode melhor ensiná-los sem nunca mencioná-los!” (Wolff, 1993, p.137

O que caracteriza o professor universitário ou o pesquisador das ciências humanas como intelectual é, entretanto, sua inserção e intervenção no espaço público. Uma das características dos intelectuais, como bem recorda Chauí (2006, p.20), é a tendência à “transgressão com referência à ordem vigente”. De acordo com Chauí, presenciamos hoje o encolhimento desse espaço público, bem como “o alargamento do espaço privado sob os imperativos da nova forma de acumulação do capital, conhecida como neoliberalismo” (Chauí, 2006, p.30). Nesse recuo da cidadania, haveria, junto com a transformação do cidadão em consumidor, um efeito de despolitização.

Wolff (2006, p.47) qualifica o intelectual como “aquele que transforma uma autoridade acadêmica em autoridade política em nome de uma autoridade moral”. Em alguma medida – continua o autor -, na tradição herdada do Ocidente, evocando particularmente a figura de Sócrates, o intelectual costuma ir na direção contrária a dos valores aceitos pela sociedade na qual está inscrito. O intelectual teria por características a fala e a desconfiança frente a muitos dos valores assumidos pela sociedade. E, ecoando Sartre, Wolff (2006, p.50) também destaca

o intelectual é, sobretudo, “aquele que se mete no que não lhe diz respeito”. Nesse sentido, poderíamos dizer que há dois atributos que caracterizam o intelectual: o livre-pensar, a curiosidade intelectual ou o esforço do pensamento e o compromisso com uma sociedade mais justa. A “atitude crítica” (Wolff, 2006, p.61) é, portanto, sua marca.

Ribeiro (2006, p.141) observa que cientista etimologicamente significa alguém que sabe, “ao passo que o intelectual é quem vê, entende, se dá conta”. Sendo assim, constata que o que distingue o intelectual do cientista são suas respectivas atitudes. Por essa razão – continua o filósofo – “o intelectual é mais quem discute a apropriação, o uso do conhecimento, do que aquele que o difunde. O papel do intelectual consiste em articular valores e conhecimentos, ideias e ideais” (Ribeiro, 2006, p.142). Por causa disso, o pesquisador ou professor universitário que se recusa a colocar a público suas ideias, que “se recusa a dizer em público o que pensa em privado” (Ribeiro, 2006, p.142), esse não é um intelectual. É preciso expor em praça pública aquilo que se pensa sobre a sociedade, sobre o país, sobre a política, sobre o mundo.

Sartre foi quem disse pela primeira vez que “o intelectual é alguém que se mete no que não é de sua conta e que pretende contestar o conjunto das verdades recebidas, e das condutas que nelas se inspiram, em nome de uma concepção de homem e de sociedade” (Sartre, 1994, p.15). Para Sartre, foi por adquirir alguma notoriedade na área de sua especialidade (o que também é importante) que o intelectual opta por sair de seu domínio para interpelar a sociedade e os poderes constituídos. Por tal razão, pode-se dizer que não é por razões técnicas que os intelectuais condenam o uso de bombas atômicas ou o porte de armas como política de Estado, mas rejeitam isso “em nome de um sistema de valores eminentemente contestável que toma por norma suprema a vida humana” (Sartre, 1994, p.16). Sartre constata que o intelectual não tem mandato de ninguém: ele é suspeito para as classes trabalhadoras e é traidor para as classes dominantes.

Caracterizado por Sartre como “produto de sociedades despedaçadas, o intelectual é sua testemunha porque interiorizou esse despedaçamento” (Sartre, 1994, p.31). Embora, fruto da classe média, ele não seja identificado por nenhuma classe, ele continua a ser defensor das classes populares. Tem a solidão quase como um destino e vive a contradição de seu radicalismo. Diz Sartre que é essa mesma contradição que o leva a ser guardião da democracia; e não apenas da democracia burguesa, que ele também quer preservar quando ameaçada. Mas, mais do que isso, quer prolongar essa democracia, completando-a “com os direitos concretos da democracia socialista, conservando, em toda democracia, a verdade funcional da liberdade” (Sartre, 1994, p. 53).

Edward Said, remontando a essa discussão de Sartre, desloca-a para o enfrentamento dos dilemas da intelectualidade contemporânea. Para o autor, a grande ameaça ao intelectual hoje está posta pelo fenômeno do que ele chama de profissionalismo. O profissional é, sobretudo, um especialista: reconhecido pelas autoridades competentes, que o ensinam a “falar a linguagem correta, a citar as autoridades certas, a sujeitar-se ao território concreto” (Said, 2005, p. 81).

Kourganoff destaca que a atividade de pesquisar e a vocação da pesquisa, por assim dizer, são diferentes do ato de ensinar e da propensão para o ensino. Sob tal perspectiva, o autor polemicamente recomenda que as universidades dissociassem, em alguma medida, as duas funções, para contar com especialistas em um e em outro campo. Para o autor, as atitudes características do pesquisador seriam a preocupação com a originalidade e com a novidade, bem como uma tendência a não partilhar os resultados de seus procedimentos investigativos. Além disso, não haveria interesse, por parte do autêntico pesquisador, pela unidade do conhecimento: “o saber geral interessa muito pouco a ele. Seu único desejo é superar os conhecimentos atuais em um âmbito muito restrito” (Kourganoff, 1990, p.48).

Sobre a dissimulação do saber, fala-se muito pouco disso no meio científico, porém ela existe: “de fato, em razão da superespecialização, apenas um concorrente pode verdadeiramente compreender aquilo que ele faz. Mas como confiar num concorrente? Não se pode sequer manifestar suas ideias à sua volta, sob pena de permitir que as roubem” (Kourganoff, 1990, p.49). Isso gera, por conseguinte, a ausência de interesse pelo ensino – pelas explicações de seus próprios resultados de pesquisa, engendrando uma relação possessiva com o conhecimento. O educador, aquele que tem efetivamente a vocação para o ensino, se preocupa com a explicação didática e tem gosto por apreender os assuntos em sua dimensão geral. Por ser assim, o professor estrutura o que se propõe a ensinar em relação aos conhecimentos prévios de seus alunos, de modo a que possa se fazer compreendido. A vocação para o ensino – conforme Kourganoff (1990, p.53) – abarca o interesse pelas ideias gerais e por um modo de classificar racionalmente as mesmas ideias.

Kourganoff é, ainda, bastante crítico no tocante ao primado da pesquisa na carreira dos docentes-pesquisadores. Para o autor, a carreira do professor universitário não dependeria diretamente do valor de sua obra, “mas, acima de tudo, do seu prestígio, isto é, do conjunto das opiniões de seus pares sobre os seus trabalhos e sobre a sua pessoa” (Kourganoff, 1990, p.102). O que estabelece a imagem de um professor universitário é a reputação, expressa como uma média das opiniões sobre o seu valor. A partir da sua reputação é que se dão os contratos de ingresso e os mecanismos de progressão na carreira. Tal reputação se institui como a fonte do prestígio especialmente do pesquisador, prestígio esse construído mediante o impacto de sua obra; mas também mediante sua inserção internacional, sua presença nos seminários e congressos de sua área, e, em especial, mediante a ressonância pública de suas publicações.

Toda a carreira do professor-pesquisador será, portanto, avaliada em virtude de seu êxito em publicações em revistas acadêmicas reconhecidas pelos pares, especializadas nos diferentes campos do conhecimento, nas quais se registram usualmente os resultados de sua trajetória de

pesquisa. Seu percurso como professor pouco interessa para a construção de sua imagem pública. Trata-se de um *publish or perish* (publicar ou perecer). O mérito acadêmico do sujeito será medido não apenas pela qualidade, mas também pela quantidade e pelo impacto público de suas publicações.

Sob tal perspectiva, cria-se um desvio na própria acepção original de universidade, para a qual a interação entre professores e alunos constituía o alicerce do ofício universitário. Em nossa época, "a ideia dominante é a de que o tempo consagrado aos alunos representa um tempo perdido para a formação do prestígio" (Kourganoff, 1990, p.105). As publicações são tomadas, na proporção inversa, como o critério objetivo para aferir a excelência do pesquisador. Por ser assim, a habilidade e o desvelo didático pouco são considerados nos critérios de avaliação do docente em seus mecanismos de avaliação e de progressão na universidade.

Tal situação desconfigura o formato original do que seria uma universidade. Conforme já se observou anteriormente, na Idade Média, o ensino era um componente fundamental da própria existência da universidade. Ainda hoje, o que caracteriza uma instituição universitária é, sobretudo, sua pesquisa, mas também, na mesma proporção, o seu ensino. Contudo, o ensino não é um dos elementos aferidos quando se trata de calcular o valor desta ou daquela instituição universitária.

Mesmo assim, as instituições universitárias orgulham-se em declarar a indissociabilidade entre ensino, pesquisa e extensão, alegando que, por definição, todo bom pesquisador deve ser um bom professor – e vice-versa, por princípio, fazendo crer que todos se ocupariam razoavelmente com a divulgação de seus trabalhos de investigação. Kourganoff considera controversa essa tese. E procura responder a cada uma de suas premissas. Alguns dirão, por exemplo, que, ao ensino superior caberia abranger apenas a ciência em processo. A esse argumento, o autor contrapõe a ideia segundo a qual o estudante tem necessidade não

exatamente de tomar contato com os modos de fazer das ciências, mas fundamentalmente, de aprender conhecimentos já estabelecidos em um dado campo do conhecimento.

É preciso, para ensinar, expor sistematicamente os resultados obtidos pela investigação científica. É preciso lembrar – diz Kourganoff (1990, p.171) – que a "capacidade de invenção depende sobretudo do nível de cultura geral de um indivíduo". Assim, o autor argumenta que é fundamental, inclusive para formar novos pesquisadores, o método pedagógico do que ele chama de redescoberta, "onde uma parcela da ciência adquirida, ainda ignorada pelo estudante, lhe é proposta sob a forma de um problema do qual ele ignora a resposta" (Kourganoff, 1990, p.171).

A universidade não poderia ser pensada apenas como o território de conhecimentos ultra especializados, embora esses sejam fundamentais para se proceder ao avanço da ciência. É necessário que haja, no interior de cada disciplina, um processo de síntese didática. Nesse sentido, caberia à universidade assegurar que ambos os territórios estivessem convivendo harmoniosamente: o da cultura geral e das grandes sínteses didáticas e o da extrema particularização, responsável pelo avanço do conhecimento. Não são necessariamente as mesmas pessoas que asseguram que os dois universos possam existir. Ou seja: nem sempre o melhor pesquisador será o melhor professor. E vice-versa: não seria suficiente congregar nas universidades apenas os sujeitos envolvidos pela tarefa de transposição didática – generalistas e sintetizadores. O ofício da pesquisa é, assim como o ensino, razão de ser da vida universitária. O que ocorre é que nem sempre as duas coisas cabem na mesma pessoa.

É preciso dispor também de professores totalmente dedicados à tarefa de dar aos estudantes iniciantes uma formação básica geral, prévia à iniciação à pesquisa ou à formação de nível mais elevado" (Kourganoff, 1990, p.220). Os professores, que necessitam ter essa vocação para se fazerem generalistas, precisam combinar o domínio profundo de sua própria disciplina com uma vasta cultura humanista.

Por sua vez, a universidade tem também necessidade desse tipo de profissional, que não está necessariamente interessado em pesquisa, mas que seja um sujeito extremamente voltado para uma ampla cultura geral. A pesquisa, pelo contrário, requer o domínio da ferramenta da especialização.

O grande desafio que se coloca hoje para a universidade é o de incorporar novos conteúdos do conhecimento, que passem pelas questões do ambiente, pelas questões dos negros e dos indígenas, pela história dos povos originários do Cone Sul, das trajetórias que se colocaram como enfrentamento da lógica ocidental que vigorou em nosso repertório, sem, entretanto, deixar de tomar como referência aquela mesma lógica, mediante a apropriação e a transmissão de conteúdos clássicos que ainda fazem sentido; e que são vertentes possíveis para a explicação inclusive do mundo contemporâneo.

Sendo assim, é preciso que os intelectuais vivenciem na plenitude o seu tempo, busquem interpretar suas facetas e venham inclusive a propor pistas de transformação, em direção a um mundo mais justo, mais igualitário e mais fraterno. Como já registrava Wolff (2006, p.46), o silêncio dos intelectuais é ensurdecedor. Tal silêncio faz recordar – nas palavras de Benda (1999, p.68) – "Michelangelo repreendendo Da Vinci por sua indiferença pelas desgraças de Florença e o mestre da Ceia respondendo que de fato, o estudo da beleza monopoliza todo o seu coração". Por isso, talvez, Fuller (2006, p.131) destaque a tensa relação entre os intelectuais e os cientistas. Esses usualmente alegam recorrer a fatos para demonstrar a veracidade – em alguma medida, incontestável – de suas ideias e crenças. Por fim, o que está na base dessa possível desavença ou, pelo menos, desencontro entre acadêmicos, cientistas e intelectuais é um determinado modelo – quase um paradigma – de universidade que, nos tempos que correm, está em desuso. Readings (2003, p.133) explora o "esgotamento da metanarrativa que centra a universidade na produção de um sujeito nacional". Ao perder a narrativa de seu lugar institucional, a universidade presenciou grandes e significativas alterações em seu próprio

ofício: “a universidade já não tem um herói para sua narrativa grandiosa e, como consequência, refugiou-se na ‘profissionalização’. A profissionalização lida com a perda do sujeito que era o referente da experiência educativa”. Por ser assim, frente aos desafios de nossa época, caberá reinventar a vida universitária, em seus ritos, em seus usos e em seus costumes. Para tal reinvenção será necessário, por um lado, conhecer sua história; e, por outro, compreender em quê essa instituição - ocupada historicamente com a produção e partilha do conhecimento – pode contribuir para a confecção de um mundo melhor distribuído e mais solidário. Esperamos que as reflexões aqui apresentadas contribuam um pouco para fazer, ao menos, pensar no assunto.

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**BOTO, Carlota.** Apresentação da comunicação intitulada *Whereabouts of the spirit: philosophy of history as a guide to Modernity in Condorcet*, no âmbito do ISECS2023 Congress, ocorrido em formato presencial na Universidade de Roma/Sapienza, entre os dias 3 e 7 de julho de 2023. O recurso foi utilizado para participação no evento e tradução do texto para o inglês.

**Whereabouts of the Spirit: The Philosophy of History as a Guide to Modernity in Condorcet**

Jean Antoine Nicolas Caritat - Marquis de Condorcet - was born in France in 1743 and died in 1794. A frontier figure between the Enlightenment and the French Revolution, he is considered the last of the encyclopedists. He was a pioneer of Social Mathematics. Condorcet, throughout his work - on Philosophy of History, on Politics, and on Public Education - foresees the possibility of apprehending human nature through mathematical analysis. He was a member of the French Academy of Sciences. During the French Revolution, while a deputy, he chaired the Committee of Public Instruction. In politics, he defended the right of everyone - boys and girls - to education, women's rights, and black rights. Condorcet conceived political action as an exact science, capable of structuring itself through predictive character. For him, history was governed by social laws that ensured a constant improvement of the rational spirit, which favored a constant progress of the sciences and arts. This paper will discuss Condorcet's posthumous work, *Sketch for a Historical Picture of the Progress of the Human Mind*, published in 1795. The way in which the author refers to the historical experience of antiquity, especially to the great figures of Greece and Rome, and confronts this western world with the figures of the barbarians and the Arabs, will be discussed. Finally, it will focus on the appropriation of this ancient heritage by both the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. From the methodological point of view, textual analysis will be used, as well as a comparison between the sources and the existing bibliography on the subject.

The perspective of the Philosophy of History constitutes one of the marks of ethnocentrism. In fact, the ways in which philosophical interpretations of Western History were constituted configured a given invention of traditions. The articulation between the different periods of History is presented as a necessity; and, more than that, as an inevitability of the times. Therefore, it is as if the past was contained in the future and the future announced the realization of that seed already inscribed in what has passed. Behavior patterns and cultural content are

imprinted in an intentional construction of a logic of the future, which makes the trajectory of the West the only possible history to be traced. It is as if all peoples if they intend to develop, had to follow the path traced by the western peoples. The idea of culture, as a matrix concept, is articulated with multiple forms of human life in society, specifically with the fracture between what is understood as high culture or erudite culture and a more popular perspective, of a cultural territory produced by life practices, registered as know-how. In the first case, the meaning of erudite culture is basically confused with the achievements of typography and with the setting of literate societies.

Starting with Greece the story he intends to report, Condorcet says that it was from Greece that alphabetic writing was known. This coming of writing is pointed out as a milestone that links previous history to the 18th century, through an uninterrupted sequence of facts and observations. In the light of this chain of intertwined histories, the march of progress of the human spirit would correspond to a teleology, through which the progression of history would also constitute the progression of truth and reason. It is recognized that the Greeks received from the Eastern peoples a portion of their knowledge, as well as the use of alphabetic writing and their religious system. Therefore, the Greeks would have known how to mobilize from other peoples what they brought as promising. But some aspects of Greek identity were invented right there, in Greece itself. First, the sharing of knowledge of the truth by all men: “everyone could seek to discover it in order to communicate it to everyone, to communicate it in its entirety. This fortunate circumstance, even more than political freedom, left the human spirit with independence, a guarantee of the speed and the extent of their progress” (CONDORCET, 2013, p.60). Rational knowledge contributed so that knowledge came to be understood as originating from the same and only principle as if it were a single law. This single law unfolded in various sciences and in various discoveries and achievements of knowledge. Each science was structured from an exact and precise language.

Still in relation to Greece, Condorcet comments that he emphasizes that the sect spirit existing in Greece contributed to the progress of the human spirit. The sect, on the one hand, differentiates those who belong to it from the external environment. In addition, the sect enables the recognition of internal homogeneity, which brings a common identity to the elements that make up the sect. One of the attributes of sect members came from the fact that they never wanted to have a political existence: “voluntary distance from public affairs was a precept of conduct common to almost all sects; finally to the fact that they affected to distinguish themselves from other men by their life, as well as by their opinions” (CONDORCET, 2013,

p.66). In this sense, belonging to a sect constituted, at the same time, a differentiation movement from outsiders, and for production of the same identity, for those who were inside of it. This obsession with determining identities, continuities, and causalities characterizes the version of history presented by Condorcet: a history understood as an essence that develops in an articulated form and with a unique braid, capable of producing the understanding of the past in the light of an intricate teleology, through the logic of historical inevitability.

From these perspectives, the achievements of Greece unfolded the Roman achievements. The secrets of eloquence, the truths demonstrated in the art of argument, in the written configuration of laws, Rome sought to develop all this from the mastery recognized by the Romans in Greece. But, unlike Greece, Rome had as its primary authority the tradition of customs. From this, Rome built the career of jurisprudence. Condorcet goes so far as to say that "jurisprudence is the only new science that we owe to the Romans" (CONDORCET, 2013, p.85). Even so, Rome produces, similar to Greece, poetry, eloquence, history, philosophy, and science. Greece and its philosophy destroyed beliefs and deities. But Rome reverts to religious logic, given that: "Christianity soon became a powerful party, meddling in the quarrels of the Caesars, and put Constantine on the throne" (CONDORCET, 2013, p.89). The Middle Ages are considered to be a time of decadence, through which the invasion of the barbarians deprived "forever an entire country of the means of instructing itself" (CONDORCET, 2013, p.90). What is curious is that Condorcet points out that: "the sciences could have been preserved from this decadence, if the art of typography had been known" (CONDORCET, 2013, p.90). It is as if the art of typography was an inevitable artifact to be discovered by the West; as if its discovery were embryonically contained in earlier periods.

Unlike Greece, Rome did not develop the study of letters with such emphasis, since "the territory of Rome has always been a foreign soil for letters" (CONDORCET, 2013, p.92). Our own idea of the Republic derives from a way of handling words, with improvisation and subtlety, with ornaments and style in the art of declamation. Condorcet on the following subject: "the so false and so tragic idea of the decadence of the human race and the superiority of ancient times" (CONDORCET, 2013, p.93). Condorcet makes a modernizing reading of Antiquity. Antiquity is mobilized as a resource that serves to explain and justify the relevance and existence of modern times. The representation of Antiquity is here permeated by the readings, guidelines, and urgencies of the temporality of that European 18th century. Regarding the medieval period, Condorcet considers that the human spirit, in that period, would have

descended “rapidly from the height to which it had risen” (CONDORCET, 2013, p.95) and with it brought signs of cruelty, corruption and treachery. And all this because

> “As soon as Christian piety descends from the altar of victory, the West has become the prey of barbarians. They embraced the new religion, but they did not adopt the language of the defeated: only the priests retained it; and, thanks to their ignorance, and their contempt for human letters, what might have been expected of enlightenment by reading the Latin books disappeared, as these books could only be read by them. The ignorance and barbaric customs of the victors are sufficiently well known: however, it was in the midst of this stupid ferocity that came the destruction of domestic slavery, which had dishonored the fair days of cultured and free Greece.” (CONDORCET, 2013, p.96)

With barbaric invasions, ignorance would prevail in the West, the Latin language would become corrupted, and institutions would perish. Even so, Condorcet assures that in anarchy the germs of future advances were seething. But, in fact, until Modernity “the authority of men had replaced the authority of reason. Books were studied much more than the nature and the opinions of the ancients, before the phenomena of the universe.” (CONDORCET, 2013, p.115). And all this would remain intact until the invention of typography. From then on “what was only read by some individuals could be read by an entire people and reach almost at the same time all men who understood the same language” (CONDORCET, 2013, p.118). New techniques for the preparation of books and new methods for reading! The invention of typography made progress in the human spirit, through the multiplication of manuscripts that culminated in multiple editions of books. In addition to the invention of the press, the Reformation would have provided advances to rationality, subjecting prejudices to the examination of reason and fundamentally providing religious and political tolerance. The diffusion of the art of typography and the consequent multiplication of books would have opened “so many doors to the truth that it had become almost impossible to close all of them; there was no longer any class or occupation to which it could be stopped” (CONDORCET, 2013, p.156).

In the 17th century with Bacon, Galileo, and Descartes, methods were created for recognizing the laws of nature and, at the same time, methods for the analytical recognition of the truth. Condorcet, however, understands that the progress of science is measured, “in one aspect, by the number of men who know its most usual, most important truths and, on the other hand, by the number and nature of these generally known truths” (CONDORCET, 2013, p.138). Condorcet considers that the advance of knowledge should be measured, on the one hand, by

the criterion of its verticality: that is, how much one deepened in the matter of knowledge. On the other hand, however, the progress of knowledge must be evaluated horizontally, that is: how many people know this? The 18th century, for politics, would be a breaking point:

> "For we have reached the point of civilization where the people benefit from enlightenment, not only because of the services they receive from enlightened men but because they know how to make of them an asset and use them immediately to defend themselves from error, to prevent or satisfy their needs, to preserve themselves from the evils of life or soften them by new pleasures." (CONDORCET, 2013, p.138)

The theme of human rights would be an element that expresses the epistemological achievements of the 18th century. It is now a question of considering that, by nature, man is a "sensitive being, capable of forming reasoning and acquiring moral ideas" (CONDORCET, 2013, p.145). Political societies are grouped from the definition of these human rights, which derive exactly from the attributes listed above. The maintenance of natural rights would be the objective of the gathering of human beings in political societies and "the social art should be that of ensuring the conservation of these rights with the most complete equality, as well as to the greatest extent" (CONDORCET, 2013, p. 145). Based on this recognition of man as a subject of rights, the idea of majority voting as a criterion for the legitimacy of democratic choice is justified. Therefore, it was the establishment of human rights that constituted the generous feeling of Humanity, which accompanies the configuration of the times of Modernity.

> "The feeling of humanity, that is, that of a tender, active compassion for all the evils that afflict the human species, that of horror for everything that, in public institutions, in the acts of government, in private actions, added new pains to the inevitable pains of nature; this feeling of humanity was a natural consequence of these principles; it manifested itself in all writings, in all speeches, and its fortunate influence had already manifested itself in the laws and public institutions, even of peoples subjected to despotism." (CONDORCET, 2013, p.157)

Condorcet sees all of this as a serene path towards a telos, towards a movement to perfect the times. The idea of perfectibility was exactly what caused the victory of truth, the triumph of reason; "and nothing could remove the enemies of reason, nor the oppressors of freedom, from a judgment that became that of all Europe" (CONDORCET, 2013, p.158). It is because of this perfectibility movement that the inevitability of a great revolution was created. Such a revolution could only be conducted in two forms: the people themselves would institute the

principles of reason or the governments would interpret the opinions of the people, interpreting their will.

> "One of these revolutions should be more integral and faster, but more stormy; the other, slower, more incomplete, but more tranquil: in one, freedom and happiness should be bought for passing evils; in the other, these evils were avoided, but they delayed for a long time, perhaps, the enjoyment of a part of the goods that were their infallible consequence. Corruption and ignorance of governments preferred the first mean, and the swift triumph of reason and liberty avenged the human race." (CONDORCET, 2013, p.160)

Once the transformations brought about by the revolution were effected, in Condorcet's perspective, History would not turn back. Perfectibility ensured that the achievements that History had provided were given once and for all. For Condorcet, the superiority of the Enlightenment was only comparable to the "advantages of our trade" (CONDORCET, 2013, p.192). It was as if there was a law that, even, guided the course of future events, "the picture of the future destinies of the human species, based on the results of its history" (CONDORCET, 2013, p.189). That is: the experiences of the past ensured the framework of prediction of the future. And that future would be auspicious. "Our hopes for the future destinies of the human species can be reduced to these three questions: the destruction of the inequality between nations; the advances of equality in the same people; finally, the real improvement of man" (CONDORCET, 2013, p.190). And that would be the way, regardless of which people. Everyone should "approach the state of civilization reached by the most enlightened peoples, the freest, the most freed from prejudices, the French and the Anglo-Americans" (CONDORCET, 2013, p.190). There was a great distance between the most developed peoples and what Condorcet characterized as the servitude of the Hindus, the barbarism of the African tribes, and the ignorance of the savages. But the distance between people, with time, would disappear. This would presuppose the progress of civilization, industry, and, fundamentally, education.

> "In a word, men will approach that state in which everyone will have the necessary enlightenment to conduct themselves according to their own reason in the common affairs of life, and to keep it free from prejudice, to know their rights well and exercise them according to their opinion and conscience; in which all may, by the development of their faculties, obtain secure means of providing for their needs; in which, finally, stupidity and misery will only be accidents, and not the usual state of a part of society." (CONDORCET, 2013, p.190)

Therefore, the human species would be better for the discoveries in the sciences and the arts, for the progress in the ways of conducting itself socially, and for the ability to share this progress of the accumulated knowledge with a larger group of people. Consequently, this would presuppose a decrease in educational inequality; which would lead, therefore, to an expansion of opportunities to attend school. For Condorcet, equal education excludes dependency, making people stop being victims of prejudice and charlatanism, and obtaining effective freedom of opinion and conscience. From the decrease in the distance between the more and the less educated, "a real equality would result since the difference in enlightenment and talents can no longer raise a barrier between men who their feelings, their ideas, their language allow to understand each other" (CONDORCET, 2013, p.199). In a few words, "if the instruction is more equal, then greater equality is born" (CONDORCET, 2013, p.199-200) and everyone will be able to enjoy their common rights, making people progressively acquire more enlightenment and more development. Therefore, the question: "does not the improvement of laws, of public institutions, a consequence of the progress of these sciences, have the effect of bringing together, identifying the common interest of each man with the common interest of all?" is rhetorical (CONDORCET, 2013, p.208). Thus, there would be a two-way path that ensured, on the one hand, the progress of the sciences, and, on the other hand, the "progress in the art of educating" (CONDORCET, 2013, p.212), one mechanism influencing the other and both contributing to the improvement of the human species. There would be a network, as if it were a chain, which ensured this joint movement, which, with mathematical certainty, would ensure the progress of peoples, always with the same movement and along the same route, as if it were an unequal but combined development. This philosophy of History was the guide of Modernity and the modernization of the different countries of the West and the East. Everyone, strictly speaking, would have the same chances of making their way toward the eradication of inequalities in industry, knowledge, and education. It is, as can be seen, a great narrative, inscribed in the logic of interests of the West.

The understanding of the Eurocentric matrix that regulates a given Western sense that still presides over contemporary debates, certainly, has some tribute to the doctrine defended by Condorcet – who, in the name of a past story – intends, decidedly, to speak to the future. According to the philosopher, the knowledge of human things is liable to be subjected to accurate and exact calculations. Therefore, history is thought of as a source of understanding the present and as a strategy for predicting the future. From the application of calculus to the different fields of natural knowledge, it will be possible to deduce rules of probability capable of governing and regulating the laws of human science, which Condorcet believed. It was about

applying conceptual frameworks to social phenomena, and problem-solving schemes provided, by analogy, by the physical sciences, through data and methods.

Condorcet supposed that observation, experience, and meditation constituted the tripod that leads to the careful search for different categories of knowledge. The philosophy of history professed by Condorcet intends to intertwine the knowledge of human things with the methods of knowledge and analysis of the natural sciences. A given way of conceiving culture is supposed here, which understands itself as disseminating the achievements of human reason. A given way of judging the role of the West in the conformation of a certain image of itself is also understood here. Therefore, it will be up to the school to offer the young generations access to literate culture and knowledge accumulated over the course of generations.

However, schooling as a social project had a political effect: being a mechanism for the improvement of peoples, education directly prepares the territory of democracy. Democratic action, based on rational choice, presupposes the possibility of the autonomy of reason to choose between alternatives posed in civil life. To give meaning to the development of a democratic society will be, under this perspective, scrupulously preparing the time in which freedom would be enjoyed: hence, public education is thought herein of as a project to improve the nation-state to be reformed. One of the basic expressions of this understanding resides in Condorcet's perspective, according to which there would be a link between youth formation, the democratic exercise of citizenship, and the improvement of the theoretical ideals of democratic politics. As Gilles-Gaston Granger points out, Condorcet's ideal regarding scientific knowledge of social issues takes place “by means of a calculation of chances is a mathematical ideal” (GRANGER, 1956, p.27).

Condorcet's social science – as highlighted by Granger – presupposed a set of observable phenomena, subject to be highlighted through objectivity criteria and described qualitatively and quantitatively with some degree of reliability. It was about giving the territory of human studies – or the so-called humanities – another 'nature': directly derived from the field of the 'natural' sciences themselves. In the words of Granger: “it [this science] must schematize the data of experience in such a way that deductive reasoning can extract the necessary consequences from them” (GRANGER, 1956, p.22). For Granger, it is necessary to remember the encyclopedic character of Condorcet, both as a member of the encyclopedist movement and as a subject who studies countless domains of human knowledge, with the purpose of intertwining them with each other to better understand them. His obsession with Mathematics

was, in a way, Cartesian: he sought to use it as a method to operate his thinking on the affairs of man.

Condorcet assumed that mathematical calculation would henceforth govern the logic of public life, being applied both to the field of probabilities in elections and to the calculation of successful children at different levels of schooling: “on the one hand, he postulates the extension of the scientific method of knowledge of man as such; on the other hand, he is interested in the applications of science not as a negligible sub-product, but as its most natural and most constant purpose” (GRANGER, 1956, p.16). It is worth recalling the categorical statement by Zygmunt Bauman: “geometry is the archetype of the modern mind” (BAUMAN, 1999, p.23). Progress, understood and captured by Condorcet as the guiding principle of the course of History, would open – as Maria das Graças de Souza says – “the possibility of talking about the future. This way, reflection on what man was and what he is today can lead us to the knowledge of the means to ensure and accelerate progress” (SOUZA, 2001, p.157). The same author points out that the idea of Humanity is a great achievement in the theoretical framework of Illustration. Even so, there is a clear ethnocentric dimension in the Enlightenment's pretension to point to criteria of universal values. For the author, the universalizing aspiration is misleading:

> “If one cannot think of society as a homogeneous whole, much less can humankind be conceived as an abstract totality. The same could be said of the concept of civilization. A very common term in the 18th century, sometimes opposing nature, sometimes barbarism, its content encloses the idea of an economic, political, and cultural development, whose effects are manifested in terms of social and political life, but also of private life. What can be said is that the idea of civilization is built under the prism of Western European history, and, as such, it is marked by a partiality that would prevent us from properly thinking non-European theories, and, in the case of the Enlightenment, especially those of the Far East and the cultures of America. About the enlightened idea of reason, it could be said that it excludes other forms of apprehension of the real, at the same time that it dissimulates the undeniable fact of its own historicity." (SOUZA, 2001, p. 202)

Paolo Rossi also notes that confidence and excessive optimism in History are always accompanied by the opposite – that is, by tragic or apocalyptic vision. The author says that's why

> "1) that at the origin of modernity, there was a tension between hopes for extraordinary novelties and anguish of impending catastrophes; 2) that the theme of the sinking of civilizations is present, with an extraordinary force, in the thinking of the so-called great 'precursors of the idea of progress." (ROSSI, 2000, p.14-5)

In any case, Condorcet's optimism regarding the course of history is undisguised. Recognizing that proclaimed rights cannot be confused with rights actually enjoyed by people in societies, Condorcet understands that it was only a matter of time, until it arrives "that moment when the Sun will illuminate only free men on earth and will recognize no other master but reason; where tyrants and slaves, priests and their stupid or hypocritical instruments will no longer exist, except in history and in the theaters" (CONDORCET, 2008, p.271). Condorcet believed in human history and was confident in a framework of progress. He believed that human reason contributes to such a story unfolding satisfactorily. However, he considered it necessary to improve this rationality through the undertaking of education. Therefore, educating had become a social mission, which had to do with the future of nationality and, more than that, of Mankind. Reason, perfectible, cannot fail to be extended, expanded and shared. Perfectibility demands this...

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TEXTO EM PORTUGUÊS

Paradeiros do Espírito: a Filosofia da História como Guia da Modernidade em Condorcet

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Jean Antoine Nicolas Caritat – Marquês de Condorcet – nasceu na França em 1743 e faleceu em 1794. Figura de fronteira entre o Iluminismo e a Revolução Francesa, é considerado o último dos enciclopedistas. Foi pioneiro da Matemática Social. Condorcet, em toda sua obra – sobre Filosofia da História, sobre Política e sobre Instrução Pública – prevê a possibilidade de se apreender a natureza humana pela análise matemática. Integrou a Academia de Ciências da França. Durante a Revolução Francesa, enquanto deputado, presidiu o Comitê de Instrução Pública. Na política defendeu o direito de todos – meninos e meninas - à instrução, o direito das mulheres e o direito dos negros. Condorcet concebia a ação política como ciência exata, capaz de se estruturar mediante caráter preditivo. Para ele, a História era regida por leis sociais, que asseguravam um constante aperfeiçoamento do espírito racional, o qual favorecia um progresso constante das ciências e das artes. Este trabalho abordará a obra póstuma de Condorcet, *Esboço de um quadro histórico dos progressos do espírito humano*, publicada em 1795. Será abordada a maneira pela qual o autor se remete à experiência histórica da Antiguidade, especialmente aos grandes personagens da Grécia e de Roma, confrontando esse

mundo ocidental com as figuras dos bárbaros e dos árabes. Finalmente debruçar-se-á sobre a apropriação dessa herança antiga por parte tanto da Idade Média quanto do Renascimento. Do ponto de vista metodológico, recorrer-se-á à análise textual, bem como ao confronto entre as fontes e a bibliografia já existente acerca do assunto.

A perspectiva da Filosofia da História constitui uma das marcas do etnocentrismo. De fato, os modos como se constituíram as interpretações filosóficas da História do Ocidente configuraram uma dada invenção de tradições. A articulação entre os diferentes períodos da História é apresentada como uma necessidade; e, mais do que isso, como uma inevitabilidade dos tempos. Sendo assim, é como se o passado estivesse contido no futuro e o futuro anunciasse a realização daquela semente já inscrita naquilo que passou. Padrões de comportamentos e conteúdos culturais são impressos em uma intencional construção de uma lógica do futuro, que faz com que a trajetória do Ocidente seja posta como a única história possível para ser percorrida. É como se todos os povos, se pretendem se desenvolver, tivessem de seguir a rota traçada pelos povos ocidentais. A ideia de cultura, como conceito matricial articula-se com múltiplas formas de vida humana na sociedade, e especificamente com  a fratura entre o que é compreendido como alta cultura ou cultura erudita e uma perspectiva mais popular, de um território cultural produzido pelas práticas de vida registradas como um saber fazer. No primeiro caso, a acepção de cultura erudita confunde-se basicamente com as conquistas da tipografia e com a configuração de sociedades letradas.

Iniciando pela Grécia a história que pretende relatar, Condorcet diz que foi a partir da Grécia que a escrita alfabética foi conhecida. Esse advento da escrita é apontado como um marco que liga a história pregressa àquele século XVIII, mediante uma sequência ininterrupta de fatos e de observações. À luz desse encadeamento de histórias entretecidas, a marcha dos progressos do espírito humano corresponderia a uma teleologia, mediante a qual a progressão da história constituiria também a progressão da verdade e da razão. Reconhece-se que os gregos receberam dos povos do Oriente uma parcela de seus conhecimentos, bem como o uso da escrita alfabética e seu sistema religiosos. Os gregos, portanto, teriam sabido mobilizar de outros povos o que estes traziam de promissor. Mas alguns aspectos da identidade grega foram inventados ali mesmo, na própria Grécia. Em primeiro lugar a partilha do conhecimento da verdade por todos os homens: “todos podiam procurar descobri-la para comunicá-la a todos, a comunicá-la por inteiro. Essa circunstância feliz, mais ainda do que a liberdade política, deixava ao espírito humano uma independência, garantia da rapidez e da extensão de seus progressos” (CONDORCET, 2013, p.60). O conhecimento racional contribuiu para que o saber viesse a ser

compreendido como derivado de um mesmo e único princípio, como se fosse uma lei única. Essa lei única se desdobrava em várias ciências e em várias descobertas e conquistas do conhecimento. Cada ciência estruturou-se a partir de uma língua exata e precisa.

Ainda relativamente à Grécia, Condorcet comenta que destaca que o espírito de seita existente na Grécia contribuiu para o progresso do espírito humano. A seita, por um lado, diferencia os que a ela pertencem do ambiente externo. Além disso, a seita possibilita o reconhecimento da homogeneidade interna, que traz identidade comum aos elementos que integram a seita. Um dos atributos dos integrantes das seitas advinha do fato de que eles nunca quiseram ter uma existência política: "a distância voluntária dos negócios públicos era uma máxima de conduta comum a quase todas as seitas; enfim ao fato de que eles afetavam distinguir-se dos outros homens por sua vida, assim como por suas opiniões" (CONDORCET, 2013, p.66). Nesse sentido, pertencer a uma seita constituía, a um só tempo, um movimento de diferenciação de quem estava de fora e de produção de uma mesma identidade, para aqueles que estavam dentro. Essa obsessão por determinar identidades, continuidades e causalidades marca a versão de história apresentada por Condorcet: uma história compreendida como uma essência que se desenvolve de maneira articulada e com um trançado único, capaz de produzir a compreensão do passado à luz de uma teleologia intrincada, mediante a lógica da inevitabilidade histórica.

Sob tal perspectivas, das conquistas da Grécia, desdobraram-se as conquistas romanas. Os segredos da eloquência, as verdades demonstradas na arte do argumento, na configuração escrita das leis, tudo isso Roma procurou desenvolver a partir da maestria reconhecida pelos romanos na Grécia. Mas, diferentemente da Grécia, Roma tinha como autoridade primeira a tradição dos costumes. A partir disso, Roma construiu a carreira da jurisprudência. Condorcet chega a dizer que "a jurisprudência é a única ciência nova que nós devemos aos romanos" (CONDORCET, 2013, p.85). Mesmo assim, Roma produz, à semelhança da Grécia, poesia, eloquência, história, filosofia e ciências. A Grécia e sua filosofia destruíram crenças e divindades. Mas Roma retoma a lógica religiosa, dado que "logo o cristianismo se tornou um partido poderoso, imiscuindo-se nas querelas dos Césares e colocou Constantino no trono" (CONDORCET, 2013, p.89). A Idade Média é tida como um tempo de decadência, mediante o qual a invasão dos bárbaros privava "para sempre um país inteiro dos meios de se instruir" (CONDORCET, 2013, p.90). O que é curioso é que Condorcet aponta que "as ciências poderiam ter se preservado dessa decadência se a arte da tipografia fosse conhecida" (CONDORCET, 2013, p.90). É como se a arte da tipografia fosse inevitável artefato a ser

descoberto pelo Ocidente; como se sua descoberta estivesse contida embrionariamente em períodos anteriores.

Diferente da Grécia, Roma não desenvolveu com tanta ênfase o estudo das letras, posto que "o território de Roma sempre foi para as letras um solo estrangeiro" (CONDORCET, 2013, p.92). Nossa própria ideia de República é tributária de uma maneira de manejar as palavras, com improviso e sutileza, com ornamentos e com estilo na arte da declamação. Diz Condorcet sobre o tema o que segue: "a ideia tão falsa e tão funesta da decadência do gênero humano e da superioridade dos tempos antigos" (CONDORCET, 2013, p.93). Condorcet faz uma leitura modernizante da Antiguidade. A Antiguidade é mobilizada como um recurso que serve para explicar e para justificar a pertinência e a existência dos tempos modernos. A representação da Antiguidade é aqui permeada pelas leituras, pelas pautas e pelas urgências da temporalidade daquele século XVIII europeu. Relativamente ao período medieval, Condorcet considera que o espírito humano, naquele período, teria descido "rapidamente da altura a que se tinha elevado" (CONDORCET, 2013, p.95) e consigo foram trazidos sinais de crueldade, de corrupção e de perfídia. E isso tudo porque

> "Mal a piedade cristã desceu o altar da vitória, o Ocidente tornou-se presa dos bárbaros. Eles abraçaram a nova religião, mas não adotaram a língua dos vencidos: apenas os sacerdotes a conservaram; e, graças à sua ignorância, aos seu desprezo pelas letras humanas, viu-se desaparecer aquilo que se poderia esperar de luzes pela leitura dos livros latinos, já que esses livros só podiam ser lidos por eles. Conhecem-se suficientemente a ignorância e os costumes bárbaros dos vencedores: todavia foi no meio dessa ferocidade estúpida que saiu a destruição da escravidão doméstica, que tinha desonrado os belos dias da Grécia, culta e livre." (CONDORCET, 2013, p.96)

Com a invasão dos bárbaros, a ignorância passaria a imperar no Ocidente, a língua latina se corromperia e as instituições pereceriam. Mesmo assim, Condorcet assegura que na anarquia fervilhavam os germes do avanço futuro. Mas de fato até a Modernidade "a autoridade dos homens tinha substituído a autoridade da razão. Estudavam-se os livros muito mais do que a natureza e as opiniões dos antigos, antes que os fenômenos do universo" (CONDORCET, 2013, p.115). E tudo isso permaneceria intacto até a invenção da tipografia. A partir dali "o que só era lido por alguns indivíduos pôde sê-lo por um povo inteiro e atingir quase ao mesmo tempo todos os homens que entendiam a mesma língua" (CONDORCET, 2013, p.118). Novas técnicas de elaboração dos livros e novos métodos para se proceder à leitura! A invenção da tipografia efetuou progressos no espírito humano, pela multiplicação dos manuscritos que

culminou em múltiplas edições dos livros. Além da invenção da imprensa, teria sido a Reforma que proporcionou avanços à racionalidade, submetendo os preconceitos ao exame da razão e proporcionando fundamentalmente a tolerância religiosa e política. Com a difusão da arte da tipografia e com a consequente multiplicação dos livros, teriam sido abertas "tantas portas à verdade que se tornara quase impossível fechar-lhe todas; não havia mais classe, profissão à qual se pudesse impedi-la de chegar" (CONDORCET, 2013, p.156).

No século XVII com Bacon, Galileu e Descartes, foram criados métodos para reconhecimento das leis da natureza e, ao mesmo tempo, métodos de reconhecimento analítico da verdade. Condorcet, entretanto, compreende que os progressos da ciência são medidos, "por um aspecto, pelo número de homens que conhecem suas verdades mais usuais, mais importantes e, por outro, pelo número e pela natureza dessas verdades geralmente conhecidas" (CONDORCET, 2013, p.138). Condorcet considera que o avanço do conhecimento deveria ser medido, por um lado, pelo critério de sua verticalidade: ou seja, o quanto se aprofundou na matéria do saber. Por outro lado, entretanto, os progressos do conhecimento devem ser avaliados de maneira horizontal, ou seja: quantas pessoas sabem isso? O século XVIII, para o político, seria um ponto de clivagem:

> "Pois chegamos ao ponto de civilização em que o povo se beneficia das luzes, não apenas pelos serviços que recebe dos homens esclarecidos, mas porque ele soube fazer delas uma espécie de patrimônio, e empregá-las imediatamente para defender-se do erro, para prevenir ou satisfazer suas necessidades, para se preservar dos males da vida ou suavizá-los por prazeres novos." (CONDORCET, 2013, p.138)

O tema dos direitos do homem seria um elemento que expressa as conquistas epistemológicas do século XVIII. Trata-se, agora, de considerar que, por natureza, o homem é um "ser sensível, capaz de formar raciocínios e adquirir ideias morais" (CONDORCET, 2013, p.145). As sociedades políticas se constelam a partir da acepção desses direitos do homem, os quais derivam exatamente dos atributos acima elencados. A manutenção dos direitos de natureza seria o objetivo da reunião dos seres humanos em sociedades políticas e "a arte social devia ser aquela de assegurar a conservação desses direitos com a mais inteira igualdade, assim como na maior extensão" (CONDORCET, 2013, p.145). A partir desse reconhecimento do homem como sujeito de direitos é que se justifica a ideia de voto da maioria como critério de legitimidade da escolha democrática. Foi, portanto, o estabelecimento de direitos do homem que constituiu o generoso sentimento de Humanidade, que acompanha a configuração dos tempos da Modernidade.

> "O sentimento da humanidade, quer dizer, aquele de uma compaixão terna, ativa, por todos os males que afligem a espécie humana, aquele de um horror por tudo aquilo que, nas instituições públicas, nos atos do governo, nas ações privadas, acrescentava novas dores às dores inevitáveis da natureza; esse sentimento de humanidade era uma consequência natural desses princípios; ele transparecia em todos os escritos, em todos os discursos, e sua influência feliz já tinha se manifestado nas leis e nas instituições públicas, at[e mesmo dos povos submetidos ao despotismo." (CONDORCET, 2013, p.157)

Condorcet vê tudo isso como um caminho sereno em direção a um telos, em direção a um movimento de aperfeiçoamento dos tempos. A ideia de perfectibilidade era exatamente aquilo que fazia com que houvesse a vitória da verdade, o triunfo da razão; "e nada podia subtrair nem os inimigos da razão, nem os opressores da liberdade, de um julgamento que se tornava aquele da Europa inteira" (CONDORCET, 2013, p.158). Por causa desse movimento de perfectibilidade é que se constelou a inevitabilidade de uma grande revolução. Tal revolução só poderia ser conduzida de duas formas: ou o próprio povo instituiria os princípios da razão ou os governos interpretariam as opiniões do povo, interpretando sua vontade.

> "Uma dessas revoluções devia ser mais integral e mais rápida, mas mais tempestuosa; a outra, mais lenta, mais incompleta, mas mais tranquila: em uma, devia-se comprar a liberdade e a felicidade por males passageiros; na outra, evitavam-se esses males, mas retardando por muito tempo, talvez, o desfrute de uma parte dos bens que eram sua decorrência infalível. A corrupção e a ignorância dos governos preferiram o primeiro meio; e o triunfo rápido da razão e da liberdade vingou o gênero humano." (CONDORCET, 2013, p.160)

Uma vez efetuada as transformações trazidas pela revolução, na perspectiva de Condorcet, a História não voltaria para trás. A perfectibilidade assegurava que as conquistas que a História proporcionara estavam dadas de uma vez por todas. Para Condorcet, a superioridade das Luzes só era comparável às "vantagens do nosso comércio" (CONDORCET, 2013, p.192). Era como se houvesse uma lei que, inclusive, pautava o desenrolar dos futuros acontecimentos, "o quadro dos destinos futuros da espécie humana, a partir dos resultados de sua história" (CONDORCET, 2013, p.189). Ou seja: as experiências do passado asseguravam o esquadro da previsão do futuro. E esse futuro seria auspicioso. "Nossas esperanças sobre os destinos futuros da espécie humana podem se reduzir a estas três questões: a destruição da desigualdade entre as nações; os progressos da igualdade em um mesmo povo; enfim, o aperfeiçoamento real do homem" (CONDORCET, 2013, p.190). E o caminho seria esse qualquer que fosse o povo. Todos

deveriam se "aproximar do estado de civilização a que chegaram os povos mais esclarecidos, os mais livres, os mais libertos de preconceitos, os franceses e os anglo-americanos" (CONDORCET, 2013, p.190). Havia uma distância imensa entre os povos mais desenvolvidos e a aquilo que Condorcet caracterizava como servidão dos hindus, barbárie das tribos africanas e ignorância dos selvagens. Mas a distância entre os povos, com o tempo, se esvaneceria. Isso pressuporia o progresso da civilização, da indústria e fundamentalmente da instrução.

> "Em uma palavra, os homens se aproximarão desse estado em que todos terão as luzes necessárias para se conduzir segundo sua própria razão nos negócios comuns da vida, e mantê-la isenta de preconceitos, para conhecer bem seus direitos e exercê-los segundo sua opinião e sua consciência; em que todos poderão, pelo desenvolvimento de suas faculdades, obter meios seguros de prover às suas necessidades; em que, enfim, a estupidez e a miséria serão apenas acidentes, e não estado habitual de uma parte da sociedade." (CONDORCET, 2013, p.190)

Por isso, a espécie humana haveria de melhor pelas descobertas nas ciências e nas artes, pelo progresso nos modos de se conduzir socialmente e na habilidade de repartir esse progresso do conhecimento acumulado por um conjunto maior de pessoas. Isso pressuporia, consequentemente, uma diminuição na desigualdade da instrução; o que acarretaria, portanto, uma expansão das oportunidades de frequentar uma escola. Para Condorcet, a igualdade de instrução exclui a dependência, fazendo com que as pessoas deixem de ser vítimas do preconceito e do charlatanismo, obtendo efetiva liberdade de opinião e de consciência. Da diminuição da distância entre os mais e os menos instruídos decorreria "uma igualdade real, já que a diferença das luzes e dos talentos não pode mais erguer uma barreira entre os homens a quem seus sentimentos, suas ideias, sua linguagem permitem entender-se" (CONDORCET, 2013, p.199). Em poucas palavras, "se a instrução é mais igual, daí nasce uma maior igualdade" (CONDORCET, 2013, p.199-200) e todos poderão usufruir de seus direitos comuns, fazendo com que os povos adquiram progressivamente mais luzes e mais desenvolvimento. A pergunta é portanto retórica: "o aperfeiçoamento das leis, das instituições públicas, consequência do progressos dessas ciências, não tem como efeito aproximar, identificar o interesse comum de cada homem com o interesse comum de todos?" (CONDORCET, 2013, p.208). Haveria, então, uma via de mão dupla que assegurava, por um lado, os progressos das ciências, e, por outro, os "progressos na arte de instruir" (CONDORCET, 2013, p.212), um mecanismo influenciando o outro e ambos contribuindo para o aperfeiçoamento da espécie humana. Existiria uma rede, como se fosse uma cadeia, que assegurava esse movimento conjugado, o qual, com uma certeza

matemática, asseguraria o progresso dos povos, sempre com o mesmo movimento e pela mesma rota, como se fosse um desenvolvimento desigual, mas combinado. Essa filosofia da História era o guia da Modernidade e da modernização dos diferentes países do Ocidente e do Oriente. Todos, a rigor, teriam as mesmas chances de efetuar seu caminho em direção à erradicação das desigualdades de indústria, de conhecimento e de instrução. Trata-se, como se vê, de uma grande narrativa, inscrita na lógica dos interesses do Ocidente.

A compreensão da matriz eurocêntrica que regula um dado sentido ocidental que preside, ainda, debates contemporâneos, certamente, tem algum tributo perante a doutrina defendida por Condorcet – que, em nome de um relato passado – pretende, assumidamente, falar ao futuro. De acordo com o filósofo, o conhecimento das coisas humanas é passível de ser submetido a cálculos precisos e exatos. Por aí, a história é pensada como fonte de compreensão do presente e como estratégia de previsão do futuro. Da aplicação do cálculo para os diferentes campos do conhecimento natural, poder-se-á deduzir regras de probabilidade capazes de reger e regular as leis da ciência humana, em que Condorcet acreditava. Tratava-se de, pelos dados e pelos métodos, aplicar, para os fenômenos sociais, quadros conceituais e esquemas de resolução de problemas fornecidos, por analogia, pelas ciências físicas.

Supunha Condorcet que observação, experiência e meditação constituíam o tripé que conduz à busca criteriosa de diferentes categorias de saberes. A filosofia da história professada por Condorcet pretende entrelaçar o conhecimento das coisas humanas com os métodos de conhecimento e análise das ciências da natureza. Supõe-se aqui um dado modo de conceber a cultura, que compreende a si próprio como divulgador das conquistas da razão humana. Compreende-se aqui também um dado modo de julgar o papel do Ocidente na conformação de uma determinada imagem de si mesmo. Caberá à escola, portanto, oferecer às jovens gerações o acesso à cultura letrada e ao saber acumulado no transcurso de gerações.

A escolarização como projeto social teve, contudo, efeito político: sendo mecanismo de aperfeiçoamento dos povos, a instrução prepara diretamente o território da democracia. A ação democrática, alicerçada na escolha racional, tem como pressuposto a possibilidade de autonomia da razão para optar entre alternativas postas na vida civil. Conferir sentido à elaboração de uma sociedade democrática será, sob tal vertente, preparar escrupulosamente o tempo em que a liberdade fosse desfrutada: daí a instrução pública ser, aqui, pensada como projeto de aprimoramento do Estado-Nação a ser reformado. Uma das expressões básicas desse entendimento reside na perspectiva de Condorcet, segundo a qual haveria vínculo entre formação da juventude, exercício democrático da cidadania e aprimoramento do ideário teórico

da política democrática. Como sublinha Gilles-Gaston Granger, o ideal de Condorcet a propósito do conhecimento científico da temática social dá-se "por intermédio de um cálculo de chances é um ideal matemático" (GRANGER, 1956, p.27).

A ciência social de Condorcet – destaca Granger – pressupunha um conjunto de fenômenos observáveis, passíveis de serem destacados mediante critérios de objetividade e descritos qualitativa e quantitativamente com algum grau de confiabilidade. Tratava-se de conferir ao território dos estudos humanos – ou às chamadas humanidades – outra 'natureza': diretamente derivada do campo das próprias ciências da 'natureza'. Nas palavras de Granger: "ela [essa ciência] deve esquematizar os dados da experiência de tal maneira que um raciocínio dedutivo possa deles extrair as consequências necessárias" (GRANGER, 1956, p.22). Para Granger, é preciso recordar o caráter enciclopédico de Condorcet, tanto como membro do movimento enciclopedista quanto pela condição de sujeito estudioso de inúmeros domínios do saber humano, com o propósito de entrelaçá-los uns aos outros para melhor compreendê-los. Sua obsessão pela Matemática era, de algum modo, cartesiana: buscava valer-se dela como método para operar seu pensamento sobre os assuntos do homem.

Condorcet pressupunha que o cálculo matemático viesse, doravante, a reger a lógica da vida pública, sendo aplicado tanto ao campo das probabilidades em eleição quanto ao cômputo de crianças bem-sucedidas nos diferentes níveis de escolarização: "por um lado, ele postula a extensão do método científico do conhecimento do homem enquanto tal; por outro lado, ele se interessa pelas aplicações da ciência não como um subproduto negligenciável, mas como sua finalidade mais natural e mais constante" (GRANGER, 1956, p.16). A propósito, caberia recordar a categórica afirmação de Zygmunt Bauman: "a geometria é o arquétipo da mente moderna" (BAUMAN, 1999, p.23). O progresso, compreendido e captado por Condorcet como a diretriz norteadora do curso da História, abriria – como diz Maria das Graças de Souza – "a possibilidade para falar do futuro. Desse modo a reflexão sobre o que foi o homem e sobre o que ele é atualmente pode nos conduzir ao conhecimento dos meios para assegurar e acelerar o progresso" (SOUZA, 2001, p.157). A mesma autora destaca que a ideia de Humanidade é uma grande conquista no arcabouço teórico da Ilustração. Mesmo assim, há uma clara dimensão etnocêntrica na pretensão dos iluministas em assinalar para critérios de valores universais. Para a autora, a aspiração universalizante é capciosa:

> "Se não se pode pensar a sociedade como um todo homogêneo, muito menos se pode conceber o gênero humano como uma totalidade abstrata. O mesmo

> poderia ser dito do conceito de civilização. Termo de uso muito corrente no século XVIII, opondo-se ora à natureza, ora à barbárie, seu conteúdo encerra a ideia de um desenvolvimento econômico, político, cultural, cujos efeitos manifestam-se no plano da vida social e política, mas também da vida privada. O que se pode dizer é que a ideia de civilização é construída sob o prisma da história europeia ocidental, e, como tal, ela é marcada por uma parcialidade que nos impediria de pensar adequadamente as teorias não europeias, e, no caso do Iluminismo, sobretudo as do Extremo Oriente e das culturas da América. Sobre a ideia ilustrada de razão, poder-se-ia dizer que ela exclui outras formas de apreensão do real, ao mesmo tempo em que ela dissimula o fato inegável de sua própria historicidade." (SOUZA, 2001, p. 202)

Paolo Rossi também observa que a confiança e o excesso de otimismo na História são sempre acompanhados por seu avesso – ou seja, pela visão trágica ou apocalíptica. Diz o autor que é por isso

> "1) que na própria origem da modernidade esteve presente uma tensão entre esperanças de novidades extraordinárias e angústias de catástrofes iminentes; 2) que o tema do naufrágio das civilizações está presente, com uma força extraordinária, no pensamento dos chamados grandes 'precursores da idéia de progresso." (ROSSI, 2000, p.14-5)

De todo modo, o otimismo de Condorcet relativamente aos rumos da História é indisfarçável. Reconhecendo que não se poderá confundir os direitos proclamados e os direitos de fato usufruídos pelas pessoas nas sociedades, Condorcet compreende que se tratava de uma questão de tempo, até chegar "esse momento onde o Sol iluminará apenas homens livres sobre a terra, e não reconhecerá nenhum outro mestre além da razão; onde os tiranos e os escravos, os padres e seus estúpidos ou hipócritas instrumentos não existirão mais a não ser na história e nos teatros"

(CONDORCET, 2008, p.271). Condorcet acreditou na história humana e foi confiante em um quadro de progressos. Acreditou que a razão humana contribui para que tal história se desenrole a contento. Todavia, reputava necessário aperfeiçoar essa racionalidade mediante o empreendimento da educação. Educar tornara-se, pois, missão social, que tinha a ver com o futuro da nacionalidade e, mais do que isso, da Humanidade. A razão, perfectível, não poderá deixar de ser estendida, expandida e repartida. A perfectibilidade exige isso...

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## 10. APÊNDICE B: ARTIGO ACEITO PARA PUBLICAÇÃO COM APOIO DO RECURSO DO AUXÍLIO

Artigo aceito para publicação, de autoria de Maria Rita de Almeida Toledo e Diana G. Vidal. O recurso da FAPESP foi utilizado para tradução do texto para o inglês.

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# PLANTAR, TRADUZIR, MINERAR: ANÍSIO TEIXEIRA (1935-1947)[1]

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**RESUMO:** Tomamos Anísio Teixeira como um *hub*, a partir do qual almejamos desenhar a configuração de redes, enlaçando sujeitos e instituições. Elegemos o período entre 1935 e 1947, esmiuçando o trabalho editorial que realizou para Companhia Editora Nacional (CEN), a partir da documentação do acervo da editora, depositado no Centro de Memória e Pesquisa Histórica da Universidade Federal de São Paulo (Unifesp); bem como os documentos sobre a breve passagem de Anísio pela Organização das Nações Unidas para a Educação, a Ciência e a Cultura (Unesco), entre 15 de julho de 1946 e 15 de fevereiro de 1947, existentes no Centro de Pesquisa e Documentação de História Contemporânea do Brasil (CPDOC-FGV) e no Unesco Archives. O texto está estruturado em duas partes: na primeira parte, ressaltamos a atuação de Anísio junto à Companhia Editorial Nacional (CEN); na segunda, o foco se desloca para sua trajetória na Unesco. Em ambas, é a trama móvel das redes que conduz a escrita, guiada por uma argumentação alicerçada na história transnacional da educação. É importante realçar que ao endereçarmos a reflexão para a perspectiva transnacional, não estamos descurando do espaço nacional, nem colocando o Brasil na posição periférica com respeito a um suposto centro

[1] This article presents partial research results within the scope of the Thematic Projectfrom FAPESP: Educational knowledge and practices at borders: for a transnational history of education (1810-…), Process No. 2018/26699-4.

difusor de saber. Ao contrário, pretendemos reconfigurar o território a partir das experiências dos sujeitos, das trocas estabelecidas, problematizando o confinamento das fronteiras físicas na organização do campo educacional, em uma época marcada pela disseminação de governos autoritários, guerra e esforço de reconstrução em escala mundial.

**Palavras-chave:** Unesco, Companhia Editora Nacional, Biblioteca do Espírito Moderno, História Transnacional da Educação e Teoria das redes

## TO PLANT, TRANSLATE, MINE: ANÍSIO TEIXEIRA (1935-1947)

**ABSTRACT:** We take Anísio Teixeira as a hub, from which we aim to design the configuration of networks, linking subjects and institutions. We choose the period from 1935 to 1947, scrutinizing the editorial work he carried out for Companhia Editora Nacional (CEN), based on documentation from the publisher's collection at the Center for Memory and Historical Research of the History of UNIFESP; as well as documents about Anísio's brief stay at UNESCO, form July 15, 1946 to February 15, 1947, existing at CPDOC-FGV and at the UNESCO Archives. The text is structured in two: in the first part, we highlight Anísio's work in CEN: in the second one, the focus shifts to his career at UNESCO. In both, it is the mobile web of networks that drives the writing, guided by an argument based on the transnational history of education. It is important to highlight that when we address the reflection to a transnational perspective, we are not neglecting the national space, nor placing Brazil in a peripheral position with respect to a supposed center that disseminates knowledge. On the contrary, we intend to reconfigure the territory based on the experiences of the subjects, the exchanges established, problematizing the confinement of physical borders in the organization of the educational field, in a time marked by the spread of authoritarian governments, war and reconstruction efforts on a global scale.

**Keywords**: UNESCO, Companhia Editora Nacional, Biblioteca do Espírito Moderno, Transnational History of Education, Network theory.

## PLANTAR, TRADUCIR, MINAR: ANÍSIO TEIXEIRA (1935-1947)

**RESUMEN:**. Tomamos a Anísio Teixeira como hub, desde donde pretendemos diseñar la configuración de redes, vinculando sujetos e instituciones. Nosotros elegimos el período comprendido entre 1935 y 1947, escudriñando la labor editorial que realizó para la Compañía Editora Nacional (CEN), a partir de documentación del fondo de la editorial, depositada en el Centro de Memoria e Investigaciones Históricas de la UNIFESP; así como documentos sobre la breve estancia de Anísio en la Unesco, entre el 15/07/ 1946 y el 15/03/1947, existentes en el CPDOC-FGV y en el Archivo de la Unesco. El texto se estructura en dos partes: en la primera parte destacamos el trabajo de Anísio en la CEN; en el segundo, la atención se centra en su carrera en la Unesco. En ambas, es la red móvil de redes la que impulsa la escritura, guiada por un argumento basado en la historia transnacional de la educación. Es importante resaltar que cuando dirigimos la reflexión a una perspectiva transnacional, no estamos descuidando el espacio nacional, ni colocando a Brasil en una posición periférica respecto de un supuesto centro difusor de conocimientos. Por el contrario, pretendemos reconfigurar el territorio a partir de las experiencias de los sujetos, de los intercambios establecidos, problematizando el

confinamiento de las fronteras físicas en la organización del campo educativo, en una época marcada por la expansión de gobiernos autoritarios, la guerra y los esfuerzos de reconstrucción a escala mundial.

**Palabras clave:** Unesco, Companhia Editora Nacional, Biblioteca do Espírito Moderno, Historia Transnacional de la Educación, Teoría de redes.

## INTRODUCTION

The biographical production about Anísio Teixeira is substantial[2] and quite comprehensive about his work as an educational politician and philosopher of education. However, despite the diversity with which they retrace the educator's trajectory, we can identify a double gap.

The first is factual and refers to the interstice between 1935 and 1947. Indeed, the authors refer to Anísio's *self-exile* in Bahia, when, after passing through Argentina, he returned to Ituaçu to dedicate himself to translation of books and, in the following years, the family business, alternating between Caetité and Salvador running, together with the brothers Jaime and Nelson, the Sociedade Importadora e Exportadora (SIMEL), a mineral export company and importer of locomotives and railway material. Biographers also highlight the invitation made by Julian Huxley for Teixeira to become an Advisor for education at the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) in 1946. However, there is nothing more than brief mentions in a narrative whose central focus is the participation of the educator in the national educational and political scene before and after these years.

The second gap is historiographical and is influenced by what Martin Lawn (2014) call methodological nationalism. It cannot be denied that references are made to trips abroad, such as to Europe in 1925 or to the United States (USA) in 1927; that particular emphasis is given to receiving the title of Master of Arts from the Teacher's College of Columbia University (TC/UC), after two years of study between 1928 and 1929; and the period spent as an Advisor at UNESCO, between 1946 and 1947; or even highlighting his time as a professor at American universities in the 1960s. The episodes emerge as elements of Anísio's professional life. They are interesting insofar as they inform the constitution of the educator's thinking and reiterate the internationally important position that was raised, legitimizing its importance for Brazilian education. Therefore, Teixeira's international transit does not appear within the scope of a transnational history of education, in which the circuit of networks offers clues to the perception of how the educational arena was configured, interweaving national and international initiatives in mutual fertilization.

It is this panorama that we aim to outline in this article. We do not intend a biographical immersion. Differently, we propose to take Anísio as a hub, from which we aim to design the configuration of networks, linking subjects and institutions. In network theory, hubs are "attractive nodes" that have the potential to disseminate trends and information, with numerous personal contacts and the ability to influence connections. They can designate individuals, groups, corporations, or any type of collective (BARABÁSI, 2003). However, in the dynamics of networks, what is considered a hub may also present itself as a node, shifting

[2] Cf., among others, GOUVEIA NETO, 1973; GERIBELLO, 1977; LIMA, 1978; FERRO, 1984; SCHAEFFER, 1988; VIANA FILHO, 1990; ROCHA, 1992; NUNES, 2000, 2010; CURY, 2000; BRANDÃO; MENDONÇA, 2008.

the analysis perspective. Thus, alternating between the position as a node or hub, Anísio Teixeira catalyzes our vision in understanding the interconnections in the educational field.

We analyze the period between 1935 and 1947, scrutinizing the editorial work he carried out, in particular for Companhia Editora Nacional (CEN), in the letters exchanged between editors, in the translated books, and the translation procedures, based on the documentation of the publisher's collection, deposited in the Center for Memory and Historical Research at the Federal University of São Paulo – UNIFESP (TOLEDO, 2013). The sources include documents about Anísio's brief stay at UNESCO, between July 15, 1946 and February 15, 1947, existing at CPDOC-FGV and at the UNESCO Archives (Preparatory Commission for UNESCO (Prep. Com.), 1945–1946, and Anísio Teixeira Personal Dossier (DPAT)).

To achieve this purpose, the text is structured in two parts: in the first part, we highlight Anísio's work with CEN; in the second, the focus shifts to his career at UNESCO. In both, the mobile web of networks drives the writing, guided by an argument based on the transnational history of education. We emphasize that when we address the reflection from a transnational perspective, we are not neglecting the national space nor placing Brazil in a peripheral position concerning a supposed center that disseminates knowledge. On the contrary, we propose, as suggested by Doreen Massey (2008), to reconfigure the territory based on the experiences of the subjects and their exchanges, problematizing the confinement of physical borders in the organization of the educational field in a time marked by the spread of authoritarian governments, war and reconstruction effort on a global scale.

## EDITING NETWORKS: SOCIABILITY AND READING PROGRAMS

One of the places of power from which the nodes of an extensive network, with national and international threads, can be formed is that of the large publishers. Articulators of authors, texts, translators, institutions that produce, diffuse, or finance transnational cultures, publishers constitute a field (symbolic, economic, political) in which places of emission, circulation, and reception of what has been produced in terms of literate culture are distributed. These places, not always continuous or without accidents, are organized according to discursive regimes that classify, define, and distribute knowledge according to their location in a cultural geography configured by different editorial strategies, consistently in dispute (TOLEDO, 2013). As a "master" of the cultural geography of publishing, the editor designs projects, gets ahead of the market, creates a variety of products in new territories, as well as scrutinizing the captive public, canonizing authors and works, feeding back into already established territories (TOLEDO, 2013 ). Their catalogs are accurate maps of the cultural geographies they establish over time.

If, on the one hand, the cultural geography of publishing is the result of the editor's choices, on the other, it depends on a specific accumulation of social capital that editorial practices must be able to mobilize: the offer of texts by renowned authors or new authors; access to support lines from cultural institutions; the release of disputed translation rights, the

appointment of translators or illustrators, access to different printers and paper producers, among other situations, are examples of the networks that publishers create throughout the existence of their label. The various social relations allow publishers to move through the spaces of book production and establish specific editorial policies for their catalog. The editor's place is at the intersection of the capitalist production networks of written culture, he is the creator of symbolic networks of authors, and cultural mediators from different fields of knowledge. This condition was widely mobilized by Monteiro Lobato and Octalles Marcondes Ferreira — owners of CEN[3].

Among the main strategies to ensure the supply of texts and authors to targeted audiences and disseminate throughout the cultural geography territories that promote what they produce, editors invite renowned intellectuals to organize book collections within their specialties. The "collection" genre marked the business development style of many international publishers (such as Hachette and Presses Universitaires de France) and Brazilian publishers, such as CEN or Cia. Melhoramentos. This editorial genre presupposes the standardization of the materiality of books, as well as the establishment of an order of books — an editorial formula — aimed at target audiences: books for children, for scientific dissemination, for young women, for intellectuals, etc. The collection, from its name, reveals the prescription of its readers and their uses. In this sense, it is materially inscribed as a flexible commodity, which allows it to adapt to market conditions, whether to win new readers or to expand consumption by the regular public. Collections can be associated with well-known figures in the fields of knowledge or entertainment they are intended for. Collection organizers — especially authorial collections — invite writers, select manuscripts, mobilize knowledge from other collections on similar subjects and audiences and reorganize texts by adding paratexts or adapting typographic paraphernalia to the forms of their reception. The collections are used for educational and literary dissemination projects of cultural renewal. For this reason, they are also places of engagement for cultural groups or political movements: they depend on networks of sociability and the dissemination of particular representations (TOLEDO, 2020).

This place of power was quickly observed by the "education renovators" who associated themselves with large publishers to publish editorial lines that disseminated authors and texts considered fundamental to the new education in Brazil. For example, Lourenço Filho and Fernando de Azevedo partnered with major publishers in São Paulo to market their editorial projects and author networks and choose and translate reference texts from the international Escola Nova movement. Thus, the large publishers and their authorial education collections combined national and international networks to circulate the production of new educational knowledge and the referential names that began to authorize practices and discourses. Exemplary is the participation of Anísio Teixeira in the publication of volume 12 (1930) — "Vida e Educação de John Dewey" – in the *Biblioteca de Educação*, directed by Lourenço Filho. The editor invites Teixeira to choose, translate, and prepare an introductory study of

[3] For example, see Lobato's letter to Fernando de Azevedo introducing Anísio Teixeira (FRAIZ; VIANNA, 1986, p. 8).

Dewey's texts for the Brazilian public. On the other hand, Teixeira negotiates the release of translation rights for the texts, mobilizing his relationships with professors at Columbia University, especially Suzzallo, built during his stay at that institution in 1927 (TOLEDO E CARVALHO, 2017).

It can be said that Teixeira's role was central to Fernando de Azevedo's collection at CEN. As Director of of Public Instruction/Department of Education of the Federal District (DF) (1931–1935), Teixeira participated in the *Atualidades Pedagógicas* Collection as author, translator, and reviewer. His name appears in several volumes of the Collection. *Atualidades Pedagógicas* edits the group of professors from Columbia University of Teixeira's relations, such as Paul Monroe[4], I.L. Kandel, and Dewey. However, this was not the only way he participated in Marcondes Ferreira's publishing house. Teixeira played a central role in the various deals that CEN made with the Federal District City Hall and the political group of educational activists. CEN publishes as a book *Reconstrução Educacional no Brasil: Ao Povo e ao Governo. Manifesto dos Pioneiros da Educação Nova*[5], in March 1932, financed by the document's signatories. It also publishes books that disseminate the Primary School Programs produced by the Teixeira administration of DF. The same Department acquired children's books and books for teachers from the publisher for its institutional libraries, in addition to providing, as mentioned, authors and texts linked to the reform for the Azevedo Collection (TOLEDO, 2020; VIDAL, 2000).

CEN has become one place where meetings occur and cultural projects are created. With the projection that the publisher itself acquired in the 1930s, with its commercial success and its reputation as a promoter of culture, it transformed its collection management positions into places of intellectual and symbolic prestige: producing an editorial program meant interfering in the publishing universe of authors and titles imposing, in a certain way, their representations of what would be fundamental for culture and for the reader, prescribing themes, approaches, problems, etc. This prestige was materialized in the contractual forms with which the publisher worked[6].

CEN incorporated an entire network of intellectuals with political and cultural affinities and circulated their representations in the collections and books it edited. If, at the beginning of the publishing house, Lobato was the epicenter of this network, acting as an intermediary between the "brothers" and Octalles, introducing them and asking the partner to

[4] In a letter to Nelson Teixeira from 1929, Anísio comments that he would have tea with Paul Monroe, one of the leading figures in the History of Education/Comparative Education at Columbia University. (TEIXEIRA, A. 1929).

[5] See the correspondence in which Ferreira explains that each author of the *Manifesto* must pay 50$000 to receive ten copies. Letter from Octalles Marcondes Ferreira to Anísio Teixeira of 12/22/1932). Arquivo Anísio Teixeira/CPDOC AT1928.04.27. In the correspondence mentioned above, there is a letter from Teixeira - as Director of Public Instruction of the Federal District - agreeing with CEN the edition of the *Boletim de Instrução Pública* do DF (Letter from Anísio Teixeira to Octalles Marcondes Ferreira, 03/15/1932). Arquivo Anísio Teixeira/CPDOC AT 1928.04.27.

[6] Azevedo, for example, received, to direct the *Biblioteca Pedagógica Brasileira*, a monthly salary in addition to a fixed percentage on each title edited (Companhia Editora Nacional – Contract of 12/14/1930 CMPH Coleção CEN).

publish them or shelter them in the publishing house, the "brothers" start to move around, gaining new connections and expanding the reach of CEN's editorial action. For example, Teixeira introduced Hermes Lima to Lobato in 1931[7]. Lima was soon incorporated into the publishing house, organizing a collection: the *Biblioteca de Cultura Jurídica e Social*. The publisher reinforces the bonds of solidarity between the brotherhood members, even in times of crisis, becoming a haven for those who need it.

Teixeira himself dreamed of a collection that presented the new "modern" mentality for Brazilians. In a letter to Lobato, he outlined what he intended to bring together as a collection: "I dreamed here of Octalles — the great — the humble— educator — national — the dream of going to work with you. First job: today's story. I found all the material in Wells: work, wealth, and happiness of mankind. When can we do this?" (FRAIZ; VIANNA, 1986, p. 72).

In this sense, the editor's activity is evaluated as an essential hub in the careers of the intellectuals of the period: it was a private activity, independent of political tides, and a place of prestige, articulation of names and texts, and distribution of capital (financial and cultural).

**Life in the backlands of the country of idleness**

> I remember when I saw you in Rio de Janeiro, *traqué* by the police, hidden by your friends like a big criminal – and on that occasion, I also cried. *To whom the bells toll?* We were all persecuted, on the run, hiding with you, while outside the tumor Vargas smiled with his cigar and handed over Brazilian Culture to the bedbugs of the Roman Thing. (FRAIZ; VIANNA, 1986, p. 101).

From Buenos Aires, Lobato recalls how terribly Teixeira left the DF Department of Education to hide from his tormentors in Ituaçu and Caetité. The conflict that triggered Teixeira's dismissal is well known: shortly after the Communist Intentona (November 1935), he was accused of being responsible for communism in the DF City Hall and of Americanizing the city's education, with his arrest being demanded by some (NUNES, 2000, p. 488). Under these conditions, he went to Buenos Aires and then to São Paulo, awaiting the outcome of the State's repressive reaction (SÁ MOTTA, 2002).

At late April, Teixeira confirmed to Azevedo that he would take up space at CEN, given the lack of conditions to return to public service: "This, however, will not stop me from settling, for now, in São Paulo, to try to make a living albeit with private work. Our good Octalles promises to provide me with what I need to cover the minimum monthly expenses" (VIDAL, 2000, p. 34). Work at the publishing house began immediately: to Nelson, in a letter dated 01/16/1936, he warned that he had already translated a book by Dewey and had started another by Wells, *The Ouline of History*, "which should take a long time to finish." However,

[7] See the letter from Teixeira to Lobato of July 8, 1931 (FRAIZ; VIANNA, 1986, p. 62).

what appeared from the publisher were still "practically translations" (TEIXEIRA, 1936).

In mid-1936, accusations and possibilities of arrest resurfaced, and the police were still a threat to Teixeira, so he gave up São Paulo and went to Bahia (TEIXEIRA, 1937). From 1937 onwards, he began to combine the life of a countryman with that of a CEN translator: "You know country life", he wrote to Nelson, "Our rural activity is a promise of income for a few years from now. Because while it hasn't been given to us, all that remains are the translations that only give very little" (TEIXEIRA, 1937). Waiting for cotton, debts accumulated. For this reason, Teixeira relied heavily on Ferreira's support: "Octalles, however, has made himself entirely available to me, in his generosity as a friend. So, if you need any amount, as I think you do, just telegraph me so that I can have it delivered to you" (TEIXEIRA, 1937). In 1938, the financial issue weighed on Teixeira, above all, due to the debts he had acquired when he was still Director of Education. Once again, he wrote to Nelson, discussing the issue: "My situation is as follows: I am translating *The Work, Wealth and Happiness of Mankind* by Wells and associated with Peres and Altino into an ox business with Reunidas Farm, I bought it on credit, so this postpones my need for capital at least until February" (TEIXEIRA, 1938).

## A collection to Wellsify Brazil[8]

In 1938, parallel to his country life, Anísio launched the *Biblioteca do Espírito Moderno* (BEM) by CEN under his direction.

There is little evidence of why BEM was so delayed by Ferreira since, as we will see, it had been designed by the brotherhood since 1936. However, it is possible to infer that the complex situation in the DF at the end of 1936 had an overwhelming effect on the publisher, which had supported and disseminated the Anísio Teixeira Reform of Education. On March 19, 1936, Ferreira received a letter from its Rio de Janeiro branch — Editora Civilização Brasileira. In the letter, the "frog" reports the blow that CEN was suffering from Lourenço Filho:

> Otalles,
> Complementing our telephone talk, please find attached the article[9] that gave rise to yesterday's events. Chateaubriand indeed took advantage of a situation in which I see oil, the need for the Minister of Education to remove Fernando, and the interest of Companhia Melhoramentos and Lourenço Filho taking part.
> You know that Lourenço Filho runs Melhoramentos' Pedagogical Library. As he is a friend of the Minister and Father Elder Câmara, he is allied with both of them. Therefore, following Church policy and against Anísio's work, he threw Melhoramentos at us.
> Suspicious of his warning that we should approach the Minister (…) I developed a frog [informant] work on Lourenço Filho's way of thinking regarding Lobato's books.
> People I trust, who are members of the teaching profession and have an important position, revealed to me that the book *Geografia de D. Benta* was criticized and handed over to the Minister by Lourenço. (…)

[8] BEM lasted until the 1980s, with variations in its direction. See FONSECA, 2010.
[9] On March 16, 1936, *O Diário da Noite* published an article attacking the book *Geografia de D. Benta* (PROPAGANDA, 1936).

> At the same time this was happening, it was necessary to review the programs to organize them in new ways. Here is the big blow against us. Lourenço made it appear that these programs had Bolshevist tendencies to create confusion. (Letter from Civilização Brasileira to Marcondes Ferreira, 03/19/1936, folder 23 – Biblioteca Monteiro Lobato – original emphasis).

The complaint exposed the political-editorial dispute established between CEN and Melhoramentos, which was implicated in the services to be provided to the State, educational projects, and, above all, the networks of relationships and intrigues that allowed the advancement of the hegemonization of the Catholic Church's positions in that moment of crisis.

Political pressure on CEN possibly froze BEM's publishing plan for at least two years. In any case, its editorial lines had been established since 1936. The resumption of the proposal would have been triggered by Teixeira's own financial needs — pressed by debts — and by his dependence on his editor.

Understanding this project requires returning to 1936 and Teixeira's plans for São Paulo. As we indicated, Anísio reported to Lobato the invitation received by Ferreira to visit CEN:

> After a month of living in Santos, I feel like I was born new. (…) And then I dreamed of that old dream of collecting fundamental books. With one modification. The Brazilian foolishness, which only "reflects" telegrams and brochures, thinks there are only German hospitals and the Russian sanatorium in the world to cure humanity. Now, it is necessary to show them that there are healthy people in 4/5 of the earth and very healthy people in some Anglo-Saxon and Nordic countries. And that these people are healthy because they are well nourished. And that intellectual nutrition is as precise as material nutrition. Special diets are indispensable when there is no intellectual nutrition - and we have Italy, Germany, and Russia… Now, today's nutrition is thought to be elaborated given the advancement of science and democracy… The collection would, therefore, be of foods of this species. Contemporary civilization collection. To say the corollaries of science and democracy (FRAIZ; VIANNA, 1986, p. 73).

He completed the proposal by indicating how this type of editorial territory would be in the Publisher's sights:

> Start with Wells and the brilliant contemporary "exorcists" and, from time to time, to show the continuity with the forest of human thought, a secular jequitibá – Montaigne, Plato, etc. What do you think? A collection for Brazil's supernutrition. Isn't it nutrition that the country really needs? And is it not 200% following Companhia's policy? (FRAIZ; VIANNA, 1986, p. 73)

As a last argument, he compared his proposal to Azevedo's collection – Bibliotheca Pedagógica Brasileira (BPB):

> F.A.'s collection is very interesting but somewhat domestic, with no international horizon. A collection would be needed in which pedagogy would be a chapter, not a title. Pedagogy is nonsense if it is not the whole of human culture. (…) I spoke to Afrânio, and he agreed. (FRAIZ; VIANNA, 1986, p. 73).

The strategy mobilized by Teixeira encouraged the idea that the international

location of the new collection would be an asset to the success of the venture and the seduction of the CEN director. On the one hand, he distanced himself from the politics of those violent days; on the other hand, he worked with translations — always a good deal for the publisher (TOLEDO, 2020). In this representation, an international bibliography would allow the practice of disseminating new cultural bases to confront a reactionary government, described by Lobato in 1932, as:

> Let the government teach the people whatever it wants: religion, ditto. From the top of our Education-City, we will hover over the country like a cloud of light, served by all existing machines and those to come. A body of brains, directed by you, prepares, multiplies, disseminates. (…) Our education will fall like snow on the country, without knowing and without wanting to know where the flakes will land (FRAIZ; VIANNA, 1986, p. 69).

The Brazilian *Wellsification* project[10], despite emerging from Teixeira's defeat in DF, would encourage the country's update with the modernization of its culture and the universal spirit so propagated by H. G. Wells.

The new Library would begin with Wells' texts, which Teixeira and Lobato had already translated between 1936 and 1938. The duo was sure of the need for *Wellsification* during those dark times. In a letter to Lobato, Teixeira counted his days, reaffirming this need:

> It's also cold here (850 m above sea level) but not as noisy as there. And that fine wool[11] is modern and restless and all frizzed up by the prolonged monotony of the country of idleness (…) My books comfort it: I live in having Dewey, Russel, Wells, and Lobato. And those men of tomorrow do it good. I live with them immersed in the future. Many people miss the past; we, wool and I, miss the future. It's a weird and much more euphoric feeling. Wells' *The Shape of Things to Come* is one of my manuals, the continuation of *Outline*, with the same method and penetrating accuracy, until the year 2106. The last recorded event is that of the new year 2106. I don't know if you read it. It is no longer a utopia; it is the reality of the *Outline* of the future. I wanted to translate it. And I will still do so in such a way that the book "worked."… I know of nothing more convincing, persuasive, fulminating against current stupidities, and inspiring for hopes for the future. (VIANNA; FRAIZ, 1986, p. 81).

For Fonseca (2010), the initial project of the collection articulated education, science, and democracy to engender modernization in culture and guarantee antidotes against the totalitarian regimes established in the 1930s. These three points would be strategically articulated by the editorial genre of scientific dissemination, whether through fiction literature or the dissemination of biographies of great scientists, the circulation of knowledge about universal culture, and the dissemination of pacifist values. These were the fundamental bases of Wellsian pedagogy (ELZINGA, 2004). In the conjunction of titles on education, science, and democracy, the collection could provide its reader, with the conditions for reflection: reflection

[10] The term we invented refers to Herbert George Wells (1866-1946), a British novelist, journalist, scientific visionary, and encyclopedist. His thinking seeks a synthesis of evolutionism, pragmatism, and various types of socialism. According to Elzinga, Wells sought to participate in the leading international discussions that followed the First World War. Although Wells was a critic of the League of Nations, he defended the idea of world unification as the only alternative to a devastating conflict (ELZINGA, 2004, p. 138, note 4).

[11] Teixeira refers to the wool of his caramel overcoat in New York.

supported by knowledge of the world.

The collection's presentation text indicated this type of reading program:

> OUR TIME, marked by the singular mental turmoil that accentuates its character of transition and change, is, for this very reason, one of the most notable periods of intellectual and moral reconstruction in history. Despite the lack of perspective in which we find ourselves judging its outstanding scientific, literary, and artistic achievements, some of his modern works have received praise from the public that amounts to immortality. The unprecedented cultural diffusion of today's world allows for miracles that the ancients did not know about. The BIBLIOTECA DO ESPÍRITO MODERNO aims to coordinate for the Brazilian reader, among the works consecrated by public acceptance, those that more directly seek to condense, clarify, and popularize the cultural heritage of the species, making it truly and without losing any of the fine and rare values that always characterized it when it was nothing more than a legacy attributed to privileged scholars, a common inheritance shared by all (CEN, 1943, p. 1).

As a starting point, the recognition of the chaotic situation in the world and in contemporary times: current characteristics that could be resolved precisely with scientific and literary knowledge contained not so much in the institutions of each country but in the myriad of works forged by global cultural diffusion. The modern spirit itself would result from this cultural heritage of the shared species: the universality of this heritage stands out as opposed to the superiority of races or nations. As Wells (from Teixeira and Lobato) predicted, having a modern spirit meant being the bearer of a common heritage, sharing the universality of science, education, and democracy.

The plan description continues:

> Furthermore, the library will include biographical documents that familiarize us with the great men and great women who knew how to make their lives a spectacle of beauty or height and, in this way, contributed to making life more meaningful and human civilization more dignified (CEN, 1943, p. 1).

Finally, BEM's plan highlights the architect of the strategy of attuning the Brazilian reader to the global reader.

> COMPANHIA EDITORA NACIONAL, taking upon itself the great responsibility of editing BIBLIOTHECA DO ESPÍRITO MODERNO, sought out, to guide and direct it, the great Brazilian educator ANÍSIO TEIXEIRA, one of the most illustrious spirits of our time and so rightly suited to take on the direction of a library of such purpose. Library of civilization and culture, readers will have in its volumes the richest documentary with which they can try to understand and follow the extended effort of human thought to beautify, enrich, and direct life (CEN, 1943, p. 1).

For Fonseca (2010, p. 38–39), it is impossible to ignore the meaning of choosing the name BEM, considering who its organizer was. Returning to Vidal's work (2005, p. 9), Fonseca recalls that in 1934, at the Institute of Education, the term "education and modern spirit" topped a list of ten topics from the course offered by Teixeira at the school. The course aimed to demonstrate the concern of relating education to the modern world, science, and the understanding of society with the philosophical bases of education, and even used the term "experience" to relate education and the lived experienced world. "What's the point of school

if it's not to rebuild human life on a better basis?" (FONSECA, 2010, p. 39).

The BEM comprised four series, organized by editorial genres: 1st philosophy; 2nd sciences; 3rd history and biographies; and 4th literature. Its editorial program opted for translations of "excellent quality" texts, mainly from English, complemented by one or another from French. The authors came from the United States and England, but there were also French people, especially André Maurois, Charles Seignobos, and Jacques Maritain (FONSECA, 2010, p. 37). The reading program featured very few national titles, marking its position as the world's library.

The network constituted by the relationships between the collection director and authors spread across a double territory: international authors marketed by major English, American, and French publishers, and the home territory of translators[12]. Anísio and Lobato used the collection as an underground gallery to maintain the project of modernizing the Brazilian spirit, strategically seeking to elevate it to the status of the modern world spirit. They mobilized their favorite author, Wells, transforming what they thought was his pedagogy into a reading model and the formation of a society of Brazilian average readers[13]. This model included the publication of Will Durant, Bertrand Russell, Charles Seignobos, Julian Huxley, and H. G. Wells from the *História Universal* series.

It can be said that the Wellsian internationalist ideal marked BEM, widespread since the end of the First World War. For Elzinga (2004), Wells' perspective, especially concerning a less belligerent world — built on internationalist scientific and cultural cooperation — had been circulating among British (and Anglo-Saxon) scientists since at least the end of the First World War. Worldwide. Thus, science would be a "common product of the human race," and "scientific knowledge would be a public good that would exist for the benefit of all humanity" (ELZINGA, 2004, p. 91). Being director of this collection put Teixeira on the same wavelength as other scientists of the period, such as Julian Huxley and Paulo Carneiro. This harmony would be fundamental for the invitation received by Teixeira to UNESCO.

At the end of 1941, Teixeira left the direction of the collection, although, in the years that followed, most of the published titles were chosen and negotiated by him (FONSECA, 2010, p. 70). With a regretful tone, he said goodbye to what had been his (partial) job in previous years:

> Dear Lobato,
> Since I left you in São Paulo, after an eight-day stay – which I knew what it meant to me – I entered a disconcerting phase… I've never missed my friends so much. You must have noticed that my visit was a visit to complete the layoff that had been taking place despite my will due to the force of circumstances and the obscure purpose that arises within us to obey contingencies. When I went to Bahia, I felt that you, Otalles, and Fernando were much further away from me than before. I don't know how to participate

[12] BEM translators were some of the Vargas regime's persecuted politicians, such as Teixeira himself, Lobato, and Edgar Sussekind de Mendonça. Nelson Teixeira, Godofredo Rangel, Afrânio Coutinho, and Edson Carneiro, among others, also worked on the collection.

[13] Fonseca describes publishers' contemporary representations of what they conceived as the territory of the average readership. See chapters 1 and 2 of his dissertation (FONSECA, 2010).

> without taking responsibility. And the fact that I could no longer take it before you threw me into an embarrassment that explains my silence (VIANNA; FRAIZ, 1986, p. 89).[14]

From then on, Teixeira became involved in SIMEL, abandoning, according to himself, intellectual life (VIDAL, 2000, p. 53). According to Lima, World War II benefited the company's business, and Teixeira made some money (LIMA, 1978, p. 142). With the end of the armed conflict, new opportunities in the educational arena emerged for Anísio.

## PERFORMANCE AT UNESCO

Just like publishers, organizations, and in our case, international organizations, are constituted as hubs. They are structured based on the constitution of networks and establish governance principles based on a set of values, goals, intentions, and sociability. Their study allows us to escape analyses based on the center-periphery relationship, encouraging a transnational approach, as they attract subjects from various parts of the world and aim to produce effects that transcend national borders. In this sense, they encourage a focus on the participation of actors, leading to interpretations that interweave micro and macro analyses, inviting the exploration of paths, trips, and exchanges.

For Fuchs (2007, p. 187), networks consist of condensed and intense relationships in a given space. Understanding them requires paying attention to "the meaning, the shape, and the duration of its existence as well as the intensity, frequency, balance, prominence and speed of contacts, exchanges and transfers." Correspondence is one of the privileged sources that guide navigating the relationships and events that unite Teixeira and UNESCO.

The invitation to join UNESCO came in a letter from Julian Huxley in New York on June 12, 1946 (HUXLEY, 1946)[15]. Although Anísio was in that city that day, Huxley left for London, and the face-to-face meeting was postponed. Through the letter, we know that, as Executive Secretary of the UNESCO Preparatory Commission, Huxley called Teixeira to, in his capacity as Advisor on Education, assist the Education Section in preparing the report or agenda for the First UNESCO Conference to take place in November, in Paris. The contract would be temporary (from July 1 to the end of the year), with the first month being probationary. Anísio would work under the leadership of Kuo Yu-Shou, receiving an annual salary of 1,500 pounds plus a residence allowance of 1.10 pounds per day[16].

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[14] Teixeira forwards this same message to Azevedo (VIDAL, 2000, p. 52).

[15] The documentation from the UNESCO Archives - Preparatory Commission for UNESCO (Prep.Com.) 1945–1946 and the Anísio Teixeira personal dossier are not organized. Therefore, references used here will only be Prep.Com. or DPAT if they refer to the Preparatory Commission or the Anísio Teixeira Personal Dossier, respectively.

[16] According to *Revista do Empresário* (TAXAS, 1947), the pound exchange rate fluctuated from Cr$ 77.33 (on January 3) to Cr$ 74.555 (on December 31). The dollar fluctuated between Cr$ 19.60 and Cr$ 18.50 in the same

The following day, Anísio responded by telegram, expressing his perplexity, readiness to serve UNESCO under Huxley's leadership, and surprise at the invitation, asking for a few days to consider the proposal, which he accepted in a letter dated June 19. Teixeira took over UNESCO on July 15. Difficulties with purchasing tickets, travel authorization, and visas led Howard Wilson, assistant executive secretary, to contact the Brazilian ambassador in London, George Álvares Maciel, to ask the Passport Department in Rio de Janeiro to speed up the process. Such difficulties delayed the arrival in London and installation in the office at 46–47 Belgrave Square[17]. On July 22, 1946, Anísio, on UNESCO letterhead and signing as Advisor to the Education Section, reiterated his acceptance of the offer (DPAT) to Huxley.

**In social networks… again, the educator**

What paths would Huxley have taken to consider Teixeira's name? In the invitation letter, he stated, "Everyone has assured me that you would be the best possible person we could obtain from Latin America for the Education Section" (Prep. Com.). Who was he referring to? A carbon copy of a possible telegram from Huxley to [Howard] Wilson read, "No foundation whatever for suggestion de Filho or Dantas. STOP Only Brazilian approached or desired is Teixeira. STOP Most anxious to obtain him" (DPAT). The reference to Filho seems to refer to Lourenço Filho. More uncertain is the mention of Dantas. I could perhaps designate Francisco Clementino San Tiago Dantas, who at the time was teaching at the School of Law in Paris, as a lecturer[18].

Five years earlier, in 1941, Julian Huxley's *Essays in Popular Science* was published in CEN's *Biblioteca do Espírito Moderno*, translated by Octávio Domingues. However, the interest did not seem to derive from commercial relationships with the collection's curator but from a network of intellectuals of which both could be part.

To map this network, the first train of thought is Huxley himself. Born in London in 1887, he dedicated himself to Biology, receiving a doctorate in science from the University of Oxford. His professional career includes stints in Germany, the USA, the Belgian Congo, and the Soviet Union. He worked at the Rice Institute, Texas (1912–1916); New College of Oxford (1919–1925); King's College (1925–1927); and Royal Institution (1927–1931). In 1927 and 1929, he retired from academic life to write, with G. P. and H. G. Wells, the three volumes

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period. This implies that the proposal was around Cr$ 55,000.00 for six months, plus approximately Cr$ 83.00 per day, something around Cr$ 11,700.00/month. For comparison purposes, according to Decree-Law 5,977 of November 10, 1943 (BRASIL, 1943), the monthly value of Cr$ 380.00 for the minimum wage was established in Brazil for three years. In other words, the contract corresponded to a monthly payment equivalent to 30 minimum wages.

[17] UNESCO offices moved to Paris on September 16, and the staff was installed at the Hotel Majestic, located at 19 Av. Kléber.

[18] About the trajectory of San Tiago Dantas, see (DANTAS, 2009).

of *The Science of Life*, originally published in 1931, 1934, and 1937 by the Waverley Publishing Company Ltd. From 1931, he left university and dedicated himself to writing books, being elected a fellow of the Royal Society in 1938. During the Second World War, he was part of the Brain Trust of the British Broadcasting Corporation (MAUREL, 2012).

In the autumn of 1941, he received an invitation from the Rockefeller Foundation to lecture in the USA. In addition to visiting universities, the proposal discussed how England continued to do business in times of armed conflict. The stay, which was supposed to last six weeks, lasted until May 1942 due to the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor and the consequent entry of the USA into the armed conflict. As a result, Huxley remained in New York longer than expected (HUXLEY, 1970, p. 256–261).

In this brief account, the most immediate connection that emerges between Teixeira and Huxley is that of the British writer H. G. Wells. In the project of *Wellsifying* Brazil, BEM published no less than six volumes of his authorship: *The Outline of History (Three volumes)* (1939), *The Shape of Things to Come* (1939), *The Fate of Homo Sapiens* (1941), and *The Work, Wealth and Happiness of Mankind* (1943). *The Fate of Homo Sapiens* and *The Shape of Things to Come* were translated by Lobato. However, Anísio translated *The Outline of History* and *The Work, Wealth and Happiness of Mankind* into Portuguese. An indication of the closeness between Wells, Huxley, and Teixeira emerges in a letter from Anísio to George Counts, in which he comments on having been in London in 1946, on the occasion of Wells' death (August 13, 1946) and hearing from a common friend about the British writer's desperate state in the last months of his life (TEIXEIRA, A. 1960). Indeed, at that time, Teixeira was already working for UNESCO, but the reference to a common friend led to the interweaving of these three characters in our narrative.

Another significant aspect is that the trip to the USA in 1941 was made at the invitation of the Rockefeller Foundation, and the stay in New York was more extended than expected. In both cases, contact with Columbia University was favored. Although in this excerpt from the memoirs, Huxley did not mention any trip to the university, one cannot fail to mention the friendships he had made there during his connection with the Rice Institute between 1912 and 1916 (HUXLEY, 1970, p. 90 and 95). Nor can one minimize the importance of the Rockefeller Foundation in supporting the International Institute of the Teacher's College from 1923 to 1938 and the circulation of international students at the institution (CREMIN; SHANNON; TOWNSEND, 1954). It cannot be forgotten that Anísio attended TC/UC between 1928 and 1929. The connections are more fluid here, but they indicate the circulation of Huxley and Teixeira in the same academic community over 30 years.

Returning to BEM titles may offer other clues to identify this international network. Two elements authorize the route. The first is related to the objective of the editorial enterprise itself. The letter to Lobato mentioned previously, in which Anísio distinguished his new initiative from that carried out by Azevedo, was considered "very interesting, but somewhat domestic, without an international horizon" (FRAIZ; VIANNA, 1986, p. 73). The second, indicated by Fonseca (2010, p. 37–38), refers to the importance that American literature

assumes for the Collection due to Lobato and Teixeira's appreciation for the USA and their admiration for the country's democratic culture.

The question takes shape when we analyze the nine titles published in the Philosophy series in the first phase between 1939 and 1943. The first three works, *The Story of Philosophy* (1938), *The Mansions of Philosophy* (1938), and *Great Men of Literature* (1939), are written by American William James Durant. Born in the USA, we also have James Harvey Robinson, author of *The Mind in the Making* (1940), and William James, *The Philosophy of William James* (1943). Also participating in the series are the Englishmen Bertrand Russell, author of *Education and the Good Life* (1941), and John Stuart Mill, *On Liberty* (1942). Frenchman Jacques Maritain, *Humanisme Intégral* (1941) author, and the Portuguese Fidelino de Sousa de Figueiredo, *Espanha – Uma Filosofia de Sua História* (1943) complete the list. More interesting than noting nationality, however, is information that three of these seven authors — Durant, Robinson, and Maritain — were professors at Columbia University. Russel taught at the University of California, and Fidelino Figueiredo went to Berkley.

The prevalence of American and English authors in the series, as elsewhere in BEM publications, in the period is not exclusively due to the predilection of its founders, as one might suppose, but to the changes that took place in Europe from 1933 onwards and that led to the outbreak of the Second World War in 1939. The New Education Fellowship (NEF) example, known in Brazil as the International League for New Education (LIEN), is relevant. While in the initial years, the NEF/LIEN Congresses spread across European territory (Calais, France, in 1921; Montreux, Switzerland, in 1923; Heidelberg, Germany, in 1925; Locarno, Switzerland, in 1927; Elsinore, Denmark, in 1929; Nice, France, in 1932); in later years, they concentrated on English-speaking countries, whether international (England, in 1936; and USA, in 1941) or regional Congresses (South Africa, in 1934; New Zealand, in 1937; Australia, in 1937 and 1946) (VIDAL, 2021, p. 10). The change in global geopolitics accompanied, and was accompanied by, the consolidation of Anglo-Saxon literature in academia, in general, and in education, in particular.

The example of the NEF is significant because it refers to the construction of UNESCO itself and the articulated networks. The circumstance of the French section of the NEF, in cooperation with the London headquarters, organized a conference at the Sorbonne and Cité Universitaire in Paris from July 29 to August 12, 1946, with the theme Educational Reform and New Education[19], was not fortuitous. It united the two cities involved in hosting the organization's work. The move of UNESCO offices from London to Paris would occur practically a month later (09/16/1946). The correspondence between Claire Soper, international secretary of the NEF, and members of the Preparatory Commission also denotes the intertwining of these organizations in the immediate post-war period (Com.Prep.). Joseph Watras (2011) recognizes that several groups participated in the creation of the Organization and highlights, in particular, NEF's involvement with UNESCO's fundamental education

[19] *NEF Paris Summer Conference. The New Era*, fevereiro de 1946, p. 44.

program, bringing into actors associated with TC/UC and the Institute of Education at the University of London, among other institutions, and multiplying the characters in this network in which Huxley and Teixeira moved.

One last train of thought is Paulo Carneiro. After all, when it became clear that Anísio would not return to UNESCO in 1947, on March 31, Huxley wrote to Carneiro, requesting the appointment of "a really good Brazilian candidate for a post in the Organization" (DPAT). The episode corroborates Vianna Filho's (2008) statement that the contact to collaborate with the organization came at Carneiro's suggestion. Carneiro graduated in industrial chemistry from the Polytechnic School of Rio de Janeiro and received a scholarship to pursue his doctorate in Paris at the Sorbonne. He returned to Brazil in 1932 and again to France in 1938, where he worked until 1944 as a technical assistant at the Brazilian Office of Propaganda and Commercial Expansion and, later, deputy director (MAIO, 2004, p. 312–313). Although he returned to Brazil with the liberation of France, he returned to Paris in 1945 to "resume his work and soon received an invitation to participate in the Brazilian Delegation to the United Nations Conference in London" (BURIGO, 2021, p. 14). "In 1946, he was chosen as Brazil's delegate to the first United Nations Assembly" (BURIGO, 2021, p. 14). In the same year, he was

> invited by the then Minister of Foreign Affairs of Brazil, João Neves Fontoura, to become Brazil's permanent delegate to UNESCO, a position he held until 1958, later serving as ambassador until 1965. (…) One year after the coup overthrewing João Goulart, Paulo Carneiro was removed from UNESCO representation. (…) UNESCO immediately summons Paulo to its Executive Council, a role he played for 28 years, the longest tenure of anyone on the council, and even after the mandatory dismissal of the Brazilian delegation from the organization, he could participate in subsequent general conferences (BURIGO, 2021, p. 17).

Both Huxley and Carneiro participated in the first meetings that gave rise to UNESCO. According to Danielle Burigo (2021, p. 17–18), Carneiro proposed including science in the nascent organization's mandate in conversations with Needlham and Huxley. It is essential to highlight that Carneiro is among the intellectuals linked to the Brazilian Education Association (ABE) in the initial years of its creation (ABE, 2024), having remained in Rio de Janeiro between 1932 and 1938, during the period in which Teixeira led his reform of public instruction (1931–1935) and in which the educator was actively engaged in ABE actions. Among the reform initiatives implemented by Teixeira, the creation of the University of the Federal District was included in 1935, perhaps the reason for inviting Anísio to take on work related to higher education in the UNESCO Education Section.

Having attended TC/UC for two years and led a vital education reform in the capital of Brazil, having held the advantageous role of curator of BEM for CEN and supporting a circuit of translations of works in English into Portuguese, Teixeira had several credentials that made him known to the actors of the new geopolitical axis with the end of the Great War. The USA and its partner, England, would take on the task of rebuilding the world, an agenda for which education was a fundamental item and addressed with the creation of UNESCO in 1946.

The international recognition that Huxley's invitation gave him allowed Teixeira to return to the Brazilian education scene in a highly prestigious situation. Significant was the statement from the University Council of the University of Brazil, sent to Huxley on July 12, 1946, in which the rector Ignácio Azevedo do Amaral expressed "the satisfaction and pride" with which the learned council welcomed the Brazilian's appointment to a post at UNESCO. This also occurred with the telegram sent by Raul Jobim Bittencourt, president of ABE, to Huxley, congratulating the committee on choosing Anísio (DPAT).

**Joys and miseries of working at UNESCO**

In a handwritten document, a possible draft of the invitation letter sent to Anísio, Huxley informed that the educator would be responsible for higher education, joining the work carried out by the Preparatory Commission, composed of, in addition to Kuo Yu-Shou (China), senior advisor, Ravnholt (Denmark) adult education; Elena Torres (Mexico) primary and mass education; Lawverys (England) general consultant; and possibly Guiton (France) secondary education (DPAT). In the staff circular, no. 60, of October 30, 1946, we have the composition of the team: Kuo Yu-Shou, G. Cowan, X. E. Gabriel, M. J. Guiton, H. Holmes, Leonard Kenworthy, Henning Ravnholt, S. Soully, Anísio Teixeira, and Elena Torres.

The main tasks of the Preparatory Commission were:

> to convoke the first session of the General Conference; to prepare the provisional agenda for the first session and prepare documents and recommendations relating to the agenda; to make studies and prepare recommendations concerning the programme and budget; and to provide without delay for immediate action on urgent needs of educational, scientific and cultural reconstruction in devastated countries.

In a lengthy memorandum sent by Howard Wilson to Kuo Yu-Shou on April 1, 1946, the scope of the Education Section, its specific objectives, the work schedule, the most urgent tasks, and the expected configuration of the team were outlined. Wilson stated, regarding the first element:

> To summarize all this: the scope of your section is broad and long, and the programme to be envisioned for the future must be extremely flexible and comprehensive. We cannot afford to ignore any level or aspect or agency of education in conceiving the over-all pattern for UNESCO. At the same time we must be highly practical and far-sighting in choosing a few aspects of this total area for immediate attack. These selected aspects should be (a) of immediate and obvious educational consequence, and (b) of importance as affording UNESCO opportunity for successful growth in the right direction. (Prep. Com. 2009).

The idea was to encompass education for life, or in the formula adopted by Wilson, "from the cradle to the grave" in all areas of knowledge. The section should collaborate with the others: Literature and Philosophy, Art, Social Sciences, Natural Sciences, Museums and Libraries, and Mass Communication Media. While it was not expected that a minimum standard of education would be established for the world, the aim was to understand how education was practiced in

various countries and provide examples of good educational practices. It also suggested some lines of action: reducing illiteracy and educating the masses through visual and auditory resources; health and hygiene education; vocational education, not restricted to professional training, but as a way of overcoming the distance between vocation and culture, the ferment of "liberal education"; and civic education for "one world," which would involve "education for international respect and understanding."

The document outlined the specific objectives of the section: (a) prepare a 25- to 30-page outline of UNESCO's program of action, indicating the initiatives that should be launched immediately and their expected development over the next five years; and (b) prepare the treatment of a selected topic, which might be illiteracy, for consideration by the First Assembly. The issue should be discussed at the Preparatory Commission meeting scheduled for July. The first item was expected to be ready for printing in September. As for the second, it would be perfected at a meeting in August or September and would be ready by October 10, to be announced in advance of the First Assembly in November 1946.

To achieve the objectives, Wilson proposed two lines of action: making a summary of all suggestions received so far from governments, organizations, and individuals, compiling a list that was as complete as possible, initiate a process of collecting additional suggestions by sending (a) a questionnaire to the Ministers of Education; (b) letters of inquiry to organizations and agencies; (c) personal letters to experts around the world.[20]

Despite Wilson insisting on qualifying the terms of the memorandum as his conception of what the Education Section's program should be, open to changes following Kuo Yu-Shou's proposals, the inquiries were actually carried out. On May 29, the letter signed by Kuo and Wilson and addressed to organizations inquired about their characteristics and how UNESCO could assist their work, asking them to offer suggestions for the general program of the Education Section. The letter was followed by a long list with the names of more than 50 organizations (Prep. Com.).

The theme of literacy was reformulated as Fundamental Education. Furthermore, on June 12, in a letter addressed to James Yen (China), Margaret Read (United Kingdom), Ismail el Kabbani (USA), R. M. Chetsingh (India), Frank Laubach (USA), B. H. Easter (Jamaica), Thomas Jesse Jones (USA), C. K. Ogden (United Kingdom), Margaret Mead (USA), I. A. Richards (USA), Labouret (France), Rheinallt Jones (South Africa), Lucas Ortiz (Mexico) and Nieto Caballero (Colombia), Kuo requested the participation of these experts in a survey, the basis for the report to be presented to the Preparatory Commission, published in English and French. At the latest, he asked for feedback by July 26 and offered a "25 guineas" fee for the manuscript's copyright (Prep. Com.).

In this circuit, Anísio settled on July 15, 1946, when he joined the staff of the UNESCO Education Section. In addition to the contact with entities and subjects, Teixeira was part of a broad Preparatory Commission that, in October, had a team of 167 members, plus representatives from each of the 43 countries that had signed the instrument adopted by the Conference for the Creation of UNESCO in 1945 in London (Prep. Com. 2009).

[20] All information mentioned regarding the memorandum is available at Prep.Com.

In the six months he worked with the organization, he had the opportunity to interact in person or through correspondence with educators worldwide. On the cover of the dossier folders, Teixeira's name appears listed among those who handled the "Requests to Educationalists and Educational Organizations Reports" dossier. The folder came into his hands on August 28, 1946, and remained with him until October 10 (Prep. Com.). Another dossier to which he had access, on October 5, 1946, was "Education — Soviet Union — Handbook for entrants to the Higher Educational Establishments of U.S.S.R (1944–45)", which consisted of a publication on the subject (Prep. Com.). If the second mention is episodic, the first demonstrates the educator's involvement with the inquiries promoted by the Preparatory Commission, which gave substance to the proposals made by the Education Section to the General Assembly.

Between November 20 and December 10, 1946, the First Assembly of the General Conference occurred in Paris. "Following the election of the Director-General on December 6, the mandate of the Preparatory Commission expired, and the Commission was dissolved, but its staff continued to work as the UNESCO Secretariat" (Prep. Com. 2009). In this condition, on January 25, 1947, Anísio left France to vacation in Brazil. At that moment, he was still pondering his future in the organization. The trip included a visit to New York. His wife, Emília Ferreira Teixeira, accompanied him. In a letter dated January 29, 1947, to Lobato, written aboard the Queen Elizabeth, Anísio highlighted his hesitation:

> At the same time, UNESCO is a late work and a premature work. This is its essential contradiction. It was late because, for a long time, the world asked for an intellectual center to unify its experience and direct its progress. (…) Instead of UNESCO, we had, however, national and nationalist science and intelligence until the final Hitlerian apoplexy. (…) But… with the victory - what irony! - the men returned to their old divisions. And, within these divisions, UNESCO, which they intended to create, is something extremely premature.
> If Wells were still alive, I believe he would stigmatize the little UNESCO we are building. (…) It's horrible to think these things and even more horrible to cooperate in frustrating projects. (TEIXEIRA, A. 1947a).

However, he said he was infected by the enthusiasm expressed by Lobato in a letter received before leaving France, and stated: "I will return to UNESCO for a new experience." He had given up on continuing his journey. He would return from New York to Paris after resolving the SIMEL business that had taken him to the USA. However, the resolution was revised for family and financial reasons. Anísio wrote to Lobato on February 13, 1947:

> I wrote the letter to him on board. I was in a state of complete impartiality and had reached those conclusions. In N.Y., I set foot on land. And I felt they didn't have the lightness I had assumed in the middle of the sea — five "cobblestones" — tied him to the ground. The wife and four children. These decisions collapsed. I telegraphed to UNESCO that I considered my return impossible, and I am waiting for… the reaction. It is a shame. It's a pain. But what should I do? (TEIXEIRA, A. 1947b, emphasis in the original)

The cement and gypsum businesses prospered and were joined by other initiatives related to research into manganese and chromium. "It was with such projects that I decided to return to Brazil, resigning from UNESCO," recalled Anísio in a letter to his brother, Nelson, dated

November 3, 1947 (TEIXEIRA, A. 1947c). In the same letter, he assured: "Dr. Octávio Mangabeira caught me in Belém. I couldn't resist the temptation to return to the 'civic' and the commercial projects entered the twilight". In fact, between 1947 and 1951, Teixeira joined the Bahian government as Secretary of Education and Health, remaining only partially in SIMEL's business.

UNESCO's resignation request was made on February 15. Upon receiving it, Huxley, in a letter dated February 28, asked Anísio to reconsider and remain in the position until at least the end of the year. In a telegram dated March 17, Teixeira ruled out any possibility of resuming his duties at UNESCO. In response to him on April 3, Huxley regretted the decision and declared his intention to maintain contact with him as a (volunteer) consultant, continuing the established collaboration (DPAT). Other attempts, in fact, were made to associate Teixeira more decisively with UNESCO.

On May 28, 1948, a telegram sent to Teixeira offered him the Head of the Education Section position with an annual salary of US$ 7,450.00, plus US$ 2,000.00 per year in residence allowance, and covering expenses and transportation for him and his dependents. The telegram was issued after Huxley received a letter from Carneiro, in which the latter assured the satisfaction with which the Brazilian government welcomed Anísio's appointment to the post.

However, in a telegram dated June 24, 1948, addressed to Samuel Selsky, acting chief of staff, Anísio informed that he had not been able to obtain a license from the government of Bahia to dedicate himself to UNESCO and asked him to send his apologies to Huxley. On the same day, in a letter to Huxley, Carneiro reported the impossibility of Teixeira leaving the Bahia Department of Education and Health despite having previously announced that the educator would arrive in Paris on July 1 to begin activities with the organization. The exchange of correspondence and the mismatch of information reveal Teixeira's hesitation in evaluating the new invitation.

The proposed salary was substantially better than that of an advisor. However, commitments with the government of Bahia and family issues weighed on the decision. As he confided to Azevedo, in a letter dated July 22, 1948, Anísio said: "After all, I didn't go to UNESCO either. A vague but profound feeling of duty kept me here, for immolation, perhaps, but I was unable to overcome it… We owe Brazil, at least, the presence" (emphasis in the original) (VIDAL, 2000, p. 37).

Again, in 1953, Teixeira would be invited to take on the position of Head of the Education Extension Division[21], to be held in Paris. Another attempt was made on July 22, 1954, when he was offered the position of Associate Head of the Western Hemisphere Regional Office in Havana, tasked with broadly developing the UNESCO program in Latin America and the Caribbean[22]. In both cases, the educator declined the invitation.

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[21] Letter from B.W. Pringle of the Office of Personnel and Administration, dated August 21, 1953, PEM/APS/IA/1222. DPAT.

[22] Letter from B.W. Pringle of the Office of Personnel and Administration, dated July 22, 1954, PEM/APS/IA/1818. DPAT.

Despite not returning to positions at UNESCO, he maintained constant relations with the organization. In 1950, he was called to participate in the assembly held in Florence (VIDAL, 2000, p. 43). In 1951, he developed a testimonial survey on interracial relations at the Bahia Foundation for the Development of Science in agreement with UNESCO (VIDAL, 2000, p. 45). In 1956, he attended UNESCO meetings in Lima (TEIXEIRA, A. 1964). In 1957, he began collaborating with the organization to create a training course for education specialists at the São Paulo Regional Center for Educational Research (VIDAL, 2000, p. 62), inaugurated in 1958 with the presence of Malcolm Adiseshiah, deputy director of the organization (VIDAL, 2000, p. 73). The contacts would continue in the 1960s, demonstrating that the networks created in the short period as Higher Education Advisor had been solid enough to feed new projects, whether on the initiative of UNESCO or Brazilian bodies.

## FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

We took publishers and organizations as hubs, points of intersection in webs of personal, academic, economic, and political relationships at a time marked by the rise of authoritarian governments, war, and reconstruction. In the narrative, the subjects' agencies assumed prominence, with the figure of Anísio Teixeira as the focal point. The educator was, therefore, simultaneously perceived as a node in the many networks outlined here (family, educational, commercial, political) and as a hub and articulator of subjects and initiatives in various fields.

The texture we proposed moved us between personal, commercial, and professional correspondence, associated with other sources, mostly gathered from institutional collections, whether from CEN or UNESCO, and personal ones, such as the Anísio Teixeira Fund of CPDOC. Indeed, a quantitative treatment of the data would allow us to produce dynamic maps of these networks that we could only outline in this text. However, the procedure attempted to demonstrate the importance of network theory in shaping the educational field in Brazil and abroad. In the same way, the continent's explosion of geographic borders made it possible to recognize the transnational circuit in which Brazilian educators moved and the mutual fertilization that benefited the national and international scenario from this circulation of subjects and ideas.

The analysis, however, does not end in this article. On the contrary, the elements mobilized by the writing raise paths for understanding the subsequent actions led by Anísio in the Brazilian educational arena in the interweaving of networks constituted inside and outside the country. Along this path, Teixeira's agency is of interest; it is less their biography that encourages investment and more the crossed exercise of the many agencies of subjects in the process of continuous (re)faction of education, as policy and social intervention.

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Author 1 — Conceptualization, data curation, formal analysis, investigation, methodology, writing of originals and drafts, writing – review – editing.
Author 2 — Conceptualization, data curation, formal analysis, fundraising, investigation, methodology, writing of originals and drafts, writing – review – editing.

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ARTIGO

# PLANTAR, TRADUZIR, MINERAR: ANÍSIO TEIXEIRA (1935-1947)[23]

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**RESUMO:** Tomamos Anísio Teixeira como um *hub*, a partir do qual, almejamos desenhar a configuração de redes, enlaçando sujeitos e instituições. Elegemos o período entre 1935 e 1947, esmiuçando o trabalho editorial que realizou para Companhia Editora Nacional (CEN), a partir da documentação do acervo da editora, depositado Centro de Memória e Pesquisa Histórica do da UNIFESP; bem como os documentos sobre a breve passagem de Anísio pela UNESCO, entre 15 de julho de 1946 e 15 de fevereiro de 1947, existentes no CPDOC-FGV e no UNESCO Archives. O texto está estruturado em duas partes: na primeira parte, ressaltamos a atuação de Anísio junto à CEN: na segunda, o foco se desloca para sua trajetória na UNESCO. Em ambas, é a trama móvel das redes que conduz a escrita, guiada por uma argumentação alicerçada na história transnacional da educação. É importante realçar que ao endereçarmos a reflexão para a perspectiva transnacional, não estamos descurando do espaço nacional, nem colocando o Brasil na posição periférica com respeito a um suposto centro difusor de saber. Ao contrário, pretendemos reconfigurar o território a partir das experiências dos sujeitos, das trocas estabelecidas, problematizando o confinamento das fronteiras físicas na organização do campo educacional, em uma época marcada pela disseminação de governos autoritários, guerra e esforço de reconstrução em escala mundial.
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[23] Este artigo traz resultados parciais das pesquisas realizadas no âmbito do Projeto Temático Saberes e práticas em fronteiras: por uma história transnacional da educação (1810-...), processo nr. 2018/26699-4.

**Palavras-chave:** UNESCO, Companhia Editora Nacional, Biblioteca do Espírito Moderno, História Transnacional da Educação e Teoria das redes

## TO PLANT, TRANSLATE,MINE: ANÍSIO TEIXEIRA (1935-1947)

**ABSTRACT:** We take Anísio Teixeira as a hub, from which we aim to design the configuration of networks, linking subjects and institutions. We choose the period between 1935 and 1947, scrutinizing the editorial work he carried out for Companhia Editora Nacional (CEN), based on documentation from the publisher's collection at the Center for Memory and Historical Research of the History of UNIFESP; as well as documents about Anísio's brief stay at UNESCO, between July 15, 1946 and February 15, 1947, existing at CPDOC-FGV and at the UNESCO Archives. The text is structured in two: in the first part, we highlight Anísio's work in CEN: in the second one, the focus shifts to his career at UNESCO. In both, it is the mobile web of networks that drives the writing, guided by an argument based on the transnational history of education. It is important to highlight that when we address the reflection to a transnational perspective, we are not neglecting the national space, nor placing Brazil in a peripheral position with respect to a supposed center that disseminates knowledge. On the contrary, we intend to reconfigure the territory based on the experiences of the subjects, the exchanges established, problematizing the confinement of physical borders in the organization of the educational field, in a time marked by the spread of authoritarian governments, war and reconstruction efforts on a global scale.

**Keywords**: UNESCO, Companhia Editora Nacional, Biblioteca do Espírito Moderno, Transnational History of Education, Network theory.

## PLANTAR, TRADUCIR, MINAR: ANÍSIO TEIXEIRA (1935-1947)

**RESUMEN:**. Tomamos a Anísio Teixeira como hub, desde donde pretendemos diseñar la configuración de redes, vinculando sujetos e instituciones. Nosotros elegimos el período comprendido entre 1935 y 1947, escudriñando la labor editorial que realizó para la Compañía Editora Nacional (CEN), a partir de documentación del fondo de la editorial, depositada en el Centro de Memoria e Investigaciones Históricas de la UNIFESP; así como documentos sobre la breve estancia de Anísio en la UNESCO, entre el 15/07/ 1946 y el 15/03/1947, existentes en el CPDOC-FGV y en el Archivo de la UNESCO. El texto se estructura en dos partes: en la primera parte destacamos el trabajo de Anísio en la CEN; en el segundo, la atención se centra en su carrera en la UNESCO. En ambas, es la red móvil de redes la que impulsa la escritura, guiada por un argumento basado en la historia transnacional de la educación. Es importante resaltar que cuando dirigimos la reflexión a una perspectiva transnacional, no estamos descuidando el espacio nacional, ni colocando a Brasil en una posición periférica respecto de un supuesto centro difusor de conocimientos. Por el contrario, pretendemos reconfigurar el territorio a partir de las experiencias de los sujetos, de los intercambios establecidos, problematizando el confinamiento de las fronteras físicas en la organización del campo educativo, en una época marcada por la expansión de gobiernos autoritarios, la guerra y los esfuerzos de reconstrucción a escala mundial.

**Palabras clave:** UNESCO, Companhia Editora Nacional, Biblioteca do Espírito Moderno, Historia Transnacional de la Educación, Teoría de redes.

## INTRODUÇÃO

A produção biográfica sobre Anísio Teixeira é substantiva[24] e bastante compreensiva sobre sua atuação como político educacional e as publicações em filosofia da educação. No entanto, a despeito da diversidade com que retraçam a trajetória do educador[25], podemos identificar uma dupla lacuna.

A primeira tem cunho factual e refere-se ao interstício entre 1935 e 1947. Por certo, os/as autores/as remetem ao *autoexílio* de Anisio na Bahia, quando, após passagem pela Argentina, retorna a Ituaçu para dedicar-se à tradução de livros e, nos anos seguintes, aos negócios familiares, alternando entre Caetité e Salvador na condução, junto com os irmãos Jaime e Nelson, da Sociedade Importadora e Exportadora (SIMEL), empresa de exportação de minérios e importadora de locomotivas e material ferroviário. Os/as biógrafos/as também concedem destaque ao convite, feito por Julian Huxley para Teixeira tornar-se Conselheiro para educação na Unesco, em 1946. No entanto, não passam de breves menções em uma narrativa cujo foco central é a participação do educador baiano no cenário político educativo nacional antes e depois desses anos.

A segunda lacuna é de natureza historiográfica e prima pelo que Martin Lawn (2014) denomina de nacionalismo metodológico. Não se pode negar que sejam feitas referências às viagens ao exterior, como à Europa em 1925, ou aos EUA, em 1927; que especial destaque confira-se ao recebimento do título de Master of Arts, pelo Teacher's College da Columbia University, após dois anos de estudo entre 1928 e 1929; e ao período passado como Conselheiro na Organização das Nações Unidas para a Educação, a Ciência e a Cultura (UNESCO), entre 1946 e 1947; ou mesmo que se realce sua passagem como professor de universidades americanas na década de 1960. Os episódios emergem como elementos da vida profissional de Anísio e interessam na medida em que informam sobre a constituição do pensamento do educador baiano e reiteram a posição de relevo internacional que angariou, legitimando sua importância para a educação brasileira. O trânsito internacional de Teixeira não aparece, portanto, no âmbito de uma história transnacional da educação, em que o circuito das redes oferece indícios para a percepção dos modos como foi se configurando a arena educativa, entretecendo iniciativas nacionais e internacionais em mútua fertilização.

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[24] Cf., dentre outros, GOUVEIA NETO, 1973; GARIBELLO, 1977; LIMA, 1978; FERRO, 1984; SCHAEFFER, 1988; VIANNA FILHO, 1990; ROCHA, 1992; NUNES, 2000, 2010; CURY, 2000; BRANDÃO & MENDONÇA, 2008.

[25] Cf. PAULILO, 2023.

É esse panorama que almejamos traçar neste artigo. Não pretendemos uma imersão biográfica. Diferentemente, propomos tomar Anísio como um *hub*, a partir do qual, almejamos desenhar a configuração de redes, enlaçando sujeitos e instituições. Na teoria das redes, *hubs* são "nós atrativos", que possuem potencial disseminador de tendências e informações, com contatos pessoais numerosos e capacidade de influência nas ligações. Podem tanto designar indivíduos, quanto grupos, corporações ou qualquer tipo de coletivo (BARABÁSI, 2003). Mas na dinâmica das redes, também, o que se considera por *hub* pode se apresentar apenas como um nó, no deslocamento da perspectiva de análise. Assim, alternando entre a posição como nó ou como *hub,* Anisio Teixeira catalisa nosso olhar na compreensão das interconexões do campo educacional.

Analisamos o período entre 1935 e 1947, esmiuçando o trabalho editorial que realizou em particular para Companhia Editora Nacional (CEN), nas cartas trocadas entre editores, nos livros traduzidos e nos procedimentos de tradução, a partir da documentação do acervo da editora, depositado Centro de Memória e Pesquisa Histórica da UNIFESP (TOLEDO, 2013). As fontes incluem os documentos sobre a breve passagem de Anísio pela UNESCO, entre 15 de julho de 1946 e 15 de fevereiro de 1947, existentes no CPDOC-FGV e no UNESCO Archives, Fundo Preparatory Commission for UNESCO (Prep.Com), 1945-1946, e Dossiê Pessoal Anísio Teixeira (DPAT).

Para tanto, o texto está estruturado em duas partes: na primeira parte, ressaltamos a atuação de Anísio junto à CEN; na segunda, o foco se desloca para sua trajetória na UNESCO. Em ambas , é a trama móbil das redes que conduz a escrita, guiada por uma argumentação alicerçada na história transnacional da educação. Reçaltamos que ao endereçarmos a reflexão para a perspectiva transnacional, não estamos descurando do espaço nacional, nem colocando o Brasil na posição periférica com respeito a um suposto centro difusor de saber. Ao contrário, propomos, como sugere Doreen Massey (2008), reconfigurar o território a partir das experiências dos sujeitos e de suas trocas, problematizando o confinamento das fronteiras físicas na organização do campo educacional, em uma época marcada pela disseminação de governos autoritários, guerra e esforço de reconstrução em escala mundial.

## AS REDES DE EDIÇÃO: SOCIABILIDADES E PROGRAMAS DE LEITURA

Um dos lugares de poder a partir do qual pode-se formar os nós de uma rede extensa, com tramas nacionais e internacionais, é o das grandes editoras. Articuladoras de autores, textos, tradutores, instituições produtoras, difusoras ou financiadoras de culturas transnacionais, as editoras constituem um campo (simbólico, econômico, político) no qual se distribuem lugares de emissão, circulação e recepção do que foi produzido em termos de cultura letrada. Esses lugares, nem sempre contínuos ou sem acidentes, são organizados segundo regimes discursivos que classificam, definem e distribuem saberes, segundo sua localização em uma geografia cultural configurada pelas diferentes estratégias editoriais, sempre em disputa (TOLEDO, 2013). Como "mestre" da geografia cultural da edição, o editor desenha projetos, se adianta ao mercado, criando uma variedade de produtos em territórios em constituição, assim

como perscruta o público cativo, canoniza autores e obras, retroalimentando territórios já estabelecidos (TOLEDO, 2013). Os seus catálogos são verdadeiros mapas das geografias culturais que instituem no tempo.

Se de um lado a geografia cultural da edição é fruto das escolhas do editor, de outro, depende de um certo acúmulo de capital social que as práticas editoriais devem ser capazes de mobilizar: a oferta de textos por autores renomados ou novos autores; o acesso a linhas de apoio das instituições culturais; a liberação de direitos de tradução em disputa, as indicações de tradutores ou ilustradores, o acesso a diferentes gráficas e a produtores de papéis, entre outras situações, são exemplos das redes que os editores constituem ao longo da existências de seu selo. São as diversas relações sociais que permitem às editoras transitar pelos espaços da produção do livro e constituir políticas editoriais específicas para o seu catálogo. O lugar de editor é o da intersecção das redes de produção capitalista da cultura escrita; é o de instituidor de redes simbólicas de autores e mediadores culturais de diferentes campos de saber. Essa condição foi amplamente mobilizada por Monteiro Lobato e por Octalles Marcondes Ferreira – donos da CEN[26].

Entre as principais estratégias para assegurar oferta de textos e autores a públicos visados e difundir pelos diferentes territórios da geografia cultural que promove aquilo que produz, os editores convidam renomados intelectuais para organizar coleções de livros dentro de suas especialidades. O gênero "coleção" marcou o estilo de desenvolvimento dos negócios de muitas editoras internacionais (como a Hachette, PUF) e brasileiras, como a CEN ou a Cia Melhoramentos. Esse gênero editorial tem como pressuposto a padronização da materialidade dos livros, assim como do estabelecimento de uma ordem dos livros – de uma fórmula editorial - voltada para públicos visados: livros para a infância; para divulgação científica; para moças; para intelectuais etc. A coleção, desde seu nome, dá a ver a prescrição de seus leitores e de seus usos. Nesse sentido, inscreve-se materialmente como mercadoria flexível, que permite sua adequação às condições do mercado, seja para conquistar novos leitores, seja para ampliar o consumo do público contumaz. Às coleções podem se associar figuras conhecidas nos campos de saber ou de entretenimento para os quais estão destinadas. Os organizadores de coleção - sobretudo das coleções autorais - convidam escritores, selecionam manuscritos, mobilizam conhecimentos de outras coleções sobre assuntos e públicos análogos, reorganizam os textos acrescentando paratextos ou adaptando a parafernália tipográficas às formas de sua recepção. As coleções são afeitas a projetos educativos, de difusão literária; de renovação da cultura. Por isso mesmo, são também lugares de engajamento de grupos culturais ou movimentos políticos: dependem de redes de sociabilidades e de difusão de representações particulares (TOLEDO, 2020).

Esse lugar de poder foi rapidamente observado pelos "renovadores da educação" que se associaram à grandes editoras para publicar linhas editoriais que difundissem autores e

[26] Ver, por exemplo, a carta enviada por Lobato a Fernando de Azevedo, apresentando Anísio Teixeira (Monteiro Lobato in: FRAIZ E VIANNA, 1986, p. 8).

textos que consideravam fundamentais para a nova educação do Brasil. Lourenço Filho e Fernando de Azevedo, por exemplo, se associaram a grandes editoras paulistas para colocar no mercado seus projetos editoriais e suas redes de autores, além de escolher e traduzir textos referenciais do movimento internacional da Escola Nova. Assim, as grandes editoras e suas coleções autorais de educação aliaram as redes nacionais às internacionais para fazer circular a produção de novos saberes educacionais e dos nomes referenciais que passaram a autorizar as práticas e discursos. Exemplar é a participação de Anísio Teixeira na publicação do volume 12 (1930) – Vida e Educação de Jonh Dewey – na *Biblioteca de Educação*, dirigida por Lourenço Filho. O editor convida Teixeira para escolher, traduzir e realizar um estudo de introdução dos textos de Dewey para o público brasileiro. Em contrapartida, Teixeira faz a negociação da liberação dos direitos de tradução dos textos, mobilizando suas relações com os professores da Universidade de Columbia, sobretudo Suzzallo, construídas durante sua estada naquela instituição em 1927 (TOLEDO E CARVALHO, 2017).

Pode-se dizer que, em relação à coleção de Fernando de Azevedo - na CEN - o papel de Teixeira foi central. Na condição de Secretário da Educação do Distrito Federal (DF) (1931-1935), Teixeira participou da Coleção *Atualidades Pedagógicas* como autor, tradutor e revisor. Seu nome sai em vários volumes da Coleção. A *Atualidades Pedagógicas* edita o grupo de professores da Columbia University das relações de Teixeira, como Paul Monroe[27], I.L. Kandel e Dewey. No entanto, essa não foi a única forma de sua participação na Editora de Marcondes Ferreira. Teixeira teve papel central nos vários negócios que a CEN fez com a Prefeitura do Distrito Federal e com o grupo político da militância educacional. A CEN publica em livro a "Reconstrução Educacional no Brasil: ao povo e ao governo. Manifesto dos Pioneiros da Educação Nova"[28], logo em março de 1932, financiado pelos signatários do documento. Também publica os livros que difundiam os Programas da Escola Primária produzidos pela gestão Teixeira do DF. A mesma Secretaria adquiriu livros infantis e livros para professores da Editora para suas bibliotecas institucionais, além de fornecer, como mencionado, para a Coleção de Azevedo autores e textos vinculados à reforma (TOLEDO, 2020; VIDAL, 2000).

A CEN se transforma em um dos lugares onde se dão os encontros e onde projetos culturais vão se gestar. Com a projeção que a própria editora adquire nos anos 1930, com seu sucesso comercial e com seu renome de fomentadora da cultura, transforma seus postos de direção de coleção em lugares de prestígio intelectual e simbólico: produzir um programa editorial significava interferir no universo de publicação de autores e títulos impondo, de certo

[27] Em carta a Nelson Teixeira, de 1929, Anísio comenta que tomaria chá com Paul Monroe, uma das figuras principais da História da Educação/Educação Comparada da Columbia University. Ver Carta de Anísio Teixeira a Nelson Teixeira de 7/04/1929.
Arquivo Anisio Texeira/CPDOC. AT1920.01.00. Disponível em
https://docvirt.com/docreader.net/DocReader.aspx?bib=AT_Corresp&hf=www18.fgv.br&pagfis=421
Consultado em 17/09/2023.

[28] Ver a correspondência na qual Ferreira explica que cada autor do Manifesto deve pagar 50$000 para receber dez exemplares. Carta de Octalles Marcondes Ferreira a Anísio Teixeira de 22/12/1932). Arquivo Anisio Texeira/CPDOC AT1928.04.27. Na citada correspondência está a carta de Teixeira - como Diretor da Instrução Pública do Distrito Federal - acertando com a CEN a edição do Boletim de Instrução Pública do DF (Carta de Anísio Teixeira a Octalles Marcondes Ferreira,15/03/1932). Arquivo Anisio Texeira/CPDOC AT 1928.04.27.

modo, suas representações sobre o que seria fundamental para a cultura e para o leitor, prescrevendo temas, abordagens, problemas etc. Esse prestígio se materializava nas formas contratuais com as quais a Editora trabalhava[29].

A CEN incorporou toda uma rede de intelectuais com afinidades políticas e culturais e fez circular suas representações nas coleções e livros que editou. Se no início da editora Lobato é o epicentro dessa rede, fazendo as intermediações entre os "irmãos" e Octalles, apresentando-os e pedindo para que o sócio os publique ou lhes dê guarida na casa editora; os "irmãos" passam a se movimentar angariando novas conexões e ampliando o alcance da ação editorial da Nacional. Por exemplo, Hermes Lima é apresentado por Teixeira a Lobato em 1931[30]. Lima é logo incorporado à Editora, organizando uma coleção: a Biblioteca de Cultura Jurídica e Social. A Editora reforça os laços de solidariedade entre os sujeitos da irmandade, inclusive nos momentos de crise, transformando-se em porto seguro para os que dela precisassem.

O próprio Teixeira sonhava com uma coleção que apresentasse a nova mentalidade "moderna" para o brasileiro. Em carta a Lobato dava contornos do que pretendia reunir como coleção: "Sonhei aqui com o Otalles – o grande – o humilde – educador – nacional – o sonho de ir trabalhar com você. Primeiro trabalho: a história de hoje. Encontrei no Wells todo o material: work, wealth and happiness of mankind. Quando poderemos fazer isto?" (Carta de Teixeira a Lobato, provavelmente de fins de 1933 ou início de 1934, in: FRAIZ E VIANNA, 1986, p. 72).

Nessa direção, a atividade de editor, para os próprios intelectuais do período, é avaliada como um *hub* importante em suas carreiras: era atividade privada, independente de marés políticas; e lugar de prestígio e articulação de nomes, textos e distribuição de capital (financeiro e cultural).

**A vida no sertão do país da ociosidade**

> Lembro-me de quando te vi no Rio de Janeiro, *traqué* pela polícia, escondido pelos amigos como um grande criminoso – e naquela ocasião também chorei. *To whom the bells toll?* Todos estávamos implemente perseguidos, foragidos, escondidos com você, enquanto lá fora o tumor Vargas sorria com o charuto e entregava a Cultura Brasileira aos percevejos da Coisa Romana. (in: FRAIZ E VIANNA, 1986, p.101)

De Buenos Aires, Lobato relembra a terrível forma como Teixeira deixa a Secretaria de Educação e Cultura do DF para se esconder de seus algozes em Ituaçu e Caetité. O conflito que desencadeou a demissão de Teixeira é bem conhecido: logo após a Intentona Comunista (novembro de 1935), foi acusado de ser responsável pelo comunismo na Prefeitura do DF e de americanizar a educação da cidade, sendo sua prisão exigida por alguns (NUNES,

[29]Azevedo, por exemplo, recebia, para dirigir a *Biblioteca Pedagógica Brasileira*, salário mensal além de uma porcentagem fixa sobre cada título editado (Companhia Editora Nacional – Contrato de 14 /12/1930 CMPH Coleção CEN).

[30] Ver Carta de Teixeira a Lobato (carta de Teixeira a Lobato, de 8 de julho de 1931, in: FRAIZ E VIANNA, 1986, p. 62)

2000, p.488). Nessas condições, vai para Buenos Aires e depois para São Paulo aguardando os desenlaces da reação de repressão do Estado (SÁ MOTTA, 2002).

No final de abril, Teixeira confirma a Azevedo que ocupará espaço na CEN, dada a falta de condições de se recolocar no serviço público: "Isso porém, não me impedirá de me fixar, por enquanto, em São Paulo, para tentar ganhar a vida embora com trabalho particular. O nosso bom Octalles promete prover-me do necessário para cobrir o mínimo mensal de Despesas" (VIDAL, 2000, p.34)[31]. O trabalho na Editora começa imediatamente: para Nelson, em carta de 16/01/1936, avisa que já havia traduzido um livro de Dewey e começara outro de Wells – História da Civilização – "que deveria levar bom tempo para finalizar". Contudo, o que aparece da Editora ainda são "praticamente as traduções"[32].

Em meados de 1936, denúncias e possibilidades de prisão ressurgem e a polícia ainda era uma ameaça a Teixeira, de modo que desiste de São Paulo e vai para a Bahia.[33] A partir de 1937, passa a conjugar a vida de sertanejo com a de tradutor da CEN: "Você conhece a vida sertaneja", escreve a Nelson, "A nossa atividade rural é uma promessa de renda para daqui alguns anos. Porque enquanto não nos deu, só ficam as traduções que não dão senão muito pouco"[34] À espera do algodão, as dívidas se acumulavam. Por isso, Teixeira contava bastante com o suporte de Ferreira: "O Octalles, entretanto, tem-me posto inteiramente a minha disposição, na sua generosidade de amigo. Assim, caso V. precise de alguma importância, como acho que precisa, é só me telegrafar para que eu te mande entregar a importância"[35]. Em 1938, a questão financeira pesava sobre Teixeira, sobretudo, pelas dívidas que havia adquirido quando ainda era Secretário da Educação. Mais uma vez escreve a Nelson discutindo a questão: "A minha situação é a seguinte: estou a traduzir work, wealth and happiness of mankind de Wells e associado com o Peres e o Altino em um negócio de bois com a Faz. Reunidas. Comprei fiado, de modo que isso adia a minha necessidade de capital pelo menos até fevereiro"[36].

**Uma coleção para Wellsificar o Brasil[37]**

No ano de 1938, paralelamente à vida de sertanejo, Anísio lança a *Biblioteca do Espírito Moderno* (BEM), pela CEN, sob sua direção.

Há poucas provas das razões pelas quais a BEM foi tão adiada por Ferreira, já que, como veremos, havia sido projetada pela irmandade desde 1936. No entanto, é possível inferir

[31] Carta de Teixeira a Azevedo. Nas demais citações, materemos apenas a referência a VIDAL, 2000, seguido do número da página.
[32] Carta de Nelson Teixeira a Anísio Teixeira, 16/01/1936 CPDOC AT1920.01.00.
https://docvirt.com/docreader.net/DocReader.aspx?bib=AT_Corresp&hf=www18.fgv.br&pagfis=469
[33] A correspondência com o irmão Nelson, que estava no Rio de Janeiro, era sempre realizada com portador seguro para evitar a vigilância da polícia. Ver a carta de Nelson Teixeira a Anísio Teixeira de 26/06/1936. CPDOC AT1920.01.00
https://docvirt.com/docreader.net/DocReader.aspx?bib=AT_Corresp&hf=www18.fgv.br&pagfis=485
[34] Carta de Anísio Teixeira a Nelson Teixeira, 24/04/1937 CPDOC AT 1920.01.00.
https://docvirt.com/docreader.net/DocReader.aspx?bib=AT_Corresp&hf=www18.fgv.br&pagfis=513
[35] Idem. https://docvirt.com/docreader.net/DocReader.aspx?bib=AT_Corresp&hf=www18.fgv.br&pagfis=513
[36] Anísio Teixeira a Nelson Teixeira, 09/08/1938 CPDOC AT1920.01.00.
https://docvirt.com/docreader.net/DocReader.aspx?bib=AT_Corresp&hf=www18.fgv.br&pagfis=551
[37] A BEM durou até a década de 1980, com variações quanto a sua direção. Consultar FONSECA, 2010.

que a complexa situação do DF, no final de 1936, tenha incidido de modo avassalador sobre a Editora que havia dado suporte e difundido a Reforma Anísio Teixeira. Em 19 de março 1936, Ferreira recebe uma carta enviada por sua filial do Rio de Janeiro – A Editora Civilização Brasileira. Na carta, o "sapo" relata o golpe que a CEN estava sofrendo por parte de Lourenço Filho:

> Otalles,
> Complementando nossa palestra do telefone, junto a esta remeto o artigo[38] que deu origem aos acontecimentos de ontem. É verdade que Chateaubriand se aproveitou de uma situação, em que vejo tomarem parte o petróleo, a necessidade de Ministro de Educação afastar o Fernando, como também interesse da Companhia Melhoramentos e do Lourenço Filho.
> Sabe você que o Lourenço Filho dirige a Biblioteca Pedagógica da Melhoramentos, e como é amigo do Ministro e do Padre Elder Câmara, aliado aos dois, fazendo portanto a política da Igreja e contra a obra do Anísio, atirou em cima de nós a Melhoramentos.
> Desconfiado com o seu aviso de que nós deveríamos nos aproximar do Ministro (...) desenvolvi um trabalho de sapo sobre o modo de pensar de Lourenço Filho relativamente aos livros de Lobato.
> Pessoas de minha confiança, que são elementos do magistério, onde dispõe de situação de relevo, revelaram-me que o livro "Geografia de D. Benta" foi criticado e entregue ao Ministro por Lourenço. (...)
> Ao mesmo tempo que isto sucedia, a título de ser necessário rever os programas para organiza-los sobre novos moldes. Está aqui o grande golpe contra nós. Para lançar a confusão, o Lourenço fez crer que esses programas tinham tendências bolchevistas. (Carta da Civilização Brasileira a Marcondes Ferreira, 19/03/1936, pasta 23 – Biblioteca Monteiro Lobato – grifos originais).

A denúncia expunha a disputa político-editorial estabelecida entre a CEN e a Melhoramentos, implicada nos serviços a serem prestados ao Estado, nos projetos educacionais e, sobretudo, pelas redes de relação e intrigas que permitiam o avanço da hegemonização das posições da Igreja católica naquele momento de crise.

Possivelmente, a pressão política sobre a CEN congelou o plano de edição da BEM por pelo menos dois anos. De todo o modo, suas linhas editoriais foram constituídas desde 1936. A retomada da proposta teria sido desencadeada pelas necessidades financeiras do próprio Teixeira - premido pelas dívidas – e pela dependência de seu editor.

Para se compreender esse projeto é preciso retomar o ano 1936 e os planos paulistas de Teixeira. Como indicamos, Anísio relata a Lobato o convite recebido por Ferreira para visitar a CEN:

> Depois de um mês de espichamento em Santos, estou como estivesse nascido novo. (...) E então sonhei com aquele velho sonho da coleção de livros fundamentais. Com uma modificação. A toleima brasileira, que só "reflete" telegramas e brochuras, está a pensar que só há, no mundo, os hospitais alemães e o sanatório russo para cura da humanidade. Ora é necessário mostrar-lhes que há gente sã em 4/5 da terra e gente saníssima em uns países anglo-saxônicos e nórdicos. E que essa gente é sã porque se nutre bem. E que a nutrição intelectual é tão precisa quanto a material. Quando não há nutrição intelectual é indispensável logo depois dietas especiais – e temos Itália e Alemanha e Rússia... Ora, a nutrição de hoje é o pensamento elaborado à vista do avanço das ciências e da democracia... A coleção seria, pois, de alimentos dessa espécie. Coleção de civilização contemporânea. Para dizer os corolários da ciência e da democracia (Teixeira a Lobato, 21/01/1936. IN: FRAIZ e VIANNA, 1986, p.73)

[38] O Diário da Noite lançou no dia 16 de março de 1936 artigo contra o livro Geografia de D. Benta.

Completa a proposta indicando como esse tipo de território editorial estaria na mira da Editora:

> Começar por Wells e pelos geniais "exorcistas" contemporâneos e, de vez em quando, para mostrar a continuidade com a floresta do pensamento humano, um jequitibá secular – Montaigne, Platão etc. Que acha você? Uma coleção para a supernutrição do Brasil. Não será de nutrição que realmente o país precisa? E não está 200% de acordo com a política da Companhia? (IDEM)

Como último argumento compara sua proposta à coleção de Azevedo – BPB –

> A coleção de F.A. é muito interessante, mas meio doméstica, sem horizonte internacional. Seria necessária uma coleção em que a pedagogia fosse capítulo e não um título. Pedagogia é bobagem se não for toda a cultura humana. (...) Falei com Afrânio e ele está de acordo. (IDEM)

A estratégia mobilizada por Teixeira fomentava a ideia de que o lugar internacional da nova coleção seria trunfo para o sucesso do empreendimento e de sedução do diretor da CEN. De um lado, se afastava da política daqueles dias violentos; de outro, trabalhava com as traduções - sempre um bom negócio para a Editora (TOLEDO, 2020). Nessa representação, uma bibliografia internacional permitiria a prática de difusão de novas bases culturais para o enfrentamento de um governo reacionário, descrito por Lobato, em 1932, como:

> O governo que ensine o povo o que quiser; a religião, idem. Nós, do alto da nossa Education-City, servida por todas as máquinas existentes e as que hão de vir, pairaremos sobre o país qual uma nuvem de luz. Um corpo de cérebros, dirigido por você, prepara; multiplicadora, dissemina. (...)A nossa educação cairá como chuva de neve sobre o país, sem saber e sem querer saber aonde os flocos irão pousar (Lobato a Teixeira IN: FRAIZ e VIANNA, 1986, p.69).

O projeto de wellsificação[39] do Brasil, apesar de emergir da derrota sofrida por Teixeira no DF, fomentaria a atualização do país com a modernização de sua cultura e do espírito universal tão propugnado por G.H. Wells.

A nova Biblioteca começaria com os textos de Wells já traduzidos por Teixeira e por Lobato, entre 1936 e 1938. A certeza da dupla era a da necessidade de *wellsificação* daqueles tempos sombrios. Em carta a Lobato, Teixeira conta seus dias, reafirmando essa necessidade:

> Aqui também faz frio (850m de altitude), mas não faz barulho como lá. E aquela lãzinha[40] é moderna e inquieta e toda se encrespa com a prolongada monotonia do país da ociosidade (...) Consolam-na meus livros: Vivo em ter Dewey, Russel, Wells e Lobato. E fazem-lhe bem esses homens de amanhã. Vivo com eles mergulhados no futuro. Muitos têm saudades do passado, nós, eu e a lã, temos saudades do futuro. É uma sensação esquisita e muito mais eufórica. O The shape of things to come, de Wells, é um dos meus manuais, a continuação do Outline, com o mesmo método, a mesma exatidão penetrante, até o ano de 2106. O último acontecimento registrado é o do novo ano de 2106. Não sei se você leu. Não é mais utopia, é o real do Outline of the future. Tive ganas de traduzí-lo. E ainda o farei, de tal modo o livro "resultou"... Nada conheço de mais convincente,

[39] O termo inventado por nós refere-se a Herbert George Wells (1866-1946), romancista, jornalista, visionário científico e enciclopedista britânico. Seu pensamento busca uma síntese do evolucionismo, do pragmatismo e de vários tipos de socialismo. Segundo Elzinga, Wells procurou participar das principais discussões internacionais que sucederam à Primeira Guerra Mundial. Para ele, embora Wells fosse um crítico da Liga das Nações, defendeu a ideia de unificação mundial como única alternativa a um conflito devastador (ELZINGA, 2004, p. 138, nota 4).
[40] Teixeira se refere à lã do sobretudo caramelo que usava em New York.

> de mais persuasivo, de mais fulminante contra as estupidezas atuais e de mais inspirador para esperanças do futuro. (Teixeira a Lobato, in VIANNA e FRAIZ, 1986, p.81)

Para Fonseca (2010), o projeto inicial da coleção articulava educação, ciência e democracia, de modo a engendrar na cultura a sua modernização e garantir os antídotos contra os regimes totalitários que se estabeleciam nos anos 1930. Esses três pontos seriam estrategicamente articulados pelo gênero editorial da difusão científica – seja pela literatura de ficção, seja pela difusão das biografias de grandes cientistas -, da circulação de conhecimentos sobre a cultura universal e pela difusão de valores pacifistas. Essas eram as bases fundamentais da pedagogia wellsiana (ELZINGA, 2004). A coleção poderia propiciar ao seu leitor, na conjunção de títulos sobre educação, ciência e democracia, as condições para a reflexão: reflexão apoiada no conhecimento do mundo.

O texto de apresentação da coleção indicava esse tipo de programa de leitura:

> O NOSSO TEMPO marcado pelo singular tumulto mental que lhe acentua o caráter de transição e mudança, é por isso mesmo um dos mais assinalados períodos de reconstrução intelectual e moral da história. Apesar da falta de perspectiva em que nos achamos para julgar das suas grandes realizações científicas, literárias e artísticas, algumas das obras modernas vêm obtendo do publico consagrações que importam na imortalidade. A inaudita difusão cultural do mundo de hoje permite desses milagres que os antigos não conheciam. A BIBLIOTECA DO ESPIRITO MODERNO visa coordenar para o leitor brasileiro, dentre as obras consagradas pela aceitação publica, aquelas que mais diretamente buscam condensar, esclarecer e popularizar a herança cultural da espécie, tornando-a realmente e sem perda de nenhum dos finos e raros valores que sempre a caracterizaram quando não passava de legado atribuído a privilegiados eruditos, a herança comum e por todos partilhada (COMPANHIA EDITORA NACIONAL, Catálogo da Bibliotheca do Espírito Moderno, 1943, p.1).

Como ponto de partida, o reconhecimento da caótica situação do mundo e dos tempos contemporâneos: características da atualidade que poderiam ser dirimidas justamente com o conhecimento científico e literário, contidos não tanto nas instituições de cada país mas na miríade das obras forjadas pela difusão cultural mundial. O próprio espírito moderno seria fruto dessa herança cultural da espécie compartilhada: destacando-se aí a universalidade dessa herança em oposição a superioridade de raças ou nações. Ter um espírito moderno, como vaticinava Wells (de Teixeira e Lobato) era ser portador da herança comum, era partilhar a universalidade da ciência, da educação e da democracia.

A descrição do plano continua:

> Além disso, incluirá a biblioteca documentos biográficos que nos familiarizem com os grandes homens e as grandes mulheres que souberam fazer de suas vidas um espetáculo de beleza ou de altura e, por esse modo, contribuíram para tornar a vida mais significativa e a civilização humana mais digna (IDEM).
>
> Por fim, o plano da BEM destaca o artificie da estratégia de sintonização do leitor brasileiro com o leitor mundial.
>
> A COMPANHIA EDITORA NACIONAL, tomando a si a grande responsabilidade de editar a BIBLIOTHECA DO ESPIRITO MODERNO, foi buscar, para orienta-la e dirigi-la o grande educador brasileiro ANISIO TEIXEIRA, espirito dos mais illustres da nossa época e tão justamente talhado para assumir a direcção de uma biblioteca de tamanha finalidade. Biblioteca de civilização e cultura, os leitores terão em seus volumes o mais rico documentário com que se poderá tentar compreender e acompanhar o longo esforço do pensamento humano para embelezar, enriquecer e dirigir a vida (IDEM).

Para Fonseca (2010, pp.38-39), não é possível ignorar o significado da escolha do nome BEM, levando-se em consideração quem era seu organizador. Retomando o trabalho de Vidal (2005, p.9), Fonseca lembra que em 1934, no Instituto de Educação, o termo "educação e espírito moderno" encimava uma lista de dez temas do curso oferecido por Teixeira na Escola. O curso tinha como objetivo demonstrar a preocupação de relacionar a educação ao mundo moderno, às ciências e a compreensão da sociedade com as bases filosóficas da educação; e ainda usava o termo "experiência" para relacionar educação e o mundo vivido, experimentado. "De que adianta escola se não for para reconstruir a vida humana em bases melhores?" (Idem, 2010, p.39).

A Biblioteca foi composta por quatro séries, organizadas por gêneros editoriais: 1ª – Filosofia; 2ª Ciências; 3ª História e Biografias; 4ª Literatura. Optou-se no seu programa editorial pelas traduções de textos "de excelente qualidade", sobretudo, do inglês, complementados por um ou outro francês. Os autores eram originários dos Estados Unidos e Inglaterra, mas havia também a presença de franceses, em especial de André Maurois, Charles Seignobos e Jacques Maritain (Idem, 2010, p.37). O programa de leitura contou com pouquíssimos títulos nacionais, marcando sua posição de biblioteca do mundo.

A rede constituída pelas relações entre diretor de coleção e autores espraiava-se para um duplo território: os autores internacionais, comercializados pelos grandes editores inglesas, estadunidenses e francesas; e o território doméstico de tradutores[41]. Anísio (e Lobato) usaram a coleção como galeria subterrânea para manter o projeto de modernização do espírito brasileiro, procurando, estrategicamente, elevá-lo à condição do espírito moderno mundial. Mobilizaram seu autor predileto – Wells – transformando o que achavam ser sua pedagogia em modelo de leitura e formação da sociedade de leitores médios brasileiros[42]. Esse modelo contava com a publicação de Will Durant, Bertrand Russell, Charles Seignobos, Julian Huxley e G.H.Wells da série História Universal.

Pode-se dizer que a BEM foi marcada pelo ideal internacionalista wellsiano, bastante difundido desde o fim da I Guerra Mundial. Para Elzinga (2004), a perspectiva de Wells, sobretudo em relação ao um mundo menos beligerante - construído a partir da cooperação científica e cultural internacionalista – circulava entre cientistas britânicos (e anglo-saxões) desde, pelo menos, o final da I Guerra Mundial. Assim, a ciência seria um "produto comum do gênero humano" e o "conhecimento científico seria um bem público que existiria para o benefício de toda a humanidade" (ELZINGA, 2004, p.91). Ser diretor dessa coleção colocava Teixeira na mesma sintonia de outros cientistas do período, como por exemplo, Julian Huxley e Paulo Carneiro. Essa sintonia será fundamental para o convite recebido por Teixeira para a UNESCO.

No final de 1941, Teixeira deixa a direção coleção, apesar de, nos anos que

[41] Foram tradutores da BEM alguns dos perseguidos políticos do regime de Vargas como o próprio Teixeira, Lobato e Edgar Sussekind de Mendonça. Também trabalharam na coleção Nelson Teixeira, Godofredo Rangel, Afrânio Coutinho, Edson Carneiro, entre outros.

[42] Fonseca descreve as representações contemporâneas dos editores sobre o que concebiam como território do público de leitores médios. Ver os capítulos 1 e 2 de sua tese (FONSECA, 2010).

seguiram, a maioria dos títulos editados terem sido escolhidos e negociados por ele (FONSECA, 2010, p.70). Com um tom lamentoso, despede-se do que havia sido seu ofício (parcial) nos últimos anos:

> Caríssimo Lobato,
> Desde que o deixei em São Paulo, depois de um convívio de oito dias - que soube o que significou para mim – entrei numa fase desconcertante... Nunca senti tanto a falta de meus amigos. Deve ter notado que a minha visita foi uma visita para concluir o desligamento que se vinha fazendo a despeito de minha vontade, pela força das circunstâncias e pelo propósito obscuro que nasce de nós de obedecer às contingências. Quando saltei na Bahia, senti que você e o Otalles e o Fernando estavam muito mais distantes de mim do antes. Não sei participar sem tomar responsabilidade. E o fato de não poder mais toma-la perante vocês, lançou-me num constrangimento que explica meu silêncio (Teixeira a Lobato, 31/12/1941, VIANNA e FRAIZ, 1986, p.89)[43]

A partir daí, Teixeira se engaja na SIMEL, abandonando, segundo ele mesmo, a vida intelectual (Carta Teixeira a Azevedo de 23/11/1943 In:VIDAL, 2000, p.53). Segundo Lima, a II Guerra beneficiou os negócios da empresa e Teixeira fez algum dinheiro (LIMA, 1978, p.142). Com o fim do conflito armado, novas oportunidades na arena educacional surgiriam para Anísio.

## A ATUAÇÃO NA UNESCO

Tal qual as editoras, as organizações, e no nosso caso as organizações internacionais, se constituem como *hubs*. Estruturam-se a partir da constituição de redes e estabelecem princípios de governabilidade, assentados em um conjunto de valores, metas, intenções e sociabilidades. Seu estudo permite escapar a análises baseadas na relação centro-periferia, estimulando a abordagem transnacional, na medida em que atraem sujeitos de várias partes do mundo e visam produzir efeitos que transcendem as fronteiras nacionais. Nesse sentido, estimulam o foco na participação dos atores, conduzindo a interpretações que entretecem micro e macroanálises, convidando a explorar percursos, viagens e intercâmbios.

Para Fuchs (2007, p. 187), as redes consistem em relações condensadas e intensas em um determinado espaço, cuja compreensão demanda atentar para "o significado, a forma, e a duração da sua existência, bem como [para] a intensidade, frequência, equilíbrio, proeminência e rapidez dos contatos, trocas e transferências".[44] As correspondências são uma das fontes privilegiadas que servem de guia para transitar no cipoal das relações e acontecimentos que unem Teixeira e a Organização das Nações Unidas para a Educação, a Ciência e a Cultura.

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[43] Teixeira replica essa mesma mensagem para Azevedo. Ver carta de Teixeira a Azevedo de 31/12/1941(In: Vidal, 2000, p.52).

[44] No original, "the meaning, the shape, and the duration of its existence as well as the intensity, frequency, balance, prominence and speed of contacts, exchanges and transfers".

O convite para integrar a UNESCO veio em carta, escrita por Julian Huxley em Nova Iorque, de 12 de junho de 1946[45]. Apesar de Anísio estar nessa cidade naquele dia, Huxley partia para Londres e o encontro presencial foi adiado. Por meio da missiva, sabemos que, na condição de Secretário Executivo da Comissão Preparatória da UNESCO, Huxley chamava Teixeira para, na qualidade de Conselheiro em Educação, auxiliar a Seção de Educação a preparar o relatório ou a agenda da Primeira Conferência da UNESCO, a se realizar em novembro, em Paris. O contrato seria temporário (de 1º. de julho ao final do ano), sendo o primeiro mês probatório. Anísio trabalharia sob a chefia de Kuo Yu-Shou, percebendo um salário anual de 1.500 libras, acrescido de um auxilio residência de 1,10 libras por dia[46].

No dia seguinte, Anísio respondeu por telegrama, expressando sua perplexidade, a prontidão para servir a UNESCO sob a liderança de Huxley e o inesperado do convite, e pedindo alguns dias para considerar a proposta, a que aceitou em missiva datada de 19 de junho. Teixeira assumiu a UNESCO no dia 15 de julho. Dificuldades com a compra de passagens, bem como com a autorização da viagem e visto, o que levou Howard Wilson, secretário executivo assistente, a contatar o embaixador do Brasil em Londres, George Alvares Maciel, para pedir agilidade ao Departamento de Passaportes no Rio de Janeiro, retardaram a chegada a Londres e a instalação em seu gabinete na Belgrave Square, nr. 46-47[47]. Em 22 de julho de 1946, Anísio, em papel timbrado da UNESCO e assinando como Conselheiro da Seção de Educação, reiterava a Huxley o aceite da oferta (DPAT).

**Nas redes de relações... novamente o educador**

[45] Prep. Com. Disponível em português, em http://www.bvanisioteixeira.ufba.br/Visita_Guiada/p5a212.htm. Acesso em 14/08/2023. Tanto a documentação UNESCO Archives, Fundo Preparatory Commission for UNESCO (Prep.Com), 1945-1946, quanto a do dossiê pessoal Anísio Teixeira, não estão organizadas. Portanto, as referências usadas aqui serão apenas Prep.Com. ou DPAT, caso se refiram à Comissão Preparatória ou ao Dossiê Pessoal Anísio Teixeira. Sobre o acervo da Prep.Com., ver também https://atom.archives.unesco.org/ag-3-preparatory-commission-of-unesco-prep-com. Acessado em 14/08/2023.

[46] De acordo com a *Revista do Empresário*, na III, nr. 14 de jan. de 1947, p. 88, no ano de 1946, a cotação da libra oscilou entre Cr$ 77,33 (em 3 de janeiro) a Cr$ 74,555 (em 31 de dezembro). No mesmo período, o dólar oscilou entre Cr$ 19,60 e Cr$ 18,50. Acesso em 14/08/2023. Fonte: Associação Comercial do Rio de Janeiro (ACRJ). http://docvirt.com/docreader.net/DocReader.aspx?bib=acrjrevistas&pagfis=46438. Implica dizer que a proposta era de em torno de Cr$ 55.000,00 para 6 meses, acrescido de aproximadamente Cr$ 83,00 por dia, algo por volta de Cr$ 11.700,00/mês. Só para base de comparação, segundo o Decreto-lei 5.977 de 10 de novembro de 1943, ficava instituído no Brasil, por um período de 3 anos, o valor mensal de Cr$ 380,00 para o salário mínimo. Acesso em 14/08/2023. Fonte: Câmara dos Deputados. https://www2.camara.leg.br/legin/fed/declei/1940-1949/decreto-lei-5977-10-novembro-1943-416056-norma-pe.html. Ou seja, o contrato correspondia a uma percepção mensal equivalente a 30 salários mínimos.

[47] A mudança dos escritórios da UNESCO para Paris ocorreu em 16 de setembro, sendo o staff instalado no Hotel Majestic, situado à Av. Kléber, nr. 19.

Quais caminhos teriam sido percorridos para que Huxley chegasse a cogitar o nome de Teixeira? Na carta convite, ele afirmava que "Todos tinham me assegurado que você seria a melhor pessoa possível que poderíamos obter da América Latina para a Seção de Educação"[48]. A quem ele se referia? Em cópia carbono de um possível telegrama de Huxley a [Howard] Wilson, lia-se "nenhum fundamento para a sugestão de Filho ou Dantas. STOP Único brasileiro contactado ou desejado é Teixeira. STOP Muito ansioso para obtê-lo" (DPAT)[49]. A referência a Filho parece remeter a Lourenço Filho. Mais incerta é a menção a Dantas. Poderia talvez designar Francisco Clementino San Tiago Dantas, que à época lecionava na Faculdade de Direito de Paris, na condição de professor conferencista[50].

Cinco anos antes, em 1941, o livro *Os fenômenos da vida*, de Julian Huxley fora publicado na *Biblioteca do Espírito Moderno*, da CEN, com tradução de Octávio Domingues. No entanto, o interesse não parecia derivar de relações comerciais tecidas com o curador da coleção, mas de uma rede de intelectuais da qual ambos poderiam fazer parte.

Para mapear esta rede, o primeiro fio a puxar é o próprio Huxley. Nascido em Londres, em 1887, dedicou-se à Biologia, recebendo o título de doutor em ciências pela Universidade de Oxford. Sua trajetória profissional enlaça passagens pela Alemanha, EUA, Congo Belga e União Soviética. Trabalhou no Rice Institute, Texas (1912-1916); New College of Oxford (1919-1925); King's College (1925-1927); e Royal Institution (1927-1931). Em 1927 e 1929, afastou-se da vida acadêmica para escrever com G.P. e H.G Wells, os três volumes de *The Science of Life*, publicados originalmente em 1931, 1934 e 1937 por Waverley Publishing Company Ltd. A partir de 1931, abandonou a universidade e dedicou-se à escrita de livros, sendo eleito *fellow* da Royal Society em 1938. Durante a Segunda Grande Guerra, fez parte do *Brain Trust* da Corporação Britânica de Radiodifusão[51].

No outono de 1941, recebeu um convite da Rockfeller Foundation para realizar palestras nos EUA. Além da visita a universidades, a proposta envolvia discorrer sobre como a Inglaterra continuava a fazer negócios em tempos de conflito armado. A estada, que deveria ser de 6 semanas, prolongou-se até maio de 1942, em virtude do ataque dos japoneses a Pearl Harbor e o consequente ingresso dos EUA no conflito armado. Com isso, Huxley permaneceu mais tempo do que o previsto em Nova Iorque (HUXLEY, 1970, p. 256-261).

Neste breve relato, a conexão mais imediata que surge entre Teixeira e Huxley é a do escritor britânico H.G. Wells. No projeto de *wellsificar* o Brasil, a BEM publicou nada

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[48] No original, "Everyone has assured me that you would be the best possible person we could obtain from Latin America for the Education Section" (Prep.Com). Tradução nossa.

[49] No original: "No foundation whatever for suggestion de Filho or Dantas. STOP Only Brazilian approached or desired is Teixeira. STOP Most anxious to obtain him."

[50] Sobre a trajetória de San Tiago Dantas, ver https://www18.fgv.br/CPDOC/acervo/dicionarios/verbete-biografico/francisco-clementino-de-san-tiago-dantas. Acessado em 19/08/2023.

[51] MAUREL, 2012. www.unesco.org/new/fr/unesco/about-us/who-we-are/history/directors-general/ julian-huxley/ Acessado em 14/08/2023.

menos que 6 volumes de sua autoria: *História universal (Três tomos)* (1939); *História do futuro* (1939)*; O destino da espécie humana* (1941); e *A construção mundo* (1943). *O destino da espécie humana* e *História do futuro* foram traduzidos por Lobato. Mas foi Anísio quem verteu ao português *História Universal* e *A construção mundo.* Um indício da proximidade entre Wells, Huxley e Teixeira emerge em carta de Anísio a George Counts, na qual comenta ter estado em Londres em 1946, por ocasião do falecimento de Wells (13/08/1946); e ouvir de um amigo comum sobre o estado de desesperação do escritor britânico nos últimos meses de vida[52]. Por certo, a essa época Teixeira já estava a serviço da UNESCO, mas a remissão a um amigo comum suscita entrelaçar estes três personagens em nossa narrativa.

Outro aspecto que parece significativo é o fato da viagem feita aos EUA em 1941 ter sido realizada a convite da Rockfeller Foundation e da permanência em Nova Iorque haver se prolongado além do esperado. Nos dois casos, favorecia-se o contato com a Columbia University. Se bem que nesse trecho das memórias, Huxley não tenha assinalado nenhuma ida à universidade, não se pode deixar de mencionar as amizades que ali tinha feito quando de sua ligação com o Rice Institute, entre 1912 e 1916 (HUXLEY, 1970, p. 90 e 95). Tampouco se pode minimizar a importância da Rockfeller Foundation no suporte ao International Institute do Teacher's College, de 1923 a 1938, e à circulação de estudantes estrangeiros na instituição (CREMIN et all, 1954). Nem se pode olvidar que Anísio frequentou o Teacher's College (TC/UC) entre 1928 e 1929. As conexões ficam aqui mais fluídas, mas indiciam a circulação de Huxley e Teixeira em uma mesma comunidade acadêmica, em um lapso temporal de 30 anos.

Voltar aos títulos da BEM pode oferecer outras pistas para identificação dessa rede internacional. Dois elementos autorizam o percurso. O primeiro é relativo ao próprio objetivo do empreendimento editorial. A já citada carta a Lobato, na qual Anísio distingue a sua nova iniciativa da levado a cabo por Azevedo, considerada "muito interessante, mas meio doméstica, sem horizonte internacional"[53]. O segundo, indicado por Fonseca (2010, p. 37-38), refere-se à importância que a literatura estadunidense assume para a Coleção, em razão do apreço de Lobato e Teixeira pelos EUA e a admiração de ambos pela cultura democrática do país.

A questão toma corpo quando analisamos os 9 títulos publicados na série Filosofia, na primeira fase, entre 1939 e 1943. As três primeiras obras, *História da Filosofia* (1938), *Filosofia da vida* (1938) e *Os grandes pensadores* (1939), são de autoria do estadunidense William James Durant. Nascidos nos EUA, temos ainda James Harvey Robinson, autor de *A formação da mentalidade* (1940); e William James, *A filosofia de William James* (1943).

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[52] Arquivo Anisio Texeira/CPDOC. ATc 1960.07.01. Disponível em https://docvirt.com/docreader.net/DocReader.aspx?bib=AT_Corresp&hf=www18.fgv.br&pagfis=9410. Acessado em 14/08/2023.

[53] Arquivo Anisio Texeira/CPDOC. ATc 1928.06.22. Disponível em https://docvirt.com/docreader.net/DocReader.aspx?bib=AT_Corresp&id=1493803166141&pagfis=2343 Acessado em 14/08/2023.

Participam da série, também, os ingleses Bertrand Russel, autor de *Educação e vida perfeita* (1941); e John Stuart Mill, de *Sobre a liberdade* (1942). O francês Jacques Maritain, autor de *Humanismo integral* (1941); e o português Fidelino de Sousa de Figueiredo, de *Espanha – uma filosofia de sua história* (1943) completam a lista. Mais interessante que assinalar a nacionalidade, entretanto, é informar que destes sete autores, três - Durant, Robinson e Maritain, foram professores da Columbia University. Russel deu aulas na University of California e Fidelino Figueiredo passou por Berkley.

A prevalência de autores estadunidenses e ingleses na série, como de resto nas publicações da BEM, no período não se deve exclusivamente à predileção de seus fundadores, como se pode supor, mas às mudanças que se foram operando na Europa a partir de 1933 e que levaram à eclosão da Segunda Guerra Mundial em 1939. O exemplo da New Education Fellowship (NEF), conhecida no Brasil como Liga Internacional pela Educação Nova (LIEN), é relevante. Enquanto nos anos iniciais, os Congressos da NEF/LIEN espalharam-se pelo território europeu (Calais, França, em 1921; Montreux, Suíça, em 1923; Heidelberg, Alemanha, em 1925; Locarno, Suíça, em 1927; Elsinore, Dinamarca, em 1929; Nice, França, em 1932); nos anos posteriores, concentraram-se em países de anglófonos, fossem eles Congressos internacionais (Inglaterra, em 1936; e EUA, em 1941) ou regionais (África do Sul, em 1934; Nova Zelândia, em 1937; Austrália, em 1937 e 1946) (VIDAL, 2021, p. 10). A alteração da geopolítica mundial acompanhava/ era acompanhada da/pela consolidação da literatura anglo-saxã na academia, em geral, e na educação, em particular.

O exemplo da NEF é significativo porque remete à própria construção da UNESCO e às redes que foram articuladas. A circunstância da seção francesa da NEF, em cooperação com a sede londrina, organizar uma conferência na Sorbonne e Cité Universitaire, em Paris, de 29 de julho a 12 de agosto de 1946, com o tema Educational Reform and New Education[54], não era fortuita. Unia as duas cidades envolvidas em sediar os trabalhos da Organização. A mudança dos escritórios da UNESCO de Londres para Paris ocorreria praticamente um mês depois (16/09/1946). As correspondências trocadas entre Claire Soper, secretária internacional da NEF, e membros da Comissão Preparatória  denotam também o entrelaçamento dessas organizações no imediato pós-guerra (DPAT). Joseph Watras (2011) reconhece que vários grupos participaram da criação da Organização e destaca em particular o envolvimento da NEF com o programa de educação fundamental da UNESCO, pondo em cena atores associados ao TC/UC e ao Institute of Education da University of London, dentre outras instituições, e multiplicando os personagens desta rede na qual Huxley e Teixeira se moviam.

Um último fio a puxar é Paulo Carneiro. Afinal, quando ficou claro que Anísio não retornaria para a UNESCO em 1947, em 31 de março, Huxley escreveu a Carneiro, solicitando a indicação de outro "candidato brasileiro realmente bom para um posto na Organização" (DPAT)[55]. O episódio corrobora a afirmação de Vianna Filho (2008) de que o contato para

[54] *The New Era*, fevereiro de 1946, p. 44.

[55] No original: "a really good Brazilian candidate for a post in the Organization".

colaborar com a Organização veio por sugestão de Carneiro. Formado em química industrial pela Escola Politécnica do Rio de Janeiro, Carneiro recebeu uma bolsa de estudos para realizar seu doutorado em Paris, na Sorbonne. Retornou ao Brasil em 1932 e novamente voltou à França em 1938, quando atuou até 1944, como assistente técnico do Escritório de Propaganda e Expansão Comercial do Brasil e, posteriormente, vice-diretor (MAIO, 2004, p. 312-313). Voltou ao Brasil com a libertação da França, mas retornou à Paris em 1945 para "reassumir seus trabalhos e logo recebe um convite para participar da Delegação Brasileira à Conferência das Nações Unidas em Londres" (BURIGO, 2020, p. 14). "Em 1946 foi escolhido delegado do Brasil na primeira Assembleia das Nações Unidas" (Idem, ibidem). No mesmo ano, foi

> convidado pelo então Ministro das Relações Exteriores do Brasil, João Neves Fontoura, para tornar-se delegado permanente do Brasil junto à UNESCO, cargo que ocupou até 1958, atuando depois como embaixador até 1965. (...) Um ano após o golpe que derrubou João Goulart, Paulo Carneiro foi destituído da representação da UNESCO. (...) Imediatamente a UNESCO convoca Paulo para o seu Conselho Executivo, papel que exerceu por 28 anos, a mais longa permanência de alguém no conselho, podendo mesmo após o desligamento obrigatório da delegação do Brasil junto à organização, participar das conferências gerais subsequentes (BURIGO, 2020, p. 17).

Tanto Huxley, quanto Carneiro participaram das primeiras reuniões que deram origem à UNESCO. Segundo Danielle Burigo (2020, p. 17-18), teria sido Carneiro que, em conversas com Needlham e Huxley, propusera incluir ciências no mandato da nascente organização. É relevante destacar que Carneiro consta entre os intelectuais ligados à Associação Brasileira de Educação (ABE) nos anos iniciais de sua criação[56], tendo permanecido no Rio de Janeiro entre 1932 e 1938, durante o período em que Teixeira conduziu sua reforma de instrução pública (1931-1935) e em que o educador baiano esteve ativamente engajado nas ações da ABE. Dentre as iniciativas da reforma implementada por Teixeira, incluiu-se a criação da Universidade do Distrito Federal, em 1935, talvez o mote que levou Anísio a ser convidado para assumir os trabalhos relativos ao ensino superior na Seção de Educação da UNESCO.

Tendo frequentado o TC/UC por dois anos e capitaneado uma importante reforma de educação na capital do Brasil; havendo ocupado a vantajosa função de curador da BEM para a CEN e alimentado um circuito de traduções ao português de obras em inglês; Teixeira congregava várias credenciais que o tornavam conhecido aos atores do novo eixo geopolíticocom o final da Grande Guerra. Os EUA e seu parceiro, a Inglaterra, assumiriam a tarefa de reconstrução do mundo, agenda para a qual a educação era item fundamental e que foi endereçada a partir da criação da UNESCO, em 1946.

O reconhecimento internacional que o convite de Huxley lhe proporcionava, conferia a Teixeira a oportunidade de retornar ao cenário da educação brasileira em situação de grande prestígio, após três anos de afastamento. Significativa foi a manifestação do Conselho Universitário da Universidade do Brasil, enviada a Huxley em 12 de julho de 1946, na qual o reitor Ignácio Azevedo do Amaral, expressava "a satisfação e o desvanecimento" com que o douto conselho acolhia a indicação do brasileiro para um posto na UNESCO. O mesmo ocorreu

[56] Cf. https://www.abe1924.org.br/quem-somos.

com o telegrama mandado por Raul Jobim Bitencourt, presidente da ABE, a Huxley, congratulando o comitê pela escolha de Anísio (DPAT).

**Alegrias e misérias do trabalho na UNESCO**

Em documento manuscrito, possível esboço da carta convite enviada a Anísio, Huxley informava que educador seria responsável pela educação superior, indo se juntar ao trabalho realizado pela Comissão Preparatória, composta, além de Kuo Yu-Shou (China), conselheiro sênior, por Ravnholt (Dinamarca) educação de adultos; Elena Torres (México) educação primária e de massas; Lawverys (Inglaterra) consultor geral; e, possivelmente Guiton (França) educação secundária (DPAT). Na circular de staff, nr. 60, de 30 de outubro de 1946, temos a composição da equipe: Kuo Yu-Shou, G. Cowan, X.E. Gabriel, M.J. Guiton, H. Holmes, Leonard Kenworthy, Henning Ravnholt, S. Soully, Anisio Teixeira e Elena Torres.

As principais tarefas da Comissão Preparatória eram:

> convocar a primeira sessão da Conferência Geral; preparar a agenda provisória da primeira sessão e documentos e recomendações relativos à agenda; estudar e preparar recomendações concernentes ao programa e orçamento; e providenciar sem demora para imediata ação sobre necessidades urgentes de reconstrução educacional, científica e cultura em países devastados[57].

Em longo Memorandum, enviado por Howard Wilson a Kuo Yu-Shou, em 1 de abril de 1946, desenhava-se o escopo da Seção de Educação, seus objetivos específicos, o cronograma de trabalho, as tarefas mais urgentes e a configuração esperada da equipe. Wilson afirmava, quanto ao primeiro elemento:

> Para sumarizar tudo isso: o escopo da sua seção é amplo e longo, e o programa a ser concebido para o futuro deve ser extremamente flexível e abrangente. Não podemos nos permitir ignorar qualquer nível, aspecto ou agência da educação na concepção do padrão global da UNESCO. Ao mesmo tempo, devemos ser altamente práticos e previdentes na escolha de alguns aspectos desta área total para ataque imediato. Estes aspectos seleccionados deverão (a) ter consequências educativas imediatas e óbvias e (b) ser importantes por proporcionarem à UNESCO a oportunidade de um crescimento bem sucedido na direção certa.[58]

A ideia era abarcar a educação para a vida toda, ou na fórmula adotada por Wilson, "from the cradle to the grave", ou seja do berço ao túmulo, em todas as áreas do conhecimento. A Seção deveria trabalhar em colaboração com as demais: Letras e Filosofia; Artes; Ciências Sociais;

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[57] No original: "to convoke the first session of the General Conference; to prepare the provisional agenda for the first session and prepare documents and recommendations relating to the agenda; to make studies and prepare recommendations concerning the programme and budget; and to provide without delay for immediate action on urgent needs of educational, scientific and cultural reconstruction in devastated countries". https://atom.archives.unesco.org/preparatory-commission-of-unesco. Acessado em 18/08/2023.

[58] No original: To summarize all this: the scope of your section is broad and long, and the programme to be envisioned for the future must be extremely flexible and comprehensive. We cannot afford to ignore any level or aspect or agency of education in conceiving the over-all pattern for UNESCO. At the same time we must be highly practical and far-sighting in choosing a few aspects of this total area for immediate attack. These selected aspects should be (a) of immediate and obvious educational consequence, and (b) of importance as affording UNESCO opportunity for successful growth in the right direction. (Prep. Com.)

Ciências Naturais;, Museus e Bibliotecas; e Mídia de Comunicação de Massas. Não era esperado que se estabelecesse um padrão mínimo de educação para o mundo. Mas visava-se conhecer como a educação era praticada nos vários países e fornecer exemplos de boas práticas educativas. Sugeria, outrossim, algumas linhas de ação: redução do analfabetismo e educação de massas por meio de recursos imagéticos e auditivos; educação em saúde e higiene; educação vocacional, não restrita a treinamento profissional, mas como forma de superar a distância entre vocação e cultura, fermento da "educação liberal"; e educação cívica para "um mundo", o que envolveria "educação para respeito e compreensão internacionais".

O documento traçava os objetivos específicos da Seção: (a) elaborar um esboço de 25 a 30 páginas com o programa de ação da UNESCO, indicando as iniciativas que deveriam ser lançadas imediatamente e seu desenvolvimento esperado para os próximos 5 anos; e (b) preparar o tratamento de um tópico selecionado, que poderia ser analfabetismo, para consideração da Primeira Assembleia. A questão deveria ser discutida na reunião da Comissão Preparatória, prevista para julho. Era esperado que o primeiro item estivesse pronto para impressão em setembro. Quanto ao segundo, seria aperfeiçoado em reunião de agosto ou setembro e estaria pronto para 1o. de outubro, de modo a ser divulgado com antecedência à Primeira Assembleia em novembro de 1946.

Para dar curso aos objetivos, Wilson propunha duas linhas de ação: efetuar um resumo de todas sugestões até então recebidas de governos, organizações e indivíduos, compilando uma lista a mais completa possível; iniciar um processo de coleta de sugestões adicionais por meio de envio de: (a) um questionário aos Ministros de Educação; (b) cartas de inquérito a organizações e agências; (c) cartas pessoais a especialistas de todo o mundo.[59]

Apesar de Wilson insistir em qualificar os termos do Memorandum como sua concepção do que deveria ser o programa da Seção de Educação, aberta a alterações por propostas de Kuo Yu-Shou, os inquéritos foram efetivamente realizados. Em 29 de maio, ofício assinado por Kuo e Wilson e endereçado a organizações, inquiria sobre suas características e perguntava sobre como a UNESCO poderia auxiliar o trabalho por elas desenvolvido, pedindo que oferecessem sugestões ao programa geral da Seção de Educação. Ao ofício seguia uma longa lista com o nome de mais de 50 organizações (Prep.Com.).

O tema da alfabetização foi reformulado como Educação Fundamental. E, em 12 de junho, em carta endereçada a James Yen (China), Margaret Read (Reino Unido), Ismail el Kabbani (EUA), R. M. Chetsingh (Índia), Frank Laubach (EUA), B. H. Easter (Jamaica), Thomas Jesse Jones (EUA), C. K. Ogden (Reino Unido), Margaret Mead (EUA), I.A. Richards (EUA), Labouret (França), Rheinallt Jones (África do Sul), Lucas Ortiz (México) e Nieto Caballero (Colômbia), Kuo solicitava a participação desses especialistas em uma enquete, base para o relatório a ser apresentado à Comissão Preparatória, publicado em inglês e francês. Pedia retorno até, no máximo, dia 26 de julho e oferecia um honorário de "25 guineas" pelo *copyright* do manuscrito (Prep.Com.).

Foi nesse circuito que se instalou Anísio, a partir de 15 de julho de 1946, quando passou a integrar os quadros da Seção de Educação da UNESCO. Além do contato com entidades e

[59] Todas as informações mencionadas referentes ao Memorandum estão disponíveis em Prep.Com.

sujeitos, Teixeira fazia parte de uma ampla Comissão Preparatória que, em outubro, contava com uma equipe de 167 membros, acrescida dos representantes de cada um dos 43 países que haviam assinado o Instrumento adotado pela Conferência para a Criação da UNESCO em 1945 em Londres[60].

Nos seis meses em que atuou junto à Organização, teve a oportunidade de interagir pessoalmente ou por correspondência com educadores de todas as partes do mundo. Na capa da pasta de acompanhamento de dossiês, o nome de Teixeira aparece relacionado dentre as pessoas que manusearam o dossiê "Requests to Educationalists and Educational Organizations Reports". A pasta chegou às suas mãos em 28 de agosto de 1946 e com ele permaneceu até 10 de outubro (Com. Prep.). Outro dossiê ao qual teve acesso, em 5 de outubro de 1946, foi "Education - Soviet Union – Handbook for entrants to the Higher Educational Establishments of U.S.S.R (1944-45)", que consistia em uma publicação sobre a matéria (Com.Prep). Se a segunda menção é episódica, a primeira demonstra o envolvimento do educador com os inquéritos promovidos pela Comissão Preparatória e que deram substância às propostas feitas pela Seção de Educação à Assembléia Geral.

Entre 20 de novembro e 10 de dezembro de 1946, a Primeira Assembleia da Conferência Geral ocorreu em Paris. "Após a eleição do Diretor-Geral, em 6 de dezembro, o mandato da Comissão Preparatória expirou e a Comissão foi dissolvida, mas o seu pessoal continuou a trabalhar como Secretariado da UNESCO"[61]. Foi nessa condição que, em 25 de janeiro de 1947, Anísio deixou a França para gozar férias no Brasil. Naquele momento, ainda ponderava sobre seu futuro na Organização. A viagem incluía uma passagem por Nova Iorque. Seguia em companhia de sua esposa Emília Ferreira Teixeira. Em carta de 29 de janeiro de 1947 a Lobato, escrita a bordo do Queen Elizabeth, Anísio evidenciava sua hesitação.

> A Unesco é, ao mesmo tempo, uma obra tardia e uma obra prematura. É esta sua contradição essencial. Tardia porque, de muito, o mundo pedia um centro intelectual para unificação de sua experiência e direção do seu progresso. (...) Em vez da Unesco, tivemos, porém, uma ciência e uma inteligência nacionais e nacionalistas até à apoplexia final hitleriana. (...) Mas… com a vitória - que ironia! - os homens voltaram às suas divisões antigas. E, dentro dessas divisões, a Unesco, que pretenderam criar, é algo extremamente prematuro.
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> Se Wells ainda estivesse vivo, creio que estigmatizaria a pequenina Unesco que estamos construindo. (...) É horrível pensar estas coisas e ainda mais horrível cooperar em obras frustras.[62]

No entanto, dizia-se contagiado pelo entusiasmo manifesto por Lobato, em missiva recebida anteriormente à partida da França, e afirmava "Vou voltar para a UNESCO para uma nova experiência". Desistira de seguir viagem adiante. Retornaria de Nova Iorque para Paris, após resolver os negócios da SIMEL que o haviam levado aos EUA. A resolução, entretanto, foi revista

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[60] Consultar: https://atom.archives.unesco.org/preparatory-commission-of-unesco

[61] Idem.

[62] AT c 1928.06.22. Disponível em https://docvirt.com/docreader.net/DocReader.aspx?bib=AT_Corresp&pesq=monteiro%20lobato&hf=docvirt.com&pagfis=2391. Acessado em 28/08/2023. No texto, encontra-se o nome Hugley, e sobre o g, há um x datilografado, corrigindo a grafia.

por razões de duas ordens: familiar e financeira. Escrevia Anísio a Lobato em 13 de fevereiro de 1947:

> a carta junto escrevi-lhe de bordo. Estava em pleno estado de imparcialidade e chegara àquelas conclusões. Em N.Y. pus os pés em terra. E senti que eles não tinham a leveza que supozera em pleno mar - cinco "paralelepípedos" - o amarram ao chão. A mulher e quatro filhos. Estas decisões ruíram. Telegrafei a Unesco que considerava minha volta impossível e estou esperando … a reação.
> É uma pena. É uma dor. Mas que hei de fazer? (Grifos no original)[63]

Os negócios com cimento e gesso prosperaram e a eles se somaram outras iniciativas relativas a pesquisas sobre manganês e cromo. "Era com tais projetos que resolvi voltar ao Brasil, demitindo-me da UNESCO", rememorava Anísio em carta a seu irmão, Nelson, de 3 de novembro de 1947[64]. Na mesma missiva, afiançava: "O Dr. Octávio Mangabeira apanhou-me em Belém. Não resisti à tentação da volta ao 'cívico' e os projetos comerciais entraram em crepúsculo". De fato, entre 1947 e 1951, Teixeira integrou o governo baiano como Secretário de Educação e Saúde, mantendo-se apenas parcialmente nos negócios da SIMEL.

O pedido de resignação da UNESCO foi feito em 15 de fevereiro. Ao recebê-lo, Huxley, em carta de 28 de fevereiro, pediu que Anísio reconsiderasse e permanecesse no cargo até, pelo menos, o final do ano. Em telegrama de 17 de março, o educador baiano descartou qualquer possibilidade de retomar suas funções na UNESCO. Na resposta, a ele redigida, em 3 de abril, Huxley lamentava a decisão e declarava a intenção de manter contato com Teixeira, como consultor (voluntário), dando sequência à colaboração estabelecida (DPAT). Outras tentativas, efetivamente, foram realizadas no sentido de associar mais decididamente Teixeira à UNESCO.

Em 28 de maio de 1948, um telegrama enviado a Teixeira, oferecia-lhe o cargo de Chefe da Seção de Educação com um salário anual de 7.450,00 dólares, acrescido de 2.000,00 dólares anuais de auxílio residência, além do custeio das despesas de transporte para ele seus dependentes. O telegrama foi emitido após Huxley ter recebido missiva de Carneiro, na qual o último assegurava a satisfação com que o governo brasileiro acolhia a indicação de Anísio ao posto.

Em telegrama de 24 de junho de 1948 endereçado a Samuel Selsky, chefe de pessoal em exercício, porém, Anísio informava que não havia conseguido obter licença do governo da Bahia para dedicar-se à UNESCO e pedia que enviasse suas desculpas a Huxley. No mesmo dia, em carta a Huxley, Carneiro relatava a impossibilidade de Teixeira se desvincular da Secretaria da Educação e Saúde da Bahia, apesar de haver anunciado anteriormente que o educador baiano chegaria a Paris no 1º. de julho, para iniciar as atividades junto à Organização. A troca de correspondências e o desencontro de informações denunciam a hesitação com a qual Teixeira avaliou o novo convite.

O salário proposto era substancialmente melhor que o de Conselheiro. No entanto, compromissos com o governo da Bahia e questões familiares pesaram na decisão. Como

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[63] AT c 1928.06.02. Disponível em https://docvirt.com/docreader.net/DocReader.aspx?bib=AT_Corresp&pesq=monteiro%20lobato&hf=docvirt.com&pagfis=2394. Acessado em 28/03/2023.

[64] AT c 1920.01.00. Disponível em https://docvirt.com/docreader.net/DocReader.aspx?bib=AT_Corresp&pesq=unesco&hf=docvirt.com&pagfis=565. Acessada em 23/08/2023.

confidenciou a Azevedo, em carta de 22 de julho de 1948, dizia Anísio: "Afinal, eu também não fui para a Unesco. Um vago mas profundo sentimento de dever me reteve aqui, para a imolação, talvez, mas, não me foi possível vencê-lo... Devemos ao Brasil, pelo menos, a presença" (grifos no original) (VIDAL, 2000, p. 37).

Novamente, em 1953, Teixeira seria convidado para assumir posto de Chefe de Divisão de Extensão da Educação Escolar[65], a ser exercido em Paris.. Outra tentativa foi feita em 22 de julho de 1954, quando lhe ofereceram o cargo de Chefe Associado do Escritório Regional do Hemisfério Oeste em Havana, com a incumbência de desenvolver amplamente o programa da UNESCO na América Latina e Caribe[66]. Em ambos os casos, o educador baiano declinou o convite

Apesar de não voltar a ocupar postos na UNESCO, manteve constates as relações com a Organização. Em 1950, foi chamado a participar da Assembleia ocorrida em Florença (VIDAL, 2000, p. 43). Em 1951, desenvolveu na Fundação para o Desenvolvimento da Ciência na Bahia um inquérito-testemunho sobre relações interraciais, em convênio com a UNESCO (Idem, p. 45). Em 1956, compareceu a reuniões da UNESCO em Lima[67]. Em 1957, iniciou a colaboração com a Organização para criação de um curso de preparo de especialistas em educação no Centro Regional Pesquisas Educacionais de São Paulo (VIDAL, 2000, p. 62), inaugurado em 1958 com a presença de Malcolm Adiseshiah, vice-diretor da Organização (Idem, p. 73). Os contatos prosseguiriam na década de 1960, demonstrando que as redes tecidas no curto período como Conselheiro da Educação Superior haviam sido sólidas o suficiente para alimentar novos projetos, fossem por iniciativa da UNESCO ou de instâncias brasileiras.

## CONSIDERAÇÕES FINAIS

Editoras e organizações foram tomadas por nós como *hubs*, pontos de intersecção em tramas de relações pessoais, acadêmicas, econômicas e políticas, em um momento pautado por ascensão de governos autoritários, guerra e reconstrução. Na narrativa, assumiram proeminência as agências dos sujeitos, tendo como entroncamento a figura de Anísio Teixeira. O educador foi, assim, simultaneamente percebido como nó nas muitas redes aqui traçadas (familiares, educacionais, comerciais, políticas), e como um *hub*, articulador de sujeitos e iniciativas em vários campos.

A tessitura que propusemos nos fez transitar entre correspondências pessoais, comerciais e profissionais, associadas a outras fontes, na sua maior colhidas em acervos institucionais, seja da Companhia Editora Nacional ou da UNESCO, e pessoais, como o Fundo Anísio Teixeira do CPDOC. Por certo, um tratamento quantitativo dos dados, nos permitiria

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[65] Carta de B.W. Pringle, do Escritório de Pessoal e Administração, com data de 21 de agosto de 1953, PEM/APS/IA/1222. DPAT.

[66] Carta de B.W. Pringle, do Escritório de Pessoal e Administração, com data de 22 de julho de 1954, PEM/APS/IA/1818. DPAT.

[67] AT dp 1928.00.00. https://docvirt.com/docreader.net/DocReader.aspx?bib=AT_DocPes&pesq=unesco&hf=docvirt.com&pagfis=88. Acessado em 28/08/2023.

produzir mapas dinâmicos destas redes que apenas conseguimos esboçar neste texto. No entanto, o procedimento intentado permitiu demonstrar a importância da teoria das redes na conformação do campo educacional no Brasil e no exterior. Do mesmo modo, a explosão do continente das fronteiras geográficas possibilitou reconhecer o circuito transnacional em que se moviam os educadores brasileiros e a fertilização mútua que beneficiava o cenário nacional e internacional dessa circulação de sujeitos e ideias.

A análise, entretanto, não se esgota neste artigo. Ao contrário, os elementos mobilizados pela escrita suscitam sendas para o entendimento das ações posteriores lideradas por Anísio na arena educacional brasileira no imbricamento das redes constituídas dentro e fora do país. Nesse percurso, se interessa a agência de Teixeira, é menos sua biografia o que fomenta o investimento, e mais o exercício cruzado das muitas agências de sujeitos no processo de (re)facção continua da educação, como política e intervenção social.

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## 11. APÊNDICE C: LIVRO PUBLICADO COM APOIO DO RECURSO DO AUXÍLIO

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# Rethinking Centre-Periphery Assumptions in the History of Education: Exchanges Among Brazil, USA, and Europe

This collection encompasses a period that spans two centuries, in which Brazil serves as a point of departure and of arrival for the analyses of circuits that, intertwined within the national borders, stimulate the reflection about international transits, hybridizations, and appropriations in a process of transnational circulation of subjects and artifacts, in which pedagogical and social models and knowledges are not excluded. The chapters deal with voyages, trajectories, and exchanges, rethinking the beliefs that for a long time drove politicians, educators, and scholars in search of the best ways to construct national systems of education. Firstly, because they presupposed the existence of fixed and univocal relationships that start from the supposed center toward the regions perceived as peripheral, with no margin for examining the reverse circuit. Secondly, they elided the perception of those territories as transitory and resulting from historically shifting geographic and symbolic constructions. Lastly, they ratified the violence of the processes of exclusion based on the attribution of subalternities brought about by a historiographic narrative in education that presents itself as a reference.

**Diana Gonçalves Vidal** is Professor and Dean of the Brazilian Studies Institute (USP) at the University of São Paulo, Brazil.

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# Rethinking Centre-Periphery Assumptions in the History of Education

## Exchanges Among Brazil, USA, and Europe

**Edited by Diana Gonçalves Vidal and Vivian Batista da Silva**

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# Introduction

*Diana Gonçalves Vidal, Vivian Batista da Silva, Ana Laura Godinho Lima, and Bruno Bontempi Jr.*

Examining the exchanges between Brazil, the USA, and Europe, as the present book proposes to do, means more than just telling the histories of educators and projects that circulated in those places. The chapters comprising this compilation share among them a certain way of understanding the relationships that engender the production of the school model of educating children as we know it today. This model began to acquire sharper contours in the 19th century, following projects of building citizenship in several nation-states (Varela and Alvarez-Uria, 1992; Hamilton, 1989; Nóvoa and Schriewer, 2000). More than a national reality, the school assumed international and worldwide features thanks to movements that promoted the dissemination and assimilation of knowledges and experiences in various spaces. *Travels* are a key idea here because they allow comings and goings, exchanges and interchanges, and passages across worlds. They give schooling its international and worldwide dimensions, braided in the circulation of subjects, artifacts, and pedagogical models. The travelers acquire particular relevance since, in their transit, they not just endeavor to observe, compare, and appropriate themselves of what they come to know *in loco*, but they also convey and disseminate cultural references that give rise to hybridizations.

Traveling implies looking at the Other, as Susan Sontag (2001, p. 274) rightly suggests in her incursions into the literary world. The author identifies several modalities of encounters, among which there are descriptions made in Medieval and Classic times of monstrous peoples, with representations such as "us good, them bad" or "us good, them horrid." Sontag (2001) also refers to the fictions of the 18th century, at the apogee of the mystification of travels, among which the most famous is *Gulliver's Travels*. In narratives of travelers written at that time, the author identified the effort to classify certain peoples as barbarians. The modern literature on the theme established a different type of narrative, evoking societies that could teach us lessons for the future.

Concerning the educational field, there are numerous productions made from travels (Mignot, 2007). In Brazil, the famous *Introdução ao estudo da Escola Nova* (Introduction to the Study of New School), by Lourenço Filho (1930), was the result of study visits and contacts of the author with educators and specialists

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from other parts of the world. In his travels, he became acquainted with experiences and studies about the New School Movement. From there, he organized talks and courses for teachers in various Brazilian states. The compilation of this material resulted in the *Introduction*, first published in 1930 as "a modest little book, a simple introduction to the subject," as Lourenço Filho himself described it. By 1979, it had been re-edited thirteen times, with a few additions of material, and in 2014, it had a further re-edition organized by a group of psychologists in a commemorative edition that hailed *Introduction to the Study of New School* as the "Educators' Bible" (Silva, 2018). As a result of the author's travels, the book followed its own travel plan, being published in Spain and Argentina; it was also reviewed and recommended by foreign intellectuals, among them Alfredo Miguel Aguayo, from the University of Havana; the Swiss Édouard Claparède and Adolphe Ferrière; and the French Paul Fauconnet and Henri Piéron (Monarcha, 2000).

Without going into details of many other examples that could be given here, it is useful to understand the reasons why travels are made in the educational field. Such disquiet is at the root of postcolonial studies because it denaturalizes the idea that the traveler is always in search of "what is best" in education. At the heart of such belief, there is a "center" comprising the countries deemed as more modern and advanced in the organization of their teaching systems. Consequently, there is a periphery, whose mission is to find the lessons to be learned and transpose them to their own spaces. Let us register, however, the work of administrators who, as Marc-Antoine Jullien from Paris (1775–1848) and Victor Cousin (1792–1867) in France and Horace Mann (1796–1859) in the USA, were situated in the so-called center and were also interested in knowing and describing cases from other places, gathering useful information to perfect the teaching systems in their own countries.

In Brazil, Rui Barbosa (1883), Frederico José de Santa-Anna Nery (1884, 1889) and José Ricardo Pires de Almeida (1889) also made use of exogenous examples to think national education. But the mention of the USA and European countries was not always associated with Brazil's marginal position within the international movement. Although it is true that Rui Barbosa made use of statistics of foreign countries to build an image of backwardness for Brazilian education, Pires de Almeida and Santa-Anna Nery pictured a Brazil similar in every respect to the so-called "civilized world." In particular, the works prepared for the 1889 Paris Universal Exposition (Pires de Almeida, 1889; Santa-Anna Nery, 1889) assembled skillful narratives to demonstrate that the country was prepared to take part fully in the concert of nations. However, these writings reverberated with echoes of subalternity, taking, as they did, the European education systems as their reference. Within a different framework, and assuming a novel perspective, Manoel Bomfim (1903) advocated the superiority of the hybrid in comparison with the pure; in other words, of Latin America in comparison with Europe. Refusing the "model of the mule," which associates the hybrid with sterility,

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Bomfim (1903) emphasized the creative power of biological and cultural mixtures. In doing so, he took a position against the colonialist thinking that attributed economic, political, and cultural centrality to the metropoles, relegating the colonies to a peripheral position.

Despite the seminal argument of Bomfim (1903), Dante Moreira Leite (1983), still in the 1980s and within his body of critique of the Brazilian intellectuals, whose thinking was chained to European nationalist trends, opened the way to the perception of the modes of production of the academic discourse or, as Michel de Certeau (1982) would put it, called attention to the not-said in the analyses grounded in the conception that the ideas imported from Europe and the USA would have been the great sources of inspiration for movements such as the independence of South American colonies. The argument exposed the sociological, anthropological, and historical formulations, as well as those of Literary Theory, which stamped Brazil with the seal of backwardness, neediness, and incompleteness, taking as their measuring rod the European or North American histories.

According to Dipesh Chakrabarty (2020), even after all the critiques already made of the very idea of Europe as a homogeneous reality, it persists as a strong reference. To that author, there are at least two symptoms that put into evidence the relationship of subalternity that has been established between European and non-European histories. The first one refers to the fact that, while European authors remain as unavoidable references for those who dedicate themselves to write histories of other regions, European historians feel no need to reciprocate; in other words, to include in their work the efforts made by their non-Western colleagues. The second symptom relates to the universalist aspirations of the theories produced in Europe, which purport to refer to the whole of humankind, notwithstanding their well-known ignorance of non-Western cultures. Chakrabarty (2020, p. 19) observes that "a third-world historian is condemned to knowing 'Europe' as the original home of the 'modern', whereas the 'European' historian does not share a comparable predicament concerning the pasts of the majority of humankind."

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As an alternative to face this state of affairs, the author suggests the development of research works that contribute to "provincialize" Europe. When making his proposal, he warns us that it is not about flatly refusing modernity, as if it were a project or a set of homogeneous realizations in which plurality, disputes, contradictions, and their unpredictable results were not present. Nor is it a commitment to cultural relativism. In his own words, the project of provincializing Europe "cannot originate from the stance that the reason/science/universals which help define Europe as the modern are simply 'culture-specific' and therefore only belong to the European cultures" Chakrabarty (2020, p. 20). Instead, he considers that the project of provincializing Europe needs to include the observation that the self-attribution of the adjective "modern" by Europe is an aspect of an imperialist project, and he also notes the fact that third-world

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nationalisms also contribute to the dissemination of this association between Europe and modernity. He adds that the project needs to adduce the ambivalences in the history of modernity and to reveal how progress in the search for equality and citizen rights, for example, was often made through the use of violence and multiple forms of coercion. Still quoting the author,

> Histories that aim to displace a hyperreal Europe from the center toward which all historical imagination currently gravitates will have to seek out relentlessly this connection between violence and idealism that lies at the heart of the process by which the narratives of citizenship and modernity come to find a natural home in "history."
>
> (Chakrabarty, 2020, p. 22)

Given the considerations and suggestions of the author, we took into account in the analysis presented in this book the asymmetry that has been established between the European countries, the USA, and the other nations, while considering how European and North American artifacts, ideas, and models have been appropriated and transformed in the interaction with the Brazilian culture, incorporating the specific needs and problems of the country. We tried to evince the conflicts and contradictions inherent to the processes of modernization and democratization of the school, revealing the forms of coercion and exclusion that accompany them. As well observed by Daniel Friedrich, Bryn Jaastad, and Thomas Popkewitz (2010), the initiatives to democratize education, by identifying the excluded they intend to include, themselves establish the difference and inequality they seek to overcome through a plan aimed at transforming people to make them equal. Such planning includes normalizing strategies, among which the measuring of the distance that separates the "others," "different" from "us," and the ways of knowing and managing the difference to produce in the future the equality envisaged. To the authors,

> Dangers lie in the relationship between planning and comparing when they operate to have people planned, ordered and hierarchized; when comparison has embedded in it a continuum of values to be imposed on populations and individuals in order to attribute differential values to them; and when planning is enacted to teach them to be more like us.
>
> (Friedrich, Jaastad and Popkewitz, 2010, p. 580)

Similarly, we tried to clarify how artifacts, ideas, and models left the so-called peripheral countries toward the "central" ones, giving rise to a polycentric circuit of travels and travelers. When we focused on Brazil in its relations with the USA and Europe, we were aware of the fact that we were considering a little-contemplated sphere within the international scenario (Cardoso, 1969; Leite, 1983; Silva, 2018). However, we have refused to reproduce the belief in a supposed

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center from which knowledges and experiences would emanate to be merely copied elsewhere. The "analysis of specific forms of dependence cannot be limited to the characterization of a structure that is a reflex of another; it requires the analysis of both in their interrelation" (Cardoso, 1969, p. 17). In short, the "dependent" structures were not mere reflexes of others, more "advanced"; they had their own dynamics within the limits defined by the relationships of domination-subordination between countries (Silva, 2018). It is also important to consider that center-periphery relationships are not established only between groups of nations but also within the same country. This is a strikingly visible aspect in a country like Brazil, with its continental dimensions, and is marked by deep inequality, in which the South and South-East regions represent the centers of national progress, while the states from the North and North-East have been systematically represented as backward and needy.

The exchanges between Brazil, the USA, and Europe are of interest because they were fundamental to establishing the school within those spaces and in other places of the world after a similar pattern since the 19th century. Like the school itself, its characters (teachers and pupils), its functioning, and its artifacts had a reasonably similar consolidation in countries geographically close or distant, and even economically, socially, and politically distinct. In the American and English literature, this system is denominated "mass schooling" (Adick, 1989; Meyer, Kamens, Benavot, Cha and Wong, 1992; Meyer, Ramirez and Soysal, 1992). In Brazil, the most frequently used terms refer to the "process of democratization of education" (Beisiegel, 1984), associated with high indexes of school expansion when schooling started to reach a more significant fraction of the population in the first decades of the 20th century. In fact, the phrases "mass schooling" and "democratic schooling" can lead us to different interpretations.

The word "mass" could suggest the idea of "homogenization." Discussions of this kind can be found in *Crowds and Power* (Elias Canetti, 1984) and in *In the shadow of the silent majorities . . . or The end of the social and other essays* (Baudrillard, 1983). The latter author associated the term "masses" with something "without attribute, predicate, quality, reference," without "sociological 'reality'" (Baudrillard, 1983, p. 5), because it does not highlight the interactions within a group at any given time and space, but rather "an *in vacuo* aggregation of individual particles . . . an opaque nebula" (Baudrillard, 1983, p. 3). The word "mass" can nullify the specificities of the subjects and of the exchanges and relationships. In this sense, countering the use of the adjective *mass* as referring to *culture* (we could here replace it with *school*), Michel de Certeau (1994) proposes that the theoretical enterprise should take stock of its understanding as *ordinary*, simultaneously singular in its practices and plural in its capacity to improvise and create new possibilities.

The texts collected here do not search for what is "best" in education; they do not seek to learn lessons from abroad. What brings them together is the outlook on the effects of the "exchanges" through which it has been possible

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to conceive and construct the school in different spaces since the 19th century. Our interpretations depart from what we might call "copies or resonances" of educational ideas and experiences (Catani, 2000), leading us to seek explanations that are not reduced to a kind of bipolar model of the analyses. At variance with what Rita Hofstetter and Bernard Schneuwly (2009) consider when they make use of the concept of center and periphery to study the circulation of educational ideas and models, we prefer to work with the category hub, an attractive network node. It is an important inflection, since the hub consists of a kind of a strong node that links many others. Being not the initial or final point, but the point of contact, it is neither condition nor result, but convergence. This perspective highlights personal interactions and places of encounter, once hub can be a person, an institution, or a group. In this sense, we follow Peter Burke's (2003) assumptions that center-periphery analyses run the risk of focusing on the processes of knowledge dissemination from the so-called "center," neglecting the flows from the so-called "periphery" toward the "center."

Machteld Venken (2021), when entitling his book *Peripheries at the Center: Borderland Schooling in Interwar Europe*, brought back this issue in a provocative manner. Based on two case studies, the author aimed at discovering "similarities and differences in the multidimensional and continuously changing dynamics involved in making and scaping the border" (p. 26). It led her to conclude that borderland schools were more dependent on international and transnational changes; special educational policies were a frequent phenomenon in interwar borderlands; within the borderlands, language learning policy measures were more negotiable; and borderland schools experienced the excesses of changing systems of power. However, the relevance of these characteristics varies over time, as well as what is considered peripheral and central. With that in mind, the study aimed at enabling educational historians to assess the impact of contextual factors and other spaces on the profile of borderland schooling and to reveal "under which conditions borderland children were more likely to be transformed from *spoken of* children into *speaking* children," participating in and co-creating their environment.

It is the very constitution of the border as a simultaneously geographical and cognitive fact, as noted by Mezzadra and Neilson (2013), that presents itself as a problem. To those authors, considering the border as a method means that

> On one hand, we refer to a process of producing knowledge that holds open the tension between empirical research and the invention of concepts that orient it. On the other hand, to approach the border as a method means to suspend, to recall a phenomenological category, the set of disciplinary practices that present the objects of knowledge as already constituted and investigate instead the processes by which these objects are constituted.
>
> (Mezzadra and Neilson, 2013, p. 17)

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To discuss the production of borders leads us also to the concept of territory; a discussion that has its origin, according to Carla Holanda da Silva (2009, p. 100), in 19th-century political geography, at the moment of consolidation of nation-states, considered as a "space of power demarcated, controlled, governed and, thus, fixed." The nation-states, according to Pierre Bourdieu (2012), emerged at the confluence of a state administration and a state territory. The former was constituted when creating the latter. In his words,

> la construction de l'État comme champ relativement autonome exerçant un pouvoir de centralisation de la force physique et de la force symbolique, et constitué ainsi en enjeu de luttes, est inséparablement accompagnée par la construction de l'espace social unifié qui est son ressort.
>
> (Bourdieu, 2012, p. 197)

Having a government implied having a territory.

If the state were to represent the nation, other conditions applied. According to Benedict Anderson (2006, p. 36), the 18th century in Western Europe marked the birth of the age of nationalism by breaking away from three cultural conditions that exerted the "axiomatic grip on men's minds." They were the indissociability between a given language and the truth, the belief in the cosmological (divine) grace of rulers, and the association between cosmology and history. Nation-states, therefore, emerged from the search for "a new way of linking fraternity, power and time meaningfully together" (Anderson, 2006, p. 36).

The association between state, nation, and territory gave substance to the notion of border as a limit between the "us" and the "them," a physical and symbolic barrier separating those on the inside from those on the outside. Historically, says Doreen Massey (2008, p. 28), the naturalization of the territory ensued, having as its effect the construction of an atemporal concept of space, exemplified in the planeness of the map. The territory is that which confines and spatializes a given society. The borders, thus, not only circumscribed the space inhabited by the citizens but also restricted the citizens to the space of the territory.

Departing from the Western tradition, Marcel Detienne (2008, p. 25) refers to a "teeming variety of modes of territorialization" and questions the thinking mechanisms of "establishing a territory." Oscillating between the crafts of anthropologist and historian, and resuming a study conducted in 1990 entitled *Tracés de foundation* (Approaches to founding), he describes the investigations carried out by Africanists and asks, "What is a site?". Provocatively, he says that "in Brahmin India it was the village that determined its own boundaries, not the boundaries that determined the village."

Doreen Massey (2008) seems to agree with that premise when she says that the territory is integrally "spatiotemporal," constructed through interactions in which the coexistence of ideas is fundamental to understanding its heterogeneity. Therefore, space consists of the simultaneity of histories. To her, without space

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there is no multiplicity, and without multiplicity, there is no space. Multiplicity and simultaneity emerge from material practices. Therefore, it encourages us to consider the practices, materialized in subjects and artifacts, as conditions of multiplicity and simultaneity of histories in territories.

In this scheme of things, transnational history's approach to education, insofar as it keeps in its own name the reference to nation and, consequently, to the definition of borders and to the historically constituted planate territorialization, acquires pertinence. Primacy is epistemological and applies both to history and education. In what concerns history, it is worth noting that that discipline is produced as science in the context of the construction of the nation-states with close links to the debate of themes surrounding the national.

In an already classic work, Manoel Salgado Guimarães (1988, p. 5) investigates the creation of the Brazilian Historic and Geographic Institute (IHGB) in 1838, and its part in the establishment of a "line of interpretation of Brazilian history based on the civilizing and progressive role of the State (initially Portuguese and, from 1822 onwards, Brazilian)." For him, the IHGB was responsible in the 19th century for bringing together the political and intellectual elites, "contributing significantly to the formation of the myths and ideas of nationality." Brazil followed then an international movement in which the historiographical discourse acquired "standing of scientificity in a process in which the 'discipline' of history acceded to the space of the University."

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In this scenario, nation, borders, and identity appeared as theoretical constructs necessary for the configuration of historical narratives, portraying similarities and differences. In such endeavor, the appeal to comparison emerged as a method that simultaneously affirmed the singularity of a country and constituted the others as alterity. The device, however, was not exclusive to the workshops of history. While the 19th century witnessed the birth of history as a science, it was also named the century of school. Childhood, organization of education systems, and mandatory schooling became important investments in the consolidation of state-nations.

It is not our intention here to retrace the lines followed by the discussion about history and compared education, something already accomplished elsewhere (Cowen, 2012; Ferreira, 1999; Kazamias, 2012; Nóvoa, 1998; Vidal, 2001, 2010, 2017, 2018; Vidal and Gvirtz, 2015). We only wish to make clear that a history of education in the 19th and 20th centuries, such as the one instated in this book, cannot overlook the problematization of the effect that the constitution of a given territory as national and the establishing of its borders has had in the development of narratives about the past and present of school and schooling. In this process, the appeal to a transnational history of education emerges as palliation.

According to Eckhardt Fuchs (2014, p. 15), there is not much consensus over the theoretical approaches to transnational history in education. Bernhard Struck, Kate Ferris, and Jacques Revel agree (2011, p. 573), reminding us that

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distinct initiatives, such as historical comparison, cultural transfer, circulation, and connections, are situated under the umbrella of the transnational history, which can at the same time be considered as a modern form of international history (p. 573). They observe, however, that "all these tools or perspectives stress the importance of the interaction and circulation of ideas, people, institutions and technologies across state or national boundaries and thus the entanglement and mutual influence of states, societies and cultures" (Struck, Ferris and Revel, 2011, p. 574).

In this scenario, borders do not have a univocal conceptualization. Rather, according to Altenbernd and Young (2014), in transnational history, the border can be seen as binary or plural; as a line or as a zone; hybridization of violence; confinement or transposition. Eckhardt Fuchs (2014, p. 15) goes as far as saying that transnational history can be broadly characterized as a "history that crosses boundaries." What allows the redefinition of territories and territorial regimes is the focus on actors not associated with the state as well as the perspective of placing national histories within international contexts and pursuing transnational relations, connections, and dependencies.

For Bernhard Struck, Kate Ferris, and Jacques Revel (2011, p. 577), the emphasis on the actors and their agencies is one of the key features of this approach. On one hand, it stimulates shifts between large-scale questions and individual or small-group case studies in back-and-forth procedures that highlight the craft of the historian dealing with primary sources. On the other hand, it brings forward a variety of interacting polycentric scales, placing at the center of the analysis the spatial multiplicity of the lives of subjects and their experiences.

Thus, these authors distinguish between transnational history and the already consecrated global history. For them, the main difference lies in spatial framing. They argue that it is possible to carry out a transnational analysis on a less-than-global scale, for example, a regional scale. It is precisely this "playing with scales" and the impact that it has on the historiographical practice that makes this research perspective most attractive.

It is on such shifting terrain that this text stands and chooses its interlocutors with the certainty that, in making this movement, it attempts to sustain the fundamental premises of understanding the borders of the national states simultaneously as barrier and passage to the international circulation of school artifacts and educational subjects; of insisting on the deterritorialization/territorialization of these research objects in the light of theoretical discussions and empirical investigations; of questioning the national and international historiographies of education; and of placing under suspicion the analyses based on the center-periphery relationship. These are the concerns that comprise the set of research questions of the FAPESP Thematic Project No. 2018/26699–4 entitled *Knowledges and practices at the borders: for a transnational history of education (1810–. . .)*.

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To give visibility to these ongoing studies, this volume is structured in two parts. In the first, what is put in evidence are the exchanges established between Brazil and the USA, with a focus on the circulation of subjects and pedagogical models. The narrative starts in 1884 with the trip of Maria Guilhermina Loureiro to the USA and extends until 1960 with the connections between New Education and Modern Architecture. Along the way, it deals with the education debates carried out in the State of São Paulo around the writing of the report *Education in the State of São Paulo* (1903), and the sojourn of Brazilian educators in the Columbia University Teachers College (NY) between 1920 and 1960. In the second part, the circle is widened, incorporating the exchanges with Europe, particularly with France, England, and Portugal. Here we conduct analyses about the circulation of artifacts, such as desks, parietal charts, and school manuals, as well as of models of representation such as pictorialism photography. In what follows, we give a more detailed description of the chapters.

**Part I—Relationships between Brazil and the United States of America: Circulation of Subjects and Pedagogical Models**

1. Trajectories of the Loureiro de Andrade family in Childhood Education: An Analysis from the Perspective of the Transnational History of Education, by Vinicius de Moraes Monção

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This chapter aims to analyze the teacher training of Maria Guilhermina Loureiro de Andrade (1842–1929), a relevant teacher in the Brazilian context, who in her career connected Brazilian pedagogical ideas with those from the United States of America. Between 1883 and 1887, the teacher stayed in New York City on her own resources to study at the New York Seminary for Kindergartners in the Model Kindergarten created by Maria Kraus-Boelté and John Kraus. During this period, Loureiro de Andrade made connections with other social actors while circulating in different spaces where we can identify the forms of knowledge circulation, objects, and ideas regarding the transnational history of the education perspective. Through the collected documentation (journal articles, books, and other indicative sources), we seek to map the possible social networks established by the teacher involving different subjects in Brazil and the United States of America, such as Horace Lane, Susan Blow, and Marcia Brown, among others. As a result, we can consider that her teacher training process and professional action in Brazil after her return can be seen as evidence of how she appropriated the educational projects for childhood that were underway in the context of the 19th century for the creation of the Seminary for Kindergartners (in a free translation from the Portuguese *Seminário de Jardineiras*) and for the reform of her family-owned school in the city of Rio de Janeiro. Moreover, she was hired to work on the public education reform in São Paulo and Belo Horizonte between the late 19th and early 20th centuries. The Brazilian teacher

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wrote primary education books and translated publications about kindergarten methodology to Portuguese as well as other works. Finally, we can consider that analyzing her trajectory allows us to further discuss the school reform pedagogical knowledge circulation, and the reciprocal connections between the United States of America and Brazil, thus overcoming the idea of unidirectional cultural transfer from center to peripheral spaces.

2. Showing Advances to the World: The *Education in the State of S. Paulo* (1903) Report at Brazil's Exhibition in St. Louis, by Bruno Bontempi Jr.

In the late 19th century, the World's Expos became forums for exchanging ideas, for the observation and comparison of educational experiences, having been crucial in the intermediation and re-contextualization of objects and processes related to them. This chapter concerns Brazil's exhibition during the Louisiana Purchase Exposition, in St. Louis, in 1904, which allows exploring two aspects of center-periphery relations relating to transnational studies. One of these aspects focuses on the representation of the state of São Paulo in its relationship with Brazil, which was proclaimed in the *Education in the State of S. Paulo* report, addressing these dynamics in a nation marked by regionalisms; the other aspect focuses on Brazil's connection with the global power center. In the first case, it is shown how the São Paulo regionalism, expressed in the narrative of its "advances" at the dawn of the First Brazilian Republic in a report geared toward St. Louis, aimed to achieve international prominence. I argue this claim was opposed by the official narrative, marked by a unitary and nationalist point of view, which prevailed in the exhibition of Brazilian education. In the second case, guided by the interests of producers and business people in power, Brazil's exhibition followed the diplomatic custom of emphasizing natural wealth and striving to attract capital and immigrants, minimally accounting for the educational requirements. I oriented the documentary search toward the historical aspects extrinsic to the texts to examine the path and design of their original claims and focus on the effects of their successive belongings, from the subnational to the national scope, and from this to the "universal" scope. These migrations could have interfered with the object's physical destination and its content's reception. The analysis indicates that the discursive and curatorial rhetoric of the Brazilian Commission was effective in diluting regionalisms in favor of the image of unity, as well as in persuading interlocutors that, even if the country could not aspire to a central place, it had at least left the "primitive" remnants in the past, characteristic of the peoples that occupied the most peripheral areas in the geography of civilization.

3. From Brazil to the United States. From Teachers College, Columbia University to the World: Appropriation, Production, and Circulation of Ideas in the Field of Education, by Rafaela Silva Rabelo

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Operating with historical networks and the notion of appropriation, based on a transnational approach, this chapter aims to subvert the idea of center and periphery in intellectual exchanges, taking as the thread of the discussion the motions of Brazilian educators who at some point attended the Columbia University's Teachers College in New York. Around 120 Brazilian students attended Teachers College between the 1920s and 1960s. Some were enrolled in postgraduate programs or simply attended short courses, while others included the institution in their study mission itineraries. The Teachers College played an important role in training several Brazilian educators, whose appropriations shaped the curricula and teacher training courses in the first half of the 20th century. The historiography of education has already addressed many of these cases. Based on such evidence, this chapter proposes to show that the appropriation of models/ideas based on Teachers College in Brazil was not a mere importation but implied processes of resignification and hybridization that resulted in ideas that had international circulation. Some of these Brazilian educators visited other countries and formed a theoretical repertoire that combined North American and European authors adapted to the Brazilian scenario. Some also traveled throughout Latin America, promoting their ideas and publications. The case studies explored in the chapter highlight that the exchanges were multidirectional and the existence of multiple centers.

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4. New Education Movement and Modern Architecture: Brazil and USA Connections between 1930 and 1960, by Ana Laura Godinho Lima and Ana Gabriela Godinho Lima

The chapter develops an interdisciplinary analysis of the correlations between scientific knowledge and the notions of progress in Brazil from the 1930s to the 1960s. It focuses on the approximations among the Escola Nova movement discourses and Modern Architecture Elementary Schools projects in that period. It intends to ponder on how these discourses and architectures have been impacted by the modern idea that the incorporation of scientific knowledge in citizens' education, as well as in city planning and architecture, would allow overcoming the perceived backwardness of the Brazilian society when compared to that of the United States of America and other European countries. With this aim, the focus is directed at the exchanges of ideas and references relating to school architecture between Brazilian and North American educators and architects.

The first part presents an analysis of the references regarding the school spaces and the school environment in the *Manifesto dos Pioneiros da Educação Nova* (New Education Pioneers Manifesto) (1932) and in books authored by two of its subscribers, who traveled to the United States of America aiming at improving their training: *Introduction to the Study of the New School* (1930), by Lourenço Filho, and two works by Anísio Teixeira *American Aspects of Education: Notes from a Trip to the United States of America in 1927*. The second part brings a

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textual and iconographical analysis focusing on school architecture aspects of the catalogs of two exhibitions that took place at MoMA—Museum of Modern Art of New York, featuring Brazilian Elementary Schools: *Brazil Builds* (1943) and *Latin American Architecture since 1945* (1956), as well as the American architect Richard Neutra's book: *Architecture of Social Concern in Regions of Mild Climate* (1948), including some interlocutions that Brazilian architects have established with their work.

The fertile interlocution between Brazilian and North American educators and architects constitutes the main axis of the argument. Some examples mentioned include Lourenço Filho's participation as a member of the American Educational Research Association, his contribution to the books *Latin American Studies* (1936–1947) and *Encyclopedia of Modern Education* (1943), published by The Philosophical Library, New York; the dialogue between the North American educator John Dewey and also the Brazilian educator Anísio Teixeira; and the collaboration between Anísio Teixeira and the architect Hélio Duarte, coordinator of public policy for school buildings in the city of São Paulo.

**Part II—Transnational Circuits of Artifacts and Representation Models**

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5. Kaleidoscope of Images in Exchange: The Pictorialism Movement in the Promotion of Photographic Education and Photographic Production, by Rachel Duarte Abdala

The pictorialism movement, which emerged in the late 19th century in France and England, quickly reached the United States and then Brazil, peaking in the first two decades of the 20th century. This movement to affirm the artistic nature of photography is strictly related to the creation of camera clubs in those countries and others. Pictorialism can be defined as an aesthetic movement that aimed to establish the status of photography as art. It was grounded in a relationship between theory and technique intending to counter the dominance of automatism in photography. It was very important for the promotion of photography as a form of artistic expression, as it encouraged new habits of production and consumption of photography by photographers and also by society. This process involved photographers, their views, the photographs they produced, and their ideas and precepts about fine-art photography, creating and spreading aesthetic standards and forming an international circuit. Articles and photographs were published in magazines created by camera clubs, based on an educational perspective that included experienced photographers, both professionals and amateurs. In analyzing the dissemination and circulation of pictorial precepts from the viewpoint of the categories of center and periphery, one notes a multilayered circulation of ideas and artifacts, composing a kaleidoscope of images and productions that makes it difficult to identify the center from which sprouted all

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technical and aesthetic innovations and solutions. Thus, it was proposed to question the Eurocentric perspective. In the opposite process, the identification of photograph authorship is established and that of technical and aesthetic solutions are diluted. This chapter aims to analyze the educational function of the pictorialism movement in the production of pictorial photographers and the aesthetic education promoted by camera clubs in Brazil, Europe, and the United States in their activities and the magazines they produced. The spread of pictorialism and its intense visibility promoted by different strategies, besides the sharing of ideas and practices among groups of photographers, going beyond national borders, can characterize pictorialism as a school in the broad and open conception of school in its philosophical and informal character.

6. Network Archaeology and School Material Culture, by Wiara Rosa Alcântara

The purpose of this chapter is to discuss the center-periphery relationship, within the scope of the History of Education, based on Carl Knappett's (2008, 2011) archaeological theory of networks. Knappett (2011) operates with the term "network" as a collection of nodes and links, which allows visualizing the material conditions of interactions. The use of the archaeological theory of networks allowed nuanced interpretations about the diffusion of ideas and educational practices, which established fixed places for countries and subjects in dichotomous readings between dominant and dominated. Without denying the inequalities that mark the relations between countries and subjects, the methodological procedure consisted of investigating and tracing the nodes and links of human and non-human networks in the process of world diffusion of the modern school in the 19th century. Therefore, the text is organized in two parts. In the first, it deals with the reverse circuit of the school desk and the circulation of an American school desk model, not as a specific product, but as a concept, an idea laden with meanings. In the second, through the "Statistical Maps of Commerce and Navigation of the Port of Rio de Janeiro," it examines the re-export movement of other school objects, such as materials for teaching natural sciences. As a result, both the displacement of the idea-product and the re-export movement point to the directions and polycentric relationships that marked the worldwide diffusion of the modern school and its materiality.

7. For a Polycentric History of Education: The Brazilian School Museum among Brazil, Portugal, and France (Late 19th Century), by Diana Gonçalves Vidal

Organized into four parts, this chapter deals initially with the Portuguese migration to Brazil during the latter half of the 19th century, focusing on the 1850s and 1860s, when José d' Oliveira Lopes started his saga. The chapter is interested in the circulation of people between the two sides of the Atlantic. Next, it explores the creation of the school and pedagogical museums in the

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1800s, seeing them as necessary didactic support for the implementation of the method of object lessons. Therefore, these museums acquire a meaning distinct from the current one, in which they often represent, as in the case of the Oliveira Lopes School Museum, a place for the memory of education. The attention here is focused on the circulation of pedagogical models. Taking as its point of departure the edition of the Brazilian School Museum, the third part of this chapter discusses commercial and educational relationships between Brazil, France, and Portugal. The focus is now on the circulation of cultural objects. This requires understanding the Brazilian School Museum based on its production, distribution, and consumption, as pointed out by Roger Chartier (1990), looking for evidence of the reasons for its creation, of the editorial strategies shaping the product, and of the circuit in which it was inserted, without overlooking the many ways in which it was appropriated by the social subjects. As its conclusion, this chapter reflects on how to situate the center and the periphery in the studies in which the circulation is the focus of analysis within the scope of a transnational history. Therefore, it argues for a polycentric history of education.

8. From Place to Place: Connections and Ruptures of Luiz Alves de Mattos in the Educational Field (from the 1920s to the 1960s), by Vivian Batista da Silva and Keila da Silva Vieira

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Within the history of the school framework, this chapter aims to examine the circulation Luiz Alves de Mattos and his books for teachers had on national, international, and transnational dimensions. "From place to place" is not only the movement that refers to physical and geographical spaces but also the social spaces in which Mattos built in his career. It is the result of connections made from the 1920s to the 1960s with institutions, groups, and individuals specialized in education in Brazil and in the world, especially in the United States and Argentina. Also, it delineates the author's productions and their itineraries, identifying to what extent they resulted from chances in everyday life and, especially, from investments, connections, and ruptures as well. This analysis warns us about the delusions according to which educators and their works would always stand out for having "learned lessons from abroad." This belief presupposes a knowledge circuit whose starting point are the rich and most "developed" countries and the arrival point are the "peripheral" countries, such as Brazil. His itineraries constitute a kind of "reverse circuit" because his work is not a mere copy of North American references. His work extended to more destinations, consolidating him as a leading author in the Ibero-American space. It is possible to escape the limits of interpretations that believe in the "transfer" of knowledge from one place to another, reducing relations between central and peripheral countries to a linear movement.

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The texts included in this collection reveal various strands followed in a period that spans two centuries, in which Brazil serves as a point of departure and of arrival for the analyses of circuits that, intertwined within the national borders, stimulate the reflection about international transits, hybridizations, and appropriations in a process of transnational circulation of subjects and artifacts, in which pedagogical and social models and knowledges are not excluded. In this exercise, the objects of study are spatially, historically, and epistemologically *de-* and *re*territorialized.

The challenge that brought together the works in this collection was that of rethinking the relationships between center and periphery. They deal with voyages, trajectories, and exchanges. We propose to rethink the beliefs that for a long time drove politicians, educators, and scholars in search of the best ways to construct national systems of education. It is not the relevance of the exchanges that we question, but rather the interpretations that build up the belief according to which countries deemed as peripheral "borrowed" examples from countries deemed as "central" for being pioneers and exemplars in their initiatives, often seen as possibilities for "learning lessons" (Steiner-Khamsi, 2002).

Over and above that, our purpose here is to problematize the very operability of the categories of "center" and "periphery" in the analysis of the movements of circulation and appropriation of pedagogical models and ideas between countries. Firstly because they presuppose the existence of fixed and univocal relationships that start from the supposed center toward the regions perceived as peripheral, with no margin for examining the reverse circuit. Secondly, they elide the perception of those territories as transitory and resulting from historically shifting geographic and symbolic constructions. Lastly, they ratify the violence of the processes of exclusion based on the attribution of subalternities brought about by a historiographic narrative in education that presents itself as a reference.

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Part I

# Relationships between Brazil and the United States of America

## Circulation of Subjects and Pedagogical Models

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# 1 Trajectories of the Loureiro de Andrade Family in Childhood Education

## An Analysis from the Perspective of the Transnational History of Education[1]

*Vinicius de Moraes Monção*

### Introduction

During the 20th and 21st centuries, the academic community has developed terms, categories, concepts, approaches, and historiographic perspectives that aim to broaden the scope of analysis. These perspectives include, for example, the flourishing of historiographies on global history (Bertrand, 2010; Chartier, 2009), connected history (Gruzinski, 2001; Subrahmanyam, 1994, 1997), *Histoire Croisée* (Werner & Zimmermann, 2003), entangled history (Sobe, 2013), and transnational history (Altenbernd & Young, 2014; Struck, Ferris & Revel, 2011; Fuchs & Roldán Vera, 2019; Vidal & Rabelo, 2020). While these historiographical perspectives share an interest in the movement of people, artifacts, and ideas, they differ in their subject matter, assumptions, and goals, as noted by Revel (2015).

Within the methodological and epistemological debates, such historiographical movements, as a mark of rupture of unidirectional perspectives of social, economic, and cultural relations, have emphasized the possible analysis and construction of historical narratives that allow for a reevaluation of established routes and debates over the centuries. In this context, there has been a concerted effort to incorporate different points of views, blending the "center" and "periphery" while seeking for symmetries and anomalies. The goal was to move away from a monocentric perspective of dependence (Stavans, 2018), through multicentrism, toward the recognition of multiple centers (Ojeda, 2010). Such discussions have led to the examination of historical processes to address the complexities of social interactions and relationships as an object of analysis.

Recent years have witnessed historians of education attempting to construct a history of education that extends beyond the confines of the nation-state. As Martin Lawn (2014) points out, "the history of education has treated its object of study as naturally national, as if it had impermeable borders, common institutions, distinct places, and native objects (free translation)." In this regard, he

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argues that the "methodological nationalism" creates a "systemic blindness" that prevents us from recognizing the connections and intricate relationships that societies have developed over time (Lawn, 2014, p. 132). Lawn's perspective is based on the discussions that have unfolded in recent decades within history, discussions that aim to situate it in a more intricate framework by considering the transnational movements and connections that permeate different nations and local histories.

In this context, Roldán Vera (2013) considers that the term "national" has been used as a static analytical category and that the rhetorical force of the terms "National History" or "National Education," has little favored the examination of the past, given its inherent assumption and naturalization of the existence of the nation-state. Building upon these insights, we found it pertinent to adopt the author's perspective in the examination of a Brazilian case and its relationship with the United States of America.

Following Lawn's (2014) and Roldán Vera's (2013) propositions, we focus our analysis on aspects related to the intellectual formation and professional trajectories of the teachers belonging to the Loureiro de Andrade family. We approach the perspective of transnational history bearing in mind the evidence of their interactions with other individuals, as well as their engagement with knowledge and pedagogical artifacts from European countries and the United States of America. This perspective challenges the paradigm of cultural transfer[2] by seeking to encompass the agency and experiences of individuals and the creation of both state and non-state groups and associations, and their pursuits in the realization of their projects.

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Sobe (2013) further critiques the cultural transfer paradigm, emphasizing its tendency to postulate fixed points of departure and arrival, thereby disregarding the dense and complex perspectives of cultural, social, and political exchanges and interactions that transpired during a given historical period. By critiquing this paradigm, the author highlights the risk of obscuring the connections and intersections that engender specific cultural forms and social patterns, which the perspective of the "center-periphery" dynamics does not provide, as it fails to account for the multidimensionalities of the historical processes.

In the same direction, Vidal (2019) highlights the interest in identifying the actors of the historical processes, which, even in the face of control, inspection, and constraints mechanisms manifested by the state, have carried out their projects. Thus, in a dynamic movement from the "microscale to the macro level, and while incorporating both national and global dimensions, the interplay of scales unveils a variety of polycentric scales in interaction (free translation)." It explores questions ranging from individual or small group cases to the study of institutions or associations (Vidal, 2019, p. 122).

Transnational history redefines notions of borders and territories, shifting the focus to actors not related to the state. It situates national histories within

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international contexts, emphasizing transnational relations, dependencies, and connections. As noted by Fuchs and Roldán Vera (2019), this perspective has manifested in the field of history of education in various countries since the late 1990s, aligned with the debates on global history and world history that emerged in the United States of America. In a brief survey of the literature on the transnational history of education in the European and American context conducted in recent years, Fuchs and Roldan Vera (2019) mapped and categorized studies into seven theme areas: international interactions and the formation of educator networks; aspects related to colonial and imperial contexts; the establishment of education as an international science; dissemination of pedagogical knowledge; institutional histories; analysis of textbooks; and gender studies.

Based on this scenario, the objective of the research that inspired this text was to identify and comprehend the actions undertaken by the Loureiro de Andrade family within the educational context, with a focus on their national and international connections as the central point of analysis of their projects. By choosing to analyze the career paths and professional training of the family members, particularly teacher Maria Guilhermina, from a transnational perspective, the study aimed to understand how actions in a national context are closely intertwined with those in a global context. Through studying the actions of the Loureiro de Andrade family, we could incorporate a more comprehensive theoretical and methodological perspective, enabling the identification of processes involving the exchange, appropriation, and reinterpretation of pedagogical knowledge. This approach goes beyond simplistic understandings that individuals are confined to their local contexts, allowing for a critical examination of the cultural transfer paradigm.

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In light of these considerations, the chapter introduces the following structure: the first part introduces current discussions on digital history (DH), as the methodological approach employed involves identifying traces of life among the members of the Loureiro de Andrade family. Specially, we give attention to Maria Guilhermina's role, considering her close connection to the American educational scene in the late 19th century and the networks she established with various actors during her training and professional activities.

To explore the circulation of ideas and challenge the center-periphery dynamics, the text delves into the theoretical and methodological discussions stemming from transnational history. It examines the movement and circulation of individuals, artifacts, and ideas, along with the connections established between Brazilian and American characters. In the final considerations, the chapter presents reflections on the family of teachers and their engagement in the national and international educational frameworks while examining the various manifestations of their participation and performance within the educational scenario in the city of Rio de Janeiro between the late 19th century and the early 20th century.

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**On the Collection and Production of Data Used in the Research**

During the period of social isolation prompted by the COVID-19 pandemic, many researchers turned to digital environments and tools to continue their research activities. Brasil and Nascimento (2020) suggest a lack of reflection on digital media and methodological aspects in historical research, despite the growing use of digital or digitized sources. The authors perceive an almost naive use of digital tools, including digitized sources, databases, and software programs. They argue for the need to "denaturalize" uncritical behavior in the face of digital technology, emphasizing the importance of validating and establishing methodological parameters for the production of historical knowledge.

The emergence of DH is closely linked to the digital turn, characterized by the popularization of personal computers, the expansion of the Internet, and other related elements (Lucchesi, 2014; Lopes, 2018). Accompanying the turn of the millennium, this coincides with a significant shift in humanity's relationship with information as a result of internet development, crossing and altering notions of time, space, and their interconnectedness. Concerning debates on the subject, Lucchesi (2014) points out that these debates are already perceptible and have intensified since the early 2000s, resulting in publications in the United States of America, Italy, England, France, Brazil, and Germany.

According to Decker (2020), as well as Seefeldt and Thomas (2009), DH encompasses the digital processing and storage of texts and oral and visual historical sources. Beyond that, it represents an approach to recovering, interpreting, and representing the past through the use of information and communication technologies. By extending the process of digitalizing sources to include physical formats, the authors suggest the creation of databases, the use of software programs, and websites as possibilities for establishing new approaches to writing history.

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Brasil and Nascimento (2020) argue that working with digital files as a historian is no different from working with physical files. They assert that both modalities "require as much methodological rigor in the treatment of the source as in the treatment of a non-digital source" (Brasil & Nascimento, 2020, p. 203, free translation). They also emphasize that, just as physical documents are imbued with materiality, the same applies to digitized or born-digital documents. When a physical record is converted into a digital document, it assumes a new format, occupies different storage spaces, and requires new means of management for its materiality. Furthermore:

> Rematerialization involves the partial or total disappearance of a considerable range of organoleptic properties (color, brightness, light, odor, texture, softness, sound, taste, etc.) which can be decisive in the description of certain historical sources.
>
> (Brasil & Nascimento, 2020, p. 201, free translation)

Brasil and Nascimento raise awareness about using tools to locate terms and keywords in digitized documents that have undergone optical character recognition

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(OCR) treatment. They caution against overlooking issues related to false cognates and the non-identification of inserted terms due to OCR system failures, which can result from the quality of the scanned document or the presence of spelling and typographic features in the scanned documentation. They emphasize that the failure to locate a specific term using a search tool does not necessarily mean it does not exist. Conversely, it is possible to find unexpected information while conducting searches (Brasil & Nascimento, 2020, p. 204).

For the research that resulted in this text, we used the Brazilian Digital Library[3] (BDL) as a platform to collect information on the members of the Loureiro de Andrade family, which were available in the periodicals that circulated in the city of Rio de Janeiro from 1860 to 1910. Considering the ongoing discussions surrounding DH, the researchers took into account its strengths and weaknesses, as well as the variables that may affect search results within the BDL search system and their relationship with digitized sources. The search results served as important entry points for the research, enabling the identification of various aspects of the subjects' lives, including their institutional connections, projects, local and international activities, and multiple events documented on the pages of the newspapers. However, it is acknowledged that other traces and vestiges were not fully explored, and the research does not claim to exhaust all information available on the subjects. The advancement of digital technologies, as well as software and hardware, may reveal other information and signs in the near future which were not contemplated at this time.

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Among the newspapers from the city of Rio de Janeiro that have been digitized and are available on BDL, we prioritize *Jornal do Commercio* due to its widespread circulation and popularity from the second half of the 19th century onward.[4] The initial searches in the repository's search field included keywords such as "loureiro andrade," "collegio de Meninas," "externato andrade," and "maria guilhermina loureiro andrade." As the research progressed and additional elements were identified in the repository, the search was expanded to include terms that introduced possibilities for further investigation. The results obtained through the search tool in BDL encompassed a variety of materials, including information on schools, commercial activities, maritime transit, participation in groups and associations, death notices, and invitations to memorial services, among others. In addition to the newspapers, existing historiographical works were consulted to analyze the life and contributions of Maria Guilhermina, a member of the Loureiro de Andrade family. Works by Chamon (2008), Monção (2018), and other studies that intersected with the chosen theme were also used.

## Trajectories of the Loureiro de Andrade Family

United by marriage in the mid-19th century in the city of Ouro Preto, in Minas Gerais, Leonor Augusta Loureiro de Andrade and João Estanislau Pereira de Andrade gave rise to a large family in which the profession of teaching was

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adopted by most of its members. Around the 1850s, the couple migrated to the coffee-producing region in the south of the state of Rio de Janeiro, attracted by the news and rumors of economic growth resulting from the high productivity of coffee. Established in the Parish of Nossa Senhora da Conceição de Vassouras, Chamon (2018) points out that João Estanislau worked as a prosecutor for the Municipality of Vassouras, and Leonor as a public teacher at the only girls' school in the locality. However, in the 1860s, the Vale do Café region was struck by a yellow fever epidemic, prompting the Loureiro Andrade family to relocate to the Court [Rio de Janeiro],[5] as mentioned by Chamon (2008).

The couple had children, but given the challenges in locating and gathering information, as well as discrepancies in sources, it was not possible to determine their exact number. According to *Jornal do Brasil*, Leonor and João had 17 children, of whom 12 survived, while *O Paiz* reported that 11 children were born, but their birth and death dates are unknown (Jornal do Brasil, 1934; O Paiz, 1897). Through research conducted in the *Jornal do Commercio*, we have identified 11 individuals belonging to the family: Maria Guilhermina, Anna Guilhermina, Amélia Angélica, Eugênia Augusta, Mariana, Francisca, Emília, Francisco Luiz, Paulo Emílio, Jacintho, and Eugênio.

Among the Loureiro de Andrade family, a notable characteristic is their strong involvement in the field of education,[6] with many members working as teachers, managers, directors, and owners of educational institutions. Of the 11 children, 9 pursued a career in teaching, forming a "family of teachers." The upbringing and apprenticeship of the teaching profession took place within the family environment and in the schools they owned. It should be noted that Maria Guilhermina also gained teaching experience during her time in the United States of America. However, there is no indication that Jacintho and Eugênio worked in the educational field.

By following the advertisements on the pages of *Jornal do Commercio*, we identified that the Loureiro de Andrade established several schools in Rio de Janeiro between the 1860s and 1910s, namely: the Colégio de Meninas, the Colégio Andrade[7]/Externato Andrade,[8] the "Externato Primário for boys," and "Colégio Loureiro." Over the years, the advertisements displayed graphic and informative variations, but it was evident that the Loureiro de Andrade family members, in addition to being owners, held managerial positions and worked as teachers alongside individuals unrelated to their family.[9]

The family's actions followed the expanding educational landscape in Brazil at the time. Private educational institutions such as colleges, high schools, primary and secondary schools, private tutors and teachers, and domestic classes began to form a network of services. These establishments catered to a population eager for education and served the interests of the state in terms of shaping the Brazilian people. In the scenario of frank expansion of private education establishments, the Regulation of Primary and Secondary Instruction in the Municipality of the Court of 1854 extended to private teaching institutions the

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same norms that were intended for the public system, providing them with control mechanisms, supervision, and regulation (Limeira, 2008, 2010).

The first evidence of a school created by members of the Loureiro de Andrade family dates back to July 1868. The "Colégio de Meninas," directed by Maria Guilhermina, offered day school, semi-boarding school, and boarding school courses. Initially located at Rua da Saúde, 58, close to the docks of Rio de Janeiro (Jornal do Commercio, 1868a), the school later changed its address and operated on Rua de Santa Christina in the Glória neighborhood, close to the downtown (Jornal do Commercio, 1868b).

Newcomers to the court and seeking to insert the Colégio in the existing competition between private schools in the city, the Loureiro de Andrade family resorted to their network as a way to advertise the institution. José Malaquias Baptista Franco[10] published an advertisement in *Jornal do Commercio* to promote Colégio de Meninas. In the advertisement, Franco expressed his desire to support a deserving family and recommended the Colégio to friends and acquaintances. He specifically highlighted the impressive qualifications of Maria Guilhermina, who "correctly speaks and writes in English, possesses in-depth knowledge of geography and history, and is proficient in teaching both French and Latin" (Jornal do Commercio, 1868b, free translation). Additionally, he emphasized her expertise in arithmetic, stating that "her knowledge in this arduous subject goes far beyond decimals and proportions." The advertisement also mentioned that Maria's mother and two unnamed sisters were qualified to teach primary education at the Colégio (Jornal do Commercio, 1868b).

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Unfortunately, the reasons for the school changing its address were not identified during the research. In 1869, the educational institution moved to a new building located at Campo da Aclamação, 67, near the Campo railway station, which is now known as Central do Brasil. At the institution, Maria Guilhermina, her mother, and some older sisters served as teachers and held positions related to school administration. The younger sisters, on the other hand, became students and likely learned about the intricacies of the teaching profession through their involvement in the daily life of the school (Chamon, 2008).

The Loureiro de Andrade family's connection to international teaching guidelines may have begun through their contact and proximity to Presbyterian missionaries residing in Rio de Janeiro, particularly Harriet Greenman and Mary Parker Dascomb. According to a school map found in the Public Instruction Fund of the General Archive of the City of Rio de Janeiro (*Arquivo Geral da Cidade do Rio de Janeiro*—AGCRJ/FIP), both Greenman and Dascomb worked as teachers alongside Maria Guilhermina and her mother Leonor. For Dascomb, the documentation available suggests that she worked at the Colégio de Meninas in 1869 and 1870 (Arquivo Geral da Cidade do Rio de Janeiro, 1871). According to Goes (2020), she is known to have been the dean at Escola Americana de São Paulo by 1871.[11]

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According to the biographical research carried out by Nicolete and Ribeiro (2016) and Nicolete and Almeida (2019), Dascomb graduated from *Oberlin College*, in Ohio, in 1860 and came to Brazil for the first time to teach the children of the American consul and Presbyterian James Monroe. After approximately two years, she returned to the United States but later came back to Brazil upon the invitation of Reverend Ashbel Green Simonton to serve as a missionary of the Board of Foreign Missions in New York, becoming the first woman to ever take the role. The presence of foreign religious missionaries in Rio de Janeiro can be linked to the cosmopolitan space that the city established during the 19th century. Amid social, political, and cultural vibrancy, the educational landscape became a focal point for debates and proposals from various individuals who were influenced by ongoing educational experiences in other countries. During this period, books, educational materials, pedagogical manuals, conferences, and educational association meetings circulated throughout the city, disseminating both the news and contested pedagogical ideas.

In 1870, Colégio Andrade relocated to a building at Rua Aprazível, 9, on Santa Tereza Hill. The reason for this change may be associated with the Loureiro de Andrade family's search for a suitable location that aligned with hygienist-medical discourses. This new location was regarded as a place free from air contamination and "addictions," away from the hustle and bustle of the central region of the city. According to one of the advertisements, the new location of the school was ideal for parents interested in providing their daughters with moral and intellectual education, along with the "beneficial influence of physical development that comes from good air, achieving, then, robust health" associated with the site location (Jornal do Commercio, 1870, 1871a, 1871b, free translation).

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The teaching program at the Colégio Andrade encompassed a wide range of subjects, including reading, calligraphy, Portuguese, Christian doctrine, sacred history, universal and Brazilian history, geography, arithmetic, algebra, and geometry. Additionally, the school offered disciplines traditionally associated with females, such as drawing, music, singing, piano, dance, and various types of embroidery. Separate classes in French, English, Latin, Italian, German, and Hebrew could be hired as well (Jornal do Commercio, 1872, p. 5). In addition to the influence of Presbyterian missionaries, another way to identify the presence and circulation of pedagogical knowledge was through the advertisements published by the Loureiro de Andrade family when hiring teachers. As the case of an advertisement in the Jornal do Commercio that sought to hire "a Brazilian, French, or German lady" to teach needlework and another to be an inspector of girls at the Colégio Andrade (Jornal do Commercio, 1873, p. 6).

Following the news and advertisements of 1877, the school left its address on Santa Tereza Hill and relocated to Rua do Riachuelo, 160, in the Parish of Santo Antônio, in the downtown Rio de Janeiro. This change was possibly prompted by low enrollment, the costs of maintaining the building, and the distance from the city center, which was the most populous area. In this new address, Colégio

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Andrade (for girls) shared space with the primary school for boys (Jornal do Commercio, 1877).

There is limited information available regarding the primary Externato for boys run by the family. According to the references found in *Jornal do Commercio*, the Externato for boys at Colégio Andrade was directed by Emília Luiza and Francisca and intended for boys aged from 5 to 10 years. Besides the family teachers, a French teacher named Mathilde Catherine Kerling, who arrived in Rio de Janeiro in 1876, also taught at the Externato (Diário do Rio de Janeiro, 1876). Manoel Peixoto Cursino de Amarante was a bachelor and lecturer at the Military School of Brazil, teacher of mathematics and mechanics, and a friend of Benjamin Constant. Amarante was also one of the founders of the Associação de Socorros à Invalidez (Association for Assistance to the Disabled). These details can be found in references, such as Brasil (1873), Almanak Laemmert (1902), Castro (1995), and Magalhães (2009). Another notable figure associated with the school is Paulo Faulhaber, a German piano teacher, composer, and director of concerts and choirs who held teaching positions at Colégio Aquino and Colégio Cruzeiro, two distinguished schools of the Court. In 1895, he joined the Brazilian National Institute of Music as an honorary member. The presence of foreign professors in the school, like Mathilde Catherine Kerling, Amarante, and Faulhaber, may have served as a way to showcase the institution's adherence to current pedagogical knowledge. It could be seen as a means of legitimizing the school and seeking prominence in the education trade.

Colégio Loureiro was established in 1892 by Francisco Luiz, a civil engineer who graduated from the Polytechnic School of Rio de Janeiro. Francisco Luiz was also one of the founders of the Engineering Club of Rio de Janeiro. Its creation was due to the purchase of Colégio Augusto, a private institution on the outskirts of the city, following the death of its owner. Before acquiring the school, Francisco Luiz engaged in technical activities related to railways in the states of Sergipe, Pernambuco, Ceará, São Paulo, Maranhão, Rio Grande do Sul, and Paraná (Jornal do Commercio, 1951).

From 1892 to 1915, Colégio Loureiro underwent several address changes but remained within the Engenho Novo neighborhood. Interestingly, all the addresses were located near train stations. This strategic choice may suggest an intention to cater to clientele residing in neighboring areas, taking advantage of the convenience of railway transportation (Jornal do Commercio, 1900, 1910, 1915).

The Loureiro de Andrade family's involvement in the "education trade"[12] allowed its members to participate in broader discussions on Education. As was the case with Maria Guilhermina, she was summoned to participate in the Education Congress that would be held in 1883.[13] She was assigned the task of presenting an opinion on the "Organization of kindergartens." Although the event did not take place, Maria Guilhermina's opinion, along with other experts', was published by the Tipografia Nacional in 1884, composing the book "Atas e Pareceres do Congresso de Instrução." In the same year, Maria Guilhermina

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traveled to the United States with her mother, seeking training in the Froebelian methodology of kindergartens. She stayed there until 1887 (Chamon, 2008; Monção, 2018). The choice of the United States as a destination was likely influenced by it being a place

> where primary education has made truly admirable progress, and for four years I spared no effort or sacrifices to prepare myself as much as possible to come here [in Brazil] to establish a kindergarten, where our children would enjoy the same advantages as American children, who live a more fulfilling and happier life under the principles of the New Education.
>
> (Andrade, 1888, pp. 3–4, free translation)

While Leonor and Maria Guilhermina were in New York, Colégio Andrade changed its address once again. In the second half of 1884, the institution relocated to a building at Rua Visconde do Bom-Retiro, 21, in the Parish of Engenho Novo. Despite Francisca being the director, Maria Guilhermina's name continued to appear as the director in the school's advertisements and promotions (Jornal do Commercio, 1884, p. 6).

Between 1884 and 1887, advertisements in the *Jornal do Commercio* emphasized the physical structure of the institution as well as the qualifications of the professionals: "situated in the heart of an extensive wooded property, it offers all the health and communal guarantees," where "competently qualified female teachers . . . are assisted in the internal management of the institution by their revered mother, a retired teacher." As a way of minimizing the obstacle of distance from the central region of the Court, they proclaimed the ease of reaching the place, given the availability of train services and trams nearby (Jornal do Commercio, 1884, 1887a, free translation).

Regarding Maria Guilhermina's training period in the United States of America, Monção (2018) pointed out potential contacts that the Brazilian teacher established with prominent figures engaged in educational discussions. She was a student of Maria Kraus-Boelte and John Kraus, owners of the *New York Seminary for Kindergartners with a Model Kindergarten*. She also attended to the *Normal College of New York*, where she took classes with Nicholas Murray Butler, a professor of philosophy and education at the Columbia University, and Felix Adler, a professor of political and social ethics at the same institution (O Estado de São Paulo, 1890). Additionally, according to a biographical note about the teacher published by the newspaper O Estado de S. Paulo[14] in 1890, Maria Guilhermina held an administrative position at the "Colégio Rutherford." Although we did not find evidence of the existence of this school during our research, it is reasonable to assume that it refers to the *Friends' Seminary*, directed by Edward A. H. Allen, located at *Rutherford Place*, a building located on Second Avenue in Manhattan. This assumption is based on the seminary's existence during the period in which Maria Guilhermina resided in New York,

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as well as the purpose of the institution and its proximity to the area where the teacher was active during that time. In addition to the Kraus couple and the professors at the *Normal College of New York*, it is reasonable to assume that the teacher had contact with Elizabeth Peabody, Susan Blow, Henry Barnard, Horace Mann,[15] and other intellectuals who were involved in the establishment of kindergartens and early childhood education.[16]

Upon Maria Guilhermina's return to Brazil in 1887, Colégio Andrade relocated back to the central region of the Court, specifically to Rua do Catete in the Parish of Glória. The request for authorization to open the school at the new address was submitted to the city's Board of Public Instruction, to which the supporting documents of its training abroad were attached, which substantiate the request for the opening of kindergarten and training classes for kindergarten teachers. The handwritten document by the applicant stated that she was "authorized to operate a primary and secondary school" since she had "completed the course of practical and theoretical studies in Kindergarten Education" at the Seminary for Kindergartners, directed by Professor John Kraus and Mrs. Maria Kraus-Boelte. With the supporting documents submitted along with the request, Maria Guilhermina sought authorization to "open a Primary and Secondary Education Externato, and include a Kindergarten or Model Kindergarten and a Seminar for Kindergarten Teachers, at Rua do Catete, 109" (AGCRJ/FIP, 1887).

In January 1888, after receiving the necessary authorization, Externato Andrade commenced its operations, offering primary and secondary education, training for kindergarten teachers, as well as a kindergarten. Although there were several kindergartens in various parishes of Rio de Janeiro during the 1870s and 1880s,[17] the one associated with the Loureiro de Andrade family stood out due to the education imparted by one of its members. Maria Guilhermina's training period with the Kraus couple in New York brought a pedagogical innovation to the forefront—the establishment of the *Seminary for Kindergartner* and *Model Kindergarten*, aiming to prepare and train girls and women for early childhood education (Jornal do Commercio, 1887b).

Maria Guilhermina capitalized on the proposals for teacher training that she had encountered abroad, which emphasized scientific knowledge in both theoretical and practical aspects. This approach aimed to move beyond the traditional apprenticeship model of the profession of teaching (Gondra & Uekane, 2005; Gondra & Schueler, 2008). In addition to attending classes, trainee kindergarten teachers had the opportunity to gain practical experience at the Model Kindergarten, which operated within the premises of Colégio Andrade. This educational approach emphasized the integration of theory and practice.

Despite the positive reception and press coverage of the Externato's pedagogical methodology, which departed from the "traditional rote learning of syllables and mindless memorization of multiplication tables," the Seminary for Kindergartner was relatively short-lived. It was featured in the classified ads of *Jornal do Commercio* for a period of six years, between 1888 and 1893. One hypothesis

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for its closure is the lack of demand for enrollments, as public kindergartens had not yet been established, resulting in a limited need for trained teachers in the field of early childhood education (Jornal do Commercio, 1891).

In the new configuration of the Externato, the school responsibilities were in charge of the Loureiro de Andrade women. Anna Guilhermina and Eugênia worked as teachers, likely benefiting from their family's involvement in the school environment and their exposure to matriarch Leonor and older sister Maria Guilhermina (Jornal do Commercio, 1891).

In addition to being a teacher, given her command of the English language, Maria Guilhermina translated textbooks. For instance, she translated the *Manual of Arithmetic* by Professor Stoddard A. Felter in the 1870s. However, her Portuguese translation was not published due to a lack of support and the loss of the original copy from the Department of Public Instruction (Monção, 2018). Later, inspired by G. W. Pockels' American history textbook, she wrote the *Resumo da História do Brasil para o uso das escolas primárias*. The book went through three printings between 1888 and 1920 and was published *by Ginn & Company* in Boston. G. W. Pockels, who was present in Rio de Janeiro during the 1870s, appears on the list of teachers at Externato Jasper[18] (O Globo, 1875).[19] According to Schueler, Chamon, and Vazquez (2010), Pockels' name can also be found in the lists of final exams at the court as a history professor, published in the Reports of the Minister of Business of the Empire (Schueler, Chamon & Vazquez, 2010). Furthermore, Pockels' name is mentioned in advertisements for private schools in Rio de Janeiro's periodicals from the 1870s onward, as well as in the "Relatório do Estado da Instrução Primaria e Secundária do Município da Corte," from the same period. He worked as a German teacher at the aforementioned Externato, which was located at Rua do Hospício, 99, in the central region of the Court. Given their shared location and timeframe, it is plausible to assume that Pockels and Maria Guilhermina were acquaintances and established professional partnerships.

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In addition to her translation work, Maria Guilhermina also produced a graded series of books called *Livro de Leitura*, which aimed to teach reading and writing. These books were printed by the *American Book Company*, which had offices in New York, Boston, and Chicago in the 1890s (Chamon, 2008).

For the instrumentalization of childhood teachers, Maria Guilhermina translated the book *Kindergarten culture in the family and kindergarten: a complete sketch of Froebel's system of early education, adapted to American institutions. For the use of mothers and teachers*, by William Nicholas Hailmann, published in Rio de Janeiro in 1887. And the booklet *The Kindergarten*, published in 1888, also in Rio (Chamon, 2008).

Her performance spread beyond the school walls. She was actively involved in pedagogical groups and associations, including serving as a member of the board of directors of the Associação dos Professores do Brasil and as an editor of *A Eschola* magazine. According to Teixeira (2016), the association was one

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of the first to emerge during the Republican period. She also participated in scientific conferences, such as the Conferências Populares da Glória, where she made history by becoming the first woman to present a paper on April 18, 1888. Her conference titled "A mestra e a escola entre nós" advocated for the need for teacher training to work with children (Monção, 2018).

Her various forms of activities and connections, both in Brazil and the United States, led to her invitation to participate in the reform of education in São Paulo in 1890. Horace Manley Lane[20] chose to nominate her based on her training in New York and her work fronts in Brazil (Silva, 2015). At Escola Modelo Caetano de Campos,[21] she worked alongside Marcia Prescilla Browne,[22] who arrived in Brazil in the 1880s to work as a teacher at Escola Americana in São Paulo (Evening Capital, 1890).

In addition to the Escola Modelo Caetano de Campos, Kuhlmann Junior (2000) commented that Maria Guilhermina worked in Escola Americana's Kindergarten (although specific references on this aspect are not provided). While there is no direct relationship established between Maria Guilhermina and Escola Americana de São Paulo, she did have contact with some members of that school, as previously mentioned. Based on the information found, Mary Dascomb, who worked with Maria Guilhermina at Collegio de Meninas, may have played a role in Lane's appointment of Maria Guilhermina to work in the reform in São Paulo. This assumption is based on the close ties between Dascomb and Lane. However, without further evidence or specific references, it remains speculative.

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The emphasis on Maria Guilhermina's invitation to participate in the reform was likely due to her four years of study in the United States, her knowledge of teaching methods, and her experience in writing textbooks. Caetano de Campos highlighted her exceptional qualifications, stating that "there is no second-best in Brazil and no better teacher in North America. She studied there, knows all secrets of the method, writes textbooks, knows Greek and Latin" (Caetano de Campos, 1890 as cited in Filho, 1981, p. 48). Maria Guilhermina's actions can be seen as the materialization of knowledge and pedagogical expertise through various forms of engagement. During her time in São Paulo, the Externato was under the responsibility of Amélia, who served as vice director.

In 1907, Maria Guilhermina went to Belo Horizonte at the invitation of the city hall to participate in a reform of education. In addition to working with primary education and conferences aimed at normalists, she also contributed to the organization of the first public kindergarten in Belo Horizonte, named Escola Infantil Delfim Moreira, and established in 1908. Due to health reasons, she took a leave of absence from public service in 1913, returning to Rio de Janeiro (Chamon, 2008).

Meanwhile, Externato Andrade moved from its previous location at Rua do Catete, 115 to Rua Conselheiro Bento Lisboa, in the close-by Glória neighborhood in 1899. In the early 1900s, specifically from 1906 onward, the direction of the Externato passed to Amélia, possibly due to Maria Guilhermina's advancing

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age. In the same period, the family business moved again, this time to No. 10 on the same street (Jornal do Commercio, 1899).

The school's continued presence in the same area suggests that the family managed to establish a loyal clientele for their institution. The family project, with Maria Guilhermina at the forefront, seems to have been successful, as news about the Externato can be found up until 1915. The last advertisement published in *Jornal do Commercio* was simple, without any specific references to the methods used or the professor in charge of the institution.

## Final Considerations

The research aimed to analyze the intellectual formation and professional trajectories of the teachers in the Loureiro de Andrade family, particularly focusing on the performance of Maria Guilhermina, using the theoretical and methodological framework of transnational history as a contribution to the study. The documentary *corpus* consisted of information present in periodicals, with the primary source for the research being the *Jornal do Commercio*, a widely consumed newspaper in Rio de Janeiro during the period from the 1860s to the 1910s. Prioritization of the journal was due to the widespread consumption of the journal by the population in the analyzed period. The research utilized the BDL for accessing and analyzing the available information. The methodological aspects related to DH and the use of digital repositories in historical research were discussed in the study.

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An overview of the Loureiro de Andrade family was constructed based on the gathered data, highlighting aspects related to their professional activities and their connections to the educational landscape of Rio de Janeiro. The research revealed that the teachers in the family primarily worked in private education as school owners, teachers, and intellectuals. Among them, Maria Guilhermina stood out due to her education in the United States, her book production, her participation in conferences, and her involvement in associations. The study concluded that Maria Guilhermina's extensive participation in public life allowed her to engage as a teacher in the reformist movements of public education in São Paulo and Belo Horizonte between the 19th and 20th centuries. However, the reasons for her non-participation in public education in Rio de Janeiro were not identified.

The research also emphasized that Maria Guilhermina's role cannot be separated from the other family members, as their actions were viewed as a collective endeavor rather than individual pursuits, considering the arrangements and organizational modes of the educational establishments, especially those managed by women. Here, it is worth highlighting the importance of female participation in childhood education in the 19th century, both in public and private education, as a space for disputes and achievements in expanding women's participation.

The discussions on the circulation of subjects, ideas, knowledge, and pedagogical objects, through the advertisements of the family schools revealed an interesting

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flow of pedagogical knowledge and practices within the institutions, influenced by the presence of foreigners and the consumption of modern pedagogy trends of the time. We understand that, from the theoretical and methodological approach of transnational history, this aspect confronts the consolidated idea of center-periphery, allowing for the understanding of the appropriation of pedagogical cultures on a transnational scale during that period. The research also emphasized the role of the school as a training space for the family members themselves. Upon returning from her studies abroad, Maria Guilhermina trained her mother and sisters to work at the school, sharing the "pedagogical novelties" she had acquired.

Taking the "micro" (Colégio Andrade and the teaching experience for the Loureiro de Andrade family), and "macro" (the expanded social context of exchanges, propositions, and ongoing experiences in the international scenario of the pedagogical field) scales as a lens of analysis, it is through the micro that it becomes noticeable how school education can be understood as part of a larger movement that has overcome national borders. In addition to the perspective of analysis between the micro and macro scales, we must also evoke the notion of networks that permeated the research. It provided a way to think about and analyze the relationships between subjects, their movements, and the circulation of pedagogical perspectives and artifacts. As highlighted by Duarte and Frey (2008), historical subjects' trajectories are shaped by the formation of networks that are constantly evolving and not self-contained. Such networks create new arrangements over time and space throughout the execution of projects.

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The transit circuit of ideas and subjects in the establishment of centers for the dissemination of Froebelian pedagogical thought was observed in the context of the research. The United States, particularly the city of New York, became a hub for educators active in Froebel's perspective of childhood education and played a significant role in disseminating his ideas, which managed to spread to Brazil. Inspired by the American experience, Maria Guilhermina created a Froebelian training school in the country. Through her professional activities, she provided opportunities for the creation of "new centers" for the dissemination of pedagogical knowledge, both in her school institutions and her involvement in education reforms in São Paulo and Belo Horizonte between the late 19th and early 20th centuries, thus constituting a pedagogical multicentrism.

In Brazil, in addition to her circulation among the main political and economic capitals of the country, she established professional and emotional ties with American characters who settled in the country, such as Horace Lane, Marcia Brown, and Mary Dascomb. These relationships illustrate the dynamic between national and global history, highlighting the interconnectedness between subjects. The research emphasized that professional practices and training spaces provided opportunities for the dissemination and appropriation of childhood education methodologies that transcended boundaries during the latter half of the 19th century.

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Finally, by taking the private schools established and run by the Loureiro de Andrade family as the focal point of analysis, the study identified the transit of ideas, knowledge, subjects, and pedagogical objects primarily between Brazil and the United States. This approach moved away from a unidirectional cultural transfer perspective and highlighted the interconnectedness of actions and shared experiences among the subjects involved.

**Notes**

1. This research was supported by the São Paulo Research Foundation (FAPESP), processes No. 2020/00219–6 and 2018/26699–4, and by the Coordination for the Improvement of Higher Education Personnel (CAPES).
2. It also encompasses the *center-periphery* discussion within the world system. See Lima (2015).
3. Brazilian Digital Library (Hemeroteca Digital Brasileira) is a repository for online consultation of digitized periodicals from the collection of the National Library, which is headquartered in the city of Rio de Janeiro. Its digitized collection is composed of newspapers, magazines, bulletins, and serial publications that include the first newspapers published in Brazil from 1808 to newspapers created and extinct during the 20th century.
4. According to Brasil (2015), *Jornal do Commercio* was founded in 1827 by the Frenchman Pierre René François Plancher de La Noé (1779–1844), installed in Rio de Janeiro along with artisans, booksellers, and typographers from 1824 onward. It is considered the second oldest periodical in Brazil, one of the oldest in Latin America, and one of the longest-lasting in Brazil. The newspaper remained in uninterrupted circulation for 189 years before ceasing its activities in 2006 (Gouvêa, 2016).
5. The term "Court" refers to the status that Rio de Janeiro acquired after the Portuguese court was transferred to Brazil (1808–1822) and maintained its position as the capital of the Empire of Brazil during the Imperial period (1822–1889). It was "the cultural, political and economic center of the national territory," had a dense and complex urban structure, and concentrated on the main political institutions where technological, commercial, and educational development was manifested (Alencastro, 2008).
6. Scholarly works such as Schueler (2005), Gondra and Schueler (2008), Cunha (2008), Munhoz and Vidal (2015), and Uekane (2016) have addressed the topic of teacher training within the context of family trajectory in Brazil.
7. Between the 1860s and 1880s, the school was occasionally referred to as "Colégio de Meninas" in the advertisements.
8. The term "Externato" replaced "Colégio" from the 1880s onward.
9. Both "colégio" and "externato" are terms employed to educational institutions during the 19th century in Brazil.
10. He served in the Provincial Legislative Assembly in Ouro Preto in 1848 (Livro da Lei Mineira, 1947) and in the Ministry of Finance of Rio de Janeiro in 1860 (Almanak Laemmert, 1863). Later, Honório Alonso Baptista Franco, son of José Malaquias, married Francisca Loureiro de Andrade (Monção, 2018).
11. The American School of São Paulo, established in 1870 by the American and Presbyterian couple George and Mary Chamberlain, was the first Protestant confessional school institution in the city of São Paulo (Schelbauer, 2005). It played a pioneering role in implementing an American pedagogical perspective in Brazil (Hack, 2000).
12. On "education trade," see Limeira (2010)

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13. Event proposed by political figures in response to the claims of different groups that fought for the creation of space so that projects for the reformulation of public education in the Empire could be discussed. See: Schelbauer (2000), Bastos (2014), Monção (2020).
14. Created in 1875 and in daily circulation until the present day, the newspaper "O Estado de S. Paulo," produced in the city of São Paulo, has become one of the main Brazilian newspapers in terms of circulation and circulation.
15. For a deeper understanding of the dynamics and key figures in kindergartens and teacher training seminars, with a focus on the exchanges between Germany and the United States during the 19th and 20th centuries, refer to Allen (2017).
16. Hewes (1988) introduced the term that describes the expansion of kindergartens and the influence of Froebelian thought in the United States, particularly from 1870 onward. During this period, both men and women participated in the creation of associations and the production of magazines, books, and other informational materials, as well as engaging in political activities to advocate for kindergartens as a service provided by institutions and the State.
17. It is worth noting that, according to a survey of advertisements in periodicals, there were approximately eight private kindergartens scattered across the suburbs, central region, and Glória during that time (Monção, 2015).
18. For more information on Externato Jasper, refer to Santos (2017).
19. During its circulation between 1872 and 1883, the newspaper *O Globo* was available in the city of Rio de Janeiro. Some editions of the newspaper can be accessed for consultation at the Hemeroteca Digital Brasileira (Brazilian Digital Library).
20. Born in Readfield, Maine (1837), he first arrived in Brazil in 1858 where he worked as a teacher in schools in Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo. In 1885, he was invited by Reverend George Whitehill Chamberlain to assume Escola Americana's directorship. From the 1880s to the 1890s, he worked as a consultant for public education in São Paulo. He passed away in 1912 and was buried in the city of São Paulo. Consult Silva (2015).
21. Escola Modelo Caetano de Campos emerged from the reform of education in São Paulo in the 1890s. It served as a model school attached to the normal school, where teachers could observe how children were "taught and instructed" in their learning process. The renovation project included hiring teachers trained abroad, acquiring imported school materials, constructing a suitable building, and "creating good teaching models" (Carvalho, 2003).
22. Although Browne's biographical information is scarce, Lima (2022) points out that she graduated from Boston University. According to an entry published in the *Evening Capital* newspaper on August 4, 1890, she also directed the *Maplewood Grammar* School in Boston. The newspaper article even mentioned that she was the first Protestant American teacher hired by the Brazilian government (Evening Capital, 1890, p. 4).

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# 2 Showing Advances to the World

## The *Education in the State of S. Paulo* (1903) Report at Brazil's Exhibition in St. Louis

*Bruno Bontempi Jr.*

### Introduction

Although their direct predecessors date back to the mid-19th century, World's Expos gained exceptional magnitude in the transition to the 20th century. If the largest expos of London (1851) and Paris (1889) had occupied no more than 280 acres, Chicago (1893), Guatemala City (1897), and St. Louis (1904) have superseded them by, at least, two times. The Paris expos saw their number of visitors increase from 13,000 in 1878 to 39,000 in 1900 (Findling; Pelle, 2008). These events became increasingly ambitious as to variety and expectations: rather than the old exhibits of manufactures and machines—which denoted the industrial power of nations—they began to show the vast set of human work, demonstrating the achievements of the civilization. As they expanded, they consolidated as venues of trade, of technological import and export, and of public diplomacy. To attract and to diversify their public, they also hosted congresses, performances, sports, and amusement parks (Schroeder-Gudehus; Rasmussen, 1992). Gathering leaders from politics, trade, industry, and culture for exchanges, World's Expos "had imbedded within the organization and exhibits specific social and cultural agendas and schools for promoting specific cultural and ideological points of view" (Provenzo, Jr., 2012, p. 3).

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This expansion followed other contemporary trends, especially "the development of modern education systems and the emergence of national mass schooling in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries," as well as the increased "exchange of pedagogical knowledge, evidenced by the expansion and changes in the book market, the growth of dedicated journals, and especially the numerous translations of topical writings" (Mayer, 2019, pp. 50–51). The expos became forums for the exchange of ideas and for the observation and comparison of educational experiences, having been crucial in the intermediation and recontextualization of objects and processes related to them. According to Caruso (2014, pp. 15–16), at that time

> [the] education became one of the topics increasingly discussed by emerging public spheres communicating in 'national' languages in different countries.

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> Discussing educational institutions and practices at home, people increasingly referred to development in other nations. It is also the time which specific educational proposals emerged. In this sense, there was a double movement: on the one hand, there was a movement towards a stronger 'internationalization' of educational knowledge and practices and, on the other hand, there was a widespread dynamic of national self-assertion in educational matters.

Since London, in 1851, education had featured in the expos' national pavilions, and its prominence had only increased. The 1893 Chicago Expo hosted an international congress of educators, while in St. Louis, in 1904, the first palace was built for educational exhibitions. At the Louisiana Purchase Exposition, the department of education concentrated them, allowing for the comparison between national systems and providing prospects for the future on a global scale. Considering external accountability, nations endeavored to exhibit their practices and institutions to specialists and nonspecialists (Sobe; Boven, 2014), leaving no doubt as to their potential as an object of investigation in processes of interaction, connection, circulation, intersection, and interweaving that marked the educational movement of the turn of the centuries.

Although the study of these processes requires going beyond the scope of national borders, the nation remains a reference framework for approaches in transnational history. According to Caruso (2014, p. 11), internationalization processes involve "relations between nations, producing links between them and rendering them more complex and intricate" and, equally, "relations between the 'national' and the 'international,' and changes in the substance of the former always impact on the dynamics of the latter." According to Droux and Hofstetter (2014, p. 5), relational analyses can evidence the "ability of national actors, either civil servants or members from local civil society, to let go of their boundaries in order to initiate new policies, inspired by foreign experiences (or sometimes designed against their influence)."

This chapter examines a peculiar case of internationalization in the cultural exchange setting of the World's Expos. It concerns Brazil's exhibition during the Louisiana Purchase Exposition, in St. Louis, in 1904, which provides the opportunity to explore two aspects of center-periphery relations, with regard to transnational studies. One of these aspects focuses on the representation of the state of São Paulo in its relationship with Brazil, addressing these dynamics in a nation marked by regionalisms; the other aspect focuses on Brazil's connection with the global power center. In the first case, I try to show how the São Paulo regionalism, expressed in the narrative of its "advances" at the dawn of the First Brazilian Republic in a report geared toward St. Louis, aimed to achieve international prominence. Evidence tends to show that this claim was opposed by the official narrative, marked by a unitary and nationalist point of view, which prevailed in the exhibition of Brazilian education. In the second case, I seek to show that, guided by the interests of producers and businessmen in power, Brazil's exhibition

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followed the diplomatic custom of emphasizing natural wealth and striving to attract capital and immigrants, minimally accounting for the educational requirements (Kuhlmann, 2001). The analysis is intended to show that the discursive and curatorial rhetoric of the Brazilian Commission was effective in diluting regionalisms in favor of the image of unity, as well as in persuading interlocutors that, even if the country could not aspire to a central place, it had at least left the "primitive" remnants in the past, characteristic of the peoples that occupied the most peripheral areas in the geography of civilization. In order not to be restricted only to the arts of meaning production, that is, to the curation and discourses of the senders, I researched how visitors, journalists, judges, and reporters of the exhibitions and catalogs through which the objects transited would have appropriated the messages that were intended to be communicated with them.

I oriented the documentary search toward the historical aspects extrinsic to the texts, in order to examine the path and design of their original claims and focus on the effects of their successive belongings, that is, from the subnational to the national scope and, from this, to the "universal" scope. These migrations could have interfered not only with the physical destination of the object, but with the reception of its content. Inspired by Gilbert's (2009) critical re-reading of the Louisiana Purchase Exposition, I sought to commute between the borders of history, memory, and experience in order to propound questions and hypotheses, not only about the report's content and supposed presence in the exhibitions, but about how education itself was treated in the Brazilian exhibition, what place it occupied at the World's Expo and what impression Brazil would have left as to its situation and development in the mind of experts and laypeople who were present there, or who read about it.

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## The Federative Regime, the Reform of Public Education, and the São Paulo Pride

As occurred in the United States of America, the Republic of the United States of Brazil was organized into a federative system. However, differently from the North American way, which started from a decentralized structure to establish an arrangement to govern heterogeneous populations and regions, in Brazil, the federation resulted from meeting regional aspirations for greater decentralization (Anastasia, 2007). Mediating the inequalities of economic and social conditions of the federated units, whose fate greatly depended on the transitory cycles of the export economy, there are subnational identities and narratives characteristic of countries with strong regional contrasts. In Brazil, one of the most appealing images is that of the existence of "two Brazils," as per which the North and Northeast regions would represent the "backward" or "traditional" Brazil, whereas the South and Southeast regions and, in the latter, São Paulo would represent progress and modernity (Weinstein, 2022). This representation, opposed to a potent national ideology such as Americanism, affects political life

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with intermittent tensions in the relations between the center and the periphery of power, which often culminated in disruptions.

The ideology of superiority of the São Paulo people derived from the discrepancy between the effective economic, demographic, and urban growth that the state underwent as a result of the expansion and boom of coffee production, with the decay of areas that had been prosperous in past economic cycles. However, as Weinstein (2022) points out, the discourses that convey the superiority and supremacy of the São Paulo population over "the Brazilians" are not mere by-products of an unequal regional development. Because they lead to "policies and decisions that consolidate and exacerbate regional inequalities," these discourses tend to transform that initial drive of prosperity into a "sustainable process of economic development" (Weinstein, 2022, pp. 21–22), producing, after all, a kind of demonstration effect.

As for public education, although the monarchical regime was unitary and centralized, the Constitution Additional Act during the Brazilian Empire had defined a division of powers between the court and its provinces. This act, enacted in 1834, had entrusted the provincial Legislative Assemblies with the teaching of the primary and secondary education and teacher training, and the General Assembly and the ministers with higher education and classes in the municipality of the court. Thus, the first provincial decrees and laws instituting schools, public teachers, and their administration date back to 1835. With the Proclamation of the Republic, the 1891 Constitution ratified the division, by making states responsible for organizing and maintaining education systems, reserving higher education to the Federal Government, and subjecting secondary education institutions to verification of curricular and administrative equivalence to the standard college of the capital.

The reform of public education in the state of São Paulo, decreed at the beginning of the Republic, resulted from the convergence between the constitutional permission of financial, didactic, and administrative autonomy and the economic power of the state, the foremost in coffee production and export, which had led political pressures for the adoption of the federalist regime. The distribution of public incomes enabled São Paulo to benefit from coffee production and the collection of customs taxes to have high resources available to invest in education (Colistete, 2016).

Between 1892 and 1896, a sequence of decrees established serial and graded primary education with eight years of duration, four being mandatory for children aged 7–12 years, residing in the school's neighborhood; the creation of three secondary education schools; four normal schools and night schools. They also implemented school inspections, public examinations, and registration and attendance controls; they ordered the construction of buildings, with furniture and teaching materials. The school groups, comprising four to ten isolated schools, became symbols of civilization and modernity. Located in the central areas of the cities and luxuriously built according to pedagogical prescriptions,

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they had male and female sections, several classrooms, laboratories, and libraries. These schools should follow the legal prescriptions and programs regarding materials, subjects, calendars, exams, enrollment, attendance, and hygiene conditions, in addition to the intuitive method and the serial and graded organization mode of the reference schools. This set of measures, albeit not entirely or fully accomplished, was the pride and joy of São Paulo managers and educators in the first years of the Republic.

In 1903, Carlos Gerke's Typographia Brazil printed *Education in the State of São Paulo*, a 64-page brochure signed by Oscar Thompson, Horace Lane, and Carlos Reis, members of the education subcommittee for the S. Paulo Preparatory Exposition. A very rare work, the document consists of a succinct presentation, written entirely in English, of the advances made by the state's educational system. In its narrative, the subcommittee goes from the past of "most deplorable state of neglect" of the province, legacy of the monarchy, to the "greatest and best development" of public education in the nascent republic (Thompson et al., 1903, pp. 4–5). The report states that the state's successes were "due to progressive spirit and the enterprising character of its people" (Thompson et al., 1903, p. 3), that is, due to an innate propensity to enterprise that leads to progress and is manifested in the action of politicians, educators, and entrepreneurs. Without referring to the situation of other states or to the federal government's beneficial actions, the report intends to present São Paulo as an island of excellence, emerged from neglect, for its public education services, up to date with modern pedagogy and school administration as practiced in the United States. Because it was written in English, it is assumed that the final destination of the brochure was Brazil's exhibit at the Louisiana Purchase Exposition. However, for this to become possible, the object would have to pass through the paths of the state preparatory exhibition and the curation of the Brazilian commission for the exposition in St. Louis.

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**Great Opportunities: The S. Paulo Preparatory Exposition**

The first act of this narrative dates back to the S. Paulo Preparatory Exposition, which presided over the production of said report and for which it was immediately intended. *Education in the State of S. Paulo* integrated a vast set of objects, gathered by representatives of various sectors of activities, in a demand of the state commission. This, in turn, responded to the national call made by the Brazilian Commission, which dealt with John Taylor Lewis, commissioner of the S. Louis' World Expo in relation to Portugal and Brazil. This relationship of concentric authorities and demands situates the objects in a logistical and hierarchical chain that would affect their places and meanings.

The official measure that triggered the Brazilian participation in the Louisiana Purchase Exposition (LPE) was the request, made to the Ministry of Industry by the federal government, to organize a preparatory exhibition, still in 1903, in

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the Federal District. According to Kuhlmann Jr. (2001), since 1861, Brazil had adopted the practice of holding national preparatory exhibitions, preceded by regional exhibitions, held in provincial capitals. This time, as the ministry had claimed to be unable to hold it at the national level, it was defined that the states, following the guidelines of the ministry and under the supervision of federal commissioners, would have their own exhibitions. Perhaps the favorable situation for regional expression stimulated the preparation of reports such as *Education in the State of S. Paulo* in other states. At least in São Paulo, the exhibition resulted in the publication of *Industries and electricity in the State of São Paulo, Brazil*, by engineer Francisco Ferreira Ramos, illustrated with maps and photos of coffee production and power plants.

After being notified, in late July 1903, about Rio de Janeiro's withdrawal from holding the national preparatory exhibition (Exposição De Saint-Louis, 25 De Julho 1903, p. 1), the Legislative Chamber proceeded to process project No. 15, which would authorize the state executive branch to conduct a preparatory exhibition of state products, with the objective of exhibiting them at the Louisiana Purchase Exposition. The project entered and left the agenda until, in September, law 874 was approved, whose article 2 authorized the government to earmark additional credit for the initially allocated budget. Both legislative and journalistic texts refer to the collection of "state products," that is, products derived from industrial, agricultural, and trade activities.[1] It is evident the agreement that the objects, whether natural or manufactured, would serve the international business interests of the producing classes.

The expectation of profit in international expos was not a misinterpretation on the part of the São Paulo producing classes. This propensity has justification in the very history of exhibitions, as well as in Brazil's condition in the *capitalist world-system* (Wallerstein, 2007). As pointed out by Findling and Pelle (2008, p. 6), the nineteenth-century World's Expos descended from old national manufacturing and industrial events, especially in England and France, which "resembled a bazaar or a medieval fair in the sense that items on display were meant to be sold." This primordial function remained as a repertoire of action and representation, even when, already at the end of the century, the organizing committees began to have in the foreground items, such as fine arts, physical culture, social economy, and education (Schroeder-Gudehus; Rasmussen, 1992; Findling; Pelle, 2008). The statement of David Francis (1913, p. 312), chairman of LPE, on the St. Louis exposition: "The passage from the commercial to the scientific exposition was completely effected," aspired to give it another meaning, compared to its predecessors.

At that time, Brazil did not have a Ministry of Education that could deal with the organization of data and the collection of materials for exhibitions. The Republic had installed, in 1890, the Ministry of Public Instruction, Posts, and Telegraphs, in charge of the services of instruction, vocational education, and the institutes of sciences, letters, and arts. With the reorganization, in 1891, of the services of the federal administration, the ministry was discontinued and had its

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functions transferred to the Ministry of Industry, Roads, and Public Works and to the Ministry of Justice and Internal Affairs.

It is understandable that the task of organizing the national exhibition was delegated to the Ministry of Industry and, within the state of São Paulo, to the state Department of Agriculture, Industry, and Trade. Olyntho Pires, a former minister of agriculture, was appointed to be one of the federal commissioners to advise and oversee the preparatory exhibition. The state department's secretary, convinced of the competence of its producers, transferred the task to the São Paulo Society of Agriculture, Trade and Industry, which proceeded to appoint an organizing committee, responsible for sending circulars and curating publicizing activities, instituting the superintendent, and establishing an executive committee.

The society's first measure was to rent a "large manor" at Largo de S. Francisco, downtown, as a provisional depository for the items to be sent, until a definitive place was defined (Notas, *Correio Paulistano*, 1 de outubro de 1903, p. 3). Moreover, it offered the interested parties an "Exhibitor's Guide" and informed the public that it would soon submit to the government a plan "that tends to give a prominent place to the State of São Paulo in the great North American expo" (Notas, 2 de outubro de 1903, p. 1, free translation). With that, it infused the enterprise with "São Paulo patriotism," promising to highlight the state in relation to the federative units and superimpose its image to that of Brazil. It is evident, in passages such as this, that São Paulo expected to both serve as an example to the other states and stand out in the exhibition in St. Louis:

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> The enthusiasm and activity that are seen at all points of the state . . . show once again the advanced spirit of the people of São Paulo, who with just pride seek to occupy a prominent place in the great exhibition. . . . We are . . . able to guarantee already that we will not be the last among the states of Brazil, and this is supported by the authorized opinion of Dr. Antonio Olyntho. The illustrious federal delegate, encouraging in Bahia the submission of products to the important expo, recommended that the example of our state be followed. This fact, in addition to being extremely flattering to us, is almost the revelation that the works of the worthy Executive Committee were crowned with success and ensure a good place for São Paulo in Brazil's pavilion.
>
> (Notas, 10 de dezembro de 1903, p. 2, free translation)

On the other hand, nationalism oriented the ambitions of Brazil's Commission. In visit to the state capital to meet with the local commission, Federal Commissioner Antonio Olyntho emphasized the concern of the Federal Government, pressed by the short time of preparation for the world expo, as to a possible negative comparison with the countries of the continent. In an interview with *Correio Paulistano* (Exposição De S. Luiz, 6 de novembro de 1903, p. 3, free translation), he explained:

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> Some American nations, notably Chile and Mexico, will only exhibit products relative to mines and metallurgy. It is therefore necessary that we—who have the reputation of being an essentially mineralogical country—do not allow ourselves to be supplanted, and for this to happen our efforts must be redoubled. . . . [It is] necessary that our collections must not be inferior to those that the other countries will presented, and to that end, in the short time that we have left, our efforts must be extraordinary.

In October 1903, *Correio Paulistano* published half-page announcements, notifying of the decisions of the São Paulo Society of Agriculture, calling for contributions, and providing guidelines on the preparatory exhibition of state products and artifacts that should appear in the St. Louis Exposition. The commission presented the subcommissions and released the classification extracted from the general regulation of the St. Louis exposition, which would serve as "key to the registrations and classifications at this Exposition," that is, into 16 departments, 144 groups, and 807 classes (Schroeder-Gudehus; Rasmussen, 1992; Gilbert, 2009). A telegram from the federal commissariat to the president of the state, reproduced by *Correio Paulistano* (Notas, 5 de novembro de 1903, p. 3, free translation), thus defined the objects pertinent to the collection and exhibition:

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> bags of coffee of different good qualities, of sugar, spirit, tobacco, woods, fibers, mangabeira rubber, and minerals so abundant in the State; cotton manufactures, furniture, ceramic products, with their raw material, insect collections, photographic views, school material and works, organization of public education, import and export diagrams, various statistics and everything else that occurs to your Excellency.

The interested parties could go to the subcommissions and declare information on the items: name of the exhibitor; origin of the objects; production; price; quantity existing in nature; means of transport; whether they should be returned; whether they should be sold by commission agents. The São Paulo Society of Agriculture dealt with the exhibition as a trade expo, in which products would have their prices and, in case there were interested parties, they would be sold. If the primacy of the "agricultural vocation" and of the business-oriented character of the state's participation affected the preparation of the event in the attribution of powers, in the mode of organization, and in the content of materials, it would be surprising if social economy and education had been the focus of special attention.

Still, a subcommission on education was appointed, under honorary chairman Bento Pereira Bueno and with members Carlos Reis, Oscar Thompson, and Horace Lane. Bueno was a prominent figure in politics, having been chief of police and commissioner general of immigration. In 1903, he held the prestigious position of Secretary of Justice, Interior, and Public Health, of which education was one of the divisions. Carlos Reis had been a public teacher of Portuguese

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Language and was then employed in the department headed by Bueno. Oscar Thompson, bachelor and "normalista," had been the principal of Escola Modelo do Carmo and, when the report was written, was the principal of Escola Normal da Capital.[2] Horace Lane, a Presbyterian missionary, was director of The American School and, according to Barbanti (1977), not only enjoyed prestige with the enlightened elite of São Paulo, but also had considerable influence on the managers of public education in the state.

The guide that the Executive Commission prepared and distributed, in order to facilitate registration for exhibitors, separated the objects by sections. For section "A," of Education, the following were required:

> material and method for teaching children. Plans and models of school buildings. School furniture, appliances, instruments, models, wall maps intended to facilitate teaching. School books, atlases, maps, blackboards, etc. Library and teaching material given to adults in the family, in the atelier, in the corporation. (Notas, 1 de novembro de 1903, p. 2, free translation)

Days later, *Correio Paulistano* reported that the work of the subcommission on education, which already had "a *large number of objects*," was "quite advanced," and that "only yesterday its members Horace Lane, C. Reis and Oscar Thompson held a meeting" (Exposição De S. Luiz, 12 de novembro de 1903, p. 4, emphasis added). On December 24 (EXPOSIÇÃO DE S. LUIZ, *Correio Paulistano*, p. 2, free translation), it is reported that the model schools Prudente de Moraes, Maria José and Carmo had sent "several objects, geographical maps, notebooks, manual works, etc.; Liceu de Artes e Ofícios exhibits a large amount of manufactured works in its workshops."

The S. Paulo Preparatory Exhibition opened on January 14, 1904, and remained open on weekdays in the afternoon and evening periods until January 23. Forty thousand visitors were registered (Exposição Preparatória, 24 de janeiro de 1904, p. 2, free translation). Entrance to the opening was allowed only to guests, and the report highlights the presence of a "very high number of people of high position in our society," describes the luxurious facilities and praises the champagne service (Exposição Preparatória, 15 janeiro de 1904, p. 1, free translation). The roster of officials and important people included two members of the education subcommission: Oscar Thompson and Horace Lane, in addition to the honorary chairman, Bento Bueno.

On the day of the opening, *Correio Paulistano* printed a news article, in six columns, in which the journalist, having followed the last preparations, describes the building, the ornaments, the arrangement of the sections and a significant amount of objects. Without following the thematic plan of the St. Louis Exposition, they adopted a division according to the administrative sections of the government. As for the 1st section, of the Department of Agriculture, Trade and Public Works, the writer highlighted detailed maps, immigration flow charts,

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and railway network maps. Displayed on the first floor and preceding agricultural and industrial products was coffee, the "most important product of the São Paulo agriculture, the precious rubiacea, which has such importance in the economic movement of our State" (Exposição Preparatória, 14 de janeiro de 1904, p. 2, free translation).

The 2nd section, of the Department of Justice, Interior and Public Health was installed in four rooms, containing the objects related to its divisions. In the education subsection, the news article highlights "school benches, used in our schools, made with national wood . . ., which meet the most stringent hygiene requirements of pedagogy . . ." and the "very interesting" exhibitions of the normal schools, polytechnic schools and model schools Luz, Carmo and Maria José (Exposição Preparatória, 15 de janeiro de 1904, p. 2, free translation). The newspaper also reports the receipt of photographs from Kindergarten and Polytechnic School, which deserved praise for the "large amount of work performed by their students," among presses, water wheels and foundries. Also according to the newspaper, there were drawings, notebooks, books, manual works, sewing and embroidery works, photographs and architectural plans of schools in the rural areas of the state, as well as photographs that "compose a rich collection that will explain more than any description, the degree of advancement reached by all dependent divisions of the Department of the Interior, under the direction of its head, Mr. Bento Bueno." (EXPOSIÇÃO PREPARATÓRIA, 19 de janeiro, p. 2, free translation). In a brief commentary, the journalist expressed the premise of the visual exhibitions: the contemplation of objects would say more to perception and understanding than any description. Because he believes in that, perhaps the journalist was not interested in perusing a report among the objects.

In the report prepared for the preparatory exhibition, called *Education in the State of S. Paulo* (1903), the subcommission members say that the state had been striving to disseminate popular education. Since 1835, having gained autonomy to institute and maintain primary schools, São Paulo began to establish units and reform their organization (Thompson et al., 1903, p. 5, free translation). It would have been from 1890, thanks to the idealism of the state presidents and the Secretary of the Interior, Dr. Cesário Motta, that public education had undergone the most significant advances. The authors mention the inspiration provided by the school organization and teaching methods adopted in the United States, paying tribute to Miss. Marcia P. Browne, "a most worthy co-operator in the great work of the late Caetano de Campos" (Thompson et al., 1903, pp. 15–16), who had worked as a teacher at the Normal School of the Capital and as principal of the Carmo Model School.

The report presents the Preliminary Schools, Complementary Schools, Normal School, Secondary Education, and the Higher Education, with photographs of buildings and statistical charts. It comments on the teaching methods, called "modern intuitive," the educational journals, the administration bureaus and the private institutions, estimated at 800. Some of these institutions receive a

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descriptive treatment similar to that of public schools, that is, about ten lines and, at times, photographs. The exception is the American School and Mackenzie College, an education complex containing kindergarten, preliminary and secondary schools, and its own normal school, having Horace Lane as principal. Its description occupies 40 lines, four times more than the others, indicating the subcommission's intention to underscore these establishments and, with them, the educational action of the Presbyterians in São Paulo.

**A São Paulo Report in the National Catalog**

It is unlikely that *Education in the State of São Paulo* was not published in time to compose the education sample at the preparatory exhibition, although its presence was not observed by journalists, who were more impressed with the coffee hall and aramina artifacts. It is worth noting, however, that there is no evidence of its display in St. Louis. In the catalog called *Brazil at the Louisiana Purchase Exposition, Saint-Louis* (1904), the report does not appear in São Paulo's contributions to the Brazilian exhibition in the Department of Education.

Presented by the Brazilian Commission chairman as a "comprehensive description of Brazil's resources" (Brazil . . ., 1904, p. 4, free translation), the volume provides an overview of the nature, resources, productive forces, and stage of progress of the country. In order to make a better impression on foreign eyes, engineer Colonel Francisco M. de Souza Aguiar—head of the military house of the Presidency of the Republic and who had been part of the country's commission in the Chicago World's Expo—resorts to comparison on territory size, relief, morphology, and hydrography. For example, by claiming that Brazil has the third largest territory on the globe, being more extensive than Europe and equivalent to half the area of South America; that the length of the Amazon River exceeds that of the Mississippi River; or that the volume of water of Paulo Afonso is greater than that of Niagara Falls. The good mesological conditions for agriculture are emphasized, as well as the mineral richness, detailed by locality of occurrence. At the end, there is a list of species and values of exported products, subdivided by classes.

All this wealth, however, did not achieve its potential. It is argued that due to the application of "primitive methods" of extraction, planting, harvesting, and processing and the lack of investments, economic results had been "insignificant" (Brazil . . ., 1904, p. 13). From the diagnosis of high natural wealth with low economic performance comes the main advertisement to visitors: Brazil needed investments and technology, for which it invited foreigners to invest and work in the country, offering them freedom of action and conditions of establishment.

> Brazil is not an industrial country as yet but it possesses all those natural resources, which, if developed, would place it among the first in the world in a very few years. Industries can be carried on by individuals and companies,

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> who are permitted to enjoy liberty, the only restriction being those with regard to the morals, safety and health of the public in general. The laws of the country ensure equal rights to all, although exceptionally some temporary privileges are granted in favor of some new invention, process or industry.
>
> (Brazil . . ., 1904, pp. 54–55)

It is not as an industrial nation that Brazil is shown on the international scene. However, the report says that it is a free country, with equal laws for all and—more for what it omits than for what it declares—a nation ruled by white Christian men. The slaveholding past is not mentioned, and women, indigenous people, and blacks are absent from the report, only shown in the photographs of harvests and mining. In the item "Population," the estimated total of 20 million is reported, without the usual details of the censuses. The profile outlined by Brazilian public diplomacy conceals the presence of "primitive peoples" and ignores the legacies of the slaveholding past, especially when referring to labor regimes and equality, while showing itself able to climb—"in a very few years"—another step in the scale of civilization and progress.

The catalog also presents, in the dissertation part, Education in Brazil, which "is liberally distributed all over the country, from the elementary to highest grades" (Brazil . . ., 1904, p. 66). It begins with the administrative responsibilities: elementary education managed by municipalities and states; secondary education managed by the latter, modeled on the college administered by the federal government, in the capital; higher education, under the responsibility of the General Government; vocational training, in the three spheres. That said, it goes on to describe the three types of schools existing in the Federal District: kindergarten, elementary, and secondary schools. Kindergarten is described by the book, that is, according to the Froebelian model; it is reported that primary schools served children aged 7–14 years and that female teachers were mandatory for female classes. However, there is no mention that most of primary education, in the national territory, worked as in the times of the empire, that is, with a single teacher, in single classes with students of different ages. Regarding secondary schools, the model subjects and statute of the school of the Capital are presented, without commenting that they were attended only by boys. Next, the six public higher education institutions are mentioned, recalling the existence of "other schools for the study of the higher branches belonging to private parties or financially aided for appropriations from the State Government" (Brazil . . ., 1904, p. 62). Finally, there is a list of intellectual culture establishments, "the majority being located at the Capital of Republic" (Brazil . . ., 1904, p. 63).

Not only the "Education" item of the dissertation centered on General Government action, but the entire characterization of school apparatus and service is restricted to schools of the Capital of the Republic. Contrary to the expectations of São Paulo educators, the Brazilian Commission omitted mention of the state of São Paulo and its "advances" in public education, which featured in detail and

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emphatically in the subcommission's report of 1903. The second part of the catalog remained divided into departments and classes, and the objects were grouped by alphabetical order of suppliers, whether individuals, companies, schools, municipal governments, or state and municipal departments. In the department of education, there are eight classes, defined by modes and degrees of education, within which suppliers are listed in alphabetical order. There would be no way for São Paulo, or any other state, to stand out for its peculiar achievements or products, unless the exhibition had adopted a distribution following a regional logic, which is unlikely, given the unequal number of states represented and the territorial dispersion of suppliers.

**The Exhibition of Brazilian Education in St. Louis**

In the section reserved for the Department of Education, under the responsibility of Major J. B. Da Motta, it is stated that Brazil's exhibition consisted mainly of works by students from public and private schools, in addition "a few photographs, and some publications and school furniture are also shown" (Brazil . . ., 1904, p. 85). This poor collection of objects from the educational service—so discrepant from the natural magnitudes and riches that define Brazil in the introduction to the catalog—is soon explained:

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> Brazil having decided to take part in this exposition at the last moment, there was not sufficient time to prepare and exhibit that would give a satisfactory idea of the development of the public and private education in the elementary, training, technical and scientific branches of this important department. The educational work of Defectives and the Indians would have formed an especially interesting exhibit.
>
> (Brazil . . ., 1904, pp. 85–86)

The requirement for indulgence is evident, either in the use of terms such as "a few," "some" in front of the objects, or in the justification of the lack of time. The mention of the absence of works with defectives and indigenous people may respond to a request, unmet but expressed by Commissioner Taylor, as the states of the American federation were very careful to present them, strictly complying with the guidelines of the National Education Association (Provenzo, Jr., 2012).

As for the lack of time, considering that the St. Louis Exposition began on April 30, 1904, and that the Brazilian pavilion opened on May 24, Brazil really was delayed, due to the accumulation of delays of state exhibitions. Still in November 1903, the federal commissioners had sent a telegram to the director of the Department of Agriculture of the State of São Paulo, reaffirming that "the success of the Brazilian Exhibition will be complete if each State contributes with its main productions (Notas, 5 de novembro de 1903, p. 3, free translation). The government hopes that your excellency will conduct the shipping of large

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and abundant samples to be properly appreciated and analyzed," with special attention to coffee. There was insistence, in a telegram sent to Commissioner Olyntho, "on the desirability of being sent [to St. Louis] a large quantity of coffee" (Exposição De S. Luiz, 9 de novembro de 1903, free translation). In early December, the executive commission published two notes in the *Correio Paulistano newspaper*, asking "Dear Exhibitors, kindly send, as a matter of urgency, the products destined for the Preparatory Exhibition" (NOTAS, 2 de dezembro, p. 2, free translation) and informing that products received after the 10th would not be mentioned in the Exhibition catalog. (Exposição De S. Luiz, 3 de dezembro de 1903, p. 2, free translation). The São Paulo exhibition, whose opening was announced for November 30, 1903, was then postponed until January 14, 1904, that is, with a month and a half delay. Despite the commitment of the São Paulo Society of Agriculture and the support of the Department of Finance, which released two more budget remittances, there were difficulties in transporting and accommodating products, including from municipalities that had held their own exhibitions.

In Rio de Janeiro, the Federal District Preparatory Exhibition opened on January 2, 1904 (O Districto Federal Em S. Luiz, 30 de dezembro de 1903, p. 1). The next day, *Jornal do Brasil* newspaper reported, in a critical tone, that "the service of arranging the objects to be exhibited was done yesterday until the last hour and hurriedly" (Notas Avulsas, 3 de janeiro de 1904, p. 3, free translation). A customary collaborator with *Correio Paulistano* newspaper, resident in Rio de Janeiro and identified as Dom Fradique (De Lá Para Cá, 23 de janeiro de 1904, p. 1, free translation), wrote he believed it was not worth Brazil participating in the exhibition, "especially having decided to do it at the last minute, without time to present ourselves in the best possible way." According to his report, "a newspaper here said that the Parque Fluminense preparatory exhibition is a failure." He continues: "The statement is perhaps exaggerated, but the truth is that we will leave a much worse impression than we did in Chicago" (De Lá Para Cá, 23 de janeiro de 1904, p. 1, free translation).

In the official volume for the Brazilian participation, the establishments, departments, publishing companies, etc. appear with brief descriptions and, not always, with the products they came to exhibit. Brazil's Department of Education lists 78 suppliers, which served only four groups: Elementary Schools, Secondary Schools, Special Education in Commerce and Industry, and Special Forms of Education, textbooks, school furniture, and school appliance. Revealing a certain negligence, there are erroneous insertions, for example, the four higher education schools in Secondary Schools. There are 31 manual works, including drawings; 20 schoolbooks and textbooks; 19 photographs of school buildings; 9 school appliances; and 5 pieces of school furniture. In addition to public institutions and departments, private companies and printers, emphasis is given to establishments of Catholic congregations, especially asylums, and secondary schools and trade teaching schools, with the predominance of Salesianos.

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The federation states represented are, in order of appearance: Rio de Janeiro; Mato Grosso; São Paulo; Bahia; Minas Gerais; Amazonas; Pará; Santa Catarina; Paraná, Rio Grande do Sul and Paraíba, half the total federative units. The distribution of suppliers and objects is uneven: if Paraíba appears once, São Paulo appears 24 times and the Federal Capital appears 20 times. The suppliers of São Paulo total 16: the state government; the Department of the Interior, which provided photographs of school buildings; the Normal School; the Maria José and Prudente de Moraes model schools; the state gymnasium; Liceu do Sagrado Coração; the School of Pharmacy and the Polytechnic School; two bookstores and two printers; three individuals who offered schoolbooks.

The material constitutes a small and insufficient set to impress visitors: the crown jewel of the republican reforms of São Paulo education, the Normal School of the Capital, for example, presented only drawings, while the two model schools showed only manual works. It is worth contrasting the records with the information reported by *Correio Paulistano* that the model schools Prudente de Moraes, Maria José and Carmo had submitted to the education subcommission of the preparatory exhibition objects such as maps, notebooks, and manual works, and Liceu de Artes e Ofícios submitted a large number of manufactured objects. The poverty of the Brazilian exhibition and the discrete contributions of São Paulo, differ from the impressions of the writers present at the preparatory exhibition, who would have witnessed the "very interesting" exhibitions of schools of the capital and country. Judging by the Brazilian catalog, Escola Modelo do Carmo, where Marcia Browne and Oscar Thompson would have stood out, had no objects exhibited. There are no maps, notebooks attributed to these schools, nor objects belonging to the Lyceum, which could indicate the incompleteness of the catalog or the fact that a large part of the objects from São Paulo has not even embarked.

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As for *Education in the State of S. Paulo*, whose title is absent from the catalog, one piece of information could indicate its presence: the mention of Carlos Gerke's Typographia Brazil, which had published the brochure. The material provided by the typography business, however, appears as "schoolbooks." The lack of reference to the American School or Mackenzie College on the list contrasts with its prominence in the report, suggesting that the Presbyterian schools would not have participated in the exhibition and raising doubts about whether Horace Lane had the role attributed to him in the St. Louis Exposition. Perhaps, Lane may have attended the expo as a visitor; however, the sources consulted had no traces of a "São Paulo entourage," whose existence was suggested by Santos (2011).

## Knowledge Is Indeed Power: Education at the St. Louis Exposition

Since the launch of the proposal by the Louisiana Purchase Exposition Company, the exhibition acquired an international and, in a broad sense, educational character. Led by David R. Francis, who had been Governor of Missouri and Interior

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Minister of the Cleveland Cabinet, the company had invited nations to conduct the exhibition of the highest human developments, that is, of the progress resulting from the intelligent employment of labor, industry, useful discoveries, and inventions about natural forces. The set constituted a complete and significant lesson on the state of progress and civilization. According to Francis (1913, p. 311),

> The Universal Exposition of 1904 at St. Louis . . . was such a social encyclopedia in the most comprehensive and accurate sense. It gave to the world, in revised and complete detail, "a living Picture of the artistic and industrial development at which mankind has arrived" and did actually provide a new starting point from which all men may direct future extensions.

In addition to states of the American federation, 45 foreign nations were represented. The division of human activities was headed by the department of education, for it would have been thanks to it that mankind had attained full knowledge of its possibilities and means; upon it depended the progress of the different branches of industry. The LPE's entire project of curation, classification, and exhibition was based on this "equation of knowledge and progress" (Provenzo, Jr., 2012), and this department was responsible for approaching, in comparative research, the educational system of all corners of the civilized world and to envision the best practices and methods for the future. According to the official book of LPE (Francis, 1913, p. 319),

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> the special work of the department of Education was to assemble the educational systems and methods of all nations of the world, so that each might be examined and compared with the others, to the end that superior methods and systems developed might be generally adopted.

In the official guide, it is explained that the exhibitions of the Palace of Education would have their locations defined according to a classification, so that

> public schools of the country being in the north corridor of the Education building, the technical, mechanical, agricultural and art schools in the west corridor of the building, the universities in the court, and the defectives in the east corridor of the building. The business and commercial schools, and the publishing and commercial houses connected with education are in the southwest portion of the corridor space. The foreign exhibits are located within the court. The exhibits being those of the foremost nations in educational work, Germany, France and England.
> (Official Guide, 1904, p. 63)

According to Sobe and Boven (2014), in the last World's Expos of the 19th century, reaching the emotions and senses of the audience had become a challenge to curators, who sought to emulate the visual and immersive experience

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of museums. In order to show the superiority of their systems, nations took care to exhibit, rather than products, the processes, means, and methods for teaching, such as equipment, textbooks, furniture, and facilities. The Official Guide to the Louisiana Purchase Exposition (1904, p. 63) provided for the education department "a lecture hall for talks and demonstrations, working exhibits, schoolroom, laboratories, etc., where pupils and teacher are shown at work." Another trend, noticeable at the Chicago and St. Louis Expos (Provenzo, Jr., 2012), was to show the evolution of systems in diachronic and comparative statistics. In addition to these trends, Sobe and Boven (2014, p. 3) observe "an overall emphasis on performativity, which was embedded in the widely circulating notion that if an exhibit looked good, that meant that schools were good."

Because of the advantage of being the host country, the federative units of the United States had, like few nations, the opportunity to leverage detailed illustration and performativity. kindergartens, primary schools, and schools for indigenous persons and deaf-mutes remained in operation for up to five months, with daily activities in two periods. In the case of the public schools of St. Louis,

> the class work of city schools was demonstrated by daily exercises during the entire period of the Exposition. One week was devoted to cooking and domestic economy, the next to kindergarten work, the next to manual training, and the fourth to experimental physics. The routine was then gone over again, so that each grade of work came seven times into evidence before the public. A different class was called upon for each day's work, these being selected succession from various representative schools of the city.
>
> (Francis, 1913, p. 322)

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In addition to the impression of truthfulness and dynamism offered by American states and cities, the set of domestic exhibitions constituted, in the view of David R. Francis, an extraordinary unity of practices and methods. The fact was impressive, considering the vast extent of the national territory and the total autonomy of the federated states in developing their education systems. Apart from the intense commitment of the National Education Association in providing guidelines and intellectual and logistical support to the states (Provenzo, 2012), the director of the Louisiana Purchase Exposition (Francis, 1913, p. 330) provided the following explanation for such convergence:

> It indicates a flexibility of mind and solidarity of purposes which would be irresistible applied to any problem. There are the same elements of strength in the union of ideas and mental training of every section of a great country as in its physical and constitutional union. At the same time, it should not be understood that there was a stereotyped form of processes in the exhibits. There was enough originality and expression of experiment to insure against any possible danger of machine routine.

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**The Image of Brazil in St. Louis**

The official book of the Louisiana Purchase Exposition (Francis, 1913) extols the architectural beauty of Brazil's Pavilion, designed by Souza Aguiar, whose splendid implementation would prove the vitality of its civilization. It highlights, moreover, the infinite extent and variety of its natural wealth and the industrial and human energies. In the Official Guide, the description of the building and the abundance of woods and coffee are impressive:

> State apartments occupy the entire lower floor, together with a collection of agricultural products, especially coffee. . . . Furnishings made from the hardwoods common to the banks of the Amazon supply the spacious rooms, and visitors are treated to delicious cups of coffee produced from the far-famed Brazilian product.
>
> (Official Guide, 1904, p. 124)

However, the Brazilian exhibition did not receive much buzz from North American media.[1] The *St. Tammany Farmer* (Coffee Display Extensive, September 24 1904, p. 8) notes, in this regard, that Brazil and South and Central American countries had understood the value of the Exposition for high-quality advertising of the coffee they produced. As informed by the news article, "Brazil serves coffee every afternoon to all visitors at the Brazil building, free of charge." *The St. Louis Republic*, a publication that supported the preparation and holding of the World's Expo, published in the November 20 edition (BRAZIL 'S EXHIBIT . . ., November 20, p. 10) a summary of the Brazilian exhibition at LPE, whose title highlights the 1,500 awards received in eleven displays. Brazil was the second largest winner among foreigners of the awards for Mines and Metallurgy; it received 62 Grand Prizes and 378 Gold Medals, being the largest number awarded to Agriculture, Mines and Metallurgy, and Forestry. In the official book, Agriculture's installations were compared for their artistic care to those of Canada, France, Germany, Italy, and Japan, and the coffee exhibition, defined as "the most elaborate and extensive ever made, astonished the world" (Francis, 1913, p. 462). David R. Francis also highlighted, in the manufacturing section, the flowers "made from birds feathers and beetle wings, the papers made from bamboo and the exhibit of aramina" (Francis, 1913, p. 462), a flexible vegetable fiber, whose main spinning and weaving industry was owned by Silva Telles, an important São Paulo businessman.

The article considers that the awards received would be even more relevant "because of the many difficulties which the Brazilian Commission was obliged to overcome" (BRAZIL'S EXHIBIT . . ., November 20, p. 10). Assenting to the justifications of Souza Aguiar, the newspaper reveals that the largest of them would have been the short time available to collect, send, and install the displays, since in the transition of the federal executive branch there had been a

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delay "in making an appropriation and in confirming the appointment of the Commissioners, and the time was all too short in many respects for as full and thorough work to be done." Apropos, the cases of Fine Arts and minerals, collected in haste, are mentioned. The other awards were obtained, in descending order, in Liberal Arts, Manufactures, Social Economy, Transportation, Electricity, Anthropology, Fish and Game, Physical Culture, and Machinery, indicating that the strengths of the Brazilian exhibition were related to natural resources and the production of exportable commodities, and not to industrial activities and indicators of intellectual and artistic development.

*The St. Louis Republic* assimilated the message of the Brazilian Commission that Brazil was not an industrially developed country, but open to investment and residence opportunities for individuals and companies, information whose dissemination interested the commission, considering the scarce presence of North-American immigrants in the country. The section called "Brazil as a place for investment and residence" (BRAZIL'S EXHIBIT . . ., November 20, p. 10) reads:

> Brazil offers in its commercial and industrial development opportunities second no other country, and, as demonstrated in a variety of ways, its purpose is to seek and welcome immigration and capital. This being a well-defined policy of its Government, approved by its people, the logical consequence is a realization of the need of better harbors, increased railroad communication and better streetcars and generally better convenience of all sorts.

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Even before the departure of the national collections, columnist D. Fradique predicted the failure of the Brazilian exhibition, estimating that

> the confrontation between their industry [of the United States] with ours will be overwhelming for the latter, let us not have illusions about it. They will prove terribly superior in everything that does not depend on special soil and climate conditions.
>
> (D. Fradique, 23 de janeiro de 1904, p. 1, free translation)

With remarkable bitterness, he closed the article with a harsh assertion: "our participation only matters in relation to certain and few agricultural products. Beyond that, we will only subject ourselves to a confrontation that is unflattering for national self-esteem" (D. Fradique, 23 de janeiro de 1904, p. 1, free translation).

As for education, however, the rhetoric of the official catalog and possibly the satisfactory social communication of the Brazilian Commission in St. Louis seem to have succeeded in avoiding the perception of failure. The article of the *The St. Louis Republic* reproduces the official catalog's explanation of the division of responsibilities between national and subnational authorities, as well as the presumptuously widespread presence of kindergartens, high schools, and

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scientific and cultural institutions. An observation about the presence of excellent conditions for "physical culture" in Brazilian schools draws attention, suggesting the effectiveness of governmental rhetoric:

> Physical culture in Brazil begins with the elementary education given the children in the primary schools. Nearly every school is equipped with fields, gymnasiums and implements necessary for the physical training of the child. Games and exercises are practiced during both class and recreation hours and the athletic sports include bicycling, tennis, cricket, fencing, foot and boat races, swimming and rowing.

In fact, in the Monarchy-Republic transition, gymnastics was prescribed in elementary schools in Rio de Janeiro and other states. However, even in the capital, there were few schools that had "fields, gymnasiums and utensils" for physical training. Some bodily practices mentioned were indicated in the programs and manuals, but "individualized, systematized, linear, regulated, repetitive, segmented physical exercises" prevailed, in addition to military marches and exercises (Vago, 2004, p. 79, free translation). Sports practices such as "gymnastica rythmica," "natural exercises," "respiratory exercises," and "games" only began to appear in the programs of graded schools in the state of Minas Gerais, for example, in the 1920s (Vago, 2004, p. 83). This change was guided by the emergence of new pedagogies, as well as by the penetration of *sports* culture in modern centers (Sevcenko, 1992).

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With the lack of concrete evidence on the national display, the newspaper takes as fact an official prescription and also generalizes the conditions of a small part of the schools of some of the largest urban centers. In this case, readers of *The St. Louis Republic* had access to a positive representation of school physical culture in Brazil. According to visitors, however, the Germans were perhaps more convincing, displaying to some 20,000 spectators the discipline, strength, and skill of hundreds of children and young people in coordinated evolutions, military exercises, and gymnastics, during the German Day on October 6. The Germans, in this regard, fulfilled precisely what had been defined by chairman David R. Francis (1903, p. 9): "The key-note of the Louisianna Purchase Exposition is life and motion. Moving exhibits predominate. Processes are shown rather than products."

## Final Considerations

Competition and ranking, whether technological, economic, artistic, or sporting, were inherent in the spirit of the expos. By exhibiting their qualities, as did the sportsmen of the Modern Olympic Games, they provided visitors the opportunity to order them on a beautiful simulated planet. The World's Expos were not only the most emphatic expression of the belief that the march of human

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progress stemmed from technological and scientific achievements, but also the bearers of the message that the gesture of converting the past into the future would be the responsibility of the white men of industrial and civilized nations. According to scientific theories widely accepted in Europe and the Americas, the different capacities of races would determine the quality of their civilizing progress. According to a current analogy, at the high end would be the imperialist nations, economically prominent and consisting of racially superior individuals; at the low end would be the peoples under their domination, culturally primitive and racially inferior. In the Department of Anthropology, the Pygmies from Africa, Filipinos, and Amerindians were not exhibitors, but objects of exhibition, selected according to the physiological and anthropological aspects that were intended to be represented to the audience (Delsahut, 2012). They were, as Parezo and Munro (2010) point out, the living figures of civilization's past.

In this extraordinary opportunity to exercise public diplomacy outdoors, Brazil struggled to dress like an aspirant to the upper echelons of the scale. A nation that would have overcome its colonized condition and that, like the United States, confined the indigenous peoples and segregated the blacks, whom the monarchy had freed from slavery, finally heeding the humanitarian and business appeals of the civilized world. Inwardly, the white elite perpetrated oppression against the rest of the population, and in the Missouri window erased the blacks and exhibited the native peoples as exotic specimens, just as France did in relation to the inhabitants of its colonies in the Colonial Expositions, or as the United States itself represented the rudeness of the bodies and manners of the Polynesians taken to St. Louis. Therefore, it was not by a lapse of Souza Aguiar that the indigenous people became invisible in the introduction to the catalog, having their Amazonian pieces included in the "archaeological" annex. Like Mexico and Argentina, Brazil exhibited them in the department of Anthropology in archaic collections that marked the distancing, as a civilized nation, from the "primitive" peoples of its territory (Parezo; Munro, 2010).

As for São Paulo regionalism, it was substantially diluted in relation to the original expectations, defeated by curatorial gestures and discourses on the unity of national efforts by the education service. The obstinate intent of the center remained, cherished at least since the Couto Ferraz reform of 1854, to propagate the educational organization directives from the Capital, which would also serve as a model and laboratory for innovations. It reveals an image of Brazil as united and commanded by the center, being unfortuitous that—although the civilians had taken the Executive branch from the hands of the Army and effected the change of the political axis in favor of the Republican Parties of São Paulo and Minas Gerais—the Brazilian Commission and the Department of Education had been relinquished to the military.[4] Despite Souza Aguiar not omitting that each state was responsible for its education system, none of their peculiarities or differences in development had been included in the report. Therefore, examination of the organization of the exhibition and of the set of objects in the catalog

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confirms the hypothesis that, in representing Brazil, the focus on the "national" scope prevailed over the "state," thus erasing the intended prominence of the state of São Paulo.

Examination of the documentation indicates that the country took to St. Louis a small volume of serial data, because of the difficulties imposed on the production and gathering of statistics. The decentralization of systems, which were disparate in terms of earmarked budgets, publics served, and institutional profiles of education, was unfavorable. In addition, the preponderance of manual works and drawings in the collection indicates that the Brazilian exhibition was more focused on products rather than processes. In contrast to the performances of the states of the American federation, which installed kindergartens, classrooms of graded schools and schools for the deaf-mute, and of the leading foreign nations, such as Germany, which impressed Francis (1913) with demonstrations of gymnastics and military movements, the Brazilian exhibition could have been defined as "static" and, therefore, unattractive, in the view of both experts and visitors eager to enjoy human knowledge as spectacle and amusement. After all, as explained by Gilbert (2009, p. 19), even visiting North-American laymen were already familiar with the combination of "an ecletic collection" and "amusement parks, trade shows, and public performances."

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Just as there is no evidence of exhibition of the report of the education subcommission of the São Paulo preparatory exhibition, the LPE documentation does not highlight the Brazilian exhibition in the department of education. David Francis (1913, p. 329), however, makes a brief but significant observation about it, in commenting on the exhibitions of Latin America nations. They would have been "attractive and instructive," namely that of Cuba, which would be growing after the boost provided by the United States, and Argentina, for the quality of normal schools. Regarding Brazil, he observed that: it "showed great unevenness, ranging from excellent administrative system of the province of San Paulo [sic] to practically nothing in the northern provinces but unorganized private effort" (Francis, 1913, p. 329). Although the report of the São Paulo subcommission did not reach the Palace of Education, the Brazilian Commission's catalog, due to its insufficiency and disproportion, and the national display, due to its dispersion and fixity, were enough to reveal the immense inequality and lack of unity of the educational service in their states, affected by the disparity of their economic capacities, as well as by the imbalance between the sets of attribution of the center and of the periphery of federal power. Although Brazil has been inspired by the US federalist system, it did not seem to the North-Americans that the situation of its education was similar to theirs, nor that it was in a position to share their advances in this noble aspect of human progress. However, perhaps those from São Paulo, having read Francis' commentary, thought that all their effort had been rewarded.

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## Notes

1. My journalistic source was *Correio Paulistano*, which presented a more constant and thorough coverage of the events than its main competitor, *O Estado de S. Paulo*. Both newspapers, which arose in the mid-nineteenth century, had their origin linked to the Republican Party of São Paulo, the political arm of the coffee oligarchy. *O Estado de S. Paulo*, however, due to disagreements between the director Júlio Mesquita and the party leadership, came to become, in 1890, an "independent newspaper," while *Correio Paulistano* remained, proudly, the news organ of the party.
2. The term "normalista" designated the person who attended a normal school, as well as the one who had obtained the diploma conferred by it. Graduates, such as Oscar Thompson, had a higher professional status than other teachers, having the preference in public service admission exams, better salaries, and greater possibilities of ascending to administrative positions, such as education direction and supervision.
3. In the Chronicling America portal of The Library of Congress, I consulted the newspapers *The St. Louis Republic*, *St. Landry Clarion*, *St. Tammary Farmer*, *The Weekly Iberian*, *The Bossier Banner*, *The St. Mary Banner*, *The Lafayette Advertiser*, *The Meridional*, *The Colfax Chronicle*, *The Opelousas Courier*, *The Donaldsonville Chief*, *The Rice Belt Journal*, in which the search engine found the word "Brazil" in 1904 editions.
4. Ending the crisis of the monarchy, a civil-military conspiracy culminated in the proclamation of the Republic on November 15, 1889. Its commander, Marshal Deodoro da Fonseca, became the first president. Having resigned in 1891, he was succeeded by Marshal Floriano Peixoto, an administration marked by violence against dissidents. Politically weakened, he was unable to appoint a successor, and Prudente de Morais—of the Republican Party of São Paulo, representative of the coffee growers of São Paulo—was elected. The election of Prudente de Morais led to the beginning of a period of alternation of civil presidents of the parties of Minas Gerais and São Paulo, guaranteed by arrangements between powerful people at the local and state levels, by the maintenance of a small electorate, by coercion (the vote was not secret), and by fraudulent electoral processes.

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# 3 From Brazil to the United States. From Teachers College, Columbia University to the World

## Appropriation, Production, and Circulation of Ideas in the Field of Education

*Rafaela Silva Rabelo*

### Introduction

From the 1920s to the 1960s, about 120 Brazilian students attended to the Teachers College at the Columbia University in the United States, enrolled in graduate programs or simply attending short courses. Others only visited Teachers College shortly during study missions, about which we only have news of a few cases. As already demonstrated by several studies, we can affirm that Teachers College had an important role in the education and training of several Brazilian educators and impacted the development of curricula and the structuring of teacher training programs in the first half of the 20th century in Brazil.

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This chapter aims to subvert the idea of center and periphery in intellectual exchanges, basing the discussion on the movements of Brazilian educators who attended Teachers College. In this sense, it intends to show that the appropriation in Brazil of models/ideas based on Teachers College was not mere import, but it implied processes of resignification and hybridization that resulted in ideas that also had international circulation. Several of these Brazilian educators visited other countries and built a theoretical repertoire that combined North American and European authors. Some of them also toured Latin America, promoting their own ideas and publications. The analysis adopts a transnational perspective, working with the concept of historical networks and the notion of appropriation.

By adopting a transnational approach, I do not intend to disregard the notion of nation, as pointed out by Roldán Vera and Fuchs (2019). In fact, recognizing their existence is fundamental to exploring circulation processes and understanding that they are not restricted to geographical borders but are impacted by reception contexts due to social-cultural-political elements. As defined by Struck et al. (2011, pp. 573–574), "transnational history is a perspective of study; it does not claim to be a specific method."

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In a transnational approach, the play of scales has an essential role, specifically the scales variation, as pointed out by Revel (2010). This process of "zooming in" and "zooming out" enables perceiving connections and possible discontinuities. Roldán Vera and Fuchs (2019) indicate five narratives that have been adopted by transnational historians, sometimes in an articulated manner:

> (1) Narratives of divergence show how processes derived from the same origin have diversified across time and space; (2) narratives of convergence describe how phenomena taking place in distant places were substantially similar, or have become so over time; (3) narratives of contagion focus on the transfer or spread of phenomena and processes across national borders; (4) narratives of systems seek to explain the patterns in which social and historical structures interact with and mutually influence one another; and (5) narratives of entanglement attempt to show the continuous influence exerted by transnational actors, phenomena and processes upon the dynamics of the "national".
>
> (Roldán Vera and Fuchs, 2019, p. 12)

The discussion presented in this text focuses on what Roldán Vera and Fuchs (2019) call "narratives of entanglement," but also incorporates elements of the "narrative of divergence" and "narratives of contagion."

The first part of the text presents an overview of the presence of Brazilians in Teachers College (TC) during the early 20th century and the profile of these students. Then, it explores some cases of Brazilian educators who attended TC and how they built theoretical repertoires and education projects that re-signified their experiences. Finally, the discussion emphasizes elements that differ from the idea of center and periphery present in the cases studied. The final considerations indicate a transnational approach as an option to better understand the nuances of the processes of circulation and appropriation of international ideas in Brazilian education.

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## Brazilian Students at Columbia University's Teachers College

Among the various changes that occurred throughout the 19th and 20th centuries, what must be stressed about the history of Brazilian education for the purposes of this text is that there has always been an attempt to incorporate foreign models; however, in practice, several local variables—such as local culture, lack of resources, and untrained teachers—implied choices, adaptations, and resignifications. These models circulated in Brazil in different ways, either through the circulation of objects, such as the widespread presence of manuals (original editions, translations, Brazilian compilations), or through the circulation of people (Brazilians in educational trips abroad or foreign missions in Brazil).

In this text, the interest is in exploring specifically the movement of people through travel for educational purposes. These trips functioned as legitimizers of the proposals presented by those who had travelled.

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The United States' rise as an educational benchmark, which was consolidated in the first decades of the 20th century amid the discussions of New Education/ Progressive Education, does not represent the erasure of Europe but reflects the new geopolitical configurations, favored by the post–Great War context. In this scenario, the flow of educators on educational trips increases, especially in the first decades of the 20th century. One of the most prestigious destinations among Brazilian educators was Columbia University's Teachers College.

Established in the late 19th century and later incorporated into Columbia University, Teachers College received an increasing influx of foreign students in the early 20th century. The presence of these students, coming from different continents, combined with the financial support of the Rockefeller Foundation, led to the creation of the International Institute in 1923. Until its closure in 1938, the International Institute was responsible for organizing and implementing various initiatives aimed at international cooperation and understanding. These activities included sending American students and TC professors on study assignments in other countries or welcoming foreign students. Another important initiative of the International Institute was the creation of the Educational Yearbook in 1923, published from 1924 to 1944, even outliving the Institute itself. The Yearbook published information about the educational context of different countries, written by TC professors based on their study trips or by professors who were considered local authorities from other countries.[1]

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TC's relevance in the training of administrative staff in education and in the consolidation of new areas of different countries has already been discussed in several studies.[2] In the case of Brazil, surveys in semiannual/annual lists of foreign students enrolled in TC[3] indicate that approximately 120 Brazilians attended to the institution from the 1920s to the 1960s. Not all information on the lists is accurate, such as nationality, which is sometimes misattributed. Also, it is not possible to affirm that the consulted lists are complete. However, accuracy is not relevant in this case, but the projection of a context.

The collected data shows a greater flow of Brazilians in the 1950s, corresponding to 35% of the total, followed by the 1960s with 24%. The 1920s, 1930s, and 1940s have a similar flow, ranging from 13% to 14%. The number of women compared to men is more than double in any decade.

It is important to emphasize that Brazil was not an exception, and students from other Latin American countries were also present at TC. To better understand the profile of Brazilians at TC and the differences/similarities regarding other Latin American countries, it is worth thoroughly exploring an inventory of Latin American students registered from the 1920s to the 1940s titled "Students from Latin American countries registered in Teachers College, Columbia University. 1920–1940."[4] The document does not indicate the date it was prepared, but we can estimate that it was between 1941 and 1942.

The inventory includes students from Puerto Rico (166), Brazil (30), Cuba (30), Haiti (28), Chile (24), Panama (18), Mexico (17), the British West Indies

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(11), Argentina (10), Ecuador (9), Peru (5), British Guyana (3), Colombia (3), Honduras (3), Nicaragua (3), Venezuela (3), Bolivia (1), and Uruguay (1). Of the total of 365 names, Brazil appears as one of the countries that sent more students to TC from 1920 to 1940.

Among the 365 students, more than half were women, mostly single. The predominance of women is common to most countries, with the exception, for example, of Haiti, where the number of men was significantly higher.[5] In the case of Brazil, out of the 30 students on the list, approximately two-thirds are women, mostly single.

Among the states of origin of Brazilian students, there are the states of São Paulo, Minas Gerais, Bahia, and Santa Catarina, but mainly Rio de Janeiro, where the federal capital was located at the time.[6] The reported fields of knowledge include: Comparative Education (6), Education (1), Educational Administration (1), Educational Psychology (3), Elementary Education (3), Health Education (1), Individual Development and Guidance (1), Normal School Education (1), Nursing Education (5), Public Health Nursing (2), Religious Education (1), Student Personnel Administration (2), and Teaching of General Science (1).

But what would have led to the increasing presence of Brazilians at TC? In addition to the broader reasons, such as the cultural exchange between Brazil and the United States, the United States' renown mainly after the Great War, and the avant-garde position that TC had assumed in the field of educational studies and research, there are also more specific factors. There is strong evidence of the role that Isaac Kandel's trip to South America played in this process. Between 1925 and 1926, on a tour that lasted approximately one year, Kandel traveled through Argentina, Uruguay, Chile, and Brazil. It was a study mission at the service of the International Institute, commissioned by the International Education Board, to conduct a study on education in the abovementioned countries. As for his tour in Brazil, it is possible to trace his passage through São Paulo, Rio de Janeiro, and Minas Gerais, states from which teachers would depart for TC in the following years. In addition to dates coinciding, correspondences and other traces of the contacts that Kandel established with local professors and managers reinforce that the constitution of these networks during his tour were central to the Brazilians' exchange in the following years (Rabelo, 2019b).

Some of the Brazilians who appear in the lists of students at TC are names known in Brazilian education for the positions they held and the prestige they acquired. Anísio Teixeira is undoubtedly the most prominent name that comes to mind. However, other names on the lists have also had their contributions explored in different studies, as can be seen in the next topic. Still, considering the more than 100 Brazilian students who attended TC from the 1920s to the 1960s, according to registration lists found, it is observed that there is little or no information about most of these subjects.

In addition to these Brazilians who attended courses at the TC, it is worth mentioning another category of connection: Brazilians who included TC in their

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itineraries during study missions in the United States. This is a more difficult category to track as it does not appear on the TC registration lists. Except for cases better known for being linked to widely studied educators, such as Lourenço Filho, other cases tend to disappear from the narratives.

**Brazilian Educators on the Move**

Although the trip to TC was the first international trip of some of the Brazilian students, for others it was neither the first nor the last trip abroad, which reinforces TC as a convergence point, a hub (Vidal and Rabelo, 2021). In network theory, the hub is a node with many ties, that is, people or organizations with many connections (Barabási, 2003).

Some of these educators already had a background of experiences in educational trips to other countries. Thinking about the notion of travel as a broader experience, not only of geographical movement, but of contact with other realities through the circulation of ideas/objects, we can affirm that these students had already had contact with foreign ideas and authors, including TC professors.

It is noteworthy the case of the group of professors sent by the government of the state of Minas Gerais composed of five women. They attended classes at TC from 1927 to 1929 and had the mission of becoming specialists in different subjects and learning new methods to be applied upon their return. In fact, these female professors began to work in teacher training after their return, some of them in the newly created School of Improvement [*Escola de Aperfeiçoamento*], a model school geared toward teacher training. As for the members of this group of professors, Ignácia Guimarães had already studied in the United States from 1922 to 1924. In 1929, while the other professors returned to Minas Gerais, she headed to Germany to study the European education system. After returning, Guimarães would remain briefly in Minas Gerais and was invited by Anísio Teixeira to work in the Federal Capital during the period he was in charge of managing the local education.[7]

In the field of Educational Psychology, Isaias Alves de Almeida and Noemy da Silveira Rudolfer are two significant examples. They attended TC between 1930 and 1931 and, upon returning, took on positions in specialized laboratories linked to the educational management of the Federal Capital and São Paulo, respectively.[8] I will resume Noemy Rudolfer's case later. As for Isaias Alves, it should be noted that upon returning from the United States, he took on the office of General Directorate of Public Instruction of Bahia [*Diretoria Geral da Instrução Pública*] in 1931, a position that he gave up to be technical deputy director of the General Directorate of Public Instruction of the Federal Capital at the invitation of Anísio Teixeira, then general director of Public Instruction. From 1938 to 1942, Isaias Alves was Secretary of Education and Health of Bahia. In 1941, he participated in the creation of the School of Philosophy of Bahia, where he was a full professor until his retirement in 1958. These are just a few examples that illustrate the spaces occupied by Isaias Alves.

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Between 1936 and 1937, Fernando Tude de Souza, an educator from Bahia, specialized in Comparative Education at the Teachers College following guidelines from Anísio Teixeira. The main historiographical references about his work refer to radio broadcasting. From 1943 to 1951 and from 1953 to 1956, Fernando Tude headed the Educational Radio Broadcasting Service, an agency linked to the Brazilian Ministry of Education (Nunes, 2018; Silva, 2015).

In the 1940s, it is the turn of Dorina de Gouvea Nowill, a name well remembered for the experiences focused on the education of people with blindness in Brazil, a theme on which she specialized at TC between 1946 and 1947. Based on the program she attended at TC, the Specialization Program in Teaching Blind People was created at Instituto Caetano de Campos,[8] in São Paulo. She participated in the development of teaching methods for blind children and in the organization of a teacher training program on how to teach blind people. Throughout her life, Dorina Nowill engaged in several actions aimed at the prevention of blindness and the education of blind people, participating in congresses and international organizations (Cardoso and Martínez, 2023).

In the following section, I explore more closely three cases (Anísio Teixeira, Noemy Rudolfer, and Lourenço Filho) to argue about TC as a hub and that cultural exchanges result in proposals and networks that cannot be understood within the delimitation of center and periphery or educational transfer.

Anísio Teixeira was one of the first Brazilians to obtain the Master's degree at TC. Noemy Rudolfer, although she remained for a shorter period and did not obtain a degree, exemplifies women who held important positions after returning from study trips. Lourenço Filho, in turn, falls into a more slippery category, since he was not a student, but visited Columbia University on a study mission and had contact with TC professors. The three knew each other, collaborated at various times, and shared common networks.

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### Anísio Spíndola Teixeira (Caetité, Bahia 1900—Rio de Janeiro, Rio de Janeiro 1971)

Anísio Teixeira was in the United States for the first time in 1927, on a trip financed by the state government of Bahia. At the time, he held the office of General Director of Public Instruction of Bahia. The objective was "to observe American teaching methods and educational institutions that could be created in a similar way in the state" (Nunes, 2000, p. 146, free translation). During the seven months of his stay, he attended to some courses at TC and participated in pedagogical excursions organized by the International Institute in other states. After his return, he published a travel report in book format with the title *Aspectos americanos de educação* [American aspects of education].

This was not his first experience abroad. He had already been to Europe in 1925, accompanying the Archbishop of Bahia, Dom Augusto Álvaro da Silva, in the celebrations of the Holy Year in Rome. During the tour in Europe, he had the

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opportunity to visit schools and learn a little about the education system of some countries (Cardoso, 2020).

In his second trip to the United States, between 1928 and 1929, he obtained the degree of Master of Arts. Over the course of ten months, he attended the master's program at TC with a scholarship from the Macy Student Fund of the International Institute. After his return, he published the book *Vida e educação* [Life and education] through publisher Melhoramentos in 1930, which gathers the translations of Dewey's texts "The Child and the curriculum" and "Interest and effort in education." In 1932, he published *Educação progressiva* [Progressive education], an authorial work. Dewey's translation of "Democracy and Education" was published in 1936. Teixeira played an important role in disseminating Dewey's thought in Brazil.

Teixeira's travels across the United States, especially his contact with the works of TC professors, had a great impact on his training and professional work in later years. During the term of his office as Director of Public Instruction of the Federal Capital, between 1931 and 1935, his proposals reflected the appropriations of experiments about which he learned in his travels.

Teixeira held several positions in the educational administration in the following decades, among which he took on as General Secretary of the Coordination for the Improvement of Higher Education Personnel (CAPES) in 1951 and, the following year, as director of the National Institute of Pedagogical Studies (INEP), of which Lourenço Filho was the first director. He has also worked on educational reforms and the implementation of different projects, for example, the creation of the Carneiro Ribeiro Educational Center—also known as Escola Parque—in Salvador, Bahia, in the 1940s and the creation of the University of the Federal District in 1935 and the University of Brasília, together with Darcy Ribeiro, in 1962.

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Teixeira's circulation and constitution of international networks can be observed through the numerous correspondences exchanged with educators and different government authorities in other countries present in his collection under the custody of the Center for Research and Documentation of the Contemporary History of Brazil [*Centro de Pesquisa e Documentação de História Contemporânea do Brasil*] linked to the Getúlio Vargas Foundation (CPDOC/FGV). It is also verified through his participation in international congresses or commissions linked to multilateral organizations. Among these links, it is worth mentioning that in 1946, at the invitation of Julian Huxley, he held the position of advisor for higher education at UNESCO for one year. Another milestone of his international recognition occurred in 1963, when he taught courses at TC as a guest professor and, at the end, was awarded the medal for "Distinguished Service" (Nunes, 2010).

The experiences lived in the United States, as well as the study of its authors and proposals, impacted Teixeira's repertoire and shaped his way of thinking about education and the projects he led from the 1930s and 1960s. However,

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his life trajectory and the educator he became have many more elements. Nunes highlights the multiple dimensions of his background and activity as follows:

> an Ignatian elementary education, a legal grounding from the law faculties of Salvador and Rio de Janeiro, post-graduate studies in education at Columbia University, lengthy trips studying public management that led him throughout his life to move between Salvador, Rio de Janeiro, and Brasília.
>
> (Nunes, 2022, p. 7)

Even with regard to Dewey's ideas—of which he was a great admirer and which he helped to disseminate in Brazil—, his role cannot be reduced to mere reproduction, as his appropriation of the American philosopher is strongly marked by processes of resignification and hybridization:

> Anísio distinguished himself from Dewey in the sphere of political strategy. Dewey believed in the complete success of educational reforms in less developed countries, with an absence of rooted cultural traditions. Anísio knew and critically denounced the force of these traditions in Brazilian society. At no time did Dewey, in his vast oeuvre, indicate any measures for measuring intelligence or level of education. Anísio applied them through his collaborators in the public schools network. Dewey remained an independent thinker and didn't join any party. Although Anísio appreciated his independence, in defending the reforms of the Distrito Federal in the 1930s he did draft a party program. Dewey never engaged with the debate between confessional and public schools, while during the 1950s Anísio waded right into it. Anísio inherited from Dewey a respect for pluralism, and a pragmatism which he tempered with his Jesuit education and his experience in regional politics.
>
> (Nunes, 2022, p. 18)

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Teixeira incorporated and adapted several experiments he observed during his trips to the United States, such as his projects of integral education, teacher training, and the very conception of university that guided the creation of the Universities of the Federal District in 1935 and of Brasília in 1962.

His first attempt at implementing integral education occurred during his administration of education in the Federal District in the 1930s. Subsequently, he resumed the proposal in Bahia, with the creation of the Carneiro Ribeiro Center in Salvador in the late 1940s. This was an experiment mentioned by educators in European newspapers and a documentary was even shot in 1964 as part of a series produced by the United Nations. Subsequently, the Escola Parque project inspired the educational reform in Brasília in the 1950s (Chahin, 2022).

The integral education experiment was inspired by what Teixeira observed in the United States, incorporating elements of the platoon method and Dewey's pedagogy, but adapting to the particularities of the Brazilian scenario through

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processes of hybridization and resignification. As described by Cardoso (2020, p. 173, free translation), "Anisio Teixeira did not fully appropriate a foreign educational model, but rather appropriated what was functional and pragmatic in this model."

**Noemy da Silveira Rudolfer (Santa Rosa de Viterbo, São Paulo 1902—São Paulo, São Paulo 1980)**

Noemy da Silveira Rudolfer—or Noemy Marques da Silveira, her maiden name before 1934—exemplifies the significant number of women who attended TC in the early 20th century. As aforementioned, the inventory of Latin American students who attended TC points to a majority number of women on the list of Brazilians, composing approximately two-thirds of the total, mostly single. This is a relevant fact for it refutes a common misconception that women in Brazil did not circulate in certain spaces or occupy certain positions at that time. But at the same time, this predominantly female presence in the study missions must be considered with care, since according to studies such as Warde and Rocha (2018) on the TC context, despite teaching increasingly being a female profession, the leadership positions were predominantly held by men.

Noemy Rudolfer's name is not included in the inventory of Latin American students, perhaps because she did not complete the program and had to anticipate her return to Brazil, or perhaps due to a simple error in the data collection process. In any case, she appears on other lists of students registered per semester and there are traces of her study trip whether in the form of reports she published or news in the Brazilian press.

There are records of at least three trips Rudolfer made to the United States: two between 1930 and 1931 and one in 1941. Her first trip to the United States was in the early 1930s over five weeks, with the Institute of International Education as her destination. Noemy was part of a group of ten Brazilian teachers who were selected by the Brazilian Education Association to have the study trip with the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace Scholarship. During the trip, she devoted herself to studying career advisory services in the cities she visited. Her second trip was in the same year, in September, through the Macy Grant, with a planned duration of one year. At the request of Lourenço Filho, who had took on as General Director of Public Instruction of São Paulo, she anticipated her return to early 1931 to assist him in the educational reform, taking on the Service of Applied Psychology. In 1941, Rudolfer attended the eighth international congress of the New Education Fellowship in Michigan, at the invitation of the Progressive Education Association, which was responsible for organizing the event that year (Rabelo, 2019a; Rocha, 2020).

The partnership with Lourenço Filho, the studies in the United States, and the spaces she conquered at the São Paulo Institute of Education after her return from TC in 1931 gradually made her name stand out as a benchmark in Educational

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Psychology in Brazil. In the late 1930s, she began to work as a professor at the University of São Paulo until her retirement,[10] being in charge of the Laboratory of Psychology.

Rudolfer translated at least three books by renowned authors. *A lei biogenética e a escola active* [The biogenetic law and the active school],[11] by Adolphe Ferrière, in 1929, and *Educação para uma civilização em mudança* [Education for a Changing Civilization], by William Kilpatrick, in 1933, were published by publisher Melhoramentos. Arthur Gates' *Psychologia para estudantes de educação* [Psychology for Students of Education] was published in two volumes in 1935 and 1939 by Saraiva. Regarding these translations, two observations should be made. First, that Lourenço Filho was coordinator of the collection on education of the publishing house Melhoramentos, so the choice of titles and negotiation of translations involved him. In the case of Ferrière, letters exchanged between Ferrière and Lourenço Filho with the negotiations for the publication of the book in Brazil were found. In the case of Kilpatrick, we can raise the hypothesis that it was Rudolfer who suggested the title to Lourenço Filho, probably the same case as Arthur Gates' book (Rabelo, 2019a; Rabelo and Vidal, 2020).

Of the three names on which I focus, Rudolfer's trajectory, specifically after the 1930s, is the one with less information available. In this regard, it is important to indicate that the personal collections of Teixeira and Lourenço Filho were donated to CPDOC/FGV, and today, they are open for public consultation. On the other hand, there is no information about Rudolfer's personal collection, and much about her trajectory is from third-party collections and her own publications.

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In addition to the trips to the United States, information obtained from Rudolfer's resume and press reports show that she participated in a cultural mission that included Argentina, Chile, Uruguay, and Peru in 1944, and Paraguay and Bolivia in 1945. In the 1950s, she was a visiting professor at the University of Chile (Rabelo, 2019a). The geographical and theoretical movements of Noemy Rudolfer from the 1920s to the 1940s reveal processes of appropriation of European and American authors who dealt with Educational Psychology and Vocational Education. But the production of new knowledge resulting from these encounters reinforces the creativity inherent in appropriation processes. As Rocha's studies (2019, 2020) point out, Noemy Rudolfer did not restrict herself to reproducing the models studied, but created based on them. The adaptation of tests considering the Brazilian setting is an example.

Her recognition as a benchmark in Educational Psychology in Brazil, enhanced by her sociability networks, is also reiterated in publications in other countries. In the 1948 volume dedicated to Brazil of the American collection "Who's who in Latin America," Noemy Rudolfer's name appears alongside other personalities considered relevant, such as Anísio Teixeira and Lourenço Filho. The existence of volumes dedicated to each country, including Brazil, shows that the movement was not unidirectional. Brazilian educators were interested in knowing the main references in the United States, but the reciprocity was also true,

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even though the objectives may be diverse. But the reference to Noemy Rudolfer in the Ecuadorian pedagogical magazine *Nueva Era* shows how complex these movements are, which point to various directions.

Ecuadorian educator Julio Larrea (1904–1987) founded the journal *Nueva Era* in 1933, when he was Director of Education in the province of León, now Cotopaxi. Throughout its existence, the journal had as its main characteristic to bring together collaborations of educators from various countries, of great national or international prestige (Larrea, 2010). In the early 1940s, while visiting different countries of the American continent, Larrea published special issues edited from the countries he was in. For example, in 1944, he edited volume 13 from Mexico; in 1945, volume 14 from Chile, and volume 15 from Brazil.

In the volume written from Brazil, there is a section with a minibiography of Brazilian educators,[12] among them Anísio Teixeira, Lourenço Filho, and Noemy Rudolfer. In the case of Rudolfer, it is stated:

> Born in São Paulo, she attended normal school, and is a primary education teacher. She then carried out education studies in the United States, coming to hold the position of head of the Services of Applied Psychology, of the Department of Education, in São Paulo, and, later, the chair of Educational Psychology at the University of the same state [University of São Paulo]. She is currently employed by the School of Philosophy of Asunción, Paraguay. She published "Introdução à Psicologia Educacional," "O Serviço de Psicologia Aplicada," "Orientação profissional."
>
> (Alguns educadores . . ., 1945, p. 111)

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As can be seen, the passage about Rudolfer is not extensive. Between volumes 13 and 16, this was the only mention found about her. The set of entries in Portuguese also suggests that they were written by a Brazilian educator at Larrea's request, but there is no mention of the possible author. In any case, it is the set of multiple movements condensed in the space of such a short paragraph that draws attention: a Brazilian educator being cited in an Ecuadorian journal, and among the information about her that deserved attention is the fact that she studied in the United States and at that time was teaching in Paraguay.

Correspondence available at the National Library of Chile shows interlocutions with Gabriela Mistral in 1945, on the occasion of Rudolfer's visit to Paraguay. It is worth mentioning that Mistral was in Brazil in 1926, in 1937, and, later, as a consul of Chile in Brazil, from 1940 to 1945 (Sepúlveda Vásquez, 2014).

Julio Larrea and his journal subvert the idea of center-periphery, because in the approach of the Ecuadorian educator several centers are possible. Larrea had already been to the United States and had great interest in its educators and their ideas, but also had an interest in Latin American educators and the types of experiments that were being developed in their countries. His proposal is expressed in the description below the journal's title, *Tribuna de los líderes de la*

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*educación contemporánea de America*. Brazilians, such as Noemy Rudolfer and Anísio Teixeira, were seen as part of these leaders. The case of Lourenço Filho, who appeared frequently in the aforementioned journal, is even more emblematic and will be resumed in the next topic.

**Manoel Bergström Lourenço Filho (Porto Ferreira, São Paulo 1897—Rio de Janeiro, Rio de Janeiro 1970)**

As a hub, Teachers College was sometimes a place for a longer stay, such as while attending programs as in the case of Anísio Teixeira and Noemy Rudolfer, or of shorter stay, on study missions, as in the case of Lourenço Filho. He was in the United States from December 1934 to March 1935, on a study mission through the Department of Education of Rio de Janeiro. The mission aimed to learn about the teacher training models of the United States. During his time in the United States, he attended the Congress of Education in Atlantic City, New Jersey, and visited the teacher training schools of the Universities of New York and Columbia (Monarcha, 2010; Warde, 2003). He also invested in the acquisition of books for the teacher library of the Institute of Education of the Federal Capital, of which he was director at the time (Vidal, 2001). At the time of this trip, Lourenço Filho was already a renowned educator in Brazil, and therefore, his trip to the United States had a different function than Anísio Teixeira's trip.

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In 1925, Lourenço Filho started working at the Normal School of São Paulo in the area of Psychology Applied to Education. In the same year, he reactivated the Experimental Psychology Laboratory of the Normal School, developing studies mainly focused on the application of tests. He was familiar with the work of several international educators linked to the New Education movement and Educational Psychology, such as Dewey, Montessori, and Decroly (Monarcha, 2010).

In 1926, he translated *Psicologia experimental* [Experimental psychology] by Henri Piéron and *A Escola e a Psicologia Experimental* [The School and Experimental Psychology] by Edouard Claparède. *Educação e sociologia* [Education and Sociology] by Durkheim, *Testes para a medida de inteligência* [Tests for the measure of intelligence] by Binet and Simon, and *Tecnopsychologia do trabalho industrial* [Technopsychology of industrial work] by Léon Walther were translated in 1928, all through the publisher Melhoramentos, in which he coordinated a collection on education.

His best-known work, *Introdução ao estudo da escola nova* [Introduction to the study of the new school], was published in 1930. The book had several editions, reaching its 7th edition in 1961, in a reformulated version. Another of his editorial successes, *Testes ABC*, was published in 1933. In addition to the reach they had in Brazil, both books were translated into Spanish. As can be seen in Monarcha (2001), Lourenço Filho had books and chapters published in Spanish, English, and French.

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Regarding the international circulation of *Introdução ao estudo da escola nova*, some clues are provided by two passages of the introduction to the 7th edition, which are reproduced as follows:

> Excerpts from the book began to be transcribed in national and foreign compendia, or even in treatises of the specialty, as in the work of the German educator Adolf Rude and collaborators, incorporated into the collection 'El Tesoro del Maestro,' in five volumes, (Editorial Labor, Barcelona, 1937) or in the encyclopedia 'Ciência de la Educación,' organized for Editorial Atlante, Mexico, by educators Hernandes Ruiz and Tirado Benedi, and printed for the first time in 1940, in two volumes.
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> . . .
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> At the same time, in a publication by the National Council of Education of the Argentine Republic, Introdução ao Estudo da Escola Nova was mentioned as "one of the twelve fundamental works of Latin American pedagogy," and, in a bibliography prepared by the Council of Primary and Normal Education of Uruguay, it was highlighted as an indispensable work for teacher training. In national institutes and several Latin American universities, it was also featured as a theme of didactic programs, history of education and comparative education.
>
> (Edições Melhoramentos, 1961, p. 9, free translation)

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Still on his international trips and collaborations, in 1936 he taught courses at the University of Buenos Aires and University of La Plata in Argentina, as a visiting professor. He participated as delegate of Brazil in the 5th International Congress of Technical Education in Italy. From 1936 to 1952, he was a contributor to the *Handbook of Latin American Studies*, published by Harvard University Press.

Lourenço Filho was a benchmark in Brazil in studies in Educational Psychology, specifically on tests and measurements. He also gained recognition, including internationally, in the production of materials aimed at literacy, in discussions on youth and adult education, in rural education, and in studies in comparative education. Regarding rural education, it is worth mentioning his trips to Mexico in the 1950s and how the experiments he observed were incorporated into proposals for Brazil (Souza, 2013).

As mentioned above, Lourenço Filho appears repeatedly in the volumes 13–16 of *Nueva Era*. Each of the four volumes has an article written by Lourenço Filho. Larrea included in the pre-textual elements the appreciation of educators from different countries about the journal. Lourenço Filho's commentaries appear in volumes 14–16. He is identified both in the articles and in the comments about the journal as director of INEP, highlighting the space of authority he occupied in Brazil and projecting this image abroad. In volume 16, he is mentioned as a professor at the University of Brazil and former director of INEP.

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**Movements in Multiple Directions**

Based on the examples of Teixeira, Rudolfer, and Lourenço Filho, we find that they converge in some aspects, such as the practice of translation. Teixeira and Rudolfer translated books by professors linked to the Teachers College (Dewey, Kilpatrick, and Gates), and Lourenço Filho edited them for the publishing house Melhoramentos. In the case of Rudolfer and Lourenço Filho, the repertoire of translations also included European authors (Ferrière, Claparède, Binet), which further evinces the processes of appropriation and hybridization. The works to be translated are related to choices that are based on different factors, including individual trajectories and preferences.

However, the works did not circulate only through translations. The original editions in English or translations in Spanish or French also arrived in Brazil by different means. The inventory of the teacher library of the Institute of Education of the Federal Capital makes this clear. It is worth recollect the Lourenço Filho's trip to the United States in 1935 in which he purchased books for such library.

The fact that these books circulated—in their original editions in English, or through translations in Spanish, French, and, mainly, in Portuguese by Brazilian publishers—indicates choices and alignments. The presence of these books suggests appropriation processes, choices, and preferences. Bourdieu (2002) argues that intellectual life is not naturally international, but rather a space of nationalism and imperialism, and that the context of reception influences the way the text will be interpreted, sometimes even leading to misunderstandings in relation to the original objective of the author of the work. The way Dewey is appropriated is an emblematic example.

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In an approach similar to Bourdieu, Chartier argues that appropriation is the production of meanings and that the same texts are apprehended and manipulated in different ways (Chartier, 1990, 2014). A consequence is how the same author can be appropriated and result in representations that are quite different, sometimes even contradictory. Vidal (2001), for example, notes the distinct and sometimes even divergent interpretations of Anísio Teixeira and Lourenço Filho about Dewey. Nunes (2000) points to the interpretation of these same educators about Thorndike. It is interesting to note that combinations of authors who diverged from each other, such as Dewey and Thorndike, started to appear side by side in the references and publications of several Brazilian educators.

The roles of these educators were not limited to the dissemination of foreign authors. They also produced knowledge in the form of projects and publications, based on their experiences. In terms of publication, we can find American references in their works, especially in Teixeira's oeuvre. However, it is the concept of hybridization that best helps to interpret the characteristics of their works, in an amalgam of references that included European and American authors, a characteristic most present in the Rudolfer's and Lourenço Filho's works.

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It is interesting to note that the tours of Teixeira, Rudolfer, and Lourenço Filho are not limited to learning about ideas and models pertaining to education in the United States, a main characteristic of the first trips of these educators, but also to disseminate experiences developed in Brazil. Teixeira's presence as a visiting professor in the United States in the 1960s is an example that breaks the hierarchy usually related to the idea of center and periphery, in which one produces and another consumes. Beyond the hierarchy linked to an alleged unidirectionality, the presence of Rudolfer and Lourenço Filho in Latin American universities as visiting professors calls into question the very idea of center, giving rise to a configuration in which several centers are possible and that can only be understood within the logic of the networks that unite different subjects and institutions regardless of geographical borders.

## Final Considerations

Although the Teachers College was not the starting point, it is undeniable that it was an important milestone for some of the educators who were students there, serving to legitimize authority and helping to conquer places of power. Being a place of passage, a hub, that is, neither a point of departure nor a point of arrival, many of the Brazilian educators who attended TC continued on their journeys—either geographic or internal—through other countries or returning to the United States.

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Anísio Teixeira and Lourenço Filho were national leaders in education who, due to their prestige in Brazil, but also to the fact that they were part of international networks of educators, also circulated abroad. We cannot deny that some of the groups of which these educators were part, such as UNESCO, were under the command of countries that had a privileged space of power in the geopolitical sphere and that also dictated initiatives in the educational field.

Nevertheless, the dynamics of relations that is established is much more complex than an analysis of the center-periphery type, based on the concept of educational transference, makes us believe. It is in the processes of appropriation that we can observe the small subversions. The circulation of ideas/subjects/objects and the constitution of networks show that the dynamics of circulation is not unilateral.

Here we can mention again the relevance that rural education in Mexico had for Lourenço Filho, outside the Europe–US axis. We can also highlight the circulation of Lourenço Filho's work in Latin America, making the Brazilian educator a benchmark in neighboring countries. Similarly to Lourenço Filho, Noemy Rudolfer maintained ties with Latin American educators and began to appear on the lists of specialists in educational psychology on the continent. Anísio Teixeira maintained strong ties with the United States, and some of his proposals, such as the park schools [Escolas Parque], were acknowledged in other continents.

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An analysis based on the idea of center and periphery to explore the developments of the exchange between Brazil and the United States, specifically the presence of Brazilians at TC, is limiting because it favors the perspective of homogeneity and a vertical and unidirectional relationship. However, based on the trajectory of these Brazilians, we can see the heterogeneity of experiences resulting in quite diverse processes of appropriation and construction of representations. Each educator who visited the United States had a unique experience, a result of their previous experiences, repertoires, and, consequently, preferences and choices.

In the case of Teacher College, it undoubtedly served to legitimize authority when it was included in the resume of Brazilians who attended that institution. However, more than a simple model to be reproduced, it served as a setting conducive to the constitution of networks and to the exchange of experiences.

**Notes**

1. To obtain more information on TC and the International Institute, see, for example, Cremin et al. (1954) and Correia (2011).
2. In studies in comparative education, psychology and teacher training, see, for example, Bu (1997), Lawn and Deary (2014), and Warde (2016).
3. The inventory with the names of Brazilian students prepared through the survey of lists containing registrations from the 1920s to the 1960s is available in the appendix of the doctoral dissertation of Rabelo (2016). Lists of foreign students who attended TC were originally available at Pocketknowledge, TC's online digital archive. In 2023, Pocketknowledge was ended and the digital archive moved to EDUCAT+, in the Gottesman Libraries service platform.
4. Two versions of the same document were found, differing in the total number of students who are listed. Although there is no date, I deduce that the most extensive document is the last version and I use it as a reference in this text. The 19-page version contains a total of 365 names, 79 more than the other 15-page version. Vidal and Rabelo (2019) are based on the 15-page list, and Rabelo (2023) on the 19-page list. Regarding the list of Brazilians, the difference between the two documents is minimal: 29 names in the 15-page document and 30 names in the 19-page document.
5. An overview analysis of the profile of Latin American students who attended TC and their contributions to the education of their countries of origin upon their return is presented in Rabelo (2023).
6. The city of Rio de Janeiro, in the state of Rio de Janeiro, was the federal capital from 1891 to 1960. In 1960, the federal capital was transferred to the newly inaugurated Brasília.
7. To learn more about the trajectories and contributions of the teachers who constituted the Minas Gerais group on mission at TC, see Maciel (2001), Araújo (2010), Fonseca (2010), and Cardoso (2014). To learn more about Anísio Teixeira, in addition to the references indicated in the following topic, see also the Thematic Section published by the journal *Encounters in Theory and History of Education*, titled "State, Democracy, and Education in Brazil: The Trajectory of Anísio Teixeira" (vol. 23, 2022). Available at: https://ojs.library.queensu.ca/index.php/encounters Accessed: Jun 9, 2023.
8. To learn more about Alves and Rudolfer's trips to the United States and their contributions to the field of Educational Psychology in Brazil, see Rabelo (2018) and Rocha (2020).

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9. Escola Normal de São Paulo, established in the mid-19th century, underwent restructuring over time and received different names. The following are some of its denominations: Escola Normal de São Paulo (1920); Instituto Pedagógico de São Paulo (1931); Instituto de Educação da Universidade de São Paulo (1934); Escola Normal Modelo (1938); Escola Caetano de Campos (1939); Instituto de Educação Caetano de Campos (1946); Instituto de Educação Estadual Caetano de Campos (1973). To learn more about the history of this institution, see Golombek (2016).
10 The São Paulo Institute of Education became part of the University of São Paulo in 1934. On the occasion the Institute was discontinued in 1938, Noemy Rudolfer was incorporated by the university.
11 According to a letter Ferrière sent to Lourenço Filho in 1929, the book was published in Spanish in a translation by Lourenzo Luzuriaga. The Brazilian edition was likely translated from the Spanish version.
12 The other Brazilians honored with mini-biographies were: Antônio Carneiro Leão; Antônio de Almeida Júnior; Carlos Delgado de Carvalho; Celso Kelly; Everardo Backheuser; Fernando de Azevedo; Francisco Campos; Gustavo Capanema; Helena Antipoff; J. P. Coelho de Souza; Mario Augusto Teixeira de Freitas; Maria dos Reis Campos; Sud Mennucci; Venancio Filho.

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# 4 New Education Movement and Modern Architecture

## Brazil and USA Connections between 1930 and 1960

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### Introduction

The New Education or Progressive Education Movements that emerged internationally at the turn of the 19th to the 20th century were guided by the principle that pedagogical action should form children to act and live rationally. New Education reformers intended to overcome the so-called traditional education, characterized by sterile verbalism and conservatism, by renewing pedagogical practices and considering two types of needs that had to be reconciled: those of children at each stage of development, as identified by the sciences informing educational thought, and the anticipated needs of the desired future for society. Education should be predicated on promoting child development for active participation in constructing this future. One needed to shape modern citizens capable of contributing their natural aptitudes, identified by psychology and cultivated by the school, to the progress of society.

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These renewal movements were partially driven by the purpose of saving those children endowed with a "homeless mind" (Popkewitz, 2017), who lived in family contexts divorced from what was considered civilized, modern, and rational—adjectives that constituted cosmopolitan citizens. Children needed to be freed from the local ways of thinking and customs of those so-called backward families. US initiatives to renew education formulated in the early 20th century were articulated to the American exceptionalism, discourse which quilted the nation as "a unique human experiment in the progressive development of the highest ideals of cosmopolitan human values and progress" (p. 61). Popkewitz notes that while these values were being reproduced by citizen formation, a concern emerged for those considered Other: the poor, the immigrants, the racialized—those who were outside the desired nation project, regarded both as a threat and groups in need of rescue. For the author, a division was established at the very core of this US project of nationhood and progressive education between citizens identified with the principle of rationality, placed at its center, and the peripheral populations whose practices were considered outside of reason.

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This chapter weaves an interdisciplinary analysis of the modernization and progress discourses produced by the fields of education and architecture in Brazil, focusing on some aspects of the exchanges between Brazil and the USA from 1930 to 1960. Particularly, we highlight the possible links between the New Education Movement and modern architecture in pedagogical proposals and school building projects. We also discuss how the discourses on the renewal of pedagogical practices and school projects incorporated the modern conception that applying new technical and scientific knowledge to citizen education and city planning would allow the country to overcome what was seen as the backwardness of Brazilian society, when compared to the USA and European countries.

Its first part focuses on analyzing the *Manifesto dos Pioneiros da Educação Nova* [Pioneers for a New Education Manifesto] (1932) and books written by two of its signatories, Lourenço Filho and Anísio Teixeira, for references to school spaces and environments. Both educators traveled to the USA to update and improve their own education. Lourenço Filho is the author of *Introdução ao Estudo da Escola Nova* [Introduction to New School Studies] (1930), and Anísio Teixeira wrote *American Aspects of Education: Notes from a Trip to the United States* (1928) and *Education and the Modern World* (1969).

Based on the analysis of catalogs from two exhibitions held at the Museum of Modern Art of New York (MoMA), which featured Brazilian school projects—Brazil Builds (1943) and Latin American Architecture since 1945 (1956), the second part focuses on aspects of school architecture of the period. We also draw from the book *Architecture of Social concern in Regions of Mild Climate* (1948), written by the American architect Richard Neutra and, at the time, published only in Latin America. The fertile dialogue between educators, Brazilian architects, and the American architect constitutes our main argumentative axis.

We have thus characterized the discourses and proposals formulated within education and architecture aimed at renewing pedagogical practices and school buildings, based on principles associated with modernity, such as the valorization of science and technology in formulating solutions for social problems. In the following analysis, we highlight how pedagogy and architecture intersect in writings regarding these issues, while emphasizing the exchange of ideas and proposals for school reform between Brazil and the USA founded on the dialogue established between educators and architects from both countries.

## 1. Two Brazilian Educators Speak Out on School Reform

In Brazil, the *Manifesto dos Pioneiros da Educação Nova* [Pioneers for a New Education Manifesto] (1932) became emblematic of the traditional discourse on school reform. Referred to as a "monument letter" by researcher Libânia Xavier, the document was written by educator Fernando de Azevedo and signed by 25 renowned Brazilian educators and intellectuals of the time. Addressed to the

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people and the government, it "came to light at the heart of the disputes over the policies issued by the newly created Ministério da Educação e Saúde [Ministry of Education and Health] in Brazil (1930)" (Vidal, 2013, p. 579; Xavier, 2002).

In its very first lines, the Manifesto (1932, p. 34) emphasized the "inorganization" of the Brazilian educational system due to dispersed initiatives and lack of both definition and clarity as to the ends and means of education. It pointed to the need to promote school reforms for keeping up with the scientific and technical progress of civilization and advocated for an education system reorganization and the updating of school practices on scientific bases. The topic entitled "The role of school in life and its social function" criticized traditional school for being closed in on itself, for its restricted performance. Instead, it pushed the use of new scientific and technological resources of modern society, such as "the press, the record, the cinema and the radio" for the benefit of education, especially in Brazil, due to its great territorial extension. It also promoted the opening of the reformed school to its surroundings, expressing the contrast between the traditional and the modern thusly:

> The traditional school, convinced of its important role and secluded in its narrow and sterile exclusiveness, devoid of the indispensable complement and concurrence of all other social institutions, will be succeeded by the modern school equipped with all the resources to extend and fructify its action in solidarity with the social environment, in which then, and only then, it will become capable of influencing, becoming a powerful center of creation, attraction and irradiation of all the forces and educational activities.
>
> (*Manifesto dos Pioneiros da Educação Nova*, 2010/1932, p. 63)

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Among its signatories were Lourenço Filho (1897–1970) and Anísio Teixeira (1900–1971), contemporary educators who stood out in the educational field for their work in several areas. Both undertook educational reforms in different Brazilian states, worked as university professors, wrote works that became major references in education, directed important educational institutions and actively participated in international discussions on issues related to education.

Lourenço Filho's intellectual production was more directly linked to educational psychology. In 1921, he became a professor of this discipline at the Escola Normal de Piracicaba (Piracicaba Normal School). In 1924, he taught the same subject at the Escola Normal de São Paulo (São Paulo Normal School), where he remained for six years. Later, in 1935, he reprised it at the School of Education, University of the Federal District. When this institution was extinct in 1939, he was finally transferred as full professor of Educational Psychology to the School of Philosophy, University of Brazil. Lourenço Filho translated important works, such as *Psicologia Experimental* [Experimental Psychology] (1926), by Henri Piéron; *A escola e a psicologia experimental* [School and Experimental Psychology (1928), by Édouard Claparède, and *Testes para Medida da Inteligência*

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[Scales for Measuring Intelligence] (1929), by Alfred Binet and Th. Simon. He also developed a psychological test aimed at literacy learning children, presented in the book *Testes ABC: para verificação da maturidade necessária à aprendizagem da leitura e da escrita* [ABC Tests: To Verify the Maturity Required for Learning to Read and Write] (1933) (Catani, 2018; Gandini and Riscal, 2002).

In the 1930s, Lourenço Filho traveled to the USA, Argentina, and Italy. His intense international circulation took the form of participation in congresses and conferences, membership in entities, writing forewords to foreign works, and publishing abroad. As member of the American Educational Research Association, in Washington, DC, he contributed to the books *Latin American Studies* (1936–147) and *Encyclopedia of Modern Education* (1943), published by The Philosophical Library, New York, and to the volume *Brazil*, published by the University of California. Lourenço Filho had his works translated into Spanish, French, and English (Gandini and Riscal, 2002, pp. 746–754). Among his most prominent works in Brazil and abroad, we highlight *Introdução ao Estudo da Escola Nova* [Introduction to the New School Studies], originally published in 1930, upon which we will base our considerations on the active school and the school environment.

Its content covers a course taught by Lourenço Filho at the Institute of Education, here divided into five lessons. The first, entitled "What is to be understood by a new school?", is followed by three chapters presenting "the systems of renewed education" and a final chapter devoted to "general questions of application" (Lourenço Filho, 1930, pp. 225–227). When addressing the issue of the school environment, rather than focusing on its physical space or on its building characteristics, the author emphasizes the teacher-student relations configured in this space and on how school activities, which should be based on child psychology, are conducted therein. As Lourenço Filho (1930, p. 53) states, "in the traditional school, the teacher faces a group of pupils; in the active school, the teacher finds himself amidst a group of children. It is not the same thing."

The author argues, in the first lesson, that building new schools or renovating the existing ones is unnecessary; it was enough to afford teachers the freedom to rearrange classroom furniture and objects to stimulate children's interest and activities. What characterized a suitable school environment for the New Education proposal was fundamentally the collaborative activity of children aimed at satisfying a group interest or need, transformed into a shared project. He then presents three principles formulated by the Baltimore-based Progressive Education Association, founded in 1919: (1) "Freedom for children to develop naturally," (2) "Interest as the motive of all work," and (3) "Teacher as guide, not taskmaster" (Lourenço Filho, 1930, p. 67).

The fourth lesson focused entirely on presenting the so-called "project system," originally formulated by John Dewey, who had conducted the initial tests of this new pedagogical proposal at the University of Chicago Laboratory Schools (Lourenço Filho, 1930, p. 161). In addition to its philosophical

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foundations, principles, and teaching conception, the lesson brought examples of projects conducted at Colégio Rio Branco,[1] as well as clarifications on its realization and results. It is worth reproducing Lourenço Filho's account of a Brazilian teaching project inspired by this system:

> In a 2nd grade class, with children aged 8, 9 and 10 years, plasticine was used to reproduce a farm. Externally, it presented itself as a manual project, modeling and applying figurative material. But as the work progressed, very interesting questions arose related to the terrain configuration, and so a study of geography was conducted (hill, slope, river, banks, islands, source, confluence, etc.); to calculation (proportion of the areas destined to coffee farming, size of the farmyard, houses, fields, paths and roads); technical questions regarding farming and cattle raising (fertilizers, animal feed, pruning, harvest); questions related to Brazilian history (bandeirantes, slavery, abolition of slavery); questions related to sociography (coffee route, consuming countries, things we export and import) . . . The drawing unfolded into other activities: the children discussed various plans and drew up blueprints of possible farms, they depicted the life of the farmer, the settler, as well as that of the coffee plantation in short stories. Finally, they planned a party to inaugurate the farm, in which they roasted, ground, prepared and drank coffee from São Paulo, sang an anthem to coffee, staged scenes from farm life, etc. The issue of slavery aroused an extraordinary interest in all things African: customs, animals, human races, transatlantic travel. Written exercises abounded: letters exchanged between the farm manager and its owner; announcements, invitations to the final party; farm descriptions; comparisons between country and city life, and many others. The class worked on this project for more than three months. From it, without intervention of the teacher, a new project emerged: that of a cattle ranch, later carried out with truly surprising confidence and enthusiasm.
>
> (Lourenço Filho, 1930, pp. 176–177)

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Such project, inspired by Dewey's original proposal, illustrates well some of the principles most dear to the New Education Movement: teaching motivated by a theme that created an opening to the outside world, driven by the children's interest; flexibility in planning activities, which were then expanded and diversified as new problems aroused new interests; integration between different subject contents during investigation of the project theme; children's activities and work performed collaboratively; the teacher's non-intervention in the choice of the next project theme.

We now turn to Anísio Teixeira. Born in Bahia, where he attended a Jesuit school, he graduated in Law at the University of Rio de Janeiro. Teixeira traveled to Europe in 1925 and twice to the USA (1927 and 1928), where he obtained a Master of Arts degree from Columbia Teachers College in 1929. His academic

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production and achievements as an education reformer and manager were deeply marked by Dewey, whose work he helped disseminate in Brazil. In 1930, he translated two essays written by the US educator, collected under the title *Vida e Educação* (Life and Education). Decades later, after being removed from his position as Rector at the University of Brasília and compulsorily retired by the Military Government, Teixeira returned to the USA as a visiting scholar to teach at Columbia University (1964), New York University (1965), and the University of California (1966). (Nunes, 2002).

The Brazilian educator argued that schools, founded on an experience- and practice-based integral education geared toward work and scientific education, should focus on educating the common people. Such schools should be adapted to the needs of an everchanging world that demanded from its citizen's autonomy, the ability to adapt to innovations, responsibility, and collaborative spirit. Teixeira was firmly opposed to bookish and erudite schools aimed exclusively at educating an intellectual elite.

In the two-part report American Aspects of Education (1928), Anísio Teixeira, then Director General of Education, presented to the Bahia government a record of his impressions about the US educational system during a trip to the USA, comparing their schools to both Brazilian and European institutions, which he had visited on previous trips. In its first part, entitled Fundamentals of Education, Teixeira, referencing Dewey's ideas, presented the pedagogical concepts that guided the teaching practices observed by the author in the US schools. In its second part, entitled American Aspects of Education, the author systematizes and comments on his observations about several school establishments in several states, including rural schools, professionalizing colleges, normal schools, and education management agencies.

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Teixeira begins the first part by stating that education is the "process by which social life is perpetuated" (Teixeira, 1928, p. 13) and emphasizing the role of the environment in child education. To accomplish such education, adults sought to control the environment in which children lived, just as society governed education by controlling the school, space where education takes place. Referencing works by the philosopher Dewey, Anísio Teixeira (1928, p. 15) asserted that schools should constitute a simplified, purified, and balanced social environment:

> The school must offer a—simplified—social environment since contemporary complexity is unassimilable in its entirety by children; a purified social environment, that is, purged of its bad elements and especially conducive for developing the healthy aspects of modern life; and lastly, a balanced environment, in the sense of harmony and spaciousness. A modern society is composed of the most diverse groups, and strictly speaking more heterogeneous than a primitive nation.
>
> (Teixeira, 1928, pp. 15–16)

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From kindergarten to university, classes were taught by discussing real-life problems, often associated with students' lived experiences. Instead of transmitting already formalized knowledge, teachers encouraged students to reflect on proposed problems. A friendly atmosphere enabled children and youth to spontaneously and confidently express themselves. An initial feeling that this spontaneous dialog seemed like a waste of time was soon dissipated by the perceived gains obtained in this type of classes (Teixeira, 1928, p. 89). As for school buildings, Teixeira was struck by their openness, spaciousness, richness of materials, and opportunities for experimentation. A school that was not intended to prepare for a future life, but to promote life itself:

> As I have already noted elsewhere in these travel notes, written in alone moments from a dense program of visits, four points characterize US colleges: profusion of vast and appropriate buildings and luxurious and abundant equipment and facilities; lively, practical teaching methods in which teachers and students participate equally; a flexible and rich curriculum, with extraordinary variety of subjects, so as to permit adequate adaptation to students' needs and preferences; and a student life so diverse and varied, with so many associations and clubs, and so great collective activity, that in fact make college life in this country not the period of prospection and probation which it is among us, but a rich and fruitful period of full social life.
>
> (Teixeira, 1928, p. 121)

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In his observations, the author also registered the contrast between the USA and the European attitude toward their achievements. In his opinion, while North-Americans were always pursuing development and improvement, oriented toward progress and the future, Europeans were mainly concerned with conserving the already established:

> I couldn't help telling him right away about my fascination with the school grounds and buildings, and this constant surprise of the poor foreigner at the perfectly new, sharp and magnificent aspect of American things.
>
> —Our buildings are good, but they can be made better. I did not intervene in their construction; when I was appointed principal, I came to find them as they are.
>
> This permanent and restless desire for progress distinguishes in Education, as in any other activity, the civilization on this side of the Atlantic from the European one, with its finished and satisfied conquests.
>
> I have visited several schools in Europe. None of them, even the best ones, exhibit the prosperous and modern material aspects of American schools. Our first impression in those learning institutions is one of fixity, of stability and balance that has been achieved and is to be maintained.
>
> In the US, the spirit of progress dominates all.
>
> (Teixeira, 1928, pp. 81–82)

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In 1950, inspired by these observations and by his knowledge of the specific educational context in the city of Salvador, Bahia, Anísio Teixeira founded the Carneiro Ribeiro Educational Center, which offered poor children eight hours of daily activities, divided into two periods. In one period, students attended school classes, in which they learned curricular subjects. In the other, children attended the school-park: a large, wooded space, where children engaged in physical, social, and artistic activities, getting involved in organizing post offices, clubs, a library, a radio-school, etc. In this institution, children also fed, bathed, and received medical care (Fernandes and Camargo, 2017; Teixeira, 1959). Such full-time character was proposed to reconcile tradition and modernity, with the traditional curriculum preserved in the classroom, associated with the active school proposed by the New Education Movement—the school park.

The Center served as a reference for the complex of school classes and school parks created in the city of Brasília in the following decade (Souza, 2016). These initiatives materialized the ideals of a comprehensive citizen education for life in a democratic society, combining the transmission of literate culture with an expanded formation, which included participation in social and artistic activities and vocational training.

A more in-depth analysis of these experiences is outside our scope but can be found in several other works as the Center has already been widely studied in Brazil. An interesting publication in this regard is Samira Bueno Chahin' article *A Brazilian Response to the 20th Century School Infrasctructure Planning* (2022), in which she undertook a thorough analysis of Teixeira's pedagogical proposal as a response to the international school renovation movement.[2]

The Manifesto and the selected texts of Lourenço Filho and Anísio Teixeira show, each in its own way, a valorization of rationality and democracy, principles associated with modernity and progress. They also express expectations that such a renovated school, by educating the new generations, could contribute in a decisive manner to the desired social changes. But to do so, this renewal of education had to be founded on child psychology, which was then considered a new and promising science. As for the school environment, the proposals focused largely on the integration of indoor and outdoor spaces: both the classroom integrated into the outdoor, and the school integrated into community life.

The writings also prize children's contact with nature but are always reasoned by the adult responsible for making nature available to children. Thus, nature corresponded to a set of elements disciplinarily selected and arranged at school: a classroom table or corner disposing objects collected from nature to be observed and manipulated; the opening of classrooms to green spaces specially designed to promote outdoor leisure; a scheduled excursion to the beach or to the mountains. As Valerie Walkerdine (1998, p. 180) correctly observed regarding such appreciation of the countryside in the innovative

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pedagogical proposals carried out by European countries in the first half of the 20th century,

> Usage of the countryside as a natural environment is important, but it is equally important to remember that this natural countryside, the bearer of all that is good and beautiful, is the countryside of the aristocracy's "cottage" or the idealized rurality of natural life (swans and sheep) and not the poverty-stricken bits of land of peasants and farmers.

Considering the desired integration between indoor and outdoor spaces at school, along with the emphasis on psychological studies that would allow to identify the child's natural aptitudes, which should be cultivated and put at the service of the collectivity, one can think about its expected effects on the formation of the individual themself, such as the integration between personal interests and one's participation in groups, as well as one's personal contributions to society. Finally, flexibility in organizing spaces and routine was seen as a way to account for the unexpected and as an opening for the new, so representative of that modern spirit they wished to implement at schools.

## 2. Modern School Architecture: Dialogues between Brazil and the USA

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As highlighted by the above analyses, three important groups of spatial characteristics appear in the discourse of Lourenço Filho and Anísio Teixeira: the buildings' modern features, the relations between indoor and outdoor spaces, and the flexible arrangement of classroom furniture. Modern architecture expressed itself by large openings, absence of ornamentation, appreciation of function over form, constructive rationality, and economy of means. Buildings were oriented so as to allow abundant natural lighting and permanent natural ventilation. Circulation was organized to optimize the flow of students, professors, administration, and cleaning staff. In all, this architecture expressed objectivity in its solutions, in tune with the scientific and technological advances of the time, as well as the concerns with hygiene and health espoused by the medical and sanitary sciences.

From the perspective of interactions between the buildings' interior and exterior, the breadth and opportunity of experiences to be offered to students are very much related to the integration between the building and its external space, where outdoor activities can be performed. Many classrooms, such as those recommended by Neutra (1948), gained doors that connected them directly to the outdoor space. Open spaces such as internal and external courtyards gained some natural elements (trees, shrubs, grasses, etc.), composed in such a way as to frame appropriately the clean lines of modern school architecture. Indoors, the flexible arrangement of classroom furniture such as benches, desks, and lockers

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was carefully modulated and designed to allow various spatial configurations, necessary to enable the teacher—no longer speaking to his students from a high, fixed platform—to circulate among them and become more of a "guide" rather than a taskmaster.

These characteristics, evoked by Lourenço Filho and Anísio Teixeira in their writings, were also featured in important architectural exhibitions and publications promoted by the Museum of Modern Art in New York (MoMA), and the US State Department, through its emissary, the US architect Richard Neutra. Importantly, Brazilian modern architecture historiography has its roots in two exhibitions and three publications organized by MoMA. In a survey conducted by Zein (2022), among the eight compendia most consulted and referenced in Brazilian studies on the topic are the catalogs of the exhibits *Brazil Builds: Architecture New and Old*, 1652–1942 (Goodwin and Smith, 1943), *Latin American Architecture since 1945* (Hitchcock, 1955), and Henrique E. Mindlin's 1956 book *Modern Architecture in Brazil*.

Held at MoMA in 1943, the exhibition Brazil Builds: Architecture New and Old presented Brazilian architecture as a peculiar combination of traditional and modern styles. It exhibited works that would become paradigmatic, such as the Ministry of Education and Health building in Rio de Janeiro (1943), designed by Lucio Costa, Affonso Eduardo Reidy, Carlos Leão, Jorge Machado Moreira, and Oscar Niemeyer. The event sought to show Brazil's cultural diversity and rapid urbanization, highlighting the importance of architecture in this process. On the occasion, visitors could see several examples of school buildings, including kindergartens and elementary school. The catalog referred to these buildings thusly: "Schools are needed, especially up-country, and the new ones are very good" (Goodwin and Smith, 1943, p. 92). It published six works connected to education at different levels, among which featured the Elementary School Raul Vidal in Niterói, Rio de Janeiro, designed by architect Álvaro Vital Brasil in 1942.

La*tin American Architecture since 1945* (1956) presented a selection of Latin American works that also included school architecture projects. In the catalog's introduction, Arthur Drexler pointed out that "the quantity of current Latin American building exceeds our own, the appearance there of predominantly 'modern' cities gives us the opportunity to observe effects which we ourselves still only anticipate" (Hitchcock, 1955, p. 9). The modern school architecture in exhibition presented experimental and innovative approaches. From Brazil, it featured the Elementary School of the Pedregulho Residential Complex, designed by architect Affonso Eduardo Reidy (1948–50), with emphasis on a tile panel by Cândido Portinari on the gymnasium's facade, and the Childcare Institute in the University City of Rio de Janeiro, designed by architect Jorge Machado Moreira in 1953.

Brazilian architect Henrique Mindlin's book *Modern Architecture in Brazil* (1956) brings an extensive survey of works, composing a panoramic view of modern architecture in Brazil, highlighting its main formal and technical

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characteristics. Mindlin complements the picture painted in Brazil Builds, analyzing selected architectural works accompanied by photographs and drawings. Among these, modern school architecture stands out. The author dedicates a specific section to school architecture, presenting projects that incorporated the main characteristics of Brazilian modern architecture, such as the use of local materials and construction techniques, the integration with the natural environment, and the emphasis on functionality and efficiency. He also highlighted the importance of school architecture as a fertile ground for experimentation with new forms and techniques (Mindlin, 1956). It featured the Conjunto Residencial Vila Guiomar elementary school in Santo André, São Paulo, designed by Carlos Frederico Ferreira in 1949; a kindergarten in Vitória, Espírito Santo, designed by Francisco Bolonha in 1952; and the State School of Penha, in São Paulo, designed by Eduardo Corona also in 1952.

The school buildings featured in the aforementioned publications appeared mainly in black and white photographs as to draw attention to the modern features of their architecture, emphasizing the pure geometric volumes, the pilotis, and the functional organization according to well-designed programs: management, classrooms, and sports gyms. All were organized by rationally designed circulation, making use of ramps whenever possible and abundant natural ventilation. They highlighted the architectural solutions to cope with the climatic conditions—hollow elements, marquees, and sun-blinds—and predominant use of concrete. All of them show vegetation in dialogue with the building and large open spaces at ground level, covered and uncovered.

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Their brief textual descriptions describe the architectural elements valued in the images, highlighting the aspects of economy, rationality, and the correct solar orientation. Some of these descriptions allude to the use children make of this space, as the one below, referring to Francisco Bologna's kindergarten:

> In fact, the building fits unpretentiously into the vegetation of the park; the unconventional arrangement of the planted and paved spaces avoids any kind of suggestion of excessive school discipline that could inhibit the joy of children playing by shade of old trees.
>
> (Mindlin, 1999, p. 158)[1]

The governmental agenda of this period, spanning the 1940s–1950s, was aligned with building a modern vision of Brazil, a vision fed majorly by the iconography of modern architecture that circulated in such specialized publications. However, the strong presence of the State in the realm of culture garnered no comments in the publications mentioned. As Cury (2022) noted, the Revolution of 1930 appeared as the "advent of the Vargas administration." Said revolution, led by the states of Minas Gerais, Paraíba, and Rio Grande do Sul, culminated in the deposition of the then President of the Republic, Washington Luís, prevented the inauguration of the elected president, Júlio Prestes, and put an end to the so-called

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"Old Republic" (1889–1930). As a result, Getúlio Vargas, from Rio Grande do Sul, became president. Between 1937 and 1945, Vargas would impose a period of dictatorship called Estado Novo, whose narrative focused on building a modern country. To this end, he was very much interested in promoting artistic and architectural languages that represented this modernity (Cury, 2022).

If Getúlio Vargas' approach would be called "nationalist-pragmatic bargaining" (Dalio, 2009), that of his successor, the military Eurico Gaspar Dutra (1946–1951), assumed an "automatic alignment" with the US agenda. It was in the context of such intensified relations that the architect Richard Neutra would find space and work opportunities in Latin America, particularly in Brazil (Cury, 2022).

Born in Vienna and based in the United States, Neutra was, in the context of Brazilian modern architecture studies, one of the most recognized architects in the Americas. His book on constructing in mild climate, entitled *Architecture of Social Concern in Regions of Mild Climate* (1948), was published only in Latin America. His Latin American agenda represented a foreign view of the so-called "Third World." Neutra was a representative of the cultural and political networks for the region in this period. His work in Latin America resulted from a strategy to establish himself as a planning consultant in the region, seizing a moment of great opportunities for work in architecture and urbanism in which modernizing efforts began to be seen as an organic part of the expansion of capitalist and industrial society (Lira, 2010, p. 2).

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Neutra was hired by the US State Department for a cultural cooperation mission in South America. At that time, he held the position of president of the US Department of the International Congress of Modern Architecture (CIAM). Strengthening the relations between modern architecture and diplomacy paved the way for CIAM's technical and political prestige in the face of postwar reconstruction efforts and the establishment of international institutions like the United Nations and UNESCO, whose headquarters would soon be built in New York and Paris, respectively (Mumford, 200 In: Lira, 2010, p. 6).

The Inter-American Affairs Office, coordinated by Nelson Rockefeller, and institutions such as the MoMA had clearly replaced the Pan-American Union in establishing a continental agenda for cultural exchange and cooperation, including sponsorship of modern architecture (Lira, 2010, p. 6). While in Peru, Neutra wrote to William Griffith, special representative of the Inter-American Educational Foundation at the US Embassy in Guatemala, to state his enthusiasm for the possibility of working as a consultant on issues of implementing rural and urban schools in that country:

> At the moment I am on a trip through Latin American countries and concerned with studies and consultation methods of school house planning. I have directed a letter to Mr. Luciano Tahay and to the Minister of Education, Sr. Manuel Galich, expressing my willingness to consult with the government of Guatemala on their school and housing problems as soon as I have

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> returned to my main office in Los Angeles, which I believe will be at the end of November. Would you perhaps have the kindness to write me a few explanatory remarks about the problems and the circumstances under which I could visit and survey the situation for the government of Guatemala?
>
> (NEUTRA In: Lira, 2010, p. 8)

When Neutra published his book on architecture in warm climate countries in 1948, he was seeking to consolidate a stage in his broader plans for work on the continent. In Brazil, his experience took place in the context of Roosevelt's Welfare State policy, involving the design of schools for 150 municipalities, as well as a number of other urban infrastructure facilities, such as cisterns and grain stores. Few buildings were actually built under this ambitious plan, but numerous case studies and proposals for school building typologies were developed. A good part of these studies were included in the 1948 book.

Some design strategies common to these published projects include: principles of flexibility, adaptability, and extension adopted in the dimension of the architectural program; precast reinforced concrete structures designed to be adapted to different demands for expansion and replicability; formal frugality adapted to attributes of the local culture, such as external courtyards, spatial continuity between indoor and outdoor spaces, open facades to prevailing winds, the use of screens and awnings over doors to control solar incidence, and the design of light and removable furniture to respond to the "climatic asset" and the "human material" (Lira, 2010, p. 4). These elements were articulated to architectural standards and local socioeconomic reality under a "low cost" logic. Neutra expected these building designs to lead to activities that would contribute to the Latin American civilizing process. In his words, these establishments would

> make the villagers—who for centuries had not much cause to trust a distant government—feel these buildings as their own community property, where in the evenings they can play their domino, strum a guitar for dancers on the community porch, and incidentally, learn by suitable programs something on many things such as child care, diet, cloth making, and more practical housekeeping.
>
> (UCLA . . . (p. 3) In: Lira, 2010, p. 5)

Circulating widely throughout the continent, Neutra participated in the 9th Pan-American Conference (1955) in Venezuela and in the Conferência Internacional de Crítica de Arte (International Art Criticism Conference), which took place in 1959 at the construction site of Brasília, Brazil's future capital. In this period of great mobility, the architect, like many others of his generation, developed his designing style. He moved from design approaches of Californian houses, in a sunny and hot environment, to approaches more focused on social and environmental concerns, in tune with the civilizing mission agenda that modern architecture had adopted.

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In Architecture of Social Concern in Regions of Mild Climate, Neutra made recommendations for different types of school buildings. For rural schools, for example, he noted that a small classroom could be made larger by integrating it with its outdoors; the corridor leading to the classrooms could be replaced by an outside walkway, protected by the eaves of the building. He also recommended the sizes of prefabricated closets that could be installed in these classrooms, and their arrangement in the room, suggesting that benches and school desks could be changed as required. As for schools in small towns, the architect was keen to note how outdated the traditional school institutions were by this time. After discussing the "Principle of Flexibility" (Neutra, 1948, p. 56) of classroom furniture and occupants, he pondered:

> However a contemporary physiological founded judgment recognizes that children cannot remain receptive while sitting still for extended periods, and that demonstrations with an active participation of the pupil register more profitably and penetrate much deeper into his lasting consciousness. This calls for horizontal demonstration areas . . . .
>
> Seating must be removable, furniture may be pushed aside, large doors may be opened into adjoining rooms or to outdoor extensions of classrooms. (Neutra, 1948, p. 58)

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Neutra then went on to detail each school environment, from specialized rooms such as the home economics room, or environments such as the canteen, to bathrooms and administrative areas. The accompanying drawings emphasized modular systems in concrete, rationalized circulation, windows with generous openings, and elements such as blinds to modulate light and guarantee natural ventilation. Modern architecture expressed all these recommendations, from the spaces to the construction techniques.

Patio rooms offering a connection between the indoor classroom space and the outdoor space, for example, was adopted by Neutra at the Ring School in Los Angeles as recently as 1925. According to Bergantim (2020), the adoption of similar solutions in São Paulo school architecture, built in the context of the Action Plan implemented during Carvalho Pinto's (1959–1963) administration, represented a clear interlocution between the two countries. The author highlighted five school buildings: the Antônio Adolfo Lobbe school in São Carlos, designed by Kurt Hollander; the Maria Conceição Pires do Rio school in Aparecida do Norte, also designed by Kurt Hollander; the School Group of Bairro do Macuco in Santos, designed by João Clodomiro Browne de Abreu; the School Group of Reginópolis, designed by Eduardo Kneese de Mello; and the School Group of Guedes, designed by Carlos Milan and Galiano Ciampaglia.

It is difficult to assess precisely the extent of the impact of Neutra's publication and US projects in Brazil. Like Bergantim (2020), Buzzar and Cordido (2020) identify this dialogue also in the scope of the "Action Plan," highlighting

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the two schools designed by Kurt Hollander and pointing out their interlocutions with Neutra's book and their similarities with the Corona School, Neutra's Californian work designed in 1935.

Even earlier, Loureiro and Amorim (2002) had already identified the dialogue established by architects Marcos Domingues da Silva and Carlos Falcão Correia Lima, winners of the 1956 national public competition for the design of the Pernambuco Institute of Education, in northeastern Brazil. The architects recognized the role of Architecture of Social Concern in Regions of Mild Climate in several stages of the conception (Loureiro and Amorim, 2002).

As Critelli (2022) pointed out, Neutra's US experience in designing schools and hospitals, as well as his position as a consultant to the National Youth administration program, established by Franklin Roosevelt's administration and promoted by the first lady, made the architect the right choice for the US State Department to play the role of "messenger of good will" during his visits to Latin America. Publishing Architecture of Social Concern seems not to have been a requirement of the State Department, but Neutra made a personal effort to make the book accessible to Latin American audiences, in an effort that can be summarized by an excerpt from his letter to Gerth Todtman: "For countries, as well as for men, stimulating and being stimulated can mean a much needed, creative and peaceful collaboration" (NEUTRA In: Critelli, 2022, p. 149).

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## Conclusion

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As discussed throughout this chapter, the rapprochement between the New School Movement ideas and school architecture in Brazil manifested itself in at least three contexts: (1) in the modern language used, with its functionalist, rational, and hygienic attributes oriented toward boosting civilization and progress through schools; (2) in the integration of indoor and outdoor spaces, opening the possibility for teachers and students to carry out varied activities; and (3) in the flexible arrangements of classroom furniture, which enabled teachers to abandon the chalkboard and circulate among students, guiding them in their activities. These aspects clearly show an intersection between the New Education Movement and Modern Architecture, pointing to similar principles and statements about school renovation formulated either by the New Education defenders or the architects who designed such schools. When we analyze their architectural configuration, the accompanying descriptions in the publications, as well as Neutra's recommendations, the dialogue between architecture and education becomes clear.

The materialization of this renewed vision of the school space, which sought to overcome the so-called traditional teaching practices, considered stiff and authoritarian, was, in at least two significant instances (education and architecture), linked to interlocutions between Brazil and the USA. The transits established between these two countries exemplify modes of interaction between

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what is commonly called core and periphery, in which core countries—the USA and European nations—represented the locus of economic, technical, scientific, and civilizational development. Brazil, in this scenario, occupied the condition of peripheral country. But as we have argued, far from being merely reproduced by Brazilians intellectuals, the references and experiences they gathered in several European countries and in the USA were assimilated and articulated to others to formulate responses to national situations and challenges, as contributions for Brazil's modernization and progress. On the other hand, foreigners found in Brazil the opportunity to broaden their knowledge and improve their skills, as they were confronted with geographical, cultural, and social conditions different from those with which they were familiar. This context challenged them to formulate new proposals, seeking to expand US influence to other countries, including Brazil.

The schools featured in the MoMA catalogs—*Brazil Builds: Architecture New and Old, 1652–1942* (Goodwin and Smith, 1943) and *Latin American Architecture since 1945* (Hitchcock, 1955)—, together with those printed in Henrique E. Mindlin's book *Modern Architecture in Brazil* (1956), appeared in the pages of three major compendia cited in Brazilian Architecture historiography, thus becoming reference works. The impact of Richard Neutra's book, *Architecture of Social Concern in Regions of Mild Climate* (1948), published only in Latin America at the time, is studied and discussed to this day. References to Neutra's recommendations, as well as to his work in California, can be found particularly in São Paulo school architecture.

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Moreover, the trajectory of two of the most influential and representative New Education advocates, Lourenço Filho and Anísio Teixeira, also included connections to the USA. References to John Dewey's propositions, the only author to whom Lourenço Filho dedicates an entire chapter of his Introduction to the New School Studies, stand out in the books analyzed here. Dewey also occupies a prominent place in Teixeira's *American Aspects of Education*, as his writings give theoretical support to the Brazilian author's reflections on the US teaching system and schools. Besides the central figure of Dewey, many other authors should be mentioned, such as William Kilpatrick (Dewey's disciple), Edward Thorndike, and John Watson, to remain in the field of educational psychology. In addition to the academic references and experiences lived by the Brazilian educators in the USA, the possibility to see the US educational system up close and to interact with their North-American colleagues also became decisive to formulate their conceptions and proposals. Finally, far from having only imported knowledge from these visits, both offered their own original contributions to the educational debates of the time. They represented Brazil in international meetings, produced and disseminated their own academic productions, evidenced by their participation in collective publications, courses taught in the USA, as well as in the translation of their works into English and other languages.

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## Notes

1. *Colégio Rio Branco* is an elite private educational institution located in downtown of São Paulo City. Founded in 1925, its teachers were mostly former students from the *Escola Normal Caetano de Campos* (Normal School Caetano de Campos). Director of the elementary school in the 1930s, Lourenço Filho tried to implement the New Education principles in the institution during his administration.
2. Among many others, we highlight the following works: Nunes, Clarice. Centro Educacional Carneiro Ribeiro: concepção e realização de uma experiência de educação integral no Brasil. *Em Aberto*, Brasília, v. 22, n. 80, pp. 121–134, abr., 2009; Faria Filho, Luciano Mendes de; Vidal, Diana Gonçalves. Os tempos e os espaços de institucionalização da escola primária no Brasil. *Revista Brasileira de Educação*. n. 14 mai/jun/jul/ago, 2000; Teixeira, Lucas Silva. A experiência democrática de Anísio Teixeira: o projeto do Centro Educacional Carneiro Ribeiro In *Revista sem Aspas*. Araraquara, v. 9, n. 2, pp. 196–206, jul/dez 2020.
3. The original edition of *Modern Architecture in Brazil* is from 1956. For this text, we used the Brazilian version, published by Aeroplano Editora in 1999.

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Part II

# Transnational Circuits of Artifacts and Representation Models

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# 5 Kaleidoscope of Images in Exchange

## The Pictorialism Movement in the Promotion of Photographic Education and Photographic Production

*Rachel Duarte Abdala*

### Multiple Inventions of Photography: Straining the Center-Periphery Relationship

From an investigative perspective, the discovery, or rather, the emergence of photography in the mid-19th century, makes it possible to strain the center-periphery relationship. Considered one of the main centers of the Western world and a kind of European epicenter to which all eyes were turned during the period known as the *Belle Époque*, between 1870 and the outbreak of the Great War, France was for long recognized as the geographical site of the emergence of photography. The previous period, from 1848 to 1875, named by the English historian Eric Hobsbawm (2005) "The Age of Capital," was marked by intense economic, political, and social change.

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In this context of worldwide European centrality during the 19th century, it is possible to understand the reasons behind the spread of the information that photography emerged in France with Nicéphore Niépce in 1824 and was quickly improved by Daguerre. Niépce only communicated his experiments to the Royal Society in London in 1827. Louis-Jacques-Mandé Daguerre carried out continuous experiments before finally developing the daguerreotype in 1839. Daguerre even worked with Niépce on photographic methods until the latter's early death in 1833. Smith (2018, p. 191) states that the daguerreotype was not the first photographic process, but for two decades it was the most popular, until, according to Smith (2018, p. 191): "new advances resulted in less expensive ways of producing images." Besides being very expensive, the daguerreotype only produced a single copy, limiting the circulation of images to restricted circuits. The development of the photographic technique over time enabled and boosted its dissemination. The calotype, invented by the Englishman William Henry Fox Talbot in 1841, emerged at a time of intense inventions, as emphasized by Smith (2018), anticipating the process of industrialization of photography, or, as argued by Benjamin (1994), the mass technical reproducibility of images. In designing

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an international chronology of photography in the 19th century, Pedro Karp Vasquez (2003, p. 287) states that in February 1841:

> Fox Talbot obtains a patent to the calotype and commercializes it. In a proof of the typical synchronicity in the world of inventions, on the same day, on the other side of the English Channel, Bayard makes an announcement about his process, very similar to Talbot's, at the Societé Française de Photographie. (free translation)

However, concurrently with the experiments of Nièpce and Daguerre, recognized worldwide as groundbreaking work, in Brazil, Antoine Hercule Romuald Florence was also developing his photochemical experiments, as evidenced by the research carried out by Boris Kossoy (1980). Pedro Karp Vasquez (2003) states that knowledge of Florence's work was restricted throughout the 19th century to a small group of "initiates," despite Florence's efforts to publish his discovery. Only in 1900 did Estevam Leão Bourroul publish a biography of Hércules Florence, in which he unquestionably proves the authorship of the invention. This path toward legitimizing the invention of photography in Brazil was definitively consolidated with Kossoy's research in the 1970s, published in 1980 in the work *Hercules Florence—1833 a descoberta isolada da fotografia no Brasil* [Hercules Florence—1833 The Isolated Discovery of Photography in Brazil]. Pedro Karp Vasquez (2003) observes that scientists call this synchronicity of the invention of photography "multiple discoveries," and Kossoy (1980) mentions that more than twenty inventors of photography have already been listed. According to Boris Kossoy, the first camera obscura experiments date back to 1833 and were recorded in his first manuscript entitled *Livre d'Annotations et de Premier Matériaux*. What motivated these experiences, according to Boris Kossoy (2002), was the perception of the need to improve graphic arts to obtain copies of drawings and writings from a same matrix. In his research, Kossoy (1980), in analyzing Florence's manuscripts in detail, even found the pioneering use of the term *photographie*, "this was as early as 1833/4—at least five years before the word was used for the first time in Europe" (Kossoy, 2002, p. 143).

From the perspective of center and periphery discussions, it would be possible to question the reasons why the initiatives and experiments in France enjoyed greater prestige and went down in history as those that legitimized the invention of photography. A possible answer is that they were recorded and announced in qualified and recognized institutions such as the Paris Academy of Sciences, where Daguerre communicated his invention on August 19, 1839. Although the receptivity to photography in Brazil was furthered and reinforced by the direct influence of Emperor Pedro II, as claimed by several authors, among them Pedro Karp Vasquez (2003) and Boris Kossoy (2002), receptivity is not the sole aspect to be considered. There is also production, not only of artifacts but also of ideas

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and perceptions materialized in practices and concepts that were disseminated, straining the center-periphery relationship between Europe and America.

In acknowledging that the "history of photography privileges a focus on the early moments in Europe, addressing the American context without further details about its formative period," Ricardo Mendes (1998, p. 85) states that "The distance from America posed a few difficulties." With regard to the departure from the Eurocentric perspective, Ricardo Mendes (1998) considers that Robert Taft's 1938 work *Photography and the American Scene*, in which he analyzes the relationships between photography and society in 1839–1889, aims to bridge this gap.

Thus, the discovery of photography, with the development of the chemical solution to fix the images obtained by the camera obscura, occurred simultaneously in several places, in a movement characterized as multicentric. Many historians of photography, such as Annateresa Fabris (1998, pp. 12–13), refer to this process, mentioning that "since the late 18th century, various experiments were done in France and England to obtain surfaces sensitive to light and to fix images."

## The Pictorialism Movement as a Promoter of the Dissemination of Photography

Photography emerged within a context of transformations in the transition from the 19th to the 20th century, as already mentioned. In the early 20th century, photography appeared as one of the icons of modernity, as proclaimed by Walter Benjamin (1994). However, from the beginning, it had a close relationship with painting. Therefore, despite its status as an icon of modernity, it does not completely break with tradition and the period that preceded it.

Walter Benjamin (1994) argues that the first truly revolutionary technique of reproduction was photography. That is because, since its inception, it was viewed as a solution to the problem of reproducing reality faithfully, as a kind of exact duplicate and unquestionable proof. In the turn of the century, several technological innovations also emerged, such as cinema and electric light, and photography was included among those innovations.

The advent of photography as a possibility of documenting reality mediated by a mechanism takes on a modern dimension. In its early days, photography was strongly marked by reference to painting. In this process, most early photographers were originally painters, usually of portraits. That is one of the reasons why these first photographers were known as portraitists, and photographs as portraits—generic terms that became common.

This situation led to a controversy about the artistic nature of photography. Marked by the mediation of the camera, an essential mechanism for the production of photography, photography as a form of artistic expression was strongly questioned, and this controversy spread among professional and amateur photographers.

It can be said that this controversy increased the visibility of photography in society. At the time, photography was also gaining greater social visibility

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through publication in newspapers and illustrated magazines. This is the background of the emergence of pictorialism in the late 19th century.

André Rouillé (2009) and other scholars on the subject, such as Philippe Dubois (1993), analyze the relationship between photography and art and pictorialism, a movement that arises from this relationship mediated by polemic and controversy. Rouillé (2009) addresses the theme from the debate between the notion of the art of photographers and art photographers, while Dubois (1993) questions whether art is or has become photographic, shifting the perspective that focused exclusively on whether photography was able to achieve the status of art, an area of human manifestation already strongly consolidated. Benjamin (1994, p. 104) points out that the debate focused on the aesthetics of photography as art and few people were interested in what he considers the most evident aspect of the discussion, that of art as photography. For him, rather than discussing whether photography is art, the debate should be whether photography had not altered the very nature of art.

Photography thus provoked a transformation in the conception of art, but also, as argued by Armando Martins de Barros (1997, p. 74), "it imposed a re-education of the gaze and a reordering of culture itself." The improvement of the photographic technique made it possible, among other things, to reproduce it on a large scale, which is one of the factors responsible for this "re-education of the gaze."

Regarding the relationship between photography and art, one cannot fail to mention that the first initiatives that brought about the advent of photography were in the physical dimension, since it was in the context of the Renaissance, in the 16th century, that the camera obscura technique was created, making it possible to capture the image in perspective and indicating ways of looking at and representing reality in drawings and paintings. It was the Italian polymath Giambattista della Porta (1535–1615) who first suggested using a convex mirror to reflect an image on paper as a resource for drawing, which is the basic principle of the camera obscura (Smith, 2018). The camera obscura was initially used by scientists in experiments and by artists, especially during the Renaissance, to understand and reproduce perspective in paintings. It was only in the mid-19th century, as already mentioned, that the chemical process and techniques for fixing the image through chemical reactions were developed. One notes, therefore, that photography emerged in stages, the first of which was inseparably linked to painting.

According to Rouillé (2009), pictorialism can be defined as "a hybrid art." For the author, "it synthesizes a radical trend of photographic art that arose in the 1850s with Paul Périer, one of the vice-presidents of the French Society of Photography" (Rouillé, 2009, p. 249). As an aesthetic movement which aimed to establish the status of photography as art, pictorialism was grounded in a relationship between theory and technique whose main goal was to counter the predominance of automatism in photography.

In proposing what he calls "a brief archeology of pictorialism," Rouillé (2009) presents what he considers the genesis of the movement, marked by controversy

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and revolt from its inception. Paul Périer is scandalized by the fact that photography is not treated as one of the fine arts and is included in the Industry Pavilion at the first Universal Exhibition held in 1855 in Paris. The exhibition's jury welcomed the meeting of photography with the market. The discussion about the artistic nature of photography is based on the criticism of the dichotomy of the nature of photography, aesthetic or documental, creation or witness, as well as on the position contrary to diffusion, since it was considered that promoting its dissemination would lead to the loss of its original character, which largely brought it close to art. Interestingly, what was rejected at the beginning of the movement was exactly what the pictorial photographers did, since, by encouraging discussion and debate on the subject, they contributed to the spread of photography.

One of the most characteristic processes of modern art is the rational action of the artist who, despite not neglecting his sensitivity, promotes the rationalization of his work, inserting the notion of production, linked to the idea that art is also production and construction. This notion emerged in the early 20th century and, in a way, related art to the machine. For Helouise Costa (1998, p. 262), "the 1950s definitely mark the entry of photography in the world of industrialization. The work of these photographers will try to oppose the already inexorable destiny of massification." Here, the author refers to the 1850s, when photography reached the autonomy of reproducibility, analyzed by Walter Benjamin (1994).

In the early 20th century, photography was still strongly viewed as a form of mimetic reproduction of reality. The pictorialists were the exception. Most followers of the pictorialism movement contested that notion. In Europe, the tension between art and the mechanical reproduction of images was expressed in a fairly controversial manner, from the late 19th century to the first decades of the 20th century, worldwide and in Brazil. Helouise Costa (1998) argues that pictorialism peaked in Europe between 1890 and 1914. According to Smith (2018), the movement ran approximately from 1880 to 1910, and its theoretical framework was outlined in the book *Pictorial Effect in Photography*, written in 1869 by Henry Peach Robinson, one of the creators and leaders of the Linked Ring Brotherhood, founded in 1892 in London by disaffected members of the Royal Photographic Society. Alfred Stiegliz was one of the members of the Linked Ring, and Margaret Harker (1979) points out that Photo-Secession was the American counterpart of the Linked Ring, so much so that its members were called "American Links." Like Stieglitz, Steichen was also one of the members.

Photography groups started being organized in the first decades after the emergence of photography. The first societies of photographers were founded in the 1850s. Among them stand out the Photographic Society of London, in 1853, and Société Française de Photographie, in 1855 (Mello, 1998, p. 21). Besides promoting discussion and confrontation, these groups enabled the circulation of ideas, people (photographers), and artifacts.

Boris Kossoy (1983, p. 884) argues that so-called "artistic photography" was born with camera clubs. Maria Teresa de Mello (1998, p. 14) additionally

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stresses that although the controversial relationship between art and photography involves several aspects, its starting point was the first manifestations of pictorialism.

However, even within the groups and institutionalized organizations, there were disagreements about the techniques employed by pictorial photographers, which gave rise to heated debates and resulted in the division into two conceptions. The first was purist, upheld and applied by photographers who championed photographic themes and textures. This group generally identified with French pictorialism. The second comprised photographers who believed in manipulating photography with interventions by the photographer, exploring themes and treatments in the manner of painting. This second conception was in line with the notion defended by American photographers (Mello, 1998, p. 80). However, for most pictorial photographers, what mattered most was differentiating pictorial production from the documentary nature of photography, moving deliberately away from the mimetic representation of reality. Thus, they would adopt different angles, techniques, and development processes. According to Boris Kossoy (1983, p. 884), "more important for the pictorial photographer was to 'interpret' this reality through the aforementioned techniques, to such an extent that the spectator could no longer differentiate the final product: photography or painting?"

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In Brazil, Photo Club do Rio de Janeiro was founded in 1910. For Maria Teresa de Mello (1998), this first Brazilian camera club arose from the desire to create a privileged space for learning, developing, and standardizing the budding technique of photography. Photo Club Brasileiro was founded later, in 1923, consolidating the emergence of camera clubs in Brazil and serving as a benchmark for photography across the country.

With the founding of camera clubs came an increased emergence and continuance of journals specialized in photography. This type of publication first appeared in the 19th century: *The Daguerreian Journal*, founded in 1850, and *The Photographic Art Journal*, in 1851, both in New York, and *La Lumière*, in 1851, in Paris (Mello, 1998). Linked to Photo-Secession, from 1903 to 1917 Stieglitz edited *Camera Work*, a luxurious publication dedicated to the dissemination of images and monographs by both Photo-Secession members and European pictorialists, such as Robert Demachy. From 1910, the journal started to publish other categories of modern art (Photo-Secession, 2020). *Camera Work* benefited from the active participation of Edward Steichen, a photographer who was very close to Stieglitz and to other prominent photographers in the United States.

In Brazil, the first initiatives to create specialized publications date from the early 20th century: *Revista Photographica*, in 1909, and *Illustração Photographica*, in 1919. However, the trend was boosted by the emergence of camera clubs. *Photo Revista do Brasil* was founded in 1925 but did not prosper, and the magazine was terminated in the same year. *Photogramma* magazine was created

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in 1926 by Photo Club Brasileiro. Published monthly between 1926 and 1931, with a total of 44 numbers, it was the first to systematically debate and publish pictorial photography in Brazil. It received and published letters from all over the country with comments and questions from amateur photographers about different aspects of photographic technique and published translations of articles by photographers from other countries. Mello (1998, p. 197, free translation) states that:

> the efficiency of the work done by Photo Club Brasileiro is attested by the establishment of intense exchange with international camera clubs, which, in addition to providing access to theoretical and technical innovations, publicized Brazilian photographic production in centers such as Paris, London, New York and Buenos Aires.

These findings make it possible to analyze and question the one-way street from Europe, identified as the center, to the other continents, considered periphery. Thus, such evidence allows us to state that, contrary to what was long assumed, Brazil was not merely at the receiving end. One notes the existence of a fairly intense exchange leading to the circulation of people, ideas, and artifacts.

In the United States, associations and societies of pictorial photographers started being organized in the early 20th century. Thus, American pictorialism was strengthened with the foundation, in 1902, of Photo-Secession by a group led by the photographer Alfred Stieglitz. A few years later, as early as 1904, it had already held hundreds of exhibitions in Europe.

Ian Haydn Smith (2018, p. 13) notes that Alfred Stieglitz "played a significant role in the pictorialism movement in the United States. In 1902, he oversaw the creation of the Photo-Secession and worked directly with Edward Steichen to promote it."

Stieglitz undertook several initiatives that promoted the circulation and publicizing of photography and, in particular, of pictorial photography, especially through exhibitions. Mello (1998, p. 39) mentions that "Stieglitz's work was met with widespread international acclaim and the enthusiasm of reviewers at the time." Acknowledged as the main representative of American pictorial photographers, Stieglitz established and maintained national and international connections that included painters. He himself circulated a lot during the trips he made. "He studied in Europe, where he built his reputation before returning to the United States in 1900" (Smith, 2018, p. 13). He developed close relations in Germany.

Based on the analysis of the initiatives and relationships that he established and maintained, Stieglitz may be viewed as a hub, as proposed by Diana Vidal and Rafaela Rabelo (2020, p. 13), since he represented the intersection between different trajectories, configuring himself as a point of convergence. He encouraged networking between American and European photographers and movement

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between those photographers and their ideas. Roberts (2012, p. 177) defines Stieglitz as "the dominant force in American artistic photography for almost 30 years" and informs that "he learned photography from Hermann Wilhelm Vogel in Berlin, between 1882 and 1890." Roberts (2012, p. 177) even states that "in early 1902 Stieglitz had gathered a group of acolytes around him."

Edward Jean Steichen was born in Luxembourg and immigrated to the United States as a child. He achieved success and was hailed as a great photographer. Alfred Stieglitz and Edward Steichen worked together to promote pictorialism in the United States (Smith, 2018, p. 13). They were in Paris, where they first met, on June 10, 1907, when the Lumière brothers announced their creation of autochrome (Roberts, 2012, p. 175). Carl Christian Heinrich Kühn was German. Frank Eugene Smith was born in New York, but like Stieglitz, he had strong ties with Germany. His father was German, and in his youth, Frank Eugene moved to Munich, where he attended the Bavarian Academy of Fine Arts.

As in the case of questioning the emergence of photography in France, based on these findings, it is also possible to question the role of France as the main promoter of the spread of the pictorialism movement. Intense activity and circulation of photographers are observed in Europe, and not only French, English, and German. In this sense, there seems to be a convergence in which personal interactions and meeting places stand out, straining the center-periphery relationship. According to Peter Burke (2003), if the focus of analysis is restricted to the discussion of the polarized center-periphery relationship, neither the circulation and dissemination processes nor the flows stemming from and promoted by the periphery are perceived. This perception may even call into question the actual center-periphery divide.

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About a month later, in July 1907, Stieglitz, Edward Steichen, and Henrich Kühn met with Frank Eugene in Bavaria to test the technical details of autochrome. The four photographers were eager to try out that new color technology. There is a photograph by Frank Eugene, who also appears in it, which documents that meeting. Roberts (2012, pp. 174–175) undertakes an analysis of this photograph in which the photographers were concentrated on observing a photograph by Frank Eugene. For Roberts (2012), the focus of the image seems to be the men. One notes in this photograph the convergence of these photographers and their life stories, united by their common interest in photography and the mission to legitimize photography as one of the fine arts.

## Photographic Education: Education for the Gaze and Education for Photographic Practice

First of all, one must consider that what can be called photographic education, that is, the teaching of the practice of documenting images through photography, is mainly characterized by the informal dimension, which means that such instruction was not, at least in the first decades of the spread of photography, an institutionalized and formal education.

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It can be asserted that photographic education is divided into two dimensions: education for the gaze and education for the production of photographic records. The former concerns training and awareness to perceive what is seen. Thus, it includes the so-called aesthetic education practiced in schools but is not restricted to formal education, as widespread illustrated magazines, newspapers, and advertisements promote this education, indicating ways and means of viewing reality.

Education for the gaze is also manifested in the large amount of images circulated in social circuits. Among the categories of such images, photography stands out due to its ability to be produced in series, as analyzed by Walter Benjamin (1994). This role was fulfilled by illustrated magazines, camera clubs, specialized photography journals, and exhibitions.

In analyzing surrealism as "a new stage in this confrontation between creative and constructive photography," Walter Benjamin (1994, p. 106) states that the great achievements in Russia were only "possible in a country where photography does not aim at excitement and suggestion, but at experimentation and learning" (1994, p. 106). Experimentation and learning have been present since the beginning of the development of photography. The techniques and means were gradually improved with practice.

Walter Benjamin (1994) establishes another association between photography and education in his analysis of the function of photograph captions. He inquires:

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> It has been said that "the illiterate of the future will not be those who cannot write, but those who cannot photograph." But is not a photographer who is unable to read his own images worse than an illiterate person?
>
> (Benjamin, 1994, p. 107)

This training is divided between the formal teaching in institutions and education through practice, which is subdivided into horizontal action (teaching and exchange of experiences between peers) and vertical action, characterized by the transfer of learning between generations, often within families. In both types of photographic education, improvement is achieved by repeated practice of techniques and by grounding in technical discussions and debates. "It took a lot of practice to learn all those 'secrets.' In addition, many of the early photographers had good knowledge of composition due to the study of drawing, which was mandatory in their basic educational training" (Kossoy, 2002, p. 42). The author concludes that "The teaching of photography was key to the technical training of photographers who entered the profession or who succeeded their masters in establishments. In this way, knowledge of image technology and aesthetics was transmitted" (Kossoy, 2002, p. 42, free translation).

Boris Kossoy (2002) carried out an extensive survey of active photographers in Brazil in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, which he published as *Dicionário histórico-fotográfico brasileiro: fotógrafos e ofícios da fotografia*

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*no Brasil (1833–1910)* [Brazilian Historic-Photographic Dictionary: Photographers and Photography Crafts in Brazil (1833–1910)]. Chronologically, in this survey the first photographer to work in Brazil was the resident Frenchman Hércules Florence, responsible for the photochemical experiments that resulted in the discovery of photography in 1833. Due to his pioneering relevance and the research that Kossoy (1980) did on the photographer, the abovementioned dictionary dedicates some pages to him and his work as a photographer. The research revealed evidence, mainly from newspaper advertisements, of "transmission of knowledge" in photography.

Kossoy (2002) finds that the first advertisements of photographers offering to "teach the art" appear as early as the 1840s. Here, it should be noted that there is the identification of photography as art. In spite of raising questions about the reception and effectiveness of these advertisements, Kossoy (2002, p. 40) recognizes that "what is certain is that this instruction was key to the multiplication of new adopters trying their luck in the profession."

Another type of teaching was characterized as training and occurred in the establishments, or photographic studios, between the photographers who owned them and their employees or apprentices, with the aim of promoting the expansion or maintenance of the business. Boris Kossoy (2002, p. 41) asks who these masters were that spread photographic knowledge in the country and what kind of teaching they transmitted to students. In response to the first question, he presents advertisements found in his research of photographers offering to give "photography lessons." He concludes that the large number of advertisements in which "photography lessons" were offered suggests that this practice became widespread. It can also be inferred, by the significant amount of advertisements, that is was a profitable business.

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One of these advertisements was by Revert Henry Klumb, who was born in Berlin and supposedly arrived in Brazil in 1852. In 1855, he announced:

> Mr. Henrique Klumb, **disciple of the best teachers** in Paris (Mayer, Disderé [sic] E Belloc), owner of this magnificent establishment, the first of its kind in Brazil, has the honor to inform lovers of the fine arts and the distinguished members of the public that on Sunday, the 4th of this month, he will open his exhibition gallery, where it will be possible to judge the high point of perfection to which this **illustrious teacher has taken the art of the daguerreotype**.
>
> (*Jornal do Commercio*, Nov. 2 and 3, 1855, *apud*, Kossoy, 2002 p. 189, emphasis added, free translation)

The ad, which starts by mentioning his status as a disciple of great masters, ends by identifying him as an outstanding teacher of "the art of daguerreotype," a kind of photographic technique that prevailed at the time. It is worth emphasizing the identification of photography as art, present in this and other

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advertisements. According to Kossoy (2002), the advertisement was repeated in other five editions of the newspaper. In early 1857, Klumb informed those interested that he gave "lessons in photography every day at his [Klumb's] house," at Ladeira do Castello, 18 (*Jornal do Commercio*, Jan 29., 1857, *apud* Kossoy, 2002, p. 189).

Pedro II, emperor of Brazil from July 23, 1840, to November 15, 1889, was a great enthusiast of photography and the greatest supporter of its spread in the country. He is recognized as "the first photographer of Brazilian nationality," according to Pedro Karp Vasquez (2012, p. 13), due to the fact that he acquired, in March 1840, a complete daguerreotype set, following the daguerreotype demonstration by the French priest Louis Comte in Rio de Janeiro on January 16, 1840. Furthermore, as stated by Vasquez (2012), Pedro II assigned the title of Imperial House Photographer or Knight of the Order of the Rose to his favorite photographers. He was a dedicated collector of photographs.

Regarding the circulation and spread of photography in the country, Kossoy (2002) argues that the itinerancy of photographers is one of the most striking characteristics of the penetration of photography in Brazil, and that it did not occur mainly in the first two decades following the advent of photography (1840–1860). According to Kossoy (2002), between 1840 and 1849, there were around 30 photographers working in Brazil; in the following decade, around 90, and between 1860 and 1869, just over two hundred. With regard to exchanges between countries, in his survey Kossoy (2002, p. 26) found that in the provinces (later states) of the South region, the presence of foreigners in the profession was always significant throughout the 19th century and early 20th century. The example of the city of São Paulo is noteworthy: in the 1880s, of the nine photographers working in the city, only two were born in Brazil. When interpreting such data, it should be considered that, in the 19th century, there was intense immigration from Europe. On the production of portraits in photographic studios in the 19th century, Sandra Koutsoukos (2010) states that, "As another means of commercial strategy, photographers sought to keep in touch with what was being done abroad (United States and Europe)."

Regarding the rate of entry of new professionals in the field of photography in the United States, Ricardo Mendes (1998, p. 99) states that "it seems to have maintained constant growth. In 1864, according to the publisher of *The Silver Sunbeam*, Joseph H. Ladd, in the preface to the fourth edition, the number of photographers in the United States would stand between 12 and 15 thousand."

According to Lilia Moritz Schwarcz (2010) and Vasquez (2012), the emperor's enthusiasm for photography was shared with the Empress Thereza Cristina and the couple's two daughters, Princesses Isabel and Leopoldina. The princesses took photography lessons with Klumb, who received the title of Imperial House Photographer on August 24, 1861.

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As to the second question, Kossoy (2002, pp. 41–42, free translation) ventures to answer that:

> One would imagine that the instruction was eminently practical; students would be introduced to the basic operations of the camera, its mechanisms, and the handling of the plates, their sensitivity, etc., they had to learn how to light the models in the studio and, to that end, to study diligently the effects of natural light and its control; materials, techniques and processes for the chemical processing of plates, drawing, etc.

In his *Dicionário histórico-fotográfico brasileiro: fotógrafos e ofícios da fotografia no Brasil (1833–1910)*, Kossoy (2002, p. 42, free translation) presents the conclusions he reached on the teaching of photography after this exhaustive and broad survey:

> a) The vast majority of master photographers were foreigners; b) the period of greatest incidence of advertisements offering teaching occurs between the 1840s and 1860s; c) Rio de Janeiro is the city where most advertisements for photographers offering instruction are published.

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Vertically, this type of teaching also spanned generations. Thus, parents would teach their children the craft, continuing the "family business."

These "non-institutionalized educational pathways and photography as a family craft," as Maria Eduarda Ferro (2022) called them in analyzing the case of the Santana collective in Brazil, between the 1950s and 1990s, seem to have become a fairly widespread. In France, for example, there is the case of Pierre Petit who, besides working as a school photographer for a long period, also taught the trade and his son continued the business.

Pierre (Lanith) Petit (1832–1909) was a French photographer. There is evidence in Archives of Paris documents that he began his career in the mid-1850s and was initiated into the craft by Adolphe Eugène Disdéri. In the collection of the Société Française de Photographie (SFP), founded in 1854, to which he was affiliated, there are photographs by him, and throughout his career as a photographer, he exhibited several times in this institution. The artistic dimension of his photographs stands out in his work, which may indicate his closeness or affiliation with pictorialism. Pierre Petit was the official photographer of the International Exhibition of 1867. He traveled to New York many times to document the construction of the Statue of Liberty and photographed the siege of Paris from 1870 to 1871. In 1908, he passed on the studio to his son, but before that it was identified as Pierre Petit & Fils, as can be seen in the school photographs of the Archives of Paris. There is evidence that, since the beginning of his career as a photographer, he worked in the field of school photography producing photos for Collège Rollin. It was found that Pierre Petit circulated a lot, with photographs

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of nine schools ascribed to him. However, it must be considered that he died in 1909 and that in 1908 he left his studio to his son, who continued his father's work until 1920. In 1891, Pierre Petit produced a portrait of Pedro II, who was in exile in Paris.

Still on the convergence of photography with education, in terms of formal training and education of the gaze, one can consider the case of the photographers Augusto Malta and Nicolas Alagemovits who, in the 1920s in Brazil, were responsible for documenting the transformations brought about in education by Fernando de Azevedo in Rio de Janeiro, then the Federal District. Augusto Malta was hired as a photographer by the local government in 1903, and Nicolas Alagemovits was hired by Azevedo to document the new school buildings erected during his educational reform in the city. Abdala's research (2003) revealed that both were linked to Photo Clube Brasileiro and aligned with pictorialism.

The collection of documents of the research undertaken in 2003 by Abdala comprised 42 (forty-two) photographs by Augusto Malta and Nicolas Alagemovits related to the reform and those found in the 8,330 newspaper clippings distributed in nine albums and in the Public Education Bulletins, published in 1930, which are part of the Fernando de Azevedo Collection kept by the Institute of Brazilian Studies-IEB of the University of São Paulo. Most of the 42 photographs were published in newspapers and in bulletins, as ascertained by the study. Most of the photographs of the reform published in newspapers are by Malta; however, there are images by other photographers, including Nicolas Alagemovits, in addition to those from newspapers that had their own photographers. Also included are 44 issues, from 1926 to 1931, of *Photogramma* magazine, created, published, and run by Photo Club Brasileiro, available at the National Library in Rio de Janeiro.

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It can be inferred that, through the work of these two photographers—Augusto Malta and Nicolas Alagemovits—pictorial photography in Brazil had an impact at educational level, since their photographs, more specifically in the case of Nicolas Alagemovits, aesthetically linked to the pictorialism movement, were updated to give greater visibility to the initiatives undertaken by Fernando de Azevedo as director of public education in the Federal District, focusing on the school buildings built during his term. In all, nine buildings were concluded during Azevedo's term as public education director, between annexes to buildings built as schools in previous administrations and five new schools in neo-colonial style called Argentina, Estados Unidos, Uruguai, Antônio Prado Jr., and Normal.

> In the words of Azevedo, the neo-colonial style could endow public buildings with grandeur and visibility, setting them apart from other buildings and transforming them into symbols of power. The building of schools in this style combined an aesthetic-nationalizing concern with a need to publicize and disseminate the reformist thought. The monuments erected by the director revealed a new educational conception. It was important for the school

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> to stand out from the everyday domestic appearance of buildings. It should impress, cause admiration and bring out feelings, stir emotions, like spaces of good religious architecture. As, also, it should demonstrate that educating was a task for professionals. The building of monument schools would bring about the necessary separation between the domestic-popular and technical-scientific spheres.
>
> (Vidal, 1994, p. 41. free translation)

Abdala's research question (2003) was: why did Fernando de Azevedo hire another photographer to document his work at the head of the Public Education Department if he already had at his disposal the photographer of the municipal government of Rio de Janeiro, Augusto Malta? The answer that emerged was that Nicolas Alagemovits was hired because he was a renowned photographer, linked to pictorialism, whose work had an artistic bent. Thus, he would be able to employ those aesthetic resources to boost the impact of the school constructions, reinforcing the propagandist function of those initiatives.

For Jacques Aumont (2000, p. 78, free translation):

> The production of images is never gratuitous and images have always been manufactured for certain uses, individual or collective. Thus, one of the first answers to our question involves another: what are images for (what function do we want them to have)?

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As example of the propagandist function can be seen in one of the photographs by Nicolas Alagemovits that was published in *A Tarde* newspaper with the following caption: "The beautiful building of Escola Normal of the Federal District." The photograph, its caption, and the title of the text: "The new Escola Normal building cost 13 million *reis*. Either the best in the world or nothing" (*A Tarde*, Rio de Janeiro, Oct. 8, 1930 IEB) are important indications of the intention to justify with attractive and aesthetically oriented photographs the construction of beautiful and indispensable buildings that consumed large amounts of money. The photograph is of the inner courtyard of Escola Normal, 1930 (IEB/USP Collection).

The previously mentioned aspects can be seen in this photograph. The building is empty, and there are no people, so the focus is on its architecture. The composition is frontal, but with a subtle angle that breaks the monotony and presents a new possibility of perceiving the building. A further aspect to be considered is the photographer's signature at the bottom. This detail indicates the artistic conception, because, as Nicolas Alagemovits announced in advertisements for his photographic studio, such as the one published in the October 1930 issue of *Kosmos* magazine, of which the photographer was a collaborator, "artistic photographs are signed."

Although Augusto Malta was also part of the movement, as found in the research in *Photogramma* magazine (Abdala, 2003), his photos as an employee of the Rio de Janeiro municipal government were restricted to the spheres of

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*Figure 5.1* Escola Normal
*Source:* Photograph by Nicolas Alagemovits 1930 (IEB/USP)

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documentation and journalism, focusing on visits by authorities to schools and monitoring the construction of school buildings. Nicolas Alagemovits' work, on the other hand, focused on concluded buildings. Abdala's analysis (2003) concludes that in the photos by Nicolas Alagemovits, his focus is on the architectural element, its details, its aesthetics, and its appreciation as a work of art. The surroundings of the buildings and the educational activities do not appear in those records. One notes the search for aesthetic refinement based on pictorial principles, the search for angles, the composition based on architectural elements, and the contrast between light and shadow. Thus, the "official look" unfolded in two dimensions: that of Malta and that of Alagemovits, converging on two points: both were linked to pictorialism and Photo Club Brasileiro, and both were at the service of building a pictorial and mental image of the educational reform introduced by Fernando de Azevedo based on photographic records disclosed in the general press, in large circulation newspapers of the Federal District and other Brazilian states, and in publications of the educational area, such as the Public Education Bulletin. Abdala (2003) concluded that in his use of the images produced by the two photographers, Azevedo probably dissociated aesthetics from the message. While Malta represents man and his relationship with the environment, Alagemovits brings out the message of form, recording, through the filter of his gaze, the materialization of political ideals in the buildings.

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It can be said that by resorting to this strategy Fernando de Azevedo was seeking to "educate the gaze" of society to perceive the relevance of his reformist action and of education itself. To understand his perspective and his intention, it is useful to analyze the statement that Azevedo presented in one of his works: "Learning to see, to observe, is the most difficult art to learn and an essential condition for intelligently oriented activities" (Azevedo, n.d., p. 75).

Still on the teaching of photography, Ricardo Mendes (1998) and Sandra Koutsoukos (2010) refer to the role played by manuals in teaching and learning photography.

> The learning of photographic techniques could take place in classes with experienced photographers, but also be developed and perfected through reading and studying the numerous journals and manuals, which dealt specifically with photographic technique, published in different countries and available in different languages at the time, especially in English and French. (Koutsoukos, 2010, p. 52, free translation)

It is noteworthy that the author mentions the existence of numerous journals and manuals in the late 19th century. In addition, there is the reference to the concentration of publications in English and French, without, however, excluding other possibilities, indicating that publications were produced in several countries. Ricardo Mendes (1998) also mentions the subject regarding the language of those publications. For the author, "manuals, treaties, compilations, are depositaries of practical work. The attempt to transmit knowledge and the need for its evaluation at global level—thinking about photography and its roles—are uniquely and extensively recorded in these texts" (Mendes, 1998, p. 84).

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To carry out his study, Mendes (1998) selected three photographic manuals written by Americans in the 19th century: *The History and Practice of the Art of Photography*, by Henry H. Snelling, published in 1849, in New York; *The Silver Sunbeam*, by John Towler, released in 1863–1864; and *The Ferrotype and How to Make It*, by Edward M. Estabrooke, from 1872. The author states that these works circulated because, especially Towler's *The Silver Sunbeam*, "represented one of the most important publications of the nineteenth century" (Mendes, 1998, p. 86). This work ran to nine editions until 1879 and had three editions in Spanish, from 1876 to 1890.

**Pictorialism as a School of Photography**

The adoption of the term pictorialism to designate the group of photographers who questioned the subjection of photography to the industry and its disconnection from the fine arts indicates that the movement was configured and structured as a school, in the open sense of the concept related to the notion of *ism*.

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*Ism* is a nominal suffix of Greek origin used in the formation of names that designate groups and sets of practices and ideas manifested and defended by individuals about political systems, philosophical systems, religious doctrines, and literary and artistic trends. Examples include, respectively, Liberalism, Empiricism, Catholicism, and Romanticism. The diversity of names formed with the suffix *ism* is as vast as its conceptualization and includes several human areas. It must also be considered that *isms* develop from certain historical contexts. In the case of pictorialism, the background is the development of the chemical technique for fixing photography in the 19th century and its strong relationship with painting.

The *ism* is thus configured as a kind of verbal classification for phenomena around which people have organized themselves over time, from the Greek philosophical systems, such as Sophism, to the present, although there is a wide discussion about the end of *isms* in postmodernity. It can also be defined as a way of classifying and identifying a philosophical or scientific position that defends and professes certain ideas and practices. The *isms* are often configured as schools, in the broad and open sense of the concept, promoting the sharing and teaching of ideas and practices. Thus, in analyzing the characteristics of pictorialism, it is proposed here to perceive it as an *ism*, a school.

To reinforce this thesis, one can cite the example of *Photogramma* magazine, created and run by Photo Clube Brasileiro. In all editions of the magazine, the back cover announced the objective for which *Photogramma* was conceived and which guided its actions:

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> To publicize photography and improve the technical and artistic education of Brazilian amateurs, to which end, in addition to articles and the reproduction of photographs by its editors and permanent collaborators, it will publish interesting signed articles and photographs submitted to it, which will be subject to constructive criticism, with the aim of highlighting the qualities and pointing out the defects so that they can be corrected; to respond to any query on a subject concerning photography.
>
> (emphasis added, free translation)

The didactic tone and effort expressed in the objective quoted above extends throughout the pages of the magazine. An example is the "Preliminary Photography Course," signed by F. Esbérard, of Photo Club Brasileiro, from 1930, whose theme is "Photography and its divisions."

> Photography is divided into:—Anecdotal—is the one that tries merely to create memories of facts, people or things that at some time or in some way interested us. It is the easiest of the three divisions, and the one that "amateurs" usually practice . . .;—Documentary—is the one that aims to come closer to the truth, to document facts, people or things, such as photographs

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> of: news reports, topography, microphotography, identification, etc., etc.;—Artistic or pictorial—is the one that translates the sentimentality or state of mind experienced by the artist when considering a motif that will form the point of interest of the picture or main motif.
>
> (*Photogramma*, ago. 1930. p. 8–9, free translation)

One notes in this article published in *Photogramma*, starting from its title, indicating systematic teaching—Course—to the form of exposition, in topics, also including the content, the appreciation of the "Artistic or pictorial" type of photography to the detriment of "Anecdotal," associated with documenting reality and described as "the easiest," therefore aimed at amateur photographers.

*Photogramma* was used to publicize photography but above all pictorial ideals, and became the material expression of the pictorial school in Brazil, a showcase for the production of pictorial photographers and for sharing prescriptions for amateurs. In the United States, the magazine that played the role of disseminating pictorial photography was *Camera Work*.

A contemporary indication of the thesis that pictorialism can be considered a school of photography was the "The New School of American Photography" exhibition, held at the Royal Photographic Society in London in 1900 and organized by the Boston photographer Fred Holland Day. The exhibition was a success in both London and Paris (Roberts, 2012, p. 171). Besides being a success and drawing attention by giving visibility to the issue and to pictorialism, the exhibition was the result of an intense exchange between photographers, toured many countries and promoted the meeting and exchange of photographers and photographs.

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In Brazil, as well as in other countries, pictorialism was not restricted to specialized magazines such as *Photogramma* and *Camera Work*, in the United States. Particularly in Brazil, pictorialists worked in illustrated magazines, expanding their participation to other photography circuits in addition to camera clubs. Although this can be seen more consistently and effectively in *O Cruzeiro* magazine, there are indications that the pictorialists also contributed to *Illustração Brasileira*, *Revista de Semana*, and *Beira-Mar* magazines. Helouise Costa (1998) points this out, mentioning that the pictorialists may have started contributing to *Illustração Brasileira* in 1920, although there is no way to confirm this information due to the lack of credits of the authors of the photographs published in the magazine.

In *O Cruzeiro* magazine, launched in 1928, pictorialists participated by contributing photographs and organizing the publication's photograph contests. Fernando Gerra-Duval, then director of Photo Club Brasileiro, José Mariano Filho, Silvio Bevilacqua, Nogueira Borges, and Hermínia Nogueira Borges are the camera club members who most actively participated in the magazine.

The magazines held photograph contests, such as *O Cruzeiro*, which, in the issue for December 19, 1928, announced on p. 12 the Monthly Photograph

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Contest, whose jury would include Fernando Guerra-Duval, director of Photo Club Brasileiro and managing editor of *Photogramma* magazine, and José Mariano Filho, former director of the School of Fine Arts and member of the camera club (Costa, 1998). The magazine enlisted camera club members among its collaborators, some of whom took part in the contests, submitting their photographs, while others organized them and even sat on the jury.

At the same time that the illustrated magazines met the demand for images, by enlisting photographers linked to camera clubs they enabled the pictorial aesthetic to gain prominence, as the photographs produced by those photographers stood out among the set of images published in illustrated magazines. In the case of *O Cruzeiro*, Heloise Costa (1998, p. 275, free translation) states that:

> the exceptional technical quality and care in composition mark a precise border between mere record and "artistic photography." This difference was highlighted by the actual magazine, as the photos of the pictorialists were printed in rotogravure in shades of green, ocher or blue, which contributed to making them stand out from the others. In addition, they were the only ones with photo credits.

Two years before the launch of *O Cruzeiro*, Photo Club Brasileiro created *Photogramma* magazine. This initiative was innovative, as it was the first time in Brazil that a magazine was dedicated exclusively to photography, addressing different subjects related to this area. In addition, going beyond mere illustration, one notes the interaction between the two languages used in the magazine—writing, in the articles, and image, in the published photographs—which was unusual at the time. In *Photogramma*, in addition to captions, there were comments on technical aspects such as composition, lighting, materials, and development, among others, and on the content of the images. Such comments covered photography in general and aimed to analyze photographs published in the magazine.

## Conclusions

In the broad picture composed by the various social agents involved in the production and circulation of photographic records, the perspectives on those records and on photographic practice, and in the practice of photographic education, one notes, when looking more closely, a flow of convergences and interactions that make up an intricate process of multiple exchange that goes beyond the notion of the center spreading practices and perceptions to the periphery, which is limited to passively receiving elements and absorbing them by adapting to their specific conditions.

Through careful observation of established relationships, it is possible to question the centrality of the processes of the emergence of photography in the

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mid-19th century, as well as its improvement through practices and teaching. Questioning certainties legitimated throughout history means problematizing historiography and perceiving the relationships between individuals, as builders of their trajectories and experiences, and the relationship between geographic spaces as territories that at once enable and limit the circulation of ideas, individuals, practices, and artifacts.

Due to the ways in which it was configured and spread across continents, despite dissidences and disagreements, pictorialism can be considered a school in the open and philosophical sense, as it promoted the sharing and convergence of common practices and ideas. Pictorialism crossed national boundaries, composing a complex transnational network of circulation of artifacts, individuals, and worldviews translated into pictorial photographic images disseminated by various means. It also reached other spheres beyond art, addressing education in two ways: as a means of photographic records and representations of schools and educational aspects, and as a way of educating the gaze of those responsible for those records, of the components of school communities, and of society itself. In addition to becoming an abstract and material space of common points of reference, the practices were taught using different strategies that went beyond formal teaching and proved to be efficient in promoting the spread of ideas.

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# 6 Network Archaeology and School Material Culture

*Wiara Rosa Alcântara*

## Introduction

Based on Carl Knappett's (2008, 2011) network archaeology, this chapter proposes to rethink center-periphery relations. Amid the worldwide diffusion of the modern school and its materiality in the 19th century, different countries, individuals, and institutions established contacts on a transnational scale, which can only be better understood when analyzed in their material conditions. The production, circulation, and consumption of school objects as goods reveal the most varied practices and relations between countries. These are discreet and thorough, but regular and not uncommon, practices that allow us to nuance totalizing and dichotomous conceptions of the world by creating fixed places for center and periphery countries.

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In the second half of the 19th century, at least two existing material conditions are constitutive of the interactions established between countries and their citizens in the Western world. According to Marcelo Rede (2012), these conditions concern our relations with the material world in the 19th century. Firstly, the second industrial revolution generated a spectacle of production, circulation, and consumption of new goods manufactured through technological processes. Unlike handcrafted products, industrial products will be marked by the high speed of disposal, replacement, and overtaking by innovation. And secondly, the intensification of contact between European, African, Asian, and American peoples.

Extending Marcelo Rede's (2012) reasoning, we can argue that both the circulation of industrialized products and the circulation of individuals were favored by the creation of a steam-powered, mercantile, global-scale shipping lane system. As Pomeranz and Topik (1999: 42) state, "steam and the railroad would scramble the world's trade geography in the nineteenth century." This globalization movement involved economic (second industrial revolution, mass production mode), social (urbanization, growth of cities), scientific (advances in thermodynamics), and technological (development of the engine and steam engines) issues, alongside legal issues (regulation and standardization of the modes of goods transportation, increase in international law and foreign trade) that help to understand the transnationalization of the modern school and its materiality.

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Interactions between peoples and the circulation of people and things were only possible through human and non-human networks that can only be understood in their emergent material conditions. Hence why Carl Knappett's (2008, 2011) network archeology is fertile to visualize the material conditions of interactions. Increasingly used in the social sciences, the concept of network is useful to investigate everything from the dissemination of information, ideas, and innovations to the spread of diseases, military intelligence, and political movements, among others. Given such amplitude, we must specify what Knappett (2011) means by the potential of human and non-human networks for studying the relations between object, individual, material culture, and society.

Instead of Jean-François Sirinelli's (1986) network of sociability, oblivious to the material dimension of human existence, Knappett (2011) defines "network" as a collection of nodes and links, as used in network science and social network analysis. In network sciences, "the network is a set of nodes interconnected by several links" (Draeger, Yonezawa & Pegoraro, 2016, p. 171).

Based on these network science concepts, Knappett, Evans, and Rivers (2008) use a network model (composed of nodes and links) to analyze maritime networks and interactions in the Aegean Bronze Age. In 2011, Knappett focused on the regional and inter-regional analysis of interaction in which archaeological sites are the nodes and their interactions are the links in the network. Of an interdisciplinary character, network analysis has the potential to transcend scales and focus on both individuals and objects.

In our study, the interdisciplinary approach (Knappett, 2005) and the network archaeology (Knappett, 2011) are procedures to analyze the modes of circulation of school objects in the 19th century. We will focus on the interactions, meshes, links, and nodes that make up human and non-human networks. Networks allow us to visualize interactions, transcend scales (micro, meso, and macro scale), and consider at the same time both individuals, objects, and the ways in which they interact.

Thus, the chapter consists of two parts. In the first, I focus on the reverse circuit of the school desk and the circulation of an American school desk model, not as a specific good, but as a concept. In the second, by analyzing the "Mappas estatisticos do commercio e navegação do Porto do Rio de Janeiro" [Statistical maps on trade and shipping of the Port of Rio de Janeiro], I examine the entrepot trade (re-export) of other school objects, such as materials for natural sciences teaching. Both the circulation of the idea-product and the re-exports point to polycentric directions and relations in the worldwide diffusion of the modern school and its materiality.

## From Product to Idea: The School Desk in Reverse and Resignified Circuits

The 19th century's World Exhibitions were the place, par excellence, where nations presented to the world their progress in the most diverse areas, including Education. These great fairs were privileged spaces for disseminating

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and advertising new objects. In this work, I consider exhibitions as nodes because they group people, organizations, and things (links) around specific interests. In this case, the interest in modern school materials and furniture. A node on a network made up of human and non-human links, like catalogs of companies that manufacture school material and furniture, newspapers, pedagogical magazines, school museums or not, commercial representatives, educators from different countries, the cities, public administrators, and manufacturers, among others. These are links that connect other nodes such as schools in different countries, businesses, and others.

It is through these human and non-human networks that school materials and furniture circulated in reverse circuits and were resignified. Here, considering the case of a good, the school desk—symbol object of the modern school—, I highlight a desk model advertised at World Exhibitions and widely adopted in Brazilian public and private schools. Moreover, I analyze how this model was resignified as an idea-product.

The first World Exhibitions, often called the Great Exhibition, took place in London in 1851. But according to Moysés Kuhlmann Junior (2001, p. 9), it was only in the 1862 Exhibition, also held in London, that education "gained space to appear alongside the exhibition of industrial and artistic production and the demonstration of technological innovations."

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In her thesis, Josette Peyranne (2001) points to two exhibitions as relevant to the issue of school furniture: that of 1867, in Paris; and that of 1873 in Vienna. Brazil took part in both. At a time when educators, doctors, hygienists, and industrialists were proposing modern school desks, the French directorate of primary education, Ferdinand Buisson (1888), expressed his exasperation with France's slow progress. For him, the question of school furniture was not really posed in France until the 1867 World Exhibitions. While in other countries, such as the United States,

> as early as 1854, Henry Barnard's work had drawn attention to the importance of good school furniture; in Germany, around 1858, Dr. Schreber, and finally, from 1863 to 1865, Dr. Fahrner in Zurich and Dr. Guillaume in Neuchâtel, had called for a reform of desk-benches, pointing out the harm caused to pupils' health.
>
> (Buisson, 1888, p. 1941)

According to Peyranne (2001, p. 132), after this period, "a whole culture is born around the desk-bench." At the 1867 Exhibition, "a room was reserved for the learning environment. Completely new desk-bench models were presented." At the time, "the great superiority of the American models was recognized" (Peyranne, 2001, p. 132). Based on a visit report by C. Defodon, for whom the most striking models came from the United States, Peyranne states that the highlight was the American desk-bench from Illinois.

> The American model presented in Paris is a single-seater, and is described as um solid and convenient bench, with each desk fixed on solid iron

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supports. One of the novelties is in the bench, which lifts so that each child can take a seat more easily. The supports, fitted with a rack-and-pinion system, allow the desk height to be adjusted to that of the children, making this the first variable-height desk-bench.

(Peyranne, 2001, p. 132)

As can be seen in the following image, the first desk models presented and marketed at world exhibitions already included iron feet and a wooden work surface. However, the furniture's main highlight was the possibility of adjusting its height to the children's.

This desk-bench from Illinois contains the manufacturing principles of a model that will become known worldwide as the American desk. Thus, among the most prominent desk models at the world exhibitions and which were widely marketed in the Americas are the US cast-iron feet desks. In other words, they were idealized and manufactured not in the large, consolidated European centers, but in a country that had achieved its independence just under 100 years ago.

Let us recall that in 1854, when the United States was already discussing the importance of school furniture, the country did not yet possess the status of a world power that it would achieve in the first half of the 20th century. In the mid-19th

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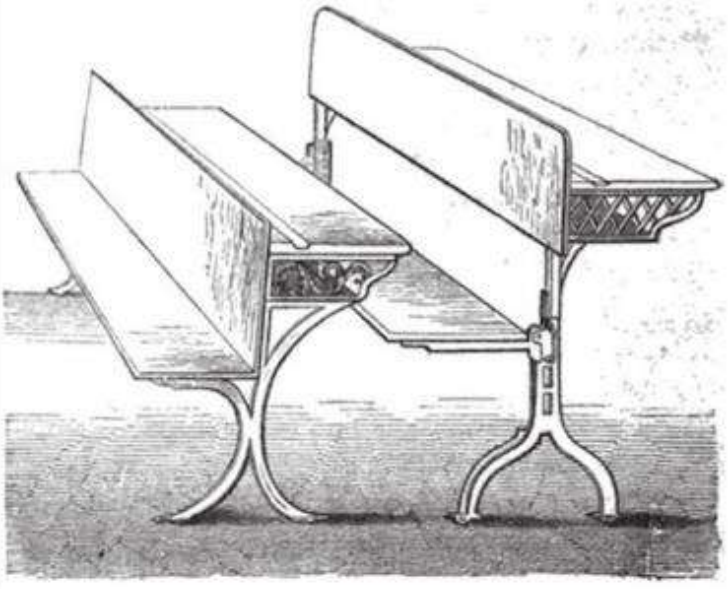


*Figure 6.1* US desk-bench (Illinois)—1867 World Exhibition

*Source:* Riant, 1874, p. 124; Peyranne, 2001, p. 133

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century, the Monroe Doctrine emphasizes the United States' intention to ward off the European interference in the Americas and consolidate its dominance in the region by trading and supplying industrialized goods, including school supplies. Although we may situate the beginnings of US industrialization in the mid-19th century, until 1860 most of its population lived in rural areas. Only in the first decade of the 20th century would almost half of the US population be predominantly urban.

While the French desk models were predominantly made of wood, the US models had the standard cast-iron feet and wooden work surface, with inkwell and drawer for storing school materials (Alcântara, 2014). The US desk model had been used in different Brazilian states since late 19th century.

In the last decade of the 19th century, despite the growth in the number of school desk factories in São Paulo and Brazil, there are still reports of US desks being imported. On June 19, 1893, the US resident in Brazil, Miss. Marcia Browne, also a teacher and principal of a São Paulo model school, requested authorization from the Director General of Public Instruction to go to her home country and visit Chicago's World Exhibition. She intended to study the school furniture presented by France, Belgium, Switzerland, Germany, and the United States there.

This trip may have resulted in the purchase of furniture and various objects for the São Paulo Normal School[1] and the annexed model school.[2] In 1895, 128 boxes of school furniture and teaching supplies were exported from the United States to the Normal School.[3] Regarding these imported goods, the Director General of Public Instruction authorized the shipment of "120 desk-benches, of those imported from the United States, 60 for each of the Itu school groups," in São Paulo's countryside.[4]

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In 1896, other school groups received American desks. The São José dos Campos school group received a total of two hundred; four schools in the city of Bragança received two hundred desks; the Luiz Leite de Amparo school group received 30 American desks. The São Paulo Normal School's 1895 inventory reports 363 American school desks, 355 American school benches, 11 American teachers' desks, 120 American chairs for the Great Hall, 120 American armchairs for the Amphitheater, 11 American spring and straw chairs, and 51 American chairs varnished yellow.

Reports on imported American desks also feature another Brazilian state, Rio de Janeiro. According to the newspaper *O Vulgarisador*,[5]

> the commercial house of Mr. Cunha, Guimarães & C., at Rua da Quitanda, 68, which imports a large portion of these American desks, has already supplied, by order of the president of the province of Rio de Janeiro, to the board of public education, desk-benches for more than thirty schools . . . Collegio Pedro II bought 100 desk-benches for 136 students. In 1876, the Polytechnic School bought American desks for 200 students and this year 150 more for the same number, finding itself regularly furnished.
>
> (Rio De Janeiro. O Vulgarisador, N.29—Oct. 30, 1878, p. 228)

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The number of American desks adopted in São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro schools indicates that these products circulated in significant numbers in Brazil. Inára Garcia (2011, p. 140) highlights how American desks featured significantly in the Rio de Janeiro press of 1878, as observed in the following image.

Figures A and B represent the normal position in writing. Arranged as shown in figure C, the desk lent itself to needlework in girls' schools. Completely closed (figure D), the desk-bench "is convenient for sweeping and washing the floor" (O vulgarisador, n. 29—Oct. 30, 1878, p. 229 apud Garcia, 2011).

The model suggested by O vulgarisador has a similar design to that of the 1867 World Exhibition. In reading the Rio de Janeiro newspaper and the letters from the São Paulo public schools, we can affirm that a significant part of the American desks purchased until the late 19th century were imported and manufactured by US companies. Moving forward into the 20th century, the signifier "American desk" cannot necessarily be interpreted as artifacts produced in the United States.

Even with all the discussion regarding patents (Alcântara, 2014), within a transnational movement, the term "American desk" was increasingly moving from a specific product sold by a US company to designate an idea. From a material production point of view, as a rule, the American desk would be made with a cast iron foot, a wooden seat and work surface, an inkwell, and a drawer for storing books. From a meaning production perspective, it incorporated an idea—that of a modern school desk for a modern school.

This is what one notices when observing the design of desks manufactured by different companies in the early 20th century in Brazil. This is the case of the "Brazil" desks, manufactured by the São Paulo-based company Eduardo Waller & Cie; of the Carteira Paulista, manufactured by Luiz Mellone & Cie; of the Ypiranga

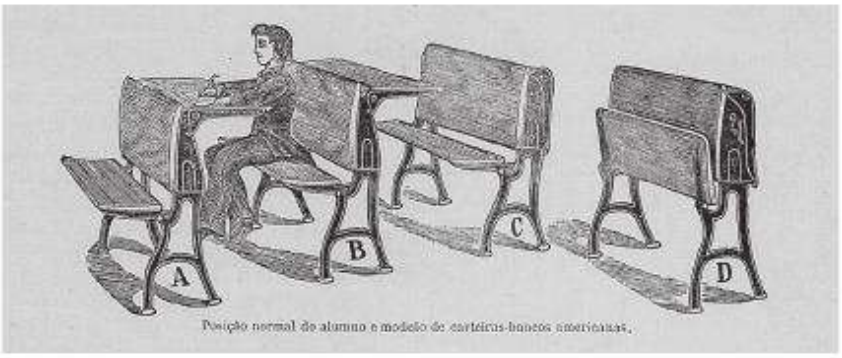



*Figure 6.2* American desk-benches

*Source*: Rio de Janeiro, O vulgarisador, n. 29—Oct. 30, 1878, p. 229 (cited in Garcia, 2011)

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*Figure 6.3* Brazil desk (Eduardo Waller & Comp)
*Source*: Centro de Referência em Educação Mário Covas

desk, manufactured by José Refinetti, Irmão & Co, all companies operating in São Paulo in the first three decades of the 20th century (Alcântara, 2014).

Comparing Image 1 (American desk awarded at the 1867 Exhibition), Image 2 (American desk published in the newspaper O vulgarizador, in 1878), and Image 3 (Brazil desk manufactured in São Paulo in the early 20th century), we see the consolidation of a furniture whose design was disseminated on a transnational scale.

In all three models, the desk's feet is made of cast iron, the seat and table are made of wood, the seat is foldable, and the table is integrated with the student bench in front, with an inkwell and drawer for book storage. Evidently, there are little variations. In the Brazil desk, for example, the drawer for storing books was under the desk and closed by a grid.

The creation of the school desk points to reverse circuits in the design of new school furnishings in the 19th century. Desk models that stood out on the world stage were manufactured not in the great European centers of the 19th century, but in a country still in the early stages of its industrial expansion. The United

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States will emerge in the World Exhibitions as the first country dedicated to producing exclusive furniture for schools, seeking new hygiene and comfort standards. This same model was reappropriated in different locations, which produced similar models while adapting it to their realities. Such transnationalization of a desk model, not as a reproduction, but as a reappropriation in spite of the initial patent law restrictions, supports that the American desk ceased to be a product and became an idea—one that crossed borders.

Still, some might argue that Latin American countries, since the incipient 19th century globalization, were already placed as importers of industrialized goods. From a macro perspective and depending on the type of source analyzed, there is no other conclusion than the definition of fixed roles and places for Latin American countries. However, by broadening our sources and adjusting the lens to polycentric directions, that is, from micro to macro and vice versa, we can perceive more flexible and fluid positions in the international relations since the incipient globalization process of the mid-19th century.

Thus, I analyze below a source produced in the scope of Brazilian foreign trade, the "Mappas estatisticos do commercio e navegação do Porto do Rio de Janeiro" (1841–1891), to nuance the countries' supposed fixed places in the trading of school supplies and objects.

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## Mappas Estatisticos do Commercio e Navegação: Import, Re-export, and Duty-free Import

The "Mappas estatisticos do commercio e navegação do Porto do Rio de Janeiro"[9] [Statistical maps on trade and shipping of the Port of Rio de Janeiro] are a documentation produced to organize data regarding foreign trade, export, and import of goods, by the port of Rio de Janeiro, from 1841 to 1891. Organized and published by the Customs of the Port of Rio de Janeiro, with authorization of the Minister of Finance, these maps are fertile documents for studying foreign trade regarding school objects. They contain information about direct export abroad; direct importation from abroad; duty-free importation by virtue of law, orders, and contracts; inbound and outbound, sailing and steam-powered shipping; and re-exportation, among others.

I thus begin my analysis in 1841 because the first maps located and/or available at the Ministry of Finance's Library in Rio de Janeiro are from 1841 to 1842. After analyzing their form and content, I focus on the maps published in 1882–1883, a period of expanding import of scientific objects by Brazilian public schools. Ending my analysis in 1891 is thus justified by the changes, from that year on, both in formal aspects of the maps and in customs policy and foreign trade following the Proclamation of the Republic (1889).

The political instability in 1889 may have created difficulties at the Rio de Janeiro customs or at the Ministry of Finance, because that year's statistical map was not published. A new map, that of 1890, was only published in 1893.

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The 1891 map was published in 1894. Starting in 1900, the new document will be called "Commercio exterior do Brazil" [Foreign trade in Brazil] and will be analyzed in another opportunity.

Two other important changes took place in 1891. Firstly, Brazil's first economic plan was implemented, culminating in an intense inflationary crisis. Second, a customs agreement of commercial reciprocity was signed between Brazil and the United States. I will further elaborate on this point later.

Methodologically, an analysis of this source requires considering its formal and content aspects from its production conditions. Among the categories that structure the document, I chose to examine only three: direct import by country of origin, re-export, and duty-free import by virtue of law, orders, and contracts. The latter shows that goods had import incentives, that is, they were duty-free and, consequently, the importer enjoyed a tax reduction or exemption.

Re-export, within the scope of foreign trade, is the administrative procedure by which the goods that entered a country not definitively, that is, not nationalized, return abroad. It is also a trade mechanism for the economic exploitation of a good, because the capital gain and accumulation are in the possibility of exporting products at a higher value than the import costs. To configure the admission as temporary, that is, re-export, as a rule, the products must be re-exported in the same state in which they were previously imported and cannot be industrialized or undergo any value-adding process.

The very first statistical map (1841–1842) includes, in its "Preliminary Remarks," an explanation of the categories used in the document. Regarding re-export, it explains that "Re-export and transshipment. General trade includes all goods of foreign production and manufacture imported into the Imperial Customs, which without paying consumption duties, are shipped by sluicing or re-export to any other foreign or national port."[7] In the 1846–1847 map, the description is reformulated: "Transshipment.—Re-export. This designation includes all foreign goods imported into the Empire, which on board or from the warehouses are exported abroad, or to any national port, without payment of consumption duties."[8] It also creates a four-class classification of goods: animal materials and products; plant materials and products; mineral materials and products; manufactured and industrialized products.

While a detailed analysis of the document's formal aspects is not my goal, highlighting some of them is essential to understanding, within the framework of shipping international trade, the material organization of the school. Hence, from a formal point of view, we must distinguish the numbering and classifications employed in the maps. An important division is the Tariff Class, a broader group within which some goods are lumped together. Import duty tariff is levied according to the Class in which the goods were located. In other words, for the purposes of import and incidence of the corresponding tax, the goods receive a tax classification, a numerical code that identifies it according to pre-established criteria.

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The list of goods with their respective codes makes up a tax classification list (Machado, 2010). The tax rates charged and the tariff reduction or exemption (the duty-free import) are applied according to this code. Hence, this code must be included when completing foreign trade documents and can be used in statistical import control.

In the late 1870s, a new form was employed for organizing data on foreign shipping trade, of which Class 19, "Paper and its applications," and Class 32, "Mathematics instruments and objects," are of interest here. Within the Class, the goods are subdivided into "Articles of the Nomenclature." Thus, for example, Class 19 included "Paper and its applications." Class 32, in turn, encompassed "Mathematics, physics, chemistry and other instruments and objects."

In Class 19, the articles of the nomenclature consist of paper in bulk for papermaking and plain or ordinary newsprint; printing paper and satin or any other quality suitable for printing; paper for cigarettes and the like; for lining rooms; confetti and streamers; paper otherwise prepared and for any other uses; paper for unclassified works; albums for drawings, photographs and stamps, folders and blank books; white or colored paperboard and cardboard in sheets and in unspecified works; playing cards; prints, drawings, and photographs (suitable for study and models for arts and crafts); printed or lithographed works, notes, invoices, bills of lading, envelopes, circulars, business or travel tickets, receipts, signs, slips, labels, letterheads, flyers, boards, advertisements, posters and other similar works, cut or sheeted, whether or not gummed or adhered, in paper or paperboard, of any size or quality, in loose-leaf form, rubberized or bound; printed books or reading books, newspapers, periodicals, magazines, music, brocades, loose or bound (with covers made of cardboard, cloth, leather or fur, silk, putty, wood, ivory, mother-of-pearl, tortoiseshell or gold and silver trimmings, manuscripts of any quality); maps or geographic, hydrographic and similar charts.

This thorough description of Class 19 shows the demand for a materiality typical of urbanized and literate societies (paper, print, books). Part of the significant school materiality, paper and books were imported until at least the first decade of the 20th century. In increasingly urbanized and literate societies, the use of written or writing paper became an urgent necessity. As for the countries from which Brazil bought the Class 19 items, the following stand out: Germany, France, United States, Great Britain, Belgium, Austria, Italy, Argentina, Uruguay, and Portugal. The first four countries supplied almost every item in the nomenclature, with Germany and France being the largest suppliers in terms of quantity.

Considering minor variations in form, the categories employed for organizing data on direct imports from abroad are class, articles of nomenclature, good, units, quantity, official figures, tariff ratio, and collection duties (5% consumption and shipping), as follows:

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*Table 6.1* Map data on direct imports abroad

| *Class* | *Articles of the nomenclature* | *Goods* | *Units* | *Quantity* | *Official figures* | *Tariff ratio* | *Duties collected from:* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | | | | Consumption/ Shipping 5% |

*Source*: Own elaboration with data from *Mappas estatisticos do commercio e navegação do Porto do Rio de Janeiro de 1841 a 1891*

*Table 6.2* Data on direct and duty-free imports and re-export (1841–1891)

| *Statistical maps* | *Direct import by country of origin* | *Duty-free import* | *Re-export* |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1841–1842 | Mathematics objects from Great Britain, Austrian States, Hanseatic Cities, France, and Portugal | . . . | . . . |
| 1882–1883 | Gas generators, telescopes, magic lanterns and opera glasses; mathematics, physics, chemistry, and optical instruments and objects (p. 24) | [illegible] Collegio Pedro II—objects for natural sciences teaching (p. 40)<br>Escola de Minas de Ouro Preto—Drugs and physics instruments (p. 40)<br>Associação Promotora da Instrucção—Geographic instruments (p. 43) | Paper from several foreign countries to Germany and Uruguay. From the United States to Argentina |
| 1884–1885 | Paper from Argentina, Uruguay (p. 39)<br>Physics and mathematics instruments and objects from Argentina (p. 42) | Mathematics instruments by American consular corps (p. 49), iron bed frames (p. 50), The Western and Brasilian Telegraf Company Limited; Physics instruments by Santa Casa de Misericórdia (p. 50) and Dr. Pedro Affonso Franco | Paper to Argentina and Uruguay (p. 56)<br>Mathematics, physics and chemistry instruments and objects, etc. from the US and Great Britain to Argentina (p. 57) |
| 1885–1886 | Paper from Argentina and Uruguay (p. 40)<br>Mathematics and physics instruments from Argentina (p. 43) | Ministry of the Empire—physics instruments (p. 49)<br>Estevão Martins & Comp—Physics instruments (p. 51) | Paper from Germany, United States, Italy and Portugal to Argentina and Uruguay |

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| *Statistical maps* | *Direct import by country of origin* | *Duty-free import* | *Re-export* |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1886–1887 | Paper form Argentina, Uruguay and European countries (p. 39)<br>Mathematics and physics instruments from Argentina (p. 42) | Ministry of Agriculture—Mathematics and physics instruments (p. 48)<br>Ministry of the Empire—chemicals, geographic maps, physics instruments (p. 48)<br>Geographic and geological commission from the province of São Paulo—physics and mathematics instruments (p. 50)<br>The Western and Brasilian Telegraf Company Limited—physics and mathematics instruments (p. 51) | Paper—from European countries to Argentina and Uruguay (p. 57)<br>There is no re-export of physics and mathematics instruments. |
| 1887 | Paper from Argentina, Uruguay, Oceania and European countries (p. 37)<br>Mathematics and physics instruments from France, Belgium, the United States, Germany, Great Britain, and Italy (p. 39) | Ministry of Agriculture—Mathematical instruments (p. 46)<br>Ministry of the Empire—chemicals, physics instruments (p. 46)<br>Argentine diplomatic and consular corps—books and geographic maps (p. 46)<br>Uruguayan diplomatic and consular corps—physics instruments (p. 46)<br>Naval Corps: US and English squadron—physics instruments (p. 47) | Paper from Germany and Portugal to Argentina and Portugal (p. 52)<br>There is no re-export of physics and mathematics instruments |
| 1888 | Paper from Argentina, Chile, Uruguay, Oceania, Island of Malta, and European countries (p. 35)<br>Mathematics and physics instruments and objects from France, Belgium, the United States, Germany, Argentina, Great Britain, Portugal, and Italy (p. 38) | Ministry of the Empire—chemicals, printed books, physics instruments (p. 44).<br>Bolivian diplomatic and consular corps—geographic maps (p. 44) | Paper from Germany and the United States to Chile (p. 52).<br>Physics instruments from Germany to the Empire of Brazil (p. 52) |

*Source*: Own elaboration with data from *Mappas estatisticos do commercio e navegação do Porto do Rio de Janeiro de 1841 a 1891*

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| *Statistical maps after the proclamation of the Republic (1889)* | *Direct import by country of origin* | *Duty-free import* | *Re-export* |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1890<br>Published in 1893<br>* Goods imported from the USA<br>(Appendix): Gas generators, telescopes, glasses, stereoscopic devices; mathematics, physics, etc. instruments and objects, and unspecified items (p. 196). | From Germany: Paper (p. 28)<br>Gas generators, telescopes, magic lanterns and opera glasses; mathematics, physics, chemistry, and optical instruments and objects (p. 30)<br>From Austria, Italy, and Belgium—paper, physics and mathematics instruments and unspecified items (p. 32, 70)<br>From Argentina—paper, maps or geographic charts, physics and mathematics instruments and unspecified items (p. 42)<br>United States—paper, maps or geographic charts, physics and mathematics instruments and unspecified items (p. 49 e 196)<br>France—paper, books; gas generators, telescopes, magic lanterns, and opera glasses; mathematics, physics instruments and objects, and unspecified items (p. 57)<br>Great Britain—paper, map books or geographic charts (p. 63); gas generators, telescopes, magic lanterns, stereoscopic devices, and opera glasses; unspecified devices, xiphoid bottles and flasks, physics and mathematics instruments and unspecified items (p. 65)<br>Portugal—paper, maps, or geographic charts; gas generators, telescopes, magic lanterns, stereoscopic devices; physics and mathematics instruments and unspecified items (p. 75 and 76) | Ministry of War—physics and chemistry instruments (p. 83)<br>Ministry of the Interior—acids, chemical compositions, pharmaceuticals, writing paper, prints, photographic drawings, printed books, physics and mathematics instruments (p. 83)<br>Ministry of Navy—physics and mathematics instruments (p. 84)<br>Santa Casa da Misericórdia—physics and mathematics instruments (p. 84)<br>Dr. A. Moller—Various items (apparatus for botanical studies, p. 87)<br>E. Charles Vautelet—Objects for the Pedagogium's Permanent Exhibition (p. 87)<br>Dr. Menezes Vieira—Several items for the normal school | Books, maps, and geographic charts—from various countries to Uruguay<br>Mathematics instruments and objects—from São Paulo to Uruguay |

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| *Statistical maps after the proclamation of the Republic (1889)* | *Direct import by country of origin* | *Duty-free import* | *Re-export* |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1891<br>Published in 1894<br>* General map of US imports—Goods coming from the US and shipped duty-free under the Convention: printed books for the sciences and arts; physics, mathematics, etc. instruments for scientific purposes (theodolites, compasses, etc.) (p. 220) | Paper and its applications (p. 56)—from Germany, Belgium, Uruguay, the United States, France, Great Britain, and Italy<br>Mathematics, physics, chemistry, and optical instruments and objects: gas generators, magic lanterns, kaleidoscopes, stereoscopic devices, opera glasses, unspecified devices, xiphoid bottles or flasks | Ministry of War—Objects for the military laboratory<br>Ministry of the Interior—acids, chemicals, furniture, reading books, physics instruments, etc., pianos<br>F. Blich Hoht—Physics instruments<br>H. Taylor—Physics instruments | Mathematics, physics, chemistry and optical instruments and objects—from Argentina and the United States and re-exported |

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*Source*: Own elaboration with data from *Mappas estatisticos do commercio e navegação do Porto do Rio de Janeiro de 1841 a 1891*

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Duty-free import data was organized according to the following categories: imported on whose account; main goods imported; duties the State failed to collect; shipping paid; difference against the state. Categories for re-export data organization were classification; articles of the nomenclature; good; countries of origin and destination; units; quantity and official figures. These categories point to the information and elements considered important, in the period, for organizing statistics on Brazilian foreign trade.

The first maps (1841 and 1842) classified the imported goods only as "Designation of goods," indicating a low complexity in their categorization. However, the category "Mathematics, optical and surgical instruments" already appears, albeit in smaller quantity. Apart from these, we also identify natural history objects. Mathematics, optical and surgical instruments, as well as natural history objects, are taxed at twenty percent (20%) of the import value, unlike others, such as books and printed matter, which are taxed at 5%. This suggests that, while the latter had import incentives, the same did not apply to the former.

Although statistical maps are not the most apt sources for analyzing the evidence of uses, it is worth mentioning that in these early maps, mathematics, optical and surgical instruments, as well as natural history objects are classified

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as "Materials and objects needed for industry," in alphabetical order and not by physical or economic characteristics of the goods, as will occur from 1870 on. As for the countries of origin, the largest exporter to Brazil is France, followed by Great Britain and the Hanseatic Cities.

Starting in 1870, the maps published show a more complex categorization pointing to an increase in foreign trade, its organization and laws. It was also in this decade that the French steam navigation company, *Chargeurs Réunis*, opened a regular commercial steam shipping lane between the port of Le Havre and ports in Brazil. As such, these maps allow us to investigate the materiality of their circulation, or rather, the material conditions of the modes and models of dissemination followed by the modern school in the Western world. Thus, by analyzing import and re-export movements, I aim to demonstrate the polycentric circulation of objects for natural sciences teaching around the world.

In the 1882–1883 maps, Class 32 includes import of gas generators, telescopes, magic lanterns, and opera glasses; mathematics, physics, chemistry, and optical instruments and objects. It also identifies the importing institutions: Pedro II School (natural sciences teaching objects); the Ouro Preto School of Engineering and Architecture (drugs and physics instruments); the Education Promotion Association (geographical instruments). These materials were most likely not destined for other countries, as the maps only report re-exports of paper from various foreign countries to Germany and Uruguay and from the United States to Argentina.

According to the 1884–1885 maps, the physics and mathematics instruments and objects were no longer imported from Europe and the United States, but from Argentina. This corroborates the argument that the materiality of the modern school circulated in polycentric directions. In other words, this materiality does not always come from economic powers or more industrialized countries. There could be multiple supply sources of modern objects for teaching natural sciences in the 19th century. As for the importers, although no educational institution is listed directly, the mathematics instruments imported by the American consular corps and the physics instruments imported by Dr. Pedro Affonso Franco may have benefited schools. The tax incentive applied even when the mathematics and scientific objects were imported by private individuals:

> Dr. Pedro Affonso Franco graduated in medicine from the Rio de Janeiro School of Medicine, in 1869, and from the University of Paris, in 1871. He was a teacher at Colégio Pedro II and professor of surgical pathology at the Rio de Janeiro School of Medicine. In 1894 he created the Municipal Vaccine Institute, which he owned, aiming to develop a smallpox vaccination service in the country's capital. In 1900, he was director of the Federal Institute of Serotherapy.
>
> (Casa de Oswaldo Cruz/Fiocruz-https://basearch.coc.fiocruz.br/index.php/barao-de-pedro-afonso)

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The same goods were imported by railroads, by the Western and Brazilian Telegraf Company Limited and by Santa Casa de Misericórdia. Note the recurrent commercial quadrilateral involving Germany, the United States, Brazil, and Argentina, and sometimes Uruguay and Portugal. The maps do not offer us precise routes, but they do indicate different good re-export and transshipment points from the trade between these countries.

Looking at the column "Direct Imports by Country of Origin," from the 1885–1886 maps, once again we see paper from Argentina and Uruguay and mathematical and physics instruments from Argentina. The "Re-exports" column makes no mention of the instruments, but it indicates that Brazil imported paper from Germany, the United States, Italy, and Portugal to re-export them to Argentina and Uruguay. The duty-free import of physics instruments by the Ministry of the Empire may indicate that the goods were destined for educational institutions.

In the 1886–1887 maps, paper is again imported from Argentina, Uruguay, and European countries, and mathematics and physics instruments from Argentina, indicating an important trade in Latin America regarding teaching tools and materials. The importers were the Ministry of Agriculture (mathematics and physics instruments), the Ministry of the Empire (chemicals, geographic maps, physics instruments), the Geographical and Geological Commission of the Province of São Paulo (physics and mathematics instruments), and the Western and Brazilian Telegraf Company Limited (physics and mathematics instruments). In this case, both the Ministry of the Empire and the Geographical and Geological Commission provided objects for the public schools.

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Although the analyzed maps provide sufficient data to calculate the import costs regarding scientific tools, performing such calculation is beyond my proposal here. Nonetheless, in 1887, the country acquired a significant number of mathematics and physics instruments from France, Belgium, the United States, Germany, Great Britain, and Italy. Importers were also in greater number: the Ministry of Agriculture (mathematics instruments), the Ministry of the Empire (chemicals, physics instruments), the Argentine diplomatic and consular corps (books and geographic maps), the Uruguayan diplomatic and consular corps (physics instruments), and the US and British naval corps (physics instruments). Note that "mathematics and physics instruments" is an abbreviation of Class 32 to designate all mathematics, physics and chemistry objects, apparatuses and instruments. Besides the Ministry of the Empire, the US, Argentine, and Uruguayan Consulates are frequent importers of such goods.

In 1888, once again the Ministry of the Empire features as the most prominent importer of chemicals, printed books, and physics instruments. Such products may not have remained only in Rio de Janeiro institutions, as the physics instruments imported from Germany that year were shipped to other ports in the Empire. Re-export or transshipment referred only to goods imported from Germany, as other mathematics and physics instruments and objects were imported

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in significant quantities from France, Belgium, the United States, Argentina, Great Britain, Portugal, and Italy. Argentina, absent from the 1887 import, reappears in 1888. Bolivia's diplomatic and consular corps imports geographic maps, which are also duty-free. Importantly, this is the last map published during the Empire.

Although not the only port in Brazil, the port of Rio de Janeiro has the highest commercial activity and indicates, for the late 19th century, an increase in the trade and acquisition of tools and objects useful for teaching mathematics, physics, and chemistry. This movement precedes the proclamation of the Republic in Brazil on November 15, 1889. It stems from discussions, in Europe and the Americas, around the intuitive method and a growing relevance of the natural sciences in a post-second industrial revolution world (Meloni, 2010). Natural sciences, in Brazil, would become a more regular part of the secondary school curriculum only in 1887, when "content in physics, chemistry and natural history were introduced into the entrance examinations of the medical faculties" (Lorenz, 2003, p. 73).

The social and scholastic relevance of the natural sciences grows throughout the 19th century, in Brazil and in other Western countries. Not by chance, in the wake of the intuitive method, companies manufacture and market objects and materials for natural sciences teaching in significant quantities (Alcântara, 2018; Alcantara and Vidal, 2020). In Brazil, what we note, including in the statistical maps, is not so much an emergence of this trade, but rather a significant expansion of natural sciences teaching and the acquisition of tools and apparatuses for teaching physics, objects and substances for teaching chemistry, and materials for teaching natural history.

From the foreign trade perspective, soon after the proclamation of the Republic, in January 1891, a customs agreement of commercial reciprocity was signed between Brazil and the United States. On the one hand, Brazil granted tax exemption and reduced customs tariffs for several US products. On the other, the United States guaranteed Brazil customs privileges that could not be extended to other countries, such as exemption from taxes on coffee imports. Brazilian leather and sugar were also allowed duty-free entry.

The agreement resulted in changes even in how the 1890 and 1891 statistical maps organized data. An appendix containing data only on the import of goods from the United States was added. As can be observed in Table 6.2, in 1890, gas generators, telescopes, glasses, stereoscopic devices; mathematics, physics, etc. and unspecified instruments and objects were imported in Class 32 from the United States. Despite the tax incentives, the Republic maintained the commercial relations practiced by the Empire.

From Germany, the country imported paper, gas generators, telescopes, magic lanterns, and opera glasses; mathematics, physics, chemistry, and optical instruments and objects. From Austria, Italy, and Belgium, paper, physics and mathematics instruments, and unspecified items. From Argentina, paper, maps or

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geographic charts, physics and mathematics instruments, and unspecified items. From France, paper, books; gas generators, telescopes, magic lanterns and opera glasses; mathematics, physics, and unspecified instruments and objects. From Great Britain, paper, books, maps or geographic charts; gas generators, telescopes, magic lanterns, stereoscopic devices, and opera glasses; unspecified apparatuses, xiphoid bottles and flasks, physics and mathematics instruments and unspecified items. From Portugal, paper, maps, or geographic charts; gas generators, telescopes, magic lanterns, stereoscopic devices; physics and mathematics instruments and unspecified items.

Unspecified goods belong to the same Class and nature as physics and mathematics instruments, probably school objects for teaching chemistry and natural history, but without a specific classification in the Articles of Nomenclature. The recurrence and permanence of maps or geographic charts as well as physics and mathematics instruments imported from Argentina stands out, corroborating that not only the United States and Europe can be considered as center exporters of modern objects for natural sciences teaching.

The centers are diverse and occupy flexible and varied positions. Looking at the "Re-export" column, for example, we note that Brazil imported books, maps, and geographic charts for re-export to Uruguay. Through the port of Rio de Janeiro, someone in São Paulo imported mathematics instruments and objects for re-export to Uruguay. As such, re-export highlights that countries are not always fixed as center or periphery. The mechanisms used by different countries in an increasingly globalized economy make places mobile, and thus Brazil both imports and exports and re-exports teaching tools and objects.

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The individuals or agencies that import duty-free or with a tax exemption featured in the 1890 map also draw attention. Besides the recurrent import by the Ministry of War (physics and chemistry tools), the Ministry of the Interior (acids, chemical compositions, pharmaceuticals, writing paper, prints, photographic drawings, printed books, and physics and mathematics instruments), the Ministry of Navy (physics and mathematics instruments), and Santa Casa da Misericórdia (physics and mathematics instruments), other individuals stand out.

Dr. Menezes Vieira imported several articles for the Normal School of the Federal Capital (Rio de Janeiro).[9] Joaquim José de Menezes Vieira is a well-known Brazilian educator and physician active in Rio de Janeiro, frequenter of 19th-century World Expos, director of the Pedagogium,[10] school owner, and promoter of the intuitive method. Brazil has an important body of research about his work (Bastos, 2002; Vidal, 2017; Marchi, 2021). In the various positions he held, Menezes Vieira was a pioneer in acquiring modern furniture and materials for public and private institutions in Brazil. In 1890, Rio de Janeiro already had commercial agents and commercial representation companies that could mediate the acquisition of school furniture and materials abroad. However, Menezes Vieira's transit in other countries and knowledge of the supply companies allowed him to directly import various items for the Normal School.

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One of these commercial agents, who also set up a commercial representation company, was E. Charles Vautelet (Alcântara, 2014; Alcantara and Vidal, 2020). In the 1890s, Charles Vautelet and his company were very active in the acquisition of physics and chemistry materials for institutions in São Paulo (Engineering School, Normal School, Institute of Bacteriology), Rio de Janeiro (Engineering School, Pedagogium, School of Medicine, War and Navy Hospitals, Bromatology Laboratory), Ouro Preto (School of Engineering and Architecture, Normal School, School of Pharmaceutical Sciences), and Bahia (School of Medicine).

A significant part of these materials was ordered from the French company Maison Paul Rousseau & Cie (Alcântara, 2014). A French immigrant living in Rio de Janeiro, Charles Vautelet represented a number of French companies through the *Syndicat Commercial du Mobilier et du matériel d'Enseignemen*t (Alcantara and Vidal, 2020). Regarding the Pedagogium, Camila Marchi (2021) treats this Rio de Janeiro museum not only as a space for teacher training but also as a commercial showcase, where the Syndicat is active.

Menezes Vieira was director of the Pedagogium between 1890 and 1896 (Bastos, 2002), which explains why in the 1890 statistical map both Menezes Vieira and Charles Vautelet import goods from Classes 32, related to the natural sciences. Given the niche of E. Charles Vautelet & Cie., the possible list of imported goods included physics instruments; chemical, scientific, and industrial products; chemistry tools; photographic plates and apparatuses; school supplies (Alcântara, 2014).

There is significant evidence that materials for natural history teaching were also part of Class 32, since the 1890 map lists various items (apparatuses for botanical studies) imported by Dr. A. Möller. According to the University of Coimbra website, Adolpho Frederico Möller was a forester and naturalist born in Portugal, but of German descent. He held prominent positions in the University of Coimbra's Botanical Garden and Herbarium.[11]

Portugal sponsored philosophical trips to the colonies to exploit their natural products. In the 19th century, naturalists from the University of Coimbra were sent to Brazil, Angola, Mozambique, and Cape Verde. So far, we have only been able to locate more information about the philosophical trip to Africa, in particular to São Tomé and Príncipe, in 1885. However, the documentation concerning Brazilian foreign trade informs us that in 1890 the naturalist Adolpho Frederico Möller was developing his work in Brazil and imported apparatuses for botanical studies. These 19th-century travels highlight the human and non-human networks constituted by commercial or non-commercial relations between countries. Objects and materials circulate because of individuals, but individuals also circulate by mediation of a materiality and by interest in a certain materiality of the world.

Finally, the last map analyzed here refers to 1891 and was published in 1894. It includes a separate annex of the general import from the United States. Among the goods imported from the United States and shipped duty-free under

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the convention were printed science and art books; physics, mathematics, etc. instruments for scientific purposes (theodolites, compasses, etc.). As in previous years, the links with the commercial partners and recurrent suppliers of scientific objects—Germany, Belgium, Uruguay, France, Great Britain, and Italy—still remain. In 1891, part of the imported scientific objects is re-exported to Argentina.

According to André Villela (1994), the main importers of Brazilian products were, in order, the United States, Germany, Great Britain, France, and Argentina. For the author, Great Britain, unlike the United States, was not a major consumer of coffee, and therefore, this country stood out as a market of interest for Brazilian coffee exports. While Great Britain was the third most important exporter for Brazilian goods, it was the first country from which Brazil imported the most.

Due to the coffee industry, the United States sat at a disadvantage in its trade balance with Brazil. For US officers, the country imported too much and exported too little. This element will justify the signing of the 1891 customs agreement, which established reciprocal tariff concessions. According to Villela (1994), the United States allowed duty-free (tax-free) entry of coffee, sugar, cane molasses, and furs from Brazil (and other countries that exported those products—in addition to tea—to the US market). In return, Brazil allowed the duty-free entry of a number of goods from the United States, in addition to granting a 25% reduction in customs duties on other articles. The agreement will not immediately resolve the United States' intentions, which will take over as the main exporting country to Brazil only after World War I, overtaking Great Britain.

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**Final Considerations**

In the second half of the 19th century, World Exhibitions, ports, and steamships provided the material conditions for disseminating the modern school and its materiality. As nodes and links, they formed human and non-human networks that favored the transnational circulation of modern school materials and furniture. A non-human network that helps to understand the countries involved in import and export relations is the regular merchant steamship network. Transoceanic travel by steamships favored the commercialization of school objects between different countries, thus resulting in the transnationalization of standardized teaching resources for many different school subjects.

By mid-19th century, the import, re-export, and export movements of these school objects by sea were intense. This is because, as Pascali (2017) states, steamships were less dependent on wind patterns, enabling the creation of new trade routes. Thus, the logistics of goods distribution is a core element in defining which countries to import objects from, and with which countries to establish trade relations.

A human network that favored the polycentric directions of school objects was formed by agents and commercial representatives, such as E. Charles

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Vautelet. Associations like the *Syndicat Commercial du Mobilier et du matériel d'Enseignement* sent commercial representatives to several countries in Europe and the Americas so that not all school supplies were purchased for schools. These objects could undergo further commercial exploitation when re-exported.

Analysis of the *mappas estatisticos* (statistical maps) showed that not all scientific tools and mathematics objects came from Europe and the United States. The United Kingdom and France predominated throughout the 19th century, but other countries such as Argentina and Uruguay are important partners of Brazil in the import and re-export movements.

These maps allow us to calculate the value of imports of natural sciences objects from different countries. Since my first point was to show, in analyzing these maps, that educational institutions, in the second half of the 19th century, promoted a transnational circulation of scientific objects, this calculation will not be presented. My second point was to highlight that although most of the scientific tools and mathematics objects came from France, UK, Germany, and the United States, some of them were exported from Latin American countries to Brazil or re-exported from Brazil to other Latin American countries, Portugal, Germany, and the United States.

If the investigation stays limited to import, one can only view the entry of foreign goods into Brazil. But by extending the analysis to re-export data, we observe that not all imported goods had Brazil as their final destination. Some were in transit. In some situations, re-export is explained by shipping routes. In the absence of regular steamer or rail services, the links that connect countries and businesses, another country serves as a customs warehouse—a point B that connects A and C.

From coffee to school desks and scientific objects, an analysis based on various sources of the material conditions that inform the relations between countries shows that, without disregarding the pervasive violence in such relations, the idea of a fixed center and a fixed periphery constitutes a strategic discourse that creates a place for oneself and a place for others. By taking a closer look at the material conditions of the world, one realizes that, to a large extent, places are mobile and the terrain of relations is equally unstable.

## Notes

1. The São Paulo Normal School was reopened in 1880 to train teachers for primary education. Since then, the school has been equipped with new furniture and modern objects for intuitive teaching. In 1890, the Normal School underwent a reform aimed at the practical training of future teachers based on learning modern teaching processes. However, it was only in 1894, when the school moved to its own building in downtown São Paulo, that it underwent a modernization of its architecture, furniture, and teaching materials (MONARCHA, 1999).
2. The Model School was an elementary school annexed to the Normal School, which would also serve as a teaching practice and experimentation school for student-teachers at the Normal School (Souza, 1998, p. 40). The most modern teaching methods

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and processes were to be applied there to improve teacher training. It would thus serve as a teaching standard for the other schools in the state of São Paulo.

3. Source: APESP. Série Manuscritos. Secretaria do Interior. Escola Normal. Ano 1892.
4. Série Manuscritos. Instrução Pública. Oficios do Governo ao Inspetor Geral. Anos 1894–1896. Ordem—4992.
5. O Vulgarisador: jornal dos conhecimentos úteis (1877–1880) was edited by the Portuguese Augusto Emilio Zaluar aiming at spreading science, entertaining, and teaching the laymen (http://site.mast.br/ovulgarisador/introducao.php).
6. BRASIL. Alfândega do Rio de Janeiro. Rio de Janeiro: Typographia Nacional.
7. BRASIL. Alfandega do Rio de Janeiro. Rio de Janeiro: Typographia Nacional. Volume: 1849, p. 2.
8. Mappa, 1846–1847, p. 2.
9. The Normal School of the Federal Capital (Rio de Janeiro) was created in 1880; started operating in its own building in 1888; and, in 1891, imported a significant set of scientific materials and objects to set up the Physics cabinet and the Chemistry laboratory (SANTOS, 2011).
10. The Pedagogium (national museum of pedagogy) was created in 1890 in Rio de Janeiro from a collection of objects and materials sent to the 1883 Pedagogical Exposition. Menezes Vieira was its first director, and the goal was for this museum to be a driving force for reform in Brazilian education, a place to train teachers and exhibit the best methods and the most improved teaching materials. The Pedagogium closed in 1919 (Vidal, 1999; Bastos, 2002; Marchi, 2021).
11. www.uc.pt/herbario_digital/history/Moller

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# 7 For a Polycentric History of Education

## The Brazilian School Museum among Brazil, Portugal, and France (Late 19th Century)

*Diana Gonçalves Vidal*

### Introduction

Founded in 1995 by Professor Joaquim Almeida, the Oliveira Lopes School Museum in Válega, Ovar, a district of Aveiro (northwest Portugal), brings together, apart from books, objects, and furniture, a significant number of parietal charts in which one can read "Brazilian School Museum: Nationalization of the *Musée Scolaire Deyrolle* by Menezes Vieira, director of the *Pedagogium do Brasil*." The collection decorates the walls and hangs from wooden frames built specifically for that purpose. Its disposition, as seen in Figure 7.1, followed museological criteria, demonstrating that it had long lost its pedagogical function.

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> It is quite possible that the collection had belonged to the school since its opening on 2 October 1910. News published in the newspaper *A Pátria* reported at the time that: "The teaching material is magnificent: from the desks to the countless charts that cover the walls. Nothing is missing there, and everything is good".[1] An article published on the previous day in the Jornal de Notícias pointed out that: "On a par with the grandeur of the building, the furniture, and the teaching material represent the state-of-the-art in Paris, whence they were purchased by those friends of ours".[2]

The first building erected specifically to house the boys-only and girls-only primary schools in Válega had been donated fully furnished to the community by the brothers José and Manuel José d'Oliveira Lopes. The benefactor José d'Oliveira Lopes had emigrated to Brazil at the age of thirteen. Having made his fortune, he returned to Portugal after 31 years of work in Rio de Janeiro. The opening of the school building coincided with the start of the donor's public life, which would last for 14 years until his death, which came when he was president of the City Council.

José d'Oliveira Lopes's residence in Brazil, the reference to the purchase of school materials from France, and the presence of the Brazilian School Museum

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*Figure 7.1* Parietal charts, two portaits, a crucifix, display sand tables with books of the Oliveira Lopes School Museum in Válega

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*Source*: Photograph by Elizabeth Poubel e Silva, April 2004

among the didactic resources acquired for the Portuguese school, the Museum itself being described as a "nationalization of the Musée Scolaire Deyrolle," link together three distinct geographical, but also social and cultural, spaces. The objective of the present chapter is to reflect on the possibilities of these encounters and, in so doing, to question the analyses grounded in the center-periphery paradigm.

Organized into four parts, this chapter deals initially with the Portuguese migration to Brazil during the latter half of the 19th century, focusing on the 1850s and 1860s, when José d' Oliveira Lopes started his saga. The chapter is interested in the circulation of people between the two sides of the Atlantic.

In its second part, it explores the creation of the school and pedagogical museums in the 1800s, taking them as necessary didactic support for the implementation of the method of object lessons. Therefore, they take on a meaning distinct from the current one, in which they often represent, as in the case of the Oliveira Lopes School Museum, a place for the memory of education. The attention is here focused on the circulation of pedagogical models.

Taking as its point of departure the edition of the Brazilian School Museum, the third part of this chapter discusses commercial and educational relations

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between Brazil, France, and Portugal. The focus is now on the circulation of cultural artifacts. This entails understanding that publication based on its production, distribution, and consumption, as pointed out by Roger Chartier (1990), looking for evidence of the reasons for its creation, of the editorial strategies shaping the product and of the circuit in which it was inserted, without overlooking the many ways in which it was appropriated by the social subjects.

As its conclusion, this chapter reflects on how to situate the center and the periphery in the studies in which the circulation is the focus of analysis within the scope of a transnational history and argues for a polycentric history of education.

**Circulation of People: The Case of the Brasileiros**[3]

Rio de Janeiro, 23 August 1877

My dear Father,

I finally arrived in this city on the 10th of this month and, apart from the seasickness of the first days of voyage, no other discomfort afflicted me. I am still homesick, however, which is something to be expected of someone who has left behind such a good father and affectionate family.

Mr. Almeida received me very well, introduced me to his family, and all of them seem to be very nice people. For my part, I shall endeavor to please him, and I hope in God that one day I shall return to the bosom of my family in circumstances such that we can all live happily.

I ask you for the kindness of delivering the other letters sent with this one to my sisters and cousins.

Farewell, my father. Give me your blessing every time you remember me, for I will strive to be always worthy of your esteem and to so conduct myself that you shall never have reason to be disappointed in your much loving and thankful son.

Manoel Teixeira (Aguilar, 1878, p. 5–7)

The letter above, despite what it may seem at first sight, was not written by a loving son to his father. It was one model among many available in the *Colleção de manuscriptos para exercicios nas escholas* (Collection of manuscripts for exercises in schools), by Pedro M. S´Aguilar, a former teacher at the Lisbon Normal School and principal of the School for the Deaf and Hard of Hearing of Porto, as attested in the cover page of the 1878 copy. The model reply followed immediately. On pages 8 and 9 of the textbook, the father conveyed his contentment at the news received and advised "work, perseverance and honor" as the means to acquire fortune, independence, and happiness. At the end of the missive, the textbook indicated the correct way to address an envelope to Brazil. Other models of letters covering subjects, such as harvesting activities, exportation to Africa and America, and the consignment of merchandise, gave the dimension of the close link between the lessons and the demands of Portuguese society.

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Approved by the government, heeding the advice of the Public Instruction Consulting Committee, as seen in its cover, the book belonged to the collection of the Oliveira Lopes School Museum. Its function was twofold: It had exercises for the older students to copy, allowing the teacher to oversee the different levels of students present in the same classroom, as was current in Portugal (as in Brazil and France) in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, and it offered models of writings of social value, an important feature to stimulate the expansion of Portuguese schooling, marred by illiteracy levels exceeding 70%.[4]

The publication of epistolary manuals was not a novelty. Francisco Rodrigues Lobo, regarded by Thiago Miranda (2000) as the first author to comment on the art of writing letters in Portugal, distinguished already in 1619 three types of missives, from which the first two were present in Aguilar's Colleção:

> The first of them is the business letter. . . . The second is the letter between friends, of news, and gallantry greetings . . . The third type concerns more grave and weighty matters, such as the government of the Republic, Divine matters, the admonition of Princes and ladies, and other similar matters.
>
> (Lobo, 1619, Apud Miranda, 2000, p. 48)

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Writing letters as a school exercise was equally well-known. To Jean Hébrard (1991, p. 280), its introduction in France can be dated back to the 1890s and gives testimony to the social prestige that writing reached among the popular classes. As a means of communication, it concurred to justify the families' investment in moving their children from productive work or domestic chores to school.

The question had precedents in the Portuguese context, in which emigration had once been raised to the level of a strategy for family social ascent. In a petition organized by the inhabitants of Vila Chã, Vila do Conde, to create a school in May 1867, the signatories recognized that the distance, the lack of time, and "the bad habits acquired away from the family's oversight" were the causes of the poor school attendance of their children, with the result that "only those destined to a career in commerce in the Brazilian Empire know how to read and write" (Apud Felgueiras, 2000, p. 271).

The model letter, and the petition above, pointed to the existence of a character, the Brasileiro: a Portuguese, often coming from the Porto district[5] who, with the decline in commercial relations between the metropole and the colony following the Brazilian independence in 1822, left for Brazil in search of fortune, but hoping to come back to his homeland after amassing wealth. This migratory movement lasted for more than a century (from 1836 to the 1960s) and was particularly intense between the latter half of the 19th century and World War I, according to Margarida Felgueiras (2000, p. 272).

Also known as the "round-trip migrant" (migrante de torna-viagem), the Brasileiro, according to Jorge Fernandes Alves (1994, p. 163 ff.), who analyzed the 1800s legal emigration from the Porto District, was in the 1850s and 1860s

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typically single (80% in 1855 and 70% in 1868), male (87% in 1855 and 85% in 1869), aged between 13 and 14 (from 1849 to 1872), except a brief period (1854–1859) in which typical ages were between 16 and 18, and literate (illiteracy rates oscillated around 30% and 40% in the 1860s and 1870s), although the level of literacy is difficult to be ascertained from the documentation available (the processes of issuing passports). In their majority (around 80%), they headed for Rio de Janeiro, but that does not mean that they took up residence there.

Estimates of rates of return to Portugal show that the number of passengers arriving by ship from Brazil was between 40 and 60% of the number of Portuguese emigrating in that same year. Despite the difficulties inherent in statistics of this type, they do indicate that a significant fraction of Portuguese emigrants returned home. Not all of them followed the tale and returned wealthy men. For that to happen, a minimum stay in Brazilian lands of 20–30 years was needed, and some stages had to be followed:

> Be inducted into commerce, starting from an early age as a clerk apprentice, then be promoted to a clerk, then stomach the boss's tantrums for a long time, and hope patiently that the latter, in his will or retirement, named him as his successor, leaving him the establishment or fixing its transfer, which was usually done through a monthly or yearly payment, since the clerk seldom had the money for its purchase. Only then the migrant could give free rein to his initiatives and run the risks of business.
>
> (Alves, 1994, pp. 269–270)

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Such a life and work trajectory, as somewhat suggested in the letter model, was followed by 10% of those who returned to Portugal (Alves, 1994, p. 269). The biographies of those few men, however, abound with descriptions of the philanthropic activities they devoted themselves to after being reestablished in their native land. Among such activities a special note was given, particularly since the latter half of the 19th century, to the opening of schools. Conde Ferreira was certainly the Brasileiro that caused the largest repercussion in this respect. When he died in 1866, he left 144 contos de réis* for the construction and furnishing of 120 primary schools for students of both sexes. Another, more modest, case was that of José d'Oliveira Lopes, responsible for the erecting and furnishing of the Oliveira Lopes School opened during his lifetime in 1910.

Ferreira and Lopes are examples of travelers that united both sides of the Atlantic. In the words of Serge Gruzinski (1999, p. 104), they can be considered as *passeurs*: men and women, named and anonymous, who played at the same time the role of passers between societies and cultures and of filters between the two worlds. Coined to describe the mixing of beings and cultures in the 15th and 16th centuries, the concept also allows us to understand the circulation of people at the end of the 19th century, not in the context of the mundialization, as Gruzinski wanted, but in that of the internationalization that the 1800s promoted, making possible the second stage of capitalist expansion.

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Oliveira Lopes's stay in Brazil may have allowed him to gain knowledge of the school materials produced by Brazilian educators, fostering the flow of objects leaving the old Colony toward the Metropole, a circuit seldom considered in the studies about the diffusion of educational models in the late 19th century. In general, those works emphasize the importance of the model-states in the global dissemination of educational ideology (Schriewer, 2000). The analyses favor the observation of the process of internationalization of the reference societies; but can fail to make us apprehend what we could denominate countermovements of diffusion, or better still, the dissemination conducted by countries not traditionally conceived as centers of diffusion, and even the appropriations, not always conscious, operated in the models distributed.

In both perspectives, the use of the category circulation can be valuable, both by shifting the emphasis from a center toward a polycentric circuit and by considering the blending operated within the very movement of the passage of ideas, people, and artifacts throughout societies and cultures. In this sense, the transit of the Brasileiros may have given an opportunity for the presence of elements of Brazilian culture in the Portuguese society, strengthening the contact between the two countries, even for rural communities, such as the case of Válega. This category also prompts us to consider the transformations that the educational models underwent in the clash of cultures. Such transformations bring out in the thick body of ideologies the singularity of social and historical processes and the originality of school cultures.

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It is in the play of scales (Revel, 1998) that the concepts of circulation, passage, and blending become operational, allowing the establishment of a continuous dialogue between the macro-history of models and the microanalysis of appropriations. This double movement is the subject of the sections that follow.

## The Circulation of Pedagogical Models: The Object Lessons and School Museums

> Brésil—Le gouvernement brésilen, désireux de donner une impulsion nouvelle au développement de l'intruction publique, a convoqué à Rio-de-Janeiro pour le 1er. juin prochain, un Congrès pédagogique, et a invité tous les pays civilisés à s'y faire représenter. A ce Congrès sera jointe une exposition scolaire internationale.
>
> Cette exposition compredra entre autres les objets suivants:
>
> 1o. Plans et modèles de bâtiments scolaires.
> 2o. Mobilier scolaire ou modèles de ce mobilier.
> 3o. Matériel d'enseignement, c'est-à-dire tous les objets appropriés à l´enseignment primaire, tels que cartes géographiques, sphères, tableaux, planches, lithographies, collections, etc.
> 4o. Manuels et livres en usage dans les écoles primaires. Hygiène scolaire.
> 5o. Documents et publications officiels relatifs à l'instruction primaire.

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The news appeared in the Courrier de L'Extérieur section of the *Revue Pédagogique* (No. 1–6, tome II, jan.juin, 1883, p. 478), and it was possibly reproduced by similar means in other countries. Indeed, various European and American nations came to the Brazilian event, although Belgium was the only one to send an official delegation. The Instruction Congress did not happen (Collichio, 1987, p. 7). The First Pedagogical Exposition, however, was maintained. It took place between July 29 and September 30, 1883, in Rio de Janeiro. Organized into thirteen sessions, it received as expositors Brazilian schools, and national or foreign makers and distributors of didactic furniture and materials. Desks, books, maps, equipment for physics, chemistry and natural history laboratories, history charts, world globes, gymnastics equipment, and also reports and documents from various nations, such as Belgium, France, United States, the Netherlands, Portugal,[7] and Argentina, were distributed in several rooms. The *Guia para os visitantes da Exposição Pedagógica* (Guide for visitors to the Pedagogical Exposition), published by the Official Press in 1883, compiled this large variety of objects in its 293 pages (Collichio, 2001).

The exposition was aligned with the movement that, in the 19th century, celebrated human genius and the political and economic might in the Universal Expositions that took place in several countries of Europe and the United States since 1851. Many echoes of those Expositions reached Brazil, not only through the Brazilian delegations that attended them in Chicago (1873), Philadelphia (1876), and Paris (1878 and 1889), but also from reports of foreign educators published in French versions. That was the case of Ferdinand Buisson on primary instruction in the Vienna Exposition (1873) and the Philadelphia Universal Exposition (1876), and of Célestin Hippeau on public instruction in South America (1879), the United States (1871), and England (1872).

The Imperial government's interest in such expositions can also be gauged by the presence of D. Pedro II himself in the Philadelphia Exposition, and by the translation of Hippeau's reports on the instruction in the United States and England to the Portuguese language, published by the Official Press of the Empire, respectively, in 1871 and 1874. Inscribed in this circuit, the Rio de Janeiro Exposition of 1883 was seen as a showcase of pedagogical innovations. It appeared amid changes that occurred in Brazilian elementary teaching with the reform of public instruction implemented during the Empire in 1879 by Carlos Leôncio de Carvalho, Minister and State Secretary for the Affairs of the Empire, one of the organizers of the event. For the first time, the method of object lessons was recommended for use in official schools, with the advice that it should be supported by the establishment of libraries and pedagogical museums in the locations where normal schools existed (Schelbauer, 2003).

It was not surprising, therefore, that among the various objects displayed in the 1883 Exposition we can find the school museums. They were displayed in room five, in which the educator Joaquim José Menezes Vieira gathered books, furniture, and materials created by himself or brought from abroad to his School;

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in room 10, in which French merchants, such as Maison Hachette & Comp. and Delagrave, exposed their products; and in room 12, in which Messrs. Farrow and Lino showed their materials. Curiously, in all of them, the only school museum represented was Saffray (Guia, 1883, p. 213).

The use of museums in schools followed a new conception of teaching which, forsaking the memorizing and recitation typical of the catechetical manuals, centered learning around the contemplation and handling of objects. Often translated as object lessons, the new method aimed not only at the affirmation of a lay and scientific education, in which empiricism was given center stage (Valdemarin, 1998, p. 81 ff.), but also at attracting to school a population immersed in an oral culture, establishing a common language capable of promoting the transition between the oral social forms and the school-written social forms, as they are denominated by Guy Vincent, Bernard Lahire, and Daniel Thin (2001).

After the First Pedagogical Exposition, the objects were used as a basis for the constitution of the National School Museum collection opened on December 2 of that same year in Rio de Janeiro. Created by an initiative of the School Museum Trustee Association, with government support, the institution had as its objective to offer a comparative exhibition of objects and publications representative of the latest progress obtained in teaching methods and educative systems around the world (*Revue Pédagogique*, 1884, pp. 476–477). During the years of 1884 and 1887, it promoted, fulfilling its mission, annual school exhibition (Bastos, 2002, p. 571).

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The creation of the museum corresponded to an analogous movement carried out in other countries. In France for example, the Musée Pédagogique had been established in 1878, also as a result of the exposition that took place there in the same year. It brought together proposals made by politicians, such as Rui Barbosa, in 1882, and educators, such as Manoel José Pereira Frazão, in 1883. Barbosa (1947, III, p. 197), based on the report by the president of the pedagogical Museum of St Petersburg, W. de Kokhowski, to the International Congress of Brussels in 1880, defended the gradual establishment of three institutions:

> school collections formed by the management, teachers, and pupils; school museums instituted in each district, collecting intuitive teaching materials that exceeded the natural resources of each school; a National Pedagogical Museum, dedicated to the instruction at every level.

Pereira Frazão, in a report requested by the organization of the Instruction Congress, pointed out the opportunity of using museums not only for object lessons but for any lesson at school, and the need of its organization according to the realms of nature: mineral, animal, and plant (Frazão, 1884). Finally, he announced the existence of two school museums in Brazil: one maintained by Menezes Vieira in his Lyceum, and one run by Tobias Leite at the School for Deaf-Mutes.

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The diagnostic of the novelty of these institutions also applied to Portugal. In that same year of 1883, the Municipal Pedagogical Museum of Lisbon was created under the organization and management of Adolfo Coelho. The first establishment of its kind in Portuguese lands, as highlighted by Rogério Fernandes (1973, p. 215), it targeted preferentially the formation of teachers, having educational apparatuses and an adjoining library. It also gathered "an interesting collection of didactic material where different kinds of desks predominated, et cetera" (Adolfo Lima Apud Mogarro, 2002, p. 185). Its principal was familiarized with similar apparatuses developed in other countries, particularly with the National Pedagogical Museum of Madrid, with which it shared "the idea of a dynamic and lively institution that worked as a center of investigation and innovation" (Idem).

Alongside this initiative, school museums could be found in Portuguese primary, secondary and normal schools. The archives of the Olivera Lopes School contain a list of such museums in elementary schools, albeit for a later period. Rui Nunes Lopes (2004, p. 61), studying the estate of the Passos Manuel Lyceum, identified correspondence that alluded to the request for maps and collections for the study of Geography, Zoology, Mineralogy, and Natural Sciences that dated from the last decade of the 19th century. Maria João Mogarro (2002, p. 186), discussing strategies of teacher education, affirms that even after the end of the Republican regime (1926), the Portuguese legislation kept guidelines for the introduction of school museums in Normal Schools.

In Brazil, the change of political regime in 1889, with the establishment of the Republic, did not signify the loss of interest in the topic of school museums. On the contrary, the creation of the Ministry for Public Instruction, Post, and Telegraph[8] renewed the attention to this theme and established its nomenclature. Reiterating the twofold dimension of museums, according to the proposal put forward by Rui Barbosa, the Benjamin Constant Reform of 1890 directed that each school should have one "school museum, furnished with mineralogical, botanical and zoological collections, with instruments and whatever be indispensable for the concrete teaching" (Moacyr, 1941, pp. 43–44). It created the first official pedagogical museum, denominated Pedagogium, which would later receive the collections of the old National School Museum (*Revista Pedagógica*, 1890, p. 192).

Joaquim José Menezes Vieira was invited to head the new institution. In the previous year, the educator had traveled to France as a Brazilian delegate to the Congrès International de L'Enseignement Primaire that took place in Paris between August 11 and 16 as part of the proceedings of the Universal Exposition celebrating the 100th anniversary of the French Revolution. During that event, he had contact with the Musée Pédagogique, which became a reference for the implementation of the Pedagogium, sharing the purpose of preserving a collection of the public school, maintaining a library to support the work of teachers, and editing publications, such as the *Revista Pedagógica* and the *Memórias e*

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*documentos series*, both inspired in the *Revue Pédagogique* and *Memoires et documents scolaires*.

Rather than an importation, the episode illustrated the circulation of ideas in a world constituted by connected histories. As delegates, educators from various countries came to the Congresses to get acquainted with foreign novelties and to exhibit national products. The visibility of the educative systems and the progress of each country in terms of instruction were the motto of the show.

Similarly to the Portuguese José d'Oliveira Lopes, Joaquim José Menezes Vieira was a *passeur*. He represented a passage between the two worlds and acted as a filter between the cultures. He made several trips to Europe (1882, 1888–1889) "to know and visit the main educational centers of France, Italy, Belgium, Germany, Switzerland" (Bastos, 2002, p. 571). He had the works conducted in his Lyceum sent to the Universal Expositions of Buenos Aires (1882) and Antwerp (1883), as well as to the International Exposition of Hygiene and Education in London (1884) (Idem, p. 572). He prepared various didactic materials, among which the *Álbum, with eight sheets for the intuitive teaching of Brazilian History* and the *Nationalization of the Musée Scolaire Deyrolle*. It is in this latter item that we shall be interested in our next section, as it offers clues for the perception of the appropriations operated in the pedagogical models then in circulation.

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**Circulation of Objects: The Musée Scolaire Deyrolle and the Brazilian School Museum**

In 1883, there was no reference to Maison Deyrolle and its school museum (or to the nationalization of it made by Menezes Vieira) in the *Visitor's Guide to the Brazilian Pedagogical Exposition*, despite the fact that the commerce of school materials with Brazil was targeted, or already conducted, by the following French companies: Guillard, Aillaud & C.ª, Charles Delagrave, Hachette & Comp., E. Bertaux, Ludovic Baschet, Delalain Frère, Carue, Victor Palmé, Charavay Frères, Paulo Ollendorf, Ducher & Comp., P. Garcet & Nisius, W. Walcker, Calmann Lévy, Firmin-Didot & Comp., A. Ghio, Armand Colin, Furne, Juvet & Comp., Gaspar, Charles Fouraut & Fils, Monneq Frères, Victor Sarlit & C.ª, W. Henrichsen, Rousseau, and Ract& Falquet (Guia, 1883, p. 47 and p. 177 to 203).

Twelve years later, however, one could find the charts of the *Brazilian School Museum* and of the *Musée Scolaire*, both edited by Deyrolle, in the collection of the Caetano de Campos Normal School in São Paulo, as can be seen in Figure 7.2, which shows a photograph of the school inspector office at that school, taken in 1895.

Menezes Vieira's contact with Maison Deyrolle may have happened during the Universal Exposition of 1889 when he attended the Congrès International de L'Enseignement Primaire and had the chance to visit the sixteen rooms on the first floor of the Palais des Arts Libéraux in use by the French Ministry for Public Instruction, among which room eight was entirely dedicated to the school

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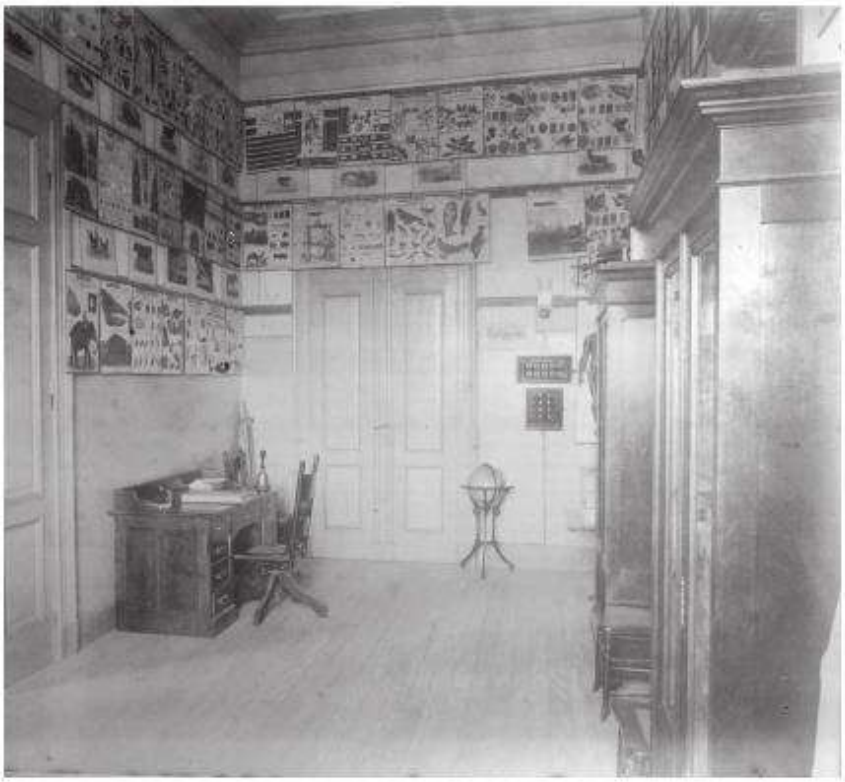


*Figure 7.2* Parietal charts, a globe, a desk and a chair, and some cabinets of the school inspector office in a picture of the *Album of the Caetano de Campos Normal School*, 1895

*Source*: Mário Covas Reference Centre in Education—CRE, São Paulo State Secretary of Education

museums (*Congrês*, 1889). The Maison, created in 1831 by Jean-Baptiste Deyrolle, had in 40 years of activity become the main purveyor of this kind of teaching material to the French government and was among the expositors.

On his return to Brazil, the educator took on the management of the Pedagogium, staying in it until its municipalization in 1897. Among the various attributions of the institution, listed in the first article of its regulation, was the organization of reference school museums (*Revista Pedagógica*, 1890, n.p.). To fulfill such attribution, different initiatives were pursued. The director of the National Museum, Ladislau Neto, was invited to prepare "brief collections of natural history suitable for this elementary teaching" to be distributed by the Pedagogium (Moacyr, 1941, p. 67).

Contacts abroad made it possible to receive objects, such as the offer made by Mr. Charles Vautelet, representative of the French Union of Teaching Materials,

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of Delagrave editions, creations of Mr. Deyrolle, geography charts by the house Bertaux, a gymnastics frame by maker Frete, a model of school furniture Savary, and a Girod Cosmograph (*Revista Pedagógica*, nr. 4, 1891, p. 251). The naturalist Emile Deyrolle supplied all the material comprising the Natural History Cabinet of the Pedagogium (*Revista Pedagógica*, nr. 18, 1892, p. 326). Some of those objects were indicated as collective material for primary schools,[9] such as the Delagrave editions and the Deyrolle Natural History Collection, with the possibility of using this latter as a "model for the collections that students and teachers organize" (*Revista Pedagógica*, nr. 4, 1891, pp. 257–258).

The competitions for books and conventional materials, furniture, technological collections, decorative charts, maps, instruments, and apparatuses for public primary schools were also started. They were announced on the pages of the *Revista Pedagógica*, calling for teachers to present innovations in teaching objects, offering to the best works prizes that could vary from 500$000 (500 mil-réis) to 1:000$000 (1,000 mil-réis or 1 conto de réis) or, at the winners' discretion, proceedings resulting from the adoption of the work for three years by the primary public schools of Rio de Janeiro (*Revista Pedagógica*, Tome I, nr. 4, Jan. 1891, pp. 208–211). To give an idea of what those values represented, we can take as a basis of comparison the unit price of the *Álbum, with eight sheets for the intuitive teaching of Brazilian History*, developed by Menezes Vieira and announced in the first edition of the *Revista Pedagógica* for 3$000 (Annuncios, p. 2). The smallest prize was equivalent to the purchase of 167 copies. If we use the salary table annexed to the Regulation for primary and secondary instruction in the Federal District published in the *Revista Pedagógica* (Tome 1, no. 1, p. 58) in 1890, we see that the largest prize was equivalent to half the annual salary of a primary teacher or to the annual bonus paid to a teacher that accumulated the functions of teacher and school principal.

Considering the ambience favorable to the publication of pedagogical resources, of the interest that school museums were raising as means of implementing the object lessons and the scientific teaching, and relying on the experience he acquired throughout his career creating didactic materials, having received only in the 1883 Exposition "24 awards, out of which 14 first-class awards, for his participation as an individual expositor and as Principal of the Menezes Vieira School" (Bastos, 2002, p. 571), Joaquim José Menezes Vieira may have had the sense of opportunity to propose to Emile Deyrolle, or of accepting his offer to that effect, the nationalization of the *Musée Scolaire*.

Translation as a business in the late 19th century Brazil has already been described by Luciano Mendes de Faria Filho (2000) referring to Rui Barbosa and his *Lições de Coisas* (Primary Object Lessons) by N. A. Calkins. Making the most of the growth of the editorial market in Brazil and the perspectives of profit in the production of schoolbooks since the last decades of the 1800s, as well as of the intricate relationships between Rui Barbosa and the imperial government, Faria Filho prompts us to think about a similar strategy utilized by the director of the Pedagogium. After all, Calkins' book, translated by Barbosa, had

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just been out (in 1886) with a 15,000-copy edition paid by the National Press. It was a response to the same wish of offering support to the renovation of teaching methods. And in all certainty, it demonstrated the potential of the market and activity of adaptations. A friend of Barbosa's, who had invited him to be part of the Society League of Teaching (Bastos, 2002, p. 572), Menezes Vieira must have followed the five-year negotiations that allowed the publication of *Lições de Coisas* entirely under the patronage of the government.

All indications suggest that the Brazilian School Museum never reached production in Brazil, being distributed by the Maison Deyrolle. Nevertheless, the publication did circulate in Brazilian schools. The old Caetano de Campos Normal School collection contains 55 parietal charts printed by Emile Deyrolle in French and Portuguese. Out of those, three display in their titles *Museu Escolar Brasileiro. Nacionalisação do Musée Scolaire Deyrolle por Menezes Vieira, Director do Pedagogium do Brasil* (Brazilian School Museum. Nationalization of the Musée Scolaire by Menezes Vieira, Director of the Brazilian Pedagogium). The difficulty of locating other such charts in Brazilian territory, in contrast to the ease of finding Barbosa's translation, may not indicate a smaller volume of copies but simply the impermanent nature of school materials. In general, they do not receive the same conservation care as books, always regarded as part of a cultural legacy. It is also worth remembering that parietal charts were considerably more fragile. Printed on low grammage paper, and measuring 47 cm × 59 cm, they required the help of some physical support to withstand their frequent handling by teachers, something that was not always available.

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The topic of nationalization is particularly interesting, and it is repeatedly shown in the titles of the charts. More than the passage from one language to another, the work carried out by Menezes Vieira sits closer to the sphere of appropriation. It reviewed the pertinence of the images in a Brazilian context, localized samples of fibers, minerals, plants, and industrial products, which in some charts were glued to their surface, and developed proposals of charts to deal with Brazilian industries, minerals, and vegetal and animal species. It, therefore, represented an exercise that included the research and production of text within the format dictated by the Maison for that cultural object.[10]

The idea was not new. Rui Barbosa (1886, p. XIV) in the Introduction to the *Lições de Coisas* had preferred the term adaptation in lieu of translation, denoting what he called the escape from a "literal subservience, to be faithful to the thinking of the text." He was referring to the effort to discern what was worth translating from what was unnecessary or useless to the Brazilian school public as, for example, the topics concerning the learning of the English language. This procedure led Luciano Mendes de Faria Filho (2000, pp. 600–601) to inquire into the pedagogical translation as a specific gender, whose rules would be shared by the translators of the late 19th century, particularly concerning the question of fidelity/infidelity to the original text.

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The issue is pertinent to the analysis of the charts nationalized by Menezes Vieira. His deep knowledge of Brazilian school practices and his insertion in the pedagogical field at distinct levels, as teacher/principal of a school, director of the Pedagogium, delegate to Universal Expositions, and expositor, placed him in a privileged position to tune in to the demands and to propose solutions adequate to the Brazilian educational context. By associating himself with Maison Deyrolle to develop the charts for the Brazilian School Museum, he added to this expertise his previous experience in the production of didactic material when he developed the *Álbum for the Teaching of History*.

With the premature death of Menezes Vieira in 1897 at the age of forty-nine, shortly after starting his joint activity with the French company, the Maison stopped publishing the Brazilian School Museum nationalized by the educator. However, it did not abandon the Brazilian market. Three types of charts in Portuguese, all published by Emile Deyrolle, can be found in Brazil by the late 1800s, according to the assessment made at the Caetano de Campos Normal School: *Furniture and Teaching Material*, *School Museum*, and *Musée Scolaire* (which, except for the title, was completely translated into Portuguese).

In the images shown in Figure 7.3, the similarities between these museums are noticeable. The chart on the left belongs to the *Brazilian School Museum* by Menezes Vieira. The one on the right does not reveal the same affiliation, displaying as its title *Mammiferos* (Mammals), a phrase that is included at the bottom of the other chart. In the footnote, however, we find the inscription *Museu Escolar* (School Museum). They have different reference numbering (the former is 10B, whereas the latter is 16 bis B). The word "crânio" (cranium) appears in the two charts with different spellings: "craneo" in the former and "cranio" in the latter.[11] Charts of both the first and second types can be found in the 1895 photograph shown in Figure 7.3, indicating a possible simultaneity of production.

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Maison Deyrolle catalogs mention the company's commercial relationships with Portugal, Spain, and Algeria in the late 19th century. Indeed, the Brazilian School Museum translated by Menezes Vieira reached as far as the Olivera Lopes School in Válega. The most likely explanation is that it had been bought directly from France, as the *Jornal de Notícias* reported. The charts bring aspects of fauna and flora, and the Brazilian industrial and commercial arts. Seeds, leaves, petals, animal fur, birds' feathers, among others, are offered to the sight and touch of students, and constitute these cultural and school objects, evoking new appropriations.

## For a Polycentric History of Education

In the years that followed, the Pedagogical Museums had different fates in Brazil, Portugal, and France. In 1897, the Pedagogium was municipalized. Since 1892, the possibility of having its collections incorporated into those of the normal school, national library, and national museum, haunted the museum's

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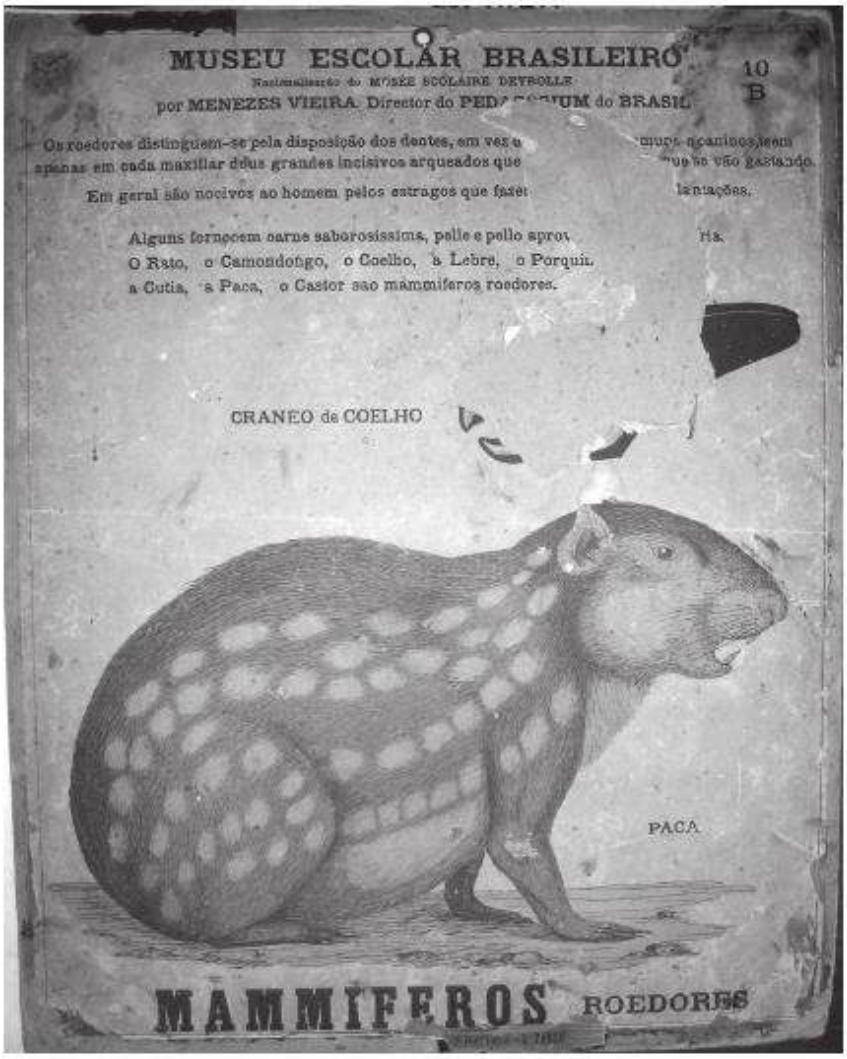



*Figure 7.3* Two parietal charts of the Caetano de Campos Normal School showing a rabbit and its cranium

*Source*: Mário Covas Reference Centre in Education—CRE, São Paulo State Secretary for Education. Photograph by Pedro Gonçalves Moreira, June 2005

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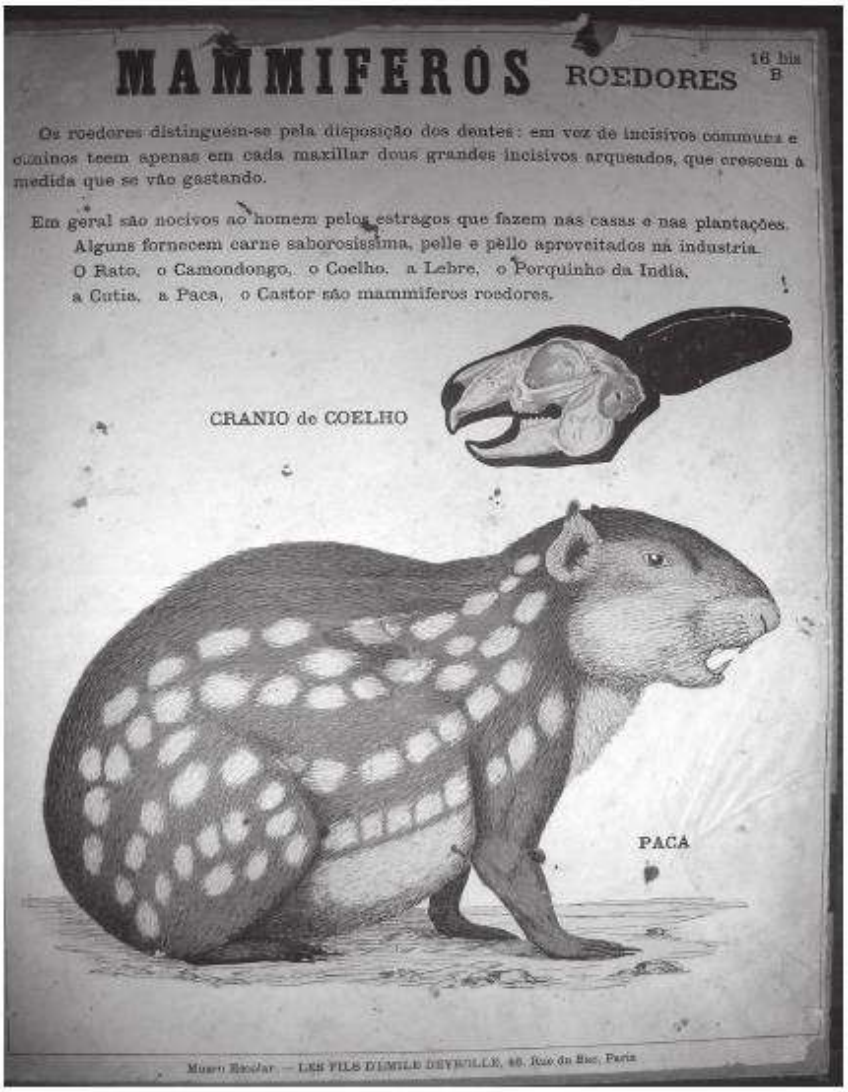



*Figure 7.3* (Continued)

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administration, prompting it to prepare inventories, and leading its director to mobilize political support to avoid such a solution (*Revista Pedagógica*, 1892, pp. 341–342). In 1919, the Pedagogium was finally closed, and its collections were divided between the three institutions.

The Lisbon Municipal Pedagogical Museum met with a better fate. In 1917–1918, it was transferred to the premises of the Lisbon Primary Normal School. With Adolfo Coelho's illness and eventual death, it went through a period of stagnation, from which it was rescued by another illustrious Portuguese educator, Adolfo Lima. When taking charge of the Normal School, Lima included the functioning of the Museum in the Internal Regulation of the institution. In 1933, the creation of the Library and Museum of Primary Education by the New State at the old Normal School absorbed the collection until 1986, when the demolition of the building prompted its transfer to the premises of the Ministry for Education, with a significant part of the collection being now under the care of the Historical Institute of Education (Mogarro, 2002, pp. 186–188).

The Musée Pédagogique was the only one to display remarkable permanence. It exists to this day, comfortably installed in the city of Rouen. Under the current appellation of Musée National de l'Éducation (MUNAÉ), it has a space for expositions in the city center and a large technical reserve further afield. Various school materials that date back to the 16th century can be found there.

School museums seldom survived, either as school objects or as teaching resources. It is rather interesting to explore the rationalities that impacted the constitution of the school museums in the 20th century in various countries; it is also intriguing to inquire into the reasons for their demise. These two questions, regretfully, lie beyond the scope of this chapter. On the other hand, to discuss the circulation of cultural objects between countries as a result of commercial relations, as a product of the passage of people, or as the effect of the circulation of pedagogical models in the late 19th century is at the heart of our concerns.

By following the journeys of the brothers José and Manuel José d'Oliveira Lopes from Portugal to Brazil, and back to Portugal, or Joaquim José Menezes Viera's travel from Brazil to France, and back to Brazil; and by observing the production of the Brazilian School Museum bringing together a French editing house, a Brazilian educator, and a Portuguese primary school from the rural area, what we are proposing as a question is: how to identify the points of origin and destination of these movements that seem to intermingle agents, artifacts, and spaces? Where should we place the center and then define the periphery?

In the perspective of a Eurocentric history of education, France would take on such a central place. The offer made to Menezes Vieira of joint work, and of commerce with Portugal had its origin there. But the nationalization of the *Musée Scolaire Deyrolle* by the Brazilian educator meant more than a mere translation; it involved an adaptation to what was required as necessary content for the Brazilian primary school, mobilizing elements of Brazilian fauna, flora, minerals, and industry. By using such cultural translation to supply school

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materials to Portuguese-speaking countries, Deyrolle, in its turn, was disseminating themes of the Brazilian educational scenario to the nations in question. In that case, could not Brazil be seen as the center?

The underlying issue, however, is not identifying the center but questioning the very notion of a center and consequently of a periphery, and in so doing, problematizing a kind of historiography that, shaped by its reference to Europe, neglects what we denominate countermovements of diffusion, or more adequately of circulation around these mixed worlds, as put by Gruzinski (2001), that the journeys promoted by the mundialization processes helped to construct and that were intensified in the 19th century with the internationalization of capital.

The growing exchanges established between states since then brought about crossbreeding, hybridizations, and cultural appropriations that turn the reference to an original pole into an innocuous strategy for historical analysis. However, against the background of unequal relations of economic and geopolitical power, the discourse that reaffirmed the importance of the center had as its objective to crystallize structures of domination and to produce subalternities. These were the unspoken elements of the historiographical operation (De Certeau, 1982) that sustained for decades those interpretations, turning invisible the power of exchanges and multiple influences constituted from the micro levels of the agencies of subjects in their passage and permanence in and between other lands.

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It is not the case to recall here the arguments raised in the introduction to this book. But it is worth making it clear that opting for a polycentric history of education has the potential to bring back upon stage anonymous actors and, in the wake of the lessons of Sanjay Subrahmanyam (1994) when he made use of the metaphor of "the tail wagging the dog," to evoke the even more dynamic and provocative image of the dog that chases its tail (or would it be the tail that runs around the dog?).

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**Notes**

1. Document 8—News on the opening of the Schools (*A Pátria*). Material collected and kindly made available by Prof Joaquim Almeida.
2. *Jornal de Noticias*, Porto, Saturday, 1 October 1910, year 23, No. 232, p. 1. Material collected by Prof Joaquim Almeida.
3. We usually use Brasileiro (Brazilian) to nominate the inhabitants of Brazil. However, at the time, in Portugal, Brazilian also applied to a Portuguese, who emigrated to Brazil and retuned to Portugal. To avoid confusion, I will use the word Brasileiro when referring to this social group.
4. According to Alves (1994, p. 215), in 1878 illiteracy rates in Continental Portugal were 79.4%. In 1910, according to Alves (2000, p. 47), they were still 75%.
5. It is important to note that the emigration from this district amounted in 1855 to 82% of the total national emigration, dropping to 30–40% in the 1870s. From this total, the flow toward Brazil represented between 1836 and 1878 more than 90% of the exits, except for the years 1867 and 1878 in which it dropped to 88% (Alves, 1994, p. 165 and 177).

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6. One *conto de réis* means one million *réis* (*réis* is the plural form of *real*, the Portuguese currency from around 1430 until 1911). In the 1860s, one *conto de réis* was roughly equivalent to the value of 1.5 kilograms of fine gold.
7. The only representative was the editor David Corazzi (Guia, 1883, p. 159)
8. The Ministry for Public Instruction, Post and Telegraph, created in 1890 and dissolved in the following year, was the first ministry in Brazil dedicated to education. Bejamin Constant was the first minister. The second ministry would be constituted only in 1930. The Pedagogium remained active between 1890 and 1919 (Bastos, 2002, p. 574).
9. According to the *Regulation for primary and secondary instruction in the Federal District*, promulgated by Benjamin Constant in 1890, primary schools were divided into first-degree schools and second-degree schools, which were different for each sex. First-degree schools catered for students between the ages of seven and thirteen, whereas second-degree schools received those between the ages of 13 and 15 (*Revista Pedagógica*, nr. 1, 1890, p. 27).
10 On the issue of nationalization, see Diana Gonçalves Vidal (2017).
11 Brazilian dictionaries (Diccionario Contemporâneo de Língua Portugueza) and Portuguese ones (Novo Diccionário Portuguez-Latino) of the 1880s bring the word spelled as "craneo." The spelling "cranio" could only be found in the Italian dictionary (Raqueni and La Fayette, n.d.).

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# 8 From Place to Place

## Connections and Ruptures of Luiz Alves de Mattos in the Educational Field (from the 1920s to the 1960s)

*Vivian Batista da Silva and Keila da Silva Vieira*

### Introduction

> It is another book by the Author whose well-known name and work do not require references. Specially prepared for the *Cultura para Todos* Collection, this work in the field of linguistics focuses on the particular aspect of the formation and transformation of words in the context of social events. As the [Author] is an excellent enthusiast of linguistic studies, this book will certainly deserve the same reception to which all his previous works have been entitled.
>
> (Tenório d'Albuquerque, 1954, free translation)

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This chapter begins with the words of A. Tenório d'Albuquerque presenting *O quadro negro e sua utilização no ensino* [The Blackboard and Its Use in Teaching], a book written by Luiz Alves de Mattos published in Rio de Janeiro (Brazil) in the 1950s. In addition to this title, Mattos also published *Primórdios da educação no Brasil* [The Beginnings of Education in Brazil] (1959); *A linguagem didática no ensino moderno* [Teaching Language in Modern Education] (1960); *Sumário de Didática Geral* [Summary of General Teaching] (9th edition, 1973); and *Compendio de Didáctica general* [Compendium of General Teaching] (2nd edition, Buenos Aires, 1974). With a "well-known name and work," Mattos attests to the good quality of his writings and highlights mechanisms through which pedagogical knowledge is produced and disseminated in the educational field (Silva, 2018). This is what Bourdieu, in *The Rules of Art* (1996), recognizes as the "social conditions for the production of belief" in the value of certain texts and their respective authors. The highlight of Luiz Alves de Mattos, very well-illustrated by Albuquerque, is the result of connections made from the 1920s to the 1960s with institutions, groups, and individuals specialized in education in Brazil and elsewhere in the world, most notably the USA, where he studied, and Argentina, where he had titles translated into Spanish.

The circulation of Luiz Alves de Mattos and the books he wrote for teachers took on national, international, and transnational dimensions and led us to think about the "places" through which he traveled. "From place to place" is the

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movement that refers to physical and geographical spaces as well as also the social spaces in which Mattos builds in his career. As Ernaux well-explains in her memoirs (2021, p. 14, free translation), the "place" is a social and lifelong reality; depending on the social origins and the occupied spaces, it may correspond to a "class distance, which cannot be named,[1]" as in her case—who, despite having a father of poor origin, with little formal education, became, thanks to her schooling, a teacher and one of the most important French writers today. She was born in 1940 in Lillebonne, France. She attended the University of Rouen Normandy and was a professor at the Centre National d'Enseignement par Correspondance for over thirty years.

*Out of Place* (Said, 2004) also shows the complexity of this idea. Edward Said (1935–2003), author of the aforementioned book, was an intellectual of Arab origin, born in Jerusalem, a member of a Christian family who lived in Muslim majority societies and taught at Columbia University in New York (USA). Said composed a remarkable production on literature, well-recognized among scholars of the subject, as well as among those dedicated to sociology, politics, and history. *Orientalism* (2007), for example, is one of his most famous books, a classic of cultural studies originally published in 1978. He explains the so-called "Eastern world" as a kind of identity constructed in the process of European and North American colonial expansion. The East is understood as an invention of the West and can be taken as an organized institution to consolidate the belief in the supposed superiority of European culture.

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In his memoirs, Said explains why, throughout his life, he has heard comments and questions such as: "'What are you?'; . . . 'Are you American?'; . . . 'You don't look American!'" (Said, 2004, p. 23, free translation). It was a life marked by a succession of displacements and attempts to adapt to "foreign" and "hostile" environments. These displacements also allowed Said to study in the USA and to establish his career as a world-renowned professor and intellectual. The complexity of his trajectory allowed a sharp look at the ways in which different groups and nations interact. Most likely, his experiences reverberate in his interpretations of the social world—in this case, in the understanding that the East is an invention of the West (Said, 2007).

The trajectory of Luiz Alves de Mattos, in turn, was also marked by the passage through different places. This chapter delineates the author's productions and their itineraries, identifying to what extent they resulted from chances in everyday life and, especially, from investments, connections, and also of ruptures. This analysis warns us about the delusions according to which educators and their works would always stand out for having "learned lessons from abroad" (Steiner-Khamsi, 2002). Such a belief presupposes a knowledge circuit whose starting point are the rich and supposedly most "developed" countries and the point of arrival are the "peripheral" countries, as is the case of Brazil, where Mattos was born, studied, and worked. As we intend to highlight in this study, the itineraries of this author constitute a kind of "reverse circuit" because his work is not a mere copy of the

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North American references, with which he had contact when he was in the USA. His work extended to more destinations, consolidating him as a leading author in the Ibero-American space, especially in Rio de Janeiro (state of Rio de Janeiro, Brazil), São Paulo (state of São Paulo, Brazil), Brasília (Federal District, Brazil), Colombia, Portugal, and Argentina. Mattos was recognized as a renowned author, with works that, translated into Spanish, also became a reference.

Our intention is to understand the circuit covered by Luiz Alves de Mattos and his work. It is not just about recognizing that this itinerary went beyond his hometown, his state, and his country. It is worth wondering in what sense are the effects of contacts beyond local and national borders conceived, as Fuchs and Vera rightly suggest:

> Are we, then, referring to the same "transnational" or "international" today as were our predecessor in the interwar period or in the 1970s? How much of those early meanings does our present use carry? Are we speaking of the same "transnational" whether we are in Calcutta, Naples, or Dakar? To what extent is our current experience, entailing as it does a "distance", affect communication? (Fuchs and Vera, 2019, p. 3)

Based on the trajectory of Luiz Alves de Mattos, we attempt to escape the limits of interpretations that believe in the "transfer" of knowledge from one place to another, reducing relations between central and peripheral countries to a linear movement. Mattos started from a humble and peripheral place and rose in various aspects, standing out for his education, work, and literary works. From being a gardener's son to becoming a seminarian, monk, teacher, scholar—going to the USA, returning to Brazil, teaching advanced courses,[2] or being read in Ibero-American countries, Mattos established himself as an educator with a recognized background. Gathering the aspects of this trajectory was challenging because these "portraits" are scattered in varied sources and located in several consultations throughout the research on his life and work. Some information is contained in biographical notes from books he wrote; others appeared in journals' articles, reports from the Benedictine Order, or in the archives of the Laboratory School of the Federal University of Rio de Janeiro.

This mapping also included interviews given by Mattos to the newspaper *A Forja*, of the senate from the Laboratory School of the Federal University of Rio de Janeiro (*Colégio de Aplicação*—CAp), newspapers that mentioned him, published between 1920 and 1980, found in the Newspaper Library of the Brazilian Nacional Library.[3] It is worth noting that our starting point was based on the nominal search for keywords from the Brazilian Digital Newspaper Library (*Hemeroteca Digital Brasileira da Biblioteca Nacional*—HDB) archive. In this archive, we selected articles, photographs, texts, interviews, news, comments, and mentions related to research topics: travels, lectures, publications, public actions in education, and sociability networks.[4]

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In the searches carried out at the Digital Newspaper Library, sources that were converted into digital documents were selected and analyzed. This change in "materiality," although not modifying the written content, evidences a process of rematerialization (Vinck, 2016, p. 36, *apud*. Brasil and Nascimento, 2020, p. 201), whose properties, such as brightness, odor, texture, color, etc., are lost. The document, when digitized, consists of new properties: the data and metadata that, in the case of texts, can be found in keyword searches. However, these new possibilities for searching, reading, and interpreting enable an often-fragmented relationship with the source, considering that, when searching for a specific term, its connection with the whole is left aside. In this sense, it is up to the researcher to critically analyze the data found in order to seek an analysis that does not consider the modes and context of production.

Teaching and pedagogy books written by Professor Mattos were also consulted as well as pedagogical magazines in which he worked as a writer. Finally, we also analyzed other materials granted by the Laboratory School of the Federal University of Rio de Janeiro, where Mattos worked between 1948 and 1965, and by the Metropolitan Archive of São Paulo—which, in its vast collection on the Catholic Church, includes documents from the Benedictine Order, with which Mattos worked for most of his career.[5] By gathering these productions and studies, we followed a path that considered Mattos' international, personal, and professional relations, thus forming an itinerary that marks his sociability networks (Fuchs, 2007). The consulted sources showed what, according to biographers (Vilarinho, 1999; Abreu, 1992), corresponded to Mattos' most commendable qualities. His rise in teaching and his dedication to religion were brilliant, taking him as an example of an intellectual who focused his investments on obtaining diplomas, titles, and positions. Although he ceased to be a monk to get married, his "educational mission" was still a subject of praise and was reflected in his teaching profession and in his work on modern education, a recurring topic in studies and publications.

Mattos' trajectories were marked by travels. Some were longer, comprising periods of study, such as when he stayed in the USA (between 1929 and 1931) to learn lessons from the so-called modern and civilized world, as suggested by Mignot and Gondra (2007) about this type of experience. The transition between different places was also marked by shorter travel periods, with participation in events. Mattos coordinated international seminars and congresses, as well as participated in technical missions in international organizations, such as the United Nations (UN), the Organization of American States (OAS), the Inter-American Development Bank (IDB), and the Ford Foundation (Vilarinho, 1999), which played an important role in the transnational dissemination of pedagogical knowledge.

In short, this author was an example of subjects who, at the time, performed different functions in their teaching careers, studied in the country and abroad, participated in national and international events, and had publications read and translated in different times and spaces (Miceli, 1979; Leite, 1983). Mattos'

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trajectory represented a unique experience that, at the same time, referred to a logic of relations present in the social and educational fields in general. His itineraries were based on investments, connections, and ruptures that led to highlighting the richness of the covered circuits, in addition to the supposed supremacy of some nations, considered as models to be followed. Hence, the following pages corroborate a well-established premise by Eckart Fuchs and Vera Róldan (2019): it is paramount to detail the possible types of exchange more carefully. We propose an investigation that, in short, favors the "polycentric approach" in the field of studies comprised by the transnational history of education, especially with regard to "international interactions and Networks of Educators." The object of study is developed in such a way as to understand the mechanisms of production and circulation of knowledge that supported the diffusion of the school model in different spaces. This is the proposal of the subsequent pages.

## Educators and Their Travels in the Educational Field

> Pedagogy can only be conceived internationally, and pedagogues have always been great travelers who operate in networks.
>
> (Houssaye, Pedagogias: importação e exportação, 2007, p. 310, free translation)

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Since the 19th century, the school has been developing its ways of working, bringing students together in graduate classes, distributing teachers to work individually with a class of students in classrooms, and delving into their own curriculum at specific times (Nóvoa, 1995). This is the modern teaching, easily recognizable, fruit of knowledge and experiences historically constructed and shared in different parts of the world. The strength of this model can be summarized in the expression "the one best system" (Tyack, 1974), here deemed as a kind of "school grammar" (Nóvoa, 1995). We highlight not only its long duration but also its worldwide expansion in a reasonably similar way in countries that are geographically close or not, even economically, socially, and politically differentiated.

This process was only possible thanks to the interactions of subjects and their efforts to circulate artifacts and knowledge on which the school, its principles, and practices were based. It is in this sense that we resume Houssaye (2007), considering that it highlights precisely the importance of contacts for the construction of pedagogy and pedagogues. According to the author, they "have always been great travelers who operate in networks," a fundamental notion in the analysis here proposed, which aims to contribute to the transnational history of education (Vidal and Rabelo, 2020). The analysis thus conceived leads us to the theory of "networks" (Fuchs, 2007; Rabelo and Vidal, 2018). According to Fuchs (2007, pp. 185–186), this theory allows us to reinterpret topics deemed national from a transnational perspective. Networks correspond to a metaphor

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used as early as the 19th century to refer to technical, communication, transportation, and connection infrastructures between different people and places, and here, it allows the articulation of movements established on large scales, national or international, with more local and individual actions. The perspective through networks broadens the perception of the multiple possible connections and enables to unveil other plots that link countries and muddle the starting and arrival points of subjects and knowledge, incorporating mutual influences and the varied appropriations of educational models and practices. This is why the study on the trajectory of Luíz Alves de Mattos is not exclusively about government initiatives but rather involves networks established within the framework of public or private institutions in relationships established in local or transnational spaces. In fact, the author circulated in an intense and plural way. His networks, like any encounter, established reciprocities, some based on formal relations, others informal, consolidating individual or collective ties (Zijderveld, 2000), in the midst of which Luiz Alves de Mattos produced and gave visibility to his proposals, which he himself linked to the so-called "modern teaching."[6]

It is worth mentioning important movements from which Mattos established his connections throughout his career. They can be compared to *travels*. As previously stated, Mattos went from being a gardener's son to becoming a renowned teacher, writer, and educational administrator, and traveled several spaces in his life and career. These were *travels in his trajectory*. We must also recognize his *travels between places*, when the author traveled across different countries and institutions where he was a student or a professor. Finally, we should mention the *travels of "modern teaching,"* the subject of studies and propositions prepared by Mattos that circulated in publications and translations. It is precisely this set of initiatives that describes Mattos' networks and assists in understanding how, in the educational field, connections like these are established.

Outstanding for evoking movements and encounters, *travels* are especially important because they are paths through which networks are constituted. In other words: "Travels teach. Travels legitimate. Travels pave the way. Travels unfold into other travels, into networks," as stated by Ana Chrystina Mignot (2017, p. 264, free translation). Like any metaphor, the travel is fruitful and allows us to learn countless issues, because it indicates significant parallels, analogies, and similarities (Scheffler, 1974; Hameline, 1986; Charbonnel, 1991). In the case of the problem posed in this text, regarding the motivations, destinations, repercussions, and consequences of the networks established in the educational field, highlighting the travels means marking trips to different places, whether geographical, cultural, or social. The words of Fernando Pessoa (2008, p. 410, free translation) evoke precisely the effects of travel on the constitution of the subject: "Life is what we make of it. The travels are the travelers. What we see is not what we see, but what we are." It is, therefore, appropriate to study the paths taken by Luiz Alves de Mattos in his trajectory, highlighting the social places that were occupied by him. As Mattos moved between courses and jobs,

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obtaining diplomas, titles, and positions, he was weaving his sociability networks. These movements can be compared to crossings and help to think about the life and career of the subjects. In *Intelectuais e classe dirigente no Brasil* [Intellectuals and the Ruling Class in Brazil], Miceli (1979) noted similar efforts in the trajectories of other Brazilian educators such as those of the renowned Lourenço Filho.[7] In these cases, there was a kind of devotion to work coinciding with the interests of public and private authorities in having a team of specialists for the management of educational institutions.

Luiz Narcizo Alves de Mattos was born on November 12, 1907, in São Paulo. Son of Portuguese immigrants, Antônio Alves de Mattos and Augusta Ribeiro dos Santos, since he was a child, he stood out for his intelligence and was educated by nuns at the Seminário da Glória school, where his father worked as a gardener (Vilarinho, 1999). Mattos pursued his Catholic education until higher education when, at the age of seventeen, he began studying theology and philosophy at the Ordem de São Bento Monastery, in Rio de Janeiro. When he concluded his philosophy course in 1926, Mattos read and spoke fluently, in addition to Brazilian Portuguese, six languages: Latin, Greek, French, German, Spanish, and Italian (Vilarinho, 1999, p. 349), and was also known by the nickname "Latin machine gun" (Carvalho, 2000).[8]

In addition, he worked as editor-in-chief of *Revista Escola Secundária*, of the Rio de Janeiro Ministry of Education. Among all the positions that Mattos held in his life, his propensity and strong taste for teachers' training and teaching stood out. Together with the National School of Philosophy (*Faculdade Nacional de Filosofia*—FNFi),[9] he was able to better develop the ideas of modern education, as in his classes he always valued the internships of undergraduates and the innovation of pedagogical techniques. However, the FNFi did not have its own place for these purposes, and Mattos had to use the Pedro II School and private schools as internship spaces. With this difficulty, the educator attempted, for six years, to create an environment where he could demonstrate in practice the applications taught in the training courses. There were many impediments to the creation of the Laboratory School, such as the lack of government authorization, funds, and space. But, in 1948, the Laboratory School of FNFi was created, which would later be known as CAp. In the words of Mattos: "The creation of CAp was the result of an effort of more than 10 years. If we were able to start it, it was thanks to the help of Faculdade Getúlio Vargas, as the misunderstanding of the politicians and the School represented an almost insurmountable obstacle" (*A Forja*, 1966, free translation).

The creation of CAp reverberated in many interests. It was a modern institution that, with regard to teaching practices, was considered "an avant-garde school, a school with experimental techniques" (Abreu, 1992, p. 15, free translation). Although Mattos suffered from technological impossibilities, which, according to his criticisms, were related to the lack of blackboards, projectors, etc., in Brazilian educational institutions (*Sumário de didática Geral*, p. 256–293), he

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received support from many people to be able to implement his ideas. One of his biggest supporters was Luiz Simões Lopes, founder and first president of FGV (1944–1992), where Mattos also worked for many years and created the Nova Friburgo Laboratory School. As there was more freedom in the CAp, the author also created innovative spaces at the school, especially the language, science, and geography clubs, mathematics and physics centers, the CAp theater, the literary senate, the movie club, and the Educational Guidance Service (*Serviço de Orientação Educacional*—SOE), for providing psychological, family, and personal counseling for the students. Another component of this new method for conceiving education was related to teacher training. At CAp, Mattos was able to create a teacher training center. What was previously done in schools outside the National School of Philosophy was now done at the Laboratory School. Mattos received over one hundred FNFi graduates for the teaching internship, and with them, he put into practice the ideas and theories set out in his textbooks. Thus, the CAp constituted itself as an experimental laboratory for research in the field of secondary education and was fundamental to the revolution of school practices (Silva and Vieira, 2019).

In addition to the Laboratory School of the National School of Philosophy in Rio de Janeiro, another scenario of educational practices in which Mattos developed his work was at the facilities of Faculdade Getúlio Vargas, and the reverberations of his work marked his consolidation and recognition. In the book *Fundação Getúlio Vargas: concretização de um ideal* [Fundação Getúlio Vargas: achieving an ideal] (1999), Simões Lopes, president of FGV at the time, when asked about the role of Luíz Alves de Mattos in the structuring of FGV, stated:

> Simões Lopes—Yes. First of all, I wanted to make the most of Mattos, of whom I had the best references. I do not remember who have introduced him to me. He had been in the USA for many years. He was an exceptional man with extensive training. *He was a former priest and had a vast cultural background. Besides, he was a very modest and good man. He was extremely useful to FGV. Whatever I had to do, I handed it over to him in the first place. Everything was perfect*. He was very clever, skillful, he wrote very well. I would nominate him to create the institutions and then, when he had finished creating it, I would pass it on to a third party and tell him to create something else. He was the most perfect person one could imagine to do that.
>
> (p. 19, emphasis added, free translation)

Simões Lopes was very precise and accurately highlighted the trust he had in Mattos, whose references, according to him, were the best. In his words, one of Professor Mattos' most unique characteristics appeared: the organization and creation of educational institutions. Throughout the pages of the same book, this propensity is reiterated, and it was even said by PhD Jorge Flores (president of FGV in the 1990s) that: "All of our schools were set up by him [Luiz Alves de Mattos]"

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(p. 31, free translation). The role played by Mattos in the creation of schools was explained by Diogo Lordello, when asked if he knew him, as the quality of a pedagogue who is interested in creating schools and not managing them:

> Diogo Lordello—Yes. He was a great pedagogue, so much so that his interest was to create schools, not to manage them. He created the schools, the syllabus of the subjects, the methodologies, and passed the direction on to someone else. He did not direct any of the schools he created for a long time. He was the first chancellor of EBAP, but a short time later he passed it on to Professor Benedito Silva. He also created the Nova Friburgo School.
>
> (p. 115, free translation)

It was possible to highlight the Catholic education that Mattos had since childhood. Throughout his trajectory, Luiz Alves de Mattos made at least four important trips. First, he left São Paulo and went to Rio de Janeiro at a very young age to study theology and philosophy at Ordem de São Bento Monastery. From that first trip, we can see his national and international projection, considering that, after finishing the course, he was granted the aforementioned scholarship funded by the Benedictine Order to study in the USA. Thus, with the support of the Benedictine Order, he studied at the Catholic University of America, in Washington (Martins, 2015), where he came into contact with theoretical references that inspired his career. He returned to Brazil and developed his work on education. This type of initiative was common in religious congregations at the time, as a way of training their teachers to later work in Catholic higher institutions. The choice was probably due to Mattos' role in the Benedictine Order, as his participation in the Catholic Teachers League was evident (Pinheiro, 2013, 2015; Narcizo, 2008). The League was founded in 1919 and represented a Catholic militant organization that intended to spread the Christian faith to teachers from São Paulo.

Francisco Xavier de Mattos—his religious name—worked at the Catholic University of America, where he obtained bachelor degrees in theology and canon law, a PhD in theology, and a master's degree in education, in addition to being ordained a priest in 1931. He also held the position of dean of the School of Philosophy, Sciences, and Languages and Literature and of the Higher Institute of Education (Sedes Sapientiae), where he began his extensive career as chancellor and founder of educational institutions. It was after traveling to the USA that Mattos interacted with innovative practices in education and reconciled them with his classical and humanistic training. Luiz Alves de Mattos returned to Brazil in 1932—the year in which *Manifesto dos Pioneiros da Educação Nova* was published—a movement that he later supported (Carvalho, 2000). The *Manifesto dos Pioneiros da Educação Nova* was launched in 1932 and was inserted as one of the paths that disputed the conduct of the Brazilian educational field. Miguel, Vidal, and Araújo (2011) comment that this document

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had three purposes. Initially, it advocated general principles, such as secularism, gratuity, obligatoriness, and coeducation. Furthermore, by collecting signatures from 26 intellectuals, it created a collective character: "the pioneers of New Education." Finally, by opposing to and mischaracterizing the previous investments of traditional education, it was produced as a founding framework in the Brazilian educational debate (p. 461).

Addressed to the "people and the government," this political-educational document was based on the assumption that education is essentially public, based on the principles of secularism, gratuity, obligatoriness, coeducation, and the uniqueness of the school. Its main defense, in addition to the New School, is the creation of a national public education system. According to Saviani et al. (2017), this perspective seems to be an originality of the Brazilian case, as in Europe the initiatives that were part of the New School Movement, "as a rule, took place within the framework of private schools, remaining outside the public education system" (p. 33, free translation). Indeed, the *Manifesto dos Pioneiros da Educação Nova* can be considered one of the most important milestones in the 20th-century Brazilian education, representing a "turning point" in the history of Brazilian education: it interfered with the periodization of our educational history, marking new milestones, and providing new appreciation to certain principles and ideas and to certain achievements in the educational field.

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Mattos remained in the Benedictine Order until 1939, when his request for secularization was approved by the Pope. After that decision, the educator married Dora Kulmann and fully dedicated himself to secular education. He traveled to Rio de Janeiro and began his career exclusively dedicated to education, in which he mainly focused on the field of teaching and school administration. In 1939, he began working as Head of General and Special Teaching at the National School of Philosophy of Universidade do Brasil and remained there until 1972. In the midst of his travels, Mattos established his networks and constituted himself as an intellectual of Catholic origin who advocated the "renewal" of education.

By linking theory to practice, Mattos was able to travel to different places in the educational field, from which his networks were not restricted to the Brazilian sphere alone. In addition to one of the travels enabled by the Benedictine Order, he returned to the USA to visit institutions in the area of administration with the intention of "learning lessons" and founding a management school in Brazil. Maria Celina de D'Araújo (1999, p. 112) states that during this trip, he visited 17 institutions and made detailed reports on what he had learned; and his wife, Dora Alves Mattos, also an educator, visited schools. As a result of this trip, it was possible to inaugurate the Nova Friburgo School, as well as the beginning, in 1951, of administration courses in collaboration with the UN. It should also be noted that Mattos' name was published in 1979, in *Jornal dos Sports*, in the list of patrons and holders of the 41 seats of the Brazilian Academy of Education. Professor Mattos died in the city of Rio de Janeiro on August 6, 1980.

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**Travels of "Modern Teaching"**

> Teaching can and must always be improved, in terms of the content of the subject and the technique of the work. School performance is, mostly, a consequence of these factors and of the constructive attitude, of the dynamism with which teachers undertake their mission to encourage, guide, and control the learning of their students.
>
> (Mattos, 1957, free translation)[10]

The trips made by Luiz Alves de Mattos were not only restricted to physical ones but were also related to the cross-border movement that his knowledge covered through books and works. Mattos' hybrid education is the most symbolic metaphor we have for his concept of teaching, considering that he was able to relate the teaching methodology with the pragmatism of John Dewey (Cunha, 1999) to complete his thesis on the philosophy of experience. When delineating the established relationships and exchanges, we noticed that the main propagator of Mattos' ideas was his pedagogical textbook *Sumário de Didática Geral* (whose first edition dates from 1957), which, in its various editions, had gone through different Latin American universities and served as a theoretical basis for studies on the history and practice of teaching.

The study on *Sumário de Didática Geral* (Mattos, 1957) allows us to understand important aspects of the constitution of this discipline in Brazil. This was a pedagogical textbook, written to explain the classes at the Normal School, and therefore, it helps to identify what teachers are taught at the beginning of their teaching training: the developed topics, the recommended readings, and the recommendations on how to teach. In other words, they take teaching as an object of teaching. Like other titles written at the time for this purpose, Mattos' *Sumário* focused on teaching, pedagogy, general methodology, and teaching practice, subjects that, throughout the history of the Normal School in Brazil, addressed more general teaching issues (Silva, 2019). Since the course was created in the country, in the 1830s, including other training courses for elementary teachers, such as the Specific Qualifications for Teaching, created in 1971, as well as the Higher Education Institutes, created in the 1990s and the Schools of Pedagogy (Tanuri, 2000), the four subjects here mentioned corresponded to spaces for initiation to teaching. From the publication of the oldest known Brazilian pedagogical textbook, in the 1870s, to 1970, over 50 titles of this nature were published among Brazilians. Luíz Alves de Mattos authored some of them, such as the *Sumário de Didática Geral* (1957).

In the set of Brazilian pedagogical textbooks, some titles are more scientific in nature, and most of them are more pragmatic and provide guidance on how to proceed in the classroom. The titles of subjects mostly related to the foundations of education, such as teaching and pedagogy, or, in some cases, even general methodology, presented longer texts with more explicit theoretical references.

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The teaching practice titles included another format, because the purpose of the subject was to guide students through their teaching stages. In tracing the history of these books, Silva (2018, 2019) identifies four distinct phases, each one comprising a specific paradigm, characteristic of the contents of the titles then published. At first, between 1870 and 1890, the figure of the teacher was the most emphasized, leading the titles then published to recommend ideal modes of behavior and performance. Subsequently, and until the beginning of the 20th century, the pages of the textbooks focused more on explanations about the functioning of schools. The contents of the books began to explain how the institution works, how should students be enrolled, how to record their attendance and performance, and how to organize the curriculum and classes. As of the 1920s, the New School Movement began to give rise to the place of the student and the child in the organization of pedagogical work, which, after the 1940s, moved toward a more technical dimension of teaching.

It was at that moment, more precisely during the 1950s, that Luíz Alves de Mattos wrote pedagogical textbooks, among which: *O quadro-negro e sua utilização no ensino* (1954)*; Súmulas de Didática Geral* [Reports on General Teaching] (s.d.); *Os objetivos e o planejamento do ensino* [The objectives and planning of teaching] (1957); *Sumário de Didática Geral* (1957); *Primórdios da Educação no Brasil: o período heróico* [Origins of Education in Brazil: the heroic period] (1958), in which he sought to review the history of Brazilian education. It is through Mattos' writings that we can delve into his thinking and reflections on "modern teaching" and understand the repercussions of this concept for his work and texts. His textbooks, in particular, focused on concepts of teaching practice and highlighted experiences shared by his students when working as a professor at the School of Philosophy in Rio de Janeiro. In this sense, his thinking was marked by the reconciliation between John Dewey's pragmatism,[11] the teaching philosophy and experience, which received more visibility in his statements.

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In the preface to the first edition of *Sumário de Didática Geral* (1957), Mattos addressed "colleagues from the country's militant teaching [presenting] the fruitful perspectives and suggestions that modern Teaching offers for this intelligent arrangement between means and ends, attempting to improve our teaching" (1957, p. 11, free translation). In this sense, the author pointed out a specific understanding of the area.

> [He] is based on Gilbreth's fundamental assumption that there are several ways to carry out any task, one of which will always be the best and the most efficient, within the available circumstances and resources.
>
> (Mattos, 1957, p. 10, free translation)

Throughout the 382 pages of this textbook, the author divided the *Sumário* into three parts, namely: (1) Foundations, (2) Learning Guidance, and (3) Learning

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Controls; and explained, among other topics, the organization of the class, the foundations of teaching, the procedures for planning teaching and exposing the subject, the assessment, and the diagnosis of learning difficulties. In addressing this content, Mattos reiterated the importance of modern teaching, pointing it out as fundamental for teachers to be qualified and able to clearly distinguish "what is essential, necessary, and indispensable in teaching and what is accidental, secondary, accessory" (Mattos, 1957, p. 14, free translation).

He also stated that the textbook was based on notes from his classes taught in the courses sponsored by the Campaign for the Improvement and Dissemination of Secondary Education (*Campanha de Aperfeiçoamento e Difusão do Ensino Secundário*—CADES)[12] and the Campaign for the Improvement and Expansion of Commercial Education (*Aperfeiçoamento e expansão do ensino comercial*—CAEC).[13] In the 1957 foreword, Professor Mattos demonstrated his important role in the educational field of the period, as, in addition to the textbook being written, it was also taught by using the Radio of the Ministry of Education (Mattos, 1973, p. 10). Based on his words, it is possible to trace some points of the networks that Mattos was part of and understand how this textbook expanded his connections beyond readers, reaching Brazilian listeners. According to the author, in the foreword to the fourth edition, the *Sumário de Didática Geral* (1947) was positively accepted "at more than fifty Schools of Philosophy spread throughout the country" (Mattos, 1973, p. 18, free translation), which points to a significant difference from the other titles written by the author, considering that only two of these, namely *A linguagem Didática no Ensino Moderno* and *O quadro-negro e sua utilização no ensino*, had their second editions published, in 1960 and 1958, respectively. Regarding *Sumário de Didática Geral*, seventeen editions were published over eighteen years, which was also translated into Spanish in 1963 by the Argentinian publisher Kapelusz. According to the author:

> The acceptance our work has been gaining by the chairs of General Teaching at more than fifty Schools of Philosophy throughout the country seems to confirm our apparently immodest statement. With the recent publication of its Castilian translation (*Compendio de Didáctica General*) by Editorial Kapelusz, S.A. publisher, of Buenos Aires (Argentina), in June 1963, its influence is spreading to other Latin American republics; it has already been adopted by the chairs of General Teaching of four Schools of Philosophy in Paraguay, as well as those of other colleges and education institutes in Argentina, Peru, and Colombia.
>
> (Mattos, 1963, p. 18, free translation)

It is noteworthy, in his words, although supported by a rhetoric that proposes to minimize the success of his work, that this textbook was one of those responsible for making his ideas travel and go beyond national borders. Throughout our investigations, we sought to understand the impacts of this translation on Latin

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American countries, and by research in library collections, teaching programs, and works that cite it directly and indirectly, some of the places where this text arrived were systematized. Among the online collections of Latin American libraries, copies were found in Argentina, where the translation was published, in addition to Uruguay, Colombia, Mexico, Ecuador, the Dominican Republic, Venezuela, and the Brazilian territory, totaling 67 copies and the publication of an abstract written by Ángel Alfredo Hernández Moreno (2018). Based on this datum, studies that used Mattos's ideas—set out in the *Sumário*—as a basis were also mapped. Among the ten articles, from different countries, we can observe that Mattos was evoked as the authority to explain topics pertaining to "modern Teaching," such as the method, the definition of this concept of teaching, the planning of classes, and the teaching technique, among others.

Studies that mention Mattos' knowledge of the "modern Teaching" stand out for the diversity of the perspective from which they interpreted these ideas. Although they are all related to education, there are articles on teacher training, dissertations that deal with technology in the classroom, and also research on the use of pedagogical textbooks in Argentinian teacher training. For instance, we can mention two excerpts from the article "La ensenanza de la matemática: de la formación al trabajo de aula" by Quiñones and Dugarte (2012) published in the Venezuelan Journal of Education (Educere):

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> Es conveniente señalar que la didáctica proporciona un conjunto de "normas, recursos y procedimientos específicos que todo profesor debe conocer y saber aplicar para orientar con seguridad a sus alumnos en el aprendizaje."
>
> (Mattos, 1963, p. 27) (p. 362)

> Analizando los resultados de las encuestas, se identifica una de las principales causas que determina la problemática del estudio, esta se refiere a la planificación que realizan los docentes, ya que una gran parte de ellos no aplican los procedimientos de instrucción de una clase, dejando a un lado la aplicación de la prueba diagnóstica, para Mattos (1963) define la misma como el procedimiento que permite identificar las deficiencias o errores constantes de los alumnos, enfocando principalmente los aspectos mecánicos del aprendizaje deficiente, la actitud y método de estudio, el nivel de comprensión y la presencia de algún bloqueo emocional.
>
> (p. 363)

By the transcribed citations, one can see some of the ways in which Mattos was referred to in Spanish-language studies. It is worth noting that, in all the analyzed studies, his name was linked as the main source in the definition of teaching, which was described as a set of rules and procedures that should be learned by the teacher. This definition, although related only to the term "teaching," dialogues with what Mattos proposed and supported as the practice of

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"modern teaching." This concept was brought up in his textbooks, based on the experience he had with his colleagues, that is, the precepts outlined throughout his chapters were part of the teachers' internship program when he worked as a professor at schools of philosophy.

It is possible to understand a little more about the internship program developed by Mattos by the text set out in the calendar celebrating the 60th anniversary of the Laboratory School of the Federal University of Rio de Janeiro:

> In the 1950s and 1960s, between 150 and 160 FNFi graduates would go to the CAp each year for the didactic internship. At that time, future teachers were introduced to the secrets of modern teaching techniques, discussing their problems, observing the classes at the Laboratory School, participating in the performance of studies and, finally, assuming the direction of a certain number of classes in their specialty, always accompanied, guided, and criticized by the managing teachers.

Thus, Mattos wanted his students to experience in practice what was explained and mentioned by him in his handbooks on Experimental and Modern Teaching, taking into account the learning of the method, reflection, and practice. In addition to Mattos' Latin American connections through textbooks, his knowledge was also in motion during the years he worked at Faculdade Getulio Vargas. In this institution, Mattos participated, in 1964, in the creation of the Inter-American School of Public Business Administration (EIAP), a school only aimed at foreigners. Mattos was responsible for receiving visitors from different countries, such as Peru, Colombia, Ecuador, and Mexico (D'Araújo, 1999, p. 115). Possibly, his projection as a Brazilian educator for Latin America was strengthened during this period as well. This projection continues today to feed the networks of influence established by Professor Mattos, considering that the investigated academic articles, dissertations, and syllabus,[14] in Spanish, dated from 1914 to 2014, still resume his ideas as an authority in the field and in the definition of Teaching.

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## Final Considerations

The consolidation of the modern school points to the strengthening of the exchange of models and influences beyond local borders. This is evidenced by pedagogical travels—the import and translation of books and theories whose network of actions drives and remodels the circulation of knowledge (Silva, 2018; Mignot and Gondra, 2007). Against a romanticized view of travels, it would be worth considering that they also produce hierarchization in the educational field. They are fundamental to constitute the group of memorable educators, relegating others to oblivion. To illustrate this process, it is worth resuming some of the results of a study on the trajectory of pedagogical textbooks' authors (Silva,

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2018). In Brazil, books on teaching, pedagogy, methodology, and teaching practice used in normal schools (some authored by Luiz Alves de Mattos himself) have been written since 1870, but not all of their signatories have become recognized authors. The relationships between the legitimacy of these people and the meaning of the networks that they established during their travels (both in the sense of their social mobility, work mobility, and their travels between places) were remarkable (Silva, 2018).

Perhaps it is worth paying attention to the considerations of Bourdieu (2002) about this internationalization process:

> We often believe that intellectual life is spontaneously international. There is nothing more untrue. Intellectual life, like all other social spaces, is the place of nationalisms and imperialisms, and intellectuals convey, almost as much as others, prejudices, stereotypes, preconceived ideas, very brief, very elementary representations that feed on the accidents of everyday life, incomprehension, misunderstandings, wounds (for example, those inflicted on narcissism by the fact of being unknown in a foreign country).
>
> (Bourdieu, 2002, p. 05, free translation)

As we sought to demonstrate so far, Luiz Alves de Mattos traveled between different places, knowledge, and groups. His work participates in the construction of the school in different parts of the world, because throughout his career as a writer and teacher, he appropriated studies and debates in the area and circulated the "modern Teaching." His trajectory consolidated the figure of an educator who, to date, remains intertwined with the Latin American educational network, which can be perceived from the translations of his works and the fact that he is still mentioned in this circuit.[15] His training and initial studies, his participation in associations and groups of Catholic intellectuals and/or supporters of the New School, his initiatives to create and manage educational institutions, and his prominent role in the consolidation and dissemination of modern teaching summarize the effects of his travels and the consolidation of his networks. While traveling, Mattos sought inspiration, but he also produced and circulated specialized knowledge. It is not only a matter of recognizing the magnitude of this transition but also highlighting mainly the meaning of the relationships thus established, their duration, intensity, frequency, and the pace of the exchanges and their effects (Fuchs, 2007).

In the case of Luiz Alves de Mattos, it is worth reflecting on the relations between countries considered "developed" and countries considered "backward," as is the case of Brazil. Mattos' rise in the Brazilian educational field, his circulation in different places, and the set of his production lead us to think that his work was not simply a "copy" of what he read and learned outside his country. His writings and initiatives in teacher training helped to circulate ideas among educators and were also places of production in the area. Thus, we

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can question the belief that pedagogical knowledge always originates from rich and more developed countries, in order to reach poor countries, with "lessons to be learned from abroad" (Steiner-Khamsi, 2002). It was this problem that mobilized this chapter, contributing to understanding not only the complexity of Mattos' trajectory but also the logics through which subjects establish their networks, produce, and circulate knowledge in the educational field.

**Notes**

1. In Annie Ernaux's works, *A Man's Place* (2021) stands out. In its back cover, there is the following text (free translation): "Winner of the Renaudot Prize in 1984, *A Man's Place* brought Annie Ernaux to fame and can be considered a forerunner of the genre itself. In this autosociobiography, Ernaux, one of the most important living writers in France, focuses on her father's own life to investigate family and class relations, in a mix between personal history and sociology that would influence an entire generation of contemporary autofiction writers." A more in-depth analysis of the writer's work can be seen in Catani (2022).
2. He was a teacher in the improvement courses promoted by the Anísio Teixeira National Institute for Educational Research and Studies (*Instituto Nacional de Estudos e Pesquisas Educacionais Anísio Teixeira*—INEP) and the Brazilian Ministry of Education (*Ministério da Educação*—MEC) (Field of School Organization and Administration, 1947–1963); Ministry of War/General Staff (Teaching area, 1949–1963), DASP Public Service School of the Department of Public Service Administration—DASP (Teaching area, 1960–1963), among others (Vilarinho, 1999).
3. The Brazilian Digital Newspaper Library is the largest portal for Brazilian newspapers and magazines. The access is public, with an extensive search system.
4. This moment in the investigation into Mattos' trajectory was essential, as it allowed us to reflect on the use of research sources from digital collections or repositories in the historiographic work. The often-invisible *modus operandi* commonly shies away from questioning the specificities of new digital research practices. Eric Brasil and Leonardo Nascimento, in the article *História Digital: reflexões a partir da hemeroteca digital brasileira e do uso de CAQDAS na elaboração da pesquisa histórica* ["Digital History: reflections from the Brazilian Digital Newspaper Library and the use of CAQDAS in the preparation of historical research"] (2019), provide some questions for thinking about these particularities: "Are there substantial differences between digital and/or digitized sources and 'traditional' printed sources? Is the use of digital tools in research practice capable of modifying processes, perception, intuition, and interpretation of history? [ . . . ] are digital technologies providing any kind of change in the historians' research practice and in their historiographic imagination and writing?" (p. 200, free translation).
5. In addition to collaborating with the Thematic Project *Saberes e práticas em fronteiras*: por uma história transnacional da educação [Knowledge and Practices on borders: towards a transnational history of education] (1810– . . .) (Process: 2018/26699–4), through the scientific initiation research: *Saberes pedagógicos entre Fronteiras: um estudo sobre a circulação das ideias de Luiz Alves de Mattos* [Pedagogical knowledge between borders: a study on the circulation of ideas by Luiz Alves de Mattos] (Process: 2018/19450–2), the sources analyzed in this chapter also originate from another study, carried out between 2017 and 2018 by the scholarship holder Keila da Silva Vieira with support from the São Paulo Research Foundation (FAPESP). It is entitled *O Magistério na sala de aula: um estudo sobre* A linguagem didática no ensino moderno *(1960) e* O quadro-negro e sua utilização no ensino

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*(1954) de Luiz Alves de Mattos* [Teacher Training in the Classroom: a study on the works *A linguagem didática no ensino moderno* (1960) and *O quadro-negro e sua utilização no ensino* (1954) by Luiz Alves de Mattos—(Process: 2017/08108–6).

6. It is worth noting one of the author's best-known publications, written for Normal School classes and other teacher training courses. The title is precisely *A linguagem didática no ensino moderno* [Teaching Language in Modern Education] (1960), published for the first time in 1956. For an in-depth analysis of the content of this textbook, see the article *"Por aplicações concretas e imediatas na sala de aula": um estudo sobre livros que ensinam a ensinar* ["For concrete and immediate applications in the classroom": a study on books that teach how to teach] (L. Mattos, RJ, 1960s) by Silva and Vieira (2019).
7. Manoel Bergström Lourenço Filho (1897–1970) was a notable Brazilian educator, with fruitful bibliographic production and work in the public administration of education. In his youth, he began studying law and medicine and dedicated himself primarily to statistics and psychology, areas that, from his perspective, would provide useful knowledge for education. Among his initiatives in the production and circulation of knowledge among teachers, the publication of the famous *Introdução ao estudo da Escola Nova* [Introduction to the Study of New School] (1930), translated and read in countless countries, stands out. He was one of the signatories of the *Manifesto dos Pioneiros da Educação Nova* [Manifesto of the Pioneers of New Education] (1932); participated in education reforms in different Brazilian states; and was president of the Brazilian Education Association (1934), of the Executive Committee of the Staff Training Center for Elementary Education in Latin America (1951), and of the Brazilian Institute of Education, Science, and Culture (1952) (Silva, 2019).
8. Luiz Alves de Mattos created different networks of influence in Brazilian education. He was a full professor and chancellor at the School of Philosophy of Universidade do Brasil (currently the Federal University of Rio de Janeiro), as well as creator and chancellor of the first Laboratory School in Brazil (Laboratory School of Universidade do Brasil). He held the chair of Philosophy and History of Education at the University of the Federal District during the years 1938 and 1939 and headed the chair of General and Special Teaching at the School of Philosophy of Universidade do Brasil, currently the Federal University of Rio de Janeiro (UFRJ) until 1972; he was chancellor of the Institute for Advanced Studies in Education (*Instituto de Estudos Avançados em Educação*—IESAE) and chancellor of the School of Education of the University Center of the Federal District (*Centro Universitário do Distrito Federal*—UDF). He also worked as chancellor and creator of several institutions, with emphasis on his significant relationship with Fundação Getulio Vargas (FGV): 1. Brazilian School of Public and Business Administration (EBAP), of FGV Rio de Janeiro (RJ) (1951–1953); 2. Inter-American School of Public Business Administration (EIAP), of FGV/RJ (1964–1966); 3. FGV Department of Education (1947–1951); 4. FGV Brazilian Institute of Management (1951–1972). He organized and supervised FGV Nova Friburgo School and participated in the team that created the IESAE of FGV, now extinct, and was chancellor of the institution in the 1971/1973 period (Vilarinho, 1999, p. 349).
9. Created in 1939, within the framework of Universidade do Brasil, the National School of Philosophy (FNFi) incorporated courses from the former University of the Federal District and was intended, among others, to train university students for teaching and to carry out research in various fields of knowledge. At that time, different institutes and colleges were also created, such as the School of Communication, the School of Education and Languages and Literature, and the Institutes of Biology, Physics, Geosciences, Philosophy, Social Sciences, Mathematics, Psychology, and Chemistry, in addition to the Laboratory School of the University, where Mattos worked as chancellor.

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10. MATTOS, Luiz Alves de. "O planejamento do Ensino", *Revista Brasileira de Estudos Pedagógicos*. April–June, 1957, vol. 27, no. 66.
11. John Dewey (1859–1952) was one of the great exponents of the New School, well-known and considered by other Brazilian educators at the time, including Luiz Alves de Mattos. Dewey was the most mentioned author in pedagogy and teaching books written in Brazil for use in Normal Schools between the years 1930 and 1970 (Silva, 2019). The translations of his books into Brazilian Portuguese were widely used. In São Paulo, the publisher Companhia Editora Nacional acquired the rights to the translation and dissemination of titles that were part of the *Atualidades Pedagógicas* [Pedagogical Updates] collection. This was part of an extensive editorial project organized by Fernando de Azevedo, the *Biblioteca Pedagógica Brasileira* [Brazilian Pedagogical Library] collection, which brought together well-known titles by John Dewey, such as *Democracy and Education*, translated by Godofredo Rangel and Anísio Teixeira (in Portuguese, *Democracia e educação*—3rd edition, 1959) and *The Child and the Curriculum*, translated by Anísio Teixeira (in Portuguese, *Vida e educação*—5th edition, 1959). In the *Biblioteca Universitária* [University Library] collection, *Reconstruction in philosophy* was published, translated by Antônio Pinto de Carvalho and reviewed by Anísio Teixeira (in Portuguese, *A filosofia em reconstrução*—2nd edition, 1959) (Silva, 2019, p. 175).
12. According to Baraldi and Gaertner, in the text *Cades: seus textos e seus contextos na história da educação matemática* ["Cades: its texts and contexts in the history of mathematics education"], "The Campaign for the Improvement and Dissemination of Secondary Education (CADES) was created under the management of Armando Hildebrand in the Secondary Education Board, under the government of Getúlio Vargas, based on Decree No. 34,638 of November 14, 1953. It stated that its objectives were to disseminate and raise the level of secondary education, that is, to make secondary education more adapted to the interests and needs of the time, attributing education with effectiveness and social meaning as well as raising possibilities for younger people to have access to secondary school. To achieve these objectives, CADES carried out specialization and improvement courses and internships for teachers, technicians, and administrators of secondary education institutions; granted scholarships to secondary teachers to complete courses or internships of specialization and improvement, promoted by national or foreign entities; created the educational guidance service in secondary schools, among many other actions" (pp. 974–975, free translation).
13. CAEC was established by the Brazilian Ministry of Education and Culture in 1954 to promote measures necessary for the improvement and dissemination of commercial education. To this end, it was designed to create schools and, among other measures, to carry out courses and internships for their teachers, administrators, and technicians.
14. The aforementioned texts are part of the research and systematization carried out in the scientific initiation research: *Saberes pedagógicos entre Fronteiras: um estudo sobre a circulação das ideias de Luiz Alves de Mattos* (Process: 2018/19450–2).
15. For instance, we can mention the studies of Picco (2014).

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# Final Comments

## For an Understanding of School beyond Delay and Copies

*Diana Gonçalves Vidal and*
*Vivian Batista da Silva*

*Exchanges between Brazil, the USA and Europe* integrates a wide range of productions about school, since when it began to be conceived as a state institution aimed at the formation of citizens and designed to be public, lay, free, and mandatory. Among the incipient initiatives in the history of this institution are those of reformers and scholars from different countries when they carried out official visits and missions abroad. We can note the work of administrators who, like Marc-Antoine Jullien de Paris (1775–1848) and Victor Cousin (1792–1867) in France and Horace Mann (1796–1859) in the United States, were interested in getting to know and describe cases from other places, collecting useful information to improve their countries' education systems.

This was the idea behind *Esquisse et vues préliminaires d'un ouvrage sur l'éducation comparée*, a pioneering work by Marc-Antoine Jullien de Paris published in 1817, which proposed comparative education as a science based on facts that could be systematically collected and observed. The author was interested in knowing which countries were expanding their educational systems and which countries were lagging behind. The objective was to catalog descriptions of experiences that would make available what were understood as the "best" practices of one country to be transplanted to others. That is why the idea of "meliorism"—from Latin *melior*, which can be translated to English as "improvementism"—was at the root of the development of comparative education and aids in the understanding of the connections between the ideological and the scientific aspects of this field of knowledge (Kaloyiannaki and Kazamias, 2012).

In a second phase of the history of comparative education, after the Great War, this field of knowledge was marked by the search for peace and international cooperation; comparative studies thus aimed at the construction of a so-called new world. In a third moment, in the 1960s, comparative education was marked by developmentalist theories and also by the theories and methodologies of the social sciences. By the end of the 20th century, the tendency of comparative education was no longer to pay attention to national education systems, which until then were the traditional units of analysis, to study schools, their organizations,

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actors, discourses, and political initiatives in more global perspectives and that, as it came to be understood, were appropriate in the various local spaces. According to Cowen (2012), traditional national case studies are currently giving way to analyses that no longer address the nation-state as the exclusive or most appropriate unit of analysis in comparative education.

Today, social and scientific processes that are at the origin of a renewal of comparative approaches in education can be identified and, according to Nóvoa (2009), organized in three perspectives. One of them concerns the educational problems common to the various countries, raised by the emergence of a world system at economic, educational, and cultural levels; another on the crisis of the nation-state and the consolidation of new spaces of cultural identity, at the local level and within the framework of the different regions of the world; and the third on the internationalization of the university and scientific research world.

We are especially interested in recognizing that "never, as today, has Comparative Education, as a discipline and field of study, questioned itself so much about its identity and future" (Barroso, 2009, p. 9, free translation). For António Nóvoa (2009, p. 50), "it is necessary to guard against a linear and evolutionary reading . . ., incapable of explaining a process as complex as the formation of a disciplinary field" (Nóvoa, 2009, p. 51, free translation). In a debate that has lasted two centuries, this collection is an invitation to rethink the ways in which the school is interpreted. The chapters go through varied sources: from initiatives of educators, to the pedagogical press and artifacts of school life. They cover themes related to school culture, the pedagogical press, the history of educators—especially women who were often relegated to oblivion—and the production and circulation of pedagogical knowledge.

Thus presented, the chapters recreate postulates of comparative education. We can say that they reject the very idea of a comparative education, to the extent that the emphasis rests on the circulation of subjects, artifacts, and pedagogical models without involving the act of comparing. They are texts that shed light on the ways in which the school has been lived and thought in different times and spaces. Whether it deals with the traveling educators, their ideas, or the materials used by students and teachers, the collection is attentive to the daily school life in its multiple facets. Instead of supposing the reproduction of an education model created by rich and developed countries in the poorest and assumed as most undeveloped countries, the texts of this collection allow us to glimpse the creativity of countries, their educators, and their schools. The objective is to raise questions about aspects that are not limited to the borders of national spaces and to identify the richness of the encounters, which take place in a tangle of knowledge circulating in multiple directions. In these movements, each national education system, each school, each text, each educator invents themselves in their own way of threading through world-exposed knowledge.

*Rethinking Centre-Periphery Assumptions in the History of Education: Exchanges Among Brazil, USA, and Europe* is a work attentive to the wealth

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of initiatives and experiences of Brazilian education, commonly recognized as peripheral and delayed. By signaling the importance of decolonizing the historiography of education and exposing the marks of a Eurocentric discourse (and more recently known as epistemologies of the north), this book is sensitized by the fertility of contacts and hybridizations. The book's contribution to the studies on the school is thus undeniable because it reveals that spaces previously taken as mere points of arrival of teaching models external to it are, first of all, spaces of appropriation and creation that, in turn, can also be considered as starting points, in a constant movement of transformation/reinvention. In a world connected by increasingly fast transport and communications, insisting on center-periphery relations masks the dynamic reality of historical processes and reaffirms epistemologies built on relations of domination. It is, in short, about being sensitive to the multiple experiences that give life to the characters, crafts, times, and places of the school.

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# 12. APÊNDICE D: CAPÍTULO DE LIVRO PUBLICADO COM APOIO DO RECURSO DO AUXÍLIO

Capítulo de livro elaborado por Diana Vidal e Rafaela Rabelo, a ser publicado com o uso de recurso do auxílio para tradução para a versão ao inglês.

## Gender and intersectionality:
## Female strategies in the teaching profession in Brazil during the first half of the 20th century[68]

Diana Vidal (Universidade de São Paulo)
Rafaela Rabelo (Universidade Federal de Uberlândia)

### Introduction

The sisters Iracema Silveira (1900-1978) and Noemy Silveira (1902-1980) are the guiding thread of this narrative. Born in the interior of the state of São Paulo, they built a professional trajectory in which family ties, educational networks, care relationships, and international travels were intertwined, and offer paths for understanding the strategies mobilized by women to remain in the teaching profession in public service and build careers in the first half of the twentieth century in Brazil. Both were associated with the transnational movement of new education (also known as éducation nouvelle or progressive education), albeit in different ways, and they exercised different forms of belonging to the teaching profession. Iracema restricted herself to primary education, acting as a school librarian; Noemy embraced an ambitious training project that involved traveling to the United States, studying at the Teachers College of Columbia University, and taking up the Chair of Educational Psychology at the University of São Paulo (USP). However, if their final destinations were radically different, their careers commenced at the same time. Almost two years older than Noemy, Iracema waited for her younger sister to finish primary school for both of them to start training for teaching together.

The decision to commence training together indicates the relationship of solidarity established between the sisters, which would last for almost two decades. At the age of eight, in 1908, Iracema had an accident that affected one of her eyes. Visual impairment made school

[68] This work was supported by the São Paulo Research Foundation (FAPESP) [Grant number 18/26699-4].

attendance difficult, and this was overcome with Noemy's help. The sisters completed their teacher training together, and started their teaching careers together. The paths began to separate in 1927, when Iracema began her journey to become a school librarian, and Noemy took up the job as an assistant at the Experimental Psychology Lab. The fabric of their careers included networks established with female and male educators, and educational politicians. These relationships determined the positions they successively assumed, as well as the changes in the schools in which they worked until they reached the prestigious Institute of Education in São Paulo.

Network theory, as noted by Eckhardt Fuchs, allows us to "focus on agents and their interactions that have not yet been an object of historical interest but have greatly influenced educational developments on the local, national, and international level".[69] It also "may be helpful to draw a micro-perspective picture that envisages from a cultural angle the specific circumstances, variations, actors and mechanics of phenomena that macro-sociological theories on the worldwide development of education describe as global processes of standardization and homogenization". In this case, network theory not only lets us understand the ways female teachers such as Iracema Silveira built strategies to remain in the teaching profession, but also helps us to understand how they managed to break through the glass ceiling, discussed elsewhere by Sue Freeman[70] and Christine Williams.[71] This theoretical lems therefore allows to explore how women such as Noemy Silveira attained positions traditionally restricted to men.

We utilize the concept of "immaterial heritage", drawing on the work of Giovani Levi.[72] This perspective serves to highlight family efforts regarding the transmission of knowledge in the teaching profession, as well as favoring the maintenance and progression of teachers' careers. Levi's concept embraces the idea of family as a broad social group, which makes use of solidarities, exchanges of favors, reciprocities, and protections among other social groups, in order to overcome social and professional barriers. We also concur with Kosellec who asserts that "collective singulars" become "concepts for the registration of experience" that concentrate, obscure and hide diverse experiences .[73]

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[69] Eckhardt Fuchs, "Networks and the history of education," *Paedagogica Historica* 43, no. 2 (2007): 185–186.
[70] Sue J.M. Freeman, *Managing lives: corporate women and social change* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1990).
[71] Christine L. Williams, "The glass escalator: hidden advantages for men in the "female" professions," *Social Problems* 39 (1992): 253–267.
[72] Giovanni Levi, *Herança imaterial: trajetória de um exorcista no Piemonte no século XVII* (Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 2000).
[73] Reinhart Koselleck, *Futures past: on the semantics of historical time* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2004), 271–72.

Further, we argue that by utilizing the perspective of intersectionality, we may bring light to multiple ways of being a female teacher at the first half of 20th century. In this case study, we deal with issues of gender, social class, religion, and physical disability. Iracema and Noemy came from the lower middle class. Paid work provided the means of survival and accumulation of assets. Iracema's disability, as a partially-sighted person, didn't prevent her from searching for a career. On the contrary, with the help of her sister, she found a place as a librarian in the primary school, which allowed her to remain active until her retirement. This scenario provokes us to reflect on how the teaching career offered a feasible and respectable form of labor to support women in society at the time. Thus, this study embraces some of the questions raised by sociologists, concerning the intersection of gender and class in the labor market.[74] Finally, the connections with Catholic and lay educators were key for both women, in order to advance in their careers: this prompts us to inquire further about the networks they built.

Intersectionality here refers to the classic concept, created by Kimberlé Crenshaw intertwining gender, religion, and class, applied to the teaching career and extended to physical disability.[75] It is a powerful framework to explain some of the women's life options and outcomes, such as the fact that Iracema remained unmarried. Noemy married, but was widowed early and she never remarried. And they both experienced motherhood late in their lives. The story of these two women demonstrates the varied ways of occupying the teaching profession in the period, the family strategies for career advancement, and the different possibilities of being a woman in Brazil.

## 1. Iracema and Noemy: Mapping Networks and Complicities

Iracema and Noemy were born on 14 December 1900, and 8 August 1902, respectively, in Ibiquara, a small town located 186 miles from the capital in the countryside of the State of São Paulo, Brazil. The village, established with the arrival of the Mogiana railway in the city of São Simão, near Ribeirão Preto, became a municipality in 1910, later named Santa Rosa do Viterbo. Both were daughters of pharmacist Manoel José da Silveira and Anna Marques da Silveira, and their sisters were Maria and Itacy Marques da Silveira. This female-centered family was also devoted to education. Maria followed her father's path and attended the School

[74] Irene Browne and Joya Misra, "The intersection of gender and race in the labor market," *Annual Review of Sociology* 29 (2003): 487–513.
[75] Kimberlé Crenshaw, "Demarginalizing the intersection of race and sex; a black feminist critique of discrimination doctrine, feminist theory and antiracist politics," *University of Chicago Legal Forum* (1989): 139–167.

of Pharmacy and Dentistry of São Paulo between 1912 and 1914, while Iracema, Noemy and Itacy pursued teaching careers.

Around mid-1908, Iracema moved to São Paulo after experiencing an "accident that significantly impacted her eyesight."[76] She continued her primary education at the Collegio Modelo boarding school, which Maria Flora Redondo do Nascimento ran from her residence, established in January 1909. Maria Flora was the sister of Manoel Ferreira Redondo, a writer and member of the Brazilian Academy of Letters. She was married to Domingos Rodrigues do Nascimento, the principal of Collegio João de Deus.[77] Acknowledged for her "intellectual value,"[78] Maria Flora possessed the necessary social, moral, and intellectual standing to welcome the young Iracema.

At that time, Itacy was a little over a year old, born on June 12, 1907, which made it challenging for her mother, Anna, to move around and led to the decision in favor of boarding school. In 1912, however, the family relocated to São Paulo city due to Maria's enrollment in the School of Pharmacy and Dentistry. This also led to the suspension of her father's activities as a pharmacist in Santa Rosa do Viterbo and as a nurse in São Simão.[79] In São Paulo, Manoel established the Pharmácia São Benedicto and, starting from 1918, became a member of the advisory board of Monte Pio Pharmaceutico.[80]

When Iracema was fourteen, and Noemy was twelve, they enrolled in the Primary Normal School of Braz in 1915.[81] Three years later, on 23 October 1918, they successfully

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[76] Ana Regina Pinheiro, "Escola Caetano de Campos: Escola Paulista, Escola Vanguardeira," (PhD diss., Universidade Estadual de Campinas, 2008).

[77] *Correio Paulistano* 18865 (20 January 1916): 3. https://memoria.bn.br/DocReader/docreader.aspx?bib=090972_06&pasta=ano%20191&pesq=&pagfis=38392. Accessed 30 Oct 2023.

[78] *Revista da Semana* 00051, no. 1 (29 January 1916). https://memoria.bn.br/DocReader/DocReader.aspx?bib=025909_01&pesq=maria%20flora%20redondo%20do%20nascimento&hf=memoria.bn.br&pagfis=23458. Accessed 30 Oct 2023.

[79] *Alamanak Laemmert* B00069, no. 3 (1913): 4354. https://memoria.bn.br/DocReader/docreader.aspx?bib=313394&pesq=%22manoel%20jos%C3%A9%20da%20silveira%22&pagfis=52774. Accessed 30 Oct 2023.

[80] *Alamank Laemmert* B00077, no. 1 (1921): 2234. https://memoria.bn.br/DocReader/docreader.aspx?bib=313394&pesq=%22manoel%20jos%C3%A9%20da%20silveira%22&pagfis=76984. Accessed 30 Oct 2023.

[81] *A Gazeta (SP)* 02677, no. 1 (12 January 1915): 7. https://memoria.bn.br/DocReader/docreader.aspx?bib=763900&pesq=noemy%20marques%20da%20silveira&pagfis=2522. Accessed 2 Nov 2023.
During that period in São Paulo, there existed two teacher training schools: Normal School of Braz and Normal School of the Capital, the latter was also known as "Caetano de Campos" Normal School. Each had two affiliated model primary schools, one for boys and one for girls Additionally, the Normal School of the Capital included a kindergarten. In 1931, Normal School of the Capital underwent a transformation into a Pedagogical Institute, and by 1933, it evolved further into an Institute of Education, which now encompassed a secondary school. By 1934, the Institute of Education became affiliated with University of São Paulo through its Teachers College. This association marked the beginning of training programs for educators to teach in both primary and secondary

completed their teaching training,[82] coinciding with a devastating Spanish flu epidemic that struck the city of São Paulo. Between October 15th and December 19th, this epidemic infected 350,000 people, which accounted for a third of the city's population.[83] The dedicated efforts of the "industrious pharmacist Manoel José da Silveira"[84] during the outbreak might have solidified his social standing, potentially contributing to his daughters' professional careers.

The year 1919 marked the beginning of the sisters' teaching activity. Iracema was assigned as an effective substitute at the Graded School of Pary.[85] Noemy joined as an effective substitute at the Model School affiliated with the Normal School of Braz and was soon transferred to the Model School affiliated with the Normal School of the Capital.[86] In both instances, the sisters were roughly 2.48 miles away from their family residence situated at Avenida Tiradentes, No. 30. On April 20, 1920, upon her request, Iracema transferred to "Prudente de Moraes" Graded School, which was situated on the same Avenida Tiradentes, No. 3. A few months later, Noemy would join her sister, securing a position as an effective substitute at "Prudente de Moraes" Graded School.[87] Three elements stand out in this report: both recent graduates were placed in the city's central region, worked at the same institution, and benefited from the close proximity between their workplace and residence.

education settings at higher education level. Olinda Evangelista, *A formação universitária do professor: o Instituto de Educação da Universidade de São Paulo (1934-1938)* (Florianópolis: Cidade Futura, 2002).

[82] Maria passed away in 1917. *Correio Paulistano* 19457 (8 September 1917): 11. https://memoria.bn.br/DocReader/DocReader.aspx?bib=090972_06&pagfis=43678. Accessed 30 Oct 2023.

[83] Christiane Maria Cruz de Souza, "As dimensões político-sociais de uma epidemia: a paulicéia desvairada pela gripe espanhola," *História, Ciências, Saúde-Manguinhos* 12 (2005): 567–573.

[84] *Correio Paulistano* 19914 (11 December 1918): 5. https://memoria.bn.br/DocReader/DocReader.aspx?bib=090972_06&pagfis=48456. Accessed 30 Oct 2023.

[85] During the first half of the 20th century in Brazil, the educational framework comprised four levels: primary, post-primary, secondary, and higher education. Primary education was offered in one-room country nongranded schools, peripheral reunited schools and urban graded schools. Being assigned to a graded school signified higher status and better teaching salaries, as well as improved working conditions. Normal schools, operating at the post-primary level, had a professional and terminal character, which meant they did not provide access to higher education. To pursue college education, attendance at a secondary school was necessary. It is worth noting that attending secondary school did not mandate post-primary studies. As a result, there were two distinct educational paths available: one leading to professionalization and the other facilitating academic training. In the 1910s and 1920s, normal schools served as both a continuation of studies after primary school and a preparatory avenue for professional practice, particularly significant for women.

[86] Effective substitute means that she took the job by someone's recommendation in replacement of another teacher. In this case, the position is not secured . *Correio Paulistano* 20456, no. 1 (1 June 1920): 8. https://memoria.bn.br/DocReader/DocReader.aspx?bib=090972_07&pesq=%22noemy%20marques%20da%20silveira%22&hf=memoria.bn.br&pagfis=1712. Accessed 2 Nov 2023.

[87] Mirian Jorge Warde, "Noemy da Silveira Rudolfer," in *Dicionário de educadores no Brasil: da colônia aos dias atuais*, ed. Maria de Lourdes de Albuquerque Fávero and Jader de Medeiros Britto (Rio de Janeiro: UFRJ, 2002), 860-866.

Expanding the analysis to include relational networks may offer insights into various plot elements. For instance, in 1919, the League of Catholic Female Teachers[88] was established in São Paulo, counting "among its members Carolina Ribeiro, Iracema Marques da Silveira, and João Lourenço"[89] from the Catholic teaching community. The sisters' relationships with the association were long-lasting, as was their friendship with Carolina Ribeiro and João Lourenço.

At the time, João Lourenço held a teaching position at the Normal School of the Capital, a role he had taken on in 1912. Prior to this, he served as the general inspector of education in São Paulo. He fostered strong connections with Oscar Thompson[90], then Head Director of Public Instruction of São Paulo (DGIPSP). João Lourenço's influence as an educator and his relationships may have facilitated the swift transfer of the sisters into their new positions. This connection might have also supported Iracema's career in subsequent times. Correspondence exchanged between her and João Lourenço in the 1930s and 1940s reveals the maintenance of both professional and affectionate ties.[91]

Carolina Ribeiro began her teaching career at the Normal School of Braz, but she would have a very prominent career in São Paulo education. In 1955, she made history by becoming the first woman to hold the position of Secretary of Education of the State of São Paulo. Carolina's connection with Iracema and Noemy spanned from 1921 and persisted throughout their lives. She served as the director of "São Paulo" Graded School during Iracema's tenure at the school, a period coinciding with Iracema's initial role as a school librarian. In the following years, Carolina and Iracema would work together at the Institute of Education. When Carolina was appointed to the State Secretary, it was Noemy who delivered the commendation speech.[92]

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[88] According to Pinheiro, "the League emerged as a lay association intended to unite and safeguard primary school teachers within the framework of Catholic tradition and values. […] through its actions, it also meant to further the Church's political agenda for the re-Christianization of society and fortify the institutional relationship between the Church and the State." In 1929, the organization was renamed to League of Catholic Teachers, allowing the membership of male teachers. Nonetheless, since its inception, there has been evident participation and proximity of male teachers in the League's activities, as was the case of João Lourenço. Ana Regina Pinheiro, "Instrução do povo sob a proteção do catolicismo – militância docente e a expansão da escolarização em São Paulo," *Revista Brasileira de História da Educação* 15 (2015): 207.

[89] Pinheiro, "Escola Caetano de Campos," 65.

[90] Oscar Thompson, who directed the Normal School of the Capital from 1901 to 1920, held the position of DGIPSP in two administrations—between 1909 and 1911, and again from 1917 to 1920. He was succeeded by Antônio de Sampaio Dória (Heloisa Rocha, "Alfabetização, saneamento e regeneração nas iniciativas de difusão da escola primária em São Paulo," *Pro-Posições* 22, no. 2 (2011): 154). The position of Head Director of Public Instruction corresponds to what is now commonly referred to as the State Secretary of Education.

[91] Pinheiro, "Escola Caetano de Campos," 67.

[92] Pinheiro, "Escola Caetano de Campos," 7.

In the tumultuous years of the 1920s and 1930s, stability was elusive.[93] In 1923, Iracema was once again transferred to a different school, replacing teachers Brazilina de Araújo and, later, Mario de Oliveira Campos at Escolas Reunidas de Villa Carrão.[94] Simultaneously, Noemy was reassigned to the 2nd Graded School of Lapa. This relocation meant the sisters now had to travel approximately 9.3 miles to reach their workplaces, situated on the outskirts of São Paulo. For Iracema, transitioning from a Graded School to a reunited school represented a move backward in her career path.

The shift was intricately tied to movements in local politics. The consecutive education reforms of 1920 and 1922, spearheaded by Antonio de Sampaio Doria and Guilherme Kuhlmann,[95] brought a new group of educators to power, advocating pedagogical principles that opposed the so-called *normalists* including João Lourenço.[96] This new group coalesced around the Education Society, established in 1922.[97] The clash between these groups profoundly shaped the course of public education in São Paulo in the following years, driving successive reforms that directly influenced the two sisters' trajectories.

Plotting strategies to progress within the teaching profession, Iracema entered a competition in 1926 to advance from an effective substitute to an assistant role. Successful approval led to her transfer to the Graded School of Guapira, situated approximately 6.2 miles from São Paulo's downtown. However, this assignment was short-lived as, within less than six months, Iracema transitioned to assume a position at "Oswaldo Cruz" Graded School, a return to working in proximity to her residence. This trajectory mirrored Noemy's experience in 1925 when she returned to "Prudente de Moraes" Graded School.[98] These shifts in roles and schools aligned with Pedro Voss' ascension to the DGIPSP position in 1924.[99]

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[93] This period coincided with international conflicts and internal upheavals in São Paulo, including two riots in 1924 and 1932. Additionally, a coup in 1930 brought Getúlio Vargas to power as president of Brazil.

[94] Documents detailing Iracema's professional moves are archived in the Núcleo de Memória e acervo Histórico CRE Mario Covas. They were donated by Maria Leocádia Barros de Oliveira Dias in 2014.

[95] Antonio de Sampaio Dória held the DGIPSP position from 1920 to 1922, succeeded by Guilherme Kuhlmann, who remained in the role until 1924.

[96] The term *normalist* here refers to educators trained at the Normal School of the Capital in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Many of these educators were invited to initiate educational reforms in various Brazilian states, disseminating what Marta Carvalho termed the "São Paulo's school model," which centered on the intuitive method and the graded school. Marta Carvalho, *A escola e a República e outros ensaios* (Bragança Paulista: EDUSF, 2003).

[97] Ana Clara Bortoleto Nery delineates the life cycle of the Education Society into two distinct periods: the first spanned from November 23, 1922, to November 20, 1924; and the second extended from August 27, 1927, and likely continued until around mid-1931. Ana Clara B. Nery, *A sociedade de educação de São Paulo: embates no campo educacional (1922-1931)* (São Paulo: EdUNESP, 2009).

[98] *Correio Paulistano* 22113, no. 1 (17 February 1925): 7. https://memoria.bn.br/DocReader/DocReader.aspx?bib=090972_07&pesq=%22noemy%20marques%20da%20silveira%22&hf=memoria.bn.br&pagfis=17011. Accessed 2 Nov 2023.

[99] In 1927, he was replaced by Amadeu Mendes.

A former normalist, Voss was part of a network that included Carolina Ribeiro and João Lourenço and found himself at odds with members of the Education Society, particularly figures like Renato Jardim, Fernando de Azevedo, Antonio de Almeida Jr., and Manoel Bersgtrom Lourenço Filho. During Voss's tenure directing São Paulo's Public Instruction from 1925 to 1927, the Society's activities were halted due to a reduction in official subsidies. However, the Society resumed its meetings in 1927 when Amadeu Mendes, also affiliated with the association, took the position of DGIPSP.[100]

Amidst the fluctuations in São Paulo's educational policies, Iracema and Noemy, with the support of Itacy—who had completed her course at the Normal School of the Capital in 1924—crafted a new strategy. This approach involved maintaining ties with educators from the League of Catholic Female Teachers while also seeking to connect with members of the Education Society. Their initial focus might have been directed toward two characters: Renato Jardim and Lourenço Filho.

Renato Jardim was part of the initial group of teachers appointed to the State Gymnasium of Ribeirão Preto in 1907, later becoming the institution's director in 1917, served as the Director of Public Instruction in the Brazilian Federal District in 1926.[101] He held the vice-presidency position in the Education Society's inaugural administration. He simultaneously directed the Normal School of the Capital.[102] It is conceivable that Iracema's father, Manoel José da Silveira, a pharmacist in the Ribeirão Preto area who partook in the same generation as Jardim, was a connecting link between them. These connections, albeit geographically possible, remain conjectures.

Lourenço Filho initially started his career as a professor of Pedagogy and Psychology at the Normal School of Piracicaba in 1920. He later assumed the position of Director of Public Instruction for Ceará in 1922. Upon returning to São Paulo in 1925, he took over the Chair of Psychology and Pedagogy at the Normal School of the Capital, succeeding Sampaio Dória. Lourenço Filho revitalized the Experimental Psychology Laboratory at the school and began conducting mental development tests and various other experiments. In 1930, Lourenço Filho ascended to the position of DGIPSP.[103] It is likely that the sisters Iracema and Noemy initially connected with Lourenço Filho through Itacy, who had recently completed her training at the

[100]Amadeu Mendes was the DGIPSP from 1927 until 1930, when he was succeeded by M.B. Lourenço Filho.
[101] Renato Jardim was succeeded in 1927 by Fernando de Azevedo.
[102] Marcus Vinícius Cunha and Tatiane Silva, "Concepções políticas e educacionais de Renato Jardim na década de 1930," *Revista HISTEDBR On-line* 13 (2013): 79.
[103]Lourenço Filho remained in the position until 1931, when he was replaced by Sud Mennucci.

institution. Notably, in 1927, Noemy became Lourenço Filho's assistant in Psychology and Pedagogy at the Normal School of the Capital.

This marked a new phase in the sisters' professional trajectory as they sought to establish themselves in the prestigious Normal School, which, with its associated primary schools and laboratories, offered diverse opportunities and was centrally located in São Paulo, enabling easier navigation within the urban landscape. Their strategies diverged. Noemy embarked on a training project that led her to the United States in 1930. This venture culminated in her professorship at the Institute of Education in 1933, later incorporated under University of São Paulo upon its establishment in 1934, laying the foundation for her successful career in university teaching.[104] Meanwhile, Iracema pursued a new direction in her professional endeavors, expressing interest in school libraries.

It is quite likely that Iracema's decision to work in the library stemmed from her visual impairment. Teaching ensured her survival, providing financial independence. Hence, it was not a matter of abandoning the profession. However, managing daily teaching responsibilities and handling large groups of students could be burdensome. Transitioning to work in a children's library might provide a viable solution, allowing her to remain in the profession.

The genesis of this idea might have arisen when Noemy attended the Normal School of the Capital in 1927. The Primary School Children's Library had been recently established. On May 28, 1925, it came to life by the initiative of Carlos Alberto Gomes Cardim, then serving as the school's director. Initially overseen by Dulce Bressane, by August 1927, it fell under the stewardship of Nísia Pereira Bueno until 1929 when it was shuttered, and its collection transferred from the Normal School Library. Alternatively, the inception might have occurred in 1933, marked by the relaunch of the Children's Library under the guidance of Lenyra Fracarolli, soon succeeded by Dijorah Carvalho dos Santos. The concept solidified in 1935, with Carolina Ribeiro taking over the Primary School connected to the Institute of Education, after her tenure as director of the "São Paulo" Graded School, where Iracema was then engaged.

Indeed, starting from 1928, Iracema and Noemy became actively engaged in the Education Society's endeavors. Noemy served on the Organizing Committee of the Education Week, initiated by the Society, while Iracema contributed to the Exhibition and Composition

[104]The creation of the Education Institute took place during Fernando de Azevedo's brief tenure (9 months) as DGIPSP in 1933. Azevedo also authored the decree that established the University of São Paulo in 1934, incorporating the Teachers College of the of Education Institute among its faculties. Diana Vidal, "Um educador nas lutas de seu tempo," in *Fernando de Azevedo em releituras: sobre lutas travadas, investigações realizadas e documentos guardados*, eds. José Cláudio Silva Sooma, Diana Vidal, and Rachel Duarte Abdala (Rio de Janeiro: Paco Editorial, 2020), 15-86.

Work Committee.[105] Antonio de Sampaio Dória, Lourenço Filho, Renato Jardim, Antonio Ferreira de Almeida Jr, and others also participated in organizing the Week.

The following year, Noemy was selected for a trip to the USA in 1930, backed by support from the Pan-American Union and the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. Ten scholarships were extended to Brazilian educators for a five-week program which encompassed visits to educational institutions across New York, Washington, Baltimore, Philadelphia, and Boston, exploring diverse teaching methods and educational levels.[106] The nomination was facilitated by the São Paulo government, spearheaded by Amadeu Mendes, a member of the Society. At that time, Noemy, alongside Lourenço Filho, was formulating a curriculum on European and North American psychological theories for the Psychology and Pedagogy Chair at the Normal School of the Capital. Additionally, they conducted tests and experiments in the Experimental Psychology Laboratory affiliated with the Chair.[107] She was twenty-seven years old at the time.

The delegation, composed of Carolina Coelho do Rego Rangel, Consuelo Pinheiro, Otávio B. Couto e Silva, Décio Lyra da Silva, Eunice Caldas, Henry Othon Leonardos, Julieta Arruda, Laura Jacobina Lacombe and Maria dos Reis Campos, and coordinated by Carlos Delgado de Carvalho, arrived in New York on 14 January 1930, with the Institute of International Education as their host institution. The group's composition indicates that the inclusion of women in educational expeditions was not uncommon, a point further emphasized by Silmara Cardoso in her research on study trips conducted between 1929 and 1935, particularly focusing on the involvement of women in these missions. An intriguing observation made by the author is that the majority of these women remained unmarried.[108]

That same year, 1930, Iracema was transferred from the "Oswaldo Cruz" Graded School to the Model Graded School affiliated with the Normal School of the Capital. Itacy became the first secretary of the Education Society, serving from 1930 to 1931 on the board of directors

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[105] *Correio Paulistano* 23356, no. 1 (25 September 1928): 7. https://memoria.bn.br/DocReader/DocReader.aspx?bib=090972_07&pesq=%22Iracema%20marques%20da%20silveira%22&hf=memoria.bn.br&pagfis=32391. Accessed 30 Oct 2023.

[106] Trip details can be accessed on the Family Search website at https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:Q2C4-JB3K?from=lynx1UIV7 and https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:24FC-LLS?from=lynx1UIV7. Accessed 29 Oct 2023.

[107] Warde, "Noemy da Silveira Rudolfer", 860-866.

[108] Silmara de Fátima Cardoso, "Viajar é ser autor de muitas histórias*:* experiências de formação e narrativas educacionais de professores brasileiros em viagem aos Estados Unidos (1929 – 1935)," (PhD diss., Universidade de São Paulo, 2015).

headed by President Othoniel Motta. Antonio Ferreira de Almeida Jr. served as the vice president.[109]

As Noemy had already established herself in her role at the Normal School of the Capital, Itacy was embarking on her explorations across the city of São Paulo. Initially assigned to the Vila Hamburguesa one-room school, she later transferred to the Jabaquara one-room school, both located more than 9.3 miles from the family's residence on Avenida Tiradentes. However, in 1930, merely a month following her election as secretary of the Society, she secured a position at the Graded School of Penha.[110] Effectively, she transitioned from a one-room school to a graded school, signifying a notable advancement in her career trajectory. Moreover, this change also resulted in a shorter commute between home and work, reducing the distance to approximately 6.2 miles.

The convergence of involvement in the League of Catholic Female Teachers and the Education Society fostered the conditions for professional mobility. Just as Itacy and Noemy capitalized on the network established with the Society's educators, Iracema turned once more to the League's members. In 1931, Iracema relocated to Rua Augusta, No. 9.[111] Shortly after, she joined Carolina Ribeiro at the 2nd Graded School of Consolação (later renamed "São Paulo" Graded School). Her schedule conveniently allowed her to commute on foot between school and home. At the same time, with Carolina's support, Iracema began her journey at the school children's library. Between 1931 and 1935, Iracema would alternate between the Graded School of Consolação and the premises of the Normal School of the Capital, navigating within the same urban perimeter.

By 1935, Iracema had gained recognition for her expertise in school children's libraries. Upon request of the DGIPSP and Antonio Ferreira de Almeida Junior, vice-president of the Education Society during Itacy's tenure as secretary, Iracema, alongside Lenyra Fraccaroli and José Oliveira Orlandi, formed a commission.[112] Their task involved organizing the DGIPSP Model Children's Library and creating a pamphlet on children's library organization for

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[109] *Correio Paulistano* 23938, no. 1 (10 August 1930): 11. https://memoria.bn.br/DocReader/DocReader.aspx?bib=090972_08&pesq=%22itacy%20marques%20da%20silveira%22&hf=memoria.bn.br&pagfis=3319. Accessed 20 Oct 2023.

[110] *Correio Paulistano* 23972, no. 1 (19 September 1930): 11. https://memoria.bn.br/DocReader/DocReader.aspx?bib=090972_08&pesq=%22itacy%20marques%20da%20silveira%22&hf=memoria.bn.br&pagfis=3877. Accessed 30 Oct 2023.

[111] *Almanak Laemmert* 2 no. 7 (1931): 137. https://memoria.bn.br/DocReader/docreader.aspx?bib=313394&pesq=iracema%20marques%20da%20silveira&pagfis=109328. Accessed 2 Nov 2023.

[112] Almeida Jr. was Head Director of Public Instruction in São Paulo from 1935 to 1938.

distribution among Graded School directors.[113] In the same year, working alongside Lenyra Fraccaroli and Luiz G. Fleury, Iracema played a significant role in conducting the School Library class as part of the School Administration Course offered by the DGIPSP and the Institute of Education. This course catered to forty-nine Graded School directors between 12 - 21 December. The program included a visit to the children's library at the "São Paulo" Graded School, managed under her supervision.[114]

The groundwork was laid for Iracema's permanent tenure at the Institute of Education, starting from August 29, 1936, until her retirement in 1966.[115] She worked with Carolina Ribeiro, who had joined as director of the Primary School of the same Institute in 1935, a position in which she remained until 1948. Despite remaining in São Paulo, Iracema actively engaged in the international new education movement. She immersed herself in extensive literature, particularly focusing on children's school libraries, drawing from the wealth of knowledge gathered during Noemy's frequent travels abroad. Once more, the collaboration between the sisters played a pivotal role in solidifying Iracema's professional trajectory and the acknowledgment of her innovative practices.

Iracema's retirement coincided with João Fernando Dias's birth. He was the son of cousin Maria Leocádia Dias, who lived with Iracema since 1957. From 1966 on and until she died in 1978, Iracema looked after him. She never got married. Her sisters however did. Itacy married Eduardo Pellegrini on April 27, 1933,[116] just before turning 26, while Noemy tied the knot with Bruno Rudolfer on December 8, 1934,[117] at the age of 32. Both experienced late marriages by societal standards at that time.

Notwithstanding being trained and working as teachers, their marriage certificates listed their profession as "housewives," while Eduardo was recorded as a lawyer and Bruno as an engineer. This episode reflects the prevailing societal perception at the time that married women

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[113] *Correio Paulistano* 24438 (20 November 1935): 2. https://memoria.bn.br/DocReader/docreader.aspx?bib=090972_08&pasta=ano%20193&pesq=%22Iracema%20marques%20da%20silveira%22&pagfis=10021. Accessed 2 Nov 2023.

[114] *Correio Paulistano* 24455 (10 December 1935): 3. https://memoria.bn.br/DocReader/docreader.aspx?bib=090972_08&pasta=ano%20193&pesq=%22Iracema%20marques%20da%20silveira%22&pagfis=10278. Accessed 2 Nov 2023.

[115]For further details regarding her work in the Children's Library, refer to Diana Vidal, "Iracema Marques da Silveira," in *Mulheres inovadoras na educação*, eds. Diana Vidal and Paula Vicentini (Belo Horizonte: Fino Traço, 2019), 137–154; Diana Vidal, "Bibliotecas escolares: experiências escolanovistas nos anos 1920-1930," in *Educação, memória, história: possibilidades, leituras*, ed. Maria Cristina Menezes, (Campinas: Mercado de Letras, 2004), 187–212.

[116]Following marriage, Itacy began signing as Itacy da Silveira Pellegrini. https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:6X89-G9TJ. Accessed 2 Nov 2023.

[117]Post her 1934 marriage, Noemy Marques da Silveira began signing as Noemy da Silveira Rudolfer. She became widowed in 1942. https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:6X8W-YDVV. Accessed 2 Nov 2023.

were primarily responsible for private affairs. This societal expectation might have applied to Itacy, given the absence of any further traces of her teaching activity after 1936. However, Noemy took a different path. Upon affiliating with her former professor at the Escola Livre de Sociologia de São Paulo, she wholeheartedly embraced an academic career.

## 2. Noemy — Travels and Academic Work

Noemy Marques da Silveira was recognized as a prominent figure in the field of educational psychology in Brazil, gaining particular acclaim in the late 1920s and early 1930s, following her return from the Teachers College at Columbia University (TC) in New York. Her translation of Adolphe Ferrière's book *A lei biogenética e a escola activa* (*The Biogenetic Law and the Active School*) was published in 1929 as part of a pedagogical series by the publisher Melhoramentos coordinated by Lourenço Filho.[118] The first of a set of translations, it reflected the international readings that Lourenço Filho and she were doing and the connections they were beginning to establish with international networks of educators. Noemy's establishment as a pivotal figure in educational psychology was directly tied to her collaboration with the educator, highlighting the significance of intellectual networks in individuals' careers, particularly for women like herself during the first half of the 20th century.

During her initial trip to the US in 1930, Noemy focused on studying career guidance services in New York, Washington, Baltimore, Philadelphia, and Boston. While in New York, she had the opportunity to attend a class taught by Lester Wilson, who was responsible for the American Education course, at the Teachers College (TC). She also completed a brief internship at the Horace Mann and Lincoln schools, affiliated with the TC. During her time at Harvard University, she interacted with Dr. Dearborn. Isaac Kandel and Lawrence Duggan helped organize the activities to be developed by the group.[119]

One consequence of her trip was an invitation from Paul Monroe, director of the *International Institute* at the TC, for Noemy to run for the *Macy Grant*, which took her back to the USA in September of the same year. In her new foray into TC, she delved into various courses, including educational psychology (an area she aimed to specialize in), philosophy of education, statistics applied to psychology, educational sociology, and the social construction of programs. Additionally, she audited courses on individual psychology, the psychology of

[118]Letters exchanged between Lourenço Filho and Adolphe Ferrière suggest that the translation took place from a Spanish version.
[119] Noemy Marques da Silveira, "Visita de professores brasileiros aos Estados Unidos," *Educação* 12 (1930): 153–156.

nursing, and the history of psychology.[120] Her studies under Kilpatrick significantly influenced her teaching practice, leaving a profound impression on her approach.[121] The increasing presence of women at the TC and the process of feminization of teaching has already been observed by other authors. Among the findings specifically about the profile of Brazilian students at the TC between the 1920s and early 1940s is the fact that around two-thirds of them were women, with the majority being unmarried.[122]

Noemy's planned one-year stay at the TC did not come to fruition as she returned to Brazil earlier than expected at the request of Lourenço Filho, who sought her assistance in his efforts to reform education in São Paulo when he took on the role of DGIPSP. Noemy took on a significant role, being entrusted with directing the Applied Psychology Service, a newly established initiative by Lourenço Filho.[123].

After her second trip to the US, Noemy translated two more titles closely linked to her experiences at the TC. In 1933, she translated *Education for a Changing Civilization* by William Heard Kilpatrick,[124] published by Melhoramentos. Additionally, she translated *Psychology for Students of Education* by Arthur I. Gates, in two volumes, published in 1935 and 1939 by Saraiva publishing house.[125] Both authors, professors at the TC, had a direct influence on her, particularly Kilpatrick, whose classes she attended.

In 1932, Noemy took the role of chair of Educational Psychology at the São Paulo Institute of Education, succeeding Lourenço Filho, who had been appointed to direct the Institute of Education of the Brazilian Federal District in Rio de Janeiro. By 1936, she defended her monograph, *A evolução da psicologia educacional através de um histórico da psicologia moderna* (*The Evolution of Educational Psychology through a History of Modern Psychology*), in a competition for the chair of Educational Psychology. Her success in this competition made her the sole woman among the permanent teaching staff at the Teachers College of the Institute of Education. In 1938, her monograph was revised and published as a book titled *Introdução à Psicologia Educacional* (Introduction to Educational Psychology) by Editora Nacional. This became her most renowned work, reaching its sixth edition in 1961.[126]

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[120] Fundação Getulio Vargas, *Relatório e balanços do exercício de 1947* (Rio de Janeiro: FGV, 1948).
[121] Noemy da Silveira Rudolfer, "Um ensaio de methodo activo no ensino superio," *Archivos do Instituto de Educação* 2 (1936), 47–107.
[122] Silveira, "Visita de professores brasileiros," 153–156.
[123] Silveira, "Visita de professores brasileiros," 153–156.
[124]Originally published under the title *Education for a Changing Civilization*, in 1926, by the Macmillan Company.
[125]Originally published under the title *Psychology for Students of Education*, in 1923, by the Macmillan Company.
[126] Rafaela Silva Rabelo, "Noemy da Silveira Rudolfer e a vanguarda da psicologia educacional no Brasil," in *Mulheres inovadoras na educação*, eds. Diana Vidal and Paula Vicentini (Belo Horizonte: Fino Traço, 2019), 219-240.

When the Institute of Education was detached from the University of São Paulo, in 1938, full professors from the Teachers College, including Noemy, were incorporated into the Faculty of Philosophy, Sciences, and Letters (FFCL) at USP. At FFCL, Noemy held the chair of Educational Psychology until her retirement in 1954. She received the title of Professor Emeritus at USP in 1960.[127]

In 1941, Noemy embarked on her third trip to the US, invited by the Progressive Education Association (PEA). Her purpose was to take part in the 8th International Conference of the New Education Fellowship (NEF) and deliver a series of lectures during her visit. As part of the conference program, she participated in the session *Parents and Education in the Western Hemisphere*, with a paper titled *What is Happening to Parents and Children in Brazil?*[128]

The New Education Fellowship (NEF) emerged in 1921 as an international organization, uniting educators worldwide who shared an interest in innovative pedagogical approaches. This movement, known as the new education movement in the historiography of education, gathered educators from diverse countries. The Progressive Education Association (PEA), on the other hand, was a US-based organization established in 1919 becoming linked to the NEF in 1932. Research indicates that Brazilian educators had been in contact with NEF members, including Adolphe Ferrière, since the 1920s. In the 1941 congress held in the US, there were indications in the Brazilian press that Lourenço Filho was invited to participate. However, despite these reports, his name did not appear in the program, PEA documents, or subsequent press coverage, suggesting that his attendance did not take place. Noemy, his former student and collaborator, did attend. The following year, Carleton Washburne, then president of the PEA, visited South America and facilitated the establishment of an NEF session in Brazil, with Lourenço Filho presiding over the meeting. During Washburne's visit to São Paulo, Noemy hosted him, and there were intentions to create a sub-session under her direction. However, this initiative seemingly did not come to fruition.[129]

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[127] *Última Hora* 03139 (19 September 1960): 3. https://memoria.bn.br/DocReader/docreader.aspx?bib=386030&pesq=noemy%20rudolfer&pagfis=61786. Accessed 2 Nov 2023.

[128] Available from: https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=mdp.39015076543985;view=1up;seq=5. Accessed 29 Oct 2023.

[129] Rafaela Silva Rabelo and Diana Gonçalves Vidal, "A seção brasileira da New Education Fellowship: (des)encontros e (des)conexões," in *Movimento Internacional da Educação Nova*, eds. Diana Gonçalves Vidal and Rafaela Silva Rabelo (Belo Horizonte: Fino Traço, 2020), 25–47; Rafaela Silva Rabelo, "The New Education Fellowship, the Progressive Education Association, and the US Department of State: South America as part of a complex entanglement," *Paedagogica Historica* 57 (2021): 183–199.

Noemy's travels to the US and her connections with educators and researchers in psychology, both American and European, significantly influenced her work. This is evident in the themes she explored, and the theoretical and bibliographical resources present in her publications and Educational Psychology course curricula.

In one instance documented by the Getúlio Vargas Foundation report, she led a cultural mission in 1944 comprising professors and students from the FFCL-USP. This mission covered Uruguay, Argentina, Chile, Peru, and Bolivia, during which Noemy delivered ten conferences.[130] Pieces found in the periodical press reveal her involvement in other ventures, including her participation in the 1st Latin American Psychoanalytic Congress in Buenos Aires in 1956. She was also a professor at the University of Chile. In an interview given in 1956, Noemy mentioned visiting nineteen countries on cultural missions.[131] On one hand, her international travels added to her expertise in psychological research and test development; on the other, she solidified herself as a reference within Brazil, cited in foreign publications that mapped experts from each country.

The connections Noemy forged during her travels and the networks she and her closest peers, like Lourenço Filho, were part of, were paramount in forming intellectual and professional networks whose connections led to the translation of globally renowned authors and invitations to various events and projects.

Despite Noemy's recognition as a leading figure in educational psychology in the 1930s, tensions within her professional career have been emphasized by different authors and documented in various sources. The former Applied Psychology Service, later renamed the Psychology Laboratory, was incorporated into the Chair of Educational Psychology under Noemy's responsibility while she was still at the Institute of Education. When the laboratory was relocated to the FFCL in 1938, Noemy continued to oversee its operations. In 1941, the laboratory was closed, coinciding with the passing of Bruno Rudolfer the following year.[132] The series of international trips that followed these events may have been a way for Noemy, then a widow, to escape disputes within the scope of USP.

The tensions existing at the Institute of Education were clearly reflected in the minutes of the congregation. Noemy's assertive stance and her distinct vision regarding teacher training

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[130] Fundação Getulio Vargas, *Relatório e balanços do exercício de 1947*.

[131] *Correio Paulistano* 30805 (2 September 1956): 12. https://memoria.bn.br/DocReader/docreader.aspx?bib=090972_10&pasta=ano%20195&pesq=noemy%20rudolfer&pagfis=33036. Accessed 2 Nov 2023.

[132] *Correio Paulistano* 26421, no. 1 (25 April 1942): 6. https://memoria.bn.br/DocReader/DocReader.aspx?bib=090972_09&pesq=%22bruno%20rudolfer%22&pasta=ano%20194&hf=memoria.bn.br&pagfis=11008. Accessed 10 Nov 2023.

and the role of the Institute often led to conflicts with her colleagues. Notably, Noemy was the sole woman among the tenured professors. The challenges persisted even after her transfer to the FFCL. As highlighted by Bontempi Júnior,[133] all tenured professors who moved from the Institute of Education had higher education qualifications, except for Noemy, who graduated from the Normal School at the post-primary level.

Pérez-Ramos'[134] observations highlight several questions regarding the tensions and potential gender-related issues that could have influenced Noemy's career trajectory:

> Despite her successes, not everything was smooth sailing in her professional life, raising the following unresolved question:
> Why, holding the significant role of Professor of Educational Psychology and seemingly well integrated into a prestigious university environment that resonated with her values, did Prof. Noemy spend prolonged periods away and retire prematurely? Could there have been, behind these notable accomplishments, a biased perception against the "intellectual woman", both married and later widowed, who was Prof. Noemy? Should she have devoted herself to domestic chores instead of pursuing said "intellectual pursuits," as was the norm during that era?
> Alternatively, could it have been her dynamic, active, and entrepreneurial personality that prompted her departure from the Chair she honored so much, to embrace the challenges of several other elevated roles and missions within the country and abroad? In these diverse roles, she equally showcased the brilliance of her intelligence and knowledge, transcending any biases regarding women's roles in the society of her time.[135]

Retirement would come in 1954, two years after she adopted Maria Rosa Telles da Silveira Rudolfer .[136] Perhaps it was time for her to dedicate herself to motherhood. Nevertheless, despite being retired and a mother, Noemy remained active. In 1980, she played a role in founding the São Paulo Psychology Association, where she held Chair No. 2, honoring Lourenço Filho, who passed away in 1970.

## 3. Conclusion

Iracema died in São Paulo on 24 May 1978; Noemy died there on 16 December 1980. While we were able to reconstruct aspects of their professional careers, information about their

[133] Bruno Bontempi Júnior, "A cadeira de história e filosofia da educação da USP entre os anos 40 e 60: um estudo das relações entre a vida acadêmica e a grande imprensa" (PhD diss., Pontifícia Universidade Católica de São Paulo, 2001).
[134] Aidyl M. de Queiroz Pérez-Ramos, "Noemy da Silveira Rudolfer (former holder of Chair No. 2) is prominently featured in the remarkable chronicle of Brazilian trailblazers within the work of Hebe C. Boa-Viagem A. Costa," *Boletim Academia Paulista de Psicologia* 15 (2005): 40–44.
[135] Pérez-Ramos, "Noemy da Silveira Rudolfer," 44.
[136] FamilySearch. c2023. https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:WCWK-D2PZ. Accessed 2 Nov 2023.

private lives remains sparse. We know that Iracema was unmarried, and that Noemy married relatively late, at the age of thirty-two. They both experienced motherhood late in their lives. At the age of sixty-five, Iracema took care of João Fernando, while Noemy was almost fifty when she adopted Maria Rosa. To overcome the lack of sources, we based our speculations on comparisons with other analyses of teaching experiences, aiming to illustrate the connections developed between the two sisters as a means of forging their careers and establishing themselves in the educational realm, employing an intersectional approach.

Deploying Levi's concept of "immaterial heritage" [137], we conjectured that the agency of their sister Itacy and their father Manoel had helped them, as well as the friendship of Carolina Ribeiro. Such networks expanded over the years through social and professional interactions, involving relationships with male educators and both secular and religious associations. Socially, it is improbable that they extended beyond the São Paulo middle-class circle. Noemy and Itacy's weddings received no significant coverage in the press. Only the date of their mother's death, on 10 December 1935, is known.[138]

The challenges encountered in uncovering traces of their personal lives place them within the ordinary circumstances experienced by many women in primary education in São Paulo. Unlike male educators like Lourenço Filho, who donated his personal collection to the Center for Research and Documentation of Contemporary History of Brazil at Fundação Getúlio Vargas (CPDOC/FGV), and Fernando de Azevedo, who bequeathed his collection to the Institute of Brazilian Studies at USP, these two women left no public trace of their personal documentation in archives. This does not imply that they did not counter invisibility through a deliberate practice of memory. In Iracema's case, this practice manifested in photographic albums and textual documents of her labour activities now housed in the Children's Library, presently under the care of the Núcleo de Memória e Acervo Histórico CRE Mario Covas of the Department of Education of the State of São Paulo/EFAP. Noemy, on the other hand, left her mark through numerous publications and translations she carried out.

By illuminating their female experiences, we refute the notion of history as a "singular collective."[139] Simultaneously, we aim to showcase how Iracema and Noemy, employing

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[137] Levi, *A herança imaterial*.

[138] Anna Marques da Silveira passed on December 10, 1935 (*Correio Paulistano* 24560, no. 1 (11 December 1935): 4. https://memoria.bn.br/DocReader/docreader.aspx?bib=090972_08&pasta=ano%20193&pesq=%22anna%20marques%20da%20silveira%22&pagfis=10345. Accessed 2 Nov 2023) e Manoel José da Silveira em 20/07/1944 (*A Gazeta da Pharmácia* 00151 (Nov 1944): 18. https://memoria.bn.br/DocReader/docreader.aspx?bib=029548&pasta=ano%20194&pesq=%22manoel%20jose%20da%20silveira%22&pagfis=1151. Accessed 2 Nov 2023).

[139] Koselleck, *Futures past.*

various tactics, crafted successful professional paths amidst power relations anchored in gender, religion, and social class belonging and overcoming obstacles, including those related to physical disability.

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*Almanak Laemmert* 2 no. 7 (1931): 137. https://memoria.bn.br/DocReader/docreader.aspx?bib=313394&pesq=iracema%20marques%20da%20silveira&pagfis=109328. Accessed 2 Nov 2023.

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*Correio Paulistano* 24455 (10 December 1935): 3. https://memoria.bn.br/DocReader/docreader.aspx?bib=090972_08&pasta=ano%20193&pesq=%22Iracema%20marques%20da%20silveira%22&pagfis=10278. Accessed 2 Nov 2023.

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TEXTO EM PORTUGUÊS

**Gender and intersectionality:**

**feminine strategies in the teaching career (Brazil, first half of 20th century)**

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**Introduction**

The sisters Iracema and Noemy Silveira are the guiding thread of this narrative. Born in the interior of the state of São Paulo, they will together build a professional trajectory in which family ties, educational networks, care relationships, and international travels are intertwined, offering paths for understanding the strategies mobilized by women to remain in the teaching profession in public service and build careers in the first half of the twentieth century in Brazil. Both were associated with the transnational movement of new education, albeit in different ways, and exercised different forms of insertion in the teaching profession. Iracema restricted herself to primary education, acting as a school librarian; Noemy embraced an ambitious training project that involved travelling to the United States of America, studying at the Teachers College of Columbia University and taking up the chair of Educational Psychology at the University of São Paulo. However, if the final destinations were radically different, career entry was made simultaneously. Almost two years older than Noemy, Iracema waited for her younger sister to finish primary school for both of them to start training for teaching together.

The episode reveals the relationships of solidarity established between the sisters that would last for almost two decades. At the age of 8, in 1908, Iracema had an accident that affected one of her eyes. Visual impairment made school attendance difficult, which was overcome with Noemy's help. From then on, the sisters studied together over teachers training education. They also started their teaching careers together, working in the same primary schools. The paths began to separate in 1927 when Iracema began her journey to become a school librarian, and Noemy took up the job as assistant at the Experimental Psychology Lab. In the complex fabric that the sisters build their careers, the networks established with female and male educators and educational politicians are determinants of the positions they successively assume, as well as the changes in the schools in which they work until they reach the prestigious Institute of Education in São Paulo.

The network theory, such as considered by Eckhardt Fuchs[140], allow us to "focus on agents and their interactions that have not yet been an object of historical interest but have greatly influenced educational developments on the local, national and international level". It also "may be helpful to draw a micro-perspective picture that envisages from a cultural angle the specific circumstances, variations, actors and mechanics of phenomena that macro-sociological theories on the worldwide development of education describe as global processes of standardization and homogenization". In this case, the network theory not only let us understand the ways female teachers built strategies to remain in the teaching profession, as for

[140] Fuchs, Eckhardt.2007. Networks and the History of Education. *Paedagogica Historica* 43:2, 185-186

Iracema Silveira; but also, how they managed to cross the glass ceiling, mentioned by Sue Freeman[141] and Christine Williams[142], and occupy positions restricted to men, as for Noemy Silveira.

We mobilize the concept of "immaterial heritage", from Giovani Levi[143], by which it is possible to highlight the family efforts regarding transmission of knowledges in teaching profession as well as favoring the maintenance and progression in teachers' career. Levi's concept comprises also the idea of family as a broader social group, which makes use of solidarities, exchange of favors, reciprocities and protections among other social groups, with the objective of overcome social and professional barriers. Agreeing with Kosellec[144], when he asserts that "collective singulars" become "concepts for the registration of experience" that concentrate, obscure and hide diverse experiences; we argue that an intersectionality perspective may bring light to multiples ways of being a female teacher at the first half of 20th century.

As for this case study, we are dealing with issues of gender, social class, religion and physical disability. The sisters Iracema and Noemy came from the lower middle class. Working provided the means of survivor and accumulation of assets. Iracema's disability didn't prevent her for searching for a career. On the contrary, with the help of her sister, she found a place as librarian in the primary school, which allowed her to remain active util her retirement. This scenario provokes us to reflect on how the teaching career offered a feasible and respectfully labor option for female sustenance in the society at the time. Thus, this study converges with the questions raised by sociologists about intersection of gender and class in labor market[145]. Finally, the connections with catholic and lay educators were key for both to advance in their careers, which makes us inquire about the networks they built.

Intersectionality here refers to the classic concept, created by Kimberlé Crenshaw[146], intertwining gender, religion, and class, applied to the teaching career and extended to physical

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[141] Freeman, Sue J.M. 1990. *Managing Lives: Corporate Women and Social Change*. Amherst, Mass: University of Massachusetts Press

[142] Williams, Christine L. 1992.The Glass Escalator: Hidden Advantages for Men in the "Female" Professions, Social Problems 39:3 (Aug., 1992), 253-267 Published by: Oxford University Press on behalf of the Society for the Study of Social Problems

[143] Levi, Giovanni. 2000. *Herança imaterial: trajetória de um exorcista no Piemonte no século XVII*. Rio de janeiro: Civilização Brasileira

[144] Koselleck, Reinhart.2004. *Futures Past: On the Semantics of Historical Time.* New York: Columbia University Press, p. 271-272.

[145] Browne, Irene; Misra, Joya (agosto de 2003).The intersection of gender and race in the labor market. *Annual Review of Sociology* 29: 487–513.

[146] Crenshaw, Kimberlé . 1989. Demarginalizing the intersection of race and sex; a black feminist critique of discrimination doctrine, feminist theory and antiracist politics. University of Chicago Legal Forum, p. 139-167

disability. It is a powerful framework to explain some life options, such as the fact that Iracema remained a spinster. Noemy married but was widowed early and never remarried. The story of these two women demonstrates the varied ways of exercising the teaching profession in the period, the family strategies for career advancement and the different possibilities of being feminine in Brazil.

## 4. Iracema e Noemy: tramando redes e cumplicidades

Iracema e Noemy nasceram em 14 de dezembro de 1900 e 8 de agosto de 1902, respectivamente, em Ibiquara, uma pequena povoação, situada no interior do Estado de São Paulo, a 300 km da capital. A povoação, surgida com a chegada da estrada de ferro Mogiana em São Simão, região de Ribeirão Preto, seria transformada em município apenas em 1910, depois nomeada Santa Rosa do Viterbo. As duas eram filhas do farmacêutico Manoel José da Silveira e de Anna Marques da Silveira, e tinham como irmãs Maria e Itacy Marques da Silveira. Esse núcleo familiar feminino, era também docente. À exceção de Maria, que cursou a Escola de Pharmacia e Odontologia de São Paulo entre 1912 e 1914, a exemplo do pai; Iracema, Noemy e a caçula Itacy formaram-se professoras.

Em meados de 1908, após sofrer um "acidente que afetou gravemente seus olhos e comprometeu sua capacidade de visão"[147], Iracema mudou-se para São Paulo. Vinha para concluir o ensino primário no internato Collegio Modelo, dirigido por Maria Flora Redondo do Nascimento e inaugurado em janeiro de 1909 em sua residência. Maria Flora era irmã de Manoel Ferreira Redondo, escritor e membro da Academia Brasileira de Letras, e esposa de Domingos Rodrigues do Nascimento, diretor do Collegio João de Deus[148]. Reconhecida pelo seu "valor intellectual"[149], Maria Flora reunia as credenciais sociais, morais e intelectuais necessárias para acolher a então menina Iracema.

À época, Itacy contava com pouco mais de 1 ano, nascida em 12 de junho de 1907, o que dificultou o deslocamento da mãe, Anna, e favoreceu a opção pelo internato. Em 1912, porém, a família transferiu-se para a cidade de São Paulo, com o ingresso de Maria na Escola de Pharmácia e Odontologia e a suspensão das atividades que o pai exercia como farmacêutico,

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[147] Pinheiro, Ana Regina. 2008. *Escola Caetano de Campos: Escola Paulista, Escola Vanguardeira*. UNICAMP, Doutorado, , p. 64.

[148] *Correio Paulistano*, 20/01/1916, p. 3. https://memoria.bn.br/DocReader/docreader.aspx?bib=090972_06&pasta=ano%20191&pesq=&pagfis=38392. Acesso em 30 out. 2023.

[149] *Revista da Semana*, 29/01/1916. https://memoria.bn.br/DocReader/DocReader.aspx?bib=025909_01&pesq=maria%20flora%20redondo%20do%20nascimento&hf=memoria.bn.br&pagfis=23458. Acesso em 30 out. 2023.

em Santa Rosa do Viterbo, e como enfermeiro, em São Simão[150]. Na capital, Manoel instalou a Pharmácia São Benedicto e, a partir de 1918, passou a integrar o conselho consultivo do Monte Pio Pharmaceutico[151].

Juntas, as adolescentes Iracema, com 14 anos de idade, e Noemy, com 12, ingressaram, em 1915, na Escola Normal Primária do Braz[152]. Três anos depois, em 23 de outubro de 1918, concluíam o curso de formação para o magistério. À essa época Maria completava seu primeiro ano de falecimento[153] e a cidade de São Paulo era assolada pela epidemia da gripe espanhola que, entre 15 de outubro e 19 de dezembro, infectou 350 mil pessoas, um terço da população do município[154]. O trabalho realizado pelo "laborioso pharmaceutico Manoel José da Silveira"[155] durante o surto epidêmico pode ter consolidado seu prestígio social, contribuindo na trajetória profissional das filhas.

O ano de 1919 inaugurou o início da atividade docente das irmãs. Iracema foi lotada como substituta efetiva no Grupo Escolar[156] do Pary. Noemy ingressou como substituta efetitva

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[150] *Alamanak Laemmert*, 1913, p. 4354. https://memoria.bn.br/DocReader/docreader.aspx?bib=313394&pesq=%22manoel%20jos%C3%A9%20da%20silveira%22&pagfis=52774. Acesso em 30 out 2023.

[151] *Alamank Laemmert*, 1921, p. 2234. https://memoria.bn.br/DocReader/docreader.aspx?bib=313394&pesq=%22manoel%20jos%C3%A9%20da%20silveira%22&pagfis=76984. Acesso em 30 out. 2023.

[152] *A Gazeta (SP)*, 12/01/1915, p. 7. https://memoria.bn.br/DocReader/docreader.aspx?bib=763900&pesq=noemy%20marques%20da%20silveira&pagfis=2522. Acesso em 02 nov. 2023.
À época, na cidade de São Paulo, existiam duas escolas de formação de professores: a Escola Normal do Braz e a Escola Normal da Capital, esta última também denominada Escola Normal "Caetano de Campos". Ambas possuíam duas escolas primárias modelo anexas, uma para o sexo masculino e outra para o sexo feminino. A Escola Normal da Capital tinha ainda um jardim de infância. Em 1931, a Escola Normal da Capital foi transformada em Instituto Pedagógico, e em 1933 em Instituto de Educação e passou a contar com uma escola secundária. Em 1934, o Instituto de Educação foi associado à Universidade de São Paulo, por sua Escola de Professores, passando a formar professores para atuar no ensino primário e secundário (Olinda Evangelista, "A formação Universitária do Professor. O Instituto de Educação da Universidade de São Paulo (1934-1938)", (Florianópolis: NUP; Cidade Futura, 2002).

[153] *Correio Paulistano*, 08/09/1917, p. 11. https://memoria.bn.br/DocReader/DocReader.aspx?bib=090972_06&pagfis=43678. Acesso em 30 out. 2023.

[154] Souza, Christiane Maria Cruz de. 2005. As dimensões político-sociais de uma epidemia: a paulicéia desvairada pela gripe espanhola. *História da Ciência Saúde*-Manguinhos, Rio de Janeiro, 12: 2, 567-573.

[155] *Correio Paulistano*, 11/12/1918, p. 5. https://memoria.bn.br/DocReader/DocReader.aspx?bib=090972_06&pagfis=48456. Acesso em 30 out. 2023.

[156] A estrutura da escolarização no Brasil na primeira metade do século XX era constituída em quatro modalidades: ensino primário, pós-primário, secundário e superior. O ensino primário era oferecido em escolas isoladas unidocentes e multisseriadas ou escolas seriadas que poderiam ser escolas reunidas ou grupos escolares. Os grupos escolares constituíam-se em escolas urbanas, enquanto as reunidas existiam em zonas rurais ou periféricas, sendo um modelo transitório entre as escolas isoladas e os grupos escolares (Rossi, Edneia. 2017. Escolas reunidas e grupos escolares: traços da modernidade técnico-científica no ensino elementar (1889-1929). *Acta Scientiarum. Human and Social Science* 39: 3, 317-325).. Em termos de status e de salário docente, ser designado para um grupo escolar demonstrava mais prestigio e oferecia melhores condições de trabalho. As escolas normais eram de nível pós-primário, tinham caráter profissional e terminal; ou seja, não permitiam acesso ao nível superior. Para cursar uma faculdade, era necessário passar por uma escola secundária. Já a frequência ao curso secundário não exigia passar por estudos pós-primários. Portanto, havia dois percursos escolares possíveis, um que levava à

na Escola Modelo anexa à Escola Normal do Braz e logo foi removida para a Escola Modelo anexa à Escola Normal da Capital[157]. Nos dois casos, as irmãs estavam a uma distância aproximada de 4km da residência familiar, situada na av Tiradentes, nr. 30. Em 20 de abril de 1920, Iracema transferia-se a pedido para o Grupo Escolar "Prudente de Moraes", localizado na mesma av. Tiradentes, nr. 3. Passados poucos meses, Noemy viria se juntar à irmã, sendo designada como substituta efetiva também no Grupo Escolar "Prudente de Moraes"[158]. Três elementos chamam a atenção nesse relato: o fato de que as recém-formadas estivessem lotadas na região central da cidade, atuassem na mesma instituição e fossem beneficiadas pela proximidade entre local de trabalho e de residência.

Ampliar o foco da análise para abarcar as redes de relações talvez nos ajude a elucidar aspectos da trama. Comecemos pela coincidência de em 1919 também ter sido criada a Liga das Professoras Católicas[159] na cidade de São Paulo. Congregava, "dentre os professores católicos, Carolina Ribeiro, Iracema Marques da Silveira e João Lourenço"[160]. As relações das irmãs com a associação são duradouras, assim como a amizade com Carolina Ribeiro e João Lourenço.

João Lourenço à época era professor da Escola Normal da Capital, cargo que havia assumido em 1912. Antes disso, tinha sido inspetor geral da instrução em São Paulo. Cultivava boas relações com o então Diretor Geral da Instrução Pública de São Paulo (DGIPSP), Oscar Thompson[161]. Era um educador influente e reunia as condições necessárias para obter a transferência das irmãs em tempo tão exíguo. Pode ter apoiado a carreira de Iracema em

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profissionalização e outro que permitia a formação acadêmica. Nos anos 1910 e 1920, as escolas normais representavam para as mulheres tanto a continuidade dos estudos após o curso primário como a preparação para o exercício profissional.

[157] *Correio Paulistano,* 01/06/1920, p. 8. https://memoria.bn.br/DocReader/DocReader.aspx?bib=090972_07&pesq=%22noemy%20marques%20da%20silveira%22&hf=memoria.bn.br&pagfis=1712. Acesso em 2 nov 2023.

[158] Warde, Mirian Jorge. 2002. Noemy da Silveira Rudolfer. In *Dicionário de educadores no Brasil:* da colônia aos dias atuais, ed. Maria de Lourdes de Albuquerque Fávero; Jader de Medeiros Britto. Rio de Janeiro: Editora UFRJ/MEC-Inep-Comped, p. 860.

[159] De acordo com Pinheiro, "a Liga surgiu como uma associação leiga destinada não apenas a reunir e proteger as professoras primárias, sob a tradição e os valores católicos. (...) visava a assegurar, em suas ações, o fortalecimento do projeto político da Igreja para a recristianização da sociedade e da relação institucional entre a Igreja e o Estado". Teve sua denominação alterada em 1929 para Liga do Professorado Católico, acolhendo a filiação de professores do sexo masculino. Desde sua criação, entretanto, pode-se identificar a proximidade de professores homens com as atividades da Liga, como foi o caso de João Lourenço (Pinheiro, Ana Regina. 2015. Instrução do povo sob a proteção do catolicismo – militância docente e a expansão da escolarização em São Paulo. *Revista Brasileira de História da Educação* 15: 2 (38), 207).

[160] Pinheiro, *Escola Caetano de Campos,* p. 65

[161] Oscar Thompson foi diretor da Escola Normal da Capital de 1901 a 1920, respondendo pela DGIPSP em duas gestões: entre 1909 e 1911; e, entre 1917 e 1920, quando foi substituído por Antônio de Sampaio Dória (Rocha, Heloisa. 2011. Alfabetização, saneamento e regeneração nas iniciativas de difusão da escola primária em São Paulo. Pro-Posições, Campinas, 22:2 (65), 154). O cargo de Diretor Geral de Instrução Pública corresponde ao que atualmente denominamos Secretário Estadual da Educação.

momentos posteriores também. Cartas trocadas entre ela e João Lourenço, nos anos 1930 e 1940[162] evidenciam a manutenção de laços profissionais e de afeto.

Carolina Ribeiro acabara de assumir como professora da Escola Normal do Braz, mas teria uma trajetória de grande destaque na educação paulista, chegando a ser a primeira mulher no cargo de Secretária da Educação do Estado de São Paulo em 1955. A presença de Carolina ao lado das irmãs é percebida desde 1921 e se estendeu por toda a vida. Vamos encontrá-la como diretora do Grupo Escolar "São Paulo", quando da passagem de Iracema pela escola e momento em que pela primeira vez ela atuou como bibliotecária escolar. Nos anos seguintes, Carolina e Iracema trabalhariam juntas no Instituto de Educação. Itacy se uniu às irmãs Iracema e Noemy em homenagem prestada a Carolina Ribeiro em 1938[163]. Em 1955, na nomeação de Carolina à Secretaria de Educação, foi Noemy quem proferiu o discurso de louvor[164].

No entanto, nesses conturbados anos 1920 e 1930[165], nada era estável e, novamente em 1923, Iracema era transferida de escola, sendo designada para substituição da professora Brazilina de Araújo e, na sequência, do professor Mario de Oliveira Campos, durante impedimento de ambos por licença, nas Escolas Reunidas de Villa Carrão[166]. Noemy era removida para o 2º. Grupo Escolar da Lapa. Com a mudança, as irmãs passavam a precisar percorrer aproximadamente 15 km para chegar ao local de trabalho, situado em zona periférica da cidade de São Paulo. Ademais, no caso de Iracema, deixar um grupo escolar para atuar em uma escola reunida significava retroceder na carreira.

A reviravolta estava associada a mudanças na política local. As sucessivas reformas da educação pública ocorridas em 1920 e 1922, conduzidas por Antonio de Sampaio Doria e Guilherme Kuhlmann[167] tinham colocado no poder um grupo de educadores, cujas propostas pedagógicas contrapunham-se aos chamados *normalistas*[168], dentre eles João Lourenço. O novo

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[162] Pinheiro, *Escola Caetano de Campos*, p. 67

[163] *Correio Paulistano*, 22/7/1938, p. 11. https://memoria.bn.br/DocReader/DocReader.aspx?bib=090972_08&pesq=%22Iracema%20marques%20da%20silveira%22&hf=memoria.bn.br&pagfis=25046. Acesso em 29 out. 2023.

[164] Pinheiro, *Escola Caetano de Campos*, p. 7.

[165] A par dos conflitos situados no cenário internacional, São Paulo iria vivenciar duas revoltas, uma ocorrida em 1924 e outra em 1932. No interregno, em 1930, um golpe de estado colocou Getúlio Vargas na presidência da República.

[166] Os documentos sobre o deslocamento profissional de Iracema estão depositados no Núcleo de Memória e acervo Histórico CRE Mario Covas. Foram doados por Maria Leocádia Barros de Oliveira Dias, em 2014.

[167] Antonio de Sampaio Dória foi DGIPSP de 1920 a 1922, quando foi substituído por Guilherme Kuhlmann, que ficou no cargo até 1924.

[168] O termo *normalista*, neste caso, refere-se aos professores formados pela Escola Normal da Capital no final do século XIX e primeiros anos do século XX. Muitos deles foram convidados a realizar reformas de educação pública em vários estados brasileiros, disseminando o que Marta Carvalho (2003) chamou de modelo escolar paulista, assentado fundamentalmente no método intuitivo e na escola seriada, conhecida no Brasil pela denominação de grupos escolares.

grupo se articularia em torno da Sociedade de Educação, criada em 1922[169]. O embate entre os dois grupos determinaria os rumos da educação pública em São Paulo nos anos seguintes, em sucessivas reformas do aparato público com impactos diretos na trajetória das duas irmãs.

Tramando táticas de permanência na profissão docente e de ascensão, Iracema submete-se a concurso para passar de substituta efetiva a adjunta em 1926. A aprovação incorreu em transferência para o Grupo Escolar do Guapira, a uma distância de aproximadamente 10 km do centro de São Paulo, mas tratou-se apenas de uma escola de passagem, pois em menos de 6 meses, Iracema assumia no Grupo Escolar "Oswaldo Cruz", voltando a atuar próximo à residência. Seguia a trilha que havia permitido a Noemy, em 1925, retornar ao Grupo Escolar "Prudente de Moraes"[170]. As mudanças coincidiam com a ascensão de Pedro Voss ao cargo de DGIPSP em 1924[171].

Antigo *normalista*, Voss era integrante da rede que unia Carolina Ribeiro e João Lourenço, e estava em rota de colisão com os membros da Sociedade de Educação, notadamente Renato Jardim, Fernando de Azevedo, Antonio de Almeida Jr. e Manoel Bersgtrom Lourenço Filho. De fato, entre 1925 e 1927, enquanto Voss dirigiu a Instrução Pública paulista, a Sociedade teve suas atividades suspensas, por do corte de subsídio oficial. A Sociedade voltaria a reunir-se em 1927, quando Amadeu Mendes[172], também vinculado à associação assumiu a DGIPSP.

Diante dos altos e baixos da política educacional paulista, Iracema e Noemy, com apoio de Itacy que concluira o curso da Escola Normal da Capital em 1924, desenharam uma nova tática que, sem abandonar os vínculos com os educadores da Liga das Professoras Católicas, as aproximasse dos membros da Sociedade de Educação. Muito possivelmente os primeiros investimentos visaram dois personagens: Renato Jardim e Lourenço Filho.

Renato Jardim fazia parte, em 1907, do primeiro grupo de professores designado para o Ginásio de Estado de Ribeirão Preto, chegando a ser diretor da instituição em 1917; foi Diretor da Instrução Pública no Distrito Federal em 1926[173] e vice-presidente da primeira gestão da

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[169] De acordo com Ana Clara Bortoleto Nery, o clico de vida da Sociedade de Educação envolve dois períodos: de 23 de novembro de 1922 a 20 de novembro de 1924,; de 27 de agosto de 1927, até, provavelmente, meados de 1931. (Nery, Ana Clara B. 2009. A Sociedade de Educação de São Paulo: embates no campo educacional (1922-1931). São Paulo: EdUNESP).

[170] *Correio Paulistano*, 17/2/1925, p. 7. https://memoria.bn.br/DocReader/DocReader.aspx?bib=090972_07&pesq=%22noemy%20marques%20da%20silveira%22&hf=memoria.bn.br&pagfis=17011. Acesso em 2 nov 2023.

[171] Em 1927, foi substituído por Amadeu Mendes.

[172] Amadeu Mendes ficou na DGIPSP de 1927 a 1930, quando foi substituído por M.B. Lourenço Filho.

[173] Na breve passagem que fez pela Diretoria de Instrução do Distrito Federal, capital do Brasil, situada no atual estado do Rio de Janeiro, Renato Jardim foi substituído em 1927 por Fernando de Azevedo.

Sociedade de Educação, cargo que conciliou com a direção da Escola Normal da Capital[174]. O pai de Iracema, Manoel José da Silveira, farmacêutico na região de Ribeirão Preto e da mesma geração de Jardim, pode ter sido o elo de ligação. A base geográfica da trama autoriza, sem comprovar, as conjecturas.

Lourenço Filho foi professor de Pedagogia e Psicologia na Escola Normal de Piracicaba em 1920, onde iniciou sua carreira. Em 1922, assumiu como Diretor de Instrução Pública do Ceará. De volta a São Paulo, em 1925, ocupou a Cátedra de Psicologia e Pedagogia, até então exercida por Sampaio Dória na Escola Normal da Capital. Reativou o Laboratório de Psicologia Experimental dessa escola, passando a realizar testes de desenvolvimento mental, dentre outros experimentos. Em 1930, Lourenço Filho viria a ocupar o cargo de DGIPSP[175]. O primeiro contato com as irmãs Iracema e Noemy pode ter sido mediado por Itacy que vinha de concluir o curso de formação para o magistério na instituição. O certo é que, em 1927, Noemy passou a assistente de Lourenço Filho na área de Psicologia e Pedagogia na Escola Normal da Capital.

Iniciava-se nova etapa na movimentação das irmãs que tinha por objetivo sua fixação na prestigiosa Escola Normal que, com suas escolas primárias anexas e laboratórios, fornecia um amplo leque de oportunidades, além de situar-se em pleno centro da cidade de São Paulo, permitindo deslocamentos menores no tecido urbano. Duas táticas se articularam. Por um lado, Noemy iniciou seu projeto de formação que iria envolver viagens aos Estados Unidos em 1930 e a levaria à posição de professora do Instituto de Educação, em 1933[176], depois incorporado à Universidade de São Paulo quando de sua criação em 1934, e por fim, permitiria que construísse uma carreira de docência universitária. Iracema também se dedicou a dar um novo rumo à sua atividade profissional, manifestando interesse pela biblioteca escolar.

É muito provável que a escolha pelo trabalho na biblioteca por parte de Iracema se devesse à sua deficiência visual. O magistério lhe garantia a sobrevivência, com independência financeira e, pode-se até cogitar, a constituição de um pequeno pecúlio. Portanto, não era o caso de abdicar da profissão. No entanto, deveria ser penosa a realização das tarefas cotidianas da docência e o trato com grandes turmas de alunos. Trabalhar em uma biblioteca infantil poderia representar a solução do problema, permitindo a continuidade na profissão.

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[174] Cunha, M.V.; Silva, T. 2013. Concepções políticas e educacionais de Renato Jardim na década de 1930. *Revista HISTEDBR On-line*, Campinas, no 53, p. 79.

[175] Lourenço Filho permaneceu no cargo até 1931, quando foi substituído por Sud Mennucci.

[176] A criação do Instituto de Educação se deu durante a curta gestão (9 meses) de Fernando de Azevedo na DGIPSP, em 1933. O mesmo Azevedo escreveu o decreto que criou a Universidade de São Paulo em 1934 e incorporou o Instituto dentre suas unidades de ensino (Vidal, Diana. Um educador nas lutas de seu tempo. In: Sooma Silva J.C, Vidal, Diana, Abdala, Rachel. 2020. Fernando de Azevedo em releituras: Sobre lutas travadas, investigações realizadas e documentos guardados. Rio de Janeiro, Paco Editorial).

A ideia pode ter começado a ser gestada com a ida de Noemy para Escola Normal da Capital em 1927. A Biblioteca Infantil da Escola Primária era de criação recente. Havia surgido em 28 de maio de 1925, por iniciativa do professor Carlos Alberto Gomes Cardim, então diretor da Escola. Inicialmente ficou a cargo da professora Dulce Bressane. Em agosto de 1927, passou aos cuidados da professora Nísia Pereira Bueno até 1929, quando foi fechada e seus livros recolhidos à Biblioteca do Curso Normal. Ou a ideia pode ter surgido em 1933, com a reabertura da Biblioteca Infantil, sob a direção da professora Lenyra Fracarolli, logo substituída pela professora Dijorah Carvalho dos Santos; e foi consolidada em 1935, com a remoção de Carolina Ribeiro para direção da Escola Primária da anexa ao Instituto de Educação, após exercer o cargo de diretora do Grupo Escolar "São Paulo", em que Iracema se encontrava lotada à época.

De fato, a partir de 1928, Iracema e Noemy envolveram-se diretamente com as iniciativas da Sociedade de Educação. Noemy participou da Comissão Organizadora da Semana de Educação, criada pela Sociedade, enquanto Iracema fez parte da Comissão de Exposição e Trabalhos de Composição[177]. Antonio de Sampaio Dória, Lourenço Filho, Renato Jardim e Antonio Ferreira de Almeida Jr, dentre outros, estavam também na organização da Semana.

No ano seguinte, Noemy era indicada para uma viagem aos EUA, com início em janeiro de 1930, e apoio da União Pan-Americana e da Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. Ofereciam dez bolsas a professores brasileiros para uma estada de cinco semanas[178], e visitas a instituições escolares de vários níveis e modalidades de ensino, nas cidades de Nova York, Washington, Baltimore, Filadélfia e Boston. A indicação viera do governo de São Paulo, que tinha à frente da DGIPSP, Amadeu Mendes, ele também membro da Sociedade. À época Noemy desenvolvia junto a Lourenço Filho um plano de estudos sobre as teorias das psicologias europeia e norte-americana para a Cátedra de Psicologia e Pedagogia da Escola Normal da Capital, além de aplicar testes e desenvolver experimentos no Laboratório de Psicologia Experimental anexo à Cátedra[179]. Contava então com 27 anos de idade.

A delegação, composta Carolina Coelho do Rego Rangel, Consuelo Pinheiro, Otávio B. Couto e Silva, Décio Lyra da Silva, Eunice Caldas, Henry Othon Leonardos, Julieta Arruda, Laura Jacobina Lacombe e Maria dos Reis Campos, e coordenada por Carlos Delgado de Carvalho, chegou a Nova York em 14 de janeiro de 1930, tendo como instituição de destino o

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[177] *Correio Paulistano*, 25/09/1928, p. 7, https://memoria.bn.br/DocReader/DocReader.aspx?bib=090972_07&pesq=%22Iracema%20marques%20da%20silveira%22&hf=memoria.bn.br&pagfis=32391. Acesso em 30 out. 2023.

[178] Dados da viagem estão disponíveis no website do Family Search em https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:Q2C4-JB3K?from=lynx1UIV7 e https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:24FC-LLS?from=lynx1UIV7 Acesso em 29 out. 2023.

[179] Warde, Mirian Jorge. 2002. Noemy da Silveira Rudolfer.

Institute of Internacional Education. A composição do grupo evidencia que não era incomum a presença de mulheres em viagens com fins educacionais, o que é reforçado por Silmara Cardoso em pesquisa na qual investiga as viagens de estudo realizadas entre 1929 e 1935, focando especialmente nas mulheres que fizeram parte das missões. Um dado interessante que a autora traz é que a maioria dessas mulheres permaneceu solteira.[180]

Nesse mesmo ano de 1930, Iracema era removida do Grupo Escolar "Oswaldo Cruz" para o Grupo Escolar Modelo anexo à Escola Normal da Capital. Itacy tornou-se primeira secretaria da Sociedade de Educação, com mandato 1930-1931, na diretoria que tinha como presidente Othoniel Motta, vice-presidente Antonio Ferreira de Almeida Jr., secretário geral Ataliba Nogueira, segunda secretaria Vera Pacheco Jordão e tesoureiro Armando Gomes de Araujo[181].

Enquanto Noemy já tinha assegurado sua posição na Escola Normal da Capital, Itacy apenas começava seus deslocamentos pela cidade de São Paulo. Inicialmente foi lotada na escola mista da Vila Hamburguesa, depois removida para a escola mista do Jabaquara, ambas há mais de 15 km da residência familiar na av. Tiradentes. No entanto, em 1930, apenas um mês após sua eleição como secretária da Sociedade, conseguia um posto no Grupo Escolar da Penha[182]. Ou seja, não apenas deixava uma escola mista, modelo escolar unidocente e multisseriado, para trabalhar em um grupo escolar, escola de caráter seriado, o que representava uma ascensão na carreira; como via diminuída a distância percorrida entre casa e trabalho (aproximadamente 10km).

Era a combinação da participação na Liga das Professoras Católicas com na Sociedade de Educação que criava as condições de mobilidade profissional. Assim como Itacy e Noemy valeram-se da rede estabelecida com os educadores da Sociedade; Iracema novamente recorreria aos membros da Liga. Em 1931, Iracema alterava seu domicilio para rua Augusta, nr. 9[183]. Pouco tempo depois, iria se juntar a Carolina Ribeiro no 2º. Grupo Escolar da Consolação (depois denominado Grupo Escolar "São Paulo"). O expediente permitira que

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[180] Cardoso, Silmara de Fátima. 2025.*Viajar é ser autor de muitas histórias:* experiências de formação e narrativas educacionais de professores brasileiros em viagem aos Estados Unidos (1929 – 1935) (PhD Dissertation) Universidade de São Paulo, São Paulo.

[181] *Correio Paulistano*, 10/8/1930, p. 11. https://memoria.bn.br/DocReader/DocReader.aspx?bib=090972_08&pesq=%22itacy%20marques%20da%20silveira%22&hf=memoria.bn.br&pagfis=3319. Acesso em 20 out. 2023.

[182] *Correio Paulistano*, 19/9/1930, p. 11. https://memoria.bn.br/DocReader/DocReader.aspx?bib=090972_08&pesq=%22itacy%20marques%20da%20silveira%22&hf=memoria.bn.br&pagfis=3877. Acesso em 30 out. 2023.

[183] *Almanak Laemmert*, 1931, vol II, p 137. https://memoria.bn.br/DocReader/docreader.aspx?bib=313394&pesq=iracema%20marques%20da%20silveira&pagfis=109328. Acesso em 02 nov.2023.

pudesse ir caminhando da escola à sua casa. Ao mesmo tempo, com o apoio de Carolina, começava sua jornada junto à biblioteca infantil escolar. Entre 1931 e 1935, Iracema se alternaria entre o Grupo Escolar da Consolação e as dependências da Escola Normal da Capital, circulando em um mesmo perímetro urbano.

Em 1935, Iracema já era reconhecida por sua expertise nas bibliotecas infantis escolares. A convite do DGIPSP, Antonio Ferreira de Almeida Júnior[184], que fora vice-presidente da Sociedade de Educação no momento em que Itacy era secretária, Iracema compôs junto com Lenyra Fraccaroli e José Oliveira Orlandi a comissão para a organização da Biblioteca Infantil Modelo da DGIPSP, bem como para elaborar o folheto sobre a organização de bibliotecas infantis a ser distribuído aos diretores de grupos escolares[185]. No mesmo ano, ao lado de Lenyra Fraccaroli e de Luiz G. Fleury, Iracema ficou responsável pela aula sobre Biblioteca escolar no Curso Abreviado de Administração Escolar oferecido pela DGIPSP e pelo Instituto de Educação a 49 diretores de grupos escolares do interior entre os dias 12 e 21. A atividade incluía a visita à biblioteca infantil do Grupo Escolar ”São Paulo”, sob sua gestão[186].

Estava pavimentado o caminho que levaria Iracema a se fixar junto ao Instituto de Educação definitivamente a partir de 29 de agosto de 1936 até sua aposentadoria em 1966[187]. At the same year, João Fernando Dias was born. He was the son of cousin Maria Leocádia Dias, who lived with Iracema since 1957. From then on and until she died in 1978, Iracema looked after him.

Sem nunca ter saído de São Paulo, Iracema participou do movimento internacional da escola nova, por meio da leitura de bibliografia, especialmente aquela associada às bibliotecas escolares infantis, beneficiando-se das muitas viagens realizadas por Noemy ao exterior. Novamente, a parceria estabelecida entre as irmãs contribuía para a consolidação da carreira profissional de Iracema e o reconhecimento de sua prática como inovadora.

Iracema conviveria no Instituto de Educação com Carolina Ribeiro que ingressara como diretora da Escola Primária do mesmo Instituto em 1935, cargo em que permaneceu até 1948 e

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[184] Almeida Jr. foi Diretor Geral da Instrução Pública em São Paulo de 1935 a 1938.

[185] *Correio Paulistano*, 20/11/1935, p. 2. https://memoria.bn.br/DocReader/docreader.aspx?bib=090972_08&pasta=ano%20193&pesq=%22Iracema%20marques%20da%20silveira%22&pagfis=10021. Acesso em2 nov. 2023.

[186] *Correio Paulistano*, 10/12/1935, p. 3. https://memoria.bn.br/DocReader/docreader.aspx?bib=090972_08&pasta=ano%20193&pesq=%22Iracema%20marques%20da%20silveira%22&pagfis=10278. Acesso em 2 nov. 2023.

[187] Sobre o trabalho na Biblioteca infantil, cf. Iracema Marques da Silveira. In: Vidal, Diana. ; Vicentini, Paula. (Org.). Mulheres inovadoras na educação. Belo Horizonte: Fino Traço, 2019, p. 137-154; Vidal, Diana. Bibliotecas escolares: experiências escolanovistas nos anos 1920-1930. In: Menezes, M.C. (Org.). *Educação, memória, história: possibilidades, leituras*. Campinas: Mercado de Letras, 2004, p. 187-212.

que acumulou com a direção da Escola Normal[188] da instituição a partir de 1938. A essas alturas, Itacy e Noemy já se haviam casado. Itacy contraira matrimônio com Eduardo Pellegrini, em 27 de abril de 1933[189], prestes a completar 26 anos de idade; e Noemy com Bruno Rudolfer, em 8 de dezembro de 1934[190], aos 32 anos. As duas, portanto, com casamentos tardios.

Apesar de professoras formadas e atuantes, nas certidões de casamento de ambas, a profissão informada é "prendas domésticas", enquanto para os maridos registra-se a ocupação de Eduardo como advogado e de Bruno como engenheiro. O episódio indicia que, no senso comum, à época, à mulher casada cabia a esfera privada. O destino talvez tenha sido válido para Itacy, pois a partir de 1936, não há mais pistas de sua atividade docente. Noemy, ao contrário, ao associar-se a seu antigo professor na Escola Livre de Sociologia de São Paulo, abraçou resolutamente a carreira acadêmica.

## 5. Noemy: viagens e atuação acadêmica

Noemy Marques da Silveira foi um nome conhecido no âmbito dos estudos em psicologia educacional no Brasil, ganhando reconhecimento na virada dos anos 1920 para os 1930, principalmente após seu retorno do Teachers College da Columbia University em Nova York. Data desse período a tradução que fez do livro *A lei biogenética e a escola activa* de Adolphe Ferrière[191], publicada em 1929 como parte de uma série pedagógica da editora Melhoramentos coordenada por Lourenço Filho. A primeira de um conjunto de traduções, refletia as leituras internacionais que Lourenço Filho e ela estavam fazendo e as conexões que começavam a estabelecer com redes internacionais de educadores. A inserção e consolidação de Noemy enquanto referência em psicologia educacional, assim, estão diretamente ligados à sua atuação junto ao educador, o que reforça a importância das redes intelectuais nas carreiras dos indivíduos, especialmente na projeção de mulheres como Noemy na primeira metade do século XX.

Durante a sua primeira viagem aos EUA, em 1930, Noemy se ocupou do estudo dos serviços de orientação profissional em Nova Iorque, Washington, Baltimore, Filadélfia e Boston. Na passagem por Nova Iorque, teve oportunidade de acompanhar uma aula de Lester

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[188] Em 1938, em razão de disputas sobre o modelo de formação para o magistério secundário, foi desligada da USP. Olinda Evangelista, "A formação Universitária do Professor.

[189] Após se casar, Itacy passou a assinar Itacy da Silveira Pellegrini. https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:6X89-G9TJ. Acesso em 02 nov. 2023.

[190] Após se casar em 1934, Noemy Marques da Silveira passou a assinar como Noemy da Silveira Rudolfer. Ficou viúva em 1942. https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:6X8W-YDVV. Acesso em 02 nov. 2023.

[191] Cartas trocadas entre Lourenço Filho e Adolphe Ferrière sugerem que a tradução foi feita a partir de uma versão em espanhol.

Wilson no TC, encarregado do curso de Educação Americana, e realizou estágio de alguns dias nas escolas Horace Mann e Lincoln, anexas ao TC. Na Universidade de Harvard, foi ao departamento do dr. Dearborn. Isaac Kandel e Lawrence Duggan auxiliaram na organização das atividades que o grupo deveria desenvolver[192].

Um dos desdobramentos da viagem foi o convite de Paul Monroe, diretor do *International Institute* do TC, para que Noemy concorresse ao *Macy Grant*, o que a levou de volta aos EUA em setembro do mesmo ano. Em sua nova incursão pelo TC frequentou os cursos de psicologia educacional (área na qual pretendia se especializar), filosofia da educação, estatística aplicada à psicologia, sociologia educacional, construção social do programa, além de ser ouvinte nos cursos de psicologia individual, psicologia da enfermagem e história da psicologia[193]. Foi aluna de Kilpatrick[194], experiência que lhe causou grande impressão a ponto de moldar a sua prática enquanto professora. A presença crescente de mulheres no TC e o processo de feminização do magistério já foi observado por outros autores. Dentre as constatações especificamente sobre o perfil de estudantes brasileiros no TC entre os anos 1920 e início dos 1940 está o fato que em torno de dois terços era composto por mulheres, a maioria solteiras.[195]

A estadia de um ano no TC não se concretizou e Noemy antecipou seu retorno ao Brasil a pedido de Lourenço Filho, para ajudá-lo na reforma da educação paulista que ele iniciava ao assumir o cargo de Diretor Geral da Instrução Pública de São Paulo. Coube a Noemy a direção do Serviço de Psicologia Aplicada, recém-criado por Lourenço Filho.[196]

Após retornar da segunda viagem aos EUA, Noemy traduziu mais dois títulos que guardam conexão direta com sua passagem pelo TC. O primeiro, *Educação para uma civilização em mudança* de William Heard Kilpatrick[197], em 1933; pela editora Melhoramentos; o segundo *Psychologia para estudantes de educação* de Arthur I. Gates[198], em dois volumes,

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[192] Silveira, Noemy Marques da. 1930. Visita de professores brasileiros aos Estados Unidos. *Educação* 12, n.1 (São Paulo).
[193] Fundação Getúlio Vargas (FGV), "Relatório e balanços do exercício de 1947", 1948.
[194] Rudolfer, Noemy da Silveira. 1936. Um ensaio de methodo activo no ensino superio. *Archivos do Instituto de Educação* 2, n. 2 (São Paulo).
[195] Warde, Mirian Jorge, and Ana Cristina Santos Matos Rocha. 2018. Feminização do magistério e masculinização do comando educacional: estudos no Teachers College da Universidade de Columbia (1927-1935). *Educar em Revista* 34: 70, 35-50. Rafaela Silva Rabelo. 2023.A Transnational History of Intellectual Exchanges with the United States and the Shaping of Latin American Education. In George Noblit (Ed.), Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Education. New York: Oxford University Press.
[196] Warde, "Noemy da Silveira Rudolfer".
[197] Publicado originalmente sob o título "Education for a changing civilization", em 1926, pela Macmillan Company.
[198] Publicado originalmente sob o título "Psychology for students of education", em 1923, pela Macmillan Company.

publicados em 1935 e 1939, pela editora Saraiva. Os dois autores eram professores do TC, e Noemy frequentou as aulas de Kilpatrick.

Em 1932, Noemy assumiu a cadeira de Psicologia Educacional no Instituto de Educação de São Paulo, em substituição a Lourenço Filho que havia sido convidado a dirigir o Instituto de Educação do Distrito Federal, na capital do Brasil. Em 1936, defendeu a monografia *A evolução da psicologia educacional através de um histórico da psicologia moderna* em concurso para a cadeira de Psicologia Educacional, cuja aprovação a tornou a única mulher do quadro efetivo de docentes da Escola de Professores do Instituto de Educação. Em 1938, sua monografia foi adaptada e publicada na forma de livro sob o título *Introdução à psicologia educacional*, pela Editora Nacional. Seu trabalho mais conhecido, o livro atingiu a sexta edição em 1961.

Quando da desvinculação do Instituto de Educação da Universidade de São Paulo, em 1938, os professores catedráticos da Escola de Professores do Instituto de Educação, dentre eles Noemy, foram então incorporados pela Faculdade de Filosofia, Ciências e Letras (FFCL) da USP. Na FFCL, Noemy ocupou a cadeira de Psicologia Educacional até sua aposentadoria, em 1954. Em 1960, recebeu o título de Professora Emérita da USP[199].

Em 1941, Noemy realizou a terceira viagem aos EUA, comissionada pela Progressive Education Association (PEA) para participar da 8ª Conferência Internacional da New Education Fellowship (NEF) e ministrar uma série de conferências durante sua estadia. A programação do evento[200] indica que participou da sessão *Parents and education in the western hemisphere* apresentando a comunicação *What is happening to parents and children in Brazil?*

A NEF era uma organização internacional, criada em 1921, e que reunia educadores de diferentes países, irmanados pelo interesse em novas experiências pedagógicas, parte do que a historiografia da educação denomina como movimento da educação nova. A PEA, por sua vez, era uma organização dos EUA, fundada em 1919, e que se vinculou à NEF em 1932. Pesquisas indicam que educadores brasileiros já mantinham contato com integrantes da NEF, como Adolphe Ferrière, desde os anos 1920. No congresso de 1941, realizado nos EUA, há evidências na imprensa brasileira de que Lourenço Filho foi convidado a participar, mas a ausência de seu nome na programação, em documentos da PEA e mesmo na imprensa após o evento levam a crer que a sua ida não se concretizou. Mas sua ex-aluna e colaboradora, Noemy, participou do

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[199] *Última Hora*, 19 set. 1960, 3. https://memoria.bn.br/DocReader/docreader.aspx?bib=386030&pesq=noemy%20rudolfer&pagfis=61786. Acesso em 2 nov.2023.

[200] Disponível em https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=mdp.39015076543985;view=1up;seq=5 Acesso em 29 out. 2023.

congresso. No ano seguinte, Carleton Washburne, então presidente da PEA, em viagem pela América do Sul, intermediou a criação de uma sessão da NEF no Brasil, da qual Lourenço Filho assumiu a presidência. Em passagem por São Paulo, Washburne foi recebido por Noemy, e havia a intenção de criar uma sub-sessão que ela dirigiria, o que aparentemente não se concretizou.[201]

As viagens que Noemy fez aos EUA, assim como os contatos que estabeleceu com educadores e pesquisadores da área de psicologia, tanto estadunidenses como europeus, se revelam fortemente em sua atuação, nas temáticas às quais se dedicou e no reportório teórico-bibliográfico presente em suas publicações e nos programas de ensino da cadeira de Psicologia Educacional.

Sobre suas incursões pela América Latina, o relatório da Fundação Getúlio Vargas traz a informação de que presidiu uma missão cultural, em 1944, composta por professores e alunos da Faculdade de Filosofia, Ciências e Letras da Universidade de São Paulo. A viagem incluiu Uruguai, Argentina, Chile, Peru e Bolívia e Noemy conferiu dez conferências durante a missão.[202] Fragmentos na imprensa periódica revelam sua participação em outras incursões, como o I Congresso Psicoanalítico Latino-Americano, em Buenos Aires, em 1956. Também foi professora na Universidade do Chile. Em entrevista concedida em 1956, Noemy afirma que havia visitado 19 países em missões culturais[203]. Se por um lado, as viagens internacionais somaram à sua experiência na pesquisa em psicologia e elaboração de testes, por outro, ela própria se consolidou enquanto referência no Brasil, citada em publicações estrangeiras que mapeavam especialistas de cada país.

Os contatos que estabeleceu em suas viagens e mesmo as redes das quais seus pares e colaboradores mais próximos, como Lourenço Filho, faziam parte foram fundamentais na formação de redes intelectuais e de trabalho que resultaram, entre outras coisas, na tradução de autores de projeção internacional e em convites para eventos e projetos.

Apesar do reconhecimento de Noemy enquanto referência no campo da psicologia educacional que se consolida nos anos 1930, as tensões que se insinuam em sua trajetória profissional são apontadas por diferentes autores e transparecem em diferentes documentos. O

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[201] Rabelo, R. S. and Diana Gonçalves Vidal. 2020. A seção brasileira da New Education Fellowship: (des)encontros e (des)conexões. In Movimento Internacional da Educação Nova, ed. Diana Gonçalves Vidal and Rafaela Silva Rabelo. Belo Horizonte: Fino Traço; Rabelo, R. S. 2021. The New Education Fellowship, the Progressive Education Association, and the US Department of State: South America as part of a complex entanglement., *Paedagogica Historica* 57:1-2, 183-199.

[202] Fundação Getúlio Vargas (FGV), "Relatório e balanços do exercício de 1947", 1948.

[203] *Correio Paulistano*, 2/9/1956, p. 12. https://memoria.bn.br/DocReader/docreader.aspx?bib=090972_10&pasta=ano%20195&pesq=noemy%20rudolfer&pagfis=33036. Acesso em 02 nov 2023.

antigo Serviço de Psicologia Aplicada, depois renomeado Laboratório de Psicologia, foi anexado à Cátedra de Psicologia Educacional sob responsabilidade de Noemy, quando ainda estava no Instituto de Educação. O laboratório continuou sob a responsabilidade de Noemy quando foi transferido para a Faculdade de Filosofia, Ciências e Letras em 1938. Em 1941, o laboratório foi encerrado. No ano seguinte, Bruno Rudolfer veio a falecer[204]. O conjunto de viagens internacionais que se segue a esses eventos pode ter sido uma forma de Noemy, então viúva, escapar a disputas no âmbito da USP.

As tensões já existiam no Instituto de Educação, e transparecem nas atas da congregação. O posicionamento contundente de Noemy e sua visão de formação de professores e do papel do próprio Instituto de Educação a colocavam com frequência em rota de colisão com os outros colegas. Vale pontuar que Noemy era a única mulher do quadro de professores efetivos. Essas rusgas parecem ter continuado com a sua transferência para a Faculdade de Filosofia, Ciências e Letras. Como apontado por Bontempi Júnior[205], todos os professores efetivos transferidos do Instituto de Educação possuíam formação superior, exceto Noemy, que era formada pela Escola Normal de nível pós-primário.

As observações de Pérez-Ramos[206] trazem à tona uma série de questões que emergem sobre as tensões e possíveis questões de gênero que possam ter impactado a carreira de Noemy:

> Apesar dos seus êxitos, nem tudo lhe foram "flores" em sua vida profissional, ficando em aberto a seguinte questão:
> Por que ocupando o importante cargo de Catedrática de Psicologia Educacional e provavelmente bem aceita em um renomado contexto universitário, com o qual parecia identificar-se plenamente, a Profª. Noemy dele se afastava por longos períodos e também daquele se aposentou prematuramente? Não haveria por traz dessas realizações exitosas um fundo preconceituoso contra a "mulher intelectual" e ainda casada e posteriormente viúva, como foi a Profª. Noemy? Deveria ela

[204] *Correio Paulistano,* 25/4/1942, p. 6. https://memoria.bn.br/DocReader/DocReader.aspx?bib=090972_09&pesq=%22bruno%20rudolfer%22&pasta=ano%20194&hf=memoria.bn.br&pagfis=11008

[205] Bontempi Júnior, Bruno. 2001. A cadeira de história e filosofia da educação da USP entre os anos 40 e 60: um estudo das relações entre a vida acadêmica e a grande imprensa. (PhD Dissertation) – Pontifícia Universidade Católica, São Paulo.

[206] Pérez-Ramos, Aidyl. M. de Queiroz. 2005. Noemy da Silveira Rudolfer (ex-ocupante da Cad. 2) é destacada na memorável saga das pioneiras do Brasil na obra de Hebe C. Boa-Viagem A. Costa. Boletim Academia Paulista de Psicologia 15: 2, 40-44.

> ocupar-se dos afazeres domésticos de sua casa e não dessas "intelectualidades" como era habitual na época?
> Ou, por outro lado, teria sido a característica de sua personalidade dinâmica, ativa e empreendedora que a levaria a se ausentar da Cátedra que tanto dignificou, para aceitar os desafios de várias outras elevadas funções e missões no País e no estrangeiro, às quais emprestou igualmente o brilho de sua inteligência e dos seus conhecimentos, independentemente e acima de qualquer preconceito relativamente à atuação da mulher na sociedade de sua época?" (p. 44).

A aposentadoria viria em 1954, dois anos após ter adotado Maria Rosa Telles da Silveira Rudolfer[207]. Talvez fosse o momento de dedicar-se à maternidade. De qualquer forma, mesmo aposentada e mãe, Noemy se manteve atuante. Em 1980, participou da fundação da Associação Paulista de Psicologia, na qual ocupou a cadeira 2, cujo patrono era Lourenço Filho, morto em 1970.

## 6. Conclusão

Iracema e Noemy faleceram na cidade de São Paulo, em 24 de maio de 1978 e 16 de dezembro de 1980, respectivamente. Se pudemos reconstruir algo de sua trajetória profissional, pouco localizamos sobre suas vidas privadas, a não ser que Iracema era spinter, Noemy married late, at 32 years of age, and they both practiced motherhood at the end of their lives. Iracema took care of João Fernando from the age of 65; Noemy adopted Maria Rosa, when she was almost 50 years old. As poucas fontes localizadas permitiram conjecturas, alicerçadas em comparações com outras análises sobre o magistério e as táticas docentes. Foi assim que pretendemos desenhar as cumplicidades estabelecidas entre as irmãs Iracema e Noemy (e Itacy) como forma de construírem suas carreiras e fixarem-se no campo educacional, a partir de uma abordagem interseccional.

É possível especular que as network tecidas passaram inicialmente pelos contatos estabelecidos pelo pai no exercício de sua profissão de farmacêutico e foram alargadas pelo convívio social e profissional ao longo dos anos e em parceria entre irmãs, com apoio também de Itacy, envolvendo principalmente relacionamentos com educadores homens e com associações leigas e religiosas. No âmbito social, não é provável que extrapolassem o círculo

[207] https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:WCWK-D2PZ. Acesso em 02 nov 2023.

da classe média paulista. Os casamentos de Noemy e Itacy não mereceram destaque na imprensa. Sobre a mãe, sabe-se apenas o dia do falecimento, em 10 de dezembro de 1935[208]. Poucas menções às professoras aparecem nos jornais após a década de 1940.

Diferentemente de educadores homens como Lourenço Filho, que doou seu acervo pessoal ao Centro de Pesquisa e Documentação de História Contemporânea do Brasil, da Fundação Getúlio Vargas (CPDOC/FGV), e Fernando de Azevedo, que o entregou ao Instituto de Estudos Brasileiros da USP, estas duas mulheres não deixaram vestígios de sua documentação pessoal em arquivos públicos. Isso não implica dizer que não resistiram à invisibilidade por meio de uma prática de memória sistemática, no caso de Iracema, consubstanciada em álbuns fotográficos e documentos textuais depositados na Biblioteca Infantil, atualmente, sob a guarda Núcleo de Memória e Acervo Histórico CRE Mario Covas da Secretaria da Educação do Estado de São Paulo/EFAP; e de Noemy, por meio das tantas publicações e traduções que realizou.

As dificuldades encontradas para identificar traços de suas vidas pessoais as situam na condição ordinária das muitas mulheres que atuaram (e atuam) no magistério primário paulista, tramado em relações sociais de gênero e táticas de sobrevivência profissional, valendo-se de uma solidariedade que compõe aspectos de uma "immaterial heritage"[209], mobilizada para assegurar a permanência e, por vezes, ascensão na carreira. Ao lançar luz sobre suas experiências femininas, inclusive a maternidade tardia, refutamos a concepção da história como um "collective singulars"[210], ao mesmo tempo que pretendemos demonstrar como valendo-se de vários estratagemas, Iracema e Noemy construíram uma trajetória profissional de sucesso, em meio a relações de poder ancoradas em pertencimentos de gênero, religião e classe social, superando obstáculos inclusive relativos à deficiência física.

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[208] Anna Marques da Silveira faleceu em 10/12/1935 (*Correio Paulistano,* 11/12/1935, p. 4. https://memoria.bn.br/DocReader/docreader.aspx?bib=090972_08&pasta=ano%20193&pesq=%22anna%20marques%20da%20silveira%22&pagfis=10345. Acesso em 02 nov 2023) e Manoel José da Silveira em 20/07/1944 (*A Gazeta da Pharmácia*, nov. 1944, p. 18. https://memoria.bn.br/DocReader/docreader.aspx?bib=029548&pasta=ano%20194&pesq=%22manoel%20jose%20da%20silveira%22&pagfis=1151. Acesso em 2 nov 2023).

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[210] Koselleck, Reinhart (2004). *Futures Past: On the Semantics of Historical Time.*

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Family Search (https://www.familysearch.org/)

Capítulo de livro elaborado por Diana Vidal, a ser publicado com o uso de recurso do auxílio para tradução para a versão para o espanhol.

**En la (in)constancia de una palabra dada o retenida[211]**

Diana Gonçalves Vidal

*Minha bisavó – que Deus a tenha em glória*
*sempre me contava e recontava*
*em sentidas recordações*
*de outros tempos a estória de saudade*
*daquele prato azul-pombinho [...]*

(Coralina, Cora. O prato azul-pombinho. *Poemas dos becos de Goiás e estórias mais*[212]*)*

El plato azul paloma, último remanente de un juego de vajilla de noventa y dos piezas, guardaba, en su decoración, la historia de una princesa china. Lui había huido del palacio con un plebeyo, escapando del matrimonio concertado por su padre. La narración inscrita en el plato también describía la búsqueda emprendida por el viejo mandarín para encontrar a su hija, el incendio de la glorieta en la que se encontraban los amantes y el barco, utilizado por la pareja, para escapar de la emboscada. Los dibujos traían imágenes de una China lejana y eran inspiración para historias que contrastaban fuertemente con la vida cotidiana de Goiás durante la infancia de Cora Coralina.

A pesar de las leyendas que custodiaba, el plato circulaba entre las casas de amigos y siempre se exhibía en ocasiones festivas. Un día, por desgracia, apareció roto. La culpa se atribuyó a la poetisa, entonces una niña. Su castigo no fue una tunda de chanclazos, sino la obligación de llevar un trozo colgado del cuello, como un collar. La humillación inicial de la niña se convirtió, con el tiempo, en diversión, y el collar empezó a servirle como juguete.

La sencillez de la poesía de Cora Coralina evoca el no-tiempo de las historias perdidas, de los caminos de la oralidad y de las artes de la memoria. ¿Cómo no recordar, en la alegoría de las pinturas del plato azul paloma, de *El palacio de la Memoria*[213] y las técnicas utilizadas por el

[211] Este texto consiste en una actualización del capítulo II del libro *Vidal*, Diana Gonçalves. *En la (in)constancia de la palabra: desplazamientos de una docente e investigadora*, 2011. La versión al español fue hecha com apoyo del Proyecto Tematico Saberes y practicas em las fronteras (FAPESP, 208/26699-4).

[212] *Mi bisabuela — que Dios la tenga en Su gloria —siempre me lo contaba y me lo volvía a contar/ en recuerdos emotivos/ de otros tiempos/ la historia del anhelo/ de aquel plato azul paloma/ [...] Cora Coralina, El plato azul paloma. Traducción nuestra*, 1985, p. 79-86.

[213] Spence, Jonathan. *EL PALACIO DE LA MEMORIA DE MATTEO RICCI*. Un jesuita en la China del siglo XVI, 2002.

jesuita Matteo Ricci para memorizar textos y repetirlos sin ningún error, sorprendiendo a los chinos de la dinastía Ming a quienes pretendía convertir al cristianismo? El misionero se valía de la tradición de la cultura clásica y base de la retórica medieval de asociar objetos a espacios imaginarios ordenados secuencialmente. En la arquitectura del *Palacio* reposaba la clave de una poderosa memoria artificial.

¿Sería posible una analogía entre el arte de la memoria de los antiguos y las artes modernas de la memoria expresadas en los "objetos autobiográficos", como se pregunta Margarida Neves[214]? La pregunta es instigadora e implica prestar atención a lo que Jack Goody denominó razón gráfica[215], una vez que este nuevo arte de la memoria se practica como escritura y se concreta en un objeto (el libro, el cuaderno, la hoja de papel). Sin desconsiderar el efecto de la división social del trabajo, el antropólogo inglés nos invita a percibir la imposición de las técnicas de leer y escribir en la individualización de la experiencia personal en las sociedades modernas. El desvanecimiento de la palabra oral se contrasta con la perennidad del registro escrito, estimulando el pensamiento personal.

Ângela de Castro Gomes añade "la escritura autorreferencial o la escritura del yo integra un conjunto de modalidades de lo que convencionalmente se llama producción del yo en el mundo moderno" (nuestra traducción)[216]. Los principios de la igualdad y de la libertad permitieron, por una parte, la construcción de la idea de un individuo abstracto y sujeto del contrato social. Por otra parte, permitieron el surgimiento del concepto de individuo singular, único con relación a los demás y múltiple en los roles sociales que desempeña. Es en esta tensión que se producen las identidades modernas, a veces afirmadas como una sola, a veces percibidas como parciales y fragmentadas.

La problemática de la identidad es esencial en la discusión sobre las autobiografías. Philippe Lejeune[217] trata de resolver la cuestión recurriendo al concepto de pacto autobiográfico, mediante el cual el autor, concebido como persona real y a la vez productor de un discurso, presenta su unidad con el personaje de la narración manteniendo su propio nombre. Innegablemente, varias de estas escrituras del yo se basan en la asociación entre quien escribe y sobre quien escribe.

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[214] Neves, Margarida. S. As artes da memória: a modo de post-scriptum. In: Mignot, Ana Christina; Bastos, Maria Helena; Cunha, Maria Teresa. *Refúgios do eu. Educação, história, escrita autobiográfica*, 2000, p. 229-237.
[215] Goody, Jack. *La domesticación del pensamiento salvaje*, 2008.
[216] En el original: "*a escrita auto-referencial ou a escrita de si integra um conjunto de modalidades do que se convencionou chamar de produção de si no mundo moderno*". Gomes, Angela de C. Escrita de si, escrita da História: a título de prólogo. In: _____. *Escrita de si, Escrita da História*, 2004, p. 10.
[217] Lejeune, Philippe. *El pacto autobiográfico y otros estudios*, 1994.

En los canteros de la Historia, los ensayos autobiográficos publicados en la década de 1980 contribuyeron a la creación de un género literario que pasó a conocerse como egohistoria. De Philippe Ariès[218] a Hobsbawm[219], se consolidó una vertiente en la disciplina que se ofrece a la explicitación de las trayectorias profesionales y de las decisiones personales que se toman a lo largo de la vida. En los senderos de la Educación, las autobiografías se convirtieron en importantes estrategias de formación, ampliando los estudios sobre profesión, la profesionalización e identidades docentes, como lo evidencian Belmira Bueno, Helena Coharik Chamlian; Cynthia Pereira de Sousa y Denice Barbara Catani[220].

El uso del nombre propio tiene el efecto de conferir autenticidad al relato, lo que sería la contracara del pacto autobiográfico para Lejeune. Si su uso para abrir campos de investigación, proporcionando cuadrículas para localizar datos en serie, no era nuevo —Ginzbug remonta los orígenes del método a la década de 1950[221]—, la homología entre nombre e identidad sigue siendo problemática. En la misma época en que cobraba interés la autobiografía y la egohistoria, surgían textos en los que se ponía a debate el tema. Paul Ricoeur[222] y Pierre Bourdieu[223] señalaban la distinción entre la identidad narrativa y la identidad biológica.

Los dos autores pusieron de manifiesto el problema del tiempo. Ricoeur concibe que las estructuras de la narración inscriben el tiempo psicológico de lo vivido en los ritmos del cambio físico, medido por instrumentos como el calendario y el reloj. De esta comprensión surge la afirmación de que "la única permanencia que conviene a la identidad narrativa es la de una promesa a la que me mantengo en la constancia de una palabra dada o retenida" (nuestra traducción)[224]. Bourdieu destaca también el sometimiento de la vida a los órdenes cronológico y lógico, lo que confiere al relato un carácter lineal y continuo y hace necesario el recurso a expresiones como trayectoria y recorrido. El efecto que se produce es el de la coherencia y es el que asegura sentido a la existencia narrada.

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[218] Ariès, Philippe. *Um historiador diletante*, 1994 [1980].
[219] Hobsbawam, Eric. *Años interesantes. Una vida en el siglo XX*, 2013.
[220] Bueno, Belmira; Chamiliam, Helena; Sousa, Cynthia; Catani, Denice. Histórias de vida e autobiografias na formação de professores e profissão docente (Brasil, 1985-2003). *Educação e Pesquisa*, vol.32 , no.2 , São Paulo, maio/ago. 2006.
[221] Ginzburg, Carlo. O nome e o como. Troca desigual e mercado historiográfico. In: _____. A *micro-história e outros ensaios*, 1989, p. 169-178.
[222] Ricoeur, Paul. *Tempo e narrativa* (tomo I), 1994 a 1997 [1983-195].
[223] Bourdieu, Pierre. A ilusão biográfica [1986]. In: Ferreira, M.M.; Amado, J. *Usos e abusos da História Oral*, 1996, p.183-192.
[224] En el original: "*a única permanência que convém à identidade narrativa é a de uma promessa à qual eu me mantenho na constância de uma palavra dada ou retida*". Ricoeur, Paul. Lectio magistralis. In: Jervolino, D. *Paul Ricoeur. Une herméneutique de la condition humaine*, 2002, p. 80.

La disputa contiene en su meollo la preocupación por la autenticidad del relato, no solo desde el punto de vista del sujeto narrador, sino desde la perspectiva de los hechos. No es tanto la fiabilidad de la memoria lo que emerge como tópica —existe una cierta suposición de que el recuerdo y el olvido son constitutivos de este género de escritura plagado de subjetividad— sino la división entre realidad y ficción; o en palabras de Lejeune, las fronteras entre autobiografía y novela. Lo que se espera del recordador es que manifieste su compromiso con lo sucedido, su buena fe o, mejor aún, que no falsifique conscientemente el pasado.

El texto que presento a continuación no se desvía de las disposiciones delineadas anteriormente. Somete la errancia y la discontinuidad de la vida al tiempo cronológico y lineal. Establece una permanencia entre la autora y el personaje mediante la constancia de la palabra enunciada. Trae una objetivación de la existencia que se restringe a la carrera. Manifiesta un compromiso con los acontecimientos. Se esfuerza por contener la polisemia y asegurar la interpretación de lo leído, a pesar de saber que el lector es un cazador vagabundo, como diría Michel de Certeau[225]. Se inscribe en el marco de la cultura escrita, abdicando de las artimañas de las voces, de la gestualidad y de la corporalidad, pero manteniéndose rehén de las estructuras de la lengua escrita.

Está organizado en tres partes. En la primera, examino los recorridos iniciales de mi formación académica, destacando el tránsito en mis estudios de grado, maestría y doctorado y referenciando la bibliografía de la que me apropié durante ese período. En la segunda, pongo de relieve el trabajo realizado en la organización de acervos archivísticos en el Instituto de Estados Brasileiros y en la Faculdade de Educação, ambos vinculados a la Universidade de São Paulo. En la última parte, me dedico a discutir cómo interconecté mi interés por objetos de investigación ubicados en Brasil, entre finales del siglo XIX y las primeras décadas del XX, al diálogo cada vez más transnacional con el campo de la historia de la educación. En los tres momentos, indico los nombres de algunas personas con las que conviví y aprendí, a lo largo de estos años. Las consideraciones finales retoman las precauciones enunciadas en esta introducción.

**De la historia social a la historia de la educación: recorridos iniciales de formación**

Como todos los que asistieron a la escuela básica en Brasil, entré en contacto con la Historia aún en los primeros años de mi escolarización, pero fue en la Faculdade de Arquitetura e Urbanismo de la UFRJ que me enamoré de las lecturas del pasado. Las clases de “Historia de las Artes” I y II e “Historia de la Arquitectura I”, construidas con base en un número

[225] De Certeau, Michel. *A invenção do cotidiano*, 1994.

aparentemente infinito de diapositivas, me inspiraban a hojear obras en busca de información, recomponiendo mosaicos del conocimiento difundido en la disciplina.

En ese momento, tal vez, recorriese los estantes de la biblioteca con el deseo de encontrar un libro completo o volver a armar el rompecabezas del pasado en todas sus piezas. Sin embargo, a medida que me sumergía en los estudios históricos, iba perdiendo gradualmente la ilusión de alcanzar la totalidad. La prosa irónica de Borges[226], a quien conocí en la etapa adulta, me acompañó en este proceso de repensar el tiempo, cuestionándome sobre lo eterno, lo circular y lo múltiple.

Por razones personales, abandoné la Arquitectura e ingresé a la Faculdade de História da Fundação Valeparaibana de Ensino y, de la mano de Paulo Miceli, docente de la asignatura "Historia Moderna", me adentré en la investigación académica. El proyecto de iniciación científica consistía en el análisis de las relaciones productivas establecidas en la Fábrica de Alfombras Santa Helena, ubicada en Jacareí (SP). Se desarrollaba mediante la consulta a los archivos privados de la empresa, la ubicación de noticias periodísticas sobre la fábrica y sus empleados y, sobre todo, por medio de entrevistas realizadas a los propietarios y trabajadores. Era, fundamentalmente, un trabajo de Historia Oral. Miceli acumulaba la experiencia de su maestría [227], para la cual había utilizado la misma metodología.

El momento de redemocratización que atravesaba Brasil, en los años 1980, había permitido una renovación de las formas de hacer Historia. Surgieron nuevos objetos de investigación, a la vez que se revisaban las prácticas de escritura y de inteligibilidad de la disciplina. Para Edgar De Decca[228], las experiencias traumáticas vividas por la intelectualidad en 1968 propiciaron que se instalara en la academia un lento proceso de crítica a una determinada concepción del marxismo. Esto no significaba la superación del compromiso político de los intelectuales en la oposición al régimen militar, sino la concepción abstracta de la clase obrera, que configuraba como homogéneas las praxis diferenciadas de proletarios e intelectuales. Fue este movimiento el que hizo posible la difusión de la producción marxista de E.P. Thompson al valorar la experiencia del sujeto y del "hacerse" de la clase obrera.

En este contexto, la Historia Oral surgió como una metodología de investigación adecuada especialmente a las investigaciones interesadas en problematizar el proceso productivo. Permitir que los obreros hablaran sobre sí mismos, su clase y su trabajo era una de las formas

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[226] Borges, Jorge. A biblioteca de Babel. *Obras completas,* vol. 1, 1998, p. 516-538.

[227] Miceli, Paulo. *Era uma vez, em Sertãozinho... (Certas histórias de uma história que é do trabalho: pessoas, fatos e feitos)*, 1984. 209 p.

[228] De Decca, Edgar. 1930. *El silencio de los vencidos*, 2004.

de reconocer su capacidad de análisis y de lucha, perfilando un nuevo modo de compromiso político de la intelectualidad. Así, si aún había desconfianza sobre el método respecto a la veracidad de la información recopilada, en virtud de la falibilidad de la memoria, que la descalificaba para el estudio de la mayor parte de los objetos de la investigación histórica; como forma de "empoderamiento" de la clase obrera, la metodología se mostraba válida.

La investigación sobre la Fábrica de Alfombras se adaptaba perfectamente a este aspecto, enriqueciendo el debate sobre las relaciones sociales de producción al entrelazar el universo fabril con la discusión acerca de la artesanía. Santa Helena se autodenominaba una fábrica artesanal. Escudriñar las contradicciones de esta afirmación era el objetivo inicial del proyecto, que también pretendía registrar las etapas del proceso productivo.

Fue al recorrer los pasillos de la nave de la tejeduría, al observar el trabajo repetitivo de las mujeres en los telares y de los hombres en las tinas de teñido, que profundicé en las artes del método de la Historia Oral y de la escritura de la Historia. Aprendí a estructurar las entrevistas, teniendo claro que la investigación documental y bibliográfica era un paso necesario y anterior al contacto con los entrevistados; a conducir el diálogo, preguntándome sobre la interferencia del investigador en el testimonio otorgado; y a transcribir las cintas, preocupándose por la dificultad de aprehender lo oral dentro de la trama de la escritura.

La producción bibliográfica nacional sobre el método era aún escasa y se concentraba básicamente en los trabajos del Centro de Pesquisa e Documentação História Contemporânea do Brasil (CPDOC), en Río de Janeiro, y del Centro de Estudos Rurais e Urbanos (CERU), en USP. Aspásia Camargo[229] y Maria Isaura Pereira de Queiroz[230] fueron las primeras referencias de lectura. Era necesario recurrir a impresos y textos mimeografiados para comprender mejor los pasos de la metodología, incursionando en los canteros de la Historia y de la Sociología.

El gusto por la práctica de la investigación y las inquietudes acerca del método me llevaron a realizar mi Maestría. Ingresé al Programa de Posgrado del IFCH-UNICAMP bajo la dirección de Michael Hall. Su descrédito por la Historia Oral[231] me animaba a profundizar mis lecturas sobre el método para legitimar mis elecciones. Su profundo conocimiento de la historia del movimiento obrero en Brasil[232] proporcionó pautas para la investigación. Su capacidad para administrar bien la Biblioteca del IFCH y su empeño en componer un acervo representativo de

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[229] Camargo, Aspásia. *História oral e História*. Conferencia realizada en el 1.er Seminario Brasileño de Archivos Municipales, agosto. 1976, mimeo.

[230] Queiroz, Maria Isaura. Variaciones sobre el empleo de la técnica de la grabadora en el registro de información viva. *Cadernos do CERU,* nr. 16, 1981, p. 107-116.

[231] Cf. Hall, Michael M.. História oral: os riscos da inocência. *O direito à memória,* 1992, p. 157-160.

[232] Cito solo una obra que se convirtió en referencia obligada en el campo: Hall, Michael M.; Pinheiro, Paulo S. . *A Classe Operária No Brasil, 1889-1930: Documentos*, 1979.

lo que se publicaba en el extranjero ofrecían un sólido apoyo para localizar las más diversas referencias y el acceso a una amplia bibliografía, principalmente disponible en inglés.

Fue en la Biblioteca del IFCH donde busqué los trabajos de Oscar Lewis[233], David Henige[234] y Paul Thompson[235] y me quedé encantada con la producción de Alessandro Porteli[236]. Dominar esta literatura en inglés me permitiría, en 1996, asistir al Oral History Research Office, donde entré en contacto y fui alumna de Portelli, Mary Marshall Clark y Ronald Greele. Para aportar mayor consistencia a los análisis, me matriculé en la asignatura "Metodología de Investigación", impartida por Zeila de Brito Fabri Demartini, en la Facultad de Educación de Unicamp. El contacto con Franco Ferrarotti[237] y con la bibliografía francesa sobre Historia Oral, en particular, Daniel Bertaux[238], lo debo a sus clases.

El trabajo de fin de maestría abordó una problemática similar a la Iniciación Científica. Me involucré con el análisis del proceso productivo de una fábrica que también se denominaba artesanal: Fábrica de Pianos F. Essenfelder, ubicada en Curitiba. La jerarquía estaba formada por maestros encargados, que se presentaban como artesanos, y obreros. Los primeros habían sido formados por el propio Florian Essenfelder, fundador de la empresa, o por uno de sus hijos, Frederico, Floriano y Carlos. Florian aprendió el oficio mientras vivía en Alemania y trabajaba en la Fábrica de Pianos C. Bechstein, en Berlín. Enseñó a sus hijos quienes continuaron la tradición de fabricar y afinar pianos. Cuando fallecieron Federico, Floriano y Carlos, la empresa pasó a ser administrada por Esther Essenfelder, quien desconocía los entresijos de la producción y compartía el trabajo en los talleres con los maestros. Fue este doble control el que me permitió acceder y permanecer en el interior de la fábrica.

Me acerqué a la empresa poco después del estallido de su primera huelga desde su fundación, en 1890, en Buenos Aires. En 1986, consciente de las dificultades que suponía gestionar una fábrica dependiendo del apoyo de sus encargados, Esther había contratado a un técnico alemán, especialista en Organización y Método, para reorientar el proceso productivo, fragmentando y dividiendo las tareas para retirar las decisiones de la responsabilidad de los maestros. El choque de intereses condujo a la huelga, y los relatos sobre el evento me permitieron resaltar las luchas de poder y saber constituidas en las relaciones sociales de producción.

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[233] Lewis, Oscar. *A death in the Sanchez família*, 1970.
[234] Henige, David. *Oral historiography*, 1985.
[235] Thompson, Paul. *The voice of the past: oral history*, 1978.
[236] Entre muchos textos, cito solo el primero que leí: Portelli, Alessandro. The peculiarities of Oral History. *History Workshop*, nr. 12, 1981, p. 96-107.
[237] Ferrarotti, Franco. Osservazioni preliminari su ricerca storica, biografica e analisi sociologica. In: Macioti, Maria (org). *Biografia, storia e società. Luso delle storie di vita nelle scienze sociali*, 1985.
[238] Bertaux, Daniel. *Biography and society – the life history approach in the social sciences*, 1981.

Como forma de garantizar mi sustento, comencé a impartir clases de Historia de la Educación en una institución privada de educación superior, la Faculdade de Pedagogia Padre Anchieta, en Jundiaí (SP), aún durante mi Maestría. El hecho de haber sido estudiante de la Escuela Normal del Instituto de Educação do Rio de Janeiro (IERJ), entre 1975 y 1978, me facilitó las cosas. Mi experiencia en el área educativa, durante mi etapa como normalista, me dio la base inicial para combinar los dos campos: Historia y Educación. La experiencia me permitió dar un nuevo rumbo a las inversiones académicas y representó un giro decisivo para mi carrera, aunque no lo percibiera a principios de los años 1990, cuando me matriculé en el doctorado en Educación en la Facultad de Educación de la Universidade de São Paulo (FEUSP), con un proyecto sobre el IERJ, en los años 1930.

De mi trayectoria en Historia, traje el gusto por los archivos, como diría Arlete Farge[239], y el aprecio por la documentación textual, fotográfica y oral. Esto se evidenciaba no solo en el trabajo de campo para la disertación, sino también en la iniciativa de cursar la Especialización en Organización de Archivos, ofrecida por el Centro de Memoria de la UNICAMP y el Instituto de Estudos Brasileiros (IEB) de la USP, entre 1989 y 1990. Mi involucración con el curso sería luego fundamental para mis incursiones en el tratamiento del Arquivo Pessoal de Fernando de Azevedo (IEB-USP), en la gestión del Centro de Memória da Educação (FEUSP) y en la dirección del IEB, como detallaré en el próximo apartado.

También traje de la Historia una discusión más consolidada acerca del oficio del historiador. Paul Veyne[240], Michel de Certeau[241], Jacques Le Goff[242], Michel Foucault[243], E. P. Thompson[244], Walter Benjamin[245], Christopher Hill[246], Natalie Davis[247] y Carlo Ginzburg[248], entre otros, habían sido objeto de intensas lecturas y acalorados debates, dentro y fuera de las aulas de la Maestría. En el momento en que comencé mi doctorado, encontré que la subárea de Historia de la Educación estaba dando un importante movimiento hacia los canteros de la (teoría de la) Historia, principalmente para los investigadores asociados al GT 02 – Historia de la Educación de la Asociación Nacional de Posgrado e Investigación en Educación (ANPEd),

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[239] Farge, Arlete. *Le goût de l'archive*, 1989.
[240] Veyne, Paul. *Como se escreve a História. Foucault revoluciona a História*, 1982.
[241] De Certeau, Michel. *A escrita da história*, 1982.
[242] De Jacques Le Goff, los capítulos Memória; Documento/Monumento e Historia, publicados en la *Enciclopedia Einaudi*, 1984. Con Pierre Nora, *História: novos problemas*, 1979.
[243] Foucault, Michel. *A arqueologia do saber*, 1986.
[244] Thompson, Edward P. *A miséria da teoria*,1981.
[245] Benjamin, Walter. *Magia e técnica, Arte e política*, 1986.
[246] Hill, Christopher. *O mundo de ponta-cabeça*, 1987.
[247] Davis, Natalie Zemon. *O retorno de Martin Guerre*, 1987.

_____. *Culturas do povo*, 1990.
[248] Ginzburg, Carlo. *O queijo e os vermes*, 1987.

como lo demuestra el trabajo presentado por Clarice Nunes y Marta Carvalho en la 15.ª Reunión Anual de la entidad, en 1992[249], y hoy considerado un clásico en la historiografía educativa brasileña.

La investigación para el doctorado implicó una reflexión sobre la docencia. Al tomar como tema de investigación la creación, en la capital de la República en 1932, del IERJ (la misma institución en la cual yo había cursado la Escuela Normal), me interesé en escudriñar las formas en que em ella se realizaba la formación para la docencia. La documentación recopilada en los archivos Anísio Teixeira y Lourenço Filho del CPDOC y en el archivo Fernando de Azevedo del IEB-USP me permitió entrar en contacto con la discusión política y pedagógica sobre educación en ese período; así como seguir el debate teórico acerca de la Escuela Nueva. Los documentos ubicados en el archivo y en la biblioteca del IERJ aludían a las dimensiones de las prácticas educativas. Los programas de curso, las fichas de las alumnas, los reglamentos internos, el control de préstamo de libros y de adquisiciones de la biblioteca, los artículos publicados en la revista *Arquivos do Instituto de Educação* me abrieron un universo de indagaciones sobre el funcionamiento interno de la escuela.

La elección de mi objeto de investigación me llevó a rutas inesperadas. Pude conocer con más profundidad a personajes que habitaban el mundo de los libros, como Fernando de Azevedo, Lourenço Filho y Anísio Teixeira. Los tres cardenales de la Escuela Nueva en Brasil, como diría Paschoal Lemme[250], se convirtieron en piezas centrales de mi investigación, lo que implicó no solo la densificación de mis lecturas sobre educación en las décadas de 1920 y 1930, sino también la búsqueda de ampliar las fuentes. A la documentación textual asocié el ejercicio de Historia Oral, entrevistando a exalumnas de la institución y escuchando sus relatos sobre su etapa como normalistas.

Con la defensa del doctorado[251], comencé a invertir en estudios sobre la materialidad de la escuela y de la cultura escolar. El interés por la biblioteca escolar y por las prácticas de lectura y formación en el IERJ dio visibilidad al tránsito que había iniciado con la lectura de los textos de Roger Chartier[252] y el contacto que había establecido con Michel de Certeau de *A invenção do cotidiano*[253], ambos en la asignatura "Historia de la Educación Brasileña: Algunas cuestiones

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[249] Nunes, Clarice e Carvalho, Marta. Historiografia da educação e fontes. *Cadernos ANPEd*, 1993, p. 7-64.
[250] Lemme, Paschoal. *Memórias 2*, 1988.
[251] Vidal, Diana G. *O exercício disciplinado do olhar: livros, leituras e práticas de formação docente no Instituto de Educação do Distrito Federal (1932-1937)*, 2001.
[252] Chartier, Roger. *A História Cultural***:** entre práticas e representações Memória e Sociedade, 1990 e _____. O mundo como representação. *Revista de Estudos Avançados*, 11(5) - 1991 - p. 173 - 191.
[253] De Certeau, Michel. *A invenção do cotidiano*.

y perspectivas de investigación", ofrecida por Marta Carvalho, en 1991. La preocupación por la formalidad de las prácticas y la atención centrada en las estrategias de imposición y modelización y en las tácticas de subversión me habían instigado a proyectar nuevas perspectivas sobre la documentación recopilada.

**De asistir a instituciones de investigación al trabajo de organización del acervo**

En ese recorrido, la asistencia al Archivo Fernando de Azevedo (IEB-USP) me reveló un amplio campo de posibilidades para explorar el funcionamiento interno de la escuela pública primaria, especialmente en Río de Janeiro en la década de 1920. De los 16.000 documentos del acervo, 8.336 consistían en artículos publicados en periódicos y colocados en 9 álbumes de recortes, que pretendían registrar todo el período de la administración de Azevedo de la Instrucción Pública en la capital brasileña (1927-1930). Añadianse libros, reuniendo discursos, entrevistas y textos escritos por Azevedo; la legislación educativa de la época; ejemplares del *Boletim de Educação Pública*, periódico que hizo editar Azevedo para dar a conocer los hechos y logros de la Reforma; fotografías de los edificios escolares construidos y en construcción; y la correspondencia intercambiada con educadores que participaron o apoyaron su administración. El tratamiento de la documentación había sido iniciado por la archivera Maria Cecília Ferraz de Castro Cardoso. Sin embargo, ante la escasez de recursos materiales y humanos en el IEB, el trabajo archivístico era lento y la disponibilidad del acervo se veía afectada por la falta de instrumentos de investigación detallados. Sensibilizada por el problema y familiarizada con las técnicas de Archivística, decidí, impulsada por Marta Rossetti Batista, entonces directora del IEB-USP, remitir a la FAPESP, en la línea Jóvenes Investigadores en Centros Emergentes, lanzada ese mismo año (1995), el proyecto "La escuela en su materialidad: estrategias y tácticas (Distrito Federal, 1927-1930)", que en el título evidenciaba las cuestiones teóricas y de investigación a las que me enfrentaba. Con el apoyo de la FAPESP, al cabo de cuatro años, toda la documentación había sido tratada y descrita. La iniciativa fue la cuna del Núcleo Interdisciplinar de Estudos e Pesquisa em História da Educação (NIEPHE), creado en 1996, con mis primeros orientandos de Iniciación Científica y de Maestría (André Palilo, Rachel Abdala, José Claudio Sooma Silva, Rosane Nunes e Teresa Baeza), y aún hoy activo, reuniendo también a estudiantes de doctorado e investigadores posdoctorales.

Si la discusión sobre la materialidad de la escuela tomó cuerpo en el ejercicio realizado en el IEB-USP, no se limitó a él. La participación en la XV *International Standing Conference for the History of Education* (ISCHE), en 1993, me había permitido escuchar la conferencia de

clausura, “La cultura escolar como objeto histórico”, proferida por Dominique Julia[254]. Para intensificar las lecturas sobre la problemática, recorrí los trabajos de Antonio Viñao Frago[255], Jean-Claude Forquin[256] y Agustín Escolano[257]. A ellos les agregué textos de David Tyack y Larry Cuban[258], Guy Vicent[259], André Chevel[260], componiendo una biblioteca que alimentó los cursos de Grado y Posgrado de la FEUSP, a la que ingresé como docente en 1996, y apoyó las orientaciones de iniciación científica, maestría y doctorado. El intento también condujo a la redacción del proyecto “Materiales y métodos en la escuela brasileña republicana: investigaciones acerca de estrategias de modelación y tácticas de apropiación puestas en uso en el espacio escolar”, premiado con una Beca de Productividad e Investigación, en 1998, por el Consejo Nacional de Investigacíon (CNPq).

En mi proceso de constitución como historiadora de la educación, también fue de fundamental importancia mi participación como investigadora, entre 1994 y el 2000, y luego como coordinadora, entre el 2000 y el 2004, del Centro de Memória da Educação (CME-FEUSP). El acercamiento al CME se produjo cuando aún realizaba mis estudios de doctorado. Integraba el Proyecto “Impresos, Lecturas e Instituciones Escolares”, liderado por Marta Carvalho en el ámbito del Convenio CME-USP/FINEP y que inauguró las actividades del Centro, creado en 1993. Posteriormente, entre 1997 y 1998, me involucré en la investigación “Bases para el avance de la historia comparada de la educación en iberoamérica – Badhicei”, con la coordinación general de Olga Lucía Zuluaga Garcés de la Universidad de Colombia. Su propósito era realizar un amplio estudio de la legislación educativa latinoamericana con el fin

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de crear una Base Internacional de Datos, con sede en Colombia, con miras a fomentar el estudio comparados entre los países.

Entre 1998 y el 2001 colaboré con la "Investigación sobre la Educación Pública Profesional en el Estado de São Paulo: Memoria Institucional y Transformaciones Histórico-Espaciales Regionales", Convenio CME/Centro Paula Souza, realizada bajo el liderazgo de Carmen Sylvia Vidigal de Moraes y financiada por la FAPESP, en la Línea Educación Pública. Con el objetivo de recopilar y sistematizar fuentes documentales sobre la temática de la educación escolar pública profesional en São Paulo e involucrando al cuerpo docente, discente y administrativo de escuelas técnicas públicas, el proyecto propició el surgimiento de Centros de Memoria en ocho Escuelas Técnicas más antiguas de São Paulo[261].

Esta experiencia, combinada con el deseo de comprender las prácticas escolares pasadas y de conocer con más detalle la cultura material de la escuela, así como la disposición de asumir de manera más decisiva la tarea de preservar la documentación escolar, me llevó a proponer el proyecto "Preservando la memoria de la educación pública en São Paulo: la Escuela de Aplicación (FEUSP), 1959-1999" a la FAPESP, también en la Línea Educación Pública. Contando con docentes becarios, el trabajo incluyó a estudiantes de 9 a 17 años, de niveles primario y secundario. Las tareas abarcaron desde la organización del espacio, hasta la higienización y el acondicionamiento de la documentación y la disposición del archivo permanente de la Escuela de Aplicación. Junto con el tratamiento de naturaleza archivística, se estaban realizando actividades de carácter pedagógico. Por medio de ellas, estudiantes y docentes ejercitaban la crítica documental y el razonamiento analítico, estableciendo conexiones entre el pasado y el presente.

El desarrollo del proyecto permitió la formación de estudiantes y profesores tanto en tareas de archivo como de análisis documental. Sin embargo, los logros no se limitaron a la sensibilización de estos sujetos. Al ser organizado por docentes y discentes, el archivo suscitó el interés de toda la comunidad escolar, que comenzó a donar documentos, conformándose el Centro de Memória da Escola de Aplicação, conocido como MEMO (nombre elegido por los propios estudiantes).

El MEMO realizaba, así, la síntesis de dos movimientos simultáneos y convergentes: creaba las condiciones para la realización de la investigación histórica en educación al poner a disposición de investigadores internos y externos a la institución escolar un amplio conjunto de documentos

[261] Ellas eran: ETE Carlos de Campos, ETE Getúlio Vargas, ETE Bento Quirino, ETE Cônego José Bento, ETE Fernando Prestes, ETE Aristóteles Ferreira, EEPSG Escolástica Rosa, ETE Cel Julio Prestes y ETE João Belarmino.

(respetando las condiciones inherentes a un espacio de asistencia de alumnos y a los criterios de la gestión administrativa de la documentación); y permitía que estudiantes y profesores tomaran control de su papel como constructores y conservadores de la memoria educativa.
Toda esta inversión en preservación de documentos me acreditó para asumir la dirección del Instituto de Estudos Brasileiros en el 2018 (hasta 2022). Tras cuatro años como vicedirectora de la Faculdade de Educação de la USP, el IEB me ofreció la oportunidad de combinar la experiencia de investigación y organización de acervos con la de administración. Fueron cuatro años de mucho aprendizaje, constitución de redes y fomento a iniciativas.

De la investigación nacional a la internacionalización: proyectos y diálogos bibliográficos
En el 2004, el NIEPHE crecía con la incorporación de la colega, docente de la FEUSP, Maurilane Biccas y sus orientandos. La inversión en un proyecto colectivo para el Núcleo y el interés de ampliar la interlocución con investigadores nacionales y extranjeros me permitiran presentar um nuevo proyecto al CNPq ("Múltiples estrategias de escolarización de la infancia en São Paulo (1770-1970): cultura y prácticas escolares"), con el objetivo de mantener la Beca de Productividad en Investigación. Se partía del supuesto de que la escuela elemental fue inventada por los individuos que transitaron por ella, constituyendo prácticas, estableciendo rutinas y configurando la experiencia histórica de ser estudiante y ser profesor público (pero también inspector y administrador escolar), y por los individuos que de ella fueron excluidos o que a ella ingresaron, creando o reforzando mecanismos de marginación o jerarquización social, con atención, cuando posible, a la pertenencia social, étnica/racial y sexual. A esto se sumaba el estudio de las experiencias escolares no promovidas por organismos gubernamentales, sino resultado de iniciativas de distintos grupos sociales, como las escuelas privadas y domésticas, ya sean pagadas o gratuitas.
Con el trabajo buscaba percibir las repercusiones sociales y políticas del proceso de institucionalización de la escuela elemental pública, reconociendo que la hegemonía lograda a lo largo del siglo XX, se había dado a costa de la supresión, incorporación o reconversión de varias iniciativas de escolarización de lo social ensayadas entre el final del Setecientos y el inicio del Novecientos en diferentes países. La problemática de cómo operar con la comparación en Historia de la Educación que planteaba el proyecto la venía enfrentando, de manera más detallada, desde los primeros esbozos de la propuesta de pasantía posdoctoral en el extranjero, realizada en el 2001, com el Institut National de Recherche Pédgogique (INRP-Francia), bajo la supervisión de Anne-Marie Chartier, con el apoyo de la FAPESP. Fue engrandecida con el intercambio internacional articulado por el Proyecto "La infancia y su

educación", con financiación CAPES/GRICES, en el que participaron investigadores brasileños y portugueses, coordinados por Luciano Mendes de Faria Filho y Rogério Fernandes, entre el 2002 y el 2006. Se densificó con mi segundo posdoctorado, realizado en la Universidad de Santiago de Compostela, bajo la supervisión de Anton Costa Rico, en el 2007, con el apoyo de la Fundación Carolina.

En este camino, me fui familiarizando con una bibliografía que rechazaba los análisis basados en escalas cuantitativas, por homogeneizar parámetros, que tendían a ignorar las singularidades históricas y a imponer patrones universales de desarrollo sin tener en cuenta las tradiciones locales. Invertí, alternativamente, en la construcción de categorías que permitieran describir e interpretar los contactos en múltiples escalas, con especial atención al tránsito de los sujetos en el mundo y no necesariamente rehén de los contornos nacionales, entretejiendo aportes de la comparación histórica a las historias conectada y transnacional. Para ello, recurrí a autores como Serge Gruzinski[262], Sanjay Subramnyam[263], Marcel Detienne[264], Jacques Revel[265], Nestor Garcia Canclini[266], Marie-Madeleine Compère[267], Antonio Nóvoa[268], Gabriela Ossenbach[269], Elsie Rockwell[270], Eckhardt Fuchs[271], Pierre Yves Saunier[272], Eugenia Roldán Vera[273].

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El recorrido dio soporte teórico a otros proyectos, constituidos en un circuito internacional, en los que participé como investigadora o coordinadora, a saber: “La constitución y reforma de los sistemas educativos en Brasil y Argentina”, coordinado por Adrian Ascolani y por mí, entre el 2007 y el 2009, con el apoyo de CAPES/SECyT; “La circulación internacional de modelos educativos: Brasil y Francia”, coordinado por Belmira Bueno, entre el 2009 y el 2013, con apoyo del CNPq; “Circulación de modelos pedagógicos: sujetos y objetos entre Brasil y Argentina (siglos XIX y XX)”, entre el 2010 y el 2014, coordinado por Heloisa Pimenta Rocha y Adrian Ascolani y apoyado por CAPES/SECyT; “Educación transnacional: (des)conexiones entre Brasil y la New Education Fellowship (1920-1948)”, proyecto individual, entre el 2015 y el 2017, con el apoyo de FAPESP; “Women and innovation in teaching (São-Paulo Francia, 1860-1960)”, en colaboración con investigadoras francesas, bajo mi coordinación en Brasil y de Rebecca Rogers en Francia, con recursos de la USP y la USPC, entre el 2016 y el 2018; “Sexual education in the 1920’s in Brazil and France”, proyecto individual con la ayuda de Fondation Maison des Sciences de l'Homme, en el 2018. También propició la elaboración del Proyecto Temático FAPESP “Saberes y prácticas en las fronteras: por una historia transnacional de la educación (1810-...)”, bajo mi coordinación general y vicecoordinación de Carlota Boto.

Iniciado en el 2019 y aún en curso, el Proyecto Temático se centra en la circulación de sujetos, artefactos, saberes y prácticas entre Brasil y los demás países del mundo, en el período que se extiende desde principios del siglo XIX hasta nuestros días. Parte del rechazo a comprender las dinámicas de producción y consumo de conocimiento y de acciones escolares y educativas como circunscritas a los espacios nacionales y atadas a circuitos en los que se alternan centro y periferia, dando énfasis a los procesos de hibridación operados por los sujetos en sus desplazamientos dentro y a través de fronteras geográficas y epistemológicas a lo largo del tiempo. Para dar visibilidad a este alcance teórico, se organiza en torno a cuatro ejes temáticos, denominados así: 1) archivos digitales y bibliotecas: historia del libro y de la lectura, coordinado por Calota Boto y Circe Bittencourt; 2) sujetos y artefactos: movimientos y vestigios, coordinado por Vivian Batista da Silva y por mí; 3) innovación y tradición: fugas y contrapuntos, coordinado por Bruno Bontempi Jr. y Ana Laura Godinho; 4) material didáctico para la educación pública y formación docente, coordinado por Paula Vicentini y Rita Gallego. Cada uno de estos ejes cuenta con la colaboración de colegas de universidades de São Paulo y del exterior.

Convergiendo con la propuesta, y para mantener el beneficio de la Beca de Productividad en Investigación del CNPq, comencé, en el 2021, el proyecto “Sujetos, saberes y artefactos escolares: territorialidades en una historia transnacional de la educación (1850-1950)”,

centrándome en los tres principales objetos de análisis de mi foco de investigación —sujetos, saberes/prácticas y artefactos escolares—, tomados desde el prisma de una historia transnacional de la educación. Se constituyen como territorialidades, en la medida en que consisten en problemas de investigación producidos social e históricamente por medio de documentos y en contraste con las historiografías nacionales de la educación. El interés por la participación de sujetos educativos en redes de sociabilidad como, por ejemplo, la New Education Fellowship/Liga Internacional por la Educación Nueva y las repercusiones del movimiento internacional de la educación nueva en Brasil son algunas de las posibilidades que ofrece el frente de investigación. Otra posibilidad ha sido la circulación internacional de artefactos, en el ámbito de una historia económica de la educación con una vertiente antropológica.

Es en el marco de esta discusión y articulando diferentes perspectivas de interpretación que he ido basando las opciones metodológicas de la participación en los diversos proyectos. Ponen de manifiesto una triple inversión e inducen a una precaución. Inicialmente, propician encontrar conexiones a varios niveles entre sociedades y culturas, atravesando las delimitaciones de las fronteras geopolíticas y poniendo de relieve la acción de los sujetos en las deambulaciones espaciales. En segundo lugar, abren la posibilidad de identificar nuevos problemas a medida que cambia el alcance de las lentes de observación, operando con microestudios y macroanálisis. Finalmente, aluden al cuidado en percibir los movimientos de difusión y apropiación, inscritos en la materialidad y evidenciados en la formalidad de las prácticas, matizando y ampliando la comprensión del objeto investigado. Simultáneamente, el ejercicio se enfrenta a la necesidad de interpelar las historiografías nacionales de la educación, realizar recopilación documental en acervos internacionales y dominar varios idiomas, implicando el apoyo de equipos de investigación.

## Comentarios finales

Construir una carrera, transitar en un campo, asistir a la academia y enseñar implica, esencialmente, en estar con personas. Resalté algunos de estos pocos contactos en el texto. Muchos otros quedaron ausentes: estudiantes de iniciación científica, maestría y doctorado que orienté, estudiantes de posdoctorado que supervisé; compañeros con los que compartí proyectos e iniciativas. Las operaciones que ideé al componer la narrativa los hicieron invisibles. Prioricé las instancias de mi formación, el diálogo con la bibliografía y la práctica de investigación. La participación en la política académica, como la presidencia de la Sociedade Brasileira de História da Educação o mi actuación en el Comité Ejecutivo de la ISCHE, incluso asumiendo

la tesorería de la entidad, fue completamente ignorada en este relato, al igual que mi trabajo como docente en asignaturas de grado y posgrado, otros momentos de la gestión universitaria, las publicaciones de libros, artículos y capítulos, sin mencionar los aspectos de mi vida privada. Cambios en el caleidoscopio de la memoria, mudanza de los propósitos que atribuí a este texto, ciertamente revelarían otros escenarios, experiencias y personas.

Como las demás narrativas autobiográficas, esta también produjo un doble efecto: la monumentalización del pasado y la articulación de una trayectoria. Al cristalizar significados atribuidos al ayer, como oráculo, frente a un arte adivinatorio suspendido por la racionalidad, simulaba predecir el mañana en el ritmo constante de la (supuesta) linealidad de la vida. En el rechazo de la provisionalidad, instaló en el sujeto lo perenne de una identidad, percibida como una, efecto de la "constancia de la palabra dicha o retenida"[274]. De esta manera, redujo las múltiples posibilidades de lo vivido a los rasgos de lo narrado, aprisionando a esta autora en las mallas de un personaje creado y gestado por la escritura. ¿Cómo no escuchar en estas digresiones el eco de las palabras de Michel de Foucault? "No me pregunten quién soy ni me pidan que siga siendo el mismo: es una moral del estado civil; gobierna nuestros roles. Que nos deje libres a la hora de escribir"[275].

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_____, *Na (in) constância da palavra: deslocamentos de uma professora e pesquisadora*, Belo Horizonte, Fino Traço, 2011.

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TEXTO EM PORTUGUÊS

## Na (in) constância de uma palavra dada ou retida[276]

Diana Gonçalves Vidal

Minha bisavó – que Deus a tenha em glória –
sempre me contava e recontava

[276] Este texto consiste em uma atualização do capítulo 2 do livro Vidal, Diana Gonçalves. *Na (in) constância da palavra: deslocamentos de uma professora e pesquisadora*, 2011. A versão ao espanhol se deu com apoio do Projeto Temático FAPESP (2018/26699-4).

em sentidas recordações
de outros tempos
a estória de saudade
daquele prato azul-pombinho
[...]
(Cora Coralina, O prato azul-pombinho)[277]

O prato azul-pombinho, último remanescente de um aparelho de noventa e duas peças, guardava, em sua decoração, a história de uma princesa chinesa. Lui havia fugido do palácio com um plebeu, escapando ao casamento arranjado pelo pai. A narrativa inscrita no prato descrevia ainda a busca empreendida pelo velho mandarim para encontrar a filha, a queima do quiosque onde se encontravam os namorados e o barco, utilizado pelo casal, para escapulir à emboscada. Os desenhos traziam imagens de uma China distante e eram inspiração para histórias que contrastavam fortemente com o cotidiano de Goiás na meninice de Cora Coralina. A despeito das lendas de que era depositário, o prato circulava entre casas de amigos e sempre era exibido em ocasiões festivas. Um dia, por azar, apareceu quebrado. A culpa foi imputada à poetisa, então criança. Teve por castigo não uma tunda de chineladas, mas a obrigação de carregar pendurado no pescoço, a modo de colar, um caco. A humilhação inicial da menina transmutou-se, com o tempo, em divertimento, e o colar passou a servir-lhe de brinquedo.

A singeleza da poesia de Cora Coralina evoca o não-tempo das histórias perdidas, dos caminhos da oralidade e das artes da memória. Como não lembrar, na alegoria das pinturas do prato azul-pombinho, de *O Palácio da Memória*[278] e as técnicas utilizadas pelo jesuíta Matteo Ricci para memorizar textos e repeti-los sem qualquer equívoco, surpreendendo os chineses da dinastia Ming que pretendia converter ao cristianismo? O missionário valia-se da tradição da cultura clássica e base da retórica medieval de associar objetos a espaços imaginários ordenados sequencialmente. Na arquitetura do *Palácio* repousava a chave de uma poderosa memória artificial.

Seria possível uma analogia entre a arte da memória dos antigos e as modernas artes da memória expressas nos "objetos autobiográficos", como se indaga Margarida Neves[279]? A questão é instigante e envolve atentar para aquilo que Jack Goody denominou de razão gráfica[280], uma

[277] Coralina, Cora. O prato azul-pombinho. *Poemas dos becos de Goiás e estórias mais*, 1985, p. 79-86.
[278] Spence, Jonathan. *O PALÁCIO DA MEMÓRIA DE MATTEO RICCI.* História de uma viagem: da Europa da Contra-Reforma à China da dinastia Ming, 1986.
[279] Neves, Margarida. S. As artes da memória: a modo de post-scriptum. In: Mignot, Ana Christina; Bastos, Maria Helena; Cunha, Maria Teresa. *Refúgios do eu. Educação, história, escrita autobiográfica*, 2000, p. 229-237.
[280] Goody, Jack. *Domesticação do pensamento selvagem*, 1988.

vez que esta nova arte da memória se exercita como escrita e se concretiza em um objeto (o livro, o caderno, a folha de papel). Sem desconsiderar o efeito da divisão social do trabalho, o antropólogo inglês convida a perceber a injunção das técnicas de ler e escrever na individualização da experiência pessoal nas sociedades modernas. Ao esvanecimento da palavra oral se contrapõe a perenidade do registro escrito, estimulando o pensamento pessoal.

Ângela de Castro Gomes emenda "a escrita auto-referencial ou a escrita de si integra um conjunto de modalidades do que se convencionou chamar de produção de si no mundo moderno"[281]. Os princípios da igualdade e da liberdade permitiram, por um lado, a construção da ideia de individuo abstrato e sujeito do contrato social. Por outro, possibilitaram a emersão do conceito de individuo singular, único com relação aos demais e múltiplo nos papéis sociais que exerce. É nessa tensão que se produzem as identidades modernas, ora afirmadas como unas, ora percebidas como parciais e fragmentadas.

A problemática da identidade é essencial na discussão sobre as autobiografias. Philippe Lejeune[282] tenta equacionar a questão pelo recurso ao conceito de pacto autobiográfico, pelo qual o autor, concebido como simultaneamente uma pessoa real e o produtor de um discurso, apresenta sua unidade com a personagem da narrativa pela manutenção do nome próprio. Inegavelmente várias dessas escritas de si se sustentam na associação entre aquele que escreve e sobre quem escreve.

Nos canteiros da História, os ensaios autobiográficos publicados nos anos 1980 contribuíram na elaboração de um gênero literário que ficou conhecido como ego-história. De Philippe Áries[283] a Hobsbawm[284], consolidou-se uma vertente na disciplina que se oferece à explicitação das trajetórias profissionais e das escolhas pessoais efetuadas ao longo da vida. Nas sendas da Educação, as autobiografias transformaram-se em importantes estratégias de formação, ampliando os estudos sobre profissão, profissionalização e identidades docentes, como evidenciam Belmira Bueno, Helena Coharik Chamlian; Cynthia Pereira de Sousa e Denice Barbara Catani[285].

O uso do nome próprio tem como efeito conferir autenticidade ao relato, o que seria a contraface do pacto autobiográfico para Lejeune. Se sua utilização para abrir campos de investigação,

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[281] Gomes, Angela de C. Escrita de si, escrita da História: a título de prólogo. In: _____. *Escrita de si, Escrita da História*, 2004, p. 10.
[282] Lejeune, Philippe. *O pacto autobiográfico. De Rousseau à Internet*, 2008.
[283] Ariès, Philippe. *Um historiador diletante*, 1994 [1980].
[284] Hobsbawam, Eric. *Tempos interessantes. Uma vida no século XX*, 2002.
[285] Bueno, Belmira; Chamiliam, Helena; Sousa, Cynthia; Catani, Denice. Histórias de vida e autobiografias na formação de professores e profissão docente (Brasil, 1985-2003). *Educação e Pesquisa*, vol.32 , no.2 , São Paulo, maio/ago. 2006.

fornecendo grades para a localização de dados seriais, não era nova - Ginzbug faz recuar a origem do método aos anos 1950[286] -, a homologia entre nome e identidade não deixa de ser problemática. Na mesma época em que ganhava interesse a autobiografia e a ego-história surgiam textos em que a questão era posta em debate. Paul Ricoeur[287] e Pierre Bourdieu[288] sinalizavam para a distinção entre a identidade narrativa e a identidade biológica.

Os dois autores colocaram em evidência o problema do tempo. Ricoeur concebe que as estruturas da narrativa inscrevem o tempo psicológico do vivido nos ritmos da mudança física, mensurada por instrumentos como o calendário e o relógio. De tal compreensão advém a afirmação que "a única permanência que convém à identidade narrativa é a de uma promessa à qual eu me mantenho na constância de uma palavra dada ou retida"[289]. Bourdieu também ressalta a submissão da vida às ordens cronológica e lógica, o que confere ao relato um caráter linear e contínuo e torna necessário o recurso a expressões como trajetória e percurso. O efeito que se produz é o da coerência e é ele que assegura sentido à existência narrada.

A querela contém no seu âmago a preocupação com a autenticidade do relato, não apenas do ponto de vista do sujeito narrador, mas da perspectiva dos fatos. Não é tanto a fiabilidade da memória que emerge como tópica – há uma certa assunção de que a lembrança e o esquecimento são constitutivas desse gênero de escrita cravado pela subjetividade -, mas a divisão entre realidade e ficção; ou no dizer de Lejeune, as fronteiras entre autobiografia e romance. O que se espera do rememorador é que ele expresse seu compromisso com o acontecido, sua boa-fé, ou, melhor, que não falseie conscientemente o passado.

O texto que apresento a seguir não foge aos agenciamentos delineados anteriormente. Submete a errância e descontinuidade da vida ao tempo cronológico e linear. Estabelece uma permanência entre a autora e a personagem pela constância da palavra enunciada. Traz uma objetivação da existência que se restringe à carreira. Manifesta um compromisso com os acontecimentos. Esforça-se por conter a polissemia e assegurar a interpretação do lido, apesar de saber que o leitor é um caçador vagabundo, como diria Michel de Certeau[290]. Inscreve-se nas grades da cultura escrita, abdicando das artimanhas das vozes, da gestualidade e da corporeidade, mas mantendo-se refém das estruturas da língua escrita.

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[286] Ginzburg, Carlo. O nome e o como. Troca desigual e mercado historiográfico. In: _____. A *micro-história e outros ensaios*, 1989, p. 169-178.
[287] Ricoeur, Paul. *Tempo e narrativa* (tomo I), 1994 a 1997 [1983-195].
[288] Bourdieu, Pierre. A ilusão biográfica [1986]. In: Ferreira, M.M.; Amado, J. *Usos e abusos da História Oral*, 1996, p.183-192.
[289] Ricoeur, Paul. Lectio magistralis. In: Jervolino, D. *Paul Ricoeur. Une herméneutique de la condition humaine*, 2002, p. 80.
[290] De Certeau, Michel. *A invenção do cotidiano*, 1994.

Está organizado em três partes. Na primeira, examino os percursos iniciais da minha formação acadêmica, destacando o trânsito na graduação, mestrado e doutorado e referenciando a bibliografia de que me apropriei no período. Na segunda, ponho em relevo o trabalho realizado na organização de acervos arquivísticos no Instituto de Estudos Brasileiros e na Faculdade de Educação, ambos ligados à Universidade de São Paulo. Na última parte, dedico-me a discorrer sobre como fui interligando o interesse por objetos de investigação situados no Brasil, entre finais do século XIX e primeiras décadas do XX, ao diálogo cada vez mais transnacional com o campo da história da educação. Nos três momentos, indico nomes de algumas pessoas com as quais convivi e aprendi, ao longo destes anos. As considerações finais retomam as precauções enunciadas nesta introdução.

**Da história social à história da educação: percursos iniciais de formação**

Como todos os que frequentaram a escola básica no Brasil, tomei contato com a História ainda nos anos iniciais de minha escolarização, mas foi na Faculdade de Arquitetura e Urbanismo da UFRJ que me apaixonei pelas leituras do passado. As aulas de "História das Artes" I e II e "História da Arquitetura I", construídas a partir de um número aparentemente infinito de slides, me enlevavam e me inspiravam a folhear obras em busca de informações, recompondo mosaicos do conhecimento disseminado na disciplina.

Naquele momento, talvez, eu percorresse as prateleiras da biblioteca no anseio de encontrar um livro total ou remontar o quebra-cabeça do passado em todas as suas peças. À medida que me fui me embrenhando nos estudos históricos, entretanto, paulatinamente perdi a ilusão de alcançar a totalidade. A prosa irônica de Borges[291], que conheci na fase adulta, acompanhou-me nesse processo de repensar o tempo, interrogando-me sobre o eterno, o circular e o múltiplo. Por razões pessoais, abandonei a Arquitetura e ingressei na Faculdade de História da Fundação Valeparaibana de Ensino e, pelas mãos de Paulo Miceli, docente da disciplina "História Moderna", embrenhei-me na pesquisa acadêmica. O projeto de Iniciação científica consistia na análise das relações produtivas instauradas na Fábrica de Tapetes Santa Helena, localizada em Jacareí (SP). Desenrolava-se na consulta aos arquivos privados da empresa, na localização de notícias de jornal sobre a fábrica e seus funcionários e, principalmente, em entrevistas realizadas com os proprietários e operários. Era, fundamentalmente, um trabalho em História

[291] Borges, Jorge. A biblioteca de Babel. *Obras completas*, vol. 1, 1998, p. 516-538.

Oral. Miceli acumulava a experiência do mestrado [292], para o qual se valera da mesma metodologia.

O momento de redemocratização por que passava o país, nos anos 1980, havia permitido uma renovação das formas de fazer História. Emergiram novos objetos de pesquisa, ao mesmo tempo em que se reviram as práticas de escrita e de inteligibilidade da disciplina. Para Edgar De Decca[293], as experiências traumáticas vividas pela intelectualidade em 1968 propiciaram que um lento processo de crítica a uma determinada concepção de marxismo se instalasse na academia. Isso não significava a superação do engajamento político de intelectuais na oposição ao regime militar, mas da concepção abstrata de classe operária, que configurava como homogêneas as práxis diferenciadas de proletários e intelectuais. Foi esse movimento que possibilitara a difusão da produção marxiana de E.P. Thompson na valorização da experiência do sujeito e do "fazer-se" da classe operária.

Nesse contexto, a História Oral despontou como uma metodologia de pesquisa adequada especialmente às investigações interessadas em problematizar o processo produtivo. Permitir que os operários falassem sobre si, a classe e o trabalho era uma das formas de reconhecer sua capacidade de análise e de luta, esboçando um novo modo de compromisso político da intelectualidade. Assim, se ainda pairava sobre o método a desconfiança acerca da veracidade das informações coligidas, em razão da falibilidade da memória, o que o desqualificava para o estudo da maior parte dos objetos de pesquisa histórica; como forma de "empoderamento" da classe operária, a metodologia se mostrava válida.

A investigação sobre a Fábrica de Tapetes acomodava-se perfeitamente à vertente, enriquecendo o debate sobre as relações sociais de produção ao entrelaçar o universo fabril à discussão acerca do artesanato. A Santa Helena se autodenominava uma fábrica artesanal. Esmiuçar as contradições dessa afirmação era o objetivo inicial do projeto que pretendia também registrar as fases do processo produtivo.

Foi percorrendo os corredores do galpão da tecelagem, observando o trabalho repetitivo das mulheres nos teares e dos homens nos tonéis de tingimento que me introduzi nas artes do método de História Oral e da escrita da História. Aprendi a estruturar as entrevistas, tendo clareza que a pesquisa documental e bibliográfica era etapa necessária e anterior ao contato com os depoentes; a conduzir o diálogo, interrogando-me sobre a interferência do pesquisador no

[292] Miceli, Paulo. *Era uma vez, em Sertãozinho... (Certas histórias de uma história que é do trabalho: pessoas, fatos e feitos)*, 1984. 209 p.
[293] De Decca, Edgar. 1930. *O silêncio dos vencidos*, 1986.

depoimento concedido; e a transcrever as fitas, inquietando-me com a dificuldade de apreender o oral nas malhas da escrita.

A produção bibliográfica nacional sobre o método era ainda escassa e se concentrava basicamente nos trabalhos do Centro de Pesquisa e Documentação História Contemporânea do Brasil (CPDOC), no Rio de Janeiro, e do Centro de Estudos Rurais e Urbanos (CERU) da USP. Aspásia Camargo[294] e Maria Isaura Pereira de Queiroz[295] foram as primeiras referências de leitura. Era preciso recorrer a apostilas e textos mimeografados para compreender melhor os passos da metodologia, enveredando pelos canteiros da História e da Sociologia.

O gosto pelo exercício da pesquisa e as inquietações acerca do método levaram-me a alçar voos ao Mestrado. Ingressei no Programa de Pós-Graduação do IFCH-UNICAMP sob a orientação de Michael Hall. Seu descrédito pela História Oral[296] me emulava a aprofundar as leituras sobre o método de modo a legitimar minhas escolhas. Seu profundo conhecimento da história do movimento operário no Brasil[297] conferia balizas à pesquisa. Sua capacidade em bem administrar a Biblioteca do IFCH e seu empenho em compor um acervo representativo do que se publicava no exterior ofereciam o lastro sólido para localização das referências mais diversas e o acesso a uma ampla bibliografia, principalmente disponível em língua inglesa.

Foi na Biblioteca do IFCH que garimpei os trabalhos de Oscar Lewis[298], David Henige[299] e Paul Thompson[300] e me encantei pela produção de Alessando Porteli[301]. O domínio dessa literatura em inglês iria me habilitar, em 1996, a frequentar o Oral History Research Office, onde tive contato e fui aluna de Portelli, Mary Marshall Clark e Ronald Greele. Para dar maior consistência às análises, matriculei-me na disciplina "Metodologia de Pesquisa", oferecida por Zeila de Brito Fabri Demartini, na Faculdade de Educação da UNICAMP. O contato com Franco Ferrarotti[302] e com a bibliografia francesa sobre História Oral, em particular, Daniel Bertaux[303], devo a suas aulas.

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[294] Camargo, Aspásia. *História oral e História*. Conferencia realizada no I Seminário Brasileiro de Arquivos Municipais, ago. 1976, mimeo.

[295] Queiroz, Maria Isaura. Variações sobre o emprego da técnica de gravador no registro da informação viva. *Cadernos do CERU*, nr. 16, 1981, p. 107-116.

[296] Cf. Hall, Michael M.. História oral: os riscos da inocência. *O direito à memória*, 1992, p. 157-160.

[297] Cito apenas uma obra que se tornou referência obrigatória no campo: Hall, Michael M.; Pinheiro, Paulo S. . *A Classe Operária No Brasil, 1889-1930: Documentos*, 1979.

[298] Lewis, Oscar. *A death in the Sanchez família*, 1970.

[299] Henige, David. *Oral historiography*, 1985.

[300] Thompson, Paul. *The voice of the past: oral history*, 1978.

[301] Dentre muitos textos, cito apenas o primeiro que li: Portelli, Alessandro. The peculiarities of Oral History. *History Workshop*, nr. 12, 1981, p. 96-107.

[302] Ferrarotti, Franco. Osservazioni preliminari su ricerca storica, biografica e analisi sociologica. In: Macioti, Maria (org). *Biografia, storia e società. Luso delle storie di vita nelle scienze sociali*, 1985.

[303] Bertaux, Daniel. *Biography and society – the life history approach in the social sciences*, 1981.

A Dissertação de mestrado versou sobre problemática similar à Iniciação Científica. Envolvi-me com a análise do processo produtivo de uma fábrica que também se denominava artesanal: Fábrica de Pianos F. Essenfelder, localizada em Curitiba. A hierarquia era composta por mestres encarregados, que se apresentavam como artesãos, e operários. Os primeiros haviam sido formados pelo próprio Florian Essenfelder, fundador da empresa, ou por um dos seus filhos, Frederico, Floriano e Carlos. Florian aprendera o oficio ainda quando morava na Alemanha e trabalhara na Fábrica de Pianos C. Bechstein, em Berlim. Ensinara os filhos que continuaram a tradição de fazer e afinar pianos. Quando da morte de Frederico, Floriano e Carlos, a empresa passou a ser administrada por Esther Essenfelder, que desconhecia os meandros da produção e dividia com os mestres a condução do trabalho nas oficinas. Foi esse duplo controle que permitiu meu acesso e permanência no interior da fábrica.

Eu me aproximara da empresa logo após a eclosão de sua primeira greve desde a fundação, em 1890, em Buenos Aires. Em 1986, ciente das dificuldades em gerir uma fábrica na dependência do apoio dos encarregados, Esther havia contratado um técnico alemão, especialista em Organização & Método, para reorientar o processo produtivo, fragmentando e parcelando as tarefas de modo a retirar as decisões da alçada dos mestres. O confronto de interesses levou à greve e os relatos sobre o acontecimento me permitiram colocar em destaque as lutas de poder e saber constituídas nas relações sociais de produção.

Como forma de garantir o meu sustento, comecei a dar aulas de História da Educação em uma instituição privada de ensino superior, a Faculdade de Pedagogia Padre Anchieta, em Jundiaí (SP), ainda durante o Mestrado. Facilitava-me o fato de ter sido aluna da Escola Normal do Instituto de Educação do Rio de Janeiro (IERJ), entre 1975 e 1978. O trânsito na área educacional, constituído nos tempos de normalista, me conferia a base inicial para juntar os dos campos: História e Educação. A experiência permitiu-me dar novo rumo aos investimentos acadêmicos e representou uma guinada decisiva para minha carreira, ainda que eu não percebesse isso no início dos anos 1990, quando me matriculei no Doutorado em Educação na FEUSP, com um projeto sobre o IERJ, nos anos 1930.

Da trajetória na História eu trazia o gosto pelos arquivos, como diria Arlete Farge[304], e o apreço pela documentação textual, fotográfica e oral. Isso se evidenciava não só no trabalho de campo para a dissertação, como na iniciativa de cursar a Especialização em Organização de Arquivos, oferecida pelo Centro de Memória da UNICAMP e o Instituto de Estudos Brasileiros da USP, entre 1989 e 1990. O envolvimento com o curso seria fundamental depois para minhas

[304] Farge, Arlete. *Le goût de l'archive*, 1989.

incursões no tratamento do Arquivo Pessoal de Fernando de Azevedo (IEB-USP), na gestão do Centro de Memória da Educação (FEUSP) e na direção do IEB, como detalharei no próximo item.

Trazia da História também uma discussão mais consolidada acerca do oficio do historiador. Paul Veyne[305], Michel de Certeau[306], Jacques Le Goff[307], Michel Foucault[308], E. P. Thompson[309], Walter Benjamin[310], Christopher Hill[311], Natalie Davis[312] e Carlo Ginzburg[313], dentre outros, haviam sido objeto de leituras intensivas e debates acalorados, dentro e fora das salas de aula do Mestrado. No momento em que ingressava no Doutorado, encontrava a subárea da História da Educação realizando um significativo movimento em direção aos canteiros da (teoria da) História, principalmente para os pesquisadores associados ao GT 02 – História da Educação da Associação Nacional de Pós-Graduação e Pesquisa em Educação (ANPEd), como atesta o trabalho apresentado por Clarice Nunes e Marta Carvalho na 15ª Reunião Anual da entidade, em 1992*[314]*, e hoje considerado um clássico na historiografia educacional brasileira.

A pesquisa para o Doutorado implicou em uma reflexão sobre a docência. Ao tomar a criação do Instituto de Educação na capital da República em 1932 como tema de investigação, interessei-me em perscrutar os modos como a formação para o magistério se fazia na instituição. A documentação levantada nos arquivos Anísio Teixeira e Lourenço Filho do CPDOC e no arquivo Fernando de Azevedo IEB-USP me permitia travar contato com a discussão política e pedagógica sobre a educação no período; bem como acompanhar o debate teórico acerca da escola nova. Os documentos localizados no arquivo e na biblioteca do IERJ acenavam para as dimensões das práticas educativas. Os programas de curso, as fichas das alunas, os regimentos internos, o controle de retiradas de livros e de aquisições da biblioteca, os artigos publicados na revista *Arquivos do Instituto de Educação* abriam para mim um universo de indagações sobre o funcionamento interno da escola.

A eleição de meu objeto de pesquisa levou-me a rotas inesperadas. Passei a conhecer com mais profundidade personagens que habitavam os mundos dos livros, como Fernando de Azevedo,

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[305] Veyne, Paul. *Como se escreve a História. Foucault revoluciona a História*, 1982.
[306] De Certeau, Michel. *A escrita da história*, 1982.
[307] De Jacques Le Goff, os capítulos Memória; Documento/Monumento e História, publicados na *Enciclopédia Einaudi*, 1984. Com Pierre Nora, *História: novos problemas*, 1979.
[308] Foucault, Michel. *A arqueologia do saber*, 1986.
[309] Thompson, Edward P. *A miséria da teoria*,1981.
[310] Benjamin, Walter. *Magia e técnica, Arte e política*, 1986.
[311] Hill, Christopher. *O mundo de ponta-cabeça*, 1987.
[312] Davis, Natalie Zemon. *O retorno de Martin Guerre*, 1987.

_____. *Culturas do povo*, 1990.
[313] Ginzburg, Carlo. *O queijo e os vermes*, 1987.
[314] Nunes, Clarice e Carvalho, Marta. Historiografia da educação e fontes. *Cadernos ANPEd*, 1993, p. 7-64.

Lourenço Filho e Anísio Teixeira. Os três cardeais da Escola Nova brasileira, como diria Paschoal Lemme[315], tornaram-se peças centrais em minha investigação, o que implicou não só no adensamento das minhas leituras sobre educação nos anos 1920 e 1930, como na busca pela ampliação das fontes. À documentação textual, associei o exercício da História Oral, entrevistando antigas alunas da instituição e ouvindo suas histórias sobre o tempo de normalistas.

Com a defesa do Doutorado[316], passei a investir em estudos acerca da materialidade da escola e da cultura escolar. O interesse pela biblioteca escolar e pelas práticas de leitura e formação no IERJ deu visibilidade ao trânsito que eu iniciara com a leitura dos textos de Roger Chartier[317] e o contato que tomara com o Michel de Certeau d'*A invenção do cotidiano*[318], ambos na disciplina "História da Educação Brasileira: Algumas questões e perspectivas de pesquisa", oferecida por Marta Carvalho, em 1991. A preocupação com a formalidade das práticas e a atenção voltada às estratégias de imposição e modelação e às táticas de subversão haviam me instigado a projetar novos olhares sobre a documentação levantada.

**Da frequência a instituições de pesquisa ao trabalho de organização de acervo**

Nesse percurso, a frequência ao Arquivo Fernando de Azevedo (IEB-USP) descortinou para mim um amplo campo de possibilidades para explorar o funcionamento interno da escola pública primária, especialmente no Rio de Janeiro da década de 1920. Dos 16.000 documentos do acervo, 8.336 se constituíam de artigos publicados em jornal e acondicionados em 9 Álbuns de recortes, que pretendiam registrar todo o período da administração Azevedo da Instrução Pública carioca. Sobre a Reforma implementada entre 1927 e 1930 na capital do Brasil existiam ainda livros, reunindo discursos, entrevistas e textos escritos por Azevedo; a legislação educacional da época; exemplares do *Boletim de Educação Pública*, periódico que Azevedo fez editar para divulgar os fatos e feitos da Reforma; fotografias dos prédios escolares construídos e em construção; e a correspondência trocada com educadores que participaram ou apoiaram sua administração.

O tratamento da documentação havia sido iniciado pela arquivista Maria Cecília Ferraz de Castro Cardoso. No entanto, com a escassez de recursos materiais e humanos do IEB, o trabalho

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315 Lemme, Paschoal. *Memórias 2*, 1988.

316 Vidal, Diana G. *O exercício disciplinado do olhar: livros, leituras e práticas de formação docente no Instituto de Educação do Distrito Federal (1932-1937)*, 2001.

317 Chartier, Roger. *A História Cultural***:** entre práticas e representações Memória e Sociedade, 1990 e _____. O mundo como representação. *Revista de Estudos Avançados*, 11(5) - 1991 - p. 173 - 191.

318 De Certeau, Michel. *A invenção do cotidiano*.

arquivístico era lento e a disponibilização do acervo sofria pela falta de instrumentos de pesquisa detalhados. Sensibilizada com o problema e familiarizada com as técnicas da Arquivologia, resolvi, por incentivo de Marta Rossetti Batista, então diretora do IEB-USP, encaminhar à FAPESP, na linha Jovens Pesquisadores em Centros Emergentes, lançada naquele mesmo ano (1995), o projeto "A escola na sua materialidade: estratégias e táticas (Distrito Federal, 1927-1930)", que no título evidenciava as questões teóricas e de pesquisa com que me deparava. Ao final de quatro anos, toda a documentação havia sido tratada e descrita. A iniciativa foi o berço do Núcleo Interdisciplinar de Estudos e Pesquisa em História da Educação (NIEPHE), criado em 1996, com meus primeiros orientandos de Iniciação Científica e Mestrado, e até hoje em atividade, reunindo também doutorandos e pesquisadores de pós-doutorado.

Se a discussão acerca da materialidade da escola tomou corpo no exercício realizado no IEB-USP, não se resumiu a ele. A participação na XV *International Standing Conference for the History of Education* (ISCHE), em 1993, tinha me permitido ouvir a conferência de encerramento, "A cultura escolar como objeto histórico", proferida por Dominique Julia[319]. Para intensificar as leituras sobre a problemática, percorri os trabalhos de Antonio Viñao Frago[320], Jean-Claude Forquin[321] e Agustín Escolano[322]. A eles fui acrescentando textos de David Tyack e Larry Cuban[323], Guy Vincent[324], André Chevel[325], compondo uma biblioteca que alimentou os cursos de Graduação e Pós-Graduação da Faculdade de Educação da USP (FEUSP), na qual ingressei como docente em 1996, e deu suporte às orientações de Iniciação

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[319] Julia, Dominique. A cultura escolar como objeto histórico. *Revista Brasileira de História da Educação*, nr. 1, 2001, p. 9-44.

_____. Disciplinas escolares: objetivos, ensino e apropriação. In: Lopes, Alice e Macedo, Elizabeth (org.) *Disciplinas e integração curricular: história e políticas*, 2002, p. 37-72.

[320] Vinão Frago, Antonio. *Alfabetização na sociedade e na história*, 1993.

_____. Historia de la educación e historia cultural. *Revista Brasileira de Educação*, nr. 0, set. dez.1995, p. 63-82.

[321] Forquin, Jean-Claude. Saberes escolares, imperativos didáticos e dinâmicas sociais, *Teoria & Educação*, nr.5, 1992, p.28-49.

[322] Escolano Benito, Agustin. A arquitetura como programa. Espaço-escola e currículo". In: Vinão Frago, Antonio e Escolano Benito, Agustin. *Currículo, espaço e subjetividade*, 1998, p. 19-58.

[323] Tyack, David and Cuban, Larry. *Tinkering toward utopia.* A century of public school reform,1999.

[324] Vincent, Guy. *L' école primaire française*, 1980.

Vincent, Guy, Lahire, Bernard e Thin, Daniel. Sobre a história e a teoria da forma escolar. *Educação em Revista*, jun. 2001, p. 7-48.

[325] Chervel, André et Blache Benveniste, Claire. *L'orthographe*, 1969.

Chervel, André. *Histoire de la grammaire scolaire*, 1977.

_____. *La culture scolaire*. Une approche historique, 1998.

Científica, Mestrado e Doutorado. A investida propiciou também a redação do projeto "Materiais e métodos na escola brasileira republicana: investigações acerca de estratégias de modelização e táticas de apropriação postas em uso no espaço escolar", contemplado com Bolsa Produtividade e Pesquisa, em 1998, pelo CNPq.

No meu processo de constituição como historiadora da educação, foi de fundamental importância também minha participação como pesquisadora, entre 1994 e 2000, e depois como coordenadora, entre 2000 e 2004, do Centro de Memória da Educação (CME-FEUSP). A aproximação com o CME deu-se quando eu ainda realizava meus estudos de Doutorado. Integrava o Projeto "Impressos, Leituras e Instituições Escolares", liderado por Marta Carvalho no âmbito do Convênio CME-USP/FINEP e que inaugurara as atividades do Centro, criado em 1993. Na sequência, entre 1997 e 1998, envolvi-me com a pesquisa "Bases para el avance de la historia comparada de la educación en iberoamerica – Badhicei", com coordenação geral Olga Lucía Zuluaga Garcés da Universidad de Colômbia. Tinha por propósito efetuar um amplo levantamento da legislação educacional latino-americana de modo a compor um Banco Internacional de Dados, com sede na Colômbia, com vistas a fomentar o estudo comparado entre os países.

Entre 1998 e 2001, colaborei com a "Pesquisa sobre o Ensino Público Profissional no Estado de São Paulo: Memória Institucional e as Transformações Histórico-Espaciais Regionais", Convênio CME/ Centro Paula Souza, realizada sob a liderança de Carmen Sylvia Vidigal de Moraes e financiamento da FAPESP, na Linha Ensino Público. Com o intuito de fazer o levantamento e sistematização de fontes documentais sobre a temática da educação escolar pública profissional em São Paulo e envolvendo o corpo docente, discente e administrativo de escolas técnicas públicas, o projeto propiciou o surgimento de Centros de Memória em oito Escolas Técnicas mais antigas de São Paulo[326].

Essa experiência, associada ao anseio de compreender as práticas escolares pretéritas e em conhecer com mais minúcia a cultura material da escola, bem como a disposição de assumir mais decididamente a tarefa da preservação da documentação escolar me levaram a propor o projeto "Preservando a memória do ensino público paulista: a Escola de Aplicação (FEUSP), 1959-1999" à FAPESP, também na Linha Ensino Público. Contando com professores-bolsistas, o trabalho integrou estudantes de 9 a 17 anos de idade, dos níveis fundamental e médio. As tarefas se estenderam da organização do espaço, até higienização e acondicionamento da

[326] Foram elas: ETE Carlos de Campos, ETE Getúlio Vargas, ETE Bento Quirino, ETE Cônego José Bento, ETE Fernando Prestes, ETE Aristóteles Ferreira, EEPSG Escolástica Rosa, ETE Cel Julio Prestes e ETE João Belarmino.

documentação e arranjo do arquivo permanente da Escola de Aplicação. Junto com o tratamento de caráter arquivístico, atividades de cunho pedagógico foram sendo realizadas. Por meio delas, estudantes e professores exercitavam a crítica documental e o raciocínio analítico, estabelecendo conexões entre o passado e presente.

O desenvolvimento do projeto permitiu a formação de alunos e professores tanto nas tarefas do arquivamento, quanto na análise documental. No entanto, os ganhos não se circunscreveram à sensibilização desses sujeitos. Ao ser organizado pelo corpo docente e discente, o arquivo suscitou o interesse de toda a comunidade escolar que passou a doar documentos para o acervo, compondo o Centro de Memória da Escola de Aplicação, conhecido como MEMO (nome escolhido pelos próprios alunos).

O MEMO efetuava, assim, a síntese de dois movimentos simultâneos e convergentes: criava condições para a realização da pesquisa histórica em educação pela disponibilização de um farto conjunto documental a investigadores internos e externos à instituição escolar (respeitando-se as condições inerentes a um espaço de frequência de alunos e aos critérios da gestão administrativa da documentação); e permitia que alunos e professores se assenhoreassem do papel de construtores e conservadores da memória educacional.

Todo este investimento com a preservação documental credenciou-me em 2018 a assumir a direção do Instituto de Estudos Brasileiros. Depois de quatro anos como vice-diretora da Faculdade de Educação da USP, o IEB oferecia-me a oportunidade de associar a experiência de pesquisa e organização de acervos à de administração. Foram quatro anos de muito aprendizado, constituição de redes e fomento a iniciativas.

**Da pesquisa nacional à internacionalização: projetos e diálogos bibliográficos**

Em 2004, o Centro de Memória da Educação já se havia consolidado como referência nacional para a pesquisa em educação. Ao mesmo tempo, o NIEPHE crescia com a incorporação da colega, docente da FEUSP, Maurilane Biccas e seus orientandos. O investimento em um projeto coletivo para o Núcleo e o interesse em ampliar a interlocução com investigadores nacionais e estrangeiros implicaram em meu desligamento do CME. A reflexão suscitada com o movimento efetuado pelo NIEPHE permitiu que eu submetesse nova proposta ao CNPq (“Múltiplas estratégias de escolarização da infância em São Paulo (1770-1970): cultura e práticas escolares”), visando à manutenção da Bolsa Produtividade em Pesquisa. Partia do pressuposto que a escola elementar fora sendo inventada pelos indivíduos que nela transitaram, constituindo práticas, estabelecendo rotinas e conformando a experiência histórica de ser aluno e ser professor público (mas também inspetor e administrador escolar), e pelos indivíduos que dela

foram excluídos ou nela não ingressaram, criando ou reforçando mecanismos de marginalização e/ou hierarquização social, com atenção, quando possível, ao pertencimento social, étnico/racial e sexual. A isso, acrescentava o estudo das experiências escolares não promovidas por instâncias governamentais, mas resultado de iniciativas de diferentes grupos sociais, como as escolas particulares e domésticas, pagas ou gratuitas.

Com o expediente, buscava perceber os desdobramentos sociais e políticos do processo de institucionalização da escola elementar pública, no reconhecimento de que a hegemonia conquistada ao longo do século XX, se havia dado à custa da supressão, incorporação e/ou reconversão de várias iniciativas de escolarização do social ensaiadas entre o final do Setecentos e o início do Novecentos em distintos países. A problemática de como operar com a comparação em História da Educação que o projeto suscitava vinha sendo por mim enfrentada, de modo mais detido, desde os primeiros esboços da proposta de estágio de Pós-Doutorado no exterior, realizado em 2001, junto ao INRP-França, sob a supervisão de Anne-Marie Chartier, com apoio FAPESP. Ganhara vulto com o intercâmbio internacional articulado pelo Projeto "A infância e sua educação", com financiamento CAPES/GRICES, envolvendo pesquisadores brasileiros e portugueses, coordenados por Luciano Mendes de Faria Filho e Rogério Fernandes, entre 2002 e 2006. Adensara-se com meu segundo Pós-Doutorado, efetuado na Universidade de Santiago de Compostela, sob a supervisão de Anton Costa Rico, em 2007, com suporte da Fundación Carolina.

Nesse caminho, fui me familiarizando com uma bibliografia que recusava as análises baseadas em escalas quantitativas, por homogeneizar parâmetros, tendendo a desconhecer as singularidades históricas e impor padrões universais de desenvolvimento em desrespeito às tradições locais. Investi, alternativamente, na construção de categorias que permitissem descrever e interpretar os contatos em múltiplas escalas, com especial atenção ao trânsito dos sujeitos no mundo e não necessariamente reféns dos contornos nacionais, entretecendo aportes da comparação histórica às histórias conectada e transnacional. Para tanto, recorri a autores

como Gruzinski[327], Subramnyam[328], Detienne[329], Revel[330], Garcia Canclini[331], Compère[332], Nóvoa[333], Ossenbach[334], Rockwell[335], Eckhardt Fuchs[336], Pierre Yves Saunier[337], Eugenia Roldán Vera & Eckhardt Fuchs[338].

O percurso deu sustentação teórica a outros projetos, constituídos em circuito internacional, dos quais participei na qualidade de pesquisadora ou coordenadora, a saber: "A constituição e reforma dos sistemas educativos no Brasil e na Argentina", coordenado por mim e por Adrian Ascolani, entre 2007 a 2009, com apoio CAPES/SECyT; "A circulação internacional de modelos educacionais: Brasil e França", coordenado por Belmira Bueno, entre 2009 e 2013, com apoio CNPq; "Circulação de modelos pedagógico: sujeitos e objetos entre Brasil e Argentina (séculos XIX e XX)", entre 2010 e 2014, coordenado por Heloisa Pimenta Rocha e Adrian Ascolani e apoio CAPES/ SECyT; "Educação Transnacional: (des) conexões entre Brasil e a New Education Fellowship (1920-1948)", projeto individual, entre 2015 e 2017, com apoio FAPESP; "Women and innovation in teaching (São-Paulo France, 1860s-1960s)", em colaboração com pesquisadoras francesas, sob minha coordenação no Brasil e de Rebecca Rogers na França, com recursos da USP e USPC, entre 2016 e 2018; "Sexual education in the

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[327] Gruzinski, Serge. *O pensamento mestiço*, 2001, p. 63-92.

_____. Les mondes mêles de la monarchie catholique et autres "connected histories. *Annales*. Histoire, Sciences Sociales, 56e. année, nr. 1, jan.-fev. 2001, p. 85-117.

[328] Subrahmanyam, Sanjay. Connected histories: notes towards a reconfiguration of early modern Eurasia. In: Lieberman, Victor. *Beyond binary histories*,1999, p.289-316.

[329] Detienne, Marcel. *Comparar o incomparável*, 2004.

[330] Revel, Jacques. *Jogos de escalas - A experiência da micro analise*, 1998.

[331] Garcia Canclini, Nestor. *Culturas híbridas*, 2003.

_____ Estudos sobre cultura: uma alternativa latinoamericana aos cultural studies. Porto Alegre, *Revista FAMECOS*, n.30, agosto 2006, p. 7-15.

[332] Compère, Marie-M. *L'histoire de l'éducation en Europe.* Essai comparatif sur la façon dont elle s'écrit, 1995, p. 79-108.

[333] Novoa, António. Modeles d'analyse en education comparée: le champ et la carte. In: *Education comparée*, 1998, p. 9-61.

[334] Ossenbach, Gabriela. Por una historia comparada de la educación en España, Portugal y America Latina. In Escolano Benito, Agustin. & Fernandes, Rogério. (Eds.). *Los caminos hacia la modernidad educativa en España y Portugal (1800-1975)*, 1997, p. 227-251.

[335] Rockwell, Elsie. Metáforas para encontrar histórias inesperadas. In: Nepomuceno, Maria A. & Tiballi, Elianda. *A educação e seus sujeitos na história*, 2007, p. 15-33.

[336] Fuchs, Eckhardt, "History of education beyond the Nation? Trends in Historical and Educational Scholarship", In: Bagchi, Barnita, Fuchs, Eckhardt and Rousmaniere, Kate (ed), *Connecting histories of education. Transnational and cross-cultural exchances in (post) colonial education*, 2014.

[337] Saunier, Pierre-Yves. "Globalisation". In: Akira Iriye; Pierre-Yves Saunier. *The Palgrave Dictionary of Transnational History. From the mid-19th century to the present day*, 2009, pp 461-462.

[338] Roldán Vera, Eugenia; Fuchs, Eckhardt. Introduction: the transnational in the History of Education. In: Fuchs, Eckhardt; Roldán Vera, Eugenia. (Org.). *The transnational in the History of Education:* concepts and perspectives, 2019. p. 1-47.

1920's in Brazil and France", projeto individual com auxílio da Fondation Maison des Sciences de l'Homme, em 2018. Propiciou, ainda, a elaboração do Projeto Temático FAPESP "Saberes e práticas em fronteiras: por uma história transnacional da educação (1810-...)", sob minha coordenação geral e vice-coordenação de Carlota Boto.

Iniciado em 2019 e ainda em andamento, o Projeto Temático tem como foco a circulação de sujeitos, artefatos, saberes e práticas entre o Brasil e demais países do mundo, no período que se estende do princípio do século XIX aos dias atuais. Parte da recusa à compreensão das dinâmicas de produção e consumo de conhecimentos e de ações escolares e educacionais como circunscritas aos espaços nacionais e atadas a circuitos em que se alternam centro e periferia, dando ênfase aos processos de hibridação operados pelos sujeitos em seus deslocamentos dentro e através de fronteiras geográficas e epistemológicas ao longo do tempo. Para conferir visibilidade a este escopo teórico, organiza-se em torno a quatro eixos temáticos, assim denominados: 1) arquivos digitais e bibliotecas: história do livro e da leitura, coordenado por Calota Boto e Circe Bittencourt; 2) sujeitos e artefatos: movimentos e vestígios, coordenado por mim e Vivian Batista da Silva; 3) inovação e tradição: fugas e contrapontos, coordenado por Bruno Bontempi Jr. e Ana Laura Godinho; 4) material didático para o ensino público e formação docente, coordenado por Paula Vicentini e Rita Gallego. Cada um desses eixos conta com a colaboração de colegas de universidades paulistas e estrangeiras.

Convergindo com a proposta, e de modo a manter o benefício da Bolsa Produtividade em Pesquisa do CNPq, comecei, em 2021, o projeto "Sujeitos, saberes e artefatos escolares: territorialidades em uma história transnacional da educação (1850-1950)", concentrando-me nos três principais objetos de análise sobre os quais tenho me debruçado – sujeitos, saberes/práticas e artefatos escolares -, tomados a partir do prisma de uma história transnacional da educação. São eles constituídos como territorialidades, na medida em que consistem em problemas de pesquisa produzidos social e historicamente por meio de documentos e no contraste de historiografias nacionais da educação. O interesse pela participação de sujeitos educacionais em redes de sociabilidade como, por exemplo, a New Education Felowship/ Liga Internacional pela Educação Nova e as repercussões do movimento internacional da educação nova no Brasil são algumas das possibilidades oferecidas pela frente de pesquisa. Outra possibilidade tem sido a circulação internacional de artefatos, no âmbito de uma história econômica da educação de vertente antropológica.

É no quadro desta discussão e articulando diferentes perspectivas de interpretação que venho alicerçando as escolhas metodológicas da participação nos diversos projetos. Elas evidenciam um triplo investimento e induzem a uma precaução. Inicialmente propiciam encontrar conexões

em vários níveis entre sociedades e culturas, atravessando as delimitações das fronteiras geopolíticas e colocando em relevo a ação dos sujeitos nas deambulações espaciais. Em segundo lugar, abrem a possibilidade de identificar novos problemas na medida em que se altera o alcance das lentes de observação, operando com microestudos e macroanálises. Por fim, acenam para o cuidado em perceber os movimentos de difusão e apropriação, inscritos na materialidade e evidenciados na formalidade das práticas, matizando e alargando o entendimento sobre o objeto investigado. Simultaneamente, o exercício se depara com a necessidade de interpelar as historiografias nacionais de educação, efetuar levantamento documental em acervos internacionais e dominar vários idiomas, implicando no apoio de equipes de pesquisa.

**Comentários finais**

Construir uma carreira, transitar em um campo, frequentar a academia e a sala de aula é, essencialmente, estar com pessoas. Alguns desses poucos contatos eu assinalei no texto. Muitos outros ficaram ausentes: alunos de Iniciação Científica, Mestrado e Doutorado que orientei, pós-doutorandos que supervisionei; colegas com os quais partilhei projetos e iniciativas. As operações que tramei na composição da narrativa os tornaram invisíveis. Priorizei as instâncias da minha formação, o diálogo com a bibliografia e a prática de pesquisa. A participação na política acadêmica, como a presidência da Sociedade Brasileira de História da Educação ou minha atuação no Comitê Executivo da ISCHE, assumindo inclusive a tesouraria da entidade, passou completamente ao largo deste relato, assim como meu trabalho como docente em disciplinas de Graduação e Pós-Graduação, outros momentos da gestão universitária, as publicações de livros, artigos e capítulos, sem mencionar os aspectos da vida privada. Mudanças no caleidoscópio da lembrança, a alteração dos propósitos atribuídos por mim a este texto, por certo, revelariam outros cenários, experiências e pessoas.

Como as demais narrativas autobiográficas, esta também produziu um duplo efeito: monumentalização do passado e articulação de uma trajetória. Ao cristalizar significados atribuídos ao ontem, como oráculo, na contraface de uma arte divinatória suspensa pela racionalidade, simulou predizer o amanhã no ritmo constante da (suposta) linearidade da vida. Na recusa à provisoriedade, instalou no sujeito o perene de uma identidade, apreendida como una, efeito da "constância da palavra dita ou retida"[339]. Dessa forma, reduziu as múltiplas faces do vivido aos traços do narrado, aprisionando esta autora nas malhas de um personagem criado

[339] Ricoeur, Paul. Lectio magistralis, p. 80.

e gestado pela escrita. Como não ouvir nestas digressões o eco das palavras de Michel de Foucault? "Não me pergunte quem sou e não me diga para permanecer o mesmo: é uma moral do estado civil; ela rege nossos papéis. Que ela nos deixe livres quando se trata de escrever"[340].

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[340] Foucault, Michel. *Arqueologia do saber*, p. 20.

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Capítulo de livro elaborado por Vivian Batista da Silva, Diana Gonçalves Vidal, Ana Laura Godinho Lima e Bruno Bontempi Jr., publicado com o uso de recurso do auxílio para tradução para a versão ao inglês.

## Rethinking readings about the past of school and education between worlds

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### Abstract

This paper introduces the book *Rethinking Centre-Periphery Assumptions in the History of Education: Exchanges Among Brazil, USA, and Europe*, recently published by Routledge, as a result of the FAPESP Thematic Project No. 2018/26699–4 entitled Knowledges and practices at the borders: for a transnational history of education

(1810–. . .). It is structured in two parts. The first part evinces the exchanges established between Brazil and the USA, with a focus on the circulation of subjects and pedagogical models. The narrative starts in 1884 with the trip of Maria Guilhermina Loureiro to the USA and extending to 1960 with the connections between New Education and Modern Architecture. Along the way, it deals with the education debates carried out in the state of São Paulo around the writing of the report *Education in the State of São Paulo (1903)*, and the sojourn of Brazilian educators in the Columbia University Teachers College (NY) from 1920 to 1960. In the second part, the circle is widened, incorporating the exchanges with Europe, particularly with France, England, and Portugal. Here we conduct analyses about the circulation of artifacts such as desks, parietal charts, and school manuals, as well as of models of representation such as Pictorialism photography.

**Keywords**: Networks, Center-periphery; transnational history of education

**Resumen**

Este artículo tiene como objetivo presentar el libro *Rethinking Centre-Periphery Assumptions in the History of Education: Exchanges Among Brazil, USA, and Europe*, lanzado recientemente por Routledge, como resultado del Proyecto Temático FAPESP nº 2018/26699–4, titulado Knowledges and practices at the borders: for a transnational history of education (1810–. . .). Está estructurado en dos partes. En el primero, lo que se pone en evidencia son los intercambios establecidos entre Brasil y Estados Unidos, con foco en la circulación de temas y modelos pedagógicos. La narración comienza en 1884 con el viaje de María Guilhermina Loureiro a Estados Unidos y se extiende hasta 1960 con las conexiones entre Nueva Educación y Arquitectura Moderna. Se abordan también los debates sobre educación desarrollados en el Estado de São Paulo en torno a la redacción del informe La educación en el Estado de São Paulo (1903) y la estancia de educadores brasileños en el Teachers College de la Universidad de Columbia (NY). entre 1920 y 1960. En la segunda parte se amplía el círculo, incorporando los intercambios con Europa, particularmente con Francia, Inglaterra y Portugal. Aquí realizamos análisis sobre la circulación de artefactos como pupitres, diagramas parietales y manuales escolares, así como de modelos de representación como la fotografía del pictorialismo.

**Palabras-clave:** Redes, Centro-perifería; historia transnacional de la educación

**Résumé**

Cet article vise à présenter le livre *Rethinking Centre-Periphery Assumptions in the History of Education: Exchanges Among Brazil, USA, and Europe*, lancé récemment par Routledge, à la suite du projet thématique FAPESP n° 2018/26699-4 intitulé Knowledges and practices at the borders: for a transnational history of education (1810–. . .). Il est structuré en deux parties. Dans la première, ce qui est mis en évidence sont les échanges établis entre le Brésil et les États-Unis, en mettant l'accent sur la circulation des matières et des modèles pédagogiques. Le récit commence en 1884 avec le voyage de Maria Guilhermina Loureiro aux États-Unis et se prolonge jusqu'en 1960 avec les liens entre l'éducation nouvelle et l'architecture moderne. Il aborde aussi les débats sur l'éducation menés dans l'État de São Paulo autour de la rédaction du rapport L'éducation dans l'État de São Paulo (1903), et le séjour des éducateurs brésiliens au Columbia University Teachers College (NY). entre 1920 et 1960. Dans la seconde partie, le cercle s'élargit en intégrant les échanges avec l'Europe, notamment avec la France, l'Angleterre et le Portugal. Nous menons ici des analyses sur la circulation d'objets tels que des pupitres, des planches pariétales et des manuels scolaires, ainsi que de modèles de représentation tels que la photographie pictorialiste.

**Mots-clés** : Réseaux, Centre-périphérie, histoire transnationale de l’éducation.

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### a) Background

At the invitation of *Encounters in Theory and History of Education,* we present the book *Rethinking Centre-Periphery Assumptions in the History of Education: Exchanges Among Brazil, USA, and Europe*, which has been recently published by Routledge. Before dealing specifically with the content of the chapters, we would like to introduce their emergency conditions, as Michel Foucault would say in *Archaeology of Knowledge*, treating it "in the game of its instance"[341]. We agree with the author when he says that

> The frontiers of a book are never clear-cut: beyond the title, the first lines, and the last full stop, beyond its internal configuration and its autonomous form, it is caught up in a system of references to other books, other texts, other sentences: it is a node within a network[342].

What nodes constitute this network? Not wanting to be exhaustive, we intend to indicate some of them, plotted in the reference to FAPESP Thematic Project No. 2018/26699–4 entitled Knowledges and practices at the frontiers: for a transnational history of education (1810–. . .). Started in 2019, the project arose from a desire of history of education teachers, working in the state of São Paulo, to problematize the findings of historical-educational research in its circumscription to the Brazilian territory, refusing what Martin Lawn appropriately called methodological nationalism[343].

The branch of transnational history of education provided tensioning polarized approaches between the center and the periphery or supported by perspectives of transference, in line with other models of analysis such as the international circulation of knowledges and practices, embraced by the researchers of the project, aligned with cultural history. The notion of frontier, as per the title of the project, thus referred to both geographical limits, understood as places of passage and barrier; as well as theoretical limits, signaling to epistemologies built on power relations established internally in the historical-educational field, but also between the sub-areas of the educational field, and in the confrontation with other fields of knowledge in the humanities, inside and outside Brazil.

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341 Michel Foucault, *A arqueologia do saber*. Rio de Janeiro, Forense-Universitária, 1986, p. 28.
342 Idem, p. 26
343 Lawn, M, Um conhecimento complexo: o historiador da educação e as circulações transfronteiriças. *Revista Brasileira De História Da Educação*, *14*(1[34]), 127-144, 2014.

In this reflection, we were guided by the readings of Michel de Certeau, in *The writing of history,* when he states that historiography is an operation that is produced at the confluence of an institution, a practice and a writing[344], and of Pierre Bourdieu, when he discusses the scientific field, noting that its functioning generates and supposes a specific form of interest, constitutes an authority and is based on games of power legitimized by symbolic effectiveness[345].

Therefore, the educational knowledges and practices aimed by the project, in addition to establishing a dialogue with the international production in the history of education, are situated in dialogue with other disciplines, constitutive of the educational arena, such as teacher training, school administration, didactics, as well as with related disciplines, such as psychology, economics, statistics, architecture, etc.

In the lessons of Roger Chartier[346], Milton Santos[347] and Anibal Quijano[348], we find other supports to carry out this research program that, taking the "glocal" as a reference, granted relevance to the peripheries and refused the epistemologies of the north, whether European or American. In this line, two metaphors figured as important. The first, enunciated by Serge Gruzinski, associates the work of the historian with that of the electrician, busy reestablishing the international and intercontinental connections that national historiographies have disconnected or hidden, blocking their respective frontiers[349]. The second metaphor comes to us from Sanjay Subrahmanyam when he suggests an inversion in the reading of the actions of the Portuguese Empire in Asia when referring to the tail that wags the dog[350].

Thus, the project was organized into four axes, namely: 1) digital archives and libraries: history of books and reading; 2) subjects and artifacts: movements and traces; 3)

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344 Michel de Certeau. *A escrita da história.* Rio de Janeiro: Forense-Universitária, 1982.

345 Pierre Bourdieu. Le champ scientifique. Actes de Ia Recherche en Sciences Sociales, n. 2/3, jun. 1976, p. 88-104.

346 Roger Chartier. Micro-história e globalidade in: *A história ou a leitura do tempo*. Belo Horizonte: Autêntica, 2009, 53-59.

347 Milton Santos. *Por uma outra globalização: do pensamento único à consciência universal* . São Paulo, Record, 2000.

348 Aníbal Quijano. A colonialidade do saber: eurocentrismo e ciências sociais. Perspectivas latino-americanas. Buenos Aires: CLACSO, Consejo Latinoamericano de Ciencias Sociales, 2005.

349 Serge Gruzinski. Os mundos misturados da monarquia católica. Topoi, Rio de Janeiro, mar. 2001, pp. 176.

350 Sanjay Subrahmanyam. Comércio e conflito: a presença portuguesa no Golfo de Bengala, 1500–1700. Lisboa: Edições 70, 1994.

innovation and tradition: fugues and counterpoints; 4) didactic material for public education and teacher training. Each of these axes is coordinated by two researchers from the Faculty of Education at the University of São Paulo and has the collaboration of researchers from other institutions in São Paulo and abroad.

The time frame covers the period from the beginning of the 19th century to the present day. Its initial milestone was the transfer of the Portuguese Court to Rio de Janeiro, the moment of implementation of the first royal press in Brazilian lands and of initiatives that would lead to the first general law of primary education, of 1827, and the creation of secondary and higher education, in addition to the first teacher training schools. It presents the appropriations, exchanges, shares and exchanges of knowledges and actions at the international level that have since been processed, seeking to understand how this symbolic universe inscribed marks of innovation in the different traditions that constituted and have composed the knowledges and educational practices still today.

The book, object of this presentation, consists of eight chapters, in addition to an introduction and a conclusion. In each chapter, other texts, other phrases weave new links and nodes in this network, revealing complicities between the authors, but also signaling tensions in forms of approach and interpretation and in the selection of the analyzed themes. It gathers the results of research carried out with Axes 2 and 3, mentioned above. However, before addressing the structure and content of the book, it seems relevant to address the perspectives articulated in these axes.

**b) Axes 2 and 3 of the project Knowledges and practices at the frontiers**

The axis “Subjects and artifacts: movements and traces” highlights the movements through geographical borders, focusing on the circulation of people, knowledges, practices and artifacts as a fundamental dimension of the modes of configuration assumed by the modern school, its teaching methods and practices. In the analysis of transnational movements, individual or collective, official or unofficial, we seek to overcome the paradigm of import or influence of regions recognized as *loci* of progress over nations considered dependent or backward. In addition to the interpretations that took the European and American experiences as “lessons to be learned,” we can narrate and interpret other modes of international relations, characterized either by

reversals of roles or points of departure and arrival, or by appropriations, hybridities and creative reinventions and attentive to the national realities, to the problems to be solved and to the intrinsic characteristics of educational systems, albeit in their most embryonic times.

The research covers a wide range of experiences, which includes trips of subjects who observed, compared, appropriated and, in their returns, sought to transmit knowledges and practices considered successful, effective or modern in view of reforms of the education systems, or the school organization of the countries from which they departed. In addition to participation in congresses or pedagogical exhibitions, it is important to know the motivations and results of exchanges between people from fields of knowledge converging with or related to education and transactions between professionals from different areas, interested in pedagogical or commercial issues related to education.

International circulation even refers to the material universe of the school, looking into the processes related to artifacts and their agents. From pencils to school desks, from textbooks to wall boards, from individual boards to school notebooks, an entire circuit of production and consumption was constituted, interlinking and connecting subjects, schools, governments, industries. This circuit involved industrial projects and products; imports and exports; catalogs and advertising vehicles; purchases and transfer of objects and furniture, which, due to their quotidian presence, played a role in the practices of teachers and students. With regard to retracing the material circuit of schools, the endeavor also implies the location and treatment of sources that testify to commercial transactions, such as purchase lists or item lists of warehouses of the Inspectorates of Instruction, libraries and schools; import guides; patent registrations; catalogues of exhibitions and companies. The objects themselves can scarcely be found in schools, but alternative traces can reveal past school practices, due to the movement of appropriation of pedagogical theories and models, in addition to the tense effectiveness of educational reforms.

Thus understood, the circulation establishes networks on local, national or international scales, not only by initiative of prominent educators or reformers, but also by teachers, principals and teaching inspectors, whose discreet trajectories deserve to be explored, for their fundamental role in mediating everyday school life. The historical

investigations also extend to the trajectories of journalists, physicians, politicians, businessmen or attorneys who, having their corresponding proficiencies, were present and took part in these processes.

The analysis of transnational movements enables unveiling the complexity of school material culture in several dimensions, from the normative level of education systems and schools to scientific and pedagogical knowledges and the daily routine of teachers and students. The matter becomes particularly evident in the period comprising the last two centuries, in which Brazil took part in an intense global transit, either due to economic and political reasons, or in the sense of the search for pedagogical models and artifacts, fostered and propitiated by events such as the World's Exhibitions or by intellectual networks and organizations such as the New Education Fellowship.

Therefore, this approach involves the debate about the forms of internationalization, as well as the ways to build intelligibilities for multilateral relations. The interpretations that focus their emphasis on the action of nation-States in the global diffusion of the educational ideology, signaling the process of internationalization of reference societies, as suggested by Schriewer[351], allows for the addition of new perceptions to the diffusion countermovements[352]. By focusing on the dissemination conducted by non-representatives of the State, as well as on the protagonism of centers not recognized as diffusers and on the not-always-conscious appropriations of the cultural models distributed, the analyses problematize the scope and effectiveness of the agencies and powers of the States, feeding the interest in the complexity of the arrangements and in the porosity of the borders, conceived as contours permeable to the circulation of subjects, models and artifacts.

In the axis "Innovation and tradition: fugues and counterpoints", the theoretical-methodological considerations on the meanings and effects of crossing geographical borders are broadened through their articulation with reflections on temporal frontiers, in particular, with ideas related to tradition and innovation, backwardness and

351 Jürgen Schriewer . Estados-modelo e sociedades de referência: externalização em processos de modernização. In: NOVOA, António & SCHRIEWER, Jürgen (ed.) A difusão mundial da escola. Lisboa: Educa, 2000, p. 103-120.

352 Diana Vidal. A invenção da modernidade educativa: circulação internacional de modelos pedagógicos, sujeitos e objetos no oitocentos. In: Cláudia Engler Cury, Serioja Cordeiro Mariano. (ed.). Múltiplas visões: cultura histórica no oitocentos. João Pessoa: Editora Universitária da UFPB, 2009, v. , p. 39-58.

progress. Throughout the nineteenth century, the issue of evolution became central in the natural and social sciences, and the development of individuals, as well as social progress, were considered from the evolutionary perspective, which sought to apprehend the differences between human groups and individuals in terms of a greater or lesser degree of civilization and development.

In the field of education, the issue was incorporated as a direct relationship between the natural laws of human development and the history of societies353. The idea of the evolutionary genesis of human intellect was, in practice, transposed to the ideal division and sequence of educational degrees in the graded school model354; later, the new school movement supported its criticism of the contents and methods of the traditional school on the statement that the main objective of the school would no longer be to transmit knowledge, but rather to promote the development of students. Against the pedagogical tradition, the movement advocated the renewal of teaching methods, based on scientific knowledge about child development, with a view to modernizing society.

Although reformist discourses commonly present the argument of an absolute opposition between the traditional and the modern, in which the former would represent conservatism and backwardness, historical research on knowledges and practices have shown that the school simultaneously has a commitment to tradition—by seeking the dissemination of a cultural heritage and to innovation—by intending, through the training of new generations, to prepare the future. School culture is a good example of the coexistence of traditional practices, such as controlling the attendance of students and assigning scores to their work, and other very recent practices, such as the incorporation of new technologies into the curriculum. In certain historical configurations, there can be varied combinations of “old” and “new” elements composing school cultures, in histories that intersect or that have followed in parallel for several generations.

353 S.J Gould, S.J. A falsa medida do homem. São Paulo: Martins Fontes, 2003; M.C.G Gerken and C.H.S Gerken. Desenvolvimento humano: história, conceitos e polêmicas. São Paulo: Cortez, 2010.

354 Carlos Monarcha. Escola Normal da Praça. O lado noturno das Luzes. São Paulo: Editora da Unicamp, 1999

It makes sense to seek, from a historical and non-teleological perspective, the description and interpretation of the ways in which it was manifested, for example, the commitment of educators to preserve the traditional knowledges and practices they learned in their training and professional practice, and what were the criticisms directed to this tradition and these educators, who supported discourses and initiatives for the renewal of educational programs and teaching methods, often inspired by experiences from other nations or articulated with transnational networks. The ways in which the criteria of judgment were historically and transnationally formed and diffused in terms of innovation and tradition, advancement or delay that enabled comparing and hierarchizing school systems, institutions, knowledges, practices and subjects makes it possible to oppose the discourses and initiatives of individuals and groups that militated for the renewal of systems, schools, and educational theories and teaching methods, to oppose the dissent and resistance in defense of the conservation of values, curricula, routines, uses of space and pedagogical and administrative procedures.

In this approach, therefore, historical time is not exhausted on the past-present-future axis, but encompasses different durations, permanencies and accelerations. Thus, there is a new examination of the logic of the relations between center and periphery, commonly marked by an analogical representation either on the temporal plane, between past-backwardness and future-progress, in which the industrial nations of Europe and the United States appear associated with progress, and those of the periphery, with backwardness; or on the geographical plane, with the representation of the global north as developed and the south, as underdeveloped, which ratifies the civilizational divide embedded in the great narratives of the West.

It is within the scope of the reflections carried out by researches associated with the two axes that the book *Rethinking Centre-Periphery Assumptions in the History of Education: Exchanges Among Brazil, USA, and Europe* was developed. The chapters are organized so as to give visibility to these issues as will be seen in the next item.

**c) Contents and structure**

Anchored in inspirations arising from the metaphor of networks, the book interweaves a series of themes, sources and theoretical and methodological references that lead

to rethinking the exchanges carried out in different times and spaces in the construction and appropriation of the school model. The texts reveal various strands followed in a period that spans two centuries, in which Brazil serves as a point of departure and of arrival for the analyses of circuits that, intertwined within the national borders, stimulate the reflection about international transits, hybridizations, and appropriations in a process of transnational circulation of subjects and artifacts, in which pedagogical and social models and knowledges are not excluded. In this exercise, the objects of study are spatially, historically, and epistemologically *de*- and *re*territorialized.

To give visibility to these ongoing studies, this volume is structured in two parts. In the first, what is put in evidence is the exchanges established between Brazil and the USA, with a focus on the circulation of subjects and pedagogical models. In the second one, the circle is widened, incorporating the exchanges with Europe, particularly with France, England, and Portugal.

The first chapter, entitled “Trajectories of the Loureiro de Andrade family in childhood education: an analysis from the perspective of the Transnational History of Education”, by Vinicius Monção, aims to analyze the teacher training of Maria Guilhermina Loureiro de Andrade (1842-1929), a relevant teacher in the Brazilian context, who in her career connected Brazilian pedagogical ideas with those from the United States of America. Between 1883 and 1887, the teacher stayed in New York City on her own resources to study at the New York Seminary for Kindergartners in the Model Kindergarten created by Maria Kraus-Boelté and John Kraus.

The second chapter, entitled “Showing advances to the world: the *Education in the State of S. Paulo* (1903) report at Brazil’s exhibition in St. Louis,” by Bruno Bontempi Jr., concerns Brazil's exhibition during the Louisiana Purchase Exposition, in St. Louis, in 1904. It focuses on the representation of the state of São Paulo in its relationship with Brazil, which was proclaimed in *Education in the State of S. Paulo* report. It also points out Brazil's connection with the global power center. The analysis indicates that the discursive and curatorial rhetoric of the Brazilian Commission was effective in diluting regionalisms in favor of the image of unity, as well as in persuading interlocutors that, even if the country could not aspire to a central place, it had at least left the "primitive" remnants in the past, characteristic of the peoples that occupied the most peripheral areas in the geography of civilization.

The third chapter, entitled “From Brazil to the United States. From Teachers College, Columbia University to the world: appropriation, production, and circulation of ideas in the field of Education,” by Rafaela Rabelo, discusses the motions of Brazilian educators who at some point attended the Columbia University’s Teachers College in New York. Around 120 Brazilian students attended Teachers College between the 1920s and 1960s. Some were enrolled in postgraduate programs or simply attending short courses, while others included the institution in their study mission itineraries. The case studies explored in the chapter highlight that the exchanges were multidirectional and the existence of multiple centers.

The fourth chapter, entitled “New Education movement and Modern Architecture: Brazil and USA connections between 1930 and 1960,” by Ana Laura Godinho Lima and Ana Gabriela Godinho Lima, analyzes the approximations among the Escola Nova movement discourses and Modern Architecture Elementary Schools projects in Brazil from the 1930s to the 1960s. It intends to ponder on how these discourses and architectures have been impacted by the modern idea that the incorporation of scientific knowledge in the citizens’ education, as well as in city planning and architecture, would allow overcoming the perceived backwardness of the Brazilian society when compared to those of the United States of America and other European countries. The focus is directed at the exchanges of ideas and references relating to school architecture between Brazilian and North American educators and architects.

The fifth chapter, entitled “Kaleidoscope of Images in Exchange: The Pictorialism Movement in the Promotion of Photographic Education and Photographic Production,” by Rachel Duarte Abdala, points out the pictorialism movement, which emerged in the late 19th century in France and England, quickly reached the United States and then Brazil, peaking in the first two decades of the 20th century. This article aims to analyze the educational function of the pictorialism movement from the production of pictorial photographers and the aesthetic education promoted by camera clubs in Brazil, Europe and the United States. The spread of pictorialism and its intense visibility promoted by different strategies, besides the sharing of ideas and practices among groups of photographers, going beyond national borders, can characterize pictorialism as a school in the broad and open conception of school in its philosophical and informal character.

The sixth chapter, entitled “Rethinking the center-periphery relations in History of Education: network archaeology and school material culture”, by Wiara Alcântara, focuses on the archaeological theory of networks, investigating and tracing the nodes and links of human and non-human networks in the process of world diffusion of the modern school, in the 19th century. The text deals with the reverse circuit of the school desk and the circulation of an American school desk model, not as a specific product, but as a concept, an idea laden with meanings. Through the "Statistical Maps of Commerce and Navigation of the Port of Rio de Janeiro", it examines the re-export movement of other school objects, such as materials for teaching natural sciences. Both the displacement of the idea-product and the re-export movement point to the directions and polycentric relationships that marked the worldwide diffusion of the modern school and its materiality.

The seventh chapter, entitled “For a polycentric history of education: The Brazilian School Museum between Brazil, Portugal, and France (late 19th century)”, by Diana Gonçalves Vidal, deals with the Portuguese migration to Brazil during the latter half of the 19$^{th}$ century, focusing on the 1850s and 1860s, when José d’ Oliveira Lopes started his saga. The chapter is interested in the circulation of people between the two sides of the Atlantic and explores the creation of the school and pedagogical museums in the 1800s, seeing them as necessary didactic support for the implementation of the method of object lessons. The focus is on the circulation of pedagogical models and on the circulation of cultural objects. This text reflects on how to situate the center and the periphery in the studies in which the circulation is the focus of analysis within the scope of a transnational history. Therefore, it argues for a polycentric history of education.

The eighth chapter, entitled “From place to place: connections and ruptures of Luiz Alves de Mattos in the educational field (from the 1920s to the 1960s), by Vivian Batista da Silva and Keila da Silva Vieira, aims to examine the circulation Luiz Alves de Mattos and his books for teachers had on national, international, and transnational dimensions. “From place to place” is not only the movement that refers to physical and geographical spaces but also the social spaces in which Mattos built in his career. It is the result of connections made from 20s to 60s with institutions, groups, and individuals specialized in education in Brazil and in the world, especially in the United States and Argentina. His itineraries constitute a kind of “reverse circuit” because his work is not

a mere copy of North American references. It is possible to escape the limits of interpretations that believe in the “transfer” of knowledge from one place to another.

Over and above that, our purpose was to problematize the very operability of the categories of “center” and “periphery” in the analysis of the movements of circulation and appropriation of pedagogical models and ideas between countries. Firstly because they presuppose the existence of fixed and univocal relationships that start from the supposed center towards the regions perceived as peripheral, with no margin for examining the reverse circuit. Secondly, they elide the perception of those territories as transitory and resulting from historically shifting geographic and symbolic constructions. Lastly, they ratify the violence of the processes of exclusion based on the attribution of subalternities brought about by a historiographic narrative in education that presents itself as the reference.

We hope that the book contributes to a broad and fertile debate that has been developing in the field of the history of education.

TEXTO EM PORTUGUÊS

**Para repensar leituras sobre o passado da escola e da educação entre mundos**

**Abstract**

This paper aims at introducing the book *Rethinking Centre-Periphery Assumptions in the History of Education: Exchanges Among Brazil, USA, and Europe*, launched recently by Routledge, as a result of the FAPESP Thematic Project No. 2018/26699–4 entitled Knowledges and practices at the borders: for a transnational history of education (1810–. . .). It is structured in two parts. In the first, what is put in evidence is the exchanges established between Brazil and the USA, with a focus on the circulation of subjects and pedagogical models. The narrative starts in 1884 with the trip of Maria Guilhermina Loureiro to the USA and extends until 1960 with the connections between New Education and Modern Architecture. Along the way, it deals with the education debates carried out in the State of São Paulo around the writing of the report

*Education in the State of São Paulo (1903)*, and the sojourn of Brazilian educators in the Columbia University Teachers College (NY) between 1920 and 1960. In the second part, the circle is widened, incorporating the exchanges with Europe, particularly with France, England, and Portugal. Here we conduct analyses about the circulation of artifacts such as desks, parietal charts, and school manuals, as well as of models of representation such as Pictorialism photography.

**Resumen**

Este artículo tiene como objetivo presentar el libro *Rethinking Centre-Periphery Assumptions in the History of Education: Exchanges Among Brazil, USA, and Europe*, lanzado recientemente por Routledge, como resultado del Proyecto Temático FAPESP nº 2018/26699–4, titulado Knowledges and practices at the borders: for a transnational history of education (1810–. . .). Está estructurado en dos partes. En el primero, lo que se pone en evidencia son los intercambios establecidos entre Brasil y Estados Unidos, con foco en la circulación de temas y modelos pedagógicos. La narración comienza en 1884 con el viaje de María Guilhermina Loureiro a Estados Unidos y se extiende hasta 1960 con las conexiones entre Nueva Educación y Arquitectura Moderna. Se abordan también los debates sobre educación desarrollados en el Estado de São Paulo en torno a la redacción del informe La educación en el Estado de São Paulo (1903) y la estancia de educadores brasileños en el Teachers College de la Universidad de Columbia (NY). entre 1920 y 1960. En la segunda parte se amplía el círculo, incorporando los intercambios con Europa, particularmente con Francia, Inglaterra y Portugal. Aquí realizamos análisis sobre la circulación de artefactos como pupitres, diagramas parietales y manuales escolares, así como de modelos de representación como la fotografía del pictorialismo.

**Résumé**

Cet article vise à présenter le livre *Rethinking Centre-Periphery Assumptions in the History of Education: Exchanges Among Brazil, USA, and Europe*, lancé récemment par Routledge, à la suite du projet thématique FAPESP n° 2018/26699-4 intitulé Knowledges and practices at the borders: for a transnational history of education (1810–. . .). Il est structuré en deux parties. Dans la première, ce qui est mis en évidence sont les échanges établis entre le Brésil et les États-Unis, en mettant l'accent sur la circulation des matières et des modèles pédagogiques. Le récit commence en 1884 avec le voyage de Maria Guilhermina Loureiro aux États-Unis et se prolonge jusqu'en 1960 avec les liens entre l'éducation nouvelle et l'architecture moderne. Il

aborde aussi les débats sur l'éducation menés dans l'État de São Paulo autour de la rédaction du rapport L'éducation dans l'État de São Paulo (1903), et le séjour des éducateurs brésiliens au Columbia University Teachers College (NY). entre 1920 et 1960. Dans la seconde partie, le cercle s'élargit en intégrant les échanges avec l'Europe, notamment avec la France, l'Angleterre et le Portugal. Nous menons ici des analyses sur la circulation d'objets tels que des pupitres, des planches pariétales et des manuels scolaires, ainsi que de modèles de représentation tels que la photographie pictorialiste.

**Para repensar leituras sobre o passado da escola e da educação entre mundos**

**a) Background**

A convite da *Encounters in Theory and History of Education,* fazemos uma apresentação do livro *Rethinking Centre-Periphery Assumptions in the History of Education: Exchanges Among Brazil, USA, and Europe*, recentemente publicado pela Routledge. Antes de tratar especificamente do conteúdo dos capítulos, gostaríamos de situar suas condições de emergência, como diria Michel Foucault n'*Arqueologia do saber,* tratando-o "no jogo de sua instância"[355]. Concordamos com o autor quando afirma que

> as margens de um livro jamais são nítidas nem rigorosamente determinadas: além do título, das primeiras linhas e do ponto final, além de sua configuração interna e da forma que lhe dá autonomia, ele está preso em um sistema de remissões a outros livros, outros textos, outras frases: nó em uma rede[356].

De quais redes se compõe este nó? Não querendo ser exaustivos, pretendemos indicar algumas delas, tramadas na remissão ao FAPESP Thematic Project No. 2018/26699–4 entitled Knowledges and practices at the borders: for a transnational history of education (1810–. . .). Iniciado em 2019, o projeto surgiu de um anseio de docentes de história da educação, atuantes no estado de São Paulo, em problematizar os achados da pesquisa histórico-educacional na sua circunscrição ao território brasileiro, recusando aquilo que Martin Lawn apropriadamente denominou de nacionalismo metodológico[357].

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355 Michel Foucault, *A arqueologia do saber.* Rio de Janeiro, Forense-Universitária, 1986, p. 28.
356 Idem, p. 26
357 Lawn, M, Um conhecimento complexo: o historiador da educação e as circulações transfronteiriças. *Revista Brasileira De História Da Educação*, *14*(1[34]), 127-144, 2014.

A vertente da história transnacional da educação propiciava tensionar abordagens polarizadas entre centro e periferia ou apoiadas em perspectivas da transferência, coadunando-se a outros modelos de análise como a circulação internacional de saberes e práticas, abraçados pelos pesquisadores do projeto, alinhados à história cultural. A noção de fronteira, presente no título do projeto, remetia, assim, tanto aos limites geográficos, compreendidos como lugares de passagem e de barreira; como a limites teóricos, sinalizando para epistemologias construídas nas relações de poder instauradas internamente no campo histórico-educacional, mas também entre as subáreas do campo educacional, e no confronto com outros campos de conhecimento em humanidades, dentro e fora do Brasil.

Fomos guiados nessa reflexão pelas leituras realizadas de Michel de Certeau, n' *A escrita da história,* quando afirma que a historiografia é uma operação que se produz na confluência de uma instituição, uma prática e uma escrita[358], e por Pierre Bourdieu, quando discorre sobre o campo científico, destacando que seu funcionamento gera e supõe uma forma específica de interesse, constitui uma autoridade e baseia-se em jogos de poder legitimados por eficácia simbólica[359].

Os saberes e práticas educacionais visados pelo projeto, portanto, além de estabelecerem um diálogo com a produção internacional em história da educação, situam-se na interlocução com outras disciplinas, constitutivas da arena educacional, como a formação docente, a administração escolar, as didáticas, quanto com disciplinas correlatas, como psicologia, economia, estatística, arquitetura etc.

Nas lições de Roger Chartier[360], Milton Santos[361] e Anibal Quijano[362], encontramos outros suportes para levar adiante este programa de investigação que, tomando o glocal como referência, concedesse relevância às periferias e recusasse as epistemologias do norte, fossem elas européias ou estadunidenses. Nessa linha, duas metáforas figuraram como importantes. A primeira, enunciada por Serge Gruzinski, associa o trabalho do historiador ao do eletricista,

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358 Michel de Certeau. *A escrita da história.* Rio de Janeiro: Forense-Universitária, 1982.

359 Pierre Bourdieu. Le champ scientifique. Actes de Ia Recherche en Sciences Sociales, n. 2/3, jun. 1976, p. 88-104.

360 Roger Chartier. Micro-história e globalidade in: *A história ou a leitura do tempo*. Belo Horizonte: Autêntica, 2009, 53-59.

361 Milton Santos. *Por uma outra globalização: do pensamento único à consciência universal* . São Paulo, Record, 2000.

362 Aníbal Quijano. A colonialidade do saber: eurocentrismo e ciências sociais. Perspectivas latino-americanas. Buenos Aires: CLACSO, Consejo Latinoamericano de Ciencias Sociales, 2005.

ocupado em restabelecer as conexões internacionais e intercontinentais que as historiografias nacionais desligaram ou esconderam, bloqueando as suas respectivas fronteiras[363]. A segunda metáfora nos vêm de Sanjay Subrahmanyam quando sugere uma inversão na leitura sobre a atuação do Império portugues na Ásia ao referir-se à cauda que abana o cão[364].

O projeto foi, assim, organizado em quatro eixos, assim denominados: 1) arquivos digitais e bibliotecas: história do livro e da leitura; 2) sujeitos e artefatos: movimentos e vestígios; 3) inovação e tradição: fugas e contrapontos; 4) material didático para o ensino público e formação docente. Cada um desses eixos é coordenado por dois pesquisadores da Faculdade de Educação da Universidade de São Paulo e conta com a colaboração de investigadores de outras instituições paulistas e estrangeiras.

O recorte temporal abarca o período que se estende do princípio do século XIX aos dias atuais. Tem como marco inicial a transferência da Corte portuguesa para o Rio de Janeiro, momento de implantação da primeira imprensa régia em terras brasileiras e de iniciativas que levariam à primeira lei geral do ensino primário, de 1827, e à criação dos cursos secundários e superiores, além das primeiras escolas normais. Desfolha as apropriações, intercâmbios, partilhas e trocas de conhecimentos e de ações em nível internacional que desde então se processaram, procurando compreender como esse universo simbólico inscreveu marcas de inovação nas diferentes tradições que compunham e compõem os saberes e as práticas educacionais ainda na atualidade.

O livro, objeto desta apresentação, compõe-se de 8 capítulos, aos quais se acrescentam uma introdução e uma conclusão. Em cada capítulo, outros textos, outras frases tecem novos enlaces e redes neste nó, revelando cumplicidades entres os autores, mas também sinalizando para tensões em formas de abordagem e interpretação e na seleção dos temas analisados. Nele, estão reunidos os resultados de pesquisas realizadas pelos eixos 2 e 3, mencionados anteriormente. Entretanto, antes de abordar a estrutura e o conteúdo do livro, parece-nos relevante tratar das perspectivas articuladas nesses eixos.

**b) Os eixos 2 e 3 do projeto Knowledges and practices at the borders**

[363] Serge Gruzinski. Os mundos misturados da monarquia católica. Topoi, Rio de Janeiro, mar. 2001, pp. 176.
[364] Sanjay Subrahmanyam. Comércio e conflito: a presença portuguesa no Golfo de Bengala, 1500–1700. Lisboa: Edições 70, 1994.

O eixo “Sujeitos e artefatos: movimentos e vestígios” realça os deslocamentos por fronteiras geográficas, focalizando a circulação de pessoas, saberes, práticas e artefatos como uma dimensão fundamental dos modos de configuração assumidos pela escola moderna, seus métodos e práticas de ensino. Na análise dos movimentos transnacionais, individuais ou coletivos, oficiais ou não, busca-se superar o paradigma da importação ou influência das regiões reconhecidas como *loci* do progresso sobre as nações tidas como dependentes ou atrasadas. Para além das interpretações que tomaram as experiências europeias e estadunidenses como “lições a serem aprendidas”, podem-se narrar e interpretar outras modalidades de relações internacionais, caracterizadas seja por inversões de papéis ou pontos de partida e chegada, seja por apropriações, hibridismos e reinvenções criativas e atentas às realidades nacionais, aos problemas a resolver e às características intrínsecas aos sistemas educativos, ainda que em seus momentos mais embrionários.

As investigações cobrem um amplo conjunto de experiências, que inclui viagens de sujeitos que observaram, compararam, apropriaram-se e, em seus retornos, procuraram transmitir saberes e práticas consideradas bem sucedidas, eficazes ou modernas em vista de reformas dos sistemas de ensino, ou da organização escolar dos países dos quais partiram. Além das participações em congressos ou exposições pedagógicas, importa conhecer as motivações e os resultados de intercâmbios entre pessoas de campos de saberes convergentes ou conexos à educação e transações entre profissionais de diversas áreas, interessados em questões pedagógicas ou comerciais relacionadas à educação.

A circulação internacional se refere, inclusive, ao universo material da escola, indagando os processos relacionados aos artefatos e a seus agentes. Do lápis às carteiras escolares, dos livros aos quadros parietais, das lousas individuais aos cadernos escolares, todo um circuito de produção e consumo se constituiu, interligando e conectando sujeitos, escolas, governos, indústrias. Esse circuito envolveu projetos e produtos industriais; importação e exportação; catálogos e veículos de propaganda; compras e translado de objetos e móveis, os quais, por sua presença cotidiana, interferiram nas práticas de professores e alunos. No que concerne a retraçar o circuito material da escola, a investida implica, ainda, a localização e tratamento de fontes que testemunham transações comerciais, tais como listas de compras ou de almoxarifados das Inspetorias de Instrução, bibliotecas e escolas; guias de importação; registros de patentes; catálogos de exposições e empresas. Os objetos, eles mesmos, são escassamente encontráveis nas escolas, mas vestígios alternativos podem revelar práticas escolares pretéritas, devido ao

movimento de apropriação de teorias e modelos pedagógicos, além da tensa efetividade das reformas educativas.

Assim entendida, a circulação estabelece redes em escalas locais, nacionais ou internacionais, não apenas por iniciativas de educadores de destaque ou reformadores, mas de professores, diretores e inspetores de ensino, cujas discretas trajetórias merecem ser exploradas, por seu papel fundamental na mediação da vida escolar cotidiana. As investigações históricas espraiam-se igualmente para as trajetórias de jornalistas, médicos, políticos, empresários ou advogados que, dispondo de suas respectivas proficiências, estiveram presentes e tomaram parte desses processos.

A análise dos movimentos de caráter transnacional permite revelar a complexidade da cultura material escolar em várias dimensões, do nível normativo dos sistemas de ensino e das escolas aos conhecimentos científicos e pedagógicos e ao cotidiano de professores e alunos. A questão torna-se particularmente evidente no período que recobre os últimos dois séculos, em que o Brasil tomou parte de um intenso trânsito global, seja em virtude de razões econômicas e políticas, seja no sentido da busca por modelos e artefatos pedagógicos, estimulada e propiciada por certames como as Exposições Universais ou por redes intelectuais e entidades como a New Education Felowship.

Esta abordagem envolve, portanto, o debate acerca das formas de internacionalização, bem como, das maneiras de construir inteligibilidades para as relações multilaterais. As interpretações que concentram sua ênfase na ação dos Estados-nação na difusão global da ideologia educacional, sinalizando para o processo de internacionalização das sociedades de referência, como sugere Schriewer[365], permite acrescentar novas percepções aos contramovimentos de difusão[366]. Ao atentar para a disseminação conduzida por não-representantes do Estado, assim como para o protagonismo de centros não reconhecidos como difusores e para as apropriações nem sempre conscientes dos modelos culturais distribuídos, as análises problematizam o alcance e a eficácia das agências e das potências dos Estados,

[365] Jürgen Schriewer . Estados-modelo e sociedades de referência: externalização em processos de modernização. In: NOVOA, António & SCHRIEWER, Jürgen (ed.) A difusão mundial da escola. Lisboa: Educa, 2000, p. 103-120.

[366] Diana Vidal. A invenção da modernidade educativa: circulação internacional de modelos pedagógicos, sujeitos e objetos no oitocentos. In: Cláudia Engler Cury, Serioja Cordeiro Mariano. (ed.). Múltiplas visões: cultura histórica no oitocentos. João Pessoa: Editora Universitária da UFPB, 2009, v. , p. 39-58.

alimentando o interesse pela complexidade dos arranjos e pela porosidade das fronteiras, concebidas como contornos permeáveis à circulação de sujeitos, modelos e artefatos.

No eixo "Inovação e tradição: fugas e contrapontos", as considerações teórico-metodológicas sobre os sentidos e os efeitos do atravessamento de fronteiras geográficas ampliam-se por meio de sua articulação com as reflexões sobre as fronteiras temporais, em especial, com ideias relativas à tradição e à inovação, ao atraso e ao progresso. No decorrer do século XIX, o tema da evolução tornou-se central nas ciências naturais e sociais, e o desenvolvimento dos indivíduos, assim como o progresso social, foram pensados da perspectiva evolucionista, que buscou apreender as diferenças entre os grupos humanos e os indivíduos em termos de maior ou menor grau de civilização e desenvolvimento.

No campo da educação, o tema foi incorporado como uma relação direta entre as leis naturais do desenvolvimento humano e a história das sociedades[367] . A idéia da gênese evolutiva do intelecto humano foi, na prática, transposta à divisão e à sequência ideal dos graus de ensino no modelo da escola graduada[368]; adiante, o movimento da escola nova sustentou suas críticas aos conteúdos e métodos da escola tradicional na afirmação de que o principal objetivo da escola não seria mais transmitir conhecimentos, senão promover o desenvolvimento dos alunos. Contra a tradição pedagógica, o movimento defendeu a renovação dos métodos de ensino, fundamentada nos saberes científicos sobre o desenvolvimento da criança, com vistas à modernização da sociedade.

Embora, nos discursos reformistas seja comum o argumento de uma contraposição absoluta entre o tradicional e o moderno, em que o primeiro representaria o conservantismo e o atraso, a investigação histórica sobre os saberes e as práticas têm mostrado que a escola porta de modo simultâneo um comprometimento com a tradição, ao orientar-se para a disseminação de um patrimônio cultural, e com a inovação, ao pretender, por meio da formação de novas gerações, preparar o futuro. A cultura escolar é um bom exemplo da coexistência de práticas de longa duração, tais como o controle da presença dos alunos e a atribuição de nota a seus trabalhos, e outras bem recentes, como a incorporação das novas tecnologias ao currículo. Em dadas configurações históricas pode haver combinações variadas de elementos "antigos" e "novos" a

[367] S.J Gould, S.J. A falsa medida do homem. São Paulo: Martins Fontes, 2003; M.C.G Gerken and C.H.S Gerken. Desenvolvimento humano: história, conceitos e polêmicas. São Paulo: Cortez, 2010.
[368] Carlos Monarcha. Escola Normal da Praça. O lado noturno das Luzes. São Paulo: Editora da Unicamp, 1999

compor as culturas escolares, em histórias que se cruzam ou que seguiram em paralelo por várias gerações.

Faz sentido buscar, em perspectiva histórica e não teleológica, a descrição e a interpretação dos modos como se manifestou, por exemplo, o empenho de educadores em preservar os saberes e práticas tradicionais que aprenderam em sua formação e no exercício profissional, e quais foram as críticas que, dirigidas a essa tradição e a esses educadores, que sustentaram discursos e iniciativas de renovação de programas e métodos de ensino, muitas vezes, inspiradas em experiências de outras nações ou articuladas a redes transnacionais. As maneiras pelas quais se formaram e se difundiram histórica e transnacionalmente os critérios de julgamento em termos de inovação e tradição, adiantamento ou atraso que possibilitaram comparar e hierarquizar sistemas escolares, instituições, saberes, práticas e sujeitos, permite contrapor aos discursos e iniciativas de indivíduos e grupos que militavam pela renovação dos sistemas, da escola e das teorias e dos modos de ensinar, aos dissensos e resistências em defesa da conservação de valores, currículos, rotinas, usos do espaço e procedimentos pedagógicos e administrativos.

Nessa abordagem, portanto, o tempo histórico não se esgota no eixo passado-presente-futuro, mas abarca diferentes durações, permanências e aceleramentos. Com isso, submete-se a novo exame a lógica das relações entre centro-periferia, comumente marcada por uma representação analógica seja no plano temporal, entre passado-atraso e futuro-progresso, na qual as nações industriais da Europa e dos Estados Unidos comparecem associadas ao progresso, e as de periferia, ao atraso; seja no plano geográfico, com a representação do norte global como desenvolvido e o sul, como subdesenvolvimento, que ratifica a cissura civilizacional embutida nas grandes narrativas do Ocidente.

É no âmbito das reflexões realizadas pelas pesquisas associadas aos dois eixos que o livro *Rethinking Centre-Periphery Assumptions in the History of Education: Exchanges Among Brazil, USA, and Europe* foi elaborado. A organização dos capítulos pretende dar visibilidade a estas questões como se verá no próximo item.

**c) Contents and structure**

Anchored in inspirations arising from the metaphor of networks, the book interweaves a series of themes, sources and theoretical and methodological references that lead to rethinking the exchanges carried out in different times and spaces in the construction and appropriation of the school model. The texts reveal various strands followed in a period that spans two centuries, in

which Brazil serves as a point of departure and of arrival for the analyses of circuits that, intertwined within the national borders, stimulate the reflection about international transits, hybridizations, and appropriations in a process of transnational circulation of subjects and artifacts, in which pedagogical and social models and knowledges are not excluded. In this exercise, the objects of study are spatially, historically, and epistemologically *de-* and *re*territorialized.

To give visibility to these ongoing studies, this volume is structured in two parts. In the first, what is put in evidence is the exchanges established between Brazil and the USA, with a focus on the circulation of subjects and pedagogical models. In the second one, the circle is widened, incorporating the exchanges with Europe, particularly with France, England, and Portugal.

The first chapter, entitled “Trajectories of the Loureiro de Andrade family in childhood education: an analysis from the perspective of the Transnational History of Education”, by Vinicius Monção, aims to analyze the teacher training of Maria Guilhermina Loureiro de Andrade (1842-1929), a relevant teacher in the Brazilian context, who in her career connected Brazilian pedagogical ideas with those from the United States of America. Between 1883 and 1887, the teacher stayed in New York City on her own resources to study at the New York Seminary for Kindergartners in the Model Kindergarten created by Maria Kraus-Boelté and John Kraus.

The second chapter, entitled “Showing advances to the world: the *Education in the State of S. Paulo* (1903) report at Brazil’s exhibition in St. Louis”, by Bruno Bontempi Jr., concerns Brazil's exhibition during the Louisiana Purchase Exposition, in St. Louis, in 1904. It focuses on the representation of the state of São Paulo in its relationship with Brazil, which was proclaimed in *Education in the State of S. Paulo* report. It also points out Brazil's connection with the global power center. The analysis indicates that the discursive and curatorial rhetoric of the Brazilian Commission was effective in diluting regionalisms in favor of the image of unity, as well as in persuading interlocutors that, even if the country could not aspire to a central place, it had at least left the "primitive" remnants in the past, characteristic of the peoples that occupied the most peripheral areas in the geography of civilization.

The third chapter, entitled “From Brazil to the United States. From Teachers College, Columbia University to the world: appropriation, production, and circulation of ideas in the field of Education”, by Rafaela Rabelo, discusses the motions of Brazilian educators who at

some point attended the Columbia University's Teachers College in New York. Around 120 Brazilian students attended Teachers College between the 1920s and 1960s. Some were enrolled in postgraduate programs or simply attending short courses, while others included the institution in their study mission itineraries. The case studies explored in the chapter highlight that the exchanges were multidirectional and the existence of multiple centers.

The fourth chapter, entitled "New Education movement and Modern Architecture: Brazil and USA connections between 1930 and 1960", by Ana Laura Godinho Lima and Ana Gabriela Godinho Lima, analyzes the approximations among the Escola Nova movement discourses and Modern Architecture Elementary Schools projects in Brazil from the 1930s to the 1960s. It intends to ponder on how these discourses and architectures have been impacted by the modern idea that the incorporation of scientific knowledge in the citizens' education, as well as in city planning and architecture, would allow overcoming the perceived backwardness of the Brazilian society when compared to those of the United States of America and other European countries. The focus is directed at the exchanges of ideas and references relating to school architecture between Brazilian and North American educators and architects.

The fifth chapter, entitled "Kaleidoscope of Images in Exchange: The Pictorialism Movement in the Promotion of Photographic Education and Photographic Production", by Rachel Duarte Abdala, points out the pictorialism movement, which emerged in the late 19th century in France and England, quickly reached the United States and then Brazil, peaking in the first two decades of the 20th century. This article aims to analyze the educational function of the pictorialism movement from the production of pictorial photographers and the aesthetic education promoted by camera clubs in Brazil, Europe and the United States. The spread of pictorialism and its intense visibility promoted by different strategies, besides the sharing of ideas and practices among groups of photographers, going beyond national borders, can characterize pictorialism as a school in the broad and open conception of school in its philosophical and informal character.

The sixth chapter, entitled "Rethinking the center-periphery relations in History of Education: network archaeology and school material culture, by Wiara Alcântara, focuses on the archaeological theory of networks, investigating and tracing the nodes and links of human and non-human networks in the process of world diffusion of the modern school, in the 19th century. The text deals with the reverse circuit of the school desk and the circulation of an American school desk model, not as a specific product, but as a concept, an idea laden with

meanings. Through the "Statistical Maps of Commerce and Navigation of the Port of Rio de Janeiro", it examines the re-export movement of other school objects, such as materials for teaching natural sciences. Both the displacement of the idea-product and the re-export movement point to the directions and polycentric relationships that marked the worldwide diffusion of the modern school and its materiality.

The seventh chapter, entitled “For a polycentric history of education: The Brazilian School Museum between Brazil, Portugal, and France (late 19th century)”, by Diana Gonçalves Vidal, deals with the Portuguese migration to Brazil during the latter half of the 19th century, focusing on the 1850s and 1860s, when José d’ Oliveira Lopes started his saga. The chapter is interested in the circulation of people between the two sides of the Atlantic and explores the creation of the school and pedagogical museums in the 1800s, seeing them as necessary didactic support for the implementation of the method of object lessons. The focus is on the circulation of pedagogical models and on the circulation of cultural objects. This text reflects on how to situate the center and the periphery in the studies in which the circulation is the focus of analysis within the scope of a transnational history. Therefore, it argues for a polycentric history of education.

The eighth chapter, entitled “From place to place: connections and ruptures of Luiz Alves de Mattos in the educational field (from the 1920s to the 1960s), by Vivian Batista da Silva and Keila da Silva Vieira, aims to examine the circulation Luiz Alves de Mattos and his books for teachers had on national, international, and transnational dimensions. “From place to place” is not only the movement that refers to physical and geographical spaces but also the social spaces in which Mattos built in his career. It is the result of connections made from 20s to 60s with institutions, groups, and individuals specialized in education in Brazil and in the world, especially in the United States and Argentina. His itineraries constitute a kind of “reverse circuit” because his work is not a mere copy of North American references. It is possible to escape the limits of interpretations that believe in the “transfer” of knowledge from one place to another.

Over and above that, our purpose was to problematize the very operability of the categories of “center” and “periphery” in the analysis of the movements of circulation and appropriation of pedagogical models and ideas between countries. Firstly because they presuppose the existence of fixed and univocal relationships that start from the supposed center towards the regions perceived as peripheral, with no margin for examining the reverse circuit.

Secondly, they elide the perception of those territories as transitory and resulting from historically shifting geographic and symbolic constructions. Lastly, they ratify the violence of the processes of exclusion based on the attribution of subalternities brought about by a historiographic narrative in education that presents itself as the reference.

We hope that the book contributes to a broad and fertile debate that has been developing in the field of the history of education.

## 13. APÊNDICE E: DISSERTAÇÕES E TESES DEFENDIDAS

**Teses:**

LEME, Andressa Caroline Francisco. As (in)certezas sobre a idade mais indicada para a alfabetização: análise dos discursos especializados destinados à formação de professores. Tese (Doutorado) – Faculdade de Educação, Universidade de São Paulo, São Paulo, 2024.

## 14. APÊNDICE F: BOLSAS E ORIENTAÇÕES

### 14.1Bolsas FAPESP em fase de implementação (BCO)

**- Iniciação Científica em Jornalismo científico**

Bolsista: Camila Penna de Lima. Orientação: Prof. Dra. Vivian Batista da Silva. Projeto: *Conectando práticas e saberes*. (Processo 2024/00697-6[369]. Aprovada em maio de 2024. Previsão de 1/3/24 a 31/08/24).

Bolsista: Fernanda Cavalcante Ramos. Orientação: Prof. Dra. Vivian Batista da Silva. Projeto: *Conectando práticas e saberes.* (Processo 2024/00698-2. Aprovada em maio de 2024. Previsão de 1/3/24 a 31/08/24).

**- Treinamento Técnico**

Bolsista: Lorena Gnaccarini Falavigna. Orientação: Profa. Dra. Circe Bittencourt. Técnica de serviços de informática cujas atividades se inserem na temática *Leitura escolar e organização do Banco de dados de Livros Escolares (LIVRES).* (Período- 01/07/2024 a 30/06/junho 2025).

### 14.2Bolsas FAPESP implementadas (BCO)

**- Iniciação Científica**

Bolsista: Ana Laura Sabino. Orientação: Profa. Dra. Diana G. Vidal. Projeto: *Mídias sociais e divulgação científica: estreitando os laços entre a escola básica a universidade pública*. (Processo 2023/05151-9[370]. Período 01/06/2023 a 31/05/2024). Finalizada.

**- Treinamento técnico**

Bolsista: Ariadne Ecar. Orientação: Profa. Dra. Diana G. Vidal. Projeto: *Acervo Histórico da Escola Caetano de Campos: inventariar e disponibilizar, contribuindo com a pesquisa em história da educação.* (Processo 2023/15037-9[371]. Início -1/12/2023).

**- Pós-doutorado**

Bolsista: Bruna Soares Polachini. Supervisão: Profa. Dra. Carlota Boto. Projeto: *Fronteiras políticas e epistemológicas: as obras gramaticais e o ensino de língua portuguesa na Escola Normal de São Paulo entre 1880 e 1900*. (Processo n. 2020/06753-4[372]. Início: 01/03/2021 a 28/05/2024) – Em análise para renovação.

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[369] https://bv.fapesp.br/pt/bolsas/217467/conectando-praticas-e-saberes/?q=2024/00697-6

[370]https://bv.fapesp.br/pt/bolsas/210108/midias-sociais-e-divulgacao-cientifica-estreitando-os-lacos-entre-a-escola-basica-a-universidade-pub/

[371]https://bv.fapesp.br/pt/bolsas/215069/acervo-historico-da-escola-caetano-de-campos-inventariar-e-disponibilizar-contribuindo-com-a-pesquis/

[372]https://bv.fapesp.br/pt/bolsas/195577/fronteiras-politicas-e-epistemologicas-as-obras-gramaticais-e-o-ensino-delingua-portuguesa-na-escol/

Bolsista: Carolina Mostaro Neves da Silva. Supervisão: Profa. Dra. Carlota Boto. projeto: *Entre livros, autores e práticas: a Biblioteca Paulo Bourroul e suas obras pedagógicas.* (Processo n. 19/25935-9[373]. Vigência: 01/02/2020 a 31/07/2023). Finalizada.

Bolsista: Franciele Ferreira França. Supervisão: Profa. Dra. Diana G. Vidal. Projeto: *A NEF no circuito Sul-americano*. (Processo n. 2020/12621-3[374]. Vigência: 01/01/2021 a 31/12/2023). Finalizada.

### 14.3Bolsas FAPESP (fluxo contínuo)

**- Iniciação Científica**

Bolsista: Isabela Ribeiro Espíndola. Orientação: Profa. Dra. Rosa Fátima de Souza Chaloba. Projeto: *O Departamento de Ajudas Audiovisuais do CREFAL: produção de materiais educativos inovadores para a educação fundamental na América Latina (1951 – 1960.* UNESP. (Processo nº 2023/08805-0[375], vigência: 01/04/24 a 31/03/25).

Bolsista: Rutelaine Maurício Pinheiro. Orientação: Profa. Dra. Rosa Fátima de Souza Chaloba. Projeto: *Produção e circulação de saberes sobre recursos audiovisuais na educação (1962 – 1982).* UNESP. (Processo nº 2023/09952-6[376], vigência: 01/10/23 a 30/09/24).

**- Mestrado**

Bolsista: Tiziana Ferrero. Orientação: Prof. Dra. Carlota Boto. Projeto: *A representação da infância nos livros de leitura da escola primária paulista (1893-1930)*. (Processo: 22/01135-6. Início: 01/05/2023).

Bolsista: Samira Martins. Orientação: Prof. Dr. Bruno Bontempi Jr. Projeto: *A formação racial do homem novo: apropriações das teorias raciais pelos militantes anarquistas de São Paulo, na Primeira República.* (Processo nº. 2023/13950-9. Início: 01/04/2024).

**- Doutorado**

Bolsista: Alexandre Ribeiro e Silva: Prof. Dra. Carlota Boto. Projeto: *Circulação nacional e transnacional de modelos pedagógicos e reformas da instrução pública: Maranhão, Rio de Janeiro e França na década de 1850.* (Processo: 2022/11928-8. Início: 01/03/2021).

**- Pós-doutorado**

Bolsista: Bruna Soares Polachini. Supervisão: Profa. Dra. Carlota Boto. Supervisor no exterior: António Nóvoa. Projeto: São Paulo, Rio de Janeiro e Lisboa: uma história comparada do ensino de português em escolas normais no século XIX. Instituto de Educação da Universidade de

[373]https://bv.fapesp.br/pt/bolsas/191090/saberes-e-praticas-em-fronteiras-por-uma-historia-transnacional-daeducacao-1810-/
[374] https://bv.fapesp.br/pt/bolsas/195104/a-nef-no-circuito-sulamericano/
[375]https://bv.fapesp.br/pt/bolsas/215784/o-departamento-de-ajudas-audiovisuais-do-crefal-producao-de-materiais-educativos-inovadores-para-a-e/
[376]https://bv.fapesp.br/pt/bolsas/212761/producao-e-circulacao-de-saberes-sobre-recursos-audiovisuais-na-educacao-1962-1982/

Lisboa. (Processo FAPESP - 2023/07303-0 – BEPE; Vigência: 09/10/2023 a 06/01/2024)[377]. Finalizada.

Bolsista: Jonatas Roque Ribeiro. Supervisão: Profa. Dra. Diana Vidal. Projeto: *Forjando redes afro-atlânticas: experiências negras, racismo e a escola no circuito transnacional do pós-abolição*. (Processo n. 2022/15052-5[378]. Início: 01/08/2023).

Bolsista: Renata Brião de Castro. Supervisão: Profa. Dra. Diana Vidal. Projeto: A produção dos livros didáticos italianos para a circulação nas cidades de São Paulo e de Buenos Aires durante os anos do fascismo italiano (1922-1943) (Processo n 2023/16884-7[379]. Início em 01/09/2023).

### 14.4 Bolsas FAPESP em análise (fluxo contínuo)

**- Bolsa de Pesquisa no Exterior - BEP**

Bolsista: Heloísa H. P. Rocha. Supervisão: Prof. Dr. Jerry Dávila. Projeto: *Conexões entre o Brasil e os Estados Unidos: mapeando a circulação de propostas e impressos de educação sanitária.* Período solicitado: junho-julho/2024.

### 14.5 Bolsas de outras agências de fomento em vigência -

**- Ensino Médio**

Bolsista: Larissa Huss Sevilha. Orientação: Profa. Dra. Angélica P. Oriani. Projeto: *Fontes para o estudo do transporte escolar rural em um município do interior paulista: desafios e perspectivas*, da Escola Estadual Coronel Eduardo de Souza Porto, em Fernão-SP. PIBIC Jr/CNPq. (Vigência: 01/09/2023-31/08/2024).

**Iniciação científica**

Bolsista: Leonardo Fernandes Holanda. Orientadora: Profa. Dra. Diana G. Vidal. Projeto: *Levantamento analítico e crítico de websites portugueses e brasileiros para divulgação e comemoração das efemérides do Bicentenário da Independência Brasileira.* Bolsa PIBIC.

**- Mestrado**

Bolsista: Camila Fernandes da Silva. Orientação: Profa. Dra. Renata Marcílio Cândido. Projeto: *História da profissão docente nas escolas de educação infantil do município de Guarulhos (1958 – dias atuais)*. Programa de Pós-graduação em Educação da Universidade Federal de São Paulo - Linha 4: História da Educação: Sujeitos, Objetos e Práticas. Bolsa da Fundação Coordenação de Aperfeiçoamento de Pessoal de Nível Superior (CAPES - DS). Início: 1o. sem./2024.

Bolsista: Cesar Guerra Scarpelli. Orientação: Profa. Dra. Carlota Boto. Projeto: *As representações de J.J. Rousseau na vida e obra de Pestalozzi*. Agência: CAPES. Vigência: 01/03/2024 a 28/02/2025.

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[377] https://bv.fapesp.br/pt/bolsas/212136/sao-paulo-rio-de-janeiro-e-lisboa-uma-historia-comparada-do-ensino-de-portugues-em-escolas-normais-n/

[378] https://bv.fapesp.br/pt/bolsas/209339/forjando-redes-afro-atlanticas-experiencias-negras-racismo-e-a-escola-nocircuito-transnacional-do-p/

[379] https://bv.fapesp.br/pt/bolsas/211922/os-livros-didaticos-italianos-e-a-circulacao-do-fascismo-nas-cidades-de-sao-paulo-e-de-buenos-aires-/

Bolsista: Karina Silva Alves. Orientação: Prof. Dr. Kazumi Munakata. Projeto: *Percepção da branquitude e educação: O que se muda em sala de aula quando uma professora percebe que é branca?*. CAPES; 2023.

Bolsista: Paulo Henrique Pimentel. Orientação: Prof. Dr. André Luiz Paulilo. Projeto: *Instrução pública e a participação popular em Campinas (1894-1920)*. Agência: CNPq, 2022.

Bolsista: Pedro Henrique Gonçalves Amorim. Orientação: Profa. Dra. Renata Marcílio Cândido. Projeto: *Uma vitrine para a política educacional: o Ministério da Educação e Saúde na Exposição Nacional do Estado Novo (1938-1939)* / Programa de Pós-graduação em Educação da Universidade Federal de São Paulo - Linha 4: História da Educação: Sujeitos, Objetos e Práticas. Bolsa da Fundação Coordenação de Aperfeiçoamento de Pessoal de Nível Superior (CAPES - DS). Início: 1o. sem./2024.

Bolsista: Sophia Calil Breymaier. Orientação: Profa. Dra. Carlota Boto. Projeto: *Ética, política e pedagogia no Emílio de Rousseau*. Agência: CAPES. Vigência: 01/03/2024 a 28/02/2025.

Bolsista: Tamyres Gabriela Oliveira Silva. Orientação: Prof. Dr. André Luiz Paulilo. Projeto: *Os códices coloniais e a educação na Mesoamérica: análise de representação da mulher no século XVI*. Agência: CNPq, 2022.

Bolsista: Tiago José Fuoco Martins da Silva. Orientação: Prof. Dr. Kazumi Munakata. Projeto: *O ENEM e o currículo de Geografia para o Ensino Médio*. CAPES, 2023.

**- Doutorado**

Bolsista: Gabriela Oldane Gebara. Orientação: Profa. Dra. Raquel Lazzari Leite Barbosa. Projeto: *A Formação Didático-Pedagógica dos Pós-Graduandos Stricto Sensu da Faculdade de Filosofia e Ciências da Unesp do Câmpus de Marília: Possibilidades e desafios para atuar como docente universitário.* Agência: CAPES. Vigência 01/03/2023 - 28/02/2027.

Bolsista: Giovane Silva Balbino. Orientação: Prof. Dr. Bruno Bontempi Jr. *As relações entre a Igreja Católica e o Estado nas instituições educacionais em Pouso Alegre/MG (1900-1947).* Agência: CAPES. Início: agosto 2021.

Bolsista: Jocemir Moura dos Reis. Orientação: Profa. Dra. Carlota Boto. Projeto: *Educação de meninas na Congregação das Pequenas Irmãs da Divina Providência: as práticas educativas para formação de meninas pobres em São Paulo no início do século XX*. Agência: CNPq. Vigência: 01/03/2018 a 28/02/2022.

Bolsista: Lara Chaud Palacios Marin. Orientação: Profa. Dra. Ana Laura Godinho Lima Projeto: *Uma história do futuro dos professores: análise do discurso pedagógico (1930-1965)*. Agência: CNPq, 2022.

Bolsista: Marcela Araujo de Mello Basdadjian. Orientação: Prof. Dr. Kazumi Munakata. Projeto: *História e uso dos livros didáticos e objetos de ensino na geografia*; CAPES; 2023.
Bolsista: Matheus Henrique da Silveira. Orientação: Prof. Dr. André Luiz Paulilo. Projeto: *A educação entre a psicologia e a antropologia cultural: atuação docente no serviço de ortofrenia e higiene mental do Distrito Federal (1934-1939)*. Agência: CNPq, 2021.

Bolsista: Miriam Fernandes Muramoto. Orientação: Profa. Dra. Carlota Boto. Projeto: *Imprensa feminina e o dever de memória: Josephina Álvares de Azevedo e colaboradoras do Jornal A Família (1888-1898).* Agência: CAPES. Vigência: 16/08/2021 a 18/08/2025.

Bolsista: Raquel Lopes Pires. Orientação: Profa. Dra. Diana G. Vidal. Projeto: *Europa como destino: travessia de Vicente Licínio Cardoso como estratégia de legitimação da Federação*

*Nacional das Sociedades de Educação (1924-1931).* Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro. Agência: CAPES/ FAPERJ Nota 10. Início: 2022.

Bolsista: Ravy de San Juan Abreu Turoni. Orientação: Prof. Dr. Kazumi Munakata. Projeto: *A implantação da Lei 5.692/71*, CAPES, 2023.

Bolsista: Vanessa Souza Batista. Orientação: Profa. Dra. Carlota Boto. Projeto: *Os mestres de primeiras letras: perfil dos docentes em atuação em Minas Gerais (1827-1840)*. Agência: CAPES. Vigência: 01/02/2022 a 18/08/2025.

**- Pós-doutorado**

Bolsista: Marco Antonio de Santana. Supervisão: Profa. Dra. Diana G. Vidal. Projeto: *Representações de professoras na vida e na obra de Cora Coralina: elementos para a história da educação doméstica em Goyaz (1889-1920).* Agência: CAPES.

Bolsista: Rodison Roberto Santos. Supervisão: Profa. Dra. Carlota Boto. Projeto: *As concepções dos direitos humanos segundo Thomas Paine e Condorcet e a escola pública segundo Condorcet.* Agência: CAPES. Vigência: 01/09/2019 a 28/02/ 2023.

Bolsista: Rosianny Campos Berto. Supervisão: Profa. Dra. Diana Vidal. Projeto: *A circulação do movimento escolanovista no Estado do Espírito Santo e a reforma Vivacqua (1920-1930).* FEUSP 2023. Professora da UFES. Pos-doutorado Senior CNPq.

**- Produtividade de Pesquisa**

Beneficiária: Ana Laura Godinho Lima. Projeto: *História da psicologia educacional em perspectiva transnacional: discursos, intelectuais e reformas.* Modalidade PQ2. Conselho Nacional de Desenvolvimento Científico e Tecnológico, 2024.

Beneficiário: Bruno Bontempi Júnior. Projeto: *Quatro professoras na França: trajetos da Nova História Cultural da educação no Brasil*. Modalidade 1D. Conselho Nacional de Desenvolvimento Científico e Tecnológico, 2024.

Beneficiária: Diana Vidal. Projeto: *Sujeitos, saberes e artefatos escolares: territorialidades em uma história transnacional da educação.* Nível A, CNPq, 2021-2026.

Beneficiária: Carlota Boto. 1D CNPq

Beneficiário: André Paulilo. Pq2

### 14.6 Projetos sem bolsas vinculadas ou em avaliação

**- Ensino Médio**

Bolsista: Danielle Conceição de Almeida. Orientação: Profa. Dra. Angélica P. Oriani. Projeto: *Fontes para o estudo histórico das escolas rurais: um panorama da produção acadêmica nacional*, da Escola Estadual Coronel Eduardo de Souza Porto, em Fernão-SP. Vigência: 01/09/2023-31/08/2024;

Bolsista: Gabrielle Vitória Americo de Souza. Orientação: Profa. Dra. Angélica P. Oriani. Projeto: *Fontes para o estudo da história das escolas rurais de um município do interior paulista*, que vem sendo desenvolvido pela estudante, da Escola Estadual Professor Antonio de Baptista, em Marília-SP. Vigência: 01/09/2023-31/08/2024.

**- Iniciação Científica**

Aluna: Ana Beatriz Zogobi Nogueira. Orientação: Profa. Dra. Rita de Cassia Gallego. Projeto: *Organização dos espaços e tempos de ensinar e aprender em uma aldeia Guarani: sujeitos, cultura, memórias e relações sociais*. FEUSP, 05/2024.

Aluna: Francinny da Rocha Lima. Orientação: Profa. Dra. Rita de Cassia Gallego. Projeto: Os desafios da heterogeneidade no processo de alfabetização: um estudo sobre como o projeto *Atendimentos contribui no processo de alfabetização de crianças do 2º ano do Ensino Fundamental I da Escola de Aplicação da FEUSP*. 03/2023.

Aluna: Giovana dos Santos Filenga. Orientação: Profa. Dra. Angélica P. Oriani. Projeto: *Coordenação pedagógica em municípios paulistas: reunindo experiências.* Vigência: 01/09/2023-31/08/2024;

Aluna: Gligor Matheus do Santos Silva. Orientação: Profa. Dra. Angélica P. Oriani. Projeto: *Fontes para o estudo histórico do trabalho do coordenador pedagógico no estado de São Paulo*. Vigência: 01/09/2023-31/08/2024.

Aluna: Maria Fernanda Avila Candido. Orientação: Profa. Dra. Rafaela Silva Rabelo. Projeto: *Pan-americanismo e latino-americanismo em impressos pedagógicos da primeira metade do século XX*. 2023 (em andamento).

Aluna: Mariana Santos de Andrade. Orientação: Profa. Dra. Heloísa H. P. Rocha. Projeto: *Circulação de propostas e impressos de educação sanitária entre o Brasil e os Estados Unidos.* Em avaliação PIBIC/CNPq.

Aluna: Melissa Gepes Viana. Orientador: Prof. Dr. Bruno Bontempi Jr. Projeto: *O lugar do menor abandonado na sociedade brasileira a partir do processo de institucionalização educacional pela Santa Casa de Misericórdia de São Paulo.* Início: agosto 2023.

Aluna: Pâmela Ellen Chagas Gama. Orientação: Profa. Dra. Rafaela Silva Rabelo. Projeto: *Educação e Pandemias (séculos XX e XXI): um estudo a partir de acervos online e fontes Digitais.* 2023 (em andamento)

**- Mestrado**

Mestrando: Bruno dos Santos Rodrigues. Orientador: Prof. Dr. Bruno Bontempi Jr. Projeto: *Educação a serviço da Igreja: o Colégio Marista de Santos*. Início: março 2021.

Mestranda: Camilla Cristina Zanqueta Cardozo. Orientador: Prof. Dr. Bruno Bontempi Jr. Projeto: *Atuação das mulheres no Conselho Diretor da Associação Brasileira de Educação. Análise a partir das Conferências Nacionais de Educação (1927-1967).* Início: agosto 2021.

Mestranda: Daniele Torres Loureiro. Orientação: Profa. Dra. Heloísa H. P. Rocha. Projeto: *A cultura escolar nos manuais de corte e costura da Escola Industrial "Fernando Prestes"* (década de 1950). Mestrado em Educação/Unicamp. Sem bolsa.

Mestrando: Felisberto Manuel. Orientação: Profa. Dra. Angélica P. Oriani. Título provisório do projeto: *"História da infância em Caála, Angola"* (Mestrado interinstitucional UNESP-Marília/ Instituto Superior Politécnico da Caála, Angola). Vigência: 06/05/2024-31/06/2026.

Mestranda: Graziela Alves Pereira Cebotarov; Orientação: Rita de Cassia Gallego; Projeto: O conceito de autoestima e sua presença nos currículos da Educação Básica e nas práticas da Escola de Aplicação da FEUSP; 03/2022.

Mestranda: Juliana Vines. Orientação: Prof. Dra. Vivian Batista da Silva. Título: A escola nos artigos da Folha de S.Paulo durante a pandemia (2020-2021). Início: julho/2022

Mestranda: Keila Vieira Ortiz. Orientação: Prof. Dra. Vivian Batista da Silva. Título: As viagens e conexões de Cecília Meireles no campo educacional (1917-1964). Início: agosto/2021.

Mestranda: Leydejane Carvalho Filisbino. Orientação: Rafaela Silva Rabelo. Projeto: Alfabetização durante a pandemia a partir de acervos digitais. março/2024.

Mestranda: Lígia Mayra Amaral Lima. Orientação: Angélica P. Oriani. Título do projeto: "História da Educação no Brasil no século XIX e O Ateneu: Análise histórico-literária da influência do cristianismo nas escolas". Vigência: 08/02/2024-31/03/2025.

Mestranda: Marina Ribeiro de Gois. Supervisão: Profa. Dra. Carlota Boto. Projeto: *O projeto educacional iluminista de Mary Wolsttonecraft na obra 'Reivindicação dos direitos da mulher' (1792)*. Programa de Pós-Graduação em Educação – na área de concentração Cultura, filosofia e história da educação – da Faculdade de Educação da Universidade de São Paulo (Ingresso: 23/01/2020- Término: 14/03/2024).

Mestranda: Rayssa do Valle. Orientação: Diana Vidal. Titulo do Projeto: A transição para o Ensino Médio de juventudes rurais e urbanas de Araxá-MG: um estudo prosopográfico comparativo. Qualificação realizada em maio/2024.

Mestranda: Thays Fernandes Flor da Silva. Orientação: Paula Perin Vicentini. Projeto: *Desigualdades sociais, diversidade na aprendizagem e capital cultural: o ensino diferenciado nos anos iniciais da Escola de Aplicação da FEUSP*. 03/2022.

**- Doutorado**

Doutorando: Anderson Manoel Caleffi. Orientador: Prof. Dr. Bruno Bontempi Jr. Projeto: *Elites e educação de trabalhadores: os Congregados Marianos e a Escola Noturna Santo Inácio.* Início: março 2021.

Doutoranda: Clarissa Santos Silva. Orientação: Prof. Dra. Paula Perin Vicentini. Projeto: *Narrativas (auto)biográficas e a formação-atuação de professoras de Artes no Ensino Superior*. 03/2022.

Doutorando: Daniel Aparecido da Costa. Orientador: Prof. Dr. Bruno Bontempi Jr. Projeto: *O processo de escolarização em Pouso Alegre, Minas Gerais (1889-1927).* Início: março 2021.

Doutorando: Francisco Souza da Silva. Orientação: Prof. Dra. Paula Perin Vicentini. Projeto: *A constituição da identidade profissional do professor-artista em teatro: dilemas, disputas e percursos em campo*. Início: 2023.

Doutoranda: Giovanna Corbucci. Orientação: Prof. Dra. Diana G. Vidal. Projeto: *Viver o diverso: cultura escolar e brasilidade na escola SESC de ensino médio* (2008-2018) UFRJ, 2023.

Doutoranda: Mariana Montanhini da Silva. Orientação: Prof. Dra. Raquel Lazzari Leite Barbosa. Projeto: *Leitura literária e formação de leitores: representações de professores entre táticas e estratégias*. Início: 2021.

Doutorando: Munir Abboud Pompêo de Camargo. Orientação: Prof. Dr. André Luiz Paulilo. Projeto: *Campinas dos livros: a história da educação através da biblioteca de João Falchi Trinca.* 2020.

Doutoranda: Neusa Regiane Mendes. Orientação: Prof. Dr. André Luiz Paulilo. Projeto: *Os estudos sobre a infância no Pavilhão-Escola Pacheco e Silva do Hospital de Juquery* (1921-1931). 2020.

Doutorando: Leandro Piazzon Corrêa. Orientação: Prof. Dr. André Luiz Paulilo. Projeto: *O professor de professores: o arquivo Malba Tahan, vestígios de um discurso pedagógico e de uma concepção de docência*. 2022.

Doutorando: Luiz Felipe Garcia Senna. Orientação: Prof. Dra. Raquel Lazzari Leite Barbosa. Projeto: *A avaliação da aprendizagem em cursos de pedagogia da Universidade Estadual Paulista*. Início: 2022.

Doutoranda: Raquel Santos Palma. Orientação: Prof. Dra. Wiara Alcântara. Projeto: *A empresa alemã MAX KOHL e o ensino de química em escolas superiores e secundárias de São Paulo.* Início: 2021 - Em andamento.

Doutorando: Ricardo Felipe Santos da Costa. Orientação: Prof. Dr. André Luiz Paulilo. Projeto: *A educação na cidade de São Paulo e os seus usos no Orphanato Christovam Colombo: controvérsias sobre o Padre Faustino Consoni nas suas representações pelos católicos, laicos e anticlericais* (1895-1919). 2019.

Doutoranda: Shirley dos Santos. Supervisão: Profa. Dra. Carlota Boto. Projeto: *Trama do porvir em Comenius: escola, infância e adulto moderno*. Programa de Pós-Graduação em Educação – na área de concentração Cultura, filosofia e história da educação – da Faculdade de Educação da Universidade de São Paulo (Ingresso: Agosto de 2017-Setembro de 2023).

Doutoranda: Stefani Edvirgem da Silva Borges. Supervisão: Profa. Dra. Carlota Boto. Projeto: *A educação étnico-racial na agenda do debate contemporâneo: a superação do fracasso escolar em pauta*. Programa de Pós-Graduação em Educação Escolar da Faculdade de Ciências e Letras da UNESP de Araraquara (Ingresso: Agosto de 2019; Término: Agosto de 2023).

Doutoranda: Taís Pereira Flôres. Orientação: Prof. Dr. André Luiz Paulilo. Projeto: *História da remuneração docente: um estudo sobre a remuneração recebida pelo magistério primário paulista e a percepção social da remuneração* (1933-1961). 2019.

Doutorando: Thiago Casemiro. Orientação: Prof. Dra. Diana G. Vidal. Projeto: *Reformas na instrução pública do estado do Rio de Janeiro: apontamentos sobre a carreira do magistério primário na década de 1920.* UFRJ, 2021.

Doutorando: Wagner Scopel. Orientação: Prof. Dra. Vivian Batista da Silva Título: *Discursos sobre as reformas do ensino médio/secundário no Brasil e em Portugal na década de 2010: um estudo comparativo da cultura normativa.* Início: jul/2022.

**- Pós-doutorado**

Carolina Ribeiro Cardoso. Supervisão: Prof. Dra. Vivian Batista da Silva. Projeto: A construção identitária da Didática em manuais pedagógicos entre definições e prescrições (1940-1970). Início: 2024.

Giana Lange do Amaral. Supervisão: Profa. Dra. Diana Vidal. Projeto: *Conexões entre o sul do Rio Grande do Sul, Argentina e Uruguai em perspectiva transnacional: a Maçonaria, o ensino secundário e a imprensa (décadas de 1890 a 1920)*. FEUSP, 2024. Professora da UFPel.

Maria Vitória Piemonte Constantino. Supervisão: Profa. Dra. Raquel Lazzari Leite Barbosa. Início: 2024.

Raimundo de Araujo Nonato. Supervisora: Profa. Dra. Circe Fernandes Bittencourt. Projeto: *História local nos livros didáticos: um estudo comparativo entre as produções realizadas para o Rio Grande do Norte e para o Rio Grande do Sul.* (Iinício set. 2023 - em andamento.)

Thomaz Kawache. Supervisão: Profa. Dra. Carlota Boto. Projeto: *Educação e Medicina na Europa do Século XVIII: estudo sobre a recepção do Emílio de Rousseau*. Programa de Pós-Doutorado da Faculdade de Educação da Universidade de São Paulo. (Início: 1/08/2022; Término: 31/08/2023).

Tiago Almeida. Supervisão: Profa. Dra. Carlota Boto. Projeto: *Por uma educação do si: devir e inventividade.* Programa de Pós-Doutorado da Faculdade de Educação da Universidade de São Paulo. (Início: Agosto de 2021; Término: Fevereiro de 2023).

## 14.7 Bolsas Fapesp concluídas

**- Iniciação Científica**

Bolsista: Ana Laura Sabino. Supervisão: Profa. Dra. Diana Vidal. Projeto: *Mídias sociais e divulgação científica: estreitando os laços entre a escola básica a universidade pública* (Processo 2023/05151-9). Período 01/06/2023 a 31/05/2024

**- Mestrado**

Bolsista: Tiziana Ferrero. Orientação: Dra. Carlota Boto. Projeto: *A representação da infância nos livros de leitura da escola primária paulista (1893-1930).* Processo: 22/01135-6. Início: 1 de maio de 2023.

**- Pós-doutorado**

Bolsista: Bruna Soares Polachini. Supervisão: Profa. Dra. Carlota Boto. Supervisor no exterior: António Nóvoa. Projeto: *São Paulo, Rio de Janeiro e Lisboa: uma história comparada do ensino de português em escolas normais no século XIX*. Instituto de Educação da Universidade de Lisboa. (Processo FAPESP - 2023/07303-0 – BEPE; Vigência: 09/10/2023 a 06/01/2024).

Bolsista: Carolina Mostaro Neves da Silva. Supervisão: Profa. Dra. Carlota Boto. projeto: *Entre livros, autores e práticas: a Biblioteca Paulo Bourroul e suas obras pedagógicas.* (Processo n. 19/25935-9. Vigência: 01/02/2020 a 31/07/2023).

Bolsista: Franciele Ferreira França. Supervisão: Profa. Dra. Diana Vidal. Projeto: *A NEF no circuito Sul-americano*. (Processo n. 2020/12621-3. Início: 01/01/2021; Fim: 31/12/2023).

## 14.8 Outras bolsas concluídas

**- Iniciação científica**

Bolsista: Bárbara Real. Orientação: Profa. Dra. Wiara Alcântara. Projeto: *Objetos de ensino e história do ensino de Biologia/Botânica em São Paulo: uma abordagem da história transnacional*. Bolsa PIBIC encerrada. Início: ago. 2022 a ago. 2023.

**- Doutorado Sanduiche**

Bolsista: Clarissa Santos Silva. Orientação: Paula Perin Vicentini. Projeto: *Narrativas (auto)biográficas e a formação-atuação de professoras de Artes no Ensino Superior*. Estágio realizado junto à Universidade Paris 8 (França), sob a supervisão da Profa. Dra. Izabel Galvão, entre 01/10/2023 e 31/03/2024.

Bolsista: Lara Chaud Palacios Marin. Orientação: Profa. Dra. Ana Laura Godinho Lim. Co-orientação: Prof. Dr. Luís Miguel de Figueiredo Silva de Carvalho. Título do Projeto: Futuros imaginados da profissão docente: uma história transnacional entre Brasil e Portugal. Programa Institucional de Internacionalização (PrInt) CAPES. (Processo: 88887.837171/2023-00). Período: 01/09/2023 a 29/02/2024.

**- Pós-Doutorado**

Bolsista: César Augusto Castro. Supervisão: Profa. Dra. Carlota Boto. Projeto: *A circulação e a adoção do método português Castilho em Portugal e no Brasil*, no âmbito do Programa de Pós-Doutorado da Faculdade de Educação da Universidade de São Paulo, com Bolsa da FAPEMA. (Início: abril de 2022 Término: Abril de 2024).

**- Professor Visitante**

Ana Laura Godinho Lima. Professora Visitante Sênior na Universidade de Barcelona. Programa Institucional de Internacionalização (PrInt) CAPES. (Processo 88887.878318/2023-00. Título do Projeto: O Desenvolvimento da Criança, a Psicologia Escolar e a Pedagogia na Espanha e no Brasil: uma análise dos discursos de Mira y López e seus interlocutores brasileiros. Período: 06/12/2023 a 01/03/2024.

### 14.9 Projetos sem bolsas concluídos

**- Iniciação Científica**

Aluna: Rafaela Montes Renosto. Orientação: Profa. Dra. Rafaela Silva Rabelo. Projeto: *Impactos da Covid-19 na Educação noticiados na imprensa brasileira no primeiro ano da pandemia*. Polito; 2023 (concluído).

**- Mestrado**

Mestranda: Jane Daniele Sedrim Nunes. Orientação: Profa. Dra. Raquel Lazzari Leite Barbosa. Projeto: *Saberes pedagógicos de docentes não-licenciados que atuam no Ensino Básico, Técnico e Tecnológico (EBTT) do Campus Castanhal do IFPA*. Início: 2022 - Término: 2024.

**- Doutorado**

Doutoranda: Ana Estela Ferreira. Orientação: Raquel Lazzari Leite Barbosa. Projeto: *Práticas de Leitura no Ensino Médio: estratégias, táticas e modos de resistência*. Início: 2019 - Término: 2023.

Doutoranda: Andressa Caroline Francisco Leme. Orientadora: Profa. Dra. Ana Laura Godinho Lima. Projeto: *As (in)certezas sobre a idade mais indicada para a alfabetização: análise dos discursos especializados destinados à formação de professores*. Início: março 2024. Término: 02/2024.

**Pós-Doutorado**

Antonio Paulo Benatte. Supervisora: Profa. Dra. Circe Fernandes Bittencourt. Projeto*: A História do Brasil contada às crianças em Portugal (1910-1936) - colonialismo e república*. Período: setembro 2022 a outubro de 2023.

## 15. APÊNDICE G - DISCIPLINAS <u>DECORRENTES/RELACIONADAS</u> DO PROJETO TEMÁTICO

- Disciplina de Pós-Graduação *oferecidas* entre o 2º semestre/2023 e 1º de 2024

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|---|
| IEB 5059 – Humanidades Digitais e Acervos. Disciplina de pós-graduação Instituto Brasileiro de Educação<br>Professora responsável: Diana G. Vidal. |

**IEB 5059 – Humanidades Digitais e Acervos**

Diana Vidal
Patricia Raffaini

Cronograma de atividades:
Terças-feiras das 14h às 17h 30m

**Agosto**:
Dia 15- (Aula 1) – Apresentação geral da disciplina, da professora, de Patrícia Raffaini e dos alunos. Socialização dos textos.
Declaração de Pirenópolis, maio de 2023. https://zenodo.org/record/8030170

**Eixo 1: Humanidades digitais**

Dia 22- (Aula 2) – A era digital
Bibliografia :
ROSENZWEIG, Roy.Escassez ou abundância? A preservação do passado [2003?]. In: _____.*Clio conectada. O futuro do passado na era digital*. Belo Horizonte: Autênctica,2022, p. 35-82.
HAN, Byung-Chul. *No Enxame: reflexões sobre o digital*. Tradução de Lucas Machado. – Petrópolis, RJ : Vozes, 2018.
ANDRADE, Rodrigo de Oliveira. ChatGpT inaugural uma nova era na interação entre seres humanos e computadores. *Pesquisa FAPESP*, edição 325, mar. 2023. https://revistapesquisa.fapesp.br/o-universo-expandido-da-inteligencia-artificial/

Dia 29 (Aula 3)- Humanidades digitais
Bibliografia:
MOUNIER, Pierre. La fin de la théorie. In: _____. *Les humanités numériques*. Paris: FMSH Éditions, 2018, p. 97-120.
PIMENTA, Ricardo Medeiros. Por que humanidades digitais na ciência da informação? *Inf. & Soc.:Est.*, João Pessoa, v.30, n.2, p. 1-20, abr./jun. 2020.

**Eixo 2: História digital**

**Setembro:**
Dia 05– (Aula 4) – Aula Rosianny Berto: Pesquisa em ambiente digital
Bibliografia:

BRASIL, E.; NASCIMENTO, L. História digital: reflexões a partir da Hemeroteca Digital Brasileira e do uso de CAQDAS na reelaboração da pesquisa histórica. *Estudos históricos*, v. 33, nr.69, 2020. http://bibliotecadigital.fgv.br/ojs/index.php/reh/issue/view/4179
HORNE, Ryan. Beyond lists: digital gazetteers and digital history, *The Historian*, 82:1, 37-50, DOI: 10.1080/00182370.2020.1725992

Dia 12– (Aula 5) – Aula Patricia: História digital
Bibliografia:
SALIBA, Elias Thomé. Teoria da História em tempos digitais. In: GONÇALVES, Marcia, org. *Teorizar, aprender e ensinar História.* Rio de Janeiro, Editora da FGV, 2021.
LUCCHESI, Anita. História e Historiografia Digital: diálogos possíveis em uma nova esfera pública, ANPUH, 2013. (https://anpuh.org.br/uploads/anais-simposios/pdf/2019-01/1548874925_2b1f92411cb733640b4eba3247c5ba43.pdf)

Dia 19 – (Aula 6) Arquivos digitais
Bibliografia:
DECKER, Michael J. The finger of God is here! Past, present, and future of digital history, *The Historian*, 82:1, 7-21, DOI: 10.1080/00182370.2020.1725720.
PARLAND-VON ESSEN, Jessica. Building Historical Knowledge Byte by Byte Infrastructures and Data Management in Modern Scholarship. In: FRIDLUND, M., Oiva, M., & PAJU, P. (Eds.). (2020). Digital histories: Emergent approaches within the new digital history. Helsinki University Press. https:// doi.org/10.33134/HUP-5.

**Eixo 3: Workshop**
**https://ranke2.uni.lu/lessons/**

**Outubro:**

Dia 17 – (Aula 7) – Evento IEA

Dia 24 –– (Aula 8) – Do arquivo a virada digital (https://ranke2.uni.lu/u/archival-digital-turn/)

Dia 31 – (Aula 9) –A web como fonte digital: o que os historiadores precisam saber (https://ranke2.uni.lu/u/webarchives/)

**Novembro**

Dia 7– (Aula 10) – Midia social e historiadores (https://ranke2.uni.lu/u/social-media-historians/)

Dia 14 – (Aula 11) – Como o digital cria realidades (https://ranke2.uni.lu/u/transformation/)

Dia 21- (Aula 12) – Apresentação e discussão dos trabalhos finais da disciplina. Encerramento do curso.

- EDF5130 - História da historiografia da educação no Brasil: epistemologia e formação do campo. Programa de Pós-graduação em Educação da Universidade. Área: Cultura, Filosofia e História da Educação. Carga horária: 120 h; Créditos: 8; Duração:12 Semanas. Responsável: Bruno Bontempi Junior.

Sigla: EDF5130 - 1Tipo: POS
Nome: História da historiografia da educação no Brasil: epistemologia e formação do campo
Área: Cultura, Filosofia e História da Educação (48135)

Datas de aprovação:

CCP: 16/09/2021 CPG: 16/09/2021 CoPGr:

Data de ativação: 16/09/2021 Data de desativação:

Carga horária:

Total: 120 h Teórica: 3 h Prática: 3 h Estudo: 4 h

Créditos: 8 Duração: 12 Semanas

Responsáveis: 162022 - Bruno Bontempi Junior - 16/09/2021 até data atual

Justificativa:

Este curso se dedica ao exame crítico e histórico dos resultados científicos e ideológicos, assim como das tendências teóricas e metodológicas e, finalmente, da reconstituição histórica dos movimentos institucionais e políticos que configuraram este campo de estudos e sua escrita histórica peculiar. Oferece aos estudantes de pós-graduação a oportunidade de conhecer ou revisitar as obras clássicas e também a literatura mais atualizada da especialidade; compreender o campo à luz de conceitos e ferramentas teóricas; identificar sua própria inserção como pesquisador; admitir a necessidade e a importância da revisão bibliográfica e sua crítica para as atividades de pesquisa e escrita, especialmente, para a valorização do trabalho acadêmico para prover acréscimos qualificados ao corpus de conhecimento acumulado.

Conteúdo:

O curso se organiza em oito tópicos, nos quais se abordam obras, biografias, instituições, periódicos e eventos científicos, políticas educacionais e acadêmicas, notadamente, as de fomento e intercâmbio de pesquisadores. São eles: 1) Inventários e narrativas dos “progressos da instrução pública” no Segundo Império e na Primeira República; 2) A história da educação como matéria e guia na formação moral do magistério: os livros-texto; 3) O escolanovismo: história para a memória do movimento educacional; 4) História e filosofia da educação como disciplina acadêmica; 5) O marxismo acadêmico e a revisão da memória dos pioneiros; 6) A crise do modelo explicativo: historiografia crítica e “nova história cultural” 7) A nova hegemonia e a autonomização do campo; 8) Tendências atuais da história da educação no Brasil. A disciplina prevê seminários dos estudantes.

Bibliografia:

BONTEMPI Jr., B. Laerte Ramos de Carvalho e a constituição da História e Filosofia da Educação como disciplina acadêmica. Uberlândia: Edufu, 2015. BONTEMPI Jr., B. História da educação brasileira: o terreno do consenso. In: FREITAS, Marcos Cezar de. (Org.). Memória Intelectual da educação brasileira. 2ª ed. Bragança Paulista, SP: CDAPH; Edusf, 2002. BRANDÃO, Z. A intelligentsia educacional: um percurso com Paschoal Lemme por entre as memórias e as histórias da Escola Nova no Brasil. Bragança Paulista, SP: Ifan – CDAPH; Edusf. 1999. CARVALHO, M. M. C. O novo, o velho, o perigoso: relendo A Cultura Brasileira. Cadernos de Pesquisa. Cadernos de Pesquisa, São Paulo, nov. 1989, n.71, p.29-35. CARVALHO, M. M. C. L’histoire de l’education au Brésil : traditions historiographiques et processus de rénovation de la discipline. Paedagogia Historica, v.36, n.3, 2000, p.909-933. CARUSO, M. Within, between, above, and beyond : (Pre)positions for a history of the internalisation of educational practices and knowledge. Paedagogica Historica, v. 50, ns. 1-2, p. 10-26, 2014. CORDEIRO, J. F. P. A produção em história da educação no Brasil em três periódicos: perspectivas comparadas. In: Anais do V Congresso Brasileiro de História da Educação. Aracaju-SE: SBHE, 2005. p.1-19. DEPAEPE, M. Entre pédagogie et histoire. Questions et remarques sur l’évolution des objectifs de l’enseignement de l’histoire de l’éducation. In: Histoire de l'éducation, n° 77, 1998. p. 3-18. www.persee.fr/doc/hedu_0221-6280_1998_num_77_1_2938 DOI: 10.3406/hedu.1998.2938 DROUX, J.; HOFSTETTER, R. Going international: the history of education stepping beyond borders. Paedagogica Historica, v. 50, ns. 1-2, p. 1-9, 2014. EDUCAÇÃO EM REVISTA, Belo Horizonte, n. 34, dez/2001. FARIA FILHO, L. M. et al. A cultura escolar como categoria de análise e como campo de investigação na história da educação brasileira. Educ. Pesqui., ,v.30, n.1, p.139-159, 2004

FELGUEIRAS, M. L. A história da educação na relação com os saberes histórico e pedagógico. Rev. Bras. Educ., Dez 2008, vol.13, n..39, p.483-501. GONDRA, J. G. (org.). Pesquisa em história da educação no Brasil. Rio de janeiro: DP&A, 2005. GONDRA, J. G.; MACHADO, M. C. G.; SIMÕES, R. H. S. (org.). História da Educação, matrizes interpretativas e internacionalização. Vitória: EDUFES, 2017. GONDRA, J. G.; SILVA, M. L.; MENEZES, R. História da educação no Rio de Janeiro. Instituições, saberes e sujeitos. Rio de Janeiro: Eduerj, 2014. GONDRA, J. G.; SILVA, J. C. S. (Org.). História da Educação na América Latina: ensinar & escrever. Rio de Janeiro: Eduerj, 2011, p. 55-82. GORDON, P. & SZRETER, R. (Dirs.), History of Education. The Making of a discipline, Londres (G-B) ; Savage (USA), The Woburn Press, 1989. GVIRTZ, S. (org.). Escuela Nueva en Argentina y Brasil. Visiones comparadas. Bs. As. : Niño y Dávila Editores S.R.L., 1996. HAYASHI, C. R. M.; FERREIRA Jr., A. O campo da história da educação no Brasil: um estudo baseado nos grupos de pesquisa. Avaliação, v.15, n.3, p.167-184, 2010. HISTOIRE DE L'EDUCATION. La recherche en histoire de l'education. www.persee.fr/issue/hedu 0221-6280 n. 2-3, 1979. KUHLMANN Jr., M. As grandes festas didáticas: a educação brasileira e as exposições internacionais (1862-1922). Bragança Paulista: Edusf, 2001. KUHLMANN Jr., M. Raízes da historiografia educacional brasileira (1881-1922). Cad. Pesqui., , no.106, p.159-171, 1999. MONARCHA, C. (org.). História da Educação Brasileira. Formação do campo. Ijuí: Unijuí, 1999. REVISTA BRASILEIRA DE HISTÓRIA DA EDUCAÇÃO. Dossiê A escrita da história da educação no Brasil: experiências e perspectivas, v. 19 (49), 2019. SAVIANI, D. et al. Sociedade Brasileira de História da Educação: constituição, organização e realizações. Revista Brasileira de História da Educação, v. 11, n. 3, p. 13-45, set./dez. 2011. SAVIANI, D.; LOMBARDI, J. C.; SANFELICE, J. L. (orgs.). História e história da educação. O debate teórico-metodológico atual. Campinas: Editores Associados, 1998. SAVIANI, D. O espaço acadêmico da pedagogia no Brasil: perspectiva histórica. Paidéia (Ribeirão Preto), v.14, n.28, p.113-124, 2004. SOCIEDADE BRASILEIRA DE HISTÓRIA DA EDUCAÇÃO. Educação no Brasil. Campinas- SP: SBHE; Autores Associados, 2001. FERNANDES, R.; ADÃO, A. (org.) Actas do 1o Congresso Luso-Brasileiro de História da Educação. Leitura e escrita em Portugal e no Brasil (1500-1970). Vol. 1., Porto: Sociedade Portiguesa da Ciências da Educação, 1998. SOUZA, R. F. Cruzando fronteiras regionais: repensando a história comparada da educação em âmbito nacional. Rev. Bras. Educ., v.21, n. 67, p.833-850, 2016. VIDAL, D. G. Em defesa da imagem do Brasil no exterior: Frederico José de Santa-Anna Nery e a escrita da história da educação no Império. Rev. Bras. Hist. Educ., v. 10, n. 3 (24), p. 113-138, 2012. VIDAL, D. G.; FARIA FILHO, L. M. História da Educação no Brasil: a constituição histórica do campo (1880-1970). Revista Brasileira de História. São Paulo, v.23, n.45, p.37-70, 2003. WARDE, M. J. Anotações para uma historiografia da educação. Em Aberto, Brasília, n. 32, p. 1-6, 1984.

Forma de avaliação:

Frequência às aulas; apresentação e participação em seminários; elaboração de trabalhos escritos.

Tipo de oferecimento da disciplna: Presencial

## 16. APÊNDICE H - OUTRAS ATIVIDADES

- Grupos de Estudo - NIEPHE

- Exposição “Caetanistas negros: outros que honram a galeria dos pretos no Brasil”, Núcleo de Memória e Acervo Histórico-NUMAH, em colaboração CRE Mário Covas, Secretaria de Educação de São Paulo e Escola de Formação dos Profissionais da Educação Paulo Renato de Souza E PARTICIPAÇÃO DA BOLSISTA Ariadne Ecar (TT5)

## 17. APÊNDICE I - VISITAS TÉCNICAS

- Bruno Bontempi Jr. De 9 a 18 de outubro de 2023, visitas técnicas nas seguintes instituições de Chicago, nos Estados Unidos: Research Center of the Art Institute of Chicago; Loyola University of Chicago; Newberry Public Library, para prospecção de fontes e bibliografia sobre a Columbian World Exposition, de 1893, e a exibição educacional do Brasil.

- Rafaela Silva Rabelo. Visita técnica ao Rockefeller Archive Center (RAC) com financiamento do RAC em dezembro de 2023.

## 18. APÊNDICE J - ATIVIDADES INTER-EIXOS.

(com destaque à participação em bancas, presença de alunos em cursos de pós-graduação, presença em comitês de organização/ científico de eventos, texto e comunicações elaboradas em conjunto, participação em cursos de graduação, pós-graduação e de extensão: sempre com o caráter de colaboração entre pesquisador@s de dois ou mais eixos do Projeto)

### 18.1 Participação em eventos:

Bruno Bontempi Jr.; Carolina Mostaro Neves da Silva. Apresentação presencial de trabalho em Comunicação Individual. Título: We, the Greeks: Ethnocentric Foundations of Teaching History of Education. 45th International Standing Conference for the History of Education, a ser realizado de 18 a 21 de agosto de 2024, em Natal-RN.

Bruno Bontempi Jr.; Diana Vidal. Escola e Universidade: história e trajetórias, a ser realizado em setembro de 2024, on-line. Bruno Bontempi Jr. Palestrante na mesa-redonda “Formação de professores na Universidade de São Paulo”, no dia 11 de setembro de 2024.

Carlota Boto. Integrante da Comissão Organizadora do evento Ideias e sujeitos viajantes: histórias transnacionais em educação, coordenado pela professora Diana Vidal, na Faculdade de Educação, no dia 17 de outubro de 2023.

Carlota Boto. Coordenação da Comissão Organizadora do Seminário Internacional Desafios e Reinvenções da Escola Pública, realizado entre os dias 18 e 22 de setembro de 2023 na Faculdade de Educação da Universidade de São Paulo.

Paula Perin Vicentini, Rita de Cassia Gallego, Rosario Genta Lugli, Vivian Batista da Silva. **XXXI Colóquio Afirse Portugal** "Aprendizagem, diversidade e equidade: a investigação em educação". 7 e 9 de fevereiro de 2024. Instituto de Educação da Universidade de Lisboa. Apresentação das comunicações: 1) **Sobre os efeitos dos Estágios de Docência na Licenciatura: formação para a inclusão na sala de aula**. Trabalho apresentado oralmente, na modalidade presencial. Colaboração entre pesquisadoras do eixo 2 e eixo 4.

Paula Perin Vicentini, Rita de Cassia Gallego, Vivian Batista da Silva. (apresentação oral) "Espaços de iniciação no magistério: narrativas sobre os efeitos dos estágios na licenciatura". **X Congresso Internacional de Pesquisa (Auto)Biográfica**, 20 a 23 de maio de 2024, Salvador, Bahia, UNEB, Presencial.

Paula Perin Vicentini. Participação na Mesa-Redonda do **Encontro *Educação em Fronteiras***, com a participação de Ana Laura Godinho Lima, Bruno Bomtempi Jr., Carlota Boto e Vivian Batista da Silva. 27 de maio de 2024. Online. Colaboração entre pesquisadoras do eixo 2 e eixo 4.

Paula Perin Vicentini, Rita de Cassia Gallego. Clube de leitura e escrita da EAFEUSP: práticas de leitura, inovação docente, protagonismo estudantil e mudanças na cultura escolar (2010-2023). Comunicação Coordenada - **Congresso Brasileiro da História da Educação,** a ser realizado entre 14 e 17 de agosto de 2024, Natal. Colaboração entre pesquisadoras dos eixos 2, 3 e 4.

Vivian Batista da Silva e Rita de Cassia Gallego. *Aprender, desaprender, reaprender: a importância das intervenções nos processos educativos*. Palestra proferida no **I Encontro dos bolsistas PROIAD**. 11 de dezembro de 2023. Formato presencial com transmissão ao vivo. Colaboração entre pesquisadoras do eixo 2 e eixo 4.

Participantes: Prof. Jordi Garcia Farrero (Coordenação) e Prof. Raúl Navarro Zárate (Universidade de Barcelona), Prof. Vivian Batista da Silva e Prof. Ana Laura Godinho Lima (Universidade de São Paulo), Prof. Antonio Lovato Sagrado e Prof. Amanda Aliende da Matta (Universidade de Brasília). O que podem os professores fazer pela leitura? formação, profissão e identidade docente como objeto de pesquisa. Apresentação Oral. **Congresso Brasileiro da História da Educação,** a ser realizado entre 14 e 17 de agosto de 2024, Natal. Colaboração entre pesquisadoras dos eixos 2, 3 e 4.

**Participação em evento organizado pela Profa. Dra. Carlota Boto (Eixo 1):**

**Seminário Internacional Desafios e Reinvenções da Escola Pública**, 18 e 22 de setembro de 2023, Presencial. São Paulo, FEUSP, VICENTINI, Paula Perin. "Da observação sensível às práticas inclusivas: formação de professores para a equidade na aprendizagem" no âmbito da Mesa-Redonda *A formação do professor nas políticas educacionais e o futuro da educação*, apresentação oral.

**Seminário Internacional Desafios e Reinvenções da Escola Pública**, 18 a 22 de setembro de 2023, Presencial. São Paulo, FEUSP, GALLEGO, Rita de Cassia. coordenação da mesa-redonda intitulada "Sofrimento Psíquico e Educação".

## 18.2 Eventos organizados por integrantes do projeto com a participação de demais membros:

**Seminário Organizado pelas Professoras Carlota Boto e Ana Laura Godinho, ocorrido nos dias 18 a 22 de setembro de 2023.**

*Seminário*
*Desafios e Reinvenções da Escola Pública*

**I. Comissão Organizadora:**

Ana Laura Godinho Lima

Bruna Soares Polachini

Carlota Boto

Daniel Tojeira Cara

Eduardo Januário

Lívia de Araújo Donnini Rodrigues

Rogério de Almeida

Roni Cleber Dias de Menezes

Thomaz Kawauche

Valdir Heitor Barzotto

Vinicio de Macedo Santos

Vivian Batista da Silva

**II. Programação:**

**PRESENCIAL**

**Conferência de Abertura (18/09/2023 – 14h às 17h30): A crise na educação como projeto**

**Conferencista:** Gaudêncio Frigotto

**Mediadora:** Carlota Boto

Ementa:

O discurso sobre o direito à educação no Brasil foi historicamente mobilizado pelas agendas das plataformas políticas. A educação em tese sempre foi levantada como bandeira das políticas públicas para a construção de um país mais desenvolvido, menos desigual e mais avançado, especialmente na perspectiva liberal de que as diferenças sociais deveriam ser decorrentes antes do mérito e dos talentos individuais do que do

**REMOTA**

**Mesa 3 (19/09/2023 – 14h às 17h30): Os limites da relação público-privado e os diferentes conceitos de democracia**

**Convidados:** Marina de Avelar

Marco Aurélio Nogueira

Milton Lahuerta

**Mediadora:** Carlota Boto

Ementa:

A proposta da presente mesa-redonda é a de refletir historicamente sobre a trajetória das práticas democráticas e seu impacto na configuração dos vários significados contidos no conceito de democracia. Hoje, a defesa do mundo liberal costuma ser pautada pela recorrência do argumento de que os países ocidentais seriam praticamente os herdeiros da tradição das conquistas democráticas. Contudo, deve-se perguntar também quais são os limites dos países ocidentais relativamente às questões da relação público-privado e qual o impacto dessa relação na estrutura do estatuto de democracia dos mesmos países. Os professores convidados são especialistas no tema da história das ideias políticas e no tema da globalização, o que possibilitará um fértil debate sobre o objeto aqui em tela.

**PRESENCIAL**

**Mesa 4 (19/09/2023 – 19h30 às 22h): A formação do professor nas políticas educacionais e o futuro da educação**

**Convidados:** Vinício de Macedo Santos

Anne Lin Goodwin

Paula Perin Vicentini

**Mediadora:** Lívia de Araújo Donnini Rodrigues

Ementa

Refletir sobre a formação inicial e continuada do professor é indissociável da compreensão da natureza da atividade docente e do lugar desse profissional na escola. Muitas situações têm evidenciado a função inconteste da necessidade do professor como sujeito que é dotado de autonomia e autoridade na gestão da sala de aula, que pensa, toma decisões, interage e dialoga com os estudantes e, como agente principal produtor e realizador de um projeto de currículo. As políticas educacionais mais recentes, especialmente aquelas de cunho privatista, têm esvaziado fortemente o papel do professor, colocando-o como executor de tarefas e projetos nos quais não se reconhece, nem foi convidado a discuti-los. O lugar das tecnologias da comunicação e informação

lugar de nascimento. Entretanto, do ponto de vista das práticas, o investimento na pauta da educação sempre deixou a desejar em nosso país, constituindo-se em um obstáculo tanto ao desenvolvimento quanto sobretudo ao letramento da nação. Sendo assim - como já dizia Darcy Ribeiro -, a crise na educação que assola o país em todas as épocas não parece ser uma crise; mas um projeto. Cabe, então, recuperar essa história e verificar na contemporaneidade o que vem sendo feito para se quebrar essa lógica, de maneira a que possamos efetivamente superar o fosso da ignorância e do obscurantismo.

**PRESENCIAL**

**Mesa 2 (18/09/2023 – 19h30 às 22h): Políticas educacionais e modelos de desenvolvimento**

Convidados: Daniel Cara

João Furtado

**Mediador:** Valdir Heitor Barzotto

Ementa

O direito à educação é um direito humano fundamental, garantido pela Declaração Universal dos Direitos Humanos de 1948 e pelos documentos legais dos países. Entretanto, apesar de ser um direito universal, nem todos têm acesso igualitário e justo à educação. Especialmente no Sul Global, o acesso à educação de qualidade ainda é um desafio a ser enfrentado. O descumprimento do direito à educação não apenas limita a vida dos cidadãos, mas também prejudica o desenvolvimento dos Estados Nacionais e amplia as desigualdades sociais e econômicas entre cidadãos e países. Por isso, é fundamental discutir como os países compreendem e implementam políticas educacionais que promovam o acesso universal e a qualidade da educação. Para tanto, porém, há que se compreender os modelos de desenvolvimento em curso. Será discutido como um país como o Brasil projetou seu desenvolvimento, como compreende o direito à educação no contexto de uma política de desenvolvimento e como as políticas públicas impactam o acesso e a qualidade da educação, contribuindo para o desenvolvimento econômico e social. Ao trazer esses casos para discussão, espera-se promover reflexões e troca de experiências que possam contribuir para a melhoria das políticas educacionais e, consequentemente, para a garantia do direito à educação para todos.

na escola tem sido hipertrofiado quando se pretende que tais tecnologias sejam mais do que elementos de apoio ao trabalho do professor nas modalidades de ensino híbrido ou a distância. A experiência durante a pandemia evidenciou tanto a centralidade do professor na escola bem como, que o presente e futuro desta não pode prescindir de políticas públicas que qualifiquem cada vez mais a formação dos professores.

**HÍBRIDA**

**Mesa 5 (20/09/2023 – 14h às 17h30): Gestão democrática e lugar social da escola pública**

**Convidados:** Iracema Santos do Nascimento

Teise Garcia

Vivian Batista da Silva

**Mediador:** Rubens Barbosa de Camargo

**Ementa:**

Ao invés de promover a democratização da ação pedagógica, do bem-estar e da justiça, a escola pública tem sido mais um lugar de reprodução das desigualdades sociais, camuflado pelas explicações que buscam as razões de seu insucesso em fatores individuais dos alunos. O olhar para as organizações escolares contribui para compreender seus funcionamentos internos como uma das peças-chave para a superação dos entraves à efetiva expansão das oportunidades de ensino. Um dos pilares da mudança possível é a gestão democrática, pautada na valorização da voz e participação de seus atores. Convém compartilhar debates e experiências advindas desse princípio.

**PRESENCIAL**

**Mesa 6 (20/09/2023 – 19h30 às 22h): Sofrimento psíquico e educação**

**Convidados:** Ana Laura Godinho Lima

Caroline Fanizzi

Adriana Marcondes Machado

**Mediador:** Rita de Cássia Gallego

Ementa:

Assistimos nos últimos anos ao crescimento dos diagnósticos de transtornos e déficits associados a diferentes formas de sofrimento psíquico em estudantes de todos os níveis da escolaridade. Paralelamente, evidencia-se uma preocupação cada vez maior em reconhecer e acolher as diferenças no ambiente escolar, por meio de discursos e práticas inclusivas. Também se observa a ampliação dos discursos e programas educacionais voltados ao desenvolvimento emocional das crianças e dos adolescentes. Esta mesa

pretende refletir sobre essas questões e o modo como podem ser relacionadas, a partir da perspectiva da psicologia, da psicanálise e da educação.

**PRESENCIAL**

**Mesa 7 (21/09/2023 – 14h às 17h30): Financiamento da educação: superação ou enfrentamento da desigualdade**

**Convidados:** Rosângela Prieto

Marcelino Rezende

Zara Figueiredo Tripodi

**Mediador:** Eduardo Januário

**Ementa:** Desde o ano de 2015 tramitava no Congresso Nacional a Proposta de Emenda à Constituição (PEC) nº 15/2015 da Câmara dos Deputados e nº 26/2020 do Senado Federal, no entanto, apenas no ano de 2020 houve avanços na construção dos consensos para a aprovação da Lei 14.113/2020 que regulamenta no Novo Fundeb. A novidade é que além de um fundo permanente tal política redistributiva conta com mecanismos de complementação, visando o aprimoramento do fundo na redução das desigualdades educacionais com objetivo de cumprir o princípio da equidade inserida no §3º do artigo 212 da Constituição Federal, que, ao tratar da vinculação de recursos para a educação, dispõe que a distribuição dos recursos públicos assegurará prioridade ao atendimento das necessidades do ensino obrigatório, no que se refere à universalização, garantia de padrão de qualidade e equidade. Assim, a partir do conhecimento e da experiência dos palestrantes será possível compreender as diversas dimensões do debate e como se estabelece a relação com a sociedade e com o chão da escola.

**HÍBRIDA**

**Mesa 8 (21/09/2023 – 19h30 às 22h ): Extremismo de direita e ataque às escolas**

**Convidados:** Letícia Oliveira

Catarina Almeida Santos

Claudia Pereira Vianna

**Mediador:** Roni Cleber Dias de Menezes

Ementa:

Os ataques às escolas e as violências praticadas contra a comunidade escolar motivados por radicalismos políticos, ideológicos e uma gama diversa de preconceitos têm exibido índices alarmantes nos anos recentes. Lastreados em grande parte no fortalecimento da extrema direita no Brasil em diversos setores da sociedade no mesmo período, os casos de violência abrangem uma variedade de fatores, dentre eles intolerância étnico-racial e cultural, relacionada ao gênero e às populações mais vulneráveis, além de conteúdos que expressam forte resistência à perspectiva da pluralidade e do convívio com as diferenças. Esta mesa busca aprofundar a reflexão sobre a temática, esmiuçando alguns dos dispositivos que atuam na mobilização dos sujeitos envolvidos com os ataques, bem como propor uma leitura acerca do modo como a função social da escola é percebida no interior do extremismo de direita.

**PRESENCIAL**

**Mesa 9 (22/09/2023 – 14h às 17h30): a Reforma do Ensino Médio e a formação da juventude brasileira**

**Convidados:** Felipe Tarábola

Carolina Catini

Fernando Cássio

**Mediador:** Denise Carreira

Ementa: A formação dos jovens em diferentes países é carregada de expectativas positivas pois se trata da criação, especialmente, nos sistemas públicos de ensino, das condições para a sociedade do futuro em que a juventude tenha o protagonismo esperado. Para isso os investimentos e políticas educacionais no estabelecimento de percursos formativos para os jovens, em diferentes países, operam na dimensão da formação geral ou da formação profissional, mas sem um caráter de formação terminal. No Brasil, há um dilema permanente sobre essa questão e de maneira precária tem mimetizado, sem sucesso, experiências bem sucedidas, de outros países, mas não equacionando a dualidade "formação profissional" ou " formação propedêutica" dos jovens. O projeto do Novo Ensino Médio (NEM) é mais uma tentativa que veio para reforçar as desigualdades sociais que os sistemas de ensino público e privado do Brasil têm ajudado a perpetuar, seja no ensino médio, seja no ensino superior. Neste momento é mais do que oportuno nós nos interrogarmos sobre que futuro queremos para os nossos jovens, para a sociedade brasileira, contando com um projeto de educação para o Ensino Médio reparador das diferenças e injustiças sociais.

**HÍBRIDA**

**Mesa 10 (22/09/2023 – 19h30 às 22h): Educação e novas tecnologias digitais: possibilidades e limites**

Convidados: Vani Moreira Kenski

Osvaldo Novais

Romualdo Portella de Oliveira

**Mediador:** Rogério de Almeida

Ementa: O desenvolvimento cada vez mais acelerado das Tecnologias de Informação e Comunicação (TICs) e da Inteligência Artificial tem impactado a sociedade e os modos de vida, com visíveis desdobramentos na Educação, com as instituições de ensino oscilando entre incorporar alguns desses recursos tecnológicos e se proteger de seus efeitos indesejados, principalmente os relacionados a aparelhos móveis de acesso à internet. Nos anos de pandemia, a troca de dados por meio da rede de computadores possibilitou a interação remota para aulas, orientações e outras atividades educacionais, ao mesmo tempo em que se tornaram mais visíveis as desigualdades sociais e tecnológicas, que afetam não só a qualidade de vida (moradia, alimentação, trabalho etc.) como também o acesso à informação e à escolarização. Indagar sobre o impacto dessas tecnologias nas instituições escolares e na Educação como um todo é o objetivo desta mesa, que também discutirá os desafios éticos e sociais impostos pela era digital.




## International Seminar

## Contemporary Schools: Challenges and Reinventions

**Venue:** Auditorium of the School of Education at the University of São Paulo

**Date:** 18 – 22 September 2023

Objective: to promote the debate on different facets of school education as a complex social phenomenon, focusing on issues as diverse as educational policies, government financing, teacher education, mental health, digital media, and violence.

**Program Overview:**

| | 14h – 17h30 | 19h30 – 22h |
|---|---|---|
| Sept 18 | Panel 1: The crisis in Education as a Project | Panel 2: Educational Policies and country development models |
| Sept 19 | Panel 3: Public-private boundaries and the different concepts of democracy | Panel 4: Teacher Education within broader educational policies and the future of schools |
| Sept 20 | Panel 5: Democratic educational management and the social place of the public school | Panel 6: Psychological suffering and education |
| Sept 21 | Panel 7: Educational financing: facing inequalities or overcoming them | Panel 8: Schools under attack by right wing extremists |
| Sept 22 | Panel 9: High School Reform and the education of youth | Panel 10: Education and new digital technologies: possibilities and constraints |

**Program Details:**

**Panel 1 (18 Sept 2023 / 14h – 17h30): The crisis in Education as a Project**

**Panelist: Gaudêncio Frigotto**

**Moderator: Carlota Boto**

The discourse on the right to education in Brazil has historically been mobilized by the agendas of political platforms. In theory, education has always been raised as a flag for public policies to build a more developed, less unequal and more advanced country, especially in the liberal perspective that social differences should arise from individual merit and talents rather than place. of birth. However, from a practical point of view, investment in education has always left something to be desired in our country, constituting an obstacle both to development and above all to the nation's literacy. Therefore - as Darcy Ribeiro said - the crisis in education that plagues the country at all times does not seem to be a crisis; but a project. It is therefore necessary to recover this history and verify in contemporary times what has been done to break this logic, so that we can effectively overcome the gap of ignorance and obscurantism

**Panel 2 (18 Sept 2023 / 19h30 – 22h): Educational Policies and country development models**

**Panelists: Daniel Cara and João Furtado**

**Moderator: Valdir Heitor Barzotto**

The right to education is a fundamental human right, guaranteed by the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights and countries' legal documents. However, despite being a universal right, not everyone has equal and fair access to education. Especially in the Global South, access to quality education is still a challenge to be faced. Failure to comply with the right to education not only limits the lives of citizens, but also harms the development of National States and increases social and economic inequalities between citizens and countries. Therefore, it is essential to discuss how countries understand and implement educational policies that promote universal access and quality of education. In this panel, cases will be debated, seeking to understand how different countries develop their educational policies and what their role is in the ongoing development models. Panelists will address how each country understands the right to education and how these policies impact access and quality of education, contributing to economic and social development. The debate aims to promote reflections and exchange of experiences that can contribute to the improvement of educational policies and, consequently, to guaranteeing the right to education for all.

**Panel 3 (19 Sept 2023 / 14h – 17h30): Public-private boundaries and the different concepts of democracy**

**Panelists: Marina de Avelar, Marco Aurélio Nogueira and Milton Lahuerta**

**Moderator: Carlota Boto**

The purpose of this panel is to reflect on the history of democratic practices and their impact on the configuration of the various meanings within the concept of democracy. In contemporary liberal thought, the idea that Western countries are practically the heirs of democratic achievements can be found recurrently. However, it is worth asking what the limits of Western countries are regarding issues of the public-private relationship and what is the impact of this relationship on the structure of the democratic status of these countries. The panelists are experts in the history of political ideas and globalization, which will enable a fertile debate on the subject at hand.

**Panel 4 (19 Sept 2023 / 19h30 – 22h): Teacher Education within broader educational policies and the future of schools**

**Panelists: Vinício de Macedo Santos, Anne Lin Goodwin and Paula Perin Vicentini**

**Moderator: Lívia de Araújo Donnini Rodrigues**

Reflecting on teacher initial and continuing education is inseparable from understanding the nature of teaching as professional practice and the place of this professional within the school culture. Studies have highlighted the undisputed role of the teacher as a full-fledged professional who is endowed with autonomy and authority, who critically thinks, makes decisions, interacts, and negotiates with students. Therefore, this professional has a pivotal role as an agent in the production not only the implementation of curricular policies. However, recent educational policies, especially those of a privatist nature, have emptied the role of teachers, placing them as the ones who implement tasks and projects in which they do not recognize themselves, nor were invited to discuss or collaborate. The overemphasis on information and communication technologies is an issue for debate: from elements that support teaching practices they have somewhat become elements that potentially replace teaching practice, mainly in hybrid or distance learning modalities of schooling. The experience during the pandemic highlighted the centrality of the teacher in school practices. It also revealed that the need to sustain a future for schools cannot do without public policies that increasingly focus on quality teacher education.

**Panel 7 (21 Sept 2023 / 14h – 17h30): Educational financing: facing inequalities or overcoming them**

**Panelists: Rosângela Prieto, Marcelino Rezende and Zara Figueiredo Tripodi**

**Moderator: Eduardo Januário**

Since 2015, the Constitutional Amendment Bill (PEC) 15/2015 of Chamber of Deputies and 26/2020 of Federal Senate was being processed in National Congress. It was only in 2020 that the construction of consensus advanced and there was approval of Law 14113/2020, which regulates the New Fund for Maintenance and Development of Basic Education and Valuing Education Professionals (Fundeb). The novelty is that, in addition to a permanent fund, this redistributive policy also has supplementary mechanisms with the aim of improving the fund in reducing educational inequalities, in compliance with the principle of equity inserted in §3 of article 212 of the Federal Constitution, which, when addressing the allocation of resources for education, provides that the distribution of public resources will ensure priority to the needs of compulsory education, with regard to universalization, guarantee of quality standards and equity. Thus, based on the knowledge and experience of the panelists, it will be possible to understand the different dimensions of the debate, as well as how the relationship between society and school is established.

**Panel 8 (21 Sept 2023 / 19h30 – 22h ): Schools under attack by right wing extremists**

**Panelists: Letícia Oliveira, Catarina Almeida Santos and Claudia Pereira Vianna**

**Moderator: Roni Cleber Dias de Menezes**

Attacks on schools and violence committed against the school community motivated by both political and ideological radicalism and also by a diversity of prejudices have shown alarming statistical rates in recent years. Largely based on the strengthening of the extreme right in Brazil in different sectors of society in the same period, the cases of violence in question cover a variety of factors, including ethnic-racial and cultural intolerance, related to gender and the most vulnerable populations, in addition to content that expresses strong resistance to the perspective of plurality and coexistence with differences. This panel seeks to deepen the reflection on this topic, examining some of the devices that act in the mobilization of the subjects involved with the attacks, as well as proposing an interpretation of the way in which the social function of the school is perceived within right-wing extremism.

**Panel 5 (20 Sept 2023 / 14h – 17h30): Democratic educational management and the social place of the public school**

**Panelists: Iracema Santos do Nascimento, Teise Garcia and Vivian Batista da Silva**

**Moderator: Rubens Barbosa de Camargo**

Public School, instead of promoting the democratization of pedagogical action, well-being and justice, has actually shown itself to be a space for the reproduction of social inequalities, camouflaged by discourses that attribute the reasons for this failure to individual factors concerning the students. Observing school organizations contributes to understanding their internal functioning, which proves to be a key element in overcoming obstacles to the effective expansion of teaching opportunities. Democratic management is one of the pillars of change, for it is based on valuing actors, whether through their voice or through their participation. The panel is an opportunity to share ideas and experiences arising from this principle.

**Panel 6 (20 Sept 2023 / 19h30 – 22h): Psychological suffering and education**

**Panelists: Ana Laura Godinho Lima, Caroline Fanizzi and Adriana Marcondes Machado**

**Moderator: Rita de Cássia Gallego**

In recent years, we have seen an increase in diagnoses of disorders and deficits associated with different forms of psychological distress in students of all educational levels. In parallel to this, there is an increasing concern in recognizing and embracing differences in the school environment, through inclusive discourses and practices. The multiplication of speeches and educational programs aimed at the emotional development of children and adolescents is also observed. This panel aims to reflect on these issues, as well as on the way in which they can be related, from the perspective of psychology, psychoanalysis, and education.

**Panel 9 (22 Sept 2023 / 14h – 17h30): High School Reform and the education of youth**

**Panelists: Felipe Tarábola, Carolina Catini and Fernando Cássio**

**Moderator: Denise Carreira**

Youth education in different countries is full of positive expectations as it involves creating, especially in public education systems, the conditions for the society of the future in which youth exercise their expected role as protagonists. To this end, investments and educational policies aimed at establishing training paths for young people, in different countries, operate in the dimension of general upbringing or professional education, but without a terminal training character. In Brazil, there is a permanent dilemma regarding this issue: successful experiences from other countries are mimicked, in a precarious and unsuccessful way, without considering the duality of "professional upbringing" or "propaedeutic upbringing" of young people. The New Secondary School (NEM) project is yet another example of this type of experience that ends up strengthening the social inequalities that Brazil's public and private education systems have helped to perpetuate, whether in secondary or higher education. At this moment, it is more than opportune for us to ask ourselves what future we want for our young people, for Brazilian society, relying on an education project for secondary school that repairs social differences and injustices.

**Panel 10 (22 Sept 2023 / 19h30 – 22h): Education and new digital technologies: possibilities and constraints**

**Panelists: Vani Moreira Kenski, Osvaldo Novais and Romualdo Portella de Oliveira**

**Moderator: Rogério de Almeida**

The increasingly accelerated development of Information and Communication Technologies (ICTs) and Artificial Intelligence has impacted the ways we live in society, with noticeable consequences in Education, with educational institutions oscillating between, on the one hand, incorporating some of these technological resources and, on the other hand, seeking protection against their unwanted effects, especially those related to mobile internet access devices. During the pandemic years, the exchange of data through computer networks enabled remote interaction for classes, guidance and other educational activities, and, at the same time revealed social and technological inequalities - which affect not only the quality of life (housing, food, work, etc.), but also access to information and schooling – making them more visible. Inquiring about the impact of these technologies on school institutions and within Education at large is the objective of this panel, which will also discuss the ethical and social challenges of the digital era.

**Evento organizado pela Profa. Dra. Diana G. Vidal, ocorrido nos dias 18 a 22 de setembro de 2023.**




**Programação:**

Dia 27/5 das 9 às 12h - Reuniões internas por eixo, em sala meeting, com a presença de um observador/a externo/a para apresentação das pesquisas em andamento.

Dia 27/5 das 14 às 17h - Mesa redonda por streaming com a participação dos coordenadores/as de eixo para relato dos relatos/discussões efetuados durante a manhã.

Dia 28/5 das 9h às 12h - Reunião interna, com todos os membros, para discussão de encaminhamentos futuros.

Dia 28/5 das 14 às 17h - Mesa redonda por streaming com a participação dos observadores/as para comentários sobre as apresentações e sobre o projeto com um todo.

### 18.3Participação em bancas:

Bruno Bontempi Jr.; Carlota Boto. Participação em Exame Geral de Qualificação de Mestrado. Candidata: Camilla Cristina Zanqueta Cardoso. “Entre a missão e a emancipação: atuação das mulheres no Conselho Diretor da Associação brasileira de educação (1924-1945)”. Realizada na Feusp, em 06 de novembro de 2023.

Bruno Bontempi Jr.; Carlota Boto. Participação em Exame Geral de Qualificação de Doutorado. Candidato: Jocemir Moura dos Reis. “Imprensa feminina e o dever de memória: Josephina Álvares de Azevedo e colaboradora do Jornal A Família (1888 - 1898)”. Realizado na Feusp, em 25 de outubro de 2023.

Bruno Bontempi Jr.; Carlota Boto. Participação em Exame Geral de Qualificação de Mestrado. Candidato: César Guerra Scarpelli. “As representações de Jean Jacques Rousseau na obra de Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi”. Realizado na Feusp, em 26 de fevereiro de 2024.

achel Abdala; Participação de na banca de defesa de Doutorado de Helen Arantes Martins. Faculdade de Educação Unicamp, 18/12/2023.

Rita de Cassia Gallego. Participação na banca de qualificação de Miriam Alves da Cunha; *Os desafios da gestão escolar em tempos de pandemia COVID-19 (SARS-COV-2)*. Orientação: Profa. Dra. Rachel Duarte Abdala. UNITAU, Taubaté, 15/02/2024 (qualificação). Colaboração entre pesquisadoras dos eixos 2 e 4.

Rita de Cassia Gallego. Participação na banca de defesa de Miriam Alves da Cunha; *Os desafios da gestão escolar em tempos de pandemia COVID-19 (SARS-COV-2)*. Orientação: Profa. Dra. Rachel Duarte Abdala. UNITAU, Taubaté, 18/04/2024 (defesa). Colaboração entre pesquisadoras dos eixos 2 e 4.

### 18.4Textos e comunicações elaboradas em conjunto:

BONTEMPI Jr., Bruno. Prefácio. In: SILVA, Carolina M. N.; POLACHINI, Bruno; MOURÃO, Renata. (Org.). Saberes em circulação: histórias transnacionais da educação. A ser publicado no Portal de Livros USP, em 2024.

BONTEMPI JUNIOR, Bruno. Showing Advances to the World: the Education in the State of São Paulo (1903) Report at Brazil’s Exhibition in St. Louis. In: VIDAL, Diana; SILVA, Vivian B. (org). Rethinking Centre-Perifery Assumptions in the History of Education. Exchanges among Brazil, USA, and Europe. New York: Routledge, 2024, pp. 53-81.

VIDAL, Diana; SILVA, Vivian B.; LIMA, Ana Laura G.; BONTEMPI JUNIOR, Bruno. Introduction. In: VIDAL, Diana G.; SILVA, Vivian B. (org). Rethinking Centre-Perifery Assumptions in the History of Education. Exchanges among Brazil, USA, and Europe. New York: Routledge, 2024, pp. 3-25.

SILVA, Vivian B.; VIDAL, Diana G.; LIMA, Ana Laura G.; BONTEMPI JUNIOR, Bruno. Rethinking readings about the past of school and education between worlds. Aprovado para publicação em 2024, em *Encounters in Theory and History of Education* (CAN).

GALLEGO, Rita de Cassia; VICENTINI, Paula Perin; SILVA, Vivian Batista da. Reimaginar prácticas, tiempos y espacios de la escuela: Proyecto Club de Lectura y Escrita de la Escuela de Aplicación de la Feusp. Artigo aceito pela Revista Historia de la Educación (Universidad de Salamanca), previsto para ser publicado em 2024. Colaboração entre pesquisadoras dos eixos 2 e 4.

GALLEGO, Rita de Cassia; SILVA, Vivian B. da; AMPARO, Patrícia A. Reinvenções de tempos e espaços na escola: o que é possível fazer? Dossiê: Tempos e espaços de formação. Colaboração entre pesquisadoras dos eixos 2 e 4.

# 19. APÊNDICE K: RELATÓRIO ANUAL DE ATIVIDADES DA BOLSISTA PD BRUNA SOARES POLACHINI

FUNDAÇÃO DE AMPARO À PESQUISA DO ESTADO DE SÃO PAULO

RELATÓRIO PARCIAL

**FRONTEIRAS POLÍTICAS E EPISTEMOLÓGICAS: AS OBRAS GRAMATICAIS E O ENSINO DE LÍNGUA PORTUGUESA NA ESCOLA NORMAL DE SÃO PAULO ENTRE 1880 E 1900**

Número do Processo FAPESP: 2020/06753-4

Pesquisador responsável: Carlota Boto

Beneficiário: Bruna Soares Polachini

Vigência: 01/03/2021 a 28/05/2024

Período coberto pelo relatório: 01/03/2022 a 24/05/2024

Relatório científico número 4

São Paulo

2024

Projeto de pós-doutorado: “Fronteiras políticas e epistemológicas: as obras gramaticais e o ensino de língua portuguesa na Escola Normal de São Paulo entre 1880 e 1900”
Pesquisador responsável: Carlota Boto (FE-USP)
Beneficiário: Bruna Soares Polachini
Número do Processo FAPESP: 2020/06753-4

Vinculado ao Projeto Temático: “Saberes e práticas em fronteiras: por uma história transnacional da educação (1810-...)”
Pesquisador Responsável: Diana Gonçalves Vidal (FEUSP e IEB-USP)
Número do Processo FAPESP: 2018/26699-4
Instituição Sede do projeto: Faculdade de Educação e Instituto de Estudos Brasileiros, Universidade de São Paulo (FEUSP/IEB-USP)

## 1 RESUMO DO PROJETO

Tendo já estudado em pesquisas anteriores a produção gramatical de língua portuguesa no Brasil oitocentista, tanto no que diz respeito à dinâmica de suas sucessivas reedições quanto ao arcabouço conceitual escolhido para a descrição linguística (POLACHINI, 2018), propus, neste projeto de pós-doutorado, vinculado ao Projeto Temático *Saberes e práticas em fronteiras: por uma história transnacional da educação (1810-...)* no eixo 1 *Arquivos digitais e bibliotecas: história do livro e da leitura* (VIDAL, BOTO, 2018), investigar um acervo mais específico, a coleção de gramáticas (AUROUX, 2009) e de livros para o ensino de língua portuguesa oitocentistas existente nos acervos das bibliotecas das escolas normais de São Paulo, Rio de Janeiro e Lisboa.

Observo, por um lado, a constituição desse acervo: a seleção de certas obras em detrimento de outras, as características das obras selecionadas e os vestígios a respeito de sua aquisição, seja por meio de documentos acerca da biblioteca ou por elementos presentes no próprio livro, como carimbos. Por outro lado, investigo o currículo da cadeira de língua portuguesa dessas escolas, explorando, sobretudo, a adoção de livros de ensino de língua portuguesa do acervo de suas bibliotecas pelos diversos professores que ministraram essa disciplina nas instituições estudadas.

Vale destacar que, para além das fronteiras de província ou estado e de nação, a segunda metade do século XIX – período estudado – tem fronteiras políticas e epistemológicas, como menciona o título deste projeto. As escolas brasileiras refletem a crise e a transição por que passava a política brasileira, do Império à República (MONARCHA, 1999; ACCÁCIO, 2018). Do ponto de vista dos estudos gramaticais, ocorre nesse período, mais especificamente na década de 1880, a transição de uma gramática mais abstrata, voltada à linguagem como expressão do pensamento, para uma gramática empírica, que via qualquer expressão linguística como passível de história e comparação (POLACHINI, 2018; CAVALIERE, 2022). Essa passagem é evidente nos currículos de língua portuguesa das escolas e se retrata nos acervos das bibliotecas.

Esta pesquisa tem contribuições para duas áreas: a História da Linguística e a História da Educação. Isso se dá porque este estudo dedica-se a textos de descrição linguística de importantes bibliotecas escolares oitocentistas, além de auxiliar no esclarecimento da circulação desses textos no meio escolar e da organização do ensino de língua portuguesa nessas escolas normais.

## 2 REALIZAÇÕES

Nos trinta e nove meses de investigação, considerando três da BEPE, desta pesquisa de pós-doutoramento, foi possível cumprir com o cronograma do projeto e divulgar resultados por meio de um curso de extensão, treze comunicações em congressos nacionais e internacionais e sete artigos publicados ou no prelo em periódicos e livros. Além disso, fui convidada para dar palestras, conferências e aulas em diferentes instituições, participei da organização de livros e de eventos acadêmicos, e me reuni regularmente com cinco grupos de pesquisa. Atuei também como parecerista em periódicos e como parecerista e debatedora em eventos acadêmicos, além de estar presente em bancas de qualificação e defesa de Trabalho de Conclusão de Curso e de Doutorado.

**2.1 Pesquisa**

Os dois primeiros anos desta pesquisa, cujo tema inicialmente se restringia ao ensino de língua portuguesa na Escola Normal de São Paulo no século XIX e o acervo de sua biblioteca, foram atravessados pela pandemia de Covid-19. Inicialmente, a pesquisa foi feita por recursos on-line, como documentação digitalizada, jornais – na Hemeroteca Digital da Fundação Biblioteca Nacional – e livros, teses e artigos. Posteriormente, com a reabertura dos arquivos e bibliotecas, pude coletar documentos no Arquivo Público do Estado de São Paulo e no Centro de Referência em Educação Mario Covas, além de poder consultar presencialmente o Acervo Paulo Bourroul, na Biblioteca da Faculdade de Educação da Universidade de São Paulo.

Em decorrência desse período de investigação, apresentei comunicações em 8 congressos (ver 5.1, 5.2, 5.3, 5.4, 5.5, 5.7, 5.8, 5.9) e publiquei 4 artigos (ver 6.1, 6.2, 6.3, 6.4). Algumas apresentações trataram da relação entre a biblioteca da escola normal e o ensino de português lá realizado no último quartel do século XIX. Pude compreender, por meio das atas da congregação da escola, relatórios anuais de diretores, programas de português e documentos relativos à compra de livros para a biblioteca, que houve, desde 1875, um grande investimento na compra de diversas gramáticas portuguesas, de origem brasileira e portuguesa, para a biblioteca. Então, embora a compra de livros Bourroul em 1883 não tenha considerado a 1a cadeira (PESTANA, 2011), sabemos de um grande número de gramáticas no acervo pelo relatório de Benevides (1884). Pode-se dividir o acervo em três tipos de obras: aquelas que seguiam a gramática filosófica, outras que exploravam a linguística histórico-comparativa, e muitas obras voltadas para a didática da língua, com métodos específicos para seu ensino (ver POLACHINI, 2023).

Quanto às aulas, houve enorme rotatividade de professores entre 1875 e 1883, momento em que se preconizava também o ensino da gramática filosófica a partir da obra de diferentes autores, como Soares Barbosa, Sotero dos Reis e Freire da Silva. O professor Silva Jardim, que lecionou português na escola entre 1883 e 1886, preferia não usar compêndios, mas sabemos pelo seu programa (JARDIM, 1884) que seguia já a nova linguística histórico-comparativa. E, por fim, após 1886, com Júlio Ribeiro de interino e, posteriormente, Carlos Reis e demais professores da década de 1890, vemos a expansão e aprofundamento do estudo dessa abordagem linguística, muitas vezes fundamentada na gramática do próprio Júlio Ribeiro (1881, 1885)[380], sobretudo após a criação de uma segunda cadeira para o ensino de português em 1890.

Houve também nos primeiros 24 meses investigações mais específicas, como a pesquisa sobre a gramática de Aulete e a viagem da obra ao Brasil pelo engenho empresarial do livreiro-editor Nicolau Alves, em que avalio a forma como essa obra portuguesa, de enorme sucesso e apresentada em programas da escola normal paulista, foi apropriada no Brasil. Também, em coautoria com Carolina Mostaro Silva, tratei das apropriações da pedagogia moderna feitas por dois professores da Escola Normal, Silva Jardim, de português, e Passalacqua, de pedagogia. Embora a ideologia defendida por eles fosse oposta e revelasse a polarização vivida no período, há algumas similaridades em sua apropriação da pedagogia moderna. Todas essas apresentações tornaram-se artigos publicados em revistas ou livros. Houve também apresentações que não se tornaram artigos, mas seus resultados estão sendo incorporados em investigações mais recentes, como o estudo historiográfico feito com Alexandre Ribeiro e Silva e o estudo de um caderno do aluno da escola normal paulista.

Os frutos resultantes desses primeiros 24 meses me levaram, no terceiro ano de pesquisa financiado pela FAPESP, a ampliar o objeto da investigação – que era então restrito às gramáticas utilizadas no ensino de língua portuguesa e presentes na biblioteca da escola supracitada. Pois, ao observar a riqueza dessa biblioteca – seja pelas aquisições realizadas no século XIX, de acordo com a documentação, seja pelo acervo Paulo Bourroul hoje presente na FEUSP – no que diz respeito ao livros de ensino de língua portuguesa e de linguística, passei a incluí-los em minha análise. Essa investigação mais recente, cujos resultados ainda não foram esgotados, já levou a uma publicação de capítulo de livro no prelo (ver 7.3), à uma comunicação

[380] Júlio Ribeiro publicou sua gramática em 1881, por ser pioneira na nova linguística, ela foi também muito lida e criticada, o que levou o filólogo a fazer uma edição corrigida e bastante modificada em 1885. Acreditamos, de acordo com os programas de ensino, que na Escola Normal de São Paulo usou-se as edições decorrentes dessa segunda edição a partir de 1886.

a ser realizada em coautoria com Carolina Mostaro (USP) (ver 5.16), a uma comunicação que será apresentada individualmente (ver 5.15) e à preparação de um artigo (ver 7.6).

O artigo no prelo – que será publicado em livro organizado por minha supervisora Profa. Dra. Carlota Boto e terá artigos de pesquisadores do Projeto Temático supracitado, sobretudo do eixo 1 – explora a documentação relativa à catalogação e à aquisição de livros realizada na escola na década de 1880, observando que houve diversos momentos de aquisição de livros, para além da já bastante estudada compra feita na viagem de Paulo Bourroul à França em 1883[381]. Ademais, tratei, de forma original, da presença de importantes livros de linguística na coleção da escola, o que mostra o desejo de se estar na ponta dos estudos desse tipo – algo incomum se colocarmos essa biblioteca em comparação com o que recomendação para os acervos das escolas normais francesas. Na comunicação com Mostaro trataremos da importância da Coleção Paulo Bourroul da FEUSP para nossa pesquisa e suas peculiaridades.

A comunicação individual e o artigo planejado que está em fase inicial de preparação – e por isso não consta no Anexo 3 –, é sobre a tendência histórica que permeia as gramáticas e os livros de literatura nas últimas décadas do século XIX, com especial atenção às coleções das bibliotecas das escolas normais de São Paulo, Rio de Janeiro e Lisboa.

Também no ano de 2023, fui convidada, por Cristina Altman (USP) e Júlia Lourenço (UNESP), para escrever um artigo, em coautoria com meu colega José Bento Cardoso Vidal Neto (CEDOCH-USP), sobre as primeiras autoras de textos linguísticos no Brasil. Como sou especialista no século XIX, me coube tratar das duas primeiras autoras de gramáticas do português no Brasil nesse século, a saber: Adélia Bandeira (1897) e Zillah Maia (1899), Investigação que resultou em um capítulo de livro e em três apresentações em congressos (ver 6.5, 5.10, 5.13, 5.14 e 5.17). Como ambas haviam estudado em escolas normais do Rio de Janeiro, passei a me interessar pelas escolas cariocas e começar a conjecturar uma história comparada.

A Bolsa de Estágio de Pesquisa no Exterior (BEPE, Processo FAPESP n. 2023/07303-0) vinculada ao Instituto de Educação da Universidade de Lisboa sob supervisão do Prof. Dr. António Nóvoa, me permitiu coletar e analisar muito material sobre as escolas normais, feminina e masculina, lisbonenses e a produção gramatical portuguesa. Fiz frequentes visitas ao arquivo e à biblioteca de livro reservados da Escola Superior de Educação de Lisboa, ao

[381] Vale mencionar que a biblioteca da Escola Normal de São Paulo vem sendo estudada por diversos pesquisadores, os quais foram importantes fontes secundárias desta pesquisa e são mencionados nas apresentações de trabalho e artigos publicados, como Carvalho (2007), Pestana (2011), Pereira (2013), Honorato e Nery (2017), Nery (2017), Bittencourt, Silva e Boto (2021), Valdemarin (2022) e Silva (2022; no prelo).

Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo, à Secretaria Geral de Educação e Ciência e à Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal. Além disso, nessa viagem, pude me reunir com diferentes pesquisadores da Universidade de Lisboa, Universidade de Évora e Universidade de Trás-os-Montes e Alto-Douro (para mais detalhes, ver Relatório BEPE no Anexo 2). Fiz também duas viagens de campo ao Rio de Janeiro em agosto de 2023 e abril de 2024, as quais permitiram a coleta de importantes documentos (ver Anexo 1) e, então, que fosse realizada uma história comparada[382] entre o ensino de língua portuguesa em escolas normais de diferentes localidades, a saber, São Paulo, Rio de Janeiro e Lisboa, que eram importantes centros urbanos e educacionais no final do século XIX. Um artigo sobre esta história comparada está em fase final de preparação, sua versão parcial é apresentada no Anexo 3.

Nesse artigo, que mobilizou uma enorme quantidade de documentos e leituras de fontes secundárias, além de realizar o estudo original sobre o ensino de português em três escolas normais no século XIX, a comparação entre elas nos levou a conclusões que dificilmente seriam alcançadas sem esse recurso – o que é esperado no estudo comparativo de acordo com Kocka (2003). Nessa história comparada, pergunto-me: Quais são suas similaridades e diferenças quanto ao ensino e aos livros adotados e/ou o acervo de suas bibliotecas? Como cada escola, no ensino e no acervo da biblioteca, se adaptou à transição nos estudos linguísticos que ocorreu no período? As obras que norteavam os ensinos linguísticos e de língua portuguesa nessas instituições eram as mesmas ou diferentes? É possível encontrar elementos que justifiquem a seleção de algumas obras em detrimento de outras no contexto de cada escola? Quais foram os professores de língua portuguesa nessas escolas? Há similaridades e diferenças em seus posicionamentos? É possível encontrar redes entre eles e as demais instituições? Que redes, fluxos e conexões podem ser encontradas entre essas três escolas no que diz respeito a sujeitos, livros e ideias? E, finalmente, é possível encontrar aspectos peculiares do ensino normal de língua portuguesa em relação a outros níveis de ensino (primário e secundário, por exemplo)? Quais são eles?

Como resultados, foi possível notar semelhanças e diferenças entre o ensino de língua portuguesa nessas instituições. A escola paulista não teve professores autores, a não ser pela breve passagem do famoso gramático Júlio Ribeiro em 1886 como substituto da primeira cadeira. É evidente, porém, que a sua gramática, escrita e publicada em São Paulo era a

[382] A ideia de realizar uma história comparada parece bastante plausível nesse contexto, pois as três escolas comparadas tinham uma base comum quanto ao estudo da língua e ao modelo de ensino normal. A comparação, feita com base em estudos similares anteriores, como Nunes (2001) e Kocka (2003) tem permitido, sobretudo, a identificação de questões não tão facilmente visíveis num estudo particular.

preferida para as aulas de língua portuguesa. A escola carioca, por sua vez, muito próxima ao Colégio Pedro II, era composta por diversos professores que se tornaram importantes autores de compêndios para o ensino do português, como Fausto Barreto, Alfredo Gomes e Hemetério dos Santos. Dessa forma, evidentemente, nota-se na escola a preferência pelos compêndios desses professores e, consequentemente, de origem carioca. Vale mencionar que no Rio de Janeiro havia, tal como em São Paulo, uma tendência teórica no ensino da gramática, voltada para as visão mais moderna da ciência linguística.

Em Lisboa, por outro lado, embora se assemelhe ao Rio de Janeiro pela presença de professores autores, como Caldas Aulete, Luiz de Sousa e Manuel Botelho, seus livros são muito mais voltados para o ensino normal ou em formato apropriado para as aulas primárias, havendo, assim, um menor interesse em estar a par da ciência linguística e um maior relevo aos métodos de ensino. Isso talvez seja consequência de haver então na cidade de Lisboa o Curso Superior de Letras, em que Adolfo Coelho seria responsável pela introdução da linguística científica.

Ao longo dos três anos de pesquisa, foi possível também me engajar em artigos e conferências paralelos e relacionados à investigação principal. Assim, estudei a trajetória da Livraria Clássica de Nicolau Alves por meio de anúncios de jornal no Rio de Janeiro oitocentista e também a vida e obra de duas professoras e autoras de gramáticas no Rio de Janeiro do final do século XIX e início do XX, que se formaram em escolas normais. Os resultados dessas pesquisas foram apresentados em congressos (ver 5.6, 5.10, 5.12, 5.14, 5.16) e artigos (ver 6.5 e 7.1). Estudei também as características pedagógicas da gramática brasileira, em artigo submetido em avaliação (ver 7.4), e fui convidada a publicar um texto sobre a noção de verbo nessa tradição em um livro (ver 7.2). Os resultados da pesquisa, de forma geral, também são abordados em aulas ministradas em cursos de pós-graduação neste semestre (ver 2.5.3 e 2.5.4).

Os resultados obtidos até esse momento me incentivam a propor um novo desdobramento dessa investigação sobre a trajetória profissional e a formação de grupos e redes de sociabilidade de professores de língua portuguesa das escolas normais de São Paulo e do Rio de Janeiro nas últimas décadas do século XIX, o qual está detalhado no Plano de Trabalho e está relacionado à orientação de Iniciação Científica que iniciarei no 2° semestre de 2024 como pós-doutoranda na FEUSP (ver 2.9).

**2.2 Curso de extensão**

Entre agosto e novembro de 2021, eu e integrantes do GEFHIPE (Grupo de Estudos de Filosofia e História das Ideias Pedagógicas) da FE-USP, coordenado por Carlota Boto, organizamos e ministramos o curso de extensão *Leitura e escrita sob a clivagem da história: cenários e perspectivas* na FE-USP, o qual contou com 16 aulas de 2 horas relativas à história das práticas da leitura. Ministrei duas aulas em parceria com duas colegas de pesquisa.

- 13/10/21: A leitura do manual didático e a alfabetização - Bruna Polachini e Nathália Guirao
- 3/11/21: Leitura e/ou escrita na gramática escolar e no ensino de literatura – Bruna Polachini e Júlia Giardino

**2.3 Comunicações realizadas e programadas:**

Foram realizadas 13 comunicações em eventos nacionais e internacionais e há 3 comunicações a serem realizadas no decorrer de 2024. Para lista detalhada, ver item 5.

**2.4 Artigos publicados, no prelo, submetidos e em preparação:**

Foram publicados 3 artigos em periódicos, 2 como capítulos de livro, além de 3 no prelo, e 1 artigo submetido. Há ainda 2 artigos em preparação. Para mais detalhes, ver itens 6 e 7.

**2.5 Conferências, palestras e aulas**

1. Palestra “Por que conhecer a Historiografia Linguística?” no dia 27 de junho de 2023, promovida pelo programa Letras Debate na Faculdade de Letras da Universidade Federal de Minas Gerais. Disponível em: https://www.youtube.com/live/_cMFEB9oDfc?si=H-LJclvOSvR10TcH
2. Conferência “A história da gramática brasileira pelo acervo da Fundação Biblioteca Nacional”, no dia 15 de abril de 2024 na Fundação Biblioteca Nacional, no Rio de Janeiro. Disponível em: https://www.youtube.com/live/F3FvG3YVTw0?si=DN5CtUh5iPg3HsTp
3. Conferência “A metodologia da historiografia linguística aplicada à história da gramática brasileira oitocentista” no dia 15 de maio de 2024, na disciplina *História das Ciências da Linguagem,* oferecida pelo Programa de Pós-graduação em Linguística da Universidade Federal de Juiz de Fora, ministrada por Fernando Adão de Sá Freitas (UFJF) e Alessandro Beccari (UNESP).
4. Aula “O *gênero* e a *educação* como categorias nos estudos da Historiografia Linguística” a ser oferecida em 4 de junho de 2024 na disciplina *Historiografia Linguística e História Transatlântica*, oferecida pelo Programa de Pós-graduação em

Semiótica e Linguística Geral da Universidade de São Paulo, ministrada por Olga Ferreira Coelho Sansone (USP) e Wellington Santos da Silva (UFRJ).

**2.6 Organização de livros**

1. RIBEIRO, Cintya et al. (Orgs.) *Pesquisas caleidoscópicas: modos de ver e criar*. Universidade de São Paulo. Faculdade de Educação, 2023. DOI: https://doi.org/10.11606/9786587047515 Disponível em: www.livrosabertos.abcd.usp.br/portaldelivrosUSP/catalog/book/1064 Acesso em 20 março. 2024.
2. MOSTARO, C.; POLACHINI, B.; MOURÃO, R. (Orgs.) *Saberes em circulação: histórias transnacionais da educação*. No prelo.

**2.7 Organização de eventos acadêmicos**

1. **XIII MiniEnapol de Historiografia Linguística**, na FFLCH, USP. Evento completamente on-line, devido à pandemia de Covid-19. Foram realizadas comunicações e palestras acerca da história da linguística em 7 dias de evento em outubro de 2021.

2. **XI Simpósio de Pós-doutorandos** da Faculdade de Educação da USP - Pesquisas caleidoscópicas: modos de ver e criar. Evento em que todos os pós-doutorandos da FE-USP apresentaram suas pesquisas.

3. **Seminário Escola, pesquisa e mundo digital pós-pandemia: desafios e perspectivas**, ocorrido entre 19 e 23 de setembro de 2022 na FEUSP. Evento de conferências e mesas redondas com grandes pesquisadores, como António Nóvoa, Roger Chartier, Anne-Marie Chartier, Maria Lúcia Pallares-Burke, Elie Ghanem, entre outros.

4. **XIV MiniEnapol de Historiografia Linguística**, na FFLCH, USP. Evento completamente on-line. Foram realizadas comunicações e palestras acerca da história da linguística com participantes de diversas partes do Brasil e de diferentes países em 5 dias de evento entre 25 de outubro e 16 de novembro de 2022.

5. **Seminário Internacional Desafios e Reinvenções da Escola Pública** ocorrido entre 18 e 22 de setembro de 2023 na FEUSP. Evento de conferências e mesas redondas com grandes pesquisadores acerca da escola pública.

6. **Escola e Universidade: histórias e trajetórias** evento on-line, organizado pelo GEFHIPE, a ocorrer entre 4 e 25 de setembro de 2024, sempre às quartas-feiras à noite. Serão mesas redondas com pesquisadores renomados sobre os temas os 90 anos da USP, os 100 anos da ABE, a formação de professores na USP e a Escola Nova.

**2.8 Reuniões de pesquisa**

1. **GEFHIPE (FE-USP)**
   Do início de 2021 até hoje, participei das reuniões quinzenais do GEFHIPE (Grupo de Estudos de Filosofia e História das Ideias Pedagógicas da FE-USP). As reuniões são discussões sobre textos da história e filosofia da educação, discussão sobre as pesquisas de seus integrantes e organização de eventos acadêmicos.
2. **CEDOCH (FFLCH-USP)**

Do início de 2021 até hoje, participei das reuniões mensais do CEDOCH (Centro de Documentação em Historiografia Linguística da FFLCH-USP). As reuniões são discussões sobre textos de filosofia, história da ciência e historiografia linguística, discussão sobre as pesquisas de seus integrantes e organização de eventos acadêmicos.

3. **Projeto Temático FAPESP (FE-USP e IEB-USP)**

Participei das três últimas reuniões anuais (2021, 2022 e 2023) do Projeto Temático FAPESP *Saberes e práticas em fronteiras: por uma história transnacional da educação (1810-...),* ao qual este projeto é vinculado. Nelas foram expostas as realizações dos quatro eixos do projeto e debatido o planejamento para o ano seguinte. Na reunião de 2023 tivemos também um congresso aberto, no qual apresentei uma comunicação (ver 6.8). Teremos uma nova reunião entre 27 e 29 de maio de 2024.

4. **A gramatização no Brasil: língua e construção da nacionalidade: 1820 a 1930 (Fundação Biblioteca Nacional)**

Este grupo discute a coleção lexicográfica e gramatical presente no acervo da Fundação Biblioteca Nacional a fim de preservar esses materiais, gerar discussões em eventos públicos e, finalmente, publicar um dossiê a respeito deles no site da FBN. Em abril de 2024, apresentarei uma conferência no evento público sobre este projeto (ver 2.5.2).

5. **Projeto 31: Gênero e Historiografia das Ciências da Linguagem: Américas (Associação de Linguística e Filologia da América Latina, ALFAL)**
   Este grupo de pesquisa – que conta com pesquisadores brasileiros, argentinos, chilenos, espanhóis e portugueses – teve sua primeira reunião científica em janeiro de 2024 na

Universidade de Concepción, no Chile. No fim dessa reunião, tornei-me coordenadora do Projeto junto com Cristina Altman (USP) e Julia Lourenço (USP). Teremos novas reuniões em 2025, em Granada, na Espanha, e em São Paulo. Alguns dos participantes do grupo são autores no livro "Feminino em Historiografia Linguística: Américas - Volume 1", organizado por Cristina Altman e Julia Lourenço (Campinas, SP: Pontes, 2023).

**2.9 Orientação de Iniciação Científica**

No segundo semestre de 2024, iniciarei a orientação de Iniciação Científica da aluna Maria Laura Vieira de Castro, do 2° ano do curso de Letras (FFLCH/USP). Seu trabalho, da área de História da Educação, versará sobre a representação de professores negros de língua portuguesa nos jornais cariocas na virada do século XIX para o XX.

**2.10 Participação em bancas**

1. Titular em banca de Trabalho de Conclusão de Curso *Os livros didáticos e a leitura nas aulas de Português do secundário brasileiro (1940-1986)* de Júlia Giardino (FEUSP), orientado por Profa. Dra. Carlota Boto (FEUSP). A banca, ocorrida em 8 de agosto de 2022, foi composta também pela Profa. Dra. Circe Bittencourt (FEUSP) e Profa. Dra. Marcia Razzini.
2. Suplente em banca de defesa de tese de doutorado *O tratamento da (im)polidez em gramáticas da língua japonesa escritas por estrangeiros entre os séculos XVI e XIX* de Olivia Yumi Nakaema (FFLCH-USP), orientada pela Profa. Dra. Olga Coelho (FFLCH-USP), ocorrida em 3 de outubro de 2022.
3. Titular em banca de defesa de tese de doutorado *Conservação e mudança na descrição das partes do discurso da língua japonesa por Portugueses, Espanhóis e Franceses (1543-1856)* de Rodrygo Yoshiyuki Tanaka, orientada pela Profa. Dra. Olga Coelho (FFLCH-USP), ocorrida em 12 de dezembro de 2022.
4. Titular em banca de qualificação de tese de doutorado *Os registros de identidade nos dicionários de língua portuguesa: proposta de uma história conceitual para o tempo presente* de Renato de Araújo Monteiro, orientado pelo Prof. Dr. Ronaldo Bonaldo (UFSC), ocorrida em 21 de junho de 2023.
5. Titular em banca de defesa da tese de doutorado *Os registros de identidade nos dicionários de língua portuguesa: proposta de uma história conceitual para o tempo*

*presente* de Renato de Araújo Monteiro, orientado pelo Prof. Dr. Rodrigo Bonaldo (UFSC), a ocorrer em 27 de maio de 2024.

6. Suplente em banca de qualificação do mestrado *Estudo dos manuais de linguística mais utilizados no Brasil entre 1990 e 2010* de Pedro Henrique Camargo Freire, orientado pela Profa. Dra. Olga Ferreira Coelho Sansone, a ocorrer em maio de 2024.
7. Titular em banca de qualificação do mestrado *A pesquisa em ensino de morfossintaxe no Brasil: uma historiografia a partir de teses e dissertações publicadas entre 1970 e 2020* de Camila Carneiro dos Santos da Silva, orientado pela Profa. Dra. Olga Ferreira Coelho Sansone, a ocorrer no dia 19 de junho de 2024.

**2.11 Participação como parecerista, debatedora e avaliadora em eventos científicos**

1. Parecerista de resumos e debatedora em três edições do ENAPOL (Encontro de Alunos de Pós-graduação em Linguística da Universidade de São Paulo) em 2021, 2022 e 2023.
2. Avaliadora no SIICUSP (Simpósio Internacional de Iniciação Científica e Tecnológica da USP) em 2021 e 2022.
3. Comissão científica das edições de 2021, 2022 e 2023 do MiniENAPOL Historiografia Linguística da Universidade de São Paulo e parecerista dos resumos enviados para participação no evento.

**2.12 Parecerista em periódicos**

Realizei pareceres *ad hoc* em três periódicos: *Educação e Pesquisa* (FE-USP), *Revista da ABRALIN (Associação Brasileira de Linguística)*, *Diacrítica* (Universidade do Minho, Portugal).

3 PLANO DE GESTÃO DE DADOS

Os artigos publicados durante essa pesquisa são disponibilizados digitalmente tanto no site dos periódicos ou e-books em que forem publicados como no site do Projeto Temático ao qual ele é vinculado (a saber: https://sites.usp.br/educacaoemfronteiras/).

Algumas gramáticas oitocentistas do acervo Paulo Bourroul foram digitalizadas e, por estarem em domínio público, poderão ser disponibilizadas em site acadêmico. Também foram digitalizadas diversas gramáticas do acervo da Biblioteca Nacional, as quais devem ir para bancos de dados on-line em sites como do CEDOCH-USP (https://cedoch.fflch.usp.br/)

## 4 PLANO DE ATIVIDADES

Como estou no final do período de concessão da bolsa, ver o Plano de Trabalho referente à Solicitação de Mudança 006 - Renovação de Bolsa.

## 5 PARTICIPAÇÃO EM EVENTO CIENTÍFICO

1. *coleção de obras gramaticais da biblioteca da Escola Normal de São Paulo (1875-1900)* no 31° Simpósio Nacional da ANPUH (Associação Nacional de História), em julho de 2021.
2. *A sala de aula no texto gramatical: análise de duas edições da* Grammatica Nacional*, de Caldas Aulete (1864, 1885)*, no XIII MiniEnapol de Historiografia Linguística, em outubro de 2021.
3. *Estratégias didáticas em gramáticas portuguesas oitocentistas do acervo biblioteca da Escola Normal de São Paulo*, no XI Simpósio de pós-doutorado da FE-USP - Pesquisas Caleidoscópicas: modos de ver e criar, em novembro de 2021.
4. *Pedagogias em disputa: Silva Jardim e Camillo Passalacqua na Escola Normal de São Paulo (1884/1887)*, em co-autoria com Carolina Mostaro, no XI CBHE (Congresso Brasileiro de História da Educação), em julho de 2022.
5. *O século XIX na Revista Brasileira de História de Educação: balanço historiográfico (2001-2021)*, em co-autoria com Alexandre Ribeiro e Silva, no XI CBHE (Congresso Brasileiro de História da Educação), em julho de 2022.
6. *The construction of the image of a bookstore in 19th century Rio de Janeiro: circulation of textbooks*, no ISCHE 43 (International Standing Conference for the History of Education), em setembro de 2022.
7. *O caderno de Norberto (1902): o ensino de história da língua portuguesa na Escola Normal de São Paulo na virada do século*, no XIV MiniEnapol de Historiografia Linguística, em outubro de 2022.
8. *As gramáticas oitocentistas da Biblioteca da Escola Normal de São Paulo.* Mesa 3 - Arquivos digitais e bibliotecas: história do livro e da leitura. Congresso do Projeto Temático Saberes e práticas em fronteiras: por uma história transnacional da educação (1810-...), em março de 2023.
9. *Apropriações da pedagogia moderna na Escola Normal de São Paulo: Silva Jardim e Camillo Passalacqua (1884 a 1887)* em coautoria com Carolina Mostaro. Grupo de Trabalho 06: Formação De Professores e Práticas Docentes no 1º Congresso Internacional Multidisciplinar sobre Educação, em abril de 2023.

10. *As duas primeiras gramáticas de autoria feminina no Brasil: Bandeira (1897) e Maia (1899).* 69° Seminário do Grupo de Estudos Linguísticos do Estado de São Paulo, em julho de 2023.

11. *A didatização da gramática de língua portuguesa no século XIX: alguns exemplos*. Simpósio 'Historiografia linguística: o papel explicativo do contexto na criação, desenvolvimento e difusão de conceitos linguísticos'. 69° Seminário do Grupo de Estudos Linguísticos do Estado de São Paulo, em julho de 2023

12. *Uma nova história serial da gramaticografia brasileira de língua portuguesa*. Encontro de pós-graduandos em Historiografia Linguística promovido pelo CEDOCH-USP. Evento on-line em novembro de 2023.

13. *Duas gramáticas de autoria feminina no Brasil oitocentista: Bandeira (1897) e Maia (1899).* Projeto 31 – Gênero e Ciências da Linguagem: Américas. XX Congresso Internacional da Associação de Linguística e Filologia da América Latina (ALFAL). A acontecer em janeiro de 2024.

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4. POLACHINI, B.; BOTO, C. “Estratégias didáticas em gramáticas portuguesas oitocentistas do acervo biblioteca da Escola Normal de São Paulo.” In: RIBEIRO, Cintya et al. (Orgs.) *Pesquisas caleidoscópicas: modos de ver e criar*. Universidade de São Paulo. Faculdade de Educação, 2023. DOI: https://doi.org/10.11606/9786587047515 Disponível em: www.livrosabertos.abcd.usp.br/portaldelivrosUSP/catalog/book/1064 Acesso em 20 março 2024.

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2. POLACHINI, B. “Uma classe de palavra mutável: sobre o verbo na gramaticografia brasileira oitocentista.” In: ANJOS, M. (Org.) *Instrumentos Linguísticos (Gramáticas) em uma perspectiva historiográfica*. No prelo. ISBN 2024 – 978-85-217-0340-2

3. POLACHINI, B. “Os mais modernos livros da linguística oitocentista na biblioteca da Escola Normal de São Paulo” In: BOTO, C. (Org.). *Biblioteca, livros e leituras sob clivagem transnacional.* No prelo.

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5. POLACHINI, B. “Uma história comparada do ensino de língua portuguesa em escolas normais oitocentistas: São Paulo, Rio de Janeiro e Lisboa”. Em preparação.

6. POLACHINI, B. “Uma inclinação à história: as gramáticas e antologias para ensino de português no século XIX no Brasil e em Portugal”. Em preparação.

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ANEXO 1 - Fontes coletadas no Rio de Janeiro e em Lisboa

**Rio de Janeiro**

***Centro de Memória da Educação Brasileira do Instituto Superior de Educação do Rio de Janeiro***

*Programas de ensino*

- Programa de exame de português da segunda série da Escola Normal da Corte de 1888, por Fausto Carlos Barreto
- Programa de Português - segunda série 1890, por B. P. Lameira de Andrade
- Programas de ensino para o ano letivo de 1894 de acordo com o Regulamento de 22/8/1893,
- Programa de ensino - Escola Normal de 1899
- Programa de ensino de 1902
- Programa de ensino de 1903

Biblioteca

- Livro de registro de aquisições da biblioteca - Jul/1893 a 1897.
- Recibos de compras de livros de 1886 a 1900

***Hemeroteca Digital da Fundação Biblioteca Nacional***

*Programas*

Programma do ensino da Escola Normal da Côrte - 1888

*Relatórios*

Brasil. Ministério do Império : Relatorio da Repartição dos Negocios do Imperio (RJ) - 1881 - Relatório por Carlos Maximiano Pimenta de Laet

Brasil. Ministério do Império : Relatorio da Repartição dos Negocios do Imperio (RJ) - 1882 - Relatório por Dr. Affonso Carlos Moreira

Brasil. Ministério do Império : Relatorio da Repartição dos Negocios do Imperio (RJ) - 1883 - Relatório por J. Borges Carneiro

Brasil. Ministério do Império : Relatorio da Repartição dos Negocios do Imperio (RJ) - 1884 - Relatório por Paulino Martins Pacheco

Brasil. Ministério do Império : Relatorio da Repartição dos Negocios do Imperio (RJ) - 1885 - Relatório por Manoel Cyridião Buarque

*Anuários com lista de docentes da escola*

Almanak Administrativo, Mercantil e Industrial do Rio de Janeiro (RJ) - 1874

Almanak Administrativo, Mercantil e Industrial do Rio de Janeiro (RJ) - 1875
Almanak Administrativo, Mercantil e Industrial do Rio de Janeiro (RJ) - 1880
Almanak Administrativo, Mercantil e Industrial do Rio de Janeiro (RJ) - 1884
Almanak Administrativo, Mercantil e Industrial do Rio de Janeiro (RJ) - 1885
Almanak Laemmert: Administrativo, Mercantil e Industrial (RJ) - 1891
Almanak Laemmert: Administrativo, Mercantil e Industrial (RJ) - 1892
Almanak Laemmert: Administrativo, Mercantil e Industrial (RJ) - 1891
Almanak Laemmert: Administrativo, Mercantil e Industrial (RJ) - 1893
Almanak Laemmert: Administrativo, Mercantil e Industrial (RJ) - 1894
Almanak Laemmert: Administrativo, Mercantil e Industrial (RJ) - 1895
Almanak Laemmert: Administrativo, Mercantil e Industrial (RJ) - 1896
Almanak Laemmert: Administrativo, Mercantil e Industrial (RJ) - 1897
Almanak Laemmert: Administrativo, Mercantil e Industrial (RJ) - 1898
Almanak Laemmert: Administrativo, Mercantil e Industrial (RJ) - 1899
Almanak Laemmert: Administrativo, Mercantil e Industrial (RJ) - 1900

*Regulamentos*
Regulamento da Escola Normal da Corte de 1881 - Jornal do Commercio - 13/2/1881

**Arquivo Nacional**
Fundo/Coleção 93 - Série Educação - Ensino Primário (IE5)
IE5 - 28 - Ministério do Império - Escola Normal da Côrte, Ofícios do Diretor, Projeto de Regulamento (1880-1881)
IE5 - 29 - Ministério do Império - Escola Normal da Côrte, Ofícios do Diretor (1882)
IE5 - 30 - Ministério do Império - Escola Normal da Côrte, Ofícios do Diretor (1883-1884)
IE5 - 31 - Ministério do Império - Escola Normal da Côrte, Ofícios do Diretor (1885-1886)
IE5 - 32 - Ministério do Império - Escola Normal da Côrte, Ofícios do Diretor (1887)
IE5 - 33 - Ministério do Império - Escola Normal da Côrte, Ofícios do Diretor (1888 até 15 de novembro de 1889)
IE5 - 34 - Ministério da Instrução Pública - Correios e Telégrafos, Escola Normal da Capital, Ofícios do Diretor (29 de maio de 1890 - 1891)
IE5 - 35 - Ministério da Instrução Pública - Correios e Telégrafos, Escola Normal da Capital, Ofícios do Diretor (1892)

IE5 - 36 - Ministério do Império - Escola Normal da Côrte, Regulamento das Escolas Normais Primárias (1876)

IE5 - 57 - Ministério do Interior - Escola Normal da Capital, Ofícios do Diretor (16 de novembro de 1889 a abril de 1890)

IE5 - 58 - Ministério do Império - Escola Normal da Côrte, Concurso para o lugar de professor (1881)

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**Livros *Casa de Rui Barbosa***

BRITO, Paulino. *grammatica primaria da lingua portugueza para uso das escolas*. 6a edição melhorada e correcta. Belém: Livraria Escolar, s.d.

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**Lisboa**

*Ver lista apresentada no Anexo 2 - Relatório da BEPE.*

ANEXO 2 - Relatório da BEPE e avaliação do supervisor no exterior

FUNDAÇÃO DE AMPARO À PESQUISA DO ESTADO DE SÃO PAULO

RELATÓRIO CIENTÍFICO DA BEPE

# SÃO PAULO, RIO DE JANEIRO E LISBOA: UMA HISTÓRIA COMPARADA DO ENSINO DE PORTUGUÊS EM ESCOLAS NORMAIS NO SÉCULO XIX

Número do Processo FAPESP: 2023/07303-0
Bruna Soares Polachini (FEUSP)
Supervisora no Brasil: Carlota Boto (FEUSP)
Supervisor no exterior: António Nóvoa (Universidade de Lisboa)
Instituição onde foi realizado o estágio de pesquisa: Universidade de Lisboa

Vigência: 09/10/2023 a 06/01/2024

São Paulo
Janeiro de 2024

Vinculado ao Projeto de pós-doutorado no país: “Fronteiras políticas e epistemológicas: as obras gramaticais e o ensino de língua portuguesa na Escola Normal de São Paulo entre 1880 e 1900”
Pesquisador responsável: Carlota Boto (FE-USP)
Beneficiário: Bruna Soares Polachini
Número do Processo FAPESP: 2020/06753-4

Vinculado ao Projeto Temático: “Saberes e práticas em fronteiras: por uma história transnacional da educação (1810-...)”
Pesquisador Responsável: Diana Gonçalves Vidal (FEUSP e IEB-USP)
Número do Processo FAPESP: 2018/26699-4
Instituição Sede do projeto: Faculdade de Educação e Instituto de Estudos Brasileiros, Universidade de São Paulo (FEUSP/IEB-USP)

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## 1 RESUMO DO PROJETO

Em dois anos e meio de pesquisa de pós-doutorado no Brasil[383], financiada pela FAPESP (Fundação de Amparo à Pesquisa do Estado de São Paulo) na Faculdade de Educação da Universidade de São Paulo, examinei como se dava o ensino de língua portuguesa na Escola Normal de São Paulo e, posteriormente, na Escola Normal do Rio de Janeiro durante os oitocentos e o acervo de obras sobre a língua portuguesa ou linguística presentes em suas respectivas bibliotecas. Essa investigação, que ocorre no âmbito do Projeto Temático FAPESP *Saberes e práticas em fronteiras*: por uma história transnacional da educação (1810-...), coordenado por Diana Vidal (FE-USP e IEB-USP) e Carlota Boto (FE-USP), me levou a conhecer os professores que passaram pelas instituições, seus programas de ensino, os livros adotados no currículo e também o acervo relacionado a essa disciplina em suas bibliotecas.

A fim de ampliar a comparação acerca do ensino de língua portuguesa para além dos limites das fronteiras brasileiras, o objetivo desta pesquisa era investigar como se deu o ensino de língua portuguesa na Escola Normal de Lisboa nos oitocentos. Em particular, utilizo nesta investigação o conceito mobilizado por Nóvoa de *comunidade da língua portuguesa* para tratar da história da educação em três nações: Brasil, Portugal e Moçambique[384]. Com isso, sigo uma perspectiva da história transnacional, ao desafiar o nacionalismo metodológico enquanto me aproximo de uma comunidade imaginada (NÓVOA, 2001; NÓVOA et al., 2002; CARVALHO, 2007.; VERA, FUCHS, 2021).

Para tanto, objetivou-se recolher e interpretar documentos da escola, além de, em bibliotecas locais e na biblioteca do Instituto de Educação da Universidade de Lisboa, acessar à bibliografia especializada acerca do ensino de língua materna na escola normal lisbonense durante o século XIX, sob a supervisão e orientação do Prof. Dr. António Nóvoa, especialista em história da educação portuguesa e mundial.

Em suma, busco com esta investigação particular aprimorar e aprofundar o trabalho histórico, acerca do ensino de português no século XIX, já realizado sobre a Escola Normal de São Paulo e a Escola Normal do Rio de Janeiro com a comparação e procura de redes e conexões com a escola de Lisboa, outra instituição representativa do período, todas da comunidade da língua

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[383] Esta investigação de pós-doutoramento é resultante do conhecimento adquirido em minhas pesquisas anteriores de Mestrado e Doutorado em Letras com especialização em Linguística, realizadas na Faculdade de Filosofia, Letras e Ciências Humanas da Universidade de São Paulo, as quais trataram da produção e circulação de gramáticas de língua portuguesa no Brasil (POLACHINI, 2013; 2018).

[384] Selecionei apenas as Brasil e Portugal para esta pesquisa, porém, pois, de acordo com Matavele, Roldão e Costa (2019), não houve ensino normal em Moçambique no século XIX.

portuguesa. Por um lado, haverá um estudo original, ainda não realizado, acerca do ensino de língua portuguesa na escola lisbonense – pois, embora haja ampla bibliografia acerca da história dessa e demais escolas normais portuguesas, pouco se falou sobre, especificamente, o ensino de língua portuguesa lá realizado (NÓVOA, 1987; PINHEIRO, 1990; PINTASSILGO & SERRAZINA, 2009; PINTASSILGO et al., 2012; PINTASSILGO & MOGARRO, 2015).
A comparação, ademais, ao examinar um mesmo problema em realidades histórico-sociais distintas, permite gerar insights relevantes e ver elementos que estavam num ponto cego do estudo dirigido a um único contexto. Também, a busca por redes é de grande valia não somente para o conhecimento específico das trajetórias do ensino de português em escolas normais, mas oferece elementos para compreensão dos fluxos entre as instituições e locais estudados.
Como se verá adiante, nas seções 2 e 3, o foco da investigação nos três meses de em que realizei o pós-doutoramento no Instituto de Educação da Universidade de Lisboa esteve na recolha e interpretação de documentos das escolas normais lisbonenses (para o sexo masculino e para o sexo feminino), além da leitura de bibliografia especializada, para a compreensão de como era o ensino de língua portuguesa nessas instituições entre 1862 e 1900, considerando os programas, seus professores e os livros associados. A comparação e a busca de redes entre as escolas – paulista, carioca e lisbonense – se dará futuramente, como resultado dessa pesquisa centralizada na escola portuguesa.

## 2 REALIZAÇÕES

Nesta seção, são abordadas as atividades realizadas para chegar aos resultados da pesquisa (item 3), as quais são divididas em duas subseções. A primeira é relativa à coleta de fontes primárias e secundárias, as quais são de difícil acesso ou sequer estão disponíveis no Brasil. A segunda diz respeito a encontros realizados com professores e pesquisadores portugueses, cujas investigações e publicações são relevantes para este projeto – e são amplamente abordados na bibliografia dos resultados deste trabalho (ver item 3).

### 2.1 Coleta de fontes primárias e secundárias

Durante o estágio de pesquisa no exterior, foi possível realizar a coleta, por meio de digitalização, e leitura de documentos e bibliografias essenciais para a investigação pretendida. Como o estágio de pesquisa em Lisboa foi de apenas 3 meses, não pude ler o conjunto total das fontes e bibliografias encontradas, em razão disso, todas foram digitalizadas para posterior

leitura ou releitura. A lista completa dos materiais digitalizados é apresentada no Anexo I. As fontes primárias e secundárias de minha pesquisa foram acessadas em diferentes locais, os quais descrevo adiante.

No Arquivo da Escola Superior de Educação de Lisboa (ESELx), que explorei com auxílio do Prof. Dr. Nuno Ferreira, está o núcleo da documentação oitocentista das escolas normais de Lisboa: livros de atas do conselho, livros de correspondência, atas de exames, entre outros. Os documentos não recobrem, porém, de maneira uniforme todo o período estudado (1862-1900), havendo, dessa forma, algumas lacunas – já mencionadas por outros pesquisadores da escola (PINTASSILGO & PEDRO, 2009). Por exemplo, há somente as atas dos conselhos da escola masculina referente aos anos de 1864 a 1866 e 1895 a 1900, além disso, a maior parte da documentação se refere à escola masculina, em detrimento da feminina.

No Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo, há também documentos sobre essas escolas, mas de natureza diferente. Em sua maioria tratam de candidaturas de alunos pensionistas, notas de alunos da escola e seus exames. Foram de especial interesse para esta investigação os exames dos alunos, visto que neles se conhece os pontos exigidos para o ensino de língua portuguesa, com o qual se pode inferir, parcialmente, o que era ensinado na escola e, então, esperado no momento da avaliação. Essa documentação recobre especialmente o período entre 1869 e 1882, havendo lá mais documentação referente à escola feminina, em detrimento da masculina.

Nos dois arquivos supracitados, além de informações sobre o ensino de português nas escolas, obtive também dados a respeito dos livros comprados para a escola e/ou que faziam parte de sua biblioteca, sobretudo por meio de recibos de compra. A melhor evidência, porém, que temos sobre os livros das bibliotecas dessas escolas são o acervo de reservados da Biblioteca Moreirinhas Pinheiros da Escola Superior de Educação de Lisboa (ESELx) e o acervo da Secretaria-Geral de Educação e Ciência (SGEC), onde estão diversos livros que fizeram parte das bibliotecas das escolas nos oitocentos – dos quais digitalizei aqueles relacionados ao ensino de língua portuguesa (Anexo I).

Ademais, no arquivo e na biblioteca da ESELx pude acessar, com auxílio do Prof. Dr. Nuno Ferreira e do bibliotecário Rui Teófilo, uma série de estudos sobre a Escola Normal de Lisboa. Todos produzidos pelo saudoso pesquisador e professor Moreirinhas Pinheiro (1976, 1990, 1997, 2009), além de importantes livros escritos ou organizados por Joaquim Pintassilgo (2012; PINTASSILGO & SERRAZINA, 2009).

Além desses, a Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal, evidentemente, é importantíssimo local de investigação, por abrigar um imenso acervo de obras oitocentistas sobre a língua portuguesa, periódicos e documentos da época, além de ampla bibliografia sobre a história da educação,

história da linguística e história do livro, que são fundamentais para a compreensão do problema investigado. Lá digitalizei, especialmente, textos oitocentistas para ensino de língua portuguesa, livros ou periódicos que tratassem do ensino normal do período estudado e anuários que listam os professores da escola anualmente (a partir de 1880). Pude também acessar ampla bibliografia a que não teria acesso no Brasil, cujas partes mais relevantes digitalizei para reler em meu retorno.

Finalmente, uma importante fonte para a pesquisa é o jornal Diário do Governo, que em certos períodos teve outros nomes, como Diário de Lisboa, o qual está totalmente digitalizado e disponível on-line (ver site: https://digigov.cepese.pt/).

**2.2 Reuniões científicas**

Além da leitura e recolha de fontes, o estágio permitiu que se iniciassem diálogos com pesquisadores portugueses. O supervisor deste estágio no Instituto de Educação da Universidade de Lisboa, Prof. Dr. António Nóvoa, apresentou-me a três professores do mesmo instituto, pesquisadores da história da educação em Portugal, cujos temas de pesquisa se entrelaçam com os meus.

O primeiro deles foi o Prof. Dr. Joaquim Pintassilgo, organizador de importantes livros da bibliografia fundamental sobre as escolas normais de Lisboa (PINTASSILGO & SERRAZINA, 2009; PINTASSILGO, 2012). Após uma reunião em que apresentei minha investigação a ele, me convidou para apresentá-la ao seu grupo de pesquisa, constituído de mestrandos, doutorandos e pós-doutorandos, os quais fizeram comentários e sugestões à pesquisa. Além disso, ofereceu-me textos sobre a história da educação portuguesa muito úteis à investigação.

Em seguida, encontrei-me com o Prof. Dr. Justino Magalhães, professor já aposentado do Instituto de Educação da Universidade de Lisboa, cujo livro "O Mural do Tempo" (MAGALHÃES, 2011), em que trata da produção e circulação de manuais escolares em Portugal, é bibliografia fundamental para o entendimento do ensino de língua portuguesa em Lisboa no século XIX. O professor ofereceu-me ainda informações relevantes sobre como compreender a circulação dos livros para o ensino de língua portuguesa, além de permitir que eu digitalizasse fontes importantes para o meu trabalho presentes em sua biblioteca particular.

Finalmente, reuni-me com a Prof. Dra. Maria João Mogarro, autora de diversos artigos sobre as escolas normais de lisboa, que gentilmente me ofereceu uma importante contextualização do ensino primário, secundário e superior em Lisboa na segunda metade do século XIX, dando

especial atenção à figura de Francisco Adolfo Coelho, que, embora não tenha sido professor da Escola Normal de Lisboa, era um importante pedagogo e filólogo do período. Além disso, Mogarro foi orientadora do mestrado de Isabel Sanches, bibliotecária que trata do trânsito dos livros das escolas normais lisbonenses para a Biblioteca do Museu do Ensino Primário que hoje é abrigada, como mencionei anteriormente, na Secretaria-Geral de Educação e Ciência.

Por recomendação de minha orientadora de mestrado e doutorado, Profa. Dra. Olga Coelho (FFLCH/USP), visitei ainda a Profa. Dra. Maria Filomena Gonçalves, na Universidade de Évora, e o Prof. Dr. Gonçalo Fernandes, na Universidade de Trás-os-montes e Alto Douro (UTAD). Isso porque ambos trabalham com a história das gramáticas e outros materiais de ensino de língua portuguesa de Portugal e do Brasil.

Os artigos da Profa. Maria Filomena Gonçalves são muitíssimos inspiradores para minha pesquisa por reunirem uma análise epistemológica da descrição linguística de gramáticas, sobretudo dos séculos XVIII e XIX, com o contexto educacional e editorial da época (ver, por exemplo, GONÇALVES, 2006; 2012; 2020). A professora trabalha também com a comparação entre gramáticas brasileiras e portuguesas, algo que é raramente feito em outros estudos desse tipo, o que contribui para o estudo transnacional que realizo neste projeto. Firmamos a possibilidade de futuras parcerias em estudos e coautoria em artigos.

No Centro de Estudos da Linguagem (CEL) da Universidade de Trás-os-Montes e Alto-Douro (UTAD) está um importante grupo de pesquisa em historiografia linguística, do qual Gonçalo Fernandes é um dos investigadores principais. O professor organizou uma reunião com seu grupo de pesquisa, com a presença de Sónia Coelho, Susana Fontes, Cínthia Siqueira, Rolf Kemmler, Teresa Moura e Lívia de Melo, em que discutimos a produção e circulação de textos oitocentistas brasileiros e portugueses para o ensino de língua portuguesa ou para a descrição científica dessa mesma língua. Nesse primeiro diálogo, encontramos diversos pontos de encontro em nossos projetos, como o estudo de gramáticas elementares portuguesas e brasileiras realizado pela doutoranda Cínthia Siqueira, a pesquisa sobre as gramáticas portuguesas e brasileiras do final do século XVIII e início do século XIX da doutoranda Lívia de Melo, e a investigação das doutoras Sónia Coelho e Susana Fontes sobre autoras portuguesas de gramáticas em Portugal – enquanto venho estudando as autoras brasileiras (POLACHINI; VIDAL NETO, 2023). Encontrei, ademais, essas duas últimas pesquisadoras no Congresso da ALFAL, que aconteceu entre 21 e 26 de janeiro na Universidade de Concepción, no Chile, para discutirmos nossas pesquisas junto também a outros importantes investigadores da área.

As investigações de todos os pesquisadores visitados têm relação com os resultados desta pesquisa, como se verá pela citação bibliográfica de suas publicações.

## 3 RESULTADOS DE PESQUISA

A documentação e a bibliografia acessadas durante o período de pesquisa em Lisboa me permitiram compreender, de forma geral, quem foram os professores e as professoras de língua portuguesa da Escola Normal de Lisboa e, eventualmente, pude acessar também seus programas de ensino, além das provas dos alunos da escola masculina e das alunas da escola feminina. Investigo também os manuais utilizados no ensino, gramáticas e seletas, alguns de autoria dos professores da escola. Adiante, apresento sumariamente os resultados obtidos durante o pós-doutoramento de três meses.

Como se sabe, a Escola Normal de Lisboa, embora tenha sido idealizada anteriormente, é concretizada em 1862, com a fundação da Escola Normal Primária de Lisboa para o sexo masculino, instalada no palácio dos Condes de Abrantes, em Marvila. Seis anos depois é fundada a Escola Normal Primária para o sexo feminino, no Convento do Calvário, também como internato. Neste relatório, tratarei de ambas as escolas, mas darei maior detalhamento à escola masculina, visto que foi possível obter mais dados sobre seus programas de língua portuguesa e professores.

O regulamento da escola de Marvila, de 4 de dezembro de 1860, previa um curso de primeiro grau de dois anos ou um curso complementar, no qual se adicionava o terceiro ano. Nos dois anos de primeiro grau, haveria o ensino de: escrita; princípios elementares de gramática geral, conhecimento racional e prático da língua portuguesa e redação. Nos seus primeiros anos de funcionamento, a partir de 1861, a escola foi dirigida por Luís Filipe Leite e era um internato (NÓVOA, 1987; PINTASSILGO, 2012; PINTASSILGO & MOGARRO, 2015). Francisco Júlio Caldas Aulete (1823-1878) era o professor de gramática – antes de escrever seus prestigiados compêndios[385] –, já as aulas de escrita e redação eram também ministradas pelo diretor da escola.

Na documentação da escola presente no Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo (MR, Mç. 4212), há cartas de Leite indicando que já em 1861, em uma reunião do conselho da escola, havia sido decidido que os professores redigiriam manuais adequados ao ensino normal das disciplinas que viriam a ministrar a partir do ano seguinte , justificando essa necessidade por

[385] Embora ainda não tivesse escrito sua gramática, cartilha pelo método logográfico e seletas, que obtiveram muitas reedições, já era possível encontrar nomes de outros manuais de sua autoria no jornal Diário do Governo de 9 de dezembro de 1852, a saber: *Methodo facil e racional para ensinar a ler os meninos* e *Primeiro Livro da Infancia.*

não haver, em Portugal, material adequado ao ensino de futuros professores primários. Rapidamente, a *Gramática Nacional* de Aulete tomou forma, e o professor-autor solicitou, em janeiro de 1862, em correspondência aprovada pelo diretor da escola, que sua obra fosse "publicada a expensas do Governo". Embora nessa carta o autor coloque uma série de elogios à sua obra, insistindo em sua originalidade (MR, Mç. 4212), sua solicitação parece ter sido indeferida, visto que ela foi publicada apenas em 1864 (AULETE, 1864a), pela Typographia Franco-Portugueza, e, posteriormente, alcançou amplo sucesso ao ser aprovada e adotada pelo Conselho de Instrução Pública, tornando-se a obra única desse assunto a ser adotada nas escolas públicas portuguesas por três anos (Diário de Lisboa de 4 de janeiro de 1865; POLACHINI, 2022). Nesse momento, já com avaliação amplamente positiva, o autor solicitou que o livro fosse impresso pela Imprensa Nacional, o que de fato aconteceu em algumas edições posteriores (AULETE, 1864b; 1866, por exemplo). A obra teve ampla circulação e ainda foi publicada por outras editoras em Portugal e no Brasil, com diversas modificações até pelo menos 1885 (BOTO, 1997; POLACHINI, 2022).

A gramática de Aulete se destaca, de fato, entre as demais obras do período por dois pontos: a presença massiva de orientações ao professor, com sugestões de exercícios para serem realizados em sala de aula – o que a torna muito apropriada à escola normal – e a citação de longos trechos literários para servir de dado linguístico para análise dos alunos (POLACHINI, 2022). Ademais, sua descrição linguística muitas vezes se desprende da gramática geral ou filosófica que, então, dominava o cenário de descrição linguística português (SCHÄFER-PRIEß, 2002; GONÇALVES, 2006; SANTOS, 2010), ao, por exemplo, não considerar entre seus termos e conceitos a noção de 'verbo substantivo'[386]. Sua renúncia a esse modo de descrever a língua pode, talvez, ser justificada pelo viés didático de sua gramática, dado que tais conceitos eram demasiado abstratos.

No início de 1868, o Diário do Governo publicou os programas das aulas da Escola Normal de Marvila correspondentes ao mês de dezembro de 1867 e janeiro de 1868. Em ambos os meses, no que diz respeito à gramática, Aulete tratou do conceito de palavra. Em dezembro, o fez considerando os sons das palavras, suas partes (afixos) e seu aspecto escrito, ao passo que em janeiro tratou da palavra quanto à sua etimologia (isto é, quanto às classes de palavras) e quanto ao seu papel na sintaxe, para depois aprofundar a noção de substantivo. Vale destacar que alguns conceitos de suas aulas, como a noção de afixo, estavam ausentes nas primeiras edições

[386] Este conceito, hoje inexistente mas amplamente divulgado em gramáticas portuguesas oitocentistas, era um dos pontos principais da gramática geral ou filosófica e muito presente nas gramáticas. Para um estudo sobre esse conceito em gramáticas brasileiras oitocentistas, veja Polachini (2018).

de sua gramática (AULETE, 1864; 1866), mas aparecem em edições posteriores, voltadas ao ensino secundário (AULETE, 1874).

No ano seguinte, pelo decreto de 14 de dezembro de 1869, a escola foi encerrada para remodelação, que incluía transformá-la em um externato. Nesse ínterim, Leite e Aulete, como pediu a legislação, passaram a lecionar no Liceu Nacional de Lisboa. De lá não retornaram, visto que quando a instituição voltou a funcionar, em 1872, havia um novo diretor e um novo corpo docente. Vale mencionar que Aulete se tornou um profícuo autor de manuais escolares de língua portuguesa, pois, além de ter reeditado sua gramática algumas vezes e em diferentes formatos – tendo, um deles, sido editado no Brasil e sido adotado no Colégio Pedro II do Rio de Janeiro entre 1870 e 1876 (BOTO, 2004; POLACHINI, 2022) –, publicou muitos outros manuais de enorme sucesso, os quais eram usados na escola normal na década de 1880, como veremos adiante. Finalmente, vale ressaltar que foram alunos de Aulete e Leite o próximo diretor da escola Teófilo Ferreira e os futuros professores das escolas normais masculina e feminina Simões Raposo e Faria Filho (TT Maço 4210).

Nessa remodelação, além de deixar de ser um internato, o curso tornou-se mais enxuto, tendo o 1° grau apenas um ano, ao qual era acrescido outro ano para completar o 2° grau ou curso complementar. O estudo da língua portuguesa era feito somente no primeiro ano "princípios de gramática geral, exercícios de leitura, recitação e análise da língua portuguesa, e redação". A mudança de um currículo de internato por três anos para um curso de 2 anos em regime de externato gerou um menor rendimento dos professores formados na escola e foi criticado por Leite, o ex-diretor, anos depois (LEITE, 1892; BAPTISTA, 2004).

Em sua reabertura, em 1872, a escola masculina ganhou um novo diretor e também um novo corpo docente de acordo com documentação da escola de 1873 (ENPM 14, ESELx), a saber: Teófilo Ferreira (diretor), João José da Silva (Pedagogia, Geografia, História e Religião), Luiz de Sousa (Português e Aritmética), José Jorge da Teixeira (Caligrafia e Desenho). A documentação posterior não deixa claro quem era o professor de português nos anos seguintes, mas é provável que Luiz de Sousa tenha mantido o cargo até 1882, quando lhe é solicitado, em carta escrita pelo diretor Teófilo Ferreira, que listasse os livros que utilizaria para o ensino de língua portuguesa. Embora Sousa responda a carta fazendo menção a uma lista, ela não aparece na documentação disponível de hoje, que é um livro de cópias das correspondências (ENPM8, ESELx).

Tal como Aulete, Luiz de Sousa escreveu uma gramática de língua portuguesa voltada, especialmente, ao professor. A obra *Elementos theorico-praticos de grammatica portugueza* foi publicada em 1878, e, provavelmente, escrita enquanto era professor dessa disciplina na

escola normal. Bastante original em seu formato, o compêndio não possui uma organização tradicional de gramática, mas é dividido no conteúdo que o professor daria para as três classes do ensino primário, o qual deveria ser transmitido de acordo com o método intuitivo.

No prólogo, Sousa (1878) ressalta que a gramática é voltada para a "pratica dos methodos, fórmas, processos e modos de ensino" e, em razão disso, pode não ser tão profunda em doutrina gramatical. Para ele, porém, isso não seria um defeito da obra, mas uma qualidade, pois considera que outros gramáticos da época "tomando como unico fim a doctrina grammatical, mostram a cada passo que, embora versados e lidos em taes assuntos, a moderna *methodologia* lhes passa por chimera ephemera". Ademais, o autor apresenta uma carta elogiosa à sua obra de autoria do também gramático D. José de Lacerda, o qual também preconizava em seu manual gramatical a necessidade de adaptar o compêndio ao ensino[387].

Diferente do compêndio de seu predecessor, entretanto, os *Elementos* de Sousa parecem não ter alcançado grande prestígio no período, visto que não encontramos informações sobre reedições. Vale ressaltar que nas últimas três décadas dos oitocentos havia um importante movimento na gramaticografia portuguesa e manuais de ensino dessa língua em direção a um método histórico-comparativo, o qual era principalmente simbolizado pela gramática elementar de Epifânio Dias, publicada em 1870 e reeditada muitas vezes, e pelos trabalhos filológicos e linguísticos de Adolfo Coelho e Teófilo Braga. Os olhos, portanto, estavam bastante voltados para questões de doutrina, que, como vimos, Sousa atenua em sua gramática.

Quanto ao ensino de Sousa na escola, pouco sabemos. Algumas provas de 1875 a 1881 estão, porém, disponíveis no Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo. Os exames são organizados de forma que seja feito um ditado de um trecho literário, o qual seria posteriormente analisado sintaticamente e, por vezes, também "etimologicamente" (o que hoje chamamos de morfologicamente) (MR, Mç. 4216 a 4222). A documentação disponível não deixa claro qual manual Sousa usava em suas aulas, mas é possível que tenha utilizado sua própria gramática, visto que encontramos exemplares dela no acervo das bibliotecas da escola. Um deles estava na SGEC, com carimbos da escola masculina e da escola feminina, e outro na seção de reservados da biblioteca Moreirinhas Pinheiro da ESELx com carimbo da já novecentista Escola do Magistério Primário de Lisboa.

[387] Na terceira edição do *Compendio da grammatica portugueza para uso das escólas*, de 1862, o autor D. José Maria de Almeida e Araujo Corrêa de Lacerda, afirma na Advertencia Preliminar "É preciso que a luz se vá accrescentando por degráos, até que, medrada em forças, possa alumiar cabalmente a escurecida intelligencia da puericia estudiosa." (LACERDA, 1862, p.2)

Em correspondência de 4 de maio de 1882, Teófilo Ferreira faz queixas sobre a necessidade de mais professores para a escola (ENPM3, ESELx), as quais são atendidas com a contratação em 1883 do professor adido Alfredo Julio de Brito Freire, antes diretor do Liceu Central de Lisboa. Embora fosse autor de uma gramática francesa[388], ficou sob sua responsabilidade na escola normal masculina o ensino de língua portuguesa. Em 28 de julho de 1883, o diretor solicitou ao novo professor, em correspondência, os livros que seriam utilizados nessa disciplina (ENPM3, ESELx). Brito o respondeu, em carta de 30 de julho de 1883 (ENPM8, ESELx), com a seguinte lista:

1° ano
- Gramática portuguesa por Freire de Macedo
- Livros de leitura por Alfredo Pinto Leão
- Poesias selectas por Midosi
- Manual d'estilo por Oliveira Maia

2° ano
- Instituições elementares de retórica por Borges de Figueiredo
- Lugares selectos dos clássicos portugueses
- Compêndio de gramática portuguesa por J. Freire de Macedo
- Dito idem por Epifânio Dias
- Quadros da história portuguesa por Silveira da Mota
- Manual de estilo por Oliveira Maia
- Dito de poética pelo mesmo
- Os Lusíadas
- Curso de literatura por Simões Dias
- Sinopse de literatura clássica por Borges de Figueiredo

Mais proponho para poderem ser consultados, caso não haja já na biblioteca da Escola, os seguintes livros:
- Ensaio sobre alguns sinónimos da língua portuguesa por Francisco de S. Luís
- Gramática filosófica por Soares Barbosa
- Tratado de metrificação por A. Feliciano de Castilho
- Manual da história da literatura portuguesa por Teófilo Braga
- Subsídios para o estudo da língua portuguesa por Francisco José Monteiro Leite
- Literatura portuguesa por Camilo Castelo Branco e Andrade Ferreira
- Estudos da língua portuguesa por António Francisco Barata
- Curso elementar de recitação, filologia e redacção por Álvaro Rodrigues d'Azevedo
- Exercícios de composição por Claudino Dias
- Bosquejo histórico de literatura clássica por Cardoso Borges de FIgueiredo
- Estudo da fala por Legouvé traduzido pelo abade de Arcozelo
- Selecta de oratória por Caldas Aulete
- Dita de poesia pelo mesmo
- Elementos de literatura clássica por José Gonçalves Lage
- A língua portuguesa/glotologia por F. Adolfo Coelho
- Gramática portuguesa por Caldas Aulete
- Manual d'oratória por Delfim da Maia
- História da poesia portuguesa por Almeida Garrett

Nota-se, nessa lista, que Aulete consta entre os livros recomendados, ao passo que o manual de Sousa é ignorado. O professor seleciona para o 1° ano o compêndio gramatical de Joaquim

[388] Entre as obras da biblioteca dos reservados da biblioteca Moreirinhas Pinheiro, com carimbo da escola feminina, estava o *Curso Elementar de grammatica franceza*, de Alfredo Julio de Brito, publicado em 1871,

Freire de Macedo, sem especificar se se trata do resumo, cuja 7a edição é de 1881, ou do compêndio, cuja última edição de que temos notícia é a 5a de 1875. Para o segundo ano, mantém a recomendação da obra de Macedo e acrescenta a novíssima gramática de Epifânio Dias, publicada pela primeira vez em 1870, e que em 1882 já estava em sua 4a edição. De fato, esses livros foram distribuidos aos alunos dos anos de 1883 a 1885 (ENPM11).

Embora tivessem grande prestígio no período, as obras de Macedo e Dias apresentavam doutrinas bastante diferentes. A primeira fundamentava grande parte da descrição linguística em uma visão abstrata e filosófica da gramática geral, Dias, por sua vez, inovou ao trazer elementos de análise comparativa empírica entre línguas e estágios de uma mesma língua. Nota-se, dessa forma, que pelo menos nesse primeiro momento, Brito, tal como muitos outros professores, estavam em um momento de transição quanto à forma de descrição linguística. Isso se vê também pelos livros recomendados, que incluem a gramática filosófica de Soares Barbosa e a glotologia de Adolpho Coelho. Futuramente, será feita uma análise mais detalhada dessa lista de livros.

Alfredo Júlio Brito de Freire consta como professor de língua portuguesa até a virada do século nas atas do conselho (ENPM9, ESELx). Além disso, provavelmente passou a lecionar também na escola feminina a partir de 1888, pois seu nome constava no júri de exames dessa escola (ENPF21, ESELx). Para este relatório, incluímos as informações supracitadas, a fim de aprofundar o estudo das últimas duas décadas da escola normal de Lisboa nos próximos meses, com a documentação e obras digitalizadas (ver Anexo I).

Quanto à escola normal voltada para o sexo feminino, após ter seu primeiro regulamento em 1863, foi, cinco anos depois, em 1868, instalada no Calvário como internato. Neste regulamento, eram previstas aulas de "1.° Leitura e recitação; – 2.° Escripta; – 3.° Grammatica portugueza e exercicios de redacção". Sua história é, entretanto, muito mais lacunar do que a história masculina por várias razões: logo após sua fundação, seu corpo docente era formado somente por mestras, das quais restam poucas ou nenhuma informação para além do nome; não restaram atas de reuniões do conselho dessas mestras, nenhuma delas foi autora de manuais de língua portuguesa – só teríamos gramáticas em Portugal de autoria feminina no fim do XVIII para um contexto religioso bastante restrito (MELO, 2020) e, posteriormente, apenas no início do século XX (COELHO & FONTES, 2018; COELHO, FONTES & KEMMLER, 2020)[389]

[389] Quanto a gramáticas, há a de Chantal Álvares, de 1786, e as gramáticas de Berta Valente de Almeida, de 1916, e Virgínia Gersão, de 1921, no início do século XX.

Como mencionado no item 2.1, no Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo encontramos ampla documentação sobre a escola feminina, sobretudo com as provas das alunas entre os anos de 1869 e 1882, mas, para além disso, pouco sabemos sobre como eram as aulas de língua portuguesa. Na *Revista Escolar Portuguesa* de 29 de fevereiro de 1884, são apontadas as mestras responsáveis pelo ensino de língua portuguesa: "D. Maria Honorina Gomes de Sousa, effectiva, de pedagogia, desenho e grammatica. D. Helena Elisa Telles de Menezes, professora effectiva, de portuguez, 1.° e 2.° anno e arithmetica do 2.° anno.", esta última, entretanto, estava em licença no momento da publicação e era substituída por "D. Ludmilla da Motta Portocarrero, professora substituta, portuguez 1.° d 2.° anno e arithmetica 2.°."

Em livro de 1892, o ex-diretor da escola masculina, Luís Filippe Leite, afirma que relatórios da inspeção primaria de 1884 e 1885 descreviam o mau estado em que se encontravam as aulas da escola feminina, pois as professores não eram "sufficientemente habilitadas para ensinarem conveniente e cientificamente todas as disciplinas do programma" (LEITE, 1892, p. 16). Isso se dava sobretudo com as disciplinas de química, física, história natural e higiene, mas também "a gramática nacional, cuja regencia foi muito deficiente" (LEITE, 1892, p. 17). Então apresenta o pessoal docente do ano de 1892, que conta com professoras e professores, mas sem indicação da cadeira pela qual cada um(a) era responsável:

> "*Directora*, D. Honorina de Sousa Gomes. *Professora auxiliar*, D. Philomena Leoni. *Professores auxiliares*, Pedro Eusebio Leite (professor do lyceu central de Lisboa). Agostinho de Carvalho (professor auxiliar da escola normal do sexo masculino). Alfredo Julio de Brito Freire (professor addido á escola normal de Santos). *Professora da escola annexa*, D. Antonia Colho." (LEITE, 1892, p. 18)

É provável que a entrada de professores homens na escola feminina tenha ocorrido a partir de 1888, quando passamos a ver seus nomes entre o júri de exames dessa escola (ENPF21, ESELx). Daremos maior atenção à investigação da escola feminina após concluir as investigações iniciadas sobre a masculina, visto que toda a documentação foi digitalizada e poderá ser estudada futuramente.

Outro ponto de interesse desta pesquisa são as bibliotecas de escolas masculina e feminina. Boa parte desse acervo foi preservado e encontra-se disponível para pesquisa na seção de reservados da biblioteca Moreirinhas Pinheiro da ESELx e na Secretaria Geral de Educação e Ciência, os quais possuem diferentes carimbos que podem definir, de forma geral, a biblioteca de que fizeram parte e o momento de sua aquisição (ver Anexo I). Adiante, apresento uma análise resultante de uma primeira aproximação desse material em comparação com a produção gramatical brasileira e portuguesa do período estudado.

Os livros dos professores da escola normal ou aqueles recomendados por eles, como seria de se esperar, têm forte presença nas bibliotecas das escolas feminina e masculina, como se pode ver pelo quadro ilustrativo adiante:

| **Professor de LP** | **SGEC** | **Reservados MP-ESELx** |
|---|---|---|
| Caldas Aulete (1862-1869) | *Gramática* 1872 - masc.<br>*Gramática* 1875 - masc. | *Gramática* 1866 - fem.<br>*Seleta* 1882 - masc.<br>*Seleta* 1882 - fem. |
| Luiz de Sousa (1872-1882) | *Gramática* 1878 - masc. e fem. | *Gramática* 1878 - magistério primário |
| Alfredo Brito (1883-1900+) | Macedo 1867 - masc. e fem.<br>Macedo 1871 - masc. e fem.<br>Macedo 1874 - masc. e fem.<br>Macedo 1875 - fem.<br>Macedo 1881 - masc.<br>Dias 1884 masc. | - |

As obras de Aulete, que, exceto pela edição de 1866, presente na biblioteca da Escola Feminina, são edições posteriores à sua saída da escola, chamam a atenção e são, certamente, resultado do sucesso e prestígio que o autor e sua obra adquiriram ao longo do tempo. Já a obra de Luiz de Sousa, como dissemos, teve somente uma edição. Há um exemplar dela com carimbos das escolas feminina e masculina e outro exemplar com o carimbo já novecentista da Escola Normal do Magistério Primário. Finalmente, quanto às obras selecionadas para o ensino de língua portuguesa em 1883 por Brito, vemos que há diversas edições de Macedo, o que talvez seja indício de que a obra de Macedo, por seu prestígio, já era parte dos estudos dos normalistas anteriormente.

Para além dessas, temos as gramáticas de outros três professores da escola que não lecionaram português. A gramática de Manuel Botelho, publicada em 1887, presente entre os reservados da Biblioteca MP-ESELx, com carimbos das escolas masculina e feminina. Vale lembrar que, de acordo com (SILVA, v. XVI, p. 218), "parte d'esta grammatica estava para sair com a collaboração e revisão do professor sr. Alfredo Julio de Brito, mas não se realisou depois esse trabalho, segundo ouvi". E, por fim, o livrinho com quadros sinópticos da gramática, escritos por Faria Filho, professor da escola normal masculina, e Thiago Fonseca, professor da escola anexa masculina, o qual não se encontra em nenhum desses acervos, mas pôde ser consultado e digitalizado na Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal.

Há muitos outros manuais de língua portuguesa no acervo das bibliotecas, mostrando que era frequente a aquisição de livros para a escola. Temos, contando os acervos da SGEC e MP-ESELx, mais 28 gramáticas ou obras de análise gramatical. A maior parte delas é publicada

durante o período em que a escola funcionou, entretanto, vale mencionar obras mais antigas, que eram consideradas cânones desse gênero, como a 1a edição da *Grammatica Philosophica* de Jerônimo Soares Barbosa, publicada em 1822 e encontrada nos reservados da biblioteca MP-ESELx com carimbo da escola masculina e também da já novecentista escola no magistério primário, e a Ortografia de Joam Franco Barreto, de 1671, também com carimbo da escola masculina. Vale mencionar também que há duas gramáticas de autores brasileiros: a de Pedro de Sousa Guimarães, sem data, publicada no Maranhão, e a de Fernandes Pinheiro, de 1885, publicada no Rio de Janeiro, ambas com carimbo da escola masculina. Faremos um estudo mais completo sobre a coleção desses acervos, considerando o contexto geral da produção gramatical brasileira – que já estudei anteriormente (POLACHINI, 2018) – e portuguesa, a qual conheci em mais detalhes durante o estágio de pesquisa em Lisboa, além de ter ampla bibliografia sobre o tema, como os textos de Maria Filomena Gonçalves, Maria Helena Pessoa Santos, Gonçalo Fernandes, Sónia Coelho, Susana Fontes e Rolf Kemmler.

Quanto às seletas e outros tipos de material, são todos oitocentistas e portugueses – mas vale mencionar a presença do romance Iracema, de José de Alencar, publicado em 1870 no Rio de Janeiro, com carimbo da escola feminina. Sobre esse material, ressalto a presença da Seleta Portuguesa de Luiz Filippe Leite, em coautoria com Moreira de Sá, nas edições de 1886 e 1891. Lembramos que, além de diretor da escola entre 1862 e 1869, Leite ministrava aulas de análise dos clássicos e redação na escola normal masculina nesse período (MR, Mç. 4212). Para a análise desse material, os estudos de Justino Magalhães (2011) serão de imenso auxílio, visto que ele retoma a trajetória que os manuais fizeram no ensino português oitocentista.

Esses resultados, apresentados aqui de forma geral e em primeira aproximação do material, serão, de forma mais detalhada e aprofundada, publicados em artigos sobre a Escola Normal de Lisboa e também em comparação com as escolas normais de São Paulo e do Rio de Janeiro futuramente.

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SILVA, Innocencio F. da; ARANHA, Brito. *Diccionario bibliographico portuguez*. Tomo Décimo Sexto (nono do suplemento). Lisboa: Imprensa Nacional, 1893.

SOUSA, Luiz de. *Elementos Theorico-praticos de grammatica portugueza*. Lisboa: Pedro Antonio Borges - Editor, 1878. Carimbos A e B.

VERA, E. R.; FUCHS, E. O transnacional na história da educação. *Educação e Pesquisa*. Vol. 47, 2021.

VIDAL, Diana G.; BOTO, Carlota. *Saberes e práticas em fronteiras: por uma história transnacional da educação (1810-...)***.** Projeto Temático FAPESP, 2018. Processo n.2018/26699-4.

## Anexo I - Fontes primárias digitalizadas

***Arquivo da Escola Superior de Educação de Lisboa***

ENPM 2 - Despesas (1898-1900) - Escola Normal de 1a classe da cidade de Lisboa - sexo masculino.

ENPM 3 - Correspondência Expedida (1882-1887) - Escola Normal de 1a classe da cidade de Lisboa - sexo masculino.

ENPM 6 - Notas de frequência do 1° ano do curso elementar; 2° e 3° ano do curso da escola (1896-1897) - Escola Normal de 1a classe da cidade de Lisboa - sexo masculino.

ENPM 7 - Exames finais do Primeiro Grau (1884-1903) - Escola Normal de 1a classe da cidade de Lisboa - sexo masculino.

ENPM 8 - Correspondência Recebida (1882-1894) - Escola Normal de 1a classe da cidade de Lisboa - sexo masculino.

ENPM9 - Actas do Conselho Escolar (1895-1915) - Escola Normal Primária de Lisboa - sexo masculino

ENPM 10 - Actas do Conselho Escolar (1864-1866) - Escola Normal Primária de Lisboa - sexo masculino

ENPM 11 - Relação de livros emprestados pela biblioteca da Escola Normal Primária de Lisboa (1883-1885) - sexo masculino

ENPM 14 - Pautas com aproveitamento, aplicação e comportamento dos alunos, por disciplina (1873-1877) - Escola Normal Primária de Lisboa - sexo masculino

ENPM 18 - Pautas com aproveitamento, aplicação e comportamento dos alunos, por disciplina (1877-1881) - Escola Normal Primária de Lisboa - sexo masculino

ENPM 20 - Exames finais do segundo grau (1886-1902) - Escola Normal Primária de Lisboa - sexo masculino

ENPM 21 - Ordens da direção (1864-1869) - Escola Normal Primária de Lisboa - sexo masculino

ENPF 2 - Livro 1° de exames de frequência (1883-1896) - Escola Normal Primária Feminina

ENPF 3 - Cópias dos ofícios respondidos e expedidos (1882-1906) - Escola Normal Primária Feminina

ENPF 5 - Livro 1° Termos de posse dos professores e professoras e empregados menores (1895-1919) - Escola Normal Primária Feminina

ENPF 8 - Livro n° 2 - Exames Finais 3° ano (1885-1893) - Escola Normal Primária Feminina

ENPF 21 - Livro de Exames finaes (1884-1902) - Escola Normal de 1.ª Classe - sexo feminino.

***Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo***

*Correspondência relativa a Escolas Normais - PT/TT/MR/1ºDir - 1ºREP/12/1 - Ministério do Reino, Maços 4210 a 4223 (1861-1882)*

- Informações sobre alunos pensionistas das Escolas Normais feminina e masculina de Lisboa, alguns dos quais tornaram-se professores da escola como, Raposo, Faria Filho e Ludomila Portocarrero.
- Exames de diversas disciplinas, incluindo língua portuguesa, de diversos anos, da escola feminina e da escola masculina.
- Informações sobre a seleção de professoras para a escola feminina.
- Informações sobre a publicação da gramática de Caldas Aulete, professor de português da escola entre 1862 e 1874.

*Contas da Escola Normal Feminina - PT/TT/MR/CRC/69 - Ministério do Reino, Maços 1692.*

- Vencimento das professoras de 1874 e 1875
- Recibos de livrarias e lista de livros comprados

***Secretaria-Geral de Educação e Ciência***

Livros que fizeram parte da biblioteca das Escolas Normais feminina e masculina de Lisboa. Selecionamos os livros para ensino de português publicados no século XIX, embora não saibamos exatamente qual é sua data de aquisição. A lista é feita pelos exemplares encontrados, que por vezes se repetem.

Carimbos:

A: Biblioteca da Escola Normal Primaria de Lisboa




B: Escola Normal Primária de 2a classe para o sexo feminino Lisboa




*Gramáticas*

ABREU, A. M. da S. Pinto. Novo methodo para aprender a grammatica portugueza, composta por _ durante sua homiziação (1834-37) para uso de seus filhos, e ultimamente corrigido com a pratica da analyse, que oferece ao publico, de quem espera receber o acolhimento, que segunda a mesma pratica da analyse vir, que merece. Porto: Typografia de F. P. D'Azevedo, 1852.

d'ANDRADE, Jeronymo Emiliano. Elementos de grammatica portugueza corretos, simplificados e augmentados para uso das escholas primarias. 14a edição especialmente destinada ás escolas primarias dos dois sexos. Lisboa: Editor - Francisco Arthur da Silva, 1880. Carimbo A.

d'ANDRADE, Jeronymo Emiliano. Elementos de grammatica portugueza corretos, simplificados e augmentados para uso das escholas primarias. 15a edição especialmente destinada ás escolas primarias dos dois sexos. Impreza Editora de Francisco Arthur da Silva, 1883. Carimbo A.

AULETE, F. Julio Caldas. Grammatica Nacional adoptada pelo Conselho Geral de Instrucção Publica. 7a edição. Lisboa: Typgraphia Universal, 1872. Carimbo A.

AULETE, F. Julio Caldas. Grammatica Nacional adoptada pelo Governo Portuguez para as escolas primarias do reino e pelo Imperio do Brazil para o collegio … Pedro II. Nona edição. Lisboa: Livraria de A. M. Pereira - Editor, 1875. Carimbo A.

BAPTISTA, Joaquim Maria. Compendio elementar da grammatica portugueza. 2a edição. Lisboa: Typographia Universal, 1863. Carimbo A.

BAPTISTA, Joaquim Maria. Compendio elementar da grammatica portugueza. Lisboa: Livraria de A. M. Pereira - Editor, 1870. Carimbo A.

BENSABAT, Jaboc. Grammatica preparatoria da infancia por perguntas e respostas acompanha de exercicios faceis sobre cada regra. Theoria e applicação. Esta obra foi redigida expressamente para servir de introducção á Grammaria das Escolas Primarias, do mesmo auctor. Porto: Livraria Portuense de Lopes & C.a, 1892. Carimbo A (+ inscrição: Rosa Bastos, Raquel Bastos 13-12-98)

BIBLIOTHECA POPULAR. Grammatica portugueza. 4a edição. Livraria de Madama Marie François Lallemant, 1880. Carimbo A.

DIAS, C. Claudino. Grammatica portugueza para uso das escolas primarias extrahidos com previo consentimento do auctor da Grammatica portugueza elementar de Epiphanio da Silva Dias. Terceira edição revista. Lisboa: Ferreira Machado & C.a - Editores, 1887. Carimbo A.

DIAS, A. Epiphanio da Silva. Grammatica portugueza elementais. Sexta edição, revista. Lisboa: Livraria Escola de A. Ferreira Machado & C.a., 1884. Carimbo A.

ESPADA, João Chrysostomo Vallejo. Grammatica portugueza para os alumnos que frequenta as escolas d'instrucção primaria e o curso de portuguez dos lyceos. Lisboa: Typ. de L. C. da Cunha, 1861. Carimbo A.

FERRAZ, João do Carmo. Compendio orthografico extrahido dos melhores authores approvado pelo Lyceu de Portalegre. Lisboa: Typographia de Joaquim Germano de Sousa Neves, 1855. Carimbo A. [obra em forma de diálogo]

GUIMARÃES, Pedro de Sousa. Compendio de grammatica da lingua portugueza adoptado nesta pronvincia e nas do Piauhy e Parahyba. Terceira edição. Maranhão: [...] Popular de Magalhães & C.a., [s.d.]. Carimbo A.

LEITE, Francisco José Monteiro. Resumo da Nova Grammatica Portugueza para uso das aulas d'instrucção primaria elementar e complementar precedido d'um juizo critico do ill.mo e ex.mo snr. José Antonio Simões Raposo (meritissimo inspector de instrucção primaria). Porto: Livraria Civilisação de Eduardo da Costa Santos - Editor, 1887. Carimbo A.

LEITE, Francisco José Monteiro. Subsidios para o estudo da lingua portugueza baseados nas principais auctoridades philologicas e grammaticaes. 2a edição. Parte das materias d'esta obra são exigidas no curso de portugues dos lyceys nacionaes, segundo a nova reforma d'instrucção secundaria. Porto: Livraria Portuense de Claves & C.a - Editores, 1882. Carimbo A

LOBATO, Antonio José dos Reis. Arte da grammatica da lingua portugueza. Nova Edição. Lisboa: Typografia de José Baptista Morando, 1848. Carimbo A.

LOPES, José Quintino Travassos. Grammatica elementar da lingua portugueza - habilitação para os exames de admissão nos lyceus. 3a edição ampliada. Lisboa: Livraria Editora de A. M. Pereira, 1881. Carimbo A.

LOPES, José Quintino Travassos. Grammatica elementar da lingua portugueza reformada segundo os programas officiaes para as aulas de instrucção primaria e para exames finaes e de admissão aos lyceus. 11a edição ampliada. Lisboa: Livraria Editora de A. M. Pereira, 1889. Carimbo B.

MACEDO, Antonio Lourenço da Silveira. Compendio de grammatica portugueza para as Escolas primarias. Horta: Typ. Minerva Insulana, 1881. Carimbo A.

MACEDO, Joaquim Freire de. Compendio de Grammatica Portugueza collegido e coordenado para uso dos alumnos de instrucção secundaria. Terceira edição mais correcta. Lisboa: Typograp´hia Franco-Portugueza, 1867. Carimbos A e B.

MACEDO, Joaquim Freire de. Compendio de Grammatica Portugueza collegido e coordenado para uso dos alumnos de instrucção secundaria. Quarta edição. Lisboa: Lallemant Frères, Typographia, 1871. Carimbos A e B.

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MACEDO, Joaquim Freire de. Resumo do Compendio de Grammatica Portugueza do Dr. Joaquim Freire de Macedo adaptado pelo mesmo para uso das escolas de instrucção primaria. Quinta edição. Lisboa: Lallemant Frères, Typographia, 1874. Carimbos A e B.

MACEDO, Joaquim Freire de. Resumo do Compendio de Grammatica Portugueza do Dr. Joaquim Freire de Macedo adaptado pelo mesmo para uso das escolas de instrucção primaria. Setima edição. Lisboa: Typographia Universal, 1881.. Carimbo A.

MARTINS, A. B. Santos. Grammatica Elementar da Lingua Portuguesa paras as escolas primarias em harmonia com o programma official. Lisboa: Typographia Guedes, 1896. Carimbo A.

MARTINS, A. B. Santos. Grammatica Theorica e Applicada para auxilio dos estudantes de Portuguez. Lisboa: Imprensa de Lucas Evangelista Torres, 1891. Carimbo A.

MASCARENHAS, Arsenio Augusto Torres de. Verbos da Lingoa Portugueza [...] como auxiliar para os alumnos que principião a estudar grammatica portugueza. Segunda edição, revista. Lisboa: A. Ferreira Machado & C.a, Editores, 1887. Carimbo A.

MONTEVERDE, E. A. Elementos da grammatica portugueza desenvolvidos com a maior clareza possivel para uso das aulas e daquelles que desejão fallar e escrever correctamente por E. A. M. Lisboa: Typ. de José Baptista Morando, 1853. Carimbo A.

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PINHEIRO, J. C. Fernandes. Grammatica da infancia dedicada aos srs. professores de instrucção primaria. 10a edição, revista e augmentada. Rio de Janeiro: B. L. Garnier, Livreiro-Editor do Instituto do Brazil, 1885. Carimbo A.

PINTO, António de Bastos [ex-professor da Escola Normal de Lisboa e Sub-inspector escolar de Viseu]. Gramática inuïtiva da lingua portugueza prefaciada por António Albino de Carvalho Mourão [sub-inspector primário em Alemquer]. 2a edição. Porto: Livraria Editorada de Figueirinhas Júnior, s.d. [prefácio da 2a ed. de 1903]. Carimbo A.

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RUBIM, Joaquim Frederico Kiappe da Costa Rubim. Novo methodo de grammatica portugueza approvado e adoptado para as aulas da provincia do Ceará pelo Conselho Director da Instrucção Publica da mesma provincia. Nova edição. Porto: Livraria de Ignacio M. Corrêa, editor, 1880. Carimbo A.

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LEITE, Luiz Filippe; SÁ, V. Moreira de. Selecta portugueza compilada, annotada e com referencias numerosas á grammatica portugueza do sr. A. Epiphanio da Silva Dias. [...] para uso das Escolas primarias e dos Lyceus. 5a edição, muito melhorada. Lisboa: A. Ferreira Machado & C.a – Editores, 1891. Carimbo B.

MIDOSI, Henrique Carlos. Poesias Selectas nos Diversos Generos de Composições poeticas para a leitura, recitação e analyse grammatical e de estylo dos poetas portugueses no 1°, 2°, 3° e 5° anno do curso geral dos lyceus. Quarta edição. Lisboa: Imprensa Nacional, 1866. Carimbo B (+ manuscrito “esta selecta pertenceu no segundo anno a alumna Virgínia Adelaide d’Assimpção Pena Reis”

MOREIRA, João M. Nova selecta portugueza colligida, annotada e acompanhada d’um tratado de composição e derivação. 2a edição. Porto: Typographia de José da Silva Mendonça, 1894. Carimbo B (+ manuscrito “n° 11 do 1° anno Lucinda A. dos Anjos Passos”).

*Outros*

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FIGUEIREDO, A. Cardoso Borges de. Instituições Elementares de Rhetorica para uso das escholas. Duodecima edição. Coimbra: Livraria Central de J. Diogo Pires - Editor e Proprietario, 1883. Carimbo A.

MAYA, Delfim Maria D’Oliveira. Noções d’Oratoria para uso das escólas segundo o ultimo programma official do 3° anno do curso de portuguez. Terceira edição. Porto: Typographia de Antonio José da Silva Teixeira, 1877. Carimbo A.

MAYA, Delfim Maria D’Oliveira. Theoria da litteratura particularmente da litteratura em prosa para uso das aulas de litteratura nacional segundo a ultima reforma d’instrucção secundaria. Porto: Typographia de A. J. da Silva Teixeira, 1880. Carimbo A.

NOGUEIRA JUNIOR, D. H. Xavier. Elementos d'Oratoria para uso das escolas coordenados segundo o ultimo programma official de 14 d'outubro de 1880. Segunda edição muito melhorada e augmentada com um breve tratado de metrificação portugueza. Lisboa: Typographia da Viuva Sousa Neves, 1885. Carimbo A.

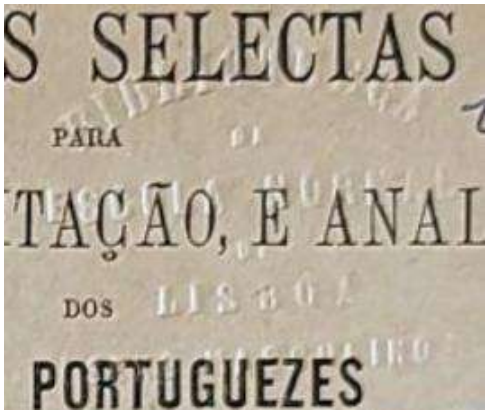
***Seção de Reservados da Biblioteca Moreirinhas Pinheiro da Escola Superior de Educação de Lisboa***

Além dos carimbos A e B, há também:

Carimbo C:




Carimbo (relevo) D:




Carimbo E:




ALENCAR, J. de. Iracema - lenda do Ceará. Rio de Janeiro: J.-L. Garnier, livreiro editor, 1870. Carimbo B.

AULETE, F. Julio Caldas. Grammatica Nacional elementar. 3a edição. Lisboa: Imprensa Nacional, 1866.. Carimbos B e C..

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critico do sr. Thomaz de Carvalho. Litteratura. Lisboa: Livraria de A. M. Pereira - Editor, 1882. Carimbo A.

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BARBOSA, Jerônimo Soares. Grammatica Philosophica da Lingua Portugueza ou principio da grammatica geral applicado á nossa linguagem. Lisboa: Typographia da Academia de Ciências, 1822. Carimbos A e C.

BARRETO, Ioam Franco. Ortografia da lingva portvgveza. Lisboa: Officina de Ioam da Costa, 1671. Carimbo A.

BRAGA, Theophilo. Introducção Theoria da Historia da Litteratura Portugueza. Porto: Livraria Chardron, 1896. Carimbo A e C.

BOTELHO, Manuel Francisco de Medeiros. Grammatica Portugueza elementar para uso das escolas e lyceus nacionaes. Lisboa: Imprensa Nacional, 1887. Carimbos A, B e C.

COELHO, F. Adolpho. A lingua portugueza noções de glottologia geral e especial portugueza. Porto: Livraria Universal, 1881. Carimbos A e C.

COELHO, F. Adolpho. Leituras Portuguesas colleccionadas e annotadas - segunda parte. Oficialmente approvadas para uso da 1a classe dos lyceus. Lisboa: M. Gomes, Editor, 1896. Carimbo C.

DIAS, J. Simões. *Theoria da composição litteraria*. Setima edição. Lisboa: Imprensa Lucas, 1898. Carimbos A e C.

LEÃO, Duarte Nunes de. Origem e orthographia da lingua portugueza - obra util e necessaria, assim para bem escrever a lingua Portugueza como a Latina, e quaesquer outras que da Latina tem origem: com hum tractado dos pontos das clausulas. Nova edição correcta, e emendada, conforme a de 1781. Lisboa: Typographia do Panorama, 1864. Carimbos: A e C.

LEITE, Francisco José Monteiro. Subsidios para o estudo da lingua portugueza baseados nas principais auctoridades philologicas e grammaticaes. 2a edição. Parte das materias d'esta obra são exigidas no curso de portugues dos lyceys nacionaes, segundo a nova reforma d'instrucção secundaria. Porto: Livraria Portuense de Claves & C.a - Editores, 1882. Carimbo B.

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MASCARENHAS, Arsenio Augusto Torres de. Noções elementares de poetica para uso dos amimnos do real collegio minitar. Lisboa: Livraria Rodrigues, 1879. Carimbos A e B (+manuscritos….)

MASCARENHAS, Arsenio Augusto Torres de. Verbos da Lingoa Portugueza [...] como auxiliar para os alumnos que principião a estudar grammatica portugueza. Segunda edição, revista. Lisboa: A. Ferreira Machado & C.a, Editores, 1887. Carimbo A.

MARTINS, A. B. Santos. Grammatica Elementar da Lingua Portuguesa paras as escolas primarias em harmonia com o programma official. Lisboa: Typographia Guedes, 1896. Carimbo A e C.

MIDOSI, Henrique Carlos. Poesias Selectas para leitura, recitação e analyse dos poetas portugueses em conformidade com os programas adotados para o curso de portuguez e litteratura. Décima Sexta edição. Lisboa: Typographia do Commercio de Portugal, 1891. Carimbos C e D.

NETTO, Antonio Maria D'Almeida. O Escholiaste portuguez ou subsidios litterarios grammaticaes, philologicos e rhetoricos compilados dos melhores auctores e divididos em tres partes accomodadas ao estudo elementar e complementar da lingua portugueza. 1a Parte. Lisboa: Typographia Universal. 1885. Carimbos C e E.

NETTO, Antonio Maria D'Almeida. O Escholiaste portuguez ou subsidios litterarios grammaticaes, philologicos e rhetoricos compilados dos melhores auctores e divididos em tres partes accomodadas ao estudo elementar e complementar da lingua portugueza. 2a e 3a partes. Lisboa: Typographia Universal. 1885. Carimbos C e E.

SOUSA, Luiz de. Elementos Theorico-praticos de grammatica portugueza. Lisboa: Pedro Antonio Borges - Editor, 1878. Carimbo C.

VASCONCÉLLOZ, António Garcia Ribeiro de. Gramática Histórica da língua portuguêsa. Paris: Aillaud Alves & Cia, Rio de Janeiro: Francisco Alves & Cia. s.d??? Carimbo C.

VIEIRA, Carlos Augusto [...]. Compendio elementar de grammatica portugueza para uso das escholas pelo conselho superior de instrucção publica e usado desde 1855 na eschola de el-rei. Vigésima primeira edição publicada por suas irmãs. Porto: Typographia do Commercio do Porto, 1881. Carimbos A e C.

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ANNUARIO-ALMANACH Commercial da Insdustria, Magistratura e Administração para 1896. 4° Anno de publicação - continuação do antigo Almanach Commercial de Lisboa - XVI anno. Lisboa. 1896.

ANNUARIO-ALMANACH Commercial da Insdustria, Magistratura e Administração para 1897. 5° Anno de publicação - continuação do antigo Almanach Commercial de Lisboa - XVII anno. Lisboa. 1897.

ANNUARIO-ALMANACH Commercial da Insdustria, Magistratura e Administração para 1898. 6° Anno de publicação - continuação do antigo Almanach Commercial de Lisboa - XVIII anno. Lisboa. 1898.

ANNUARIO-ALMANACH Commercial da Insdustria, Magistratura e Administração para 1899. 7° Anno de publicação - continuação do antigo Almanach Commercial de Lisboa - XIX anno. Lisboa. 1899.

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CAMPOS, Carlos A. da S. *Almanach Commercial de Lisboa*. Segundo anno. Lisboa: Lallemant Frères, Typ. Lisboa, 1881.

CAMPOS, Carlos A. da S. *Almanach Commercial de Lisboa*. Terceiro anno. Lisboa: Lallemant Frères, Typ. Lisboa, 1882.

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## PARECER

Para os devidos efeitos, informo que Bruna Soares Polachini realizou, no Instituto de Educação da Universidade de Lisboa, as actividades previstas no seu programa de pós-graduação, entre 9 de Outubro de 2023 e 9 de Janeiro de 2024.

Ao longo deste período, Bruna Soares Polachini revelou-se uma investigadora de grande mérito, com dedicação ao trabalho, rigor metodológico e capacidade de escrita, tendo desenvolvido com grande qualidade os trabalhos de pesquisa previstos.

O seu relatório de pesquisa de pós-doutoramento, com o título SÃO PAULO, RIO DE JANEIRO E LISBOA: UMA HISTÓRIA COMPARADA DO ENSINO DE PORTUGUÊS EM ESCOLAS NORMAIS NO SÉCULO XIX atesta bem a qualidade do trabalho realizado neste pós-doutoramento e confirma o interesse e pertinência dos seus estudos levados a cabo numa perspectiva comparada.

Assim, dou um parecer muito positivo sobre este estágio de pós-doutoramento e sobre o relatório de pesquisa apresentado.

Lisboa, 10 de Janeiro de 2024

**António Nóvoa**

Professor Catedrático
Instituto de Educação, Universidade de Lisboa

ANEXO 3 - Publicações e textos submetidos ou em preparação

**Primeira página de artigos publicados**

POLACHINI, B. A trajetória da Gramática (trans)Nacional de Caldas Aulete: livros em viagem. Cadernos do Arquivo Municipal, Lisboa, 2.ª Série N.º 18 (jul./dez. 2022), p. 1-16.

SILVA, C. M.; POLACHINI, B. Apropriações da pedagogia moderna na Escola Normal de São Paulo: convergências e divergências em Silva Jardim e Camillo Passalacqua (1884 a 1887). *Cadernos de História da Educação*, v. 22, p.1-18, e189, 2023. – Artigo Bilíngue: Português e Inglês.

POLACHINI, B. A coleção de gramáticas oitocentistas da biblioteca da Escola Normal de São Paulo. *Confluência*: revista do Instituto de Língua Portuguesa do Liceu Literário Português (Rio de Janeiro), 2023: Número em homenagem a Leonor Lopes Fávero.

POLACHINI, B.; BOTO, C. "Estratégias didáticas em gramáticas portuguesas oitocentistas do acervo biblioteca da Escola Normal de São Paulo." In: RIBEIRO, Cintya et al. (Orgs.) *Pesquisas caleidoscópicas: modos de ver e criar*. Universidade de São Paulo. Faculdade de Educação, 2023.

POLACHINI, B.; VIDAL NETO, J. B. C. "As mulheres nos estudos linguísticos brasileiros (1890-1960): uma primeira aproximação." In: ALTMAN, C.; LOURENÇO, J. (Orgs.) *O feminino e a historiografia linguística: Américas*. Campinas, SP: Pontes Editores, 2023. pp. 171-227.

**Texto dos trabalhos no prelo, submetidos ou em preparação**

POLACHINI, B. "A Circulação transnacional de livros didáticos: o livreiro Nicolau Alves (1854-1879)". In: VIDAL, Diana et al (Orgs.) *Saberes em circulação: histórias transnacionais da educação*. No prelo.

POLACHINI, B. "Uma classe de palavra mutável: sobre o verbo na gramaticografia brasileira oitocentista." *Instrumentos Linguísticos (Gramáticas) em uma perspectiva historiográfica*. No prelo. ISBN 2024 – 978-85-217-0340-2

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POLACHINI, B. O engenho didático na gramática brasileira oitocentista. Artigo submetido a revista A2.

POLACHINI, B. "Uma história comparada do ensino de língua portuguesa em escolas normais oitocentistas: São Paulo, Rio de Janeiro e Lisboa" Em preparação (incompleto).

**Circulação transnacional de livros didáticos: o livreiro Nicolau Alves (1854-1879)**

Bruna Soares Polachini (FE-USP)

## Introdução

Neste artigo, há uma primeira aproximação da Livraria Clássica de Nicolau Alves, que, fundada em 1854, especializou-se na venda de livros didáticos e posteriormente passou a editá-los. Ao longo do século XIX tanto a educação quanto o mercado livreiro ambicionam atingir a grande população. Os livreiros e editores anunciavam seus livros nos jornais, ressaltando todas suas qualidades e, paulatinamente, a preocupação com a educação gera a criação e posterior consolidação das Escolas Normais em diversas províncias do Brasil. No Rio de Janeiro, a capital do país e epicentro desses acontecimentos em meados do século XIX, Nicolau Alves tornou-se um livreiro especialista em livros didáticos.

Parte dos livros vendidos ou editados por Alves eram estrangeiros e traduzidos ao português e/ou adaptados aos leitores e estudantes brasileiros, configurando a circulação transnacional desses objetos de saber. A história transnacional é caracterizada por cruzar fronteiras e ver as bordas dos Estados Nacionais não apenas como barreira, mas igualmente como passagem de sujeitos, artefatos e ideias (VIDAL, 2000). Considerar a fronteira permeável nos permite ver mais longe e fazer relações que ficavam no ponto cego na tradicional história nacional (LAWN, 2014). Dessa forma, procurei neste artigo, além de realizar uma apresentação geral do livreiro e editor Nicolau Alves, investigar a circulação transnacional de livros proporcionada por suas atividades como livreiro e, sobretudo, editor, e, finalmente, tratar com maior profundidade de sua edição brasileira da gramática do professor português Caldas Aulete.

## Nicolau Alves, tio de Francisco Alves

Francisco Alves, o "rei do livro", é muito conhecido por seu tino empresarial que lhe permitiu expandir sua editora e livraria a partir de 1890 e durante o início do século XX, publicando centenas de livros e fundando sedes em diversas províncias do país, além de outras em Lisboa e Paris (HALLEWELL, 2012; BRAGANÇA, 2016). Ademais, é de conhecimento geral que,

embora sua produção livresca tivesse também títulos de outro tipo, a editora de Francisco Alves tornou-se a principal editora de livros escolares do Brasil (RAZZINI, 2004). Pouco se sabe, porém, sobre a fundação da livraria e da editora, que foi realizada cerca de três décadas antes de passar às mãos de Francisco, em 1883, por seu tio, Nicolau. É essa história que pretendo explorar, em uma primeira aproximação, neste artigo.

Nicolau Antônio Alves (1827-1902) era imigrante português, nascido no Minho, e chegou ao Rio de Janeiro quando contava apenas 12 anos incompletos, em 1839. Fundou a Livraria Clássica em 1854, mesmo ano em que, em razão do decreto de 17 de fevereiro do Ministro do Império, Luiz Pedreira de Couto Ferraz, o material escolar passou a ser fornecido pelo Estado. De acordo com Bragança (2017, p. 16)

> Ainda que isso nunca tenha sido efetivamente levado a cabo, em nosso país, de forma plena, foi o início de uma parceria entre o poder público e as editoras privadas de livros escolares, que foi e é fundamental para o desenvolvimento desse setor no Brasil, tal como o foi no exterior.

Coincidência ou não, Nicolau Alves ao longo das quase três décadas em que coordenou a livraria e editora, realizou sobretudo a venda e edição de livros escolares. A publicação de livros didáticos no Brasil inicia-se com a Imprensa Régia (posteriormente denominada Imprensa Nacional), mas na metade do século amplia-se para editoras privadas, como a Garnier, Laemmert e a Livraria Clássica, esta última de Nicolau Alves (RAZZINI, 2004). De acordo com El Far (2004), os editores Garnier e Laemmert, embora publicassem livros didáticos, tinham escolhido diferentes gêneros como seu foco, respectivamente a ficção e as produções científicas seriadas. Considerando-se, então, que no Brasil do século XIX dificilmente dois ou mais editores obtinham sucesso concomitantemente sobre um mesmo público leitor (EL FAR, 2004), foi explorando os livros escolares e acadêmicos que o tio, Nicolau, e posteriormente o sobrinho, Francisco, prosperaram.

Desde sua fundação, em 1854, Nicolau Alves foi o coordenador na livraria e editora. Em 1882, Nicolau Alves e Francisco Alves formaram a sociedade Alves & Cia. A partir de então, o tio afastou-se da gerência e, em 1883, Francisco Alves assumiu a direção plena da empresa, que prosperou durante o final do século XIX e início do século XX, tornando-o conhecido pela alcunha de “rei do livro” (BRAGANÇA, 2016). Por seu grande sucesso, o período em que a editora esteve sob direção de Francisco Alves foi bastante estudado (cf. HALLEWELL, 2012; RAZZINI, 2004; BRAGANÇA, 2016; entre outros). Entretanto, não há muitos estudos que tratem dela no período em que era dirigida por seu tio. Neste trabalho,

procuro realizar uma primeira aproximação acerca dessa livraria-editora entre 1854 e 1879 a partir da análise dos anúncios por ela publicados no *Jornal do Commercio* do Rio de Janeiro.

## A Livraria Clássica através de seus anúncios no Jornal do Commercio

A partir da ferramenta de busca por palavras da Hemeroteca Digital da Biblioteca Nacional, encontrei 162 anúncios da Livraria Clássica publicados no Jornal do Commercio do Rio de Janeiro entre os anos de 1855 e 1879. Tais anúncios permitiram examinar a formação e consolidação dessa livraria como especialista em livros colegiais e acadêmicos, muitas vezes em circulação transnacional, além disso, foi possível também observar o crescimento do negócio e suas estratégias para atrair o público leitor.

A Livraria Clássica de Nicolau Alves é fundada em 1854, mas seu primeiro anúncio no *Jornal do Commercio* ocorre no ano seguinte, em 4 de abril de 1855, no qual se diz:

> Acha-se á venda na livraria Classica de Nicoláo Alves, rua do Latoeiros n.54, as lições do Dr. Broussai, sobre a **Cholera-Morbus** epidemica, traduzidas e augmentadas de notas por Forte Gato. Na mesma casa ha um grande sortimento de livros necessarios para o ensino primario e secundario. (Jornal do Commercio, Rio de Janeiro, 4/9/1855 – negrito do original)[390]

Neste anúncio, o foco está na comunicação da venda de um livro sobre uma doença, a cólera, e seu tratamento, escrito pelo médico francês François Broussai e traduzida e aumentada pelo médico português Adelino Huet Forte-Gato. Entende-se que esse livro seria utilizado por médicos e estudantes de medicina. Acrescenta-se que na livraria encontram-se também livros voltados para o ensino primário e secundário. Dessa forma, é desde o primeiro anúncio que o livreiro apresenta sua especialidade.

No ano seguinte, há anúncios entre janeiro e abril, período voltado à compra do material letivo, dos quais reproduzo alguns adiante:

> **LIVROS ESCOLASTICOS** vendem-se por preços diminutos, na livraria classica de Nicoláo A. Alves ultimamente estabelecida na rua dos Latoeiros n.54. (Jornal do Commercio, Rio de Janeiro, 19/01/1856 – negrito do original)

> **VENDE-SE NA LIVRARIA CLASSICA DE NICOLAO ALVES,** recentemente aberta na rua dos Latoeiros n.54, proximo ao collegio Victoria, **Direito Ecclesiastico,** por Gmeiner, assim como outros livros seguidos no curso juridico de S. Paulo. (Jornal do Commercio, Rio de

[390] Como a imagem do jornal do comércio é protegida por direitos autorais, vou reescrever os anúncios, respeitando sua ortografia e grifos, em vez de reproduzir sua imagem.

> Janeiro, 07/02/1856 – negrito do original)
>
> **COLLEGIO PEDRO II** Os livros adotados no ensino secundario, neste como nos outros collegios; vendem-se na livraria classica de Nicoláo Alves, ultimamente aberta rua dos Latoeiros n.54. (Jornal do Commercio, Rio de Janeiro, 09/02/1856 – negrito do original)
>
> **ESCOLA DE MEDICINA.** Na livraria classica de Nicoláo Alves, ultimamente aberta na rua dos Latoeiros n. 54, proximo ao collegio Victorio, se acha á venda o **CURSO DE CHIMICA** da escola de medicina, pelo Exm. Sr. conselheiro Torres Homem, assim como muitos outros compendios adoptados na mesma escola, por preço diminuto. (Jornal do Commercio, Rio de Janeiro, 03/03/1856 – negrito do original)
>
> **ESCOLA DE MILITAR.** Na livraria classica de Nicoláo Alves, rua de Latoeiros n.54, vende-se a **MECHANICA DE POISSON**, adoptada para compendio da escola militar, assim como outros livros precisos na mesma escola. (Jornal do Commercio, Rio de Janeiro, 05/04/1856 – negrito do original)

No primeiro anúncio, fala-se de forma geral sobre "livros escolásticos", e nos quatro seguintes, o livreiro dedica-se a públicos escolares e acadêmicos específicos, como os estudantes da Faculdade de Direito de São Paulo, do Colégio Pedro II, da Escola de Medicina e da Escola Militar. Essa estratégia se mantém nos anos seguintes.

Uma década depois de sua abertura, o sucesso do empreendimento é ilustrado nos jornais pela expansão da livraria, apontada em anúncio de 1864, e o início das edições de Nicolau Alves, em 1865:

> **LIVROS PARA COLLEGIOS adoptados pelo conselho de instrucção publica** para uso das escolas e dos collegios do imperio, achão-se a venda **pelo mais diminuto preço** na Livraria Classica de Nicolao Alves 54 Rua dos Latoeiros 54. Esta livraria acaba de ser ampliada e acha-se transformada em um vasto e elegante armazem sortido dos livros precisos para instrucção primaria, secundaria e superior. (Jornal do Commercio, Rio de Janeiro, 06/03/1864 e 17/03/1864 – negrito do original)
>
> Acaba de sahir á luz, e acha-se á venda em casa do Editor Nicoláo Alves, livraria classica, á rua de Gonçalves Dias n.54 (outr'ora dos Latoeiros) a **4a EDIÇÃO CORRECTA DA GRAMMATICA PORTUGUEZA DE POLYCARPO** Na mesma casa achão-se á venda todos os livros precisos para o ensino primario, secundario e superior pelo mais diminuto preço. (Jornal do Commercio, Rio de Janeiro, 20/04/1865 – negrito do original)

A Gramática portuguesa, de José Dias Policarpo Cruz (?-1865), cuja quarta edição é editada por Alves, teve suas primeiras três edições publicadas respectivamente em 1853, 1859 e 1863 (cf. BLAKE, 1902; POLACHINI, 2018) e foi certamente uma obra de sucesso editorial, visto que, embora seu autor tenha falecido no ano da publicação da edição de Alves, continuou a ser reeditada até pelo menos a sétima edição, em 1883, então pela Garnier. Antes, porém, de me aprofundar nas edições de Nicolau Alves e a circulação transnacional de livros, vou tratar de

outros dois aspectos da livraria que podem ser enxergados pelos anúncios: a formação de sua identidade como especializada em livros escolares e as estratégias utilizadas para atrair clientes. Desde seus primeiros anúncios no Jornal do Commercio, como vimos anteriormente, afirmava-se que a livraria vendia livros voltados para a escola e academia. A partir de 1863, essa afirmação torna-se mais contundente e passa a ser comum encontrar nos anúncios frases como "esta casa, unicamente dedicada á venda dos livros collegiaes e academicos" (Jornal do Commercio, 04/02/1863). Tal particularidade era dada como uma qualidade, visto que a casa teria maior variedade e qualidade de livros desse tipo específico. Outro fator, menos explícito, que evidencia a escolha do público leitor é a periodicidade dos anúncios, que se davam frequentemente nos primeiros meses do ano, período de compra de livros para o ano letivo, divulgando a casa e livros adotados por programas. Havia também, nos últimos meses do ano, anúncios, comuns a partir de 1867, de livros, prêmios e medalhas a alunos que se destacaram nas escolas.

> **LIVROS E MEDALHAS PARA PREMIOS DE COLLEGIOS.** Acaba de chegar á livraria classica de Nicoláo Alves, um lindo sortimento de livros em portuguez e francez com as folhas e pastas douradas e em mozaico, assim como lindas medalhas com as epigraphes o merito, por infimos preços. **54. Rua de Gonçalves Dias 54.** (Jornal do Commercio, Rio de Janeiro, 10/12/1867 – negrito do original)

Assim, é evidente o cuidado de anunciar em períodos que seguem o tempo escolar. Ao longo do ano, porém, Nicolau Alves também anunciava nos jornais livros que haviam chegado recentemente à livraria ou que haviam sido editados por ele. Além disso, há alguns anúncios do mundo escolar relacionados à livraria, como os de professores e escolas cujos contatos poderiam ser realizados no endereço da livraria. Dois exemplos abaixo:

> **PROFESSOR.** Um professor bacharel em letras pela universidade de França, approvado pelo conselho de instrucção primaria e secundaria do Brazil, dá lições particulares de francez e geographia; quem precisar póde dirigir-se por carta fechada com as iniciais V. B., rua do Ouvidor n. 61, casa de Dagnan e C., ou á dos Latoeiros n. 54, livraria de Nicoláo Alves. (Jornal do Commercio, Rio de Janeiro, 28/01/1856 – negrito do original)

> **AOS SRS. PAIS DE FAMILIA** COLLEGIO SANTA RIDA DE CASSIA PARA ENSINO ELEMENTAR DE MENINAS. 11 Rua de S. Pedro da Cidade Nova 11. Recebem internas, meio-pensionistas e externas. O programa distribue-se no estabelecimento e nas livrarias dos Srs. Nicolao Alves e Garnier. (Jornal do Commercio, Rio de Janeiro, 06/12/1867 – negrito do original)

Quanto às estratégias para atrair clientes, logo nos primeiros anos de sua fundação, Nicolau Alves promoveu um sorteio, como apontam anúncios publicados no Jornal do Commercio entre janeiro e março de 1859. Em um deles se dizia:

> Vendem-se, por diminuto preço, na livraria classica de Nicoláo A. Alves, rua dos Latoeiros n. 54, os livros adotados para compendios das ESCOLAS CENTRAL e de applicação, academia de marinha, etc. etc. Cada compra de 2$000 dá direito a um bilhete dos quatro premios no valor total de 600$000 annexo á primeira loteria de cada mez. (Jornal do Commercio, 20/02/1859).

Essa estratégia não parece ter sido utilizada novamente nos anos seguintes, porém. Uma tática que percorreu todo o período estudado e estava presente em quase todos os anúncios é a menção a preços diminutos ou ínfimos dos livros. Nicolau Alves apresenta, frequentemente, a livraria como possuindo preços mais baixos que as demais.

A especificidade da livraria como dedicada somente a livros escolares, algo que é afirmado de forma mais contundente após 1863, é acrescentada das afirmações de que, por um lado, a livraria teria maior variedade desse tipo de livro do que outras casas dedicadas a variados tipos, e, por outro, a livraria clássica, por sua especificidade, teria maior cuidado na escolha do suporte do livro, isto é, sua encadernação, tipo de papel etc. Unindo sua especialidade em livros escolares e acadêmicos e a ideia de preço baixo, passam a ser frequentes, após 1865, anúncios direcionados aos alunos da Faculdade de Direito de São Paulo, nos quais se afirma que os livros de direito eram mais baratos que em outras casas (inclusive de São Paulo) e que a livraria proveria encaixotamento gratuito, afinal os livros que viajariam de uma província a outra.

> **LIVROS DE DIREITO ADOPTADOS NA FACULDADE DE S. PAULO E OS COMPENDIOS DA ESCOLA DE MEDICINA.** Vendem-se sempre pelos preços mais diminutos na Livraria classica de Nicoláo Alves, unica casa exclusivamente dedicada á venda de livros academicos e collegiaes. As encadernações são primorosamente feitas pelos melhores encadernadores da Europa. As compras de livros de direito são nesta casa muitissimo mais barato que as efetuadas em S. Paulo. (Jornal do Commercio, Rio de Janeiro, 24/02/1867 – negrito do original)

> **FACULDADE DE DIREITO DE S. PAULO.** Os livros de direito adotados para compendio e expositores vendem-se pelo mais diminuto preço na Livraria classica de Nicoláo Alves. Esta casa ha de primar em ser sempre a que mais barato venderá, seja em qualquer circunstamcia, garantindo-se sempre as melhores edições e a perfeição das encadernações em chagrin; encarrega-se dp encaixotamento sem augmento de despeza. 54. Rua de Gonçalves Dias 54. (Jornal do Commercio, Rio de Janeiro, 26/02/1868 – negrito do original)

Finalmente, outra estratégia presente com certa frequência nos anúncios após 1868 é a possibilidade de realizar a troca do livro caso o cliente percebesse que comprou o livro errado para uso na escola ou que o livro não atende ao que precisava.

> LIVROS PARA COLLEGIOS LIVRARIA CLASSICA DE NICOLAU ALVES 54 RUA DOS LATOEIROS 54 Nesta casa unicamente autorisada para a venda de livro de instrucção primaria,

> secundaria e superior, se encontrão por diminuto preço os livros adotados nos collegios e nas faculdades, garantindo sua troca no caso que não sirvam para o collegio que se comprou. (Jornal do Commercio, Rio de Janeiro, 13/01/1860 – negrito do original)

Com tais informações, é evidente que Nicolau Alves atrelou sua prosperidade como livreiro e, posteriormente, editor a uma cuidadosa circulação e edição de livros escolares e acadêmicos. Além disso, ressalto o tino comercial do tio de Francisco Alves, que valia-se de diversas estratégias em seus anúncios no jornal para atrair clientes. Na seção adiante, trato de suas edições.

## O editor Nicolau Alves: circulação transnacional de livros escolares

Ao longo da análise dos anúncios no Jornal do Commercio, foi possível encontrar menção a muitos livros que eram vendidos na Livraria Clássica ou até mesmo que eram impressos por Nicolau Alves. Nesta seção, porém, examinarei somente nos livros editados por ele. Como vimos, a gramática de Policarpo Dias é a primeira anunciada como edição de Nicolau Alves, em abril de 1865. Posteriormente, entre julho de 1867 e abril de 1879, são mencionados ao menos outros 13 livros editados por Nicolau Alves, 12 deles voltados para o ensino. No quadro adiante, exponho um trecho do primeiro anúncio que encontrei de cada um desses 14 livros. Alguns deles, porém, foram mencionados em diversos anúncios no jornal. Para facilitar a visualização de detalhes em cada trecho, fiz algumas modificações tipográficas: os títulos das obras estão em negrito, o nome autor sem realce, os comentários à obra em itálico, e sublinhei menções ao número da edição ou que se tratava de nova edição do livro.

| **Nome, autor, edição e eventuais comentários presentes nos anúncios** | **Data de publicação** |
|---|---|
| Acaba de sahir á luz, e acha-se á venda em casa do Editor Nicoláo Alves, livraria classica, á rua de Gonçalves Dias n.54 (outr'ora dos Latoeiros) a **4a EDIÇÃO CORRECTA DA GRAMMATICA PORTUGUEZA DE POLYCARPO** Na mesma casa achão-se á venda todos os livros precisos para o ensino primario, secundario e superior pelo mais diminuto preço. | 20/04/1865 |
| **Elementos de Geografia, pelos Dr. Pedro de Abreu**, adoptada no collegio do Imperio, 2a edição, *augmentada com a Cosmographia, que comprehende* | 01/06/1867 |

| | |
|---|---|
| *30 figuras, escripta de conformidade com o programma adoptado pelo conselho de instrucção publica.* | |
| **Systema metrico decimal**, *escripto para o ensino primario* pelo professor publico Jordão, *contendo 20 tabellas para conversão aos pesos e medidas e as relações de umas para as outras medidas, acompanhada de 18 figuras*. | 01/06/1867 |
| **Arithmetica dos meninos**. 2a edicção muito melhorada *e organisada para uso dos alumnos de instrucção primaria*, por Azevedo Pinheiro Junior. *Este livrinho teve tão lisongeiro acolhimento dos Srs. directores de collegios e professores que em muito pouco tempo esgotou-se a 1a edição. Esta nova publicação acha-se muito melhorada, conservando sempre a sua apropriação ao ensino primario.* | 01/06/1867 |
| **Elementos de geographia e cosmographia** de P. Abreu, 2a edição *com figuras cosmographicas.* | 28/07/1867 |
| **Grammatica Nacional** de Caldas Aulete - Nova edição brazileira *muito augmentada principalmente na syntaxe, na orthographia e na prosodia, adoptada pelo conselho de instrucção publica para compendio do 1° anno do imperial collegio de Pedro II; acha-se á venda na livraria classica de Nicoláo Alves, rua de Gonçalves Dias n.54.* | 02/02/1871 |
| **Biographia de S. A. O Principe Conde d'Eu**. *Está no prélo esta interessante biographia, escripta em bello estylo: contém a historia militar da ultima phase da guerra. O editor Nicoláo Alves convida aos amigos de Sua Alteza, e aos que se interessão pelas glorias desta terra de Santa-Cruz, a virem á Livraria Classica, na rua Gonçalves Dias n.54, assignar por modico preço este livro, digno de todas as estantes* | 13/08/1871 |
| **Rudimentos arithmeticos** de Barker, nova edição de Nicoláo Alves, *consideravelmente correcta e augmentada de novos exemplos numericos das quatro operações, de problemas de arithmetica, de metrologia e de regras praticas para a conversão mutua dos pesos e medidas metricos, etc. 1 vol. 200rs.* | 08/10/1871 |

| | |
|---|---|
| **Expositor portuguez ou rudimentos do ensino da lingua materna**, por Midosi, edição de Nicoláo Alves, apropriada ao ensino da infancia brazileira, *modificada e augmentada por um distincto professor de instrucção primaria com uma bem desenvolvida geographia e chronologia da historia do Brazil, e com addições de metrologia e tabellas para a reducção de pesos e medidas no systema metrico, dispostas com a maior simplicidade*. | 06/01/1872 |
| **Lições de clinica sobre a febre amarella**, *feitas em começo do corrente anno na faculdade de medicina do Rio de Janeiro* pelo Sr. Dr. João Vicente Torres-Homem, *professor de clínica medica da mesma faculdade. Nestas lições que forão ouvidas com constante interesse, occupou-se minuciosamente o Dr. Torres-Homem da epidemia que ultimamente flagellou esta cidade, comparando-a com a de 1850; estudou a molestia em sua natureza e sua maroba, acompanhando passo a passo cada um dos periodos, e expôs o seu methodo de tratamento comparando-o com o de outros facultativos.* | 14/09/1874 |
| *2° volume das* **Noções elementares de chimica medica** *redigidas pelo* Sr. Dr. Manoel Maria de Moraes Valle | 14/09/1874 |
| **Grammatica franceza** de Emilio Sevene, nova edição de Nicoláo Alves*; a mais correcta das edições que se tem publicado, por ter sido refundida e augmentada com as postillas colhidas nas aulas do imperial collegio de Pedro II, por um dos mais distinctos professores, que a tornou incontestavelmente a melhor grammatica que hoje temos para aprender o francez, 2 vols. encadernados* | 03/01/1875 |
| *O Sr. Nicoláo Alves acaba de publicar, como editor, uma traducção feita pelo* Sr. A. E. Zaluar, do **Compendio de um curso completo de philosophia elementar**, *leccionado por A. Pellissier, professor da Universidade de Pariz.* | 07/02/1877 |
| *Foi publicada a* 4a edição dos **Elementos de algebra** compilados pelo Sr. Conselheiro C. B. Ottoni. *São editores os Srs. Nicoláo Alves e E. & H. Laemmert.* | 08/04/1879 |

Exceto pelo livro a respeito do Conde D'Eau, todos os demais livros editados por Nicolau Alves são escolares. Em seus anúncios, ressalta-se a presença de elementos didáticos nas obras, como figuras e outros elementos gráficos, e sua concordância com os programas vigentes. Quando se trata de uma edição nova de um livro já publicado, enfatiza-se que a primeira edição foi esgotada ou que se trata de uma edição corrigida e aumentada, por vezes adaptada ao aluno brasileiro, como nos casos dos livros de Aulete e Midosi. Quanto aos livros voltados ao ensino superior, há menos detalhes a seu respeito, mas costuma-se falar, no anúncio, sobre o autor.

Neste artigo, sendo nosso foco tratar da circulação transnacional de livros, é notável que há ao menos três livros que sofreram alterações para se adaptarem ao público leitor brasileiro. O mais óbvio deles, é a tradução realizada do compêndio de filosofia. Outros dois um pouco mais complexos são as obras, de língua portuguesa, de Caldas Aulete e de Midosi. Ambas obtiveram grande sucesso em Portugal, terra da origem de seus autores, e chegaram a ser utilizadas, em sua versão portuguesa, em escolas brasileiras (POLACHINI, 2022; GONTIJO & SCHWARTZ, 2015). Nicolau Alves, um português abrasileirado, como numa estratégia de vendas, faz modificações e acréscimos a essas obras a fim de realizar uma "nova edição brasileira" ou uma "edição apropriada ao ensino da infância brasileira". O editor separa culturalmente os dois países que compartilham uma mesma língua, afirmando a necessidade de se adaptar os livros e, mais, promovendo a venda de suas edições em detrimento das edições portuguesas, que eram vendidas por outros livreiros. Na seção adiante, analiso com mais demora, o caso da edição brasileira da gramática de Caldas Aulete.

## Uma gramática portuguesa em edição abrasileirada por Nicolau Alves

O autor da gramática é Francisco Júlio Caldas Aulete (1823-1878), importante e famoso professor português de língua portuguesa. Ele trabalhou em instituições importantes de Portugal, como a Escola Normal de Marvila, a Escola Acadêmica e o Liceu Central de Lisboa (SILVA & ARANHA, 1885; NÓVOA, 2005). Para além do currículo, os obituários escritos após seu repentino falecimento por tifo, em maio de 1878, ressaltam suas qualidades como docente (POLACHINI, 2022).

Aulete também escreveu livros didáticos com grande preocupação pedagógica[391]. Seus compêndios de ensino da língua portuguesa deixam evidente sua preocupação em "aprimorar a aula ministrada pelo professor e oferecer melhores condições de aprendizado aos alunos" (BOTO, 2004, p.496), visto que muitos deles apresentavam não só o conteúdo esperado, mas também orientações ao professor em sala de aula. É este o caso de sua *Grammatica Nacional*, que foi publicada pela primeira vez em 1864, pela Typ. Franco-Portuguesa, foi submetida ao julgamento do Conselho de Instrução Pública de Portugal, sendo aprovada com unanimidade e passando a ser a única gramática a ser usada nas escolas portuguesas primárias pelos três anos seguintes. Posteriormente, Aulete fez novas edições da obra, adaptando-a aos programas de ensino portugueses e também ao ensino secundário (AULETE, 1874; POLACHINI, 2022).

Em 1869, Nicolau Alves já anunciava a venda de uma edição da obra vinda de Portugal. O primeiro anúncio de venda dessa obra por Nicolau Alves encontrado é de 1° de janeiro de 1869. Ele inicia-se com letras garrafais que introduzem a "Grammatica Portugueza de Aulete" e mais especificamente a "3ª edição augmentada com exercicios, correcta por Alexandre Herculano, Antonio Feliciano de Castilho e Antonio José Viale", que foi publicada em 1866[392] pela Imprensa Nacional de Portugal. Nicolau Alves ressalta sua adoção de forma exclusiva para educação primária pelo Conselho de Instrução Pública de Portugal.

> [...] adoptada pelo Conselho de instrucção publica de Portugal para compendio com exclusão de todas as grammaticas legalmente adoptadas, por entender que ella une a clareza do methodo ao rigor das definições e á propriedade dos exemplo, todas as condições inculcadas para ser preferida nas aulas primarias para ser o unico compendio explicado nellas. [...] para que os Srs. professores possão ter uma idéa da materia inclucada nesta grammatica ajuntamos aqui a advertencia do autor. (Jornal do Commercio, Rio de Janeiro, 1/1/1869)

O restante do anúncio é uma reprodução de parte da advertência da obra, escrita pelo próprio Aulete, na qual ele explica o conteúdo da obra, oferece orientações aos docentes e, por fim, agradece o acolhimento da obra. Chama atenção o fato de que a obra, que em versão original chama-se "Grammatica Nacional", fosse divulgada como "gramática portuguesa" no anúncio de Alves. Esse padrão se seguirá em todos os anúncios da Livraria Clássica, exceto o de 4 de fevereiro 1871 (ver adiante), ao passo que outras livrarias, em catálogos anunciados nos jornais usavam "gramática nacional" para se referir às edições portuguesas da obra, como

[391] Sua obra mais famosa no Brasil é seu dicionário, que continua a ser utilizado até os dias de hoje. Mas, na verdade, Aulete foi responsável apenas por seu projeto, por ter falecido antes dele ter sido colocado em prática e publicado em 1881. Além disso, publicou uma cartilha e seletas de textos literários.

[392] Essa edição pode ser consultada na Biblioteca da Faculdade de Direito da Universidade de São Paulo e foi analisada em Polachini (2022)

a Livraria Luso-brasileira, em 1865, a Garnier em 1868, e a Laemmert em 1878. A alteração no nome chamou atenção também aos contemporâneos, visto que se encontra no periódico carioca Lobishomem de 1871 a seguinte piada "Já comprastes a grammatica nacional do Caldas Aulete? Pois elle tambem escreveu a grammatica *nacional*? Eu julguei que só tinha escripto a *portugueza*." A escolha pelo complemento portuguesa por Nicolau Alves pode ser considerada uma estratégia de venda pois esclarece o idioma de que a obra tratava e, por outro, evitava qualquer desconforto em relação ao "nacional", com referência a Portugal, em plena capital do Império brasileiro.

A venda da obra pela Livraria Clássica a partir de 1869 parece ser estratégica, visto que no ano anterior as províncias de Pernambuco e Rio de Janeiro haviam adquirido mil exemplares dessa obra cada uma[393] para utilização em instituições públicas. A possibilidade de lucrar com a obra sendo vendida tanto para órgãos públicos como para consumidores comuns justificava um anúncio longo a seu respeito. No ano seguinte, de 1870, a obra aparece como um dos livros recomendados para as escolas primárias da província de Pernambuco[394] e, de acordo com anúncio da própria Livraria Clássica, teria nesse mesmo ano sido adotada para as escolas da província do Rio de Janeiro[395].

Na edição de 4 de fevereiro de 1871 do Jornal do Commercio está o primeiro anúncio da edição brasileira da gramática de Aulete. O texto é bastante conciso, mas já se menciona que a obra foi aumentada. Nele está grafado, em letras garrafais "Grammatica Nacional de Caldas Aulete Nova Edição Brazileira" – como disse anteriormente, este é o único anúncio de Alves em que encontrei o termo 'nacional' para esta obra.

> **GRAMMATICA NACIONAL DE CALDAS AULETE NOVA EDIÇÃO BRAZILEIRA** muito augmentada principalmente na syntaxe, na orthographia e na prosódia, adoptada pelo conselho de instrucção publica para compendio do 1° anno do imperial collegio de Pedro II; acha-se á venda na livraria classica de Nicoláo Alves, rua de Gonçalves Dias n. 54. (Jornal do Commercio, 4/1/1871 – grifos do original)

No início do ano seguinte, em 5 de janeiro de 1872, foi publicado um pequeno catálogo da Livraria Clássica apenas com as "edições melhoradas e apropriadas ao ensino da infância brasileira", no qual estava listada a gramática de Aulete.

> Livros de instrucção primaria de edições melhoradas e apropriadas ao ensino da infancia brazileira, á venda na livraria classica de Nicoláo Alves rua de Gonçalves Dias n. 54. [...] Grammatica Nacional (elementar por Caldas Aulete) Nova edição brazileira de Nicoláo Alves muito augmentada,

[393] Cf. Jornal do Recife, Pernambuco, 24/4/1868; Jornal do Recife, Pernambuco, 5/5/1868; e Jornal do Commercio, Rio de Janeiro, 12/12/1868.
[394] Cf. Jornal do Recife, Pernambuco, 26/2/1869; e Jornal do Recife, Pernambuco, 14/7/1869.
[395] Cf. Jornal do Commercio, Rio de Janeiro, 1/2/1870.

> principalmente na syntaxe, na ortographia e na prosodia, adoptada pelo conselho de instrucção publica para compendio do 1° anno do imperial collegio Pedro II. Antonio Feliciano de Castilho (o principe dos poetas portuguezes contemporaneos) qualificou esta grammatica de livro de outro para crianças e de valia igualmente para os adultos. Esta grammatica une a clareza de methodo ao rigor das difinições e á propriedade dos exemplos, todas as condições inculcadas para ser admittida nas escolas primarias por ter sido redigida de modo que as suas utilissimas e philosophicas innovações se adoptão e proporcionão com admiravel facilidade á memoria e comprehensão dos alumnos incluindo para o professor todas as indicações e regras que podem auxilia-lo na explicação. (Jornal do Commercio, Rio de Janeiro, 5/1/1872)

Como se vê, nos anúncios não há explicações sobre de que maneira e pelas mãos de quem se deram os acréscimos e as mudanças na obra, assim alguns supõem que isso foi feito pelo próprio Nicolau Alves. Isso levou a uma querela, iniciada na edição de 8 e 9 de setembro de 1875 do Jornal do Commercio (Rio de Janeiro), em que um longo artigo intitulado "Questão de propriedade literária VII"[396] assinado por "Brasilicus", apresenta uma porção de críticas ao uso que se vinha fazendo da gramática de Aulete em tipografias e livrarias brasileiras, incluindo a de Nicolau Alves.

Brasilicus declara que a gramática de Aulete possuía no Brasil grande aceitação e reputação, o que levou editores brasileiros a publicá-la com falsa indicação de Lisboa. Ressalta que "de uma dessas edições temos pleno conhecimento e até provas irrecusaveis da falsidade da indicação", mas em seguida indica que não tratará desse assunto no artigo, cujo foco seria, em realidade, "a ampla e plena liberdade das contrafeições e o uso que dessa liberdade tem feito em proveito proprio o Sr. Nicoláo Alves".

O autor do artigo argumenta que o editor não teria conhecimento ou formação suficientes para adicionar conteúdo à gramática portuguesa de Aulete. Critica também o Colégio Pedro II que, tendo professores tão capazes, utiliza a obra editada por Alves em vez daquelas modificadas pelo próprio autor.

> Por aquella advertencia vê-se que o Sr. Nicoláo Alves faz-se proprietario de um livro que não tem propriedade no Brazil, alterando o trabalho alheio, sabe Dêus como. Ora, o Sr. Nicoláo Alvez a corrigir Caldas Aulete! a achar neste deficiencias, e a suppri-las; elle, o Sr. Nicoláo Alvez, ora esta!... E o que é mais falante é que o collegio de Pedro II, o primeiro instituto litterario do Brazil, com um corpo docente, que conta entre seus membros escriptores da plena dor Srs. Macedo, Fernandes Pinheiro, Moreira de Azevedo e Motta de Azevedo, prefira á edição corrigida e augmentada pelo Sr. Nicoláo Alves ás que por ahi correm sem alterações e até mesmo ás que são feitas sob as proprias vistas do autor!

[396] O número VII refere-se ao sétimo artigo de uma série de artigos com esse mesmo título que vinham sendo publicados no Jornal do Commercio (Rio de Janeiro) a respeito de uma polêmica entre Nicolau Alves e outros editores.

Enfim, conclui com uma crítica ao mercado editorial brasileiro e, mais especificamente, carioca:

> Só no Brazil, só no Rio de Janeiro, só do conselho da nossa instrucção publica alcançaria o Sr. Nicoláo Alves o reconhecimento de linguistico, com a adopção que obteve a contrafeição que por uma especulação mercantil fez da *Grammatica Nacional* de Aulete. Pobre paiz, miserrima instrucção publica, que prefere as edições contrafeitas e alteradas por um livreiro, cuja illustração se ignora, á livre concurrencia das edições feitas sob os cuidados dos proprios autores.

Embora a crítica seja mordaz, não parece ter mudado a trajetória próspera que a obra teria pelos próximos anos. A gramática continuou sendo adotada pelo Pedro II para o primeiro ano do curso secundário até 1876 (RAZZINI, 2000), foi reimpressa em 1878[397] e vendida na Livraria Clássica até, pelo menos, 1889. É importante mencionar, entretanto, que após o início da direção da livraria e editora por Francisco Alves sua importância decaiu. Isso provavelmente não se deu, porém, por decisão do sobrinho do antigo editor. Os estudos da linguagem vinham passando por mudanças ao longo do século XIX na Europa, o que culminou no Brasil no início da década de 1880. Após a publicação da *Grammatica Portugueza* de Júlio Ribeiro[398], em 1881, paulatinamente as obras gramaticais antigas foram substituídas por outras, consideradas mais modernas.

Em 1881 e 1882, a gramática de Aulete era a única gramática do catálogo da Livraria Clássica e tinha um espaço considerável de divulgação, como se pode ver no texto que foi publicado de forma igual no Almanak Gazeta de Notícias de 1881 e no jornal Gazeta de Notícias de 1° de janeiro de 1882. Além disso, nesses anúncios, escritos cerca de uma década após o primeiro, fica, enfim, explícita a contribuição do também do professor primário e gramático Francisco Silveira d'Avila Pimentel, que havia sido omitida anteriormente.

> Grammatica Portugueza, por Caldas Aulete, *edição brazileira de Nicolau Alves*, muito augmentada, principalmente na syntaxe, na orthographia e na prosodia, por Francisco S. A. Pimentel, professor de instrucção primaria, adoptada pelo conselho de instrucção publica para compendio do 1° anno do Imperial Collegio Pedro II. Antonio Feliciano de Castilho (o principe dos poetas portuguezes, contemporaneos) qualificou esta

[397] Jornal do Commercio, Rio de Janeiro, 7 /1/1878.

[398] Até 1881, as gramáticas escolares adotadas no Brasil pendiam para uma visão filosófica da linguagem, mesmo que superficialmente. Depois da publicação da gramática de Júlio Ribeiro, que foi bastante criticada também por suas imprecisões, as gramáticas que seguiam o modelo histórico-comparativista passaram, cada vez mais, a serem a prioridade na produção gramatical brasileira e na circulação em importantes escolas. Exemplo disso é que em 1887, Fausto Barreto, professor do Colégio Pedro II, escreveu um programa de estudos para os exames totalmente baseado nessa nova visão sobre a linguagem, o que tornava obrigatório que os estudos da escola secundária se dessem em gramáticas com esse mesmo viés (cf. Polachini, 2018; entre outros).

> grammatica de livro de outro para crianças, e de valias igualmente para os adultos 1$000.

Quando Francisco Alves passa a comandar a Livraria Clássica, agora chamada Alves & C. Livreiros, em 1883, a exposição da gramática de Aulete torna-se modesta, como se vê no Almanak Administrativo, Mercantil e Industrial do Rio de Janeiro de 1883: "Aulete, grammatica portugueza. 1$000". Em catálogos posteriores, é dado maior destaque à obra, mas não o mesmo da época de Nicolau Alves. Em 1889, na Revista Sul-Americana, o anúncio diz somente "Grammatica portugueza, por Caldas Aulete edição brazileira, muito augmentada, principalmente na syntaxe, na orthographia e na prosodia 1$000". Nesse momento, as gramáticas seriadas de João Ribeiro[399], eminente filólogo brasileiro que tornou-se professor de História Universal do Pedro II em 1890, já haviam começado a ser editadas pela Alves & Comp. e apareciam antes da obra de Aulete no catálogo.

Enfim, em anúncio com catálogo da Livraria Clássica de Alves & C. de 4 de fevereiro de 1892, publicado n'O Combate, do Rio de Janeiro, nota-se a ausência da obra de Aulete. Estão presentes, porém, outras, como as de João Ribeiro (desde 1889), a "Grammatica elementar e lições progressivas de composição, por Hilario Ribeiro, 1 vol. in-12.. 1$200" e a "Grammatica nacional, por Coruja, 1 vol. 1$000." É possível ver nos anúncios, no curso de vinte e poucos anos anos, entre 1869 e 1892, a ascensão e queda do prestígio da gramática de Aulete vendida e, depois, editada pela Livraria Clássica. Uma obra de origem portuguesa que, como diziam os anúncios, passou por acréscimos a fim de aproximá-la do leitor e do aluno brasileiro, e que foi vendida e editada por um português emigrado para o Brasil.

No que diz respeito ao conteúdo apresentado na obra, ela é bastante similar à edição elementar de 1866, visto que o texto completo se manteve. Sua diferença está diversos acréscimos ao longo das páginas, os quais vão marcados por um asterisco, como é indicado em um parágrafo ao final da Advertência:

> "Encontrando-se algumas lacunas na edição portugueza, julga o editor prestar um serviço á mocidade brasileira dando-lhe maior desenvolvimento, o qual se acha impresso em um corpo differente e assignalado com asterisco*." (ALVES, s.d.)

Tais acréscimos apresentavam-se em corpo menor, eram antecedidos por um asterisco e seguidos da referência "(Vejam-se as *Breves Noções de Grammatica*, por F. S. A. Pimentel)".

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[399] Citamo-las de acordo com o catálogo: "*Grammatica portugueza*, curso superior, 3°Anno, por João Ribeiro, 2a edição, correcta e augmentada, 1 vol. in-12 3$000; *Grammatica portugueza elementar*, curso medio (2° anno), por João Ribeiro, 1 vol.; *Grammatica portugueza da infancia*, curso primario (1° anno), por João Ribeiro 1$000."

Não tive acesso à obra referida, escrita por Francisco da Silveira de Ávila Pimentel, que Blake (1895, p. 125) descreve simplesmente como "professor da instrução primária" e lista suas obras publicadas[400], figurando entre elas a

> "Grammatica portugueza por Caldas Aulete, muito augmentada principalmente na syntaxe e na orthographia e na prosodia, por F. S. A. Pimentel, adoptada pelo conselho da instrucção publica para compendio do 1° anno do imperial collegio Pedro II e collegio naval." (ALVES, s.d.)

De acordo com as referências apresentadas por Blake, diferentemente do que afirmam os anúncios examinados, a obra foi adotada no Rio de Janeiro não somente pelo Pedro II, mas também pelo Colégio Naval.

Os trechos de Pimentel, acrescentados à gramática de Aulete, visam, sobretudo, complementar o conteúdo já existente na edição original. Por exemplo, o professor lisboeta apenas define o 'adjetivo qualificativo' como aquele que junta o substantivo a uma ideia de qualidade, mas não distingue seus dois subtipos possíveis; daí entra a observação de Pimentel, que fala do adjetivo qualificativo *explicativo*, que apresenta qualidades essenciais, e o *restritivo*, em que a qualidade é não essencial. A seção com mais intervenções é a de Prosódia, possivelmente devido a diferenças no dialeto de Lisboa e do Rio de Janeiro. No que diz respeito aos exercícios, abundantes na obra de Aulete, eles são idênticos aos da edição analisada de 1866, sem quaisquer acréscimos. Dessa forma, as intervenções se dão na explicação e descrição da língua, e não das orientações e sugestões de exercícios apresentados por Auleta a fim de facilitar o trabalho do professor que adotasse a obra.

## Considerações finais

Procurei neste trabalho realizar uma primeira aproximação da atuação de Nicolau Alves como livreiro-editor, sobretudo no que diz respeito à circulação transnacional de livros, com foco na gramática de Aulete. Ainda não tive acesso a documentos relevantes, como o catálogo histórico da livraria, no qual todos os livros publicados pela editora desde seu início são listados, além de outros documentos abrigados na Universidade Federal Fluminense, relativos

[400] São elas: *Breves noções de grammatica para se aprender theorica e praticamente, analisar e escrever portuguez* (1870), *Explicações de portuguez à infância* (1874), *Explicador de portuguez em conformidade com o programma do 1° anno do imperial collegio de Pedro II* (1875), *Cartilha da infancia* (1878), *Basculhos: compilações e poesias* (sem data), todas publicadas no Rio de Janeiro.

às pesquisas do saudoso professor português-abrasileirado Aníbal Bragança[401]. Por essa razão, procurei fazer uma história baseada em como a livraria se apresentava em anúncios e propagandas em um jornal carioca, o Jornal do Commercio. Ainda assim, mesmo com suas lacunas, este trabalho atingiu seu objetivo de realizar essa primeira aproximação, a qual nos leva a algumas conclusões.

Primeiramente, é possível observar que a história de uma dos maiores editores brasileiros já existentes, Francisco Alves, baseia-se em parte na de seu tio, Nicolau Alves, ainda que parcialmente. Vimos em Nicolau Alves o interesse pelos livros acadêmicos e escolares desde a fundação da livraria, o que fundamentou o caminho trilhado por seu sobrinho posteriormente, tornando-se o maior editor de livros escolares do país. Dessa forma, acredito ser necessário um maior aprofundamento na história da Livraria Clássica no período coordenado por Nicolau Alves.

Esse livreiro-editor foi participante relevante na circulação transnacional de livros didáticos no Rio de Janeiro, pois, além do procedimento já comum de comprar livros estrangeiros ou traduzidos e revendê-los, ele foi responsável, enquanto editor, de produzir obras traduzidas e, mais, de produzir obras adaptadas ao contexto brasileiro, sendo auxiliado para isso por professores que, embora nem sempre tivessem seu nome marcado nos anúncios, eram responsáveis por modificarem o livro original, com seus acréscimos e apontamentos. Gerava-se, assim, um procedimento de apropriação transnacional do livro.

Neste trabalho, pude acessar brevemente a história de uma de suas edições desse tipo, a gramática de Aulete. Seria muito interessante explorar, com maior profundidade, outras de suas edições, procurando compreender similaridades e diferenças nesse processo de apropriação. Pois, ao compreender melhor o mercado livreiro, certamente chegaremos a dados relevantes acerca da circulação de livros escolares e da história transnacional da educação.

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[401] Aníbal Bragança, reconhecido historiador do livro falecido em fevereiro de 2022, era coordenador do grupo Lihed (Núcleo de Pesquisa sobre Livro e História Editorial no Brasil), na Universidade Federal Fluminense, que conta com um raro e precioso acervo documental da Livraria Francisco Alves.

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# UMA CLASSE DE PALAVRAS MUTÁVEL: SOBRE O VERBO NA GRAMATICOGRAFIA BRASILEIRA OITOCENTISTA

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## Introdução

Neste capítulo, tratamos do conceito de verbo em gramáticas brasileiras publicadas ao longo do século XIX. Observamos tanto o conceito geral de verbo como as suas espécies, procurando compreender as mudanças na gramática brasileira neste século. A gramaticografia brasileira de língua portuguesa, iniciada em 1806, com a publicação do *Epitome da grammatica portugueza*, de Morais Silva, tem um enorme crescimento ao longo do século XIX, chegando à publicação de ao menos 199 obras, entre primeiras edições e reedições, até 1900 (Polachini, 2018). Selecionamos cinco obras que consideramos significativas para compreender as transições por que passou o conceito de verbo nesse período. Na passagem do século XVIII para o XIX, a gramaticografia de língua portuguesa – não só a brasileira, mas também da europeia, de Portugal – passava por uma transição, ao abandonar a gramática latina estendida para apropriar-se de conceitos da gramática geral, a qual predominou até a década 1870 em Portugal e até a década de 1880 no Brasil, sendo substituída então pelo método histórico-comparativo.

A gramática latina estendida, termo cunhado por Auroux (2009), por basear-se na descrição da língua latina, apresentava conceitos como os de verbo médio e verbo passivo, que, por não existirem na língua portuguesa tal qual no latim, precisavam ser explicados de uma maneira diversa. Já a gramática geral que foi apropriada pelos estudiosos brasileiros sobretudo da tradição francesa, desde a *Grammaire Générale Raisonnée* de Port-Royal de 1660 até os setecentistas Nicolas Beauzée (1717-1789) e Étienne Bonnot de Condillac (1714-1780), defendia uma noção de linguagem que distinguia a língua expressa da língua em pensamento, sendo esta última o principal elemento de análise. Em razão disso, fundamentava seu conceito de verbo na ideia do ‘verbo substantivo’, que seria o único verbo de fato: “ser”. Os demais

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verbos seriam formados pela junção do verbo substantivo com um atributo, formando os chamados ‘verbos adjetivos’, dessa forma a expressão “amo” seria analisada como “sou amante” (Graffi, 2001). Finalmente, com a apropriação dos estudos histórico-comparatistas, que chegam ao Brasil via, sobretudo, as traduções francesas de obras germânicas, como as de Franz Bopp (1791-1867) e Friedrich Diez (1794-1876), passa-se a dar atenção à língua expressa, sem mais uma linguagem de dois níveis (um expresso e outro oculto), e, dessa forma, a noção de verbo substantivo é abandonada e passa-se a dar maior atenção à transitividade do verbo, como veremos nas análises a seguir.

## *Corpus* e método

Selecionamos como *corpus* desta investigação cinco gramáticas oitocentistas, as quais consideramos representativas do período de acordo com algumas revisões históricas (Maciel, 1918; Nascentes, 1939; Elia, 1975; Cavaliere, 2001, 2022; Polachini, 2013, 2018). A gramática de Morais Silva (1896), primeira a ser publicada por um brasileiro, a obra de Fortes (1816), que foi a primeira a ser publicada na imprensa brasileira e as gramáticas de Sotero dos Reis (1866) e Ribeiro (1881, 1885), que são consideradas simbólicas da metodologia de descrição que apresentam. Analisamos duas edições das gramáticas de Ribeiro, visto que, por terem sido escritas em um período de transição, são diferentes entre si.

Com objetivo de realizar uma *historiografia linguística metodologicamente consciente* (Koerner, 2014), detalharemos adiante quais os procedimentos utilizados para realizar nossa investigação. Após a seleção das obras, cujos critérios foram explicitados acima, fizemos a leitura das seções das obras correspondentes ao prólogo ou prefácio, à introdução, às classes de palavras e, dentro desta, ao verbo. Para a análise, distinguimos alguns elementos das obras, definimos a seguir.

Seguindo a metodologia já utilizada em Polachini (2018), consideramos verbo um *conceito*, o qual conta com uma *definição* (seu significado), um *metatermo* (seu significante), *exemplos* ou *ilustrações* e também com uma *taxonomia*, isto é, divisão em *espécies*. Destacamos que procuramos distinguir textualmente nossa *meta-metalinguagem* da *metalinguagem* das próprias gramáticas. Assim, quando os termos forem nossos, eles estarão em itálico, quando são das gramáticas, estarão entre aspas simples. Ademais, os *exemplos* (abreviação *ex.*) estarão predominantemente entre parênteses, entretanto, por vezes podem vir como citações e, portanto, entre aspas duplas. Quando as ilustrações possuem uma referência, como um texto literário, essa referência é colocada entre colchetes após a abreviação *ref.*

Ademais, distinguimos no discurso gramatical o *texto* em oposição ao *metatexto*. Considerando que a gramática teria uma função essencial de manual (*téchne, ars, arte*), isto é, de definir conceitos e sua aplicação a dados da língua, aos fragmentos correspondentes a esses processos chamamos de *texto*. Em muitas das gramáticas analisadas, porém, há reflexões acerca do *conceito* apresentado no *texto* ou mesmo há *conceitos* que são apresentados de maneira indireta, a passagens desse tipo chamamos *metatexto*. Além disso, as reflexões ou conceitos apresentados em *metatexto* podem ser *adotados*, *parcialmente adotados* ou *rejeitados* pela obra, pois a natureza livre dos *metatextos* permite que o que se apresenta nele seja um acréscimo à gramática, seja uma observação a respeito de outra conceitualização ou mesmo seja uma crítica a alguma conceitualização diferente da que o autor faz em *texto*.

O *metatexto* pode ser localizado pela sua forma editorial ou efetivamente pelo seu conteúdo, segundo esta tipologia: a) nota de rodapé ou nota dentro do próprio texto; b) texto iniciado por "dizem os gramáticos" ou "tal gramáticos diz que", isto é, toda vez que houve referência a outro manual ou autor, fossem eles especificados ou não (exceto em caso de simples referência bibliográfica); c) comentário meta-metalinguístico a respeito do próprio conceito. Procuramos especificar, entre os três citados, o tipo de *metatexto* sempre que os mencionamos ao longo da análise.

## O verbo nas gramáticas brasileiras oitocentistas

Em nossa visão, há três momentos na gramaticografia brasileira oitocentista. Nas primeiras décadas houve ainda alguma base da gramática latina estendida, a qual é combatida pela perspectiva da gramática geral. Posteriormente, a gramática geral tornou-se predominante, até que, entre as décadas de 1880 e 1890, ocorreu a transição dessa perspectiva para a gramática voltada para o método histórico-comparativo. Tais mudanças podem ser observadas a partir do conceito de verbo das cinco obras selecionadas.

### *Entre a gramática latina estendida e a gramática geral*

Começamos pela análise da obra do primeiro gramático brasileiro de que temos conhecimento: Antônio Morais Silva (1755-1824). Nascido na cidade do Rio de Janeiro em 1755, mudou-se, aos dezenove anos, para Coimbra, Portugal, para fazer o Curso Jurídico, pouco tempo depois de a Universidade ter sido reformada por Pombal, isto é, quando adentraram nela conhecimentos considerados iluministas. Não há certeza sobre se Morais Silva

chegou a se formar como bacharel (Blake, 1883, Murakawa, 2006), mas sabe-se que em 1779, que seria seu último ano na Universidade, foi denunciado à Inquisição junto com outros colegas; fugiu de Coimbra para Lisboa, e de lá para a Inglaterra, onde permaneceu até 1783 – talvez essa seja uma razão para a influência de autores ingleses no seu texto gramatical. Publicou diversos livros no final do século XVIII[403] e estabeleceu-se no Brasil, em Pernambuco, onde escreveu seu *Epítome da Gramática da Língua Portugueza*, finalizado em 1802. A publicação da obra, porém, ocorreu quatro anos depois, em 1806, porque teve de passar pelo Desembargo do Paço e foi impressa em Lisboa, visto que até 1808 eram proibidas as prensas no Brasil. Seu epítome foi reeditado posteriormente dentro das edições de seu dicionário, a partir de 1813, em uma edição independente com o título *Grammatica Portugueza*, publicada no Rio de Janeiro, e também em uma versão póstuma em formato de diálogo, publicada em 1832 no Rio Grande do Sul[404]. É considerada uma obra prestigiada do início do século XIX – ora considerada portuguesa, ora, brasileira – e amiúde é citada pelas revisões históricas (por exemplo, Nascentes, 1939; Cavaliere, 2001, 2022; Santos, 2010; Polachini, 2013, 2018).

Logo no início da obra, Morais Silva (1806) apresenta uma citação de Condillac, em epígrafe: "Complicamos nossa Gramática, porque desejamos fazê-la de acordo com a Gramática Latina. Não a simplificaremos até que retomemos a ligação entre as expressões e os elementos do discurso"[405]. Morais Silva parece querer expressar descrédito em relação às gramáticas baseadas no modelo da gramática latina. Sua crítica, desenvolvida posteriormente no prefácio da obra, provavelmente se destinava às gramáticas do português anteriores, que usavam elementos da descrição da língua latina para descrever a língua portuguesa. O autor, ao mesmo tempo em que se afasta dessa tradição, vai ao encontro da gramática geral.

No que diz respeito ao 'verbo', Morais Silva o define como palavra com que se declara o que a alma julga ou quer acerca dos 'sujeitos' e dos 'atributos' das 'sentenças', com ele, portanto, afirmamos e mandamos (ex.: eu sou amante; filho, sê temente a Deus). Nota-se que

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[403] Em 1788, publicou a tradução da *História de Portugal*, escrita por um grupo de literatos ingleses. No mesmo ano foi publicada outra tradução sua, as *Recreações de um homem sensível*, de François-Thomas-Marie de Baculard d'Arnauld. No ano de 1789, publicou a primeira edição de seu *Dicionário da Língua Portuguesa*, o qual tinha como base o *Vocabulário Português e Latino* (1712-1728, 8 vol., 2 supl.), de Raphael Bluteau (1638-1734), que, na versão do gramático brasileiro era monolíngue e tinha apenas dois volumes. Em 1813, foi publicada a segunda edição, bastante modificada e acrescentada, de seu dicionário, no qual constava, nas primeiras páginas, seu *Epítome*.

[404] MORAIS SILVA, A. *Epitome da grammatica portuguesa* agora mais resumido, e em fórma de dialogo, para uso de meninos. Porto Alegre: C. Dubreuil. 91p. (Localizada na biblioteca do IEL-UNICAMP).

[405] Tradução livre de "Nous avons compliqué nòtre Grammaire, parce que nous l'avons voulu faire d'apres les Grammaires Latines. Nous ne la simplifierons, qu'autant que nous rappellerons les expressions aux élémens du discours" (Morais Silva, 1806, p. II).

o autor mescla as visões da *Grammaire Générale et Raisonnée* de Port-Royal, de Arnauld & Lancelot, publicada em 1660, com as do *Hermes or a philosophical enquiry concerning language and universal grammar*, publicada em 1751, de James Harris, visto que, ambos, ao considerarem o verbo como cerne da sentença, a definem, como julgamento (Port-Royal) e mando e asserção (Harris) (Polachini, 2013).

Além disso, o gramático ressalta que a significação ou ofício principal dos 'verbos' tem conexão com significação de algum 'atributo' que *existe* ou que *queremos que exista* e as *diversas épocas em que ele existe*. Complementa que há usos que se equivalem e os ilustra: "amo" por si só equivale a "eu sou amante atualmente", e "ama a deus" a "sê tu amante de Deus". Essa é uma definição *sintática*, o 'verbo' é definido com base na 'sentença' tripartite, com 'sujeito' "eu/tu", 'verbo' "sou/sê" e 'atributo' "amante", a qual tem fundamento numa noção dual da linguagem como expressão do pensamento; isto é, há, por um lado, o pensamento – o princípio da linguagem – e, por outro, a maneira de expressá-lo. Tal perspectiva é própria da gramática geral, entretanto, o autor não a desenvolve, como veremos a seguir. Enfim, Morais Silva cita, secundariamente, a função do verbo de exprimir 'tempo'.

No que diz respeito às *espécies* do verbo, há o 'verbo neutro', que não é nem 'ativo' nem 'passivo'. Segundo Morais Silva, em *metatexto*, os gramáticos chamam assim 'verbos' que não significam 'ação' (ex.: o vento dorme; as ondas jazem; o cisne iguala a neve na candura) ou que significam uma ação que fica no mesmo 'sujeito' de quem se afirma (ex.: eu ando, salto, respiro, corro, vivo). Ressaltamos, porém, que na definição de 'verbo', o gramático não cita 'ação', mas apenas 'afirmação', 'julgamento' e 'mando'. Isso pode parecer uma contradição, mas o que ocorre é que a apropriação de Morais Silva da gramática geral, por não desenvolver a distinção entre 'verbo substantivo' e 'verbo adjetivo' ou 'atributivo' – como fez, por exemplo, Sotero dos Reis (1871), que analisamos adiante – tem um desajuste entre essas definições.

Há também os 'verbos ativos', que têm em geral um 'paciente' ou 'objeto' em quem se emprega a 'ação' (ex.: feri a Pedro; matei a lebre; remar o batel; remei meu remo; pelejar as pelejas do Senhor); de acordo com Morais Silva, esses se dizem 'verbos transitivos', mas. por vezes, são usados sem 'paciente' (ex.: não teme, não espera a consciência pura – isto é, não teme, não espera nada; primeiro haveis de alimpar como marmelo – isto é, ficar limpo; as minas da Espanha esgotaram). Por outro lado, pode-se juntar eventualmente aos 'verbos neutros' 'pacientes', como aos 'transitivos' (ex.: viver vida feliz; correr carreiras; correr seu curso; o homem medroso tudo o estremece; deus chovia maná aos Israelitas; a planta malnascida o céu a geia, neva, abrasa e chove; entre outros). Alguns 'verbos neutros' usam-se com 'paciente'

para designar espontaneidade e energia do ‘sujeito’ (ex.: entrou o ano; entrou se o inimigo pela porta).

Quando o ‘sujeito’ faz a ação em si mesmo (ex.: Pedro feriu-se, cortou-se) dizem os gramáticos (*metatexto*) que isso se dá por ‘verbos reflexos’. Já se os ‘sujeitos’ são reciprocamente ‘agentes’ e ‘pacientes’ (ex.: Pedro e João amam-se; feriram-se). Menciona ainda que outras línguas têm propriamente, isto é, em ‘sentido’ e em ‘figura’, ‘verbos médios’, ‘dobradamente ativos’, algo que não ocorre no português, dado que os ‘reflexos’ ou ‘pronominais’ e os ‘recíprocos’ são ‘ativos puros’, usados com ‘sujeito’ e ‘pacientes’ idênticos. Ademais, ao trazer o conceito latino de ‘verbos passivos’, afirma que a falta dele na língua portuguesa é suprida de dois modos: usando dos ‘verbos’ “ser” e “estar” com os ‘particípios passivos’ (ex.: sou amado; estou ferido; ex.: por ser justo e devido o dever se guardar tal como) ou ajuntar o ‘caso’ “se” aos sujeitos da ‘terceira pessoa’ que não podem fazer a ação em si mesmos (ex.: cortam-se árvores; tecem-se sedas; edifica-se o edifício).

Posteriormente, o gramático trata do ‘verbo substantivo’ ao dizer que os gramáticos (*metatexto*) chamam ao ‘verbo’ “ser” ‘substantivo’, porque a ele se ajuntam todos os ‘atributivos’ e ainda ‘nomes’ usados ‘compreensivamente’ ou ‘atributivamente’ (ex.: ser amado, ferido, amante; ex.: o ser vosso, senhora, me condena [ref.: Camões]; o tempo ensina ser justo os pequenos [ref. Ferreira]; tudo é suspeito e pouco seguro para as mulheres até o serem virtuosas [ref. Menina e Moça]). Em *metatexto* (nota de rodapé), observa que por vezes o ‘infinitivo substantivo’ “ser” ou “serem” pode estar ‘elíptico’ (ex.: de que maneira podiam escapar, de mortos ou cativos = de serem mortos ou cativos [ref. Jornada d’África]; segundo os cavaleiros d’esta casa são poucos costumados a ociosos = a serem ou estarem ociosos [ref.: Palmeirim]).

Como vemos, o ‘verbo substantivo’, apresentado por Morais Silva em metatexto, não é o da gramática geral. Embora o autor, ao conceituar ‘verbo’ traga exemplos que contemplariam o conceito da gramática geral, como “eu sou amante”, não há uma definição de verbo substantivo da gramática geral tal como veremos, por exemplo, na gramática de Sotero dos Reis (1871).

E, finalmente, trata dos ‘verbos impessoais’ como aqueles que não têm variações correspondentes à ‘primeira’, nem à ‘segunda pessoa’, as quais são comuns ao homem, porque os ‘atributos’ desses ‘verbos’ não podem caber a homens, não se diz, por exemplo, “eu chovo”, a não ser no sentido figurado (ex.: tu nos choves altas doutrinas). A esses ‘verbos’, diz Morais Silva, chamam os gramáticos (*metatexto*) ‘impessoais’ ou carentes de ‘variações pessoais’, mas eles as têm, ao menos das ‘terceiras pessoas’. Menciona também os ‘verbos defectivos’ os quais não são usados na primeira pessoa: não se diz “eu fedo, eu brando, eu muno”.

Em suma, Morais Silva apresenta um conceito de verbo eclético em vários sentidos. Em primeiro lugar, apropria-se de ideias proveniente da *Grammaire* de Port-Royal e de Harris para tratar da definição mais geral de verbo. Por outro, utiliza a terminologia da gramática latina estendida, ao tratar das *espécies* de 'verbo', como se vê no caso de 'verbo passivo' e 'verbo médio', os quais ainda que não existam em português, de acordo com o gramático, são apresentados na gramática. É importante ressaltar que os *termos* e *conceitos* apresentados por Morais Silva priorizam a *atividade* e *passividade* do 'verbo', acima da *transitividade*, mas esta é contemplada muitas vezes na *definição* dos *conceitos* de 'verbo recíproco', 'reflexo', 'médio' e, sobretudo, 'ativo'.

Chama atenção o fato de o 'verbo substantivo' ser exposto como apenas mais uma das *espécies* de 'verbo', em metatexto ao final do capítulo de tratamento dessa *classe de palavra*, ao passo que, em outras obras que se apropriam das ideias da gramática geral, essa espécie de verbo é principal, como veremos em Sotero dos Reis (1871) e Ribeiro (1881). Ademais, embora traga um exemplo típico do conceito de verbo substantivo da gramática geral, "eu sou amante", sua definição dessa espécie de verbo é bastante diversa da dessa tradição. Finalmente, ao tratar do 'verbo impessoal', define-o como tendo somente as terceiras pessoas.

Com a criação da Imprensa Régia, em 1816 é publicada pela primeira vez em território brasileiro uma gramática portuguesa. Seu autor é o presbítero brasileiro Inácio Felizardo Fortes (1775?-1856). Não há muitas informações a seu respeito, como mencionado por Kemmler (2013). Blake em seu *Dicionário Bibliográfico*, única fonte que temos a esse respeito, diz sobre Fortes:

> Presbítero do habito de São Pedro, nasceu no último quartel do século XVIII e faleceu em 1856 em Cabo Frio, província do Rio de Janeiro, onde exerceu o cargo de professor publico de latim da freguesia do Nossa Senha da Assumpção por muitos anos e também a advocacia. Era reputado como um grande latinista (Blake, 1895, p. 264-265).

Embora tenha publicado diversas obras, nenhuma outra era gramática ou tinha relação com estudos da linguagem[406]. No entanto, sua *Arte da Grammatica Portugueza* foi reeditada

[406] Conhecemos, via Blake (1895) e buscas em catálogos de bibliotecas, algumas de suas outras publicações, todas posteriores à da gramática: *Breve exame de pregadores pelo que pertence à arte retórica*, publicada pela Tipografia Real em 1818; a tradução de dois tomos de *História do Brasil desde a sua descoberta até 1810*, originalmente escrita em francês por Mr. Affonso de Beauchamp, publicados em 1818 e 1819; e de 1834, o texto *Oração* que, segundo Blake, foi recitado por D. Pedro II.

durante toda a vida do autor e também postumamente; de acordo com Blake, houve, ao menos, outras quatorze reedições entre 1825 e 1862. Neste trabalho, analisamos a primeira edição, de 1816. Concordamos com Kemmler (2013) que a gramática seja uma "ilustre desconhecida", dado que, embora seja a primeira gramática escrita por um brasileiro e publicada no mesmo país e tenha tido diversas reedições ao longo de, ao menos, cinco décadas, não é mencionada em revisões históricas. A razão de seu esquecimento não nos é clara. Na folha de rosto da obra, vemos seu título acompanhado de seu subtítulo: *Arte da grammatica portugueza que para uso dos seus discípulos compoz o Padre Ignacio Felizardo Fortes, Professor de Lingua Latina*. Nota-se que, embora seja uma gramática de língua portuguesa, Fortes era professor de língua latina, e, sendo a gramática destinada aos seus discípulos, espera-se que ela tenha alguma relação com o latim.

No prólogo, o autor trata da importância do estudo da língua portuguesa, justificando que a partir de 1770, pelo Alvará do Senhor Rei D. José, as aulas de língua latina deveriam incluir também o ensino do português. O gramático entende que para saber falar e escrever português corretamente, é necessário ter conhecimentos etimológicos que se encontram na língua latina. Com base nisso, objetivou em sua obra adaptar ao português regras de latim apresentadas pelo Padre Antonio Pereira de Figueiredo (1725-1797)[407], cuja gramática era utilizada nas aulas dessa língua no Reino Unido de Portugal, do Brasil e Algarves. Fortes afirma ter seguido as mesmas definições, regras e mesmos exemplos do Padre Pereira – as exceções, diz ele, estão, sobretudo, no detalhamento de 'declinações' de algumas *classes de palavras* e de 'conjugações' do 'verbo'.

No que diz respeito ao 'verbo', Fortes o define como 'voz' com que se significam as 'ações' e as 'paixões' de qualquer 'sujeito' declarando juntamente o tempo em que elas se exercem (ex.: eu amo; eu sou amado). Há três *espécies* de 'verbo'. 'Ativo', que tem significação 'transitiva', emprega-se em 'sujeito' diverso de sua significação (ex.: louvar). 'Passivo', que significa ação obrada por outro 'sujeito' e sofrida pelo 'sujeito do verbo' (ex.: eu sou louvado). 'Neutro', que tem 'significação permanente', que se emprega em si mesmo ou em 'sujeito' da mesma significação (ex.: morrer). Em *metatexto* (nota de rodapé), acrescenta os 'verbos auxiliares'; diz que o verbo "ter" é 'ativo', mas pode também se chamar 'auxiliar', porque ajuda a 'conjugar' todos os demais 'verbos'. A 'forma passiva', diz ele, conjuga-se ajuntando

[407] De acordo com Kemmler (2012) e Moraes (2015), é possível encontrar traços de três obras do Padre Antonio Pereira na *Arte* de Fortes, a saber: Figuras da Sintaxe Latina (1761), *Novo methodo da grammatica latina* (1765) e *Novo methodo de grammatica latina, reduzido a compendio* (1814 – décima primeira edição). Há também traços similares ao da *Arte da grammatica de lingua portugueza*, de Reis Lobato (1770).

o particípio "tido, tida" (e de todos os outros 'verbos') ao 'verbo' "ser" em todos os tempos; é possível, também, formá-la colocando-se a partícula' "ser" antes ou depois dos 'verbos ativos', conforme fizer melhor 'pronunciação' (ex.: se louva, louva-se). Vê-se, claramente, que Fortes procura derivar o conceito e as espécies de verbo da gramática latina.

Terminamos esta seção compreendendo que essas duas obras, as primeiras reconhecidas como parte da gramaticografia brasileira, apresentam divergências e cruzamentos. Vimos na epígrafe de Morais Silva que ele critica os textos gramaticais que davam ao português e ao latim as mesmas regras, que é justamente a proposta da *Arte* de Fortes, o qual, por sua vez, considera que tais relações não eram feitas de forma satisfatória para que a língua portuguesa fosse incluída nas aulas de latim. É interessante notar que, entretanto, Morais Silva (1806) é anterior a Fortes (1816) e, portanto, não falava de seu conterrâneo, mas de gramáticas de autores europeus. As duas gramáticas brasileiras não dialogam efetivamente entre si, mas tratam de temas de discussão próprios do clima de opinião de transição daquele momento. Além disso, ambas as obras utilizavam uma metalinguagem baseada na semântica do verbo, considerando-os 'ativos', 'passivos', 'neutros', 'médios', ao mesmo tempo em que falavam de sua transitividade nas definições. Posteriormente, esses termos foram substituídos por 'verbo transitivo' e 'intransitivo', como veremos adiante.

### *O predomínio da Gramática Geral*

Passamos agora a tratar do período em que predominou a gramática geral nos manuais brasileiros. Isso ocorre, pelo menos, desde 1829, com a publicação do *Compendio de grammatica portugueza* de Costa Duarte, até 1881, com a publicação da *Grammatica Portugueza*, de Júlio Ribeiro[408]. Selecionamos a segunda edição gramática de Sotero dos Reis, de 1871, que havia sido publicada pela primeira vez em 1866, para exemplificar esse período dado seu prestígio no período e sua presença nas revisões acerca dessa produção.

Francisco Sotero dos Reis (1800-1871) nasceu em 1800, em São Luís do Maranhão, local em que permaneceu até sua morte, em 1871. Exerceu diversas profissões, como deputado e jornalista. Além disso, deu aulas de latim desde a juventude e ingressou na carreira pedagógica, tornando-se primeiro diretor do Liceu Maranhense, fundado em 1838, e primeiro

[408] Muitas obras são publicadas nesse período. Pode-se ver uma lista exaustiva em Polachini (2018). Ademais, nesse mesmo trabalho, há a análise de sete gramáticas publicadas entre 1829 e 1881, a saber: Costa Duarte (1829, 1859), Coruja (1835, 1873), Bithencourt (1862), Sotero dos Reis (1871), Carneiro Ribeiro (1877).

inspetor da Instrução Pública do Maranhão. Ao final da vida, escreveu alguns textos relevantes para o ensino do português[409], inclusive a gramática aqui analisada.

Por seu título, *Grammatica portugueza accomodada aos princípios geraes da palavra seguidos de immediata aplicação pratica*, pode-se ver que a gramática se vincula à gramática geral, por considerar que a língua portuguesa poderia ser descrita por meio de princípios gerais da palavra; já a imediata aplicação prática pode tanto estar relacionada à exemplificação do português (que é muito frequente na obra e, ao que parece, os exemplos são em geral forjados pelo próprio gramático), quanto ao teor pedagógico da obra, que apresenta "modelos de análise" após os capítulos. Em suma, a *Grammatica Portugueza* de Sotero dos Reis parece ter sido escrita com uma *agenda* que fundia pedagogia e teoria, então, ao mesmo tempo que se apresentava como baseada na *grammatica geral,* tinha também objetivo de ser clara aos alunos que aprendiam português.

Nessa obra, a *classe de palavra* 'verbo' é considerada a palavra por excelência porque dá vida ao discurso, que não pode existir sem ela. É a palavra que serve para afirmar a existência da qualidade na substância, pessoa ou coisa e, por conseguinte, o 'nexo' ou 'cópula', que une o 'atributo' ao 'sujeito' da 'proposição', 'frase', 'sentença' ou 'enunciado de juízo'. O 'verbo' tem como propriedade essencial a 'afirmação' (ex.: Deus é eterno; Deus não é injusto), em que afirma que a qualidade de "ser eterno" e de "não ser injusto" existe no 'sujeito' "Deus". Outra propriedade sua é a 'conjugação'.

O gramático maranhense considera que a 'forma primitiva' do 'verbo' é única em todas as línguas, na portuguesa é "ser", que quer dizer "ser ente". Por isso, o 'verbo' tem duas *espécies*, o 'verbo substantivo' e o 'verbo adjetivo' – divisão mais tradicional da gramática geral. O primeiro é o 'verbo' em sua forma primitiva, "ser", que pode se apresentar dessa forma, separado do atributo, ou juntamente com o 'atributo' dentro do 'verbo atributivo' ou 'adjetivo'. O 'verbo substantivo' é o único que não é combinado com um 'atributo' (ex.: tu és estudioso; Pedro era sabio; Elle foi prudente; nós seremos amigos), todos os outros são 'verbos adjetivos'. O 'verbo substantivo' é também o único que significa a 'afirmação' e pode resolver todas as 'proposições'.

Em *metatexto* (menção a gramáticos), Sotero dos Reis relata que alguns gramáticos pretendiam também considerar "estar" 'verbo substantivo'. O gramático maranhense discorda dessa

[409] Em 1862, foram impressas as *Postillas de Grammatica Geral applicada á lingua portugueza pela analyse dos classicos*, obra que tratava especificamente de sintaxe e teve segunda edição em 1868. No ano de 1863, publicou tradução do texto *Comentários sobre a Guerra Gálica*, de Júlio César. Entre os anos de 1866 e 1868, escreveu os volumes de seu conhecido *Curso de litteratura portugueza e brazileira*. (Blake, 1895; Nogueira, 2006)

possibilidade, argumentando que "estar", que se resolve por "ser estante", envolve a significação ou ideia de existência modal, e, portanto, é um 'verbo substantivo' combinado com um 'atributo'. Enquanto "ser" exprime uma qualidade permanente, "estar" manifesta uma qualidade acidental.

O 'verbo atributivo' é, como já dissemos, o 'verbo' que tem o 'atributo' como parte de si. Ele existe, segundo o gramático, pela necessidade de abreviar o discurso para acompanhar o pensamento em sua rapidez. Assim, "ser criante" e "ser vivente" tornaram-se "criar" e "viver". Sotero dos Reis apresenta ainda uma descrição sobre as 'terminações verbais', que citamos abaixo:

> Todas estas tres terminações comprehendem o attributo grammatical e o verbo, *Ser*, que se torna patente na terminação em, *er*, da segunda conjugação. A terminação em, *ar*, é evidentemente uma terminação contracta de, *aer*, e a terminação em, *ir*, é tambem outra terminação contracta de, *ier*. Assim, *Amar*, quer dizer, amante *ser*, ou *ser* o que ama; *Mover*, movente *ser*, ou *ser* o que move; *Unir*, uninte *ser*, ou *ser* o que une. A terminação infinitiva em, *ôr*, que só se nota no verbo, *Pôr*, e seus compostos, não dá origem a uma conjugação especial, porque, *Pôr*, é a contracção de, *Pôer*, como se dizia antigamente (Sotero dos Reis, 1871, p. 66-67).

Há diversas tábuas em que Sotero dos Reis apresenta a conjugação verbal em diferentes tempos, modos e pessoas. Em uma delas, ele afirma que

> para melhor se conhecer o verbo attributivo consta de um adjectivo, que é o attributo, e do verbo substantivo, que afirma a existencia d'elle no sujeito passarei a agora a conjugal-lo em seus tempos simples, pondo claras as fórmas mutiladas que representão o attributo e o verbo, das quaes a primeira se chama a radical ou raiz, e a segunda ou a terminação é o mesmo verbo (Sotero dos Reis, 1871, p. 88).

A tábua era organizada da seguinte forma. No presente do indicativo: Tem-*o*, temente *sou*; Tem-*es*, temente *és*; Tem-*emos*, tementes *somos*; Tem-*eis*, tementes *sois*; Tem-*em*, tementes *são*. No pretérito perfeito do indicativo: Tem-*i*, temente *fui*; Tem-*este*, temente *foste*; Tem-*êo*, temente *foi*; Tem-*emos*, tementes *fomos*; Tem-*estes*, tementes *fostes*; Tem-*êrão*, tementes *fôrão*. Nota-se, dessa forma, que o gramático maranhense leva a distinção entre os verbos 'substantivo' e 'adjetivo' para a descrição gramatical.

Entre as principais *espécies* do 'verbo', há também o 'verbo auxiliar' (ex.: haver, ter), que é usado pelo 'verbo substantivo' (e, consequentemente, 'verbos adjetivo') alcance certos tempos. Ademais, o 'verbo adjetivo' ou 'atributivo' tem as seguintes *espécies*: 'transitivo', 'intransitivo', 'relativo', 'reflexo' e 'pronominal', cujo conceito apresentamos resumidamente no quadro adiante:

**Quadro 1:** Espécies do verbo em Sotero dos Reis (1871)

| *Espécies* do 'verbo atributivo' - Metatermo | *Conceito* |
|---|---|
| Transitivo | Passa a ação do 'sujeito' a outro 'sujeito' diverso em que ela se emprega, e que se denomina 'complemento direto' ou 'objetivo' do 'verbo' (ex.: Pedro estuda a gramática). Pode passar facilmente para a voz passiva (ex.: A gramática é estudada por Pedro). |
| Transitivo > Intransitivo | O 'verbo transitivo' pode converter-se em 'intransitivo' quando, tomado absolutamente, não passa a 'ação' do 'sujeito' para outro 'sujeito' diverso (ex.: Pedro ama = tem ou experimenta amor). A razão disto é que o 'atributo' grammatical "amante" que exprime a 'ação' que o 'verbo substantivo' afirma do sujeito, é tomado n'este caso como simples 'adjectivo verbal'; ao passo que, quando o verbo é 'transitivo', o 'attributo' "amante" conserva a sua força de 'participio latino' no verbo portuguez, ou é um verdadeiro 'participio alatinado'. |
| Transitivo relativo | O 'verbo transitivo', pode ser ao mesmo tempo 'relativo', quando alám do 'complemento directo' ou 'objectivo', pede um 'termo de relação', que se denomina 'complemento indireto' ou 'terminativo'. (ex.: dei um livro a Pedro). |
| Intransitivo | O 'verbo intransitivo' quando não passa a 'ação' do 'sujeito' para outro 'sujeito' diverso (ex.: José fallou admiravelmente). |
| Intransitivo relativo | O 'verbo intransitivo' pode se tornar relativo quando se dáum 'termo' de relação à 'ação' exercida pelo 'sujeito' da 'proposição' (ex.: Tu morreste para o mundo; ficou-lhe a glória da ação). |
| Relativo | O 'verbo attributivo', quando pede 'complemento indirecto' ou 'terminativo', ou um 'termo de relação' da 'acção' exercida pelo 'sujeito'. (ex.: O mundo obedece *a Deus*; O sacerdote usa *de vestes talares*). |
| Reflexo | O 'verbo atributivo', quando se lhe dá por 'complemento directo' ou 'objectivo' o mesmo 'pronome pessoal' que representa o 'sujeito' (ex.: Tu *te* feriste). |
| Pronominal | Quando habitualmente se conjuga com o referido 'pronome' por aquelle 'complemento'; porque então a 'ação' exercida pelo 'sujeito' não passa para outro 'sujeito' diverso, mas reflecte sobre ele proprio. (ex.: eu não me queixo). |
| Relativo | O 'verbo pronominal' é muitas vezes 'relativo' (ex.: Condoo-me de ti; Compunge-te de meus males). |
| Atributivo composto | Formado ordinariamente com os 'verbos' "estar", "ficar", "andar", "ir", "vir", e o 'gerundio' dos outros verbos (ex.: estar orando; ficar esperando, andar viajando, ir subindo, vir descendo) ou com o 'gerundio' próprio, quando o 'verbo' que com elle se combina exprime movimento (ex.: andar andando, ir indo, vir vindo). Esta especie de verbo composto pode ser, transitivo, intransitivo, relativo, reflexo e pronominal, segundo a natureza da significação do gerundio com que se compõe (ex.: Estou escrevendo cartas; Ficou expirando; Andou usando de banhos; Vou-me exercitando; se queixando). |
| Verbo unipessoal | O verbo que só tem a terceira pessoa do singular; é propriedade do verbo unipessoal conter em si o sujeito e o atributo. |

Fonte: Elaboração própria

Todas essas espécies derivam do ‘verbo atributivo’, isto é, aquele que contém o ‘verbo substantivo’ e o ‘atributo’. Dessa forma, o gramático não menciona mais dessa distinção, a não ser ao tratar da transição de ‘verbos transitivos’ para ‘verbos intransitivos’, quando explica que os ‘verbos transitivos’ que se tornam ‘intransitivos’, por meio de uma distinção feita na língua latina, a qual, de acordo com o gramático, pressupõe duas análises diferentes do ‘verbo adjetivo’, isto é, ‘verbo substantivo’ mais ‘adjetivo verbal’ ou ‘verbo substantivo’ mais ‘particípio’.

Em suma, claramente, o conceito de verbo do gramático maranhense é fundamentado nos conceitos de ‘verbo substantivo’ e ‘atributivo’, próprios da gramática geral, visto que todos os demais conceitos decorrem desses. Um ponto a se ressaltar é a terminologia utilizada para as espécies de verbo, baseada na transitividade do verbo e não mais em uma semântica relativa a ação, como ocorria nas gramáticas anteriores de Morais Silva e Fortes. Vale também ressaltar que, tal como Morais Silva, Sotero dos Reis mostra que os dados da língua não são estáticos e que, portanto, por vezes os transitivos tornam-se intransitivos e vice-versa. Finalmente, o metatermo ‘unipessoal’, utilizado no lugar de ‘impessoal’ pode também ser considerado um aspecto de filiação à gramática geral, na qual o sujeito não estar expresso era algo natural na expressão do pensamento (Polachini, 2016).

### *A transição da gramática geral para a gramática histórico-comparativa*

Com o gradual abandono do verbo substantivo e a ausência da gramática latina estendida, temos uma nova forma de definir o verbo. Para exemplificá-la, escolhemos duas edições da *Grammatica Portugueza* de Júlio Ribeiro, que é considerado pioneiro nessa nova perspectiva. Filho de uma brasileira e de um norte-americano, Júlio César Vaughan Ribeiro (1845-1890) nasceu na cidade de Sabará, em Minas Gerais. Em 1862, mudou-se para o Rio de Janeiro, onde fez três anos do curso da Escola Militar, deixando-o para se dedicar ao magistério e ao jornalismo. Posteriormente, foi nomeado professor de latim no curso anexo à Faculdade de Direito de São Paulo e deu aula em diversas escolas do interior do estado de São Paulo, como o Culto à Ciência, de Campinas.

Foi autor de diversas obras gramaticais e linguísticas, também escreveu romances e inúmeros artigos de jornal[410]. Analisamos, neste artigo, sua famosa *Grammatica Portugueza* em duas edições. A obra foi publicada inicialmente em 1881; e, por ter recebido muitas críticas devido, em parte, ao grande sucesso que obteve em razão de suas inovações, Ribeiro publicou uma segunda edição bastante corrigida em 1885. Interessa-nos ver as mudanças realizadas, no que diz respeito ao conceito de 'verbo', nas duas edições.

O gramático desejava se afastar da gramática geral, predominante nas gramáticas das décadas anteriores, e aproximar-se do empírico método histórico-comparativo. Isso foi rapidamente notado pelos seus pares contemporâneos, que reconheceram seu esforço, embora tenham também o criticado frequentemente devido a algumas falhas em sua inovação. Até os dias de hoje, sua obra é considerada uma ruptura na gramaticografia brasileira e tem sido objeto de estudos de diversas pesquisas (Vidal Neto, 2010; Coan, 2016; Aquino, 2016).

Nas duas edições, repetem-se duas epígrafes que, a nosso ver, procuram expressar a autopercepção que Ribeiro tinha de si enquanto gramático e filólogo. Na primeira, de autoria de Duarte Nunes de Leão (1530?-1608) – que, além de historiador, foi pioneiro descritor da ortografia da língua portuguesa do século XVII – contém a afirmação de ter tentado ensinar aos seus naturais o que de outrem não pôde aprender. A segunda, de autoria do famoso lexicógrafo e filósofo francês Émile Littré (1801-1881), afirma-se que a gramática moderna só pode ser explicada por meio do conhecimento da gramática antiga. Com essa fala, o autor se apresenta como estando mais próximo dos métodos da gramática histórico-comparativa, que era expoente naquele momento.

Ademais, o autor pede nas duas edições à "critica illustrada e honesta" que seja severa em seus apontamentos à gramática, a fim de melhorar a obra. O prefácio à segunda edição traz, entre outras coisas, comentários acerca das críticas e as mudanças realizadas pelo autor entre uma edição e outra. Ribeiro (1885, p.10) afirma que, ainda que tenha acolhido certas críticas, exultou outras que eram "injustas e virulentas de gente atrabiliaria que, à mingua da sciencia, lança mão do insulto". A respeito das mudanças de conteúdo, afirma ter abandonado as definições que tomara de Pierre Burgraff (1803-1881), gramático luxemburguês que publicou em 1863 os *Principes de grammaire générale, ou, Exposition raisonnée des éléments du*

[410] Além da *Grammatica Portugueza* (1881), publicou também *Traços gerais de Linguística* (1880), *Grammatica Analytica* (1885) o *Holmes Brasileiro ou Grammatica da Puericia* (1887) a *Nova Grammatica de Lingua Latina*, que não estava acabada no momento de sua morte e foi publicada em edição póstuma, em 1895. Foi autor dos romances *O padre Belchior Pontes* (1876-1877) e *A Carne* (1888). Ribeiro foi também jornalista proprietário e diretor de jornais, como *Sorocabano* (1870-72), *Procellarias* (1887) e O *Rebate* (1888). Temido polemista, Julio Ribeiro escreveu as *Cartas Sertanejas*, as quais saíram ao longo de 1885 no *Diário Mercantil* como resposta a artigos que saíram no jornal *A Província* (atual Estado de São Paulo), da autoria de "Demócrito" (Ribeiro, 2007).

*langage*, preferindo, em seu lugar, as do norte-americano William Dwight Whitney (1827-1894) – algo que fica evidente no conceito de verbo, como veremos adiante.

O conceito de 'verbo' é divergente nas duas edições da *Grammatica Portugueza.* Na primeira, de 1881, Ribeiro, baseando-se em Burgraff (1863), define o 'verbo' como uma palavra que exprime a existência de uma relação entre duas ideias. Em seguida, inicia uma pequena crônica[411] acerca do *conceito* de 'verbo' em diferentes momentos da história. Primeiramente, aborda a visão aristotélica do 'verbo', definido por expressar tempo, que foi também utilizada por gramáticas posteriores – a qual contesta ao afirmar que o 'verbo' não é a única *classe de palavra* que expressa tempo. Apresenta e contraria também a concepção de verbo como palavra que exprime 'ideia de ação', isso porque há verbos como "descansar, sentar, dormir". Finalmente, discorda do 'verbo' como 'afirmação' (citando, inclusive, a *Grammaire Générale* de Port-Royal), pois isso ignoraria que o verbo pode também 'negar'. Por discordar dessas visões mais antigas, o autor dá preferência à definição de 'relação' entre duas 'ideias' e a de Whitney (1877) de que o 'verbo' é palavra que diz ou declara.

Quanto às *espécies* de 'verbo', primeiramente, o 'verbo' divide-se em 'substantivo' e 'predicativo', posteriormente, este último divide-se em 'intransitivo' e 'transitivo'. Adiante, apresentamos seus conceitos em *texto* e em *metatexto*.

**Quadro 2:** Espécies do verbo em Ribeiro (1881)

| **Espécies de 'verbo' (termo)** | **Conceito em texto** | **Conceito em metatexto** |
|---|---|---|
| Verbo substantivo | É o que indica a relação entre uma ideia qualquer e a ideia simples de substância (ex.: Deus é, foi, e será) (ex.: ser). Quando relaciona a uma ideia qualquer a ideia de substância modificada por um predicado, é considerado simples 'cópula' (ex.: Pedro é bom; esses meninos são inteligentes). | (Nota) Verbo 'estar' não é substantivo porque não indica a existência em absoluto, mas já modificada por um estado ou uma posição |
| Verbo predicativo | Indica existência de uma relação entre uma ideia qualquer e a ideia de substância, modificada por um predicado expresso pela raiz verbal (ex.: Pedro ama = Pedro é amante). Subdividem-se em 'intransitivos' e 'transitivos. | - |
| Verbo Intransitivo | O predicado apresenta-se ao nosso espírito: (1) como simples estado, puro modo de ser, como simples mudança que um ser de um lugar para outro (ex.: andar, tombar) – esses são os 'verbos intransitivos' | (Nota) Os Estoicos chamaram ao verbo transitivo em voz ativa 'kategórema orthón', 'verbum rectum', 'verbo direito'; ao 'verbo transitivo' em voz passiva deram o nome de—'yption' 'verbum supinum', 'verbo deitado de costas'; ao verbo intransitivo classificavam eles como 'oydéteron', 'verbum neutrum', verbo |
| Verbo Transitivo | O predicado apresenta-se ao nosso espírito: (2) como estado de um objeto, como um modo de ser desse objeto, que produz ou pode produzir efeito sobre outro objeto (ex.: ferir, quebrar, amar, odiar) | |

[411] Ribeiro cita ao fim da crônica, em nota de rodapé, Burgraff (1863). Ao comparar as duas obras, notamos que o gramático brasileiro praticamente apenas traduziu essa crônica do gramático luxemburguês.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | | – esses são os ‘transitivos’. Os verbos transitivos estão na ‘voz ativa’ quando a ‘ação’ é exercida pelo ‘sujeito’ da ‘oração’, e na ‘voz passiva’ quando a ‘ação’ é exercida sobre esse ‘sujeito’. | que não era direito, nem deitado de costas. Estas denominações foram tomadas, ao que parece, das atitudes diversas dos atletas ao darem e receberem golpes. (Referência: R. Schmidt – Stoicorum Grammatica) |

Fonte: Elaboração própria

Alguns aspectos desses *conceitos* merecem destaque. Primeiramente, observamos, que o ‘verbo substantivo’ pode, de acordo com Ribeiro, estar numa ‘sentença’ sem que haja ‘predicado’, indicando apenas “a relação entre uma ideia qualquer e a ideia simples de substância”, a *ilustração* apresentada é “Deus é, foi, será”. Em *metatexto,* o gramático mineiro ressalta que o ‘verbo’ “estar” não pode ser substantivo, por não significar ‘existência absoluta’, mas modificada por um ‘estado’ ou ‘posição’ – alguns gramáticos, a partir de um certo momento do século, passam a apresentar refutações à *classificação* de “estar” como ‘verbo substantivo’, como vimos também em Sotero dos Reis (1871).

Ademais, é notável que na *definição* dada para as *espécies* do ‘verbo atributivo’, ‘verbo intransitivo’ e ‘verbo transitivo’, o gramático destaque o ‘predicado’ como responsável pela transitividade verbal. Assim, embora Ribeiro tivesse introduzido uma série de mudanças que aproximavam sua obra do método histórico-comparativo em outros aspectos de sua descrição linguística, no que diz respeito ao conceito de verbo ele ainda estava próximo da noção da gramática geral – há similaridade entre seu conceito e o de Sotero dos Reis (1871), por exemplo –, algo que ele procura corrigir, após receber críticas, na edição seguinte.

Na segunda edição da *Grammatica Portugueza* de Ribeiro, de 1885, o ‘verbo’ é definido como palavra que enuncia, diz ou declara alguma coisa e que implica sempre uma ‘asserção’ ou ‘predicação’. Em seguida, sem qualquer menção aos verbos ‘substantivo’ e ‘predicativo’, divide diretamente o ‘verbo’ em ‘transitivo’ e em ‘intransitivo’. O primeiro é definido como verbo que enuncia um estado ou mesmo uma ação que não se exerce diretamente sobre um ‘objeto’. O segundo, como verbo que enuncia uma ação que se exerce diretamente sobre um ‘objeto’. Como vemos, essas definições não destacam o ‘predicado’ e tratam de ‘ação’, noção que não aparecia nas *definições* dadas em 1881. As definições dadas em 1881, porém, são apresentadas em *metatexto* (nota com letras em corpo menor) na edição de 1885.

No que vimos acima, na edição de 1885, o autor modifica seu conceito de ‘verbo’, abandona a crônica baseada em Burgraff, retira as espécies de verbo ‘substantivo’ e ‘predicativo’ e modifica sutilmente a definição em *texto* de ‘verbo transitivo’ e ‘verbo intransitivo’, mantendo em *metatexto* o que já estava na edição anterior.

Há ainda outras *espécies* de verbos citados por Ribeiro nas duas edições de maneira quase idêntica, são eles: ‘auxiliar’, ‘regular’, ‘irregular, ‘impessoal’ ‘defectivo’, ‘perifrástico’, ‘frequentativo’, ‘terminativo’ e ‘pronominal’. No quadro adiante, o *conceito* de cada um deles.

**Quadro 3:** Outras espécies do verbo em Ribeiro (1881, 1885)

| **Outras espécies de ‘verbo’ (termo)** | **Conceito em *texto* e *metatexto* (MT)** |
|---|---|
| Auxiliar | É empregado como elemento subsidiário na formação dos tempos compostos de todos os verbos, de todos os tempos de verbos passivos, de todos os tempos dos verbos perifrásticos (ex.: haver, ter, ser).<br><br>Apenas na edição de 1881: Podem entrar na classe de ‘auxiliares’ os verbos “cessar de”, “deixar de”, “acertar de”, “dever de”, “tornar a” e “dar” (ex.: deixar de fazer alguma coisa; não cessava de importunar e amesquinhar-se; acertou de passar (casualmente passou); os autos devem de ser perdidos (provavelmente se perderam); não tornes a pecar (não peques outra vez); muitos que já estavam para quebrar, deram em dar (começaram a dar) para que deles tal se não presumisse [Manoel Bernardes]). |
| Regular | Segue exatamente seu paradigma de conjugação (ex.: louvar, defender) |
| Irregular | Não segue exatamente seu paradigma de conjugação (ex.: dar, caber) |
| Impessoal | Em acepção própria não pode ter por sujeito um nome de pessoa (ex.: trovejar, acontecer). |
| Defectivo | Não é empregado em todas as formas (ex.: feder, colorir) |
| Perifrástico | Ao seu infinito ligam-se por meio da preposição “de” os tempos dos verbos “haver”, chamado ‘promissivo’ (ex.: eu hei de comprar), ou “ter”, chamado ‘obrigativo’ (ex.: eu tenho de comprar). |
| Frequentativo | Ao particípio imperfeito ajuntam-se tempos seus ou de outro verbo para denotar duração e progresso do estado de movimento ou atividade, marcado pelo seu predicado (ex.: ir indo; vir vindo; estar caindo; andar estudando) |
| Terminativo | O predicado nele contido exige um termo indireto de ação. “Dar” e “usar” são verbos terminativos porque os predicados neles contidos “dante” e “usante” (palavras fictícias) requerem termos indiretos de ação (ex.: dar alguma coisa a alguém; usar de alguma coisa). |
| Pronominal | Por uso da língua, emprega-se sempre com um ‘pronome’ objetivo que representa o ‘sujeito’ (ex.: queixar-se, condoer-se).<br><br>MT: A distribuição da ação do verbo em ‘recíproca’ e ‘reflexiva’ está mais no domínio da lógica do que no da gramática, diz Garret. “O verdadeiro sistema de gramática deveria ser o de simplificar, mas parece que acintemente não tratam senão de aumentar entidades e fazer dificultoso o que é simples e fácil, multiplicando termos e categorias de divisões e subdivisões em coisas que as não precisam. Que quer dizer, por exemplo, ‘verbo recíproco’? É um ‘verbo ativo’, nem mais, nem menos, com um pronome objetivo, assim como podia ter um nome.” |

Fonte: Elaboração própria

O que vemos nas edições de Ribeiro (1881, 1885) é uma mudança gradual do conceito de verbo. Primeiramente, em 1881, ele já apresenta ideias que fogem às noções da gramática geral e mais próximas da gramática histórico-comparativa, como a definição dada por Whitney (1877). Entretanto, por ter Burgraff (1863) como referência, ainda apresenta conceitos que esse autor mantinha da gramática geral, como o verbo substantivo. Ao abandonar essa referência em 1885, Ribeiro passa a colocar elementos que, de alguma maneira, ainda poderiam estar relacionados à definição que deu anteriormente, como a noção de ‘predicativo’ em metatexto,

destacando no texto outras definições. Finalmente, destacamos que o 'verbo impessoal' de Ribeiro já tem foco no sujeito, e não mais na conjugação, algo que pode revelar abandono de outros aspectos da gramática geral (Polachini, 2016).

É importante destacar que Ribeiro apenas inicia o processo de passagem da gramática geral à gramática histórico-comparativa. Posteriormente, gramáticas da década de 1890, como as de Maciel (1895) e Gomes (1895), promoveriam ainda mais mudanças no conceito de verbo e suas espécies, abandonando de vez os conceitos da gramática geral (Polachini, 2018).

***Quadro comparativo***

A fim de facilitar a compreensão das mudanças, fizemos um quadro sintético no qual apresentamos, de forma bastante concisa, os termos e definições de verbo apresentadas por cada uma das obras estudadas.

**Quadro 4:** Quadro comparativo do conceito de verbo em cinco gramáticas oitocentistas

| MORAIS SILVA (1806) | FORTES (1816) | SOTERO DOS REIS (1871) | RIBEIRO (1881) | RIBEIRO (1885) |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Verbo:** juízo e mando; atributo; tempo. | **Verbo:** ações e paixões | **Verbo**: afirmar a existência da qualidade na substância, pessoa ou coisa; nexo ou cópula; afirmação; conjugação. | **Verbo**: existência da relação entre duas ideias. | **Verbo**: declara alguma coisa e que implica uma asserção ou predicação. |
| **Neutro:** não é ativo nem passivo. | **Ativo:** significação transitiva, emprega-se em sujeito diverso. | **Substantivo:** forma primitiva; não é combinado com o atributo. | **Substantivo**: Indica a relação entre uma ideia qualquer e a ideia de substância. | |
| **Ativo:** tem paciente ou objeto e em geral é transitivo. São os reflexos, pronominais e recíprocos. | **Passivo:** ação obrada por outro sujeito. | **Atributivo:** tem o atributo como parte de si. | **Predicativo**: indica existência de relação entre uma ideia qualquer e a ideia de substancia modificada por um predicado expresso pela raiz verbal. | |
| **Passivos:** não há em português. | **Neutro:** tem significação permanente, emprega-se em si mesmo. | **Auxiliar:** usado para que o verbo substantivo alcance certos tempos. | **Intransitivo**: predicativo em que o predicado apresenta-se como simples estado, puro modo de ser, como simples mudança que um ser de um lugar | **Intransitivo**: enuncia um estado ou mesmo uma ação que não se exerce diretamente sobre um objeto.<br>MT: predicativo em que o predicado apresenta-se como |

<table>
<tr><td></td><td></td><td></td><td>para outro.</td><td>simples estado, puro modo de ser, como simples mudança que um ser de um lugar para outro.</td></tr>
<tr><td>Médios: não há em português.</td><td>Auxiliar: ajuda a conjugar os demais verbos</td><td>Transitivo: atributivo que passa a ação do sujeito a outro sujeito</td><td>Transitivo: predicativo em que o predicado apresenta-se como estado de um objeto, como um modo de ser desse objeto, que produz ou pode produzir efeito sobre outro objeto. Podem estar na voz ativa ou passiva.</td><td>Transitivo: enuncia uma ação que se exerce diretamente sobre um objeto. MT: predicativo em que o predicado apresenta-se como estado de um objeto, como um modo de ser desse objeto, que produz ou pode produzir efeito sobre outro objeto. Podem estar na voz ativa ou passiva.</td></tr>
<tr><td>Substantivo: a ele se juntam todos os atributivos (MT).</td><td rowspan="6"></td><td>Intransitivo: atributivo que</td><td colspan="2">Auxiliar: empregado como elemento subsidiário na formação dos tempos compostos de todos os verbos, de todos os verbos passivos, de todos os tempos dos verbos perifrásticos.</td></tr>
<tr><td>Impessoais: só têm as terceiras pessoas.</td><td>Relativo: atributivo que pede complemento indireto ou terminativo</td><td colspan="2">Regular: segue seu paradigma de conjugação.</td></tr>
<tr><td>Defectivos: não são usados nas primeiras pessoas.</td><td>Reflexo: atributivo em que o complemento direto é o mesmo que o sujeito</td><td colspan="2">Irregular: não segue seu paradigma de conjugação.</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="5"></td><td>Pronominal: atributivo que habitualmente se conjuga com o referido pronome</td><td colspan="2">Impessoal: não pode ter por sujeito nome de pessoa.</td></tr>
<tr><td>Unipessoal: só tem a terceira pessoa do singular; contém em si o sujeito e o atributo.</td><td colspan="2">Defectivo: não é empregado em todas as formas.</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="4"></td><td>Perifrástico: ao seu infinito ligam-se por meio da preposição “de”</td></tr>
<tr><td>Frequentativo: denotam duração ou progresso do estado de movimento ou atividade</td></tr>
<tr><td>Terminativo: o predicado nele contido exige um termo indireto de ação.</td></tr>
<tr><td>Pronominal: emprega-se sempre com um pronome objetivo que representa o sujeito.</td></tr>
</table>

Fonte: Elaboração própria

## Considerações finais

O conceito de verbo é uma forma interessante e profícua de observar as mudanças e permanências na gramática portuguesa brasileira oitocentista. Por um lado, certamente há mudanças, dado que, ao longo de quase cem anos, as gramáticas se apoiaram em diferentes modelos: a gramática latina ainda era modelo, depois a gramática geral e, finalmente, o método histórico-comparativo.

As mudanças principais estão na terminologia, que passa da relação semântica do verbo com a atividade, própria da descrição latina, para sua relação com a transitividade, e na ascensão e queda dos conceitos de 'verbo substantivo' e 'verbo adjetivo', que atualmente nem sequer são lembrados. As *espécies* de verbos elencadas também são diferentes de gramática para gramática; nas de Ribeiro (1881, 1885), por exemplo, há várias que estão ausentes nas demais obras analisadas. Seria interessante observar essa variação em um *corpus* maior.

Apesar de todas essas mudanças, é possível também ver que o conceito tem certa continuidade. Ainda que com diferentes ênfases, a noção de transitividade sempre esteve presente, sobretudo nas espécies do verbo. Inicialmente, ela estava somente na definição (Morais Silva, 1806; Fortes 1816), posteriormente já era parte da terminologia (Sotero dos Reis, 1871; Ribeiro, 1881, 1885).

Finalmente, compreender que as gramáticas do período funcionavam não apenas como instrumentos pedagógicos, mas, em muitos casos, eram também o material em que ocorriam os debates linguísticos nos levou a distinguir o *texto* do *metatexto*, o que foi especialmente relevante para compreender a importância que os gramáticos davam a certos conteúdos em detrimentos de outros, além de revelar sua opinião sobre pontos específicos, apresentando questões polêmicas do período.

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# Os mais modernos livros da linguística oitocentista na biblioteca da Escola Normal de São Paulo

Bruna Soares Polachini[412]

Resumo: Este artigo trata da coleção de livros relativos aos estudos linguísticos mais modernos do século XIX presentes na biblioteca da Escola Normal de São Paulo nas últimas duas décadas do século. Embora nenhum deles tenha sido comprado na viagem de Paulo Bourroul à França, em 1883, essa coleção chama a atenção pela grande quantidade de livros que tratavam da problemática linguística contemporânea, isto é, o método histórico-comparativo, seja de maneira geral, seja ao tratar de línguas específicas, sobretudo o francês e o português. Os agentes da compra ou da doação de livros são uma incógnita, mas certamente a aquisição dessas obras tem múltiplas causas, como a mudança por que passaram os estudos linguísticos europeus no século XIX e sua chegada ao Brasil na década de 1880 com a *Grammatica Portugueza* de Júlio Ribeiro, publicada em São Paulo, e a evolução do currículo da Escola Normal de São Paulo, que pouco a pouco apropria-se dessa nova linguística – algo que também é feito no Colégio Pedro II. Para essa pesquisa, foram utilizadas como fontes primárias a documentação da Escola Normal de São Paulo, os livros do Acervo Paulo Bourroul na FEUSP e alguns jornais da época.

## Introdução

A história da biblioteca da Escola Normal de São Paulo já foi tratada em diversos trabalhos por diferentes perspectivas. Carvalho (2007) e Pestana (2011) apresentam e analisam os livros comprados por Paulo Bourroul em 1882 e incorporados à biblioteca no ano seguinte com atenção especial àqueles destinados à formação de professores. A tese de Pereira (2013) trata da documentação de compra de livros nas décadas de 1870 e 1880. Silva (2022) esclarece o contexto de formação e desenvolvimento da biblioteca nas últimas décadas do século XIX com base em documentos e jornais da época. Valdemarin (2022) contempla as obras pedagógicas oitocentistas em língua inglesa da biblioteca, enquanto Polachini (2023) analisa a coleção de gramáticas oitocentistas de língua portuguesa desse mesmo acervo.

O acervo Paulo Bourroul – resultante da doação, em 1976, da biblioteca da antiga Escola Normal de São Paulo à Faculdade de Educação da Universidade de São Paulo – é objeto de estudo dos pesquisadores do eixo 1 *Arquivos digitais e bibliotecas: história do livro e da leitura*, coordenado por Carlota Boto e Circe Bittencourt, do Projeto Temático FAPESP (processo n. 2018/26699-4) *Saberes e práticas em fronteiras: por uma história transnacional da educação*

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*(1810-...)*, por sua vez, coordenado por Diana Vidal e Carlota Boto. Além dos supracitados trabalhos históricos sobre a biblioteca, o acervo Paulo Bourroul tem sido importante fonte de investigações sobre a história do ensino em São Paulo nos últimos anos, como atestam Bittencourt, Silva e Boto (2021).

Neste artigo, pretendo acrescentar a esses estudos um novo objeto: os livros de linguística do século XIX. Isso porque nas décadas finais do século em São Paulo e no Rio de Janeiro – e também em outras partes do país – os estudos linguísticos estavam em transição, o que gerava um enorme interesse nos livros mais modernos sobre o tema. Vale ressaltar que, paulatinamente, os novos estudos passaram a fazer parte do currículo da Escola Normal, sobretudo após 1894, com a inserção da disciplina de História da Língua e da Literatura Portuguesa no terceiro ano do curso. Mas muito antes disso, já em 1884 e 1885, vemos uma coleção relevante desses livros na biblioteca, os quais amiúde eram estrangeiros, e, se não franceses, com tradução francesa.

Neste artigo procuro tratar, brevemente, do contexto dos estudos linguísticos brasileiros, sobretudo em São Paulo e no Rio de Janeiro, no final do século XIX. Em seguida, descrevo resumidamente a trajetória do ensino de língua portuguesa na Escola Normal de São Paulo no último quartel dos oitocentos. Para, enfim, tratar da coleção de livros de linguística na biblioteca da Escola Normal.

## 1. A produção do estudos linguísticos no Brasil oitocentista

Tal foi a ruptura que houve nos estudos linguísticos nos oitocentos no Ocidente que alguns consideram que a ciência linguística surge nesse século. Uma visão empírica – e menos filosófica – da história das línguas foi crucial para a criação de um método. A percepção das similaridades entre o sânscrito, latim, grego e as línguas germânicas levou os estudiosos de então a hipotetizar uma protolíngua e criar métodos para compreendê-la. O livro pioneiro nesse sentido é a  Gramática comparada das línguas indo-europeias de Franz Bopp, publicada pela primeira vez em 1816. O método disseminado pelas universidades alemãs, de preconizar estudo da fonética e da morfologia a fim de estabelecer semelhanças entre as línguas e, assim, chegar ao indoeuropeu, a protolíngua comum,  continuou a ser seguido e aperfeiçoado por muitos estudiosos, sobretudo europeus. Vale dizer, porém, que, embora utilizassem a mesma metodologia de análise linguística, suas visões interpretativas sobre a língua variavam, pendendo para a concepção da língua como um organismo vivo ou como um elemento eminentemente social (DAVIES, 2014).

Os filólogos brasileiros passaram a incorporar em suas gramáticas esse método e as visões desses teóricos europeus a partir do final da década de 1870 e início de 1880. Antes disso, as gramáticas brasileiras faziam parte dos paradigmas da gramática latina estendida ou da gramática filosófica[413]. A obra considerada pioneira[414] do método histórico-comparativo no Brasil é a *Grammatica Portugueza* de Júlio Ribeiro, publicada pela primeira vez em 1881 e reeditada, com muitas correções, em 1885. O autor dedica a obra importantes filólogos europeus e norte-americanos da época que eram responsáveis pelos novos ventos linguísticos, como Friedrich Diez, Émile Littré, William Dwight Whitney, Max Müller, August Brachet, Gaston Paris, Michel Bréal, Teófilo Braga e Adolfo Coelho. Além disso, sua descrição do português já envolve a metalinguagem e a metodologia desses autores.

Pouco a pouco, os centros educacionais brasileiros se adaptaram a esses novos estudos linguísticos, como o Colégio Pedro II no Rio de Janeiro. Em 1887, Fausto Barreto, então professor de português desse colégio, assinou o *Programa de Português para os Exames Gerais de Preparatórios* com 46 pontos adequados a essa nova visão linguística – veja-se, por exemplo "Morfologia: estrutura da palavra; raiz; termas; terminação; afixos." e "Etimologia das formas verbais; comparação da conjugação latina com a portuguesa" (BARRETO, 1887 *Apud* RAZZINI, 2000). Nesse mesmo ano, alguns professores de português e estudiosos publicaram gramáticas adequando-as a esses pontos naquele mesmo ano, como Pacheco e Lameira, Maximino Maciel, João Ribeiro e Alfredo Gomes (POLACHINI, 2018; CAVALIERE, 2022). Ter o aval desse colégio, único que formava bacharéis em Letras no país, era um ponto importante de virada. Polachini (2018) nota, por exemplo, que na década de 1890 já não eram produzidas ou reeditadas obras com a visão da gramática filosófica. A Escola Normal de São Paulo, evidentemente, também seguiu essa tendência, seja pelo acervo de sua biblioteca, seja pelos programas de ensino de língua portuguesa.

## 2. O ensino de língua portuguesa na Escola Normal de São Paulo

[413] A gramática latina estendida consistia em utilizar categorias próprias da língua latina – como as declinações e casos, verbo passivo etc. – para a descrição de outras línguas. Foi uma prática comum no início da gramatização das línguas vernáculas, que paulatinamente foi substituída pela gramática geral. Esta última, tendo como marco inicial da *Grammaire Générale et Raisonnée* de Port-Royal, foi desenvolvida de meados do século XVII a meados do século XIX, sobretudo na França. Partia do princípio que a língua era uma expressão do pensamento, sendo este o principal objeto de análise e, por isso, poder-se-ia alcançar uma gramática geral, para além das particularidades das línguas (AUROUX, 2009).

[414] Vale ressaltar, porém, que hoje o pioneirismo da obra de Ribeiro seja discutível, ainda que naquele período ele tenha sido assim considerado. Pacheco da Silva Júnior já havia publicado uma gramática histórica em 1878, por exemplo. Vale dizer também que em 1880, o próprio Júlio Ribeiro já havia publicado o livro *Traços Gerais de Linguística*, no qual já aborda o método histórico-comparativo (AQUINO, 2018).

No Regulamento da Escola Normal de São Paulo de 1874 (Diário de S. Paulo, 12/5/1874), o ensino de língua portuguesa ocorria na 1a cadeira, na qual também eram ensinadas língua francesa, caligrafia, doutrina cristã, aritmética, sistema métrico e metodologia pedagógica. Todo seu ensino era concentrado no primeiro ano da escola, já que o segundo ano cabia à segunda cadeira. O currículo do ensino de português era voltado para gramática geral e particular e análise lógica de trechos clássicos. O professor interino Paulo Antônio do Valle seguia, dessa forma, um programa próprio da gramática filosófica, anterior aos ventos cientificistas que bateram à porta da escola em meados da década seguinte. Mesmo as mudanças ocorridas nos anos posteriores, com a transição de professores e o novo regulamento de 1877, não alteraram esse aspecto do ensino de português.

Com o fechamento da escola em maio de 1878 e reabertura em 1880, um novo regulamento definia a 1a cadeira como relativa somente a "Gramática e língua portuguesa: estudos práticos de estilo e declamação". Ministrada nos dois primeiros anos do curso, nela se ensinava a gramática, com análise de textos clássicos, além de experiências de declamação e recitação. As obras utilizadas para esse ensino indicadas pelo professor Vicente Mamede de Freitas eram ainda voltadas para a gramática filosófica (ATA, 3/8/1880). Com a saída de Freitas da escola, entende-se que os professores interinos tenham mantido seu programa de ensino.

O professor Antônio da Silva Jardim, que já dava aulas na escola anexa da Escola Normal de São Paulo, foi aprovado em 1° lugar no concurso para professor da primeira cadeira, passando a dar aulas a partir de abril de 1883 (ATA, 27/4/1883). Seu estilo pedagógico pode ser compreendido na publicação resultante de sua conferência pedagógica, proferida na escola em 1884 e cuja transcrição foi publicada no mesmo ano, *Reforma do ensino da língua materna*. Nela, o autor ressalta que, no ensino primário, o ensino da escrita e da leitura era primário, em detrimento do ensino de gramática. Os alunos da Escola Normal de São Paulo, por outro lado, deveriam aprender gramática, conforme o programa anexo à conferência. Nele, há ainda elementos da gramática geral, como "grammatica geral applicada á lingua portugueza" (JARDIM, 1884, p. 29), reunidos com a metalinguagem do método histórico-comparativo, como fonologia e morfologia, além de prever um estudo de história da língua portuguesa no terceiro ano do curso. Jardim preferia, porém, não usar compêndios, e, portanto, não adotou em suas aulas recém publicada gramática de Ribeiro ou qualquer outra (SILVA, POLACHINI, 2023). Havia, por outro lado, um movimento de aquisição de livros de linguística para a biblioteca da escola (ver item 3).

Com a entrada de Júlio Ribeiro como professor interino da 1a cadeira, após a exoneração de Jardim em junho de 1886, sua gramática passou a ser o compêndio das aulas dessa cadeira e o ensino dessa nova linguística se estabeleceu (ATA, 31/5/1886). Nesse ínterim, em janeiro de 1887, foi criado um projeto de regulamento para a escola, no qual a Congregação defendia a necessidade de um terceiro ano para o ensino de português, projetando que nos dois primeiros anos ensinar-se-ia, na 1a cadeira, gramática e língua nacional, já no terceiro, além de uma recapitulação, haveria também um curso resumido de história da literatura e elementos de filologia (PROJETO, 1887). Muito provavelmente, esses apontamentos são de Ribeiro, em seu curto período como professor da escola. O regulamento, porém, publicado no final daquele mesmo mês, não contemplava o ensino de língua portuguesa sugerido para o terceiro ano do curso, pois o currículo previa o ensino da 1a cadeira apenas no primeiro e no segundo anos (Correio Paulistano, 28/1/1887).

Carlos Reis tornou-se, por meio de concurso, professor vitalício da escola em maio do mesmo ano, 1887. Nos quase onze anos em que foi professor da escola (até fevereiro de 1898), Reis indicou a gramática de Júlio Ribeiro para suas aulas de gramática. Seu programa de 1888 para o 2° ano já contemplava elementos próprios da gramática histórico-comparativa, como princípios da etimologia[415], leis que presidiram a formação do léxico português e análise morfológica. Ademais, seus demais programas utilizavam a metalinguagem da gramática de Ribeiro – incomuns em gramáticas anteriores –, com termos como fonologia, morfologia e campenomia (PROGRAMA, 1888; ATA, 1/3/1889; ATA, 16/11/1889).

Os acontecimentos políticos brasileiros, com a transição do Império para a República, tiveram grande impacto na Escola Normal de São Paulo, que na década de 1880 debatia-se entre os conservadores católicos e os positivistas republicanos (TANURI, 1979; MONARCHA, 1999; SILVA, POLACHINI, 2023). Houve uma grande reformulação da instituição e, consequentemente, um novo regulamento em 1890. Nele, aumentava-se o quadro docente, levando algumas cadeiras a serem divididas em duas, como foi o caso da 1a cadeira, de língua portuguesa, que dividiu-se em 1a e 2a cadeiras da escola. Ao lado de Reis, responsável pelo ensino de português do 2° ano, João Vieira de Almeida passou a dar aulas ao 1° ano (*A Província*, 16/3/1890; *Correio Paulistano*, 15/6/1890).

Apesar do ensino de língua portuguesa continuar restrito aos dois primeiros anos do curso no regulamento de 1890, os programas de 1891 e 1892, paulatinamente, adotaram a

[415] Nesse momento "etimologia" já significava história da palavra. Anteriormente, na gramática filosófica, o termo se referia ao estudo das classes de palavras.

história da língua portuguesa, ao tratar de tópicos a esse respeito (ATA, 30/11/1891; ATA, 14/3/1892). O programa do curso de 1893, de acordo com o relatório do diretor, já contemplava uma seção inteiramente voltada para a história da língua e sua literatura, a qual era lecionada pelos professores das duas cadeiras de língua portuguesa na segunda série do 2° ano do curso (PRESTES, 1893).

Em 1894, momento em que a escola se mudou de endereço para o suntuoso edifício construído na Praça da República, o curso passou a ter quatro anos, por iniciativa do diretor Gabriel Prestes. Nessa configuração, que se manteria até o final do século, ensinava-se português nos dois primeiros anos, para no terceiro lecionar a história da língua portuguesa. É nesse ano também que Vieira, já exonerado, é substituído pelo professor vitalício Carlos Lentz de Araújo, na 2a cadeira de língua portuguesa, o qual era responsável pelas aulas de história da língua no 3° ano (PRESTES, 1894). Em 1898, Carlos Reis exonera-se da escola e, dada a dificuldade para realizar um concurso até pelo menos 1900, é substituído temporariamente por Manoel Cyridião Buarque, que já era professor vitalício de Pedagogia e Direção de Escolas na instituição (*A Província*, 24/2/1898).

No caderno do aluno Norberto de Almeida, que cursava o 3° ano do curso normal paulista em 1902, podemos conhecer em detalhe o programa das aulas para o estudo de história da língua ministradas pelo professor Carlos Lentz. Na primeira aula, de 20 de março, o aluno anota o compêndio da disciplina, a saber, *Língua Portuguesa*, de Adolfo Coelho, e os livros indicados para consulta, a saber: *Questões da Língua Portuguesa*, de Adolfo Coelho, *Manual de Literatura Portuguesa*, de Teófilo Braga, *Curso de Literatura Portuguesa*, de Simões Dias, e *História da Portugal*, de Alexandre Herculano. A recomendação é de livros portugueses, e não do norte da europa, franceses ou anglo-saxões, mas Coelho e Braga baseiam suas análises da língua e da literatura em teóricos cuja obra a biblioteca abriga[416] (ALMEIDA, 1902).

Em suma, vemos que o ensino de português passou por diversas fases na Escola Normal de São Paulo, as quais eram determinadas por múltiplos fatores. As condições da escola – as quais melhoraram significativamente na última década do século, com o advento da República e o crescimento econômico de São Paulo – eram determinantes para a qualidade de seu currículo. Também tinha certa relevância a individualidade dos professores e suas escolhas curriculares. E, certamente, a consolidação do pensamento linguístico no Brasil do final do século XIX, principalmente após 1890 foi um fator relevante de mudança. A biblioteca, porém,

[416] Adolfo Coelho era leitor de alemão e cita as obras de Bopp e Diez, por exemplo, do original. Braga, que se inspira em Coelho e Brachet, tem também como fontes de sua obra Diez.

parece ter funcionado de forma independente e absorveu livros importantes da linguística de então muito antes das mudanças no currículo.

### 3. Uma biblioteca moderna para o estudo da linguística

Embora tenha funcionado anteriormente, de 1846 a 1867, é somente após sua reabertura em 1874 que a Escola Normal passa a prever, em seu regulamento, uma biblioteca e a realizar compras para seu acervo (Diário de S. Paulo, 12/5/1874). Em 1875, Paulo Antônio do Valle, professor interino da 1a cadeira da escola, indicou a compra de livros. Há nessas compras, certamente, livros voltados para a descrição do português, mas ainda não havia a aquisição de livros de linguística nesse momento, até porque a própria gramática brasileira ainda não os abordava (POLACHINI, 2023).

Após ser fechada em 1878, a escola é reaberta em 1880, com um novo regulamento e quadro docente. O interesse pela formação e organização da biblioteca tornou-se ainda mais sólido. Em 1883, Paulo Bourroul, professor da 5a cadeira – de Francês, Física e Química –, foi à França, seu país de origem, onde adquiriu 122 livros para a biblioteca da escola. A maior parte deles era voltada para a pedagogia e também para o ensino de física e química, sem, porém, qualquer compra para a 1a cadeira de Gramática e Língua Nacional (PESTANA, 2010). Também não foram comprados livros de linguística e filologia na seção chamada "Obras gerais" e os livros comprados para o ensino francês não estavam dentro do escopo dos novos estudos linguísticos[417].

Houve, entretanto, outros empreendimentos para a aquisição de diversas obras linguísticas. No relatório do diretor interino Sá e Benevides de 1884, é apresentado um catálogo da biblioteca com 413 obras em 728 volumes. Entre elas, há 38 livros para o ensino de língua portuguesa, 23 de língua francesa e outros 6 de linguística na seção "obras varias". Chama a atenção a seleção dessas últimas seis, a saber:

> **Obras varias:**
> 284 - Bopp - Grammaire comparée des langues indo-europeennes 5 vol. [...]
> 288 - Diez - Grammaire des langues romaines 4 vol [...]
> 303 - Jovy - Philologia comparada 1 vol [...]
> 306 - Lefèvre - Linguistique 1 vol [...]
> 312 - Max-Müller - La science du langage 1 vol [...]
> 318 - Reinach - Philologia 1 vol. (BENEVIDES, 1884, p.35-45)

[417] *Histoire de la littérature française*, de Jacques Demongeot, e *Grammaire de la langue française*, de Pierre Auguste Lemaire.

A gramática comparada de Franz Bopp (1791-1867), natural da Alemanha e professor da Universidade de Berlim, é considerada uma obra pioneira no método histórico-comparativo, embora ainda carregasse alguns poucos elementos da gramática filosófica em sua análise. Publicada inicialmente em 1816, ela foi aumentada em edições posteriores conforme os estudos do autor. Foi traduzida para o francês por Michel Bréal (1832-1915), aluno de Bopp e professor de gramática comparada no Collège de France, em 1866. A edição presente na biblioteca da Escola Normal de São Paulo, preservada até os dias de hoje no Acervo Paulo Bourroul, é a 2a (em francês) de 1878 e tem 5 volumes.

Outro pioneiro é Friedrich Diez (1794-1876), também alemão e professor na Universidade de Bonn, visto que é considerado o fundador da filologia românica graças à publicação de sua *Gramática das Línguas Românicas* (1836-1844). Os três volumes da edição em língua francesa presente no Acervo Paulo Bourroul foram publicados entre 1874 e 1876 e traduzidos por Auguste Brachet e Gaston Paris, importantes filólogos franceses. Em razão de seus estudos sobre as línguas românicas, o que, evidentemente, incluía o português, Diez é um autor frequentemente citado em gramáticas portuguesas e brasileiras. A importância do seu estudo está, sobretudo, em usar o método histórico-comparativo para rastrear a origem das línguas neolatinas no latim vulgar em vez do latim clássico (CAVALIERE, 2000).

A escolha por esses livros demonstra o conhecimento da história dessa nova vertente por quem os doou ou comprou para a biblioteca da escola. Além disso, temos a tradução francesa do livro *Comparative Philology* (1874) do inglês Archibald Henry Sayce (1846-1933), que foi traduzido para o francês *Principes de philologie comparée* por Ernest Jovy (1859-1933) – o qual aparece como autor no catálogo de Benevides, mas é tradutor da obra. Sayce, embora fosse um estudioso das línguas e civilizações orientais, escreveu esse livro como os fundamentos da nova ciência linguística que se desenvolvia então. Está também no catálogo o livro resultante da transcrição das aulas de Max Müller sobre a ciência da linguagem de Max Müller. De origem alemã e ex-aluno de Bopp, Müller era colega de Sayce na Universidade de Oxford, na Inglaterra. Seu livro foi traduzido do inglês para o francês por Georges Harris em Georges Perrot. A edição da biblioteca é a 3a de 1875. Com um ponto de vista voltado para o naturalismo linguístico, popularizou a linguística no final do século XIX, alcançando grande sucesso. Este livro, por exemplo, em sua versão original em inglês estava em sua 15a edição em 1891 (CAVALIERE, 2000).

Finalmente, os livros sobre linguística e filologia dos franceses Andrè Lefèvre (1834-1904), arquivista, historiador e antropólogo, e Salomon Reinach (1858-1932), historiador e arqueólogo, faziam parte da biblioteca em 1884. O estudo de Lefèvre teve especial impacto

sobre a gramática de Ribeiro, que o cita muitas vezes, além de ter escrito em 1882 um parecer sobre o livro do gramático brasileiro, o qual foi publicado junto com a obra a partir da 2a edição, de 1885.

Além dessas obras mais gerais de linguística, encontramos na seção relativa à 6a cadeira, de Língua Francesa[418], a *Grammaire comparée* do suíço Cyprien Ayer (1825-1884) e a *Grammaire Historique* do francês August Brachet (1845-1898). Textos mais específicos, sobre a língua francesa, que utilizavam o método histórico-comparativo em sua descrição linguística, Além disso, Ayer é citado por Ribeiro (1881, 1885) para justificar a divisão da gramática em dois capítulos em vez dos quatro tradicionais, uma mudança relevante que afetou as gramáticas brasileiras posteriores. Brachet, também citado por Ribeiro, organizava em sua obra leis para a evolução do latim para o francês.

Há ainda gramáticas portuguesas, entre as quais estão dois livros de Adolfo Coelho (1847-1919), talvez o mais importante filólogo português do século XIX, professor do Curso Superior de Letras de Lisboa e influência para muitos gramáticos brasileiros, incluindo Ribeiro. A gramática elementar do português Teófilo Braga (1843-1924), que seria uma adaptação dos conhecimentos de Coelho e da didática do supracitado Brachet para o ensino de língua portuguesa no secundário. Também as gramáticas históricas dos brasileiros Manuel Pacheco da Silva Júnior (1842-1899), de 1878, e Antônio Estevão da Costa e Cunha (1839-1912), de 1883, e, evidentemente, a Gramática Portuguesa de Júlio Ribeiro – única obra do tipo da qual se tinha 2 exemplares. Os três são considerados pioneiros na gramaticografia brasileira em sua apropriação do método histórico comparativo (CAVALIERE, 2022).

A presença desses livros na biblioteca pouco depois da compra realizada por Bourroul, que não incluiu nenhum deles, esclarece que havia outros interesses além do pedagógico ou daquele voltado para as ciências naturais na formação da biblioteca da escola. Os responsáveis por essas aquisições são, entretanto, uma incógnita – diferentemente de Paulo Bourroul, conhecido por todos. Vê-se, dessa forma, que havia um significativo investimento para incrementar a biblioteca e que a compra realizada por Bourroul era apenas parte desse empreendimento no início da década de 1880.

No ano seguinte, em 1885, são comprados mais 152 livros na Casa Garraux, a maior parte deles de origem francesa, para a biblioteca da escola. Desses, seis são livros de linguística, a saber:

> Renan - Langues sémitiques 1 vol.
> Bastin - Études philologiques 1 vol.
> Reinach - Manuel de philologie 2 vol.

[418] Em abril de 1884, com a exoneração de Paulo Bourroul, a 5a cadeira foi desmembrada em duas, sendo a 6a exclusiva para o ensino Língua e Gramática Francesa (CÉFALO, 2021).

G. Duvivier - Grammaire des Grammaires 2 vol.
Meyer - Les organes de la parole 1. vol
Zaborowsky - Orig du lang. 1 vol. (GARRAUX, 1885).

Nessa compra estão obras menos pioneiras e menos conhecidas ou citadas nas gramáticas brasileiras. Há uma nova edição do manual de Salomon Reinach, já presente no catálogo do relatório de Benevides (1884), com dois volumes. Uma comparação de línguas semíticas publicada inicialmente em 1855 por Ernest Renan (1823-1892), teólogo, filósofo e filólogo francês, que, tendo uma visão naturalista da língua, fez muitos estudos sobre as línguas orientais, com destaque para o hebraico. O estudo *Étude philologique de la langue française ou grammaire comparé et basée sur le latin* de Jean Bastin (1827-1909), que lecionou por muitos anos em São Petersburgo, na Rússia, o qual foi citado algumas vezes na gramática de Júlio Ribeiro (PRETE, 2020). Além disso, estavam nessa lista o livro de Sigismon Zaborowski-Moindron, antropólogo francês de origem polonesa, e a obra do anatomista alemão Georg Hermann von Meyer sobre os órgãos da fala, as quais parecem estar mais próximas de outras áreas que não a linguística. Por fim, surpreende a compra da *Grammaire des Grammaires* de Girault-Duvivier, publicada inicialmente em 1811, cuja edição presente na biblioteca é de 1879. Isso porque era considerada uma gramática filosófica, não adaptada ao novo método histórico-comparativo, como as demais. A obra é citada algumas vezes na gramática de Júlio Ribeiro para destacar sua imprecisão na descrição linguística (PRETE, 2020).

O pouco que sabemos sobre a aquisição de livros após 1885 são menções mais gerais em relatórios do diretor da escola na década de 1890. O mais detalhado deles, de Gabriel Prestes, em 1893, lista as obras compradas naquele ano, sem que haja qualquer gramática ou obra linguística. No relatório de 1894, também do diretor Prestes, apresenta-se o número de livros de diferentes temáticas e seu idioma. Há, por exemplo, 19 gramáticas de língua portuguesa, divididas em, também, 19 volumes e todas estão em português. Na seção denominada somente como "Gramática" – que parece não se referir a obras sobre o francês ou inglês, visto que essas teriam seções próprias –, conta-se 15 obras, em 22 volumes, das quais 5 estão em língua portuguesa enquanto 10 são escritas em francês.

Quando observamos o Acervo Paulo Bourroul na Biblioteca do Livro Didático da FEUSP, encontramos um número ainda maior de livros de linguística publicados no final do século XIX. Embora não possamos dizer com certeza que essas obras foram adquiridas no final do século XIX, há grandes chances de isso ter ocorrido dado o interesse que havia nesse tipo de obra naquele momento. Há, por exemplo, a tradução francesa *La vie du langage* (1877) do

norte-americano William Dwight Whitney (1827-1894), que via a língua como uma instituição social e foi importante influência na gramática de Júlio Ribeiro – vale mencionar que Whitney também teve influência relevante no *Curso de Linguística Geral* (1816) do suíço Ferdinand Saussure (1857-1913) responsável pela mudança de rumos da linguística no século XX. Além da obra de importantes filólogos e linguistas, como o *Cours de grammaire historique de la langue française* do francês Arsène Darmesteter (1846-1888), *La linguistique* (1887) de Abel Hovelacque (1843-1896) – fundador de importante revista de linguística e filologia comparada na França –, e a tradução francesa da *Grammaire des langues romanes* (1895), escrita originalmente em alemão pelo filólogo românico suíço de Wilhelm Meyer-Lübke (1861-1936), entre outros. Como exceção, vale ressaltar a presença da edição de 1810 da *Grammaire Générale et Raisonnée de Port-Royal*, cuja primeira edição é de 1660, no Acervo Paulo Bourroul, como um documento histórico da primeira gramática da tradição filosófica, anterior à filologia dos outros muitos livros citados anteriormente.

Quanto à circulação transnacional dos livros (VERA, FUCHS, 2021), como já observado Silva quanto aos livros pedagógicos, a biblioteca da Escola Normal de São Paulo era fundamentalmente francesa. No caso dos livros de linguística, como vimos, eles têm origens diversas na Europa, sobretudo, mas a tradução que chega à biblioteca é quase sempre francesa. Isso era de se esperar, dada a influência da cultura francesa nesse período em São Paulo, em que a língua do conhecimento era o francês. Para além da viagem de Paulo Bourroul, sabemos pela compra feita em 1885 que parte dos livros chegava pela Casa Garraux, livraria de Anatole Louis Garraux, origem francesa, estabelecida em São Paulo, cujo estoque era considerado um dos mais tentadores e atualizados do país (HALLEWELL, 2012; DAECTO, 2008, 2019). Em suma, a circulação desses textos era, frequentemente, intermediada pelo mercado livreiro, fortemente relacionado com os editores franceses.

## Considerações finais

Este trabalho, para além de tratar das obras linguísticas da biblioteca, levanta a questão acerca dos livros que Paulo Bourroul não trouxe da França, mas que foram incorporados ao acervo no início da década de 1880, chamando a atenção para outras compras ou doações que foram realizadas no período. Esse é, certamente, um ponto de vista novo e interessante para se observar a formação da biblioteca da Escola Normal e a circulação de seus livros, muitas vezes estrangeiros.

Quanto à presença de obras de linguística moderna na biblioteca da Escola Normal de São Paulo, vale dizer que ela desafia o padrão estabelecido pela sistematização das bibliotecas de escolas normais francesas no *Catalogue des Bibliothèques des Écoles Normales* de 1887. Nele há poucos livros de linguística moderna, em geral relacionados ao ensino de francês, como as obras supracitadas de Brachet e Ayer. Apesar da forte influência que a biblioteca tinha do mundo francês – seja pela seleção de livros de pedagogia dessa lista (SILVA, 2023), seja por optar por livros escritos ou traduzidos em língua francesa –, a Escola Normal de São Paulo deu um passo além ao abrigar os livros mais modernos da linguística. Tal escolha talvez se dê por essa escola ser, naquele momento, uma das mais importantes instituições de ensino da capital paulista. Isso porque, diferentemente de outros locais como Lisboa e Paris, São Paulo não possuía ainda cursos superiores voltados para a filologia.

Coube, assim, à Escola Normal de São Paulo incorporar os estudos linguísticos mais recentes – seja por seu currículo ou, mais ainda, por sua biblioteca. Posteriormente, o currículo das escolas secundárias paulistas também contariam com o ensino de história da língua. Vê-se, assim, que, para além do ensino pedagógico, a escola normal paulista foi também um centro de estudos linguísticos relevante no período. Sua biblioteca, preservada atualmente no Acervo Paulo Bourroul, detém importantes clássicos da linguística oitocentistas, os quais não são facilmente acessíveis em outras bibliotecas da atualidade.

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# O engenho didático na gramática brasileira oitocentista

Resumo

Este artigo tem como objetivo tratar de gramáticas brasileiras oitocentistas que abordaram a língua portuguesa visando o ensino por meio de diferentes estratégias didáticas. Selecionamos 26 gramáticas que consideramos efetivamente pedagógicas, pois tinham um destes elementos: gênero textual tradicional de ensino; recursos mnemônicos; método intuitivo; relação com sala de aula. Primeiramente, apresentamos os objetivos expressos pelos autores em seus prólogos. Em seguida, investigamos os diferentes recursos didáticos encontrados nesse *corpus*, a saber: poesia, diálogos, questões conceituais, sínteses de conteúdo, método intuitivo, organização da obra em lições, diretrizes ao professor e, finalmente, exercícios de análise linguística. Com isso, pretendemos dar um panorama geral da inventividade didática na gramática brasileira oitocentista.

**Palavras-chave:** gramáticas brasileiras; século XIX; didática.

Didactic inventiveness in nineteenth-century Brazilian grammar

Abstract

The aim of this article is to deal with nineteenth-century Brazilian grammars that approached the Portuguese language in order to teach it using different didactic strategies. We selected 26 grammars that we considered to be effectively pedagogical, because they had one of these elements: traditional textual genre of teaching; mnemonic resources; intuitive method; relationship with the classroom. Firstly, we present the objectives expressed by the authors in their prologues. Next, we investigate the different didactic resources found in this corpus, namely: poetry, dialogues, conceptual questions, content summaries, intuitive method, organization of the work into lessons, teacher guidelines and, finally, linguistic analysis exercises. With this, we intend to give an overview of didactic inventiveness in nineteenth-century Brazilian grammar.

**Keywords:** Brazilian grammars; 19th century; didactics.

## Introdução

A produção gramatical brasileira oitocentista tem sido objeto de diversas pesquisas, as quais vêm esclarecendo, cada vez mais, detalhes sobre sua produção e circulação[419]. Neste artigo, que se pretende panorâmico, analisamos uma série de obras cujo objetivo era sobretudo o ensino de língua portuguesa. É verdade que toda gramática portuguesa publicada no Brasil no século XIX tinha a finalidade de ser utilizada para o ensino e estudo dessa língua. Entretanto, é possível discernir, dentro dessa produção, aquelas que seguiam um modelo referencial e tradicional, muitas vezes acrescidas do objetivo de realizar inovações teórico-metodológicas, e aquelas cuja organização do texto voltava-se parcial ou inteiramente para o ensino, incorporando estratégias de ordem didática.

Essas últimas, talvez por serem vistas como simplificadoras do conteúdo já transmitidos originalmente em outras obras, não costumam aparecer com destaque nas revisões ou

[419] Temos, por exemplo, os recentes estudos panorâmicos de Polachini (2018) e Cavaliere (2022).

periodizações realizadas sobre essa produção (veja-se, por exemplo, MACIEL, 1910; NASCENTES, 1930; ELIA, 1957; CAVALIERE, 2001). Em geral, esses estudos distinguem e destacam as obras de acordo sua originalidade teórico-metodológica para descrição linguística. No século XIX, especialmente, há uma oposição entre obras que se aproximam da gramática geral e aquelas que adentram o método histórico-comparativo. No cotejo do dados presentes nessas periodizações realizado por Polachini (2018, p. 66), vemos que amiúde são mencionadas as gramáticas que eram simbólicas dessas duas metodologias de descrição, como as dos autores Sotero dos Reis (1866) e Carneiro Ribeiro (1881), consideradas símbolos da gramática geral, a obra de Júlio Ribeiro (1881), expoente do método histórico-comparativo no Brasil, seguida pelos gramáticos Pacheco da Silva, Lameira de Andrade, Alfredo Gomes e Maximino Maciel.

A maior parte das gramáticas de nosso *corpus* não são notícia em nenhum desses textos. Elas foram referidas, brevemente, em recentes estudos panorâmicos de Polachini (2018), que realiza um levantamento exaustivo e uma história serial da produção gramatical brasileira no século XIX, e de Cavaliere (2022), que, em um extenso e rico texto, apresenta e contextualiza boa parte da gramaticografia brasileira oitocentista. Há ainda algumas obras que analisaremos a seguir que sequer foram mencionadas em quaisquer estudos anteriores, como as de Lobo (1892) e Duque-Estrada (1900). Assim, neste artigo, pretendemos, por um lado, apresentar essas obras, ao mesmo tempo em que nos aprofundamos nos recursos didáticos por elas apresentados, gerando novas reflexões sobre a produção gramatical oitocentista do Brasil.

## A gramática como livro didático: seleção do *corpus*

Toda gramática, de forma geral, poderia ser classificada como livro didático por ser um manual e ter função eminentemente instrumental. De um ponto de vista específico, porém, as obras gramaticais nem sempre atendem a alguns critérios desse gênero, como, por exemplo, a presença de métodos que visem facilitar a aquisição e memorização dos conhecimentos e/ou a coerência pedagógica, isto é, sua organização de acordo com o ensino que será feito dela, em determinados níveis, do professor para o aluno (RICHAUDEAU, 1981; CHOPPIN, 2007; SWIGGERS, 2012).

No século XIX, muitas vezes a gramática era um meio para a transmissão de novas ideias linguísticas. Eram nessas *gramáticas de referência*, como as denominou Vidal Neto (2020), que se davam muitas das novas discussões sobre os novos métodos histórico-comparativos de descrição linguística. Um exemplo clássico é a *Grammatica Portugueza* de Julio Ribeiro, publicada em São Paulo em 1881. Embora tenha o formato de uma gramática tradicional, procurando fazer uma descrição completa dos diferentes segmentos linguísticos do idioma português, ela é sobretudo inovadora, pois apresenta dados e uma maneira de descrever a língua totalmente diferente do que se via até então no país. Havia outras obras que, ainda que menos pioneiras, tratavam da língua sem uso de recursos pedagógicos.

Esses recursos são o critério para a seleção do *corpus* desta pesquisa. Nós os delineamos, por um lado, com base em estudos sobre o livro e a gramática didática (RICHAUDEAU, 1981; CHOPPIN, 2007; SWIGGERS, 2012; VIDAL NETO, 2020) e, por outro, a partir da observação de um grande número de obras oitocentistas. Estabelecemos que é necessário que a obra apresente ao menos um destes itens para ser considerada didática: (1) utilizar um gênero textual que, tradicionalmente, seja considerado facilitador do aprendizado, como a *poesia em verso rimado* ou *diálogos de pergunta e resposta*; (2) apresentar recursos mnemônicos nos quais um conteúdo é repetido ou questionado, como *sínteses* e *questões conceituais*; (3) ter componentes que a aproximem do *método intuitivo*, como a conversão do que é abstrato em concreto e do que é distante em próximo, uma das práticas pedagógicas mais populares na segunda metade do século XIX; (4) e, finalmente, trazer elementos que a configuram como uma obra voltada

para a sala de aula, a saber: sua *organização em lições*, trechos em que haja *diretrizes ao professor* e apresentação de *exercícios de análise linguística*.

De fato, há gramáticas oitocentistas que, ainda que não contivessem nenhum dos itens supracitados, eram consideradas manuais escolares e foram adotadas em escolas, como as, por exemplos, a de Coruja, publicada em 1835 e reeditada até 1891, Albuquerque (1841). Nesta pesquisa, porém, dado que nossa preocupação é o engenho didático das obras, selecionamos somente aquelas que cumprissem os critérios acima. Dessa forma, chegamos a 26 obras (ver Anexo A).

**Prólogos: os objetivos dos autores**

A fim de compreender a visão e objetivos declarados de cada autor, estudamos seus prólogos. Pela brevidade deste artigo, abordaremos os prólogos de forma geral. A grande maioria deles expressa o propósito de facilitar o aprendizado dos alunos primários, como fazem Morais Silva (1757-1824), de 1832, Silveira (?-?), de 1855, Rubim (1831-1866), de 1861, e Sena (?-?), de 1861. Alguns acrescentam a isso a justificativa de que seu texto não é inovador na descrição linguística, mas o é no método de ensino próprio ao intelecto infantil, como Castilho (1819-1915), de F, Pinheiro (1823-1876), de 1864, Rapozo d'Almeida (?-?), de 1866), Marques (?-?), de 1875, e Costa e Cunha (?-?), cuja primeira edição é de 1880 e a quarta é de 1895. Alguns afirmam também preocupar-se com a orientação dos professores, seja para uniformizar o ensino ou simplesmente auxiliá-los, a saber: Soares (?-1884), de 1868, Almeida (1838-1892), de 1899 e Duque-Estrada (?-?), de 1900. A alta frequência dessa informação nos prólogos evidencia que era necessário informar ou mesmo justificar o direcionamento da obra para o ensino.

Há também prólogos que se relacionam diretamente com o contexto de ascensão do método histórico-comparativo no país a partir da década de 1880. Ribeiro (1845-1890), que foi o pioneiro ao apresentar tal método numa gramática brasileira em 1881, defende-o, afirmando que seu livrinho de 1891 constitui uma verdadeira preparação para o estudo da alta gramaticologia – o que, dado o contexto, supomos ser o método histórico-comparativo. Hemetério dos Santos (1853-1939), por sua vez, em obra de 1897, reclama que naquele momento um "saber inútil" preocupava alunos e professores: "guardar de memória modelos de comparação de cousas que totalmente desconhecem: o vocabulario vernaculo latino, a classica sintaxe d'este e d'aquelle" (SANTOS, 1897, p. I). Em razão disso, os alunos não estariam aprendendo o essencial, como a leitura material – algo que Santos pretende corrigir com seu compêndio.

Há ainda manuais que não têm prefácio ou prólogo, como os de Passos (1808-1878), de 1848, e Moraes (1816-1882), de 1869 – pequenos folhetos com resumos de gramática –, e os de Taylor (?-?), de 1871, Ibirapitanga (1805-?), de 1875, Menezes Vieira (1851-?), de 1881, Feitosa (?-?), de 1883, Lobo (?-?), de 1892, Brito (1859-?), sem data, e outro de Hemetério dos Santos (s.d.)[420]. Entretanto, o viés pedagógico dessas obras é evidenciado por seu conteúdo, como veremos adiante.

## A gramática oitocentista no Brasil: recursos didáticos

Nesta seção, tratamos das ferramentas didáticas utilizadas nas obras do *corpus*. Como o número de obras analisadas é alto e a separação das subseções é feita pelo tipo de recurso didático, deve-se consultar o Anexo A para a visão completa de cada obra.

[420] Selecionamos três manuais sem data, porque, ao saber de suas demais edições em Polachini (2018), é provável que tenham sido publicados no século XIX.

**Poesia: verso rimado**

O método poético é relativamente antigo e remonta, ao menos, a gramáticas renascentistas, como a gramática latina de Despautério, do século XVI (PUREN, 2012, p.21). O único exemplo que temos, no *corpus* selecionado, de gramática em forma de versos rimados é a de Rubim, que a intitula de "novo método". São perguntas curtas seguidas de uma estrofe de quatro versos, igualmente concisos, nos quais há rimas. "**O que é grammatica?** / Grammatica é a arte / Que com toda a perfeição / Nos ensina a fallar / E escrever a oração. // **Como se divide?** / Em quatro partes dividida / É a arte portugueza, / Que ensinam a fallar / E escrever com certeza." (RUBIM, 1861, p. 16) Além dos versos, Rubim utiliza-se do recurso de perguntas e respostas, aproximando-se do formato diálogo, que exploraremos adiante.

**Diálogos: perguntas e respostas**

Como vimos, Rubim (1861) faz uso desse recurso dentro da estrutura de versos. Há ainda outras cinco obras que o exploram de outras maneiras. Em 1832, é publicada uma adaptação póstuma do epítome de Morais Silva em forma de diálogo.

> Perg. O que hé GRAMMATICA? Resp. A ARTE, que ensina a declarar bem os nossos pensamento por meio de palavras. P. Como se considera a Grammatica? R. Como Universal, e como particular: aquella ensina os methodos, e principios de fallar communs á todas as linguas: a grammatica particular de qualquer lingua, v. g. da Portugueza, applica os princípios communs de todos os idiomas ao nosso. (MORAIS SILVA, 1832, p. 5).

O recurso ao diálogo em gramáticas é antigo, remonta à *Ars minor* de Élio Donato (ou Aelius Donatus) no século IV d.C. Nessa obra, o gramático latino apresenta aos principiantes as oito partes do discurso na forma, então inovadora, de perguntas e respostas. Sua motivação para essa estrutura é pedagógica, visto que essa obra era simplificada para aqueles que estivessem iniciando seus estudos gramaticais. Já sua *Ars major*, direcionada aos leitores com algum nível de conhecimento no assunto, era mais longa e não era escrita em forma de diálogo (DHANASEKARAN, 2016).

O compêndio publicado na Bahia em 1875 por Ibirapitanga, é todo escrito em forma de diálogo. Talvez por não se tratar de uma adaptação, tem respostas mais concisas que as de Morais Silva: "P. Que cousa é a Grammatica? R. E' a arte que ensina a bem fallar qualquer idioma. P. Porque se chama arte? R. Porque ensina os preceitos para bem ordenar a Oração." (IBIRAPITANGA, 1875, p. 5)

Castilho (1864), cujo manual é dividido em três partes, apresenta, na última delas, um resumo em forma de diálogo do que havia sido exposto anteriormente. Seu formato de perguntas e respostas é curto, similar ao de Ibirapitanga, como se pode ver: "Pergunta. O que é *palavra?* Resposta. É uma voz articulada, pela qual exprimimos as nossas ideias ou pensamentos. P. Como se chama a reunião de palavras que exprimem um pensamento? R. Chama-se *Oração* ou *phrase*." (CASTILHO, 1864, p.73)

Na 3a ed. das *Lições de grammatica portugueza* de Sena (1861), há uma reunião de métodos didáticos, mas, diferente de Castilho, que os separa por capítulos, o autor faz uso deles simultaneamente. Em vez de alternar entre somente 'pergunta' e 'resposta', como os demais, Sena optou por alternar entre os papéis de 'mestre' e 'discípulo' e apresenta um diálogo realista, no qual o mestre tem muito mais a dizer que o discípulo – que às vezes não sabe a resposta.

> Mestre: Quando eu fallo, o que percebeis vós? Discipulo: O que vós dizeis. M. Mas o que digo eu? D. Palavras. M. E se eu disser, por exemplo: *a, e, i, o, u,* chamareis a isso

> palavras? D. Não. M. Mas vós percebeis alguma cousa. Com effeito, estas cinco letras, que pronunciei, não são palavras, são comente *sons*: *a*, *e*, *i*, *o*, *u*, são *sons* differentes. Agora dizei-me, que diferença encontrais vós entre palavras, e sons? D. Não sei. M. Pois eu vos explico [...] (SENA, 1861, p. 1)

Por fim, Feitosa (1883), similarmente a Sena, apresenta os papéis de 'professor' e 'aluno'. Entretanto, como a obra é permeada de exercícios – e nestes é o professor que tem a palavra – ela fica, em certos pontos, só com a voz do professor por várias páginas.

O método do diálogo, cujo nascimento ocorre na Antiguidade tardia, já não era tão popular no século XIX, embora ainda fosse utilizado por alguns gramáticos, seja para simular, de fato um diálogo entre professor e aluno, seja para simplesmente tornar mais claro ao aprendiz quais os conceitos mobilizados. Outro recurso usado para esse último fim foi o das questões conceituais, que exploramos a seguir.

**Questões conceituais**

Encontramos amiúde nas gramáticas questões que retomam o conteúdo apresentado anteriormente ou, menos frequentemente, que se apresentará em seguida. Chamamos essas questões de *conceituais* por se referirem especificamente à metalinguagem. São perguntas como "O que é uma palavra?" ou "O que é um verbo?", como uma tentativa de resgatar o conteúdo ensinado, testar a memorização do aluno e auxiliá-lo na organização dos temas ministrados.

O professor da Escola Normal do Recife, H. C. Taylor, talvez seja o que mais se aproxima do formato de diálogo em suas questões conceituais, visto que elas são apresentadas em bloco e numeradas, em letra menor e centralizada, no início de cada lição de sua gramática. Em seguida, são respondidas em tópicos numerados, correspondendo os números das questões aos das respostas. "1. O que se entende por Grammatica? 2. Como se divide quanto á extensão de seu objeto? [...] 1. Grammatica é a arte de exprimir com precisão os pensamentos por meio de palavras. 2. Quanto à extensão de seus objeto, divide-se em geral, e particular." (TAYLOR, 1871, p. 1)

As questões conceituais das gramáticas de Fernandes Pinheiro (1864), Soares (1868), Marques (1875) e Almeida (1899) são apresentadas após o conteúdo, mas no mesmo formato do manual de Taylor, isto é, correspondendo igualmente os números dos tópicos e das perguntas do questionário, como no exemplo a seguir: "1. Grammatica é a arte de exprimir correctamente os nossos pensamentos por meio de palavras faladas ou escriptas. [...] 1. O que é grammatica?" (MARQUES, pp. 1 e 3). Paulino de Brito (s.d), por outro lado, embora apresente frequentes questionários em bloco após explicações em quase todas as páginas da obra, não numera os tópicos da explanação nem as perguntas. Igualmente, Menezes Vieira (1881) não numera os tópicos ou as questões, mas apresenta questões conceituais ao fim de cada capítulo.

Há também autores, como Silveira (1855) e Ribeiro (1891), que organizam as questões conceituais nas notas de rodapé das páginas em que a explanação foi realizada. Em ambos os casos, os tópicos das explanações e as notas de rodapé são numerados e correspondem, como nos exemplos a seguir: "1. Discurso é uma reunião de palavras coordenadas, por meio das quaes manifestamos os diversos sentimentos da nossa alma. [...] 1. O que é *discurso*?" (SILVEIRA, 1855, p. 1) e "1. Nós, quando fallamos, usamos da Linguagem para exprimir os nossos pensamentos, ou os nossos sentimentos, ou os nossos desejos. [...] 1. De que usamos quando fallamos?" (RIBEIRO, 1891, p. 5).

Finalmente, Silveira (1870), em livro dedicado a exercícios complementar à gramática de 1855, faz uma breve recapitulação do conteúdo, a qual é seguida por alguns tópicos, nos

quais, embora não sejam interrogações, muito se assemelham às questões conceituais, visto que resgatam o conteúdo metalinguístico ensinado anteriormente: “devemos possuir ainda as seguintes noções: 1.° O que é construção directa ou invertida. 2° Quaes são as principais figuras de Syntaxe; e as especies em que elas se dividem. 3° O que são figuras de dicção.” (SILVEIRA, 1870, p. 11).

**Sínteses do conteúdo**

Em algumas obras, há uma síntese do conteúdo que fora apresentado de forma mais extensa páginas antes ou, em alguns casos, as obras inteiras são uma síntese de outras gramáticas, como é o caso de Passos (1848) e Moraes (1869).

O breve livrinho de Passos (1848) não é exatamente uma gramática, mas como diz seu título, *Taboas grammaticaes*. São apenas 12 páginas de sínteses e quadros gráficos que organizam e definem, concisamente, as classes de palavras e elementos da oração. O ainda mais conciso livrinho de Moraes (1869) tem somente 9 páginas, é bastante similar ao de Passos, mas é acrescida de uma seção relativa à ortografia. Ambas são somente material de apoio para retomar e organizar de forma sintética o que foi aprendido numa gramática.

Já Sena (1861), em suas *Lições*, faz uma distinção entre o que seria a “lição ditada” e a “lição decorada”. A ditada, direcionada aos professores, é um diálogo entre mestre e discípulo bastante realista, como vimos anteriormente. Já a seção da lição decorada, direcionada ao aluno, é uma lista de regras numeradas que resume, em tópicos, a lição ditada – não necessariamente na mesma ordem desta última.

> **Regra 1.ª** À reunião de muitas palavras, formando um sentido completo, chama-se *frase*. **Regra 2.ª** A *frase* se compõe de *palavras*, que são os signaes de nossas ideias. **Regra 3.ª** As *palavras* ou se compõem de uma só *syllaba*, e se chamão *monosyllabas*, ou de muitas, e então se chamão *polysyllabas*. **Regra 4.ª** *Syllaba* é a reunião de *letras*, que se pronuncião com um só movimento, ou emissão de voz. Mas advirta-se, que ha syllabas, que se compõem de uma só vogal.[...] (SENA, 1861, p. 5-6)

Como vimos anteriormente, o próprio diálogo na gramática de Castilho (1864) já é um resumo do conteúdo abordado anteriormente nas primeiras 60 páginas da obra. A seção do diálogo iniciada na página 73 chama-se “Recapitulação em forma de dialogo” e inicia-se com o seguinte comentário do autor dirigindo-se aos alunos-leitores: “Cumpre agora mostrar, meus meninos, o proveito que haveis tirado deste vosso estudo. Eu vou. questionar-vos afim de que por vossas respostas proveis que não tendes aprendido como papagaios.” (CASTILHO, 1864, p. 73).

Entre as páginas 61 e 72 há ainda outro resumo, que o autor intitula de “grammatica pittoresca ou o systema grammatical explicado pela arvore da sciencia”. Nessa síntese, Castilho apresenta, através da escrita (e não de desenhos ou gráficos), um mapa demonstrativo do sistema gramatical. A metáfora da árvore – que é também utilizada em outros momentos na obra e será analisada na subseção relativa ao método intuitivo – é

> um quadro tão completo do nosso systema representado pela figura de uma arvore admiravel, com o seu tronco de enorme grossura que subdivide-se em uma infinidade de galhos e ramos, que sobem a uma desmarcada altura, onde sustentão toda a espessa folhagem de sua vasta cópa! Esta arvore será pois o nosso mappa: chamemo-lhe portanto de *Arvore da Sciencia*, que bem lhe assenta este nome, como passo a mostra-lo. (CASTILHO, 1864, p. 64)

A partir dessa metáfora, o autor trata das classes de palavras, afirmando que o *tronco* representa a palavra em geral e dele saem dois *galhos*, o primeiro representa *vozes variáveis* e o segundo, *vozes invariáveis*. Desses galhos, saem, então, os *ramos*, que são cada uma das classes de palavras, as quais aparecem em uma determinada ordem.

No manual de Rapozo d'Almeida (1866), temos ao final de boa parte dos capítulos subseções intituladas "Corollarios" e "Mnemonise", em ambas retoma o conteúdo da lição, mas de forma diversa. Na primeira, é feita uma síntese dos tópicos principais apresentados anteriormente em frases curtas e afirmativas com o verbo *ser*, como "I. A voz é a faculdade de exprimir o som. II. O som é o elemento da sílaba." e "I. A grammatica é a sciencia e a arte simultaneamente. II. A lexicologia é a sciencia da origem, natureza e valor das palavras." (RAPOZO D'ALMEIDA, 1866, pp. 18-19 e 23). Já a seção denominada "Mnemonise" refere-se a um exercício imaginativo e metafórico que apresenta elementos abstratos da gramática de forma concreta, evidentemente baseado no método intuitivo, do qual trataremos a seguir.

**Método intuitivo**

O método intuitivo é uma estratégia pedagógica que se tornou popular em diversos países, incluindo o Brasil, a partir da segunda metade do século XIX. Nele considera-se que as atividades da educação devem se iniciar com as operações do sentido. Assim, o ensino deve ser orientado do simples para o complexo, do que pode ser observado para abstração, do que é próximo ao que é distante da experiência do aluno (VALDEMARIN, 2000). Dado que o ensino da gramática era bastante abstrato, notamos que, entre as obras elencadas para análise neste artigo, algumas delas, evidentemente, procuraram converter o ensino direto abstrato pelo concreto por meio de raiz é o discurso, o tronco é a oração, os galhos são as palavras, os ramos são as sílabas e, finalmente, as folhas são as letras. Na lição seguinte, equipara a "teoria da gramática" à edificação de uma casa, em que se dispõem materiais diversos para construí-la, podendo-se construir uma casa simples, como um discurso simples, ou uma casa suntuosa, como um discurso mais eloquente. Na terceira lição, emparelha a "teoria da palavra" ao mecanismo de um relógio, dando, por exemplo, o papel de "mola real" para o verbo, pois enquanto aquela gera a ação do movimento do relógio, este é a parte principal da significação da oração. Isso se segue até o capítulo VI da obra, deixando as 3 seções finais sem essa parte. A inventividade de Rapozo chama a atenção, ao relacionar objetos cotidianos e suas partes a aspectos da linguagem, a fim de facilitar o aprendizado e, sobretudo, a memorização do aprendiz.

Algo similar é feito por Castilho (1864) em seu mapa pitoresco da árvore da ciência, em que, tal como fez Raposo D'Almeida em sua primeira lição, justapõe diversos aspectos da linguagem às partes da árvore – mas de forma mais detalhada. Esse gramático, porém, usou desse recurso também, e de forma até mais criativa, no próprio tratado gramatical, isto é, na parte em que explicava o conteúdo de fato. Em certos trechos, encontramos evidências de uma aproximação entre o ensino da gramática e o universo infantil. Por exemplo, para definir palavra, Castilho trata das primeiras expressões de uma criança:

> Diz-se que um menino começa a fallar quando elle entra a dizer papá, mamã; e elle não diz papá, mamã, sinão para chamar seu pai ou sua mãi. e esta primeira voz que soltão as criança para chamarem sua pai e sua mãi são as duas primeiras palavras que ellas pronunciam. Diz-se que um menino falla muito quando elle pronuncia muitas palavras, e póde dizer tudo o que quer ou sente. Portanto, fallar é pronunciar palavras, e palavra é uma voz que se profere para significar alguma cousa que se sente ou se tem no pensamento. (CASTILHO, 1864, p. 17)

Poucas páginas depois, o gramático ressalta que sua gramática deve ter um aprendizado próximo do cotidiano infantil e explica as classes de palavras a partir de um passeio na natureza, do qual apresentamos longo trecho abaixo:

> Nossa grammatica póde-se estudar mesmo brincando e passeando; portanto, deixemos passear o pensamento. Supponhão os meninos que andando por um campo aprazível, nos vamos assentar á sombra de uma arvora frondosa. em um alto galho avistamos um ninho e dentro um passarinho. Um passarinho! Quem ha de jamais esquecer isto? E quem poderá pensar no passarinho, que o não veja sempre no ninho? [...] Eis, meus aluninhos, o que são as ideias; e as palavras com que exprimimos estas ideias, chamão-se nomes substantivos. [...] No decurso deste pensamento somos interrompidos por uma nova ordem de ideias occasionadas pela violencia de um furioso tufão que abala a arvore, quebra o galho, derriba o ninho, e o passarinho vôa. Estas palavras [...] significão um acto ou movimento que se executa em um tempo [...] taes palavras se chamão verbos. [...] Que arvore copada! que tronco grosso! mas o galho é fino, o ninho é pequeno e o passarinho é verde. Aqui temos nós, meus meninos, outra ordem de ideias expressas pelas palavras copada, grosso, fino, pequeno, verde, as quaes palavras servem para qualificar as primeiras ideias representadas pelos substantivo [...]. A taes palavras chamão os grammaticos adjectivos. (CASTILHO, 1864, pp. 18-21).

Certamente, o ensino da gramática se tornava mais intrigante às crianças quando acompanhado de elementos relacionados à sua vida e aos seus objetos de interesse, além de sua memorização ser mais natural dessa forma. Por fim, temos as *Noções de grammatica* de Menezes Vieira (1881), em que vemos uma série de gravuras de animais e paisagens, que aproximam a palavra abstrata do sentido visual dos alunos.

É curioso constatar que a maior parte das obras que apresentam esses elementos sejam da década de 1860. Nessa e nas décadas seguintes, sucessivamente, Escolas Normais, voltadas para o ensino, sobretudo pedagógicos, de futuros mestres, eram fundadas nas diversas províncias brasileiras (ARAÚJO et al., 2008). Nesse momento, há um esforço pela alfabetização e educação popular, o que leva a dois resultados: a publicação frequente de materiais para o ensino em sala de aula, divididos em lições, por exemplo, e a presença de diretrizes ao professor dentro desses manuais. Nos itens a seguir, exploramos esses dois aspectos nas gramáticas do *corpus*.

**Organização da obra em lições**

A existência de manuais gramaticais que, fora do formato tradicional – por tipos de segmento linguístico –, organizavam a mediação entre a leitura do aluno e o ensino do professor em sala de aula passou a ser comum a partir da década de 1860. A divisão em lição, presente em ao menos sete gramáticas brasileiras do século XIX, é também evidência da importância que se dava, então, ao ensino escolar.

A gramática da infância de Pinheiro (1864) é a primeira que encontramos com esse modelo. Embora seja primeiramente organizada nas seções em quatro partes, a saber, etimologia, sintaxe, prosódia e ortografia, as divisões internas são de 36 lições, as quais, além da explanação, são amiúde acompanhadas de questões conceituais e exercícios de análise linguística. Taylor (1871) segue modelo muito similar, dividindo a obra nessas quatro grandes partes, as quais contêm 58 lições, cada uma com um bloco de questões conceituais no início.

A gramática elementar de Costa e Cunha (1880), por sua vez, utiliza uma terminologia mais recente, substituindo ‘etimologia’ por ‘lexicologia’, mas também divide a obra nas mesmas quatro partes e em 22 lições, as quais são acompanhadas por sínteses do conteúdo –

ressaltamos que em outro manual, de 1895, o mesmo autor já não utiliza a divisão em lições (trataremos dele mais adiante). Lobo (1892) parte igualmente da divisão por segmentos, para depois tratar de lições, mas já segue uma terminologia e ordem diferenciada: fonética, morfologia e sintaxe. As lições, não seguem uma numeração contínua, como nas outras obras, mas seus números são reiniciados a cada seção, somando, no total, 99 lições, sempre acompanhadas de abundantes exercícios de análise linguística.

Hemetério dos Santos (s.d) organiza a gramática apenas em lições, concluindo-a com 31 delas, as quais são apenas explanatórias, sem questões ou exercícios. Duque-Estrada (1900) também organiza sua obra em lições, as quais são divididas em diferentes níveis de ensino. Na seção adiante, ainda no universo da sala de aula, tratamos das orientações que alguns gramáticos dão aos professores.

**Diretrizes ao professor**

Quatro das obras do *corpus* têm orientações ao professor sobre como lidar com esse material – um protocolo de leitura e uso do manual em sala de aula. Sena (1861) apresenta as diretrizes em diversas páginas da obra entre parênteses no corpo do texto ou em nota de rodapé. Estas últimas, em geral, estão associadas a exercícios de análise linguística – dos quais trataremos em mais detalhe na próxima seção.

> [...] cantai em uma frase tantas palavras quantos forem os signaes, e os gestos, que poderdes fazer, repetindo a frase. exemplo: VEM (o mestre faz sinal de chamar) ABRAÇAR (faz sinal de abraçar) ME (o mestre mostra a sua pessoa) [Nota de rodapé] (1) O mestre escreverá esta frase [Vem abraçar me] sobre a ardósia (vulgarmente pedra), ou sóbre o papel, e o discipulo dará um risco por baixo das palavras monosyllabas, e dous por baixo das polysyllabas. Adverte-se, que os trabalhos sobre a pedra, ou papel, devem ser feitos sempre que vem a palavra *Exercicio*. Outro sim, que em quanto o discipulo não estiver corrente neste exercicio, e em outros pelo mestre inventados, não se continuará a lição. (SENA, 1861, p. 5).

Almeida (1899) expõe as diretrizes ao professor nas seções de exercícios de análise linguística. As orientações são colocadas entre parênteses e em itálico no início de cada seção desse tipo. “Exercicio *(O professor mandará formar o plural dos nomes que aqui vão, e além d’isso apresentará outros. Do mesmo modo deve proceder em todos os exercícios.)* – Caridade. Cazal. Marfim. Prazer. Guarda-chuva. [...]” (ALMEIDA, 1899, p. 23). Adiante, observamos os exercícios de análise linguística, o recurso mais frequentemente utilizado pelas obras deste *corpus*.

Embora mais escassas, há diretrizes pontuais também nos manuais de Pinheiro (1864, p. 50) “Tomamos a liberdade de recommendar aos Sr», professores que fação com que os seus alumnos marquem na pedra ou no papel a nalureza das orações [...]” e Feitosa (1883, p. 2) “Observação indispensável: A maior parte dos exercicios desta grammatica devem ser oraes e escriptos. O professor deverá sempre preparar os alumnos para o exercicio escrito por meio de um exercicio oral.”.

**Exercícios de análise linguística**

Reconhecemos exercícios de análise linguística quando é dado ao aluno um ou mais segmentos linguísticos que devem ser analisados de acordo com a metalinguagem explanada anteriormente. Esse, além de ser um recurso mnemônico – como o são as questões conceituais –, é, sobretudo, o ato de empregar os conceitos aprendidos de forma autônoma.

Na gramática de Sena (1861) os exercícios ficam nas ‘lições ditadas’, isto é, aquela em que o autor faz a primeira e mais extensa explanação sobre o tema. Consistem de um breve enunciado seguido de uma ou algumas frases provavelmente forjadas pelo autor. Os exercícios da gramática da infância de Pinheiro (1864) estão ao final das lições, após as questões conceituais. No primeiro exercício apresenta um enunciado nota de rodapé que guiaria os demais exercícios com eventuais variações: “os alumnos marcaráõ com um traço os lugares em que estiverem exemplificadas as regras” (PINHEIRO, 1864, p. 20).

Costa Soares (1868), cujos dados linguísticos são longos trechos literários de autores consagrados. No prólogo, o autor afirma que os exercícios de seu livro eram “de grande proveito para o estudo, como economico por evitar a acquisição de livros classicos para a pratica” (p. 6). Outro ponto a se destacar é a ausência de enunciados para o exercício, exceto pelo primeiro, o que nos leva a crer que o autor deixou a orientação a cargo do professor que utilizasse a obra. De forma similar, Hemetério dos Santos (1897) expõe longos textos, por vezes de mais de três páginas, sem qualquer referência, ao final de alguns capítulos. Nomeia essas subseções de ‘exercícios’, embora não haja qualquer enunciado. Parece, assim, ser um material literário para que o professor possa utilizar com exercícios que lhe pareçam adequados. Costa e Cunha (1880, p.V) também opta por apresentar trechos mais longos, em seus exercícios após cada lição, identificando-os no prólogo como “extraidos de Bernardes Vieira e outros autores de boa nota”.

Os exercícios de Feitosa (1883) são muito abundantes, muitas vezes há mais de um por lição, e têm sempre um enunciado claro. Os dados linguísticos podem ser listas de palavras ou frases e parecem ter sido forjados pelo autor. Menezes Vieira (1881) e Lobo (1892) seguem modelo similar, com exercícios após cada lição, seus enunciados têm estrutura semelhante, mas apresentam também um modelo de como resolver o exercício em alguns casos. Na gramática de Duque-Estrada (1900) há exercícios simples, com breves enunciados, seguidos de listas de palavras ou poucas frases, após algumas das lições da obra.

Como vimos anteriormente, Ribeiro (1891) dispõe suas questões conceituais em nota de rodapé. Entre elas, há também exercícios, isto é, perguntas que exigem do leitor uma reflexão ou análise linguística (e não somente metalinguística). Por exemplo, nas notas a seguir: “12. São todas as palavras da mesma especie? Mostre as palavras de especie diferente na sentença ‘Eu estou com frio’. [...] 27. A que referem-se os adjectivos? Esclareça com exemplos.” (RIBEIRO, 1891, pp. 9 e 16). Almeida (1899) apresenta poucos exercícios, apenas para algumas das seções relativas às classes de palavras, seus enunciados são diretrizes para o professor, como vimos anteriormente.

Por fim, Silveira (1870) e Carvalho (1899) escrevem livros dedicados somente a exercícios, os quais são complementares às suas gramáticas, publicadas anteriormente (SILVEIRA, 1855; CARVALHO, s.d.). Enquanto Silveira foca na análise lexicográfica e sintática nos exercícios, Carvalho (1899) apresenta cerca de 153 páginas de exercícios, sendo alguns deles sobre textos literários.[421]

## Considerações finais

Neste trabalho, procuramos elucidar um lado pouco explorado da história da gramática brasileira. Vale mencionar, porém, que, ainda que não sejam frequentemente lembradas nas revisões historiográficas da gramática brasileira, algumas das obras são esporadicamente citadas em trabalhos de história da educação, pois estavam presentes nas escolas, como é o caso

[421] Vale a pena também mencionar que as edições novecentistas da Gramática Elementar de Hilário Ribeiro, de 1911, e da Grammatica Portugueza (1° anno) de João Ribeiro, 67a ed. de 1913, cujas edições iniciais são do século XIX, são repletas de exercícios linguísticos. Entretanto, como não tivemos acesso a edições dentro do nosso recorte, optamos por não incluí-las no corpus.

da obra de Silveira, adotada no Pedro II entre X e Y (RAZZINI, 2000), e as obras de Menezes Vieira e Lobo, presentes na biblioteca da Escola Normal de São Paulo (POLACHINI, prelo).

Com os prólogos das obras, notamos que a inovação teórico-metodológica era então considerada mais relevante que a organização da obra em elementos didáticos para o aluno. Ainda assim, muitos autores têm preocupação pedagógica e realizam essa adaptação com inventividade, utilizando, por vezes, diversos recursos concomitantemente, como é são os casos de Castilho, Sena e Rapozo D'Almeida. Daí a necessidade de examinar essa produção mais detidamente, considerando-se, em trabalhos futuros, também a agenda de cada autor e a circulação dessas obras nas escolas e províncias. Além disso, vale ainda pensar em trabalhos futuros que considerem as legislações das províncias acerca do ensino, além da criação de Escolas Normais, com a intensificação nas publicações de obras desse tipo após a década de 1860.

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## ANEXO A - Recursos didáticos de cada obra

1. **Morais Silva (1832)** - Diálogos: perguntas e respostas.
2. **Passos (1848)** - Síntese do conteúdo.
3. **Silveira (1855)** - Questões conceituais.
4. **Rubim (1861)** - Poesia: verso rimado; Diálogos: perguntas e respostas.
5. **Sena (1861)** - Diálogos: perguntas e respostas; Síntese do conteúdo; Método intuitivo; Organização em lições; Diretrizes ao professor; Exercício: análise linguística.
6. **Castilho (1864)** - Diálogos: perguntas e respostas; Síntese do conteúdo; Método intuitivo.
7. **Pinheiro (1864)** - Questões conceituais; Organização em lições; Diretrizes ao professor; Exercício: análise linguística.
8. **Rapozo d'Almeida (1866)** - Síntese do conteúdo; Método intuitivo.
9. **Soares (1868)** - Questões conceituais; Exercício: análise linguística.
10. **Moraes (1869)** - Síntese do conteúdo.
11. **Silveira (1870)** - Questões conceituais, Exercícios: análise linguística.
12. **Taylor (1871)** - Questões conceituais; Organização em lições.
13. **Ibirapitanga (1875)** - Diálogos: perguntas e respostas.
14. **Marques (1875)** - Questões conceituais.
15. **Santos (s.d. [1879])** - Organização em lições
16. **Costa e Cunha (1880)** - Organização em lições.
17. **Menezes Vieira (1881)** - Questões conceituais; Método intuitivo; Exercício: análise linguística.
18. **Feitosa (1883)** Diálogo; Organização em lições; Diretrizes ao professor; Exercício: análise linguística
19. **Julio Ribeiro (1891)** - Questões conceituais; Exercício: análise linguística
20. **Lobo (1892)** - Organização em lições; Diretrizes ao professor; Exercício: análise linguística.
21. **Costa e Cunha (1895)** - Exercício: análise linguística.
22. **Santos (1897)** - Exercício: análise linguística.
23. **Almeida (1899)** - Questões conceituais; Diretrizes ao professor; Exercício: análise linguística.
24. **Carvalho (1899, s.d.)** - Exercício: análise linguística.
25. **Brito (s.d. [1899])** - Questões conceituais.
26. **Duque-Estrada (1900)** - Organização em lições; Exercícios: análise linguística.

# Uma história comparada do ensino de língua portuguesa em escolas normais oitocentistas: São Paulo, Rio de Janeiro e Lisboa

## Introdução

A história comparada, definida como "a discussão sobre dois ou mais fenômenos sistematicamente no que diz respeito às suas similaridades e diferenças a fim de atingir certos objetivos intelectuais" (Kocka, 2003, p.39), embora não seja uma abordagem popular, pode ser interessante em diversos aspectos. Kocka (2003) elenca quatro deles: *heuristicamente*, a comparação permite identificar questões não tão facilmente visíveis num estudo particular; *descritivamente*, ela permite esclarecer o perfil dos casos particulares que são contrastados; *analiticamente*, ela é indispensável para responder questões causais; e, enfim, *paradigmaticamente*, ela permite que haja um distanciamento do caso que o pesquisador conhece melhor, em geral voltado para sua região ou nação, gerando alteridade – amiúde promovendo trabalhos da perspetiva transnacional[422]. Neste trabalho, que compara o ensino de português ministrado nas escolas normais de São Paulo, Rio de Janeiro e Lisboa, procuramos explorar esses quatro aspectos.

Como ponto de partida, sabemos que ambos os países, Brasil e Portugal, incorporam as ideias francesas de formação de professores, pouco a pouco instalam escolas normais em diversas localidades ao longo do século XIX. Além disso, quanto ao ensino de língua portuguesa, ambos os países apropriam-se de ideias francesas e germânicas de descrição linguística. Há, dessa forma, um fundo comum, ocidental e sobretudo europeu, que é aderido pelos contextos que pretendemos comparar. Ademais, vale mencionar que nossos objetos podem ser considerados parte de uma *comunidade de língua portuguesa* (Nóvoa, 2001; Nóvoa et al. 2002), gerada pela colonização portuguesa de terras brasileiras por três séculos. Há, dessa forma, uma rede de conexão discursiva e epistemológica entre os contextos que serão comparados, em suas diferenças e similaridades, a fim de chegar aos objetivos supracitados de compreensão histórica.

Selecionamos três localidades que eram relevantes no século XIX. Rio de Janeiro era então capital e corte do Brasil, local onde foram estabelecidas as primeiras e mais importantes instituições de cultura e educação do país em princípios do século XIX, quando da vinda da corte portuguesa ao Brasil. Lisboa, capital de Portugal, abrigou a primeira escola normal do país, em meados do século XIX, e foi importante centro de estudos pedagógicos e linguísticos no século XIX. São Paulo, uma província pouco explorada durante o período colonial, tornou-se no século XIX, com a criação da Faculdade de Direito em 1827 e o posterior enriquecimento por meio da produção cafeeira, um centro educacional e econômico no país. Nossos objetos, as escolas normais dessas cidades, dessa forma, compartilham a importância socioeconômica e o trânsito de ideias intelectuais e pedagógicas.

Neste artigo, no item 1, iniciamos por explorar a base comum em que se assentam as escolas normais de São Paulo, Rio de Janeiro e Lisboa e o pensamento linguístico brasileiro e português. Em seguida, no item 2, descrevemos singularmente o ensino de língua portuguesa nessas escolas para, posteriormente, na seção 3, estabelecer a comparação e procurar responder a questões causais.

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[422] Esse ponto de vista associa-se àquele sustentado pelo Projeto Temático Saberes e práticas em fronteiras: por uma história transnacional da educação (1810-...), coordenado por Diana Vidal (FE-USP e IEB-USP) e Carlota Boto (FE-USP) (processo FAPESP n. 2018/26699-4) e ao qual esta pesquisa de pós-doutorado e este projeto de BEPE são vinculados. A perspectiva transnacional apreende a história da educação ao cruzar fronteiras – por considerá-las passagens em vez de limites – e pode envolver iniciativas distintas, como a comparação histórica, transferência cultural, circulação ou conexões (VIDAL & BOTO, 2018 p. 4).

## 1 Uma base comum

A formação de escolas normais no Brasil e em Portugal está relacionada à institucionalização da instrução pública no mundo moderno, com a secularização do ensino e sua massificação. É no fim do século XVIII, após a Revolução Francesa, que se concretiza pela primeira vez uma escola normal. Ao longo do século XIX, essas escolas se espalharam pela Europa e pelas Américas.

No Brasil, houve desde 1820, a preocupação com a formação docente nas primeiras escolas de ensino mútuo. As escolas normais seriam fundadas somente após o ato adicional à Constituição de 1834, no qual se estabeleceu que as Assembleias Legislativas Provinciais teriam a atribuição de legislar "sobre a instrução pública e estabelecimentos próprios a promovê-la" (art. 10, item 2) (*Apud* Tanuri, 2000, p. 63). A primeira escola normal brasileira estabeleceu-se na Província do Rio de Janeiro, em Niterói, em 1835. Pouco depois, foram criadas escolas desse tipo em diversas outras províncias, como diz Tanuri (2000, p. 63):

> em Minas Gerais, em 1835 (instalada em 1840); na Bahia, em 1836 (instalada em 1841); em São Paulo, em 1846; em Pernambuco e no Piauí, em 1864 (ambas instaladas em 1865); em Alagoas, em 1864 (instalada em 1869); em São Pedro do Rio Grande do Sul, em 1869; no Pará, em 1870 (instalada em 1871); em Sergipe, em 1870 (instalada em 1871); no Amazonas, em 1872, embora já em 1871 tivesse sido criada uma aula de Pedagogia no Liceu; no Espírito Santo, em 1873; no Rio Grande do Norte, em 1873 (instalada em 1874); no Maranhão, em 1874, com a criação de uma escola normal particular, subvencionada pelo governo; na Corte, em 1874, também com a criação de uma escola normal particular, subvencionada pelo governo, e em 1876 com a criação de uma escola normal pública (instalada apenas em 1880); no Paraná, em 1876; em Santa Catarina, em 1880; no Ceará, em 1880 (instalada em 1884) (Moacyr, 1939a, 1939b, 1940); no Mato Grosso, em 1874 (Siqueira, 1999, p. 210); em Goiás, em 1882 (instalada em 1884)

Até a década de 1870, porém, muitas dessas escolas foram fechadas e reabertas algumas vezes, como é o caso da escola paulista, fundada em 1846, fechada em 1867, reaberta em 1874, fechada em 1878 e, finalmente, aberta para um funcionamento contínuo em 1880. Ademais, as escolas tinham, em geral, um currículo muito simples, baseado principalmente no ensino primário, complementado por rudimentos de pedagogia e métodos de ensino, algo também modificado a partir das décadas 1880 e 1890. Dado esse contexto, a comparação entre as escolas normais de São Paulo e do Rio de Janeiro (corte e Distrito Federal) se dá entre escolas organizadas e geridas por diferentes leis e ideais.

Tal como no Brasil, em Portugal, os primeiros esforços para a formação de professores se deu pelo ensino do método mútuo, a partir de 1816. Com a Reforma de 1844, surgiram as condições legais para a criação das primeiras escolas normais, o que se concretizou em 1862, com a abertura da Escola Normal de Marvila para homens, e, em 1866, com escola normal do Calvário para mulheres, ambas em Lisboa. Ao longo do século XIX, foram ainda fundadas as escolas normais, para o sexo masculino e para o sexo feminino, do Porto, de X e Y, as quais, diferentemente das brasileiras, seguiam leis nacionais. [falar um pouco dessas leis].

No que diz respeito ao pensamento linguístico, ambos os países compartilham também uma base comum. A gramática portuguesa existe desde 1536, já a brasileira se inicia somente em 1806. Embora haja essa desigualmente cronológica, por tratarmos especificamente do século XIX neste trabalho, é possível contrapor essas duas tradições. Ambas passaram pelos mesmos estágios de desenvolvimento ao longo desse século, influenciadas, sobretudo, pelos pensamentos linguísticos franceses e, posteriormente, alemães. Tal como na história das escolas normais, a base do pensamento linguístico de ambas era a mesma, a qual foi apropriada, evidentemente, de forma particular.

A primeira gramática publicada por um brasileiro é o *Epitome da Grammatica Portugueza* de Antônio Morais Silva em 1806. Devido às restrições impostas por Portugal à colônia brasileira, a obra foi impressa em Lisboa, ainda que tivesse sido escrita em Pernambuco. Sua obra segue princípios da gramática geral francesa e inglesa. Pouco depois, em 1816, é publicada a primeira gramática brasileira no país, por Fortes. Essa obra, que foi reeditada até a década de 1860, seguia a visão da gramática latina estendida, isto é, explicava o português por meio de categorias próprias da língua latina. As obras publicadas posteriormente, seguiram a gramática geral francesa até 1880, quando, com a publicação da gramática portuguesa de Júlio Ribeiro, iniciou-se no Brasil uma gramática empírica, baseada em filólogos e estudiosos do método histórico-comparativo, o que se seguiu até o final do século.

Em Portugal, de forma muito similar, temos uma série de gramáticas latinas estendidas entre o final do século XVIII e início do século XIX. Em 1822, é publicada postumamente a gramática de Jerônimo Soares Barbosa, escrita em 1803. Essa obra tem como principal base a gramática geral francesa. É um tratado bastante detalhado e explicativo acerca dessa perspectiva linguística. Em 1870, Epifânio Dias publica uma gramática portuguesa de uma perspectiva inovadora, baseada no método histórico comparativo, o que muda o quadro da gramaticografia portuguesa, em que paulatinamente essa perspetiva torna-se dominante.

## O ensino de português nas escolas normais

### *São Paulo*

A escola normal de São Paulo foi fundada em 1846 e funcionou até 1867 com somente um professor, Manuel Chaves, que era também seu diretor. Dada a ausência de dados sobre o ensino de português nesse período, iniciamos nossa história pela sua segunda abertura, realizada em 1874. Sua reabertura se dá num contexto mais favorável, com a presença de dois professores e duas cadeiras, cada qual seria ministrada em um dos dois anos do curso normal. Os professores deveriam ser nomeados por concurso, mas inicialmente foram escolhidos pelo governo interinamente. Paulo do Valle foi o primeiro de doze professores que ensinaram português na escola normal de São Paulo até 1900. Há maior estabilidade no quadro docente após 1887, mas até lá a rotatividade foi uma constante, gerando modificações contínuas nos programas de ensino. No quadro adiante, está uma síntese do período:

| **Professores** | **Compêndios indicados** | **Período** |
|---|---|---|
| Paulo Antonio do Valle | Grammatica Philosophica, de Jerônimo Soares Barbosa<br>Gramática nacional, de F. J. Caldas Aulete | 5.1874 a 1.1876 |
| Melchiades da Boa-Morte Trigueiro | Gramática portuguesa, de F. Sotero dos Reis | 1.1876 a 2.1877 |
| Adelino Jorge Montenegro | Dicionário Português de Roquette<br>? | 2.1877 a 4.1878 |
| Vicente Mamede de Freitas | Gramática portuguesa, de A. Freire da Silva<br>Nova Seleta Clássica | 6.1880 a 9.1882 |
| Theóphilo Odorico Dias de Mesquita | - | 9.1882 a 12.1882 |
| Joaquim da Costa Guedes | - | 12.1882 a 4.1883 |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Antônio da Silva Jardim | Programa, sem compêndios, detalhado em "Reforma do ensino da língua materna" | 4.1883 a 5.1886 |
| Júlio César Ribeiro Vaughan | Gramática portuguesa, de Júlio Ribeiro | 5.1886 a 1887 |
| Carlos Joaquim dos Reis (1a cadeira) | Gramática portuguesa, de Júlio Ribeiro | 5.1887 a 2.1898 |
| João Vieira de Almeida (2a cadeira) | - | 3.1890 a …1893? |
| Carlos Lentz de Araújo (2a cadeira) | Língua Portuguesa, de Adolfo Coelho<br>Questões da língua portuguesa, de Adolfo Coelho<br>Manual da literatura portuguesa, de Teófilo Braga<br>Curso de literatura portuguesa, de Simões Dias,<br>História de Portugal, de Alexandre Herculano | xxx a a 1900… |
| Manoel Cyridião Buarque (1a cadeira) | ? | 3.1898 a 1900… |

No Regulamento da Escola Normal de São Paulo de 1874 (Diário de S. Paulo, 12/5/1874), o ensino de língua portuguesa ocorria na 1a cadeira, na qual também eram ensinadas língua francesa, caligrafia, doutrina cristã, aritmética, sistema métrico e metodologia pedagógica. Todo seu ensino era concentrado no primeiro ano da escola, já que o segundo ano cabia à segunda cadeira. O currículo do ensino de português era voltado para gramática geral e particular e análise lógica de trechos clássicos, as obras indicadas eram as dos portugueses Júlio Caldas Aulete e Jerônimo Soares Barbosa, esta última símbolo máximo da gramática geral ou filosófica na tradição portuguesa. As mudanças ocorridas nos anos posteriores, com a transição de professores, Trigueiro e Montenegro, e o novo regulamento de 1877, mantiveram essa visão mais filosófica sobre a língua no ensino da escola, mas agora de autoria brasileira, do maranhense Francisco Sotero dos Reis.

Com o fechamento da escola em maio de 1878 e reabertura em 1880, um novo regulamento definia a 1a cadeira como relativa somente a "Gramática e língua portuguesa: estudos práticos de estilo e declamação". Ministrada nos dois primeiros anos do curso, nela se ensinava a gramática, com análise de textos clássicos, além de experiências de declamação e recitação. A gramática de Freire da Silva, de origem maranhense e professor da escola anexa da Faculdade de Direito, era indicada pelo então professor Vicente Mamede de Freitas. A obra, de um autor mais próximo da escola normal – visto que frequentemente era avaliador dos exames –, também se voltava para a gramática filosófica (ATA, 3/8/1880). Com a saída de Freitas da escola, entende-se que os professores interinos, Mesquita e Guedes, tenham mantido seu programa de ensino.

O professor Antônio da Silva Jardim, que já dava aulas na escola anexa da Escola Normal de São Paulo, foi aprovado em 1° lugar no concurso para professor da primeira cadeira, passando a dar aulas a partir de abril de 1883 (ATA, 27/4/1883). Seu estilo pedagógico pode ser compreendido na publicação resultante de sua conferência pedagógica, proferida na escola em 1884 e cuja transcrição foi publicada no mesmo ano, *Reforma do ensino da língua materna*. Nela, o autor ressalta que, no ensino primário, o ensino da escrita e da leitura era primário, em detrimento do ensino de gramática. Os alunos da Escola Normal de São Paulo, por outro lado, deveriam aprender gramática, conforme o programa anexo à conferência. Nele, há ainda elementos da gramática geral, como "grammatica geral applicada á lingua portugueza" (JARDIM, 1884, p. 29), reunidos com a metalinguagem do método histórico-comparativo,

como fonologia e morfologia, além de prever um estudo de história da língua portuguesa no terceiro ano do curso. Jardim preferia, porém, não usar compêndios, e, portanto, não adotou em suas aulas recém publicada gramática de Ribeiro ou qualquer outra (SILVA, POLACHINI, 2023). Havia, por outro lado, um movimento de aquisição de livros de linguística para a biblioteca da escola (POLACHINI, no Prelo).

Com a entrada de Júlio Ribeiro como professor interino da 1a cadeira, após a exoneração de Jardim em junho de 1886, sua gramática passou a ser o compêndio das aulas dessa cadeira e o ensino da nova linguística histórico-comparativa se estabeleceu na escola (ATA, 31/5/1886). Nesse ínterim, em janeiro de 1887, foi criado um projeto de regulamento para a escola, no qual a Congregação defendia a necessidade de um terceiro ano para o ensino de português, projetando que nos dois primeiros anos ensinar-se-ia, na 1a cadeira, gramática e língua nacional, já no terceiro, além de uma recapitulação, haveria também um curso resumido de história da literatura e elementos de filologia (PROJETO, 1887). Muito provavelmente, esses apontamentos são de Ribeiro, em seu curto período como professor da escola. O regulamento, porém, publicado no final daquele mesmo mês, não contemplava o ensino de língua portuguesa sugerido para o terceiro ano do curso, pois o currículo previa o ensino da 1a cadeira apenas no primeiro e no segundo anos (Correio Paulistano, 28/1/1887).

Carlos Reis tornou-se, por meio de concurso, professor vitalício da escola em maio do mesmo ano, 1887. Nos quase onze anos em que foi professor da escola (até fevereiro de 1898), Reis indicou a gramática de Júlio Ribeiro para suas aulas de gramática. Seu programa de 1888 para o 2° ano já contemplava elementos próprios da gramática histórico-comparativa, como princípios da etimologia[423], leis que presidiram a formação do léxico português e análise morfológica. Ademais, seus demais programas utilizavam a metalinguagem da gramática de Ribeiro – incomuns em gramáticas anteriores –, com termos como fonologia, morfologia e campenomia (PROGRAMA, 1888; ATA, 1/3/1889; ATA, 16/11/1889).

Os acontecimentos políticos brasileiros, com a transição do Império para a República, tiveram grande impacto na Escola Normal de São Paulo, que na década de 1880 debatia-se entre os conservadores católicos e os positivistas republicanos (TANURI, 1979; MONARCHA, 1999; SILVA, POLACHINI, 2023). Houve uma grande reformulação da instituição e, consequentemente, um novo regulamento em 1890. Nele, aumentava-se o quadro docente, levando algumas cadeiras a serem divididas em duas, como foi o caso da 1a cadeira, de língua portuguesa, que dividiu-se em 1a e 2a cadeiras da escola. Ao lado de Reis, responsável pelo ensino de português do 2° ano, João Vieira de Almeida passou a dar aulas ao 1° ano (*A Província*, 16/3/1890; *Correio Paulistano*, 15/6/1890).

Apesar do ensino de língua portuguesa continuar restrito aos dois primeiros anos do curso no regulamento de 1890, os programas de 1891 e 1892, paulatinamente, adotaram a história da língua portuguesa, ao tratar de tópicos a esse respeito (ATA, 30/11/1891; ATA, 14/3/1892). O programa do curso de 1893, de acordo com o relatório do diretor, já contemplava uma seção inteiramente voltada para a história da língua e sua literatura, a qual era lecionada pelos professores das duas cadeiras de língua portuguesa na segunda série do 2° ano do curso (PRESTES, 1893).

Em 1894, momento em que a escola se mudou de endereço para o suntuoso edifício construído na Praça da República, o curso passou a ter quatro anos, por iniciativa do diretor Gabriel Prestes. Nessa configuração, que se manteria até o final do século, ensinava-se português nos dois primeiros anos, para no terceiro lecionar a história da língua portuguesa. É nesse ano também que Vieira, já exonerado, é substituído pelo professor vitalício Carlos Lentz de Araújo, na 2a cadeira de língua portuguesa, o qual era responsável pelas aulas de história da

[423] Nesse momento "etimologia" já significava história da palavra. Anteriormente, na gramática filosófica, o termo se referia ao estudo das classes de palavras.

língua no 3° ano (PRESTES, 1894). Em 1898, Carlos Reis exonera-se da escola e, dada a dificuldade para realizar um concurso até pelo menos 1900, é substituído temporariamente por Manoel Cyridião Buarque, que já era professor vitalício de Pedagogia e Direção de Escolas na instituição (*A Província*, 24/2/1898).

No caderno do aluno Norberto de Almeida, que cursava o 3° ano do curso normal paulista em 1902, podemos conhecer em detalhe o programa das aulas para o estudo de história da língua ministradas pelo professor Carlos Lentz. Na primeira aula, de 20 de março, o aluno anota o compêndio da disciplina, a saber, *Língua Portuguesa*, de Adolfo Coelho, e os livros indicados para consulta, a saber: *Questões da Língua Portuguesa*, de Adolfo Coelho, *Manual de Literatura Portuguesa*, de Teófilo Braga, *Curso de Literatura Portuguesa*, de Simões Dias, e *História da Portugal*, de Alexandre Herculano. A recomendação é de livros portugueses, e não do norte da europa, franceses ou anglo-saxões, mas Coelho e Braga baseiam suas análises da língua e da literatura em teóricos cuja obra a biblioteca abriga[424] (ALMEIDA, 1902).

Em suma, vemos que o ensino de português passou por diversas fases na Escola Normal de São Paulo, as quais eram determinadas por múltiplos fatores. As condições da escola – as quais melhoraram significativamente na última década do século, com o advento da República e o crescimento econômico de São Paulo – eram determinantes para a qualidade de seu currículo. Também tinha certa relevância a individualidade dos professores e suas escolhas curriculares. Vale dizer que na maior parte das vezes, as gramáticas indicadas eram predominantemente teóricas, no sentido de darem um alto valor à teoria de descrição linguística, fosse ela da gramática filosófica ou da gramática histórico-comparativa. A escola tinha, assim, uma tendência ao estudo mais aprofundado da língua por essas teorias, o que se revela ainda mais relevante quando, na década de 1890, passa-se a ter dois professores de língua portuguesa, com um deles dedicado ao estudo histórico da língua.

Essa tendência também é observada na formação da biblioteca, mas se dá de forma mais precoce, ainda na década de 1880. As primeiras menções à biblioteca estão no regulamento de 1874 da Escola Normal, que prevê uma biblioteca e a realizar compras para seu acervo (Diário de S. Paulo, 12/5/1874). Em 1875, Paulo Antônio do Valle, professor interino da 1a cadeira da escola, indicou a compra de livros, em que compra diversas gramáticas portuguesas, entre elas as por ele indicadas, de Aulete e Barbosa, e a de Sotero dos Reis que seria indicada posteriormente.

Após ser fechada em 1878, a escola é reaberta em 1880, com um novo regulamento e quadro docente. O interesse pela formação e organização da biblioteca tornou-se ainda mais sólido. Em 1883, Paulo Bourroul, professor da 5a cadeira – de Francês, Física e Química –, foi à França, seu país de origem, onde adquiriu 122 livros para a biblioteca da escola. A maior parte deles era voltada para a pedagogia e também para o ensino de física e química, sem, porém, qualquer compra para a 1a cadeira de Gramática e Língua Nacional (PESTANA, 2010). Houve, entretanto, outros empreendimentos para a aquisição de diversas obras linguísticas e de ensino do português. No relatório do diretor interino Sá e Benevides de 1884, é apresentado um catálogo da biblioteca com 413 obras em 728 volumes. Entre elas, há 38 livros para o ensino de língua portuguesa e 6 de linguística na seção “obras varias”.

A presença desses livros na biblioteca pouco depois da compra realizada por Bourroul, que não incluiu nenhum deles, esclarece que havia outros interesses além do pedagógico ou daquele voltado para as ciências naturais na formação da biblioteca da escola. Os responsáveis por essas aquisições são, entretanto, uma incógnita – diferentemente de Paulo Bourroul, conhecido por todos. Vê-se, dessa forma, que havia um significativo investimento para incrementar a

[424] Adolfo Coelho era leitor de alemão e cita as obras de Bopp e Diez, por exemplo, do original. Braga, que se inspira em Coelho e Brachet, tem também como fontes de sua obra Diez.

biblioteca e que a compra realizada por Bourroul era apenas parte desse empreendimento no início da década de 1880.
No ano seguinte, em 1885, são comprados mais 152 livros na Casa Garraux, a maior parte deles de origem francesa, para a biblioteca da escola. Desses, seis são livros de linguística, a saber: O pouco que sabemos sobre a aquisição de livros após 1885 são menções mais gerais em relatórios do diretor da escola na década de 1890. O mais detalhado deles, de Gabriel Prestes, em 1893, lista as obras compradas naquele ano, sem que haja qualquer gramática ou obra linguística. No relatório de 1894, também do diretor Prestes, apresenta-se o número de livros de diferentes temáticas e seu idioma. Há, por exemplo, 19 gramáticas de língua portuguesa, divididas em, também, 19 volumes e todas estão em português. Na seção denominada somente como "Gramática" – que parece não se referir a obras sobre o francês ou inglês, visto que essas teriam seções próprias –, conta-se 15 obras, em 22 volumes, das quais 5 estão em língua portuguesa enquanto 10 são escritas em francês.

Quando observamos o Acervo Paulo Bourroul na Biblioteca do Livro Didático da FEUSP, encontramos um número ainda maior de livros de linguística e de língua portuguesa publicados no final do século XIX. Embora não possamos dizer com certeza que essas obras foram adquiridas no final do século XIX, há grandes chances de isso ter ocorrido dado o interesse que havia nesse tipo de obra naquele momento.

***Rio de Janeiro***

A Escola Normal do Rio de Janeiro ou da Corte começou a ser formada em 1874, mas entrou efetivamente em funcionamento somente em 1880. De forma muito similar ao que ocorre em São Paulo, há certa rotatividade de professores de português na década de 1880 e maior estabilidade na década seguinte.

| **Professores** | **Período** |
|---|---|
| Manoel Olympio Rodrigues da Costa | 3.1880 a 1881 |
| Domingos Jacy Monteiro | 1881 a 5.1883 |
| Joaquim Borges Carneiro | 5.1883 - 1884 |
| Hilário Ribeiro | 1884 [pouco tempo] |
| Manoel Cyridião Buarque | 1884 a 1885? |
| Fausto Carlos Barreto | 1885 a ? |
| Alfredo Gomes (diurno) | ? 11.1888 a 1900 |
| Antonio Valentim da Costa Magalhães (diurno) | 1897 a 1900 |
| Cacilda Francione de Souza (noturno) | 1897 a 1900 |
| Hemetério dos Santos (noturno) | 1898 a 1900 |

O primeiro professor da escola foi Manoel Olympio Rodrigues da Costa, que havia publicado uma gramática em 1874 para o 1° ano do colégio Pedro II, para o qual, aliás, foi transferido algum tempo depois de iniciar a lecionar na escola normal. Em seu lugar entrou interinamente Domingo Jacy Monteiro, importante literato oitocentista. Monteiro ficou na posição por cerca de dois anos, sendo substituído por professores que ficaram pouquíssimo tempo na escola, como

podemos ver no quadro acima. Vale mencionar que Hilário Ribeiro, que ficou na posição por poucos meses, era também importante gramático de gramáticas altamente pedagógicas, as quais continham lições progressivas e exercícios. Fausto Barreto tornou-se professor de português do Colégio Pedro II e foi responsável pela redação do programa de estudos de 1887, que consolidou a gramática histórico-comparativa no ensino do secundário. Finalmente, Cyridião Buarque, que havia prestado concurso para ser professor de português do Pedro II, foi realocado na escola normal pelo próprio imperador e, mais tarde, em 1890, tornar-se-ia professor da escola normal paulista.

Em 1888, com a entrada de Alfredo Gomes na cadeira português da escola normal inicia-se um período de estabilidade, visto que esse médico, gramático e professor se manteve na escola até o início do século seguinte. Houve, entretanto, a entrada de novos professores em 1897, quando o curso normal passou a ter aulas noturnas com Hemetério dos Santos, importante gramático oitocentista que escreveu obras mais pedagógicas, com exercícios, e outras mais teóricas, e Cacilda Francione de Souza, autora de livros sobre literatura. Vale dizer que ambos eram negros no distrito federal do país que há menos de dez anos havia abolido a escravatura.

Nota-se que os professores da escola carioca eram, frequentemente, autores de importantes gramáticas, fossem elas mais pedagógicas, como as de Hilário Ribeiro e algumas de Hemetério Santos, ou mais teóricas, como as de Fausto Barreto e parte da produção de Santos. O ensino realizado por Alfredo Gomes, detalhado em programas de seu período de atuação na escola – embora, por vezes, de autoria de outros estudiosos da época, como Lameira de Andrade –, era sempre voltado para o estudo da língua sob a perspectiva histórico-comparativa.

Embora ainda não tenhamos podido investigar a biblioteca da escola normal carioca, sabemos por recibos de compras e um catálogo de aquisições do início da década de 1890, que lá havia diversos exemplares da gramática de Júlio Ribeiro, além de gramáticas de outros autores brasileiros, como Hilário Ribeiro, Ortiz e Pardal, Coruja, João Ribeiro, Massa, Maximino Maciel, e dos portugueses Adolfo Coelho e Teófilo Braga. Muitos desses livros foram doados pelo próprio professor Alfredo Gomes, outros, pelo diretor Dr. Cabrita.

### *Lisboa*

A escola normal lisbonense teve um quadro de professores muito mais estável, tendo somente três professores fixos de língua portuguesa ao longo de suas quase quatro décadas de existência no século XIX. Como se sabe, a Escola Normal de Lisboa, embora tenha sido idealizada anteriormente, é concretizada em 1862, com a fundação da Escola Normal Primária de Lisboa para o sexo masculino, instalada no palácio dos Condes de Abrantes, em Marvila. Seis anos depois, em 1868, é fundada a Escola Normal Primária para o sexo feminino, no Convento do Calvário, também como internato.

O regulamento da escola de Marvila, de 4 de dezembro de 1860, previa um curso de primeiro grau de dois anos ou um curso complementar, no qual se adicionava o terceiro ano. Nos dois anos de primeiro grau, haveria o ensino de: escrita; princípios elementares de gramática geral, conhecimento racional e prático da língua portuguesa e redação. Nos seus primeiros anos de funcionamento, a partir de 1861, a escola foi dirigida por Luís Filipe Leite e era um internato (NÓVOA, 1987; PINTASSILGO, 2012; PINTASSILGO & MOGARRO, 2015). Francisco Júlio Caldas Aulete (1823-1878) era o professor de gramática – antes de

escrever seus prestigiados compêndios[425] –, já as aulas de escrita e redação eram também ministradas pelo diretor da escola.

Na documentação da escola presente no Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo (MR, Mç. 4212), há cartas de Leite indicando que já em 1861, em uma reunião do conselho da escola, havia sido decidido que os professores redigiriam manuais adequados ao ensino normal das disciplinas que viriam a ministrar a partir do ano seguinte, justificando essa necessidade por não haver, em Portugal, material adequado ao ensino de futuros professores primários. Rapidamente, a *Gramática Nacional* de Aulete tomou forma, e o professor-autor solicitou, em janeiro de 1862, em correspondência aprovada pelo diretor da escola, que sua obra fosse "publicada a expensas do Governo". Embora nessa carta o autor coloque uma série de elogios à sua obra, insistindo em sua originalidade (MR, Mç. 4212), sua solicitação parece ter sido indeferida, visto que ela foi publicada apenas em 1864 (AULETE, 1864a), pela Typographia Franco-Portugueza, e, posteriormente, alcançou amplo sucesso ao ser aprovada e adotada pelo Conselho de Instrução Pública, tornando-se a obra única desse assunto a ser adotada nas escolas públicas portuguesas por três anos (Diário de Lisboa de 4 de janeiro de 1865; POLACHINI, 2022). Nesse momento, já com avaliação amplamente positiva, o autor solicitou que o livro fosse impresso pela Imprensa Nacional, o que de fato aconteceu em algumas edições posteriores (AULETE, 1864b; 1866, por exemplo). A obra teve ampla circulação e ainda foi publicada por outras editoras em Portugal e no Brasil, com diversas modificações até pelo menos 1885 (BOTO, 1997; POLACHINI, 2022).

A gramática de Aulete se destaca, de fato, entre as demais obras do período por dois pontos: a presença massiva de orientações ao professor, com sugestões de exercícios para serem realizados em sala de aula – o que a torna muito apropriada à escola normal – e a citação de longos trechos literários para servir de dado linguístico para análise dos alunos (POLACHINI, 2022). Ademais, sua descrição linguística muitas vezes se desprende da gramática geral ou filosófica que, então, dominava o cenário de descrição linguística português (SCHÄFER-PRIEß, 2002; GONÇALVES, 2006; SANTOS, 2010), ao, por exemplo, não considerar entre seus termos e conceitos a noção de 'verbo substantivo'[426]. Sua renúncia a esse modo de descrever a língua pode, talvez, ser justificada pelo viés didático de sua gramática, dado que tais conceitos eram demasiado abstratos.

No início de 1868, o Diário do Governo publicou os programas das aulas da Escola Normal de Marvila correspondentes ao mês de dezembro de 1867 e janeiro de 1868. Em ambos os meses, no que diz respeito à gramática, Aulete tratou do conceito de palavra. Em dezembro, o fez considerando os sons das palavras, suas partes (afixos) e seu aspecto escrito, ao passo que em janeiro tratou da palavra quanto à sua etimologia (isto é, quanto às classes de palavras) e quanto ao seu papel na sintaxe, para depois aprofundar a noção de substantivo. Vale destacar que alguns conceitos de suas aulas, como a noção de afixo, estavam ausentes nas primeiras edições de sua gramática (AULETE, 1864; 1866), mas aparecem em edições posteriores, voltadas ao ensino secundário (AULETE, 1874).

No ano seguinte, pelo decreto de 14 de dezembro de 1869, a escola foi encerrada para remodelação, que incluía transformá-la em um externato. Nesse ínterim, Leite e Aulete, como pediu a legislação, passaram a lecionar no Liceu Nacional de Lisboa. De lá não retornaram, visto que quando a instituição voltou a funcionar, em 1872, havia um novo diretor e um novo

[425] Embora ainda não tivesse escrito sua gramática, cartilha pelo método logográfico e seletas, que obtiveram muitas reedições, já era possível encontrar nomes de outros manuais de sua autoria no jornal Diário do Governo de 9 de dezembro de 1852, a saber: *Methodo facil e racional para ensinar a ler os meninos* e *Primeiro Livro da Infancia.*

[426] Este conceito, hoje inexistente mas amplamente divulgado em gramáticas portuguesas oitocentistas, era um dos pontos principais da gramática geral ou filosófica e muito presente nas gramáticas. Para um estudo sobre esse conceito em gramáticas brasileiras oitocentistas, veja Polachini (2018).

corpo docente. Vale mencionar que Aulete se tornou um profícuo autor de manuais escolares de língua portuguesa, pois, além de ter reeditado sua gramática algumas vezes e em diferentes formatos – tendo, um deles, sido editado no Brasil e sido adotado no Colégio Pedro II do Rio de Janeiro entre 1870 e 1876 (BOTO, 2004; POLACHINI, 2022) –, publicou muitos outros manuais de enorme sucesso, os quais eram usados na escola normal na década de 1880, como veremos adiante. Finalmente, vale ressaltar que foram alunos de Aulete e Leite o próximo diretor da escola Teófilo Ferreira e os futuros professores das escolas normais masculina e feminina Simões Raposo e Faria Filho (TT Maço 4210).

Nessa remodelação, além de deixar de ser um internato, o curso tornou-se mais enxuto, tendo o 1° grau apenas um ano, ao qual era acrescido outro ano para completar o 2° grau ou curso complementar. O estudo da língua portuguesa era feito somente no primeiro ano "princípios de gramática geral, exercícios de leitura, recitação e análise da língua portuguesa, e redação". A mudança de um currículo de internato por três anos para um curso de 2 anos em regime de externato gerou um menor rendimento dos professores formados na escola e foi criticada por Leite, o ex-diretor, anos depois (LEITE, 1892; BAPTISTA, 2004).

Em sua reabertura, em 1872, a escola masculina ganhou um novo diretor e também um novo corpo docente de acordo com documentação da escola de 1873 (ENPM 14, ESELx), a saber: Teófilo Ferreira (diretor), João José da Silva (Pedagogia, Geografia, História e Religião), Luiz de Sousa (Português e Aritmética), José Jorge da Teixeira (Caligrafia e Desenho). A documentação posterior não deixa claro quem era o professor de português nos anos seguintes, mas é provável que Luiz de Sousa tenha mantido o cargo até 1882, quando lhe é solicitado, em carta escrita pelo diretor Teófilo Ferreira, que listasse os livros que utilizaria para o ensino de língua portuguesa. Embora Sousa responda a carta fazendo menção a uma lista, ela não aparece na documentação disponível de hoje, que é um livro de cópias das correspondências (ENPM8, ESELx).

Tal como Aulete, Luiz de Sousa escreveu uma gramática de língua portuguesa voltada, especialmente, ao professor. A obra *Elementos theorico-praticos de grammatica portugueza* foi publicada em 1878, e, provavelmente, escrita enquanto era professor dessa disciplina na escola normal. Bastante original em seu formato, o compêndio não possui uma organização tradicional de gramática, mas é dividido no conteúdo que o professor daria para as três classes do ensino primário, o qual deveria ser transmitido de acordo com o método intuitivo.

No prólogo, Sousa (1878) ressalta que a gramática é voltada para a "pratica dos methodos, fórmas, processos e modos de ensino" e, em razão disso, pode não ser tão profunda em doutrina gramatical. Para ele, porém, isso não seria um defeito da obra, mas uma qualidade, pois considera que outros gramáticos da época "tomando como unico fim a doctrina grammatical, mostram a cada passo que, embora versados e lidos em taes assuntos, a moderna *methodologia* lhes passa por chimera ephemera". Ademais, o autor apresenta uma carta elogiosa à sua obra de autoria do também gramático D. José de Lacerda, o qual também preconizava em seu manual gramatical a necessidade de adaptar o compêndio ao ensino[427].

Diferente do compêndio de seu predecessor, entretanto, os *Elementos* de Sousa parecem não ter alcançado grande prestígio no período, visto que não encontramos informações sobre reedições. Vale ressaltar que nas últimas três décadas dos oitocentos havia um importante movimento na gramaticografia portuguesa e manuais de ensino dessa língua em direção a um método histórico-comparativo, o qual era principalmente simbolizado pela gramática elementar de Epifânio Dias, publicada em 1870 e reeditada muitas vezes, e pelos trabalhos filológicos e

[427] Na terceira edição do *Compendio da grammatica portugueza para uso das escólas*, de 1862, o autor D. José Maria de Almeida e Araujo Corrêa de Lacerda, afirma na Advertencia Preliminar "É preciso que a luz se vá accrescentando por degráos, até que, medrada em forças, possa alumiar cabalmente a escurecida intelligencia da puericia estudiosa." (LACERDA, 1862, p.2)

linguísticos de Adolfo Coelho e Teófilo Braga. Os olhos, portanto, estavam bastante voltados para questões de doutrina, que, como vimos, Sousa atenua em sua gramática.

Quanto ao ensino de Sousa na escola, pouco sabemos. Algumas provas de 1875 a 1881 estão, porém, disponíveis no Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo. Os exames são organizados de forma que seja feito um ditado de um trecho literário, o qual seria posteriormente analisado sintaticamente e, por vezes, também "etimologicamente" (o que hoje chamamos de morfologicamente) (MR, Mç. 4216 a 4222). A documentação disponível não deixa claro qual manual Sousa usava em suas aulas, mas é possível que tenha utilizado sua própria gramática, visto que encontramos exemplares dela no acervo das bibliotecas da escola. Um deles estava na SGEC, com carimbos da escola masculina e da escola feminina, e outro na seção de reservados da biblioteca Moreirinhas Pinheiro da ESELx com carimbo da já novecentista Escola do Magistério Primário de Lisboa.

Em correspondência de 4 de maio de 1882, o diretor Teófilo Ferreira faz queixas sobre a necessidade de mais professores para a escola ao Conselhereiro Director da Instrucção Publica. Em outubro do mesmo ano, devido a licença de três meses tirada por Luiz de Sousa, torna-se necessário haver um substituto, e o professor Alfredo Julio de Brito Freire, antes diretor do Liceu Central de Lisboa, é contratado como adido. Era já autor de uma gramática francesa[428], e ficou sob sua responsabilidade na escola normal masculina o ensino da 1a cadeira, que abarcava então o ensino de português e francês (ENPM3, ESELx). Quando Sousa retornou, passou a dar aulas de outras disciplinas, incluindo o francês, já Brito Freire manteve-se como professor de português até o final do século. Em 28 de julho de 1883, o diretor solicitou ao novo professor, em correspondência, os livros que seriam utilizados nessa disciplina (ENPM3, ESELx). Brito o respondeu, em carta de 30 de julho de 1883 (ENPM8, ESELx), com a seguinte lista:

1° ano
- Gramática portuguesa por Freire de Macedo
- Livros de leitura por Alfredo Pinto Leão
- Poesias selectas por Midosi
- Manual d'estilo por Oliveira Maia

2° ano
- Instituições elementares de retórica por Borges de Figueiredo
- Lugares selectos dos clássicos portugueses
- Compêndio de gramática portuguesa por J. Freire de Macedo
- Dito idem por Epifânio Dias
- Quadros da história portuguesa por Silveira da Mota
- Manual de estilo por Oliveira Maia
- Dito de poética pelo mesmo
- Os Lusíadas
- Curso de literatura por Simões Dias
- Sinopse de literatura clássica por Borges de Figueiredo

Mais proponho para poderem ser consultados, caso não haja já na biblioteca da Escola, os seguintes livros:
- Ensaio sobre alguns sinónimos da língua portuguesa por Francisco de S. Luís
- Gramática filosófica por Soares Barbosa
- Tratado de metrificação por A. Feliciano de Castilho
- Manual da história da literatura portuguesa por Teófilo Braga
- Subsídios para o estudo da língua portuguesa por Francisco José Monteiro Leite
- Literatura portuguesa por Camilo Castelo Branco e Andrade Ferreira
- Estudos da língua portuguesa por António Francisco Barata
- Curso elementar de recitação, filologia e redacção por Álvaro Rodrigues d'Azevedo
- Exercícios de composição por Claudino Dias

[428] Entre as obras da biblioteca dos reservados da biblioteca Moreirinhas Pinheiro, com carimbo da escola feminina, estava o *Curso Elementar de grammatica franceza*, de Alfredo Julio de Brito, publicado em 1871,

- Bosquejo histórico de literatura clássica por Cardoso Borges de FIgueiredo
- Estudo da fala por Legouvé traduzido pelo abade de Arcozelo
- Selecta de oratória por Caldas Aulete
- Dita de poesia pelo mesmo
- Elementos de literatura clássica por José Gonçalves Lage
- A língua portuguesa/glotologia por F. Adolfo Coelho
- Gramática portuguesa por Caldas Aulete
- Manual d'oratória por Delfim da Maia
- História da poesia portuguesa por Almeida Garrett

Nota-se, nessa lista, que Aulete consta entre os livros recomendados, ao passo que o manual de Sousa é ignorado. O professor seleciona para o 1° ano o compêndio gramatical de Joaquim Freire de Macedo, sem especificar se se trata do resumo, cuja 7a edição é de 1881, ou do compêndio, cuja última edição de que temos notícia é a 5a de 1875. Para o segundo ano, mantém a recomendação da obra de Macedo e acrescenta a novíssima gramática de Epifânio Dias, publicada pela primeira vez em 1870, e que em 1882 já estava em sua 4a edição. De fato, esses livros foram distribuídos aos alunos dos anos de 1883 a 1885 (ENPM11).

Embora tivessem grande prestígio no período, as obras de Macedo e Dias apresentavam doutrinas bastante diferentes. A primeira fundamentava grande parte da descrição linguística em uma visão abstrata e filosófica da gramática geral, Dias, por sua vez, inovou ao trazer elementos de análise comparativa empírica entre línguas e estágios de uma mesma língua. Nota-se, dessa forma, que pelo menos nesse primeiro momento, Brito, tal como muitos outros professores, estavam em um momento de transição quanto à forma de descrição linguística. Isso se vê também pelos livros recomendados, que incluem a gramática filosófica de Soares Barbosa e a glotologia de Adolpho Coelho.

Alfredo Júlio Brito de Freire consta como professor de língua portuguesa até a virada do século nas atas do conselho (ENPM9, ESELx). Além disso, provavelmente passou a lecionar também na escola feminina a partir de 1888, pois seu nome constava no júri de exames dessa escola (ENPF21, ESELx). Para este relatório, incluímos as informações supracitadas, a fim de aprofundar o estudo das últimas duas décadas da escola normal de Lisboa nos próximos meses, com a documentação e obras digitalizadas (ver Anexo I).

Quanto à escola normal voltada para o sexo feminino, após ter seu primeiro regulamento em 1863, foi, cinco anos depois, em 1868, instalada no Calvário como internato. Neste regulamento, eram previstas aulas de "1.° Leitura e recitação; – 2.° Escripta; – 3.° Grammatica portugueza e exercicios de redacção". Sua história é, entretanto, muito mais lacunar do que a história masculina por várias razões: logo após sua fundação, seu corpo docente era formado somente por mestras, das quais restam poucas ou nenhuma informação para além do nome; não restaram atas de reuniões do conselho dessas mestras, nenhuma delas foi autora de manuais de língua portuguesa – só teríamos gramáticas em Portugal de autoria feminina no fim do XVIII para um contexto religioso bastante restrito (MELO, 2020) e, posteriormente, apenas no início do século XX (COELHO & FONTES, 2018; COELHO, FONTES & KEMMLER, 2020)[429]

Como mencionado no item 2.1, no Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo encontramos ampla documentação sobre a escola feminina, sobretudo com as provas das alunas entre os anos de 1869 e 1882, mas, para além disso, pouco sabemos sobre como eram as aulas de língua portuguesa. Na *Revista Escolar Portuguesa* de 29 de fevereiro de 1884, são apontadas as mestras responsáveis pelo ensino de língua portuguesa: "D. Maria Honorina Gomes de Sousa, effectiva, de pedagogia, desenho e grammatica. D. Helena Elisa Telles de Menezes, professora effectiva, de portuguez, 1.° e 2.° anno e arithmetica do 2.° anno.", esta última, entretanto, estava

[429] Quanto a gramáticas, há a de Chantal Álvares, de 1786, e as gramáticas de Berta Valente de Almeida, de 1916, e Virgínia Gersão, de 1921, no início do século XX.

em licença no momento da publicação e era substituída por "D. Ludmilla da Motta Portocarrero, professora substituta, portuguez 1.° d 2.° anno e arithmetica 2.°."
Em livro de 1892, o ex-diretor da escola masculina, Luís Filippe Leite, afirma que relatórios da inspeção primaria de 1884 e 1885 descreviam o mau estado em que se encontravam as aulas da escola feminina, pois as professores não eram "sufficientemente habilitadas para ensinarem conveniente e cientificamente todas as disciplinas do programma" (LEITE, 1892, p. 16). Isso se dava sobretudo com as disciplinas de química, física, história natural e higiene, mas também "a gramática nacional, cuja regencia foi muito deficiente" (LEITE, 1892, p. 17). Então apresenta o pessoal docente do ano de 1892, que conta com professoras e professores, mas sem indicação da cadeira pela qual cada um(a) era responsável:

> "*Directora*, D. Honorina de Sousa Gomes. *Professora auxiliar*, D. Philomena Leoni. *Professores auxiliares*, Pedro Eusebio Leite (professor do lyceu central de Lisboa). Agostinho de Carvalho (professor auxiliar da escola normal do sexo masculino). Alfredo Julio de Brito Freire (professor addido á escola normal de Santos). *Professora da escola annexa*, D. Antonia Colho." (LEITE, 1892, p. 18)

É provável que a entrada de professores homens na escola feminina tenha ocorrido a partir de 1888, quando passamos a ver seus nomes entre o júri de exames dessa escola (ENPF21, ESELx).
Quanto às bibliotecas das escolas, boa parte dos livros foram conservados na Secretaria Geral de Educação e Ciência de Portugal e também na própria ESELx. É possível diferenciar os livros das escolas masculina e feminina por seus carimbos. Pode-se ver que, entre as obras dos professores da escola normal ou aqueles recomendados por eles, como seria de se esperar, têm forte presença nas bibliotecas das escolas feminina e masculina:

| **Professor de LP** | **SGEC** | **Reservados MP-ESELx** |
|---|---|---|
| Caldas Aulete (1862-1869) | *Gramática* 1872 - masc.<br>*Gramática* 1875 - masc. | *Gramática* 1866 - fem.<br>*Seleta* 1882 - masc.<br>*Seleta* 1882 - fem. |
| Luiz de Sousa (1872-1882) | *Gramática* 1878 - masc. e fem. | *Gramática* 1878 - magistério primário |
| Alfredo Brito (1883-1900+) | Macedo 1867 - masc. e fem.<br>Macedo 1871 - masc. e fem.<br>Macedo 1874 - masc. e fem.<br>Macedo 1875 - fem.<br>Macedo 1881 - masc.<br>Dias 1884 masc. | - |

As obras de Aulete, que, exceto pela edição de 1866, presente na biblioteca da Escola Feminina, são edições posteriores à sua saída da escola, chamam a atenção e são, certamente, resultado do sucesso e prestígio que o autor e sua obra adquiriram ao longo do tempo. Já a obra de Luiz de Sousa, como dissemos, teve somente uma edição. Há um exemplar dela com carimbos das escolas feminina e masculina e outro exemplar com o carimbo já novecentista da Escola Normal do Magistério Primário. Finalmente, quanto às obras selecionadas para o ensino de língua portuguesa em 1883 por Brito, vemos que há diversas edições de Macedo, o que talvez seja indício de que a obra de Macedo, por seu prestígio, já era parte dos estudos dos normalistas anteriormente.

Para além dessas, temos as gramáticas de outros três professores da escola que não lecionaram português. A gramática de Manuel Botelho, publicada em 1887, presente entre os

reservados da Biblioteca MP-ESELx, com carimbos das escolas masculina e feminina. Vale lembrar que, de acordo com (SILVA, v. XVI, p. 218), "parte d'esta grammatica estava para sair com a collaboração e revisão do professor sr. Alfredo Julio de Brito, mas não se realisou depois esse trabalho, segundo ouvi". E, por fim, o livrinho com quadros sinópticos da gramática, escritos por Faria Filho, professor da escola normal masculina, e Thiago Fonseca, professor da escola anexa masculina, o qual não se encontra em nenhum desses acervos, mas pôde ser consultado e digitalizado na Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal.

Há muitos outros manuais de língua portuguesa no acervo das bibliotecas, mostrando que era frequente a aquisição de livros para a escola. Temos, contando os acervos da SGEC e MP-ESELx, mais 28 gramáticas ou obras de análise gramatical. A maior parte delas é publicada durante o período em que a escola funcionou, entretanto, vale mencionar obras mais antigas, que eram consideradas cânones desse gênero, como a 1a edição da *Grammatica Philosophica* de Jerônimo Soares Barbosa, publicada em 1822 e encontrada nos reservados da biblioteca MP-ESELx com carimbo da escola masculina e também da já novecentista escola no magistério primário, e a Ortografia de Joam Franco Barreto, de 1671, também com carimbo da escola masculina. Vale mencionar também que há duas gramáticas de autores brasileiros: a de Pedro de Sousa Guimarães, sem data, publicada no Maranhão, e a de Fernandes Pinheiro, de 1885, publicada no Rio de Janeiro, ambas com carimbo da escola masculina. Faremos um estudo mais completo sobre a coleção desses acervos, considerando o contexto geral da produção gramatical brasileira – que já estudei anteriormente (POLACHINI, 2018) – e portuguesa, a qual conheci em mais detalhes durante o estágio de pesquisa em Lisboa, além de ter ampla bibliografia sobre o tema, como os textos de Maria Filomena Gonçalves, Maria Helena Pessoa Santos, Gonçalo Fernandes, Sónia Coelho, Susana Fontes e Rolf Kemmler.

Quanto às seletas e outros tipos de material, são todos oitocentistas e portugueses – mas vale mencionar a presença do romance Iracema, de José de Alencar, publicado em 1870 no Rio de Janeiro, com carimbo da escola feminina. Sobre esse material, ressalto a presença da Seleta Portuguesa de Luiz Filippe Leite, em coautoria com Moreira de Sá, nas edições de 1886 e 1891. Lembramos que, além de diretor da escola entre 1862 e 1869, Leite ministrava aulas de análise dos clássicos e redação na escola normal masculina nesse período (MR, Mç. 4212).

(Artigo em preparação)

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PAPERS

# Appropriations of modern pedagogy at the São Paulo Teacher Training School: convergences and divergences between Silva Jardim and Camillo Passalacqua (1884-1887)[1]

Apropriações da pedagogia moderna na Escola Normal de São Paulo: convergências e divergências em Silva Jardim e Camillo Passalacqua (1884 a 1887)

Apropiaciones de la pedagogía moderna en la Escuela Normal de São Paulo: convergencias y divergencias en Silva Jardim y Camillo Passalacqua (1884-1887)

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**Abstract**

This article examines the professional trajectories of Silva Jardim (1860-1891) and Camillo Passalacqua (1858-1920) with the intent of analyzing and comparing their conceptions of education and teaching. We consulted the minutes of school council meetings, letters, reports and bylaws of the São Paulo Teacher Training School, as well as newspapers of the time and teachers' publications such as *Reforma do Ensino de Língua Materna* (1884) by Silva Jardim, and *Pedagogia e Methodologia* (1887) by Passalacqua. We analyzed how these individuals appropriated elements of contemporary educational discourse, such as the precepts of gradual, rational, and intuitive teaching, to articulate them with quite different politico-philosophical and religious viewpoints. These differences are expressed in their writings, but also in their courses, and are visible, above all, in classroom materials adopted by each of those teachers.

**Keywords:** Teacher Training. São Paulo Teacher Training School. Pedagogy. Education.

[1] This article presents results of two studies developed within the scope of Thematic Project "Knowledges and practices in borders: toward a transnational History of Education (1810-…), coordinated by Biana Vidal and Carlota Boto, with funding from the São Paulo Research Foundation (Fapesp). Process: 2018/26699-4, 2019/25935-9 and 2020/06753-4. English version by Jesse Rebello. E-mail: jesse.rebello@gmail.com.

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ARTIGOS

# Apropriações da pedagogia moderna na Escola Normal de São Paulo: convergências e divergências entre Silva Jardim e Camillo Passalacqua (1884 a 1887)[1]

Appropriations of modern pedagogy at the São Paulo Teacher Training School: convergences and divergences between Silva Jardim and Camillo Passalacqua (1884-1887)

Apropiaciones de la pedagogía moderna en la Escuela Normal de São Paulo: convergencias y divergencias entre Silva Jardim y Camillo Passalacqua (1884-1887)

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**Resumo**

Este artigo investiga as trajetórias de Silva Jardim (1860-1891) e Camillo Passalacqua (1858-1920), na Escola Normal de São Paulo, a fim de analisar e comparar suas concepções de educação e ensino. Foram consultadas atas da congregação, ofícios, relatórios e regulamentos da escola, jornais do período e as obras dos docentes: *Reforma do Ensino de Língua Materna* (1884), de Silva Jardim, e *Pedagogia e Methodologia* (1887) de Passalacqua. Procuramos analisar como esses sujeitos se apropriaram de elementos dos discursos pedagógicos contemporâneos, como os preceitos do ensino gradual, racional e intuitivo, articulando-os com perspectivas político-filosóficas e religiosas bastantes distintas. Essas diferenças se expressam em seus escritos, assim como nas aulas, e são visíveis, sobretudo, nos materiais adotados para o ensino por cada docente em sua cadeira.

**Palavras-chave:** Formação de professores. Escola Normal de São Paulo. Pedagogia. Educação.

[1] Este artigo reúne resultados de duas pesquisas desenvolvidas no âmbito do projeto temático "Saberes e práticas em fronteiras: por uma história transnacional da educação (1810-...)", coordenado por Diana Vidal e Carlota Boto, com financiamento da Fundação de Amparo à Pesquisa do Estado de São Paulo (Processos: 2018/26699-4, 2019/25935-9 e 2020/06753-4).

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Dossier: Artes de Educar. Emergência e Edificação do Paradigma Escolar Moderno

# A trajetória da *Gramática (trans)Nacional* de Caldas Aulete: livros em viagem

## The trajectory of the *(trans)National Grammar* by Caldas Aulete: traveling books

Bruna Soares Polachini*

RESUMO

Este artigo tem como foco a produção e posterior circulação transnacional da plural e acentuadamente pedagógica *Grammatica Nacional*, escrita pelo professor lisboeta Júlio Caldas Aulete. Analisamos, com base em edições da obra, uma crítica contemporânea direcionada a ela e jornais, sobretudo, cariocas, a trajetória que a gramática teve de sua primeira até a undécima edição, passando por edições brasileiras sem número e sem data. Atenção especial é dada à edição brasileira de Nicolau Alves, livreiro português radicado no Rio de Janeiro, que se apropria de seu conteúdo, fazendo uma edição adaptada à cultura brasileira, que foi, durante a década de 1870, adotada pelo Pedro II, escola secundária modelo do Império.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE

Século XIX; História transnacional da educação; História da gramática; História do mercado editorial

ABSTRACT

This article focuses on the production and subsequent transnational circulation of the plural and markedly pedagogical *Grammatica Nacional*, written by the Lisbon professor Júlio Caldas Aulete. We analyze, based on editions of the work, a contemporary criticism directed to it, and newspapers, especially from Rio de Janeiro, the trajectory the grammar had from its first to its eleventh edition, passing through Brazilian editions without number or date. Special attention is given to the Brazilian edition by Nicolau Alves, a Portuguese bookseller based in Rio de Janeiro, who appropriates its contents, making an edition adapted to Brazilian culture, which was, during the 1870's, adopted by Pedro II, the Empire's model secondary school.

KEYWORDS

19th century; Transnational history of education; History of grammar; History of publishing market

* Este texto é um dos resultados de pesquisa pós-doutorado realizada sob supervisão da Prof. Dra. Carlota Boto (USP), na Faculdade de Educação da Universidade de São Paulo, com financiamento FAPESP (Processo nº 2020/06753-4), dentro do Projeto Temático FAPESP (nº 2018/26699-4), intitulado *Saberes e práticas em fronteiras: por uma história transnacional da educação (1810-...)*, mais especificamente, no eixo 1, *Arquivos digitais e bibliotecas: história do livro e da leitura.*

# A coleção de gramáticas oitocentistas da Biblioteca da Escola Normal de São Paulo

## The collection of Eighteenth-Century grammars in the library of the Normal School of São Paulo

Bruna Soares Polachini*

**RESUMO**

Este artigo tem como objeto a coleção de gramáticas oitocentistas do acervo da biblioteca da Escola Normal de São Paulo, dedicada à formação de professores. Seu foco está na análise da base teórico-metodológica utilizada para a descrição linguística, nos elementos pedagógicos e nos aspectos transnacionais das obras. Observa-se também a relação entre o acervo e as obras utilizadas na disciplina Língua Portuguesa da escola entre 1875 e 1900. As fontes documentais consultadas são diversas, considera-se todas aquelas que tratam do acervo da biblioteca, como: relatórios do diretor da escola, atas da congregação, correspondências, arquivos de jornal, o catálogo da biblioteca organizado em 1976, por ocasião de sua doação à FE-USP, e, finalmente, as próprias obras do acervo.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE: Século XIX; Escola Normal de São Paulo; Biblioteca escolar; Gramáticas do português.

**ABSTRACT**

The subject of this article is the collection of grammars published until 1900 in the library of the Escola Normal de São Paulo, dedicated to the training of teachers. The focus is on the analysis of the theoretical-methodological basis used for the linguistic description, the pedagogical elements and the transnational aspects of the grammars.

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# As gramáticas portuguesas utilizadas na Escola Normal de São Paulo no século XIX e estratégias didáticas

*Bruna Soares Polachini*

*Carlota Boto*

## Introdução

A gramática, enquanto manual que apresenta a descrição de uma ou mais línguas, assumiu diferentes formatos e objetivos ao longo da história, que muitas vezes ultrapassavam seu caráter pedagógico. A *Tekhné Grammatiké* de Dionísio da Trácia (170 a.C.-90 a.C.), por exemplo, considerada a primeira gramática do Ocidente, para além de seu aspecto didático, voltava-se sobretudo para a crítica e a recitação de textos da Grécia Antiga, algo característico do período alexandrino (CHAPANSKI, 2003). Posteriormente, já no final do século XV, começaram a surgir as gramáticas de línguas modernas, isto é, aquelas que não eram nem do grego, nem do latim (AUROUX, 1992). Essas obras, ainda que pudessem ter algum aspecto pedagógico, tinham como principal propósito estabelecer os alicerces de uma língua padrão, algo que se tornou bastante caro para o estabelecimento de fronteiras e identidades nacionais (SWIGGERS, 1997).

A partir do século XVII cada vez mais propostas pedagógicas do ensino da gramática ganham espaço, como nas gramáticas de diversas línguas escritas por Claude Lancelot nas escolas de Port-Royal na França. Foi também nesse local que Lancelot, junto com Antoine Arnauld, publicou em 1660 a *Grammaire Générale et Raisonnée*, cuja perspectiva filosófica de princípios gerais para todas as línguas foi seguida e aperfeiçoada até o século XIX. Na segunda metade desse século, período em que se situa nosso objeto de estudo, a gramática filosófica cede lugar à gramática histórico-comparativa, em que particularidades e comparação entre as línguas tornam-se protagonistas tanto da pesquisa filológica quanto da pedagogia.

Neste artigo, interessa-nos estudar as gramáticas utilizadas na Escola Normal de São Paulo no último quartel do século XIX. Nosso objetivo é conjecturar, com base em indícios, quais teriam sido os critérios para a seleção das gramáticas da escola, cuja função era formar

# AS MULHERES NOS ESTUDOS LINGUÍSTICOS BRASILEIROS (1890-1960): UMA PRIMEIRA APROXIMAÇÃO

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## Introdução

Pouco se sabe sobre a história da participação feminina nos estudos linguísticos brasileiros *stricto sensu* nesses últimos dois séculos. Este aparente desinteresse, entretanto, vem se modificando, como atestam publicações recentes sobre o tema (ALTMAN & LOURENÇO, 2022a; 2022b; CARVALHO & FREITAG, 2022), mesas redondas em Congressos, workshops, palestras e projetos (ALTMAN & LOURENÇO, 2021a, 2021b, 2022c; ALTMAN, BARROS, CASTELANO & LOURENÇO, 2023). As pesquisadoras Cristina Altman e Julia Lourenço, por exemplo, também do CEDOCH-DL/USP (Centro de Documentação em Historiografia Linguística do Departamento de Linguística da Universidade de São Paulo), têm-se dedicado a estudos sobre o feminino em períodos mais próximos da atualidade, a partir da década de 1960, quando a disciplina Linguística se institucionalizou no país. Neste artigo, em consonância com o Projeto recém-criado sobre *Gênero e Historiografia das Ciências da Linguagem: Américas*, no âmbito da Associação de Linguística e Filologia da América Latina (ALFAL, Projeto 31, ALTMAN & LOURENÇO coords., 2023)

## 20. APÊNDICE L: RELATÓRIO ANUAL DE ATIVIDADES DA BOLSISTA PD CAROLINA MOSTARO NEVES DA SILVA

Carolina Mostaro Neves da Silva

Fronteiras do discurso pedagógico: entre bibliotecas e salas de aula

Relatório Científico Final

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Vigência: 01/02/2020 a 31/07/2023
Supervisão: Carlota Boto

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Outubro.2023

**Resumo do Projeto**

Esta pesquisa se propõe a investigar o acervo da Biblioteca Paulo Bourroul, uma das coleções especiais pertencentes à Biblioteca da Faculdade de Educação da Universidade de São Paulo, e narrar a história da Biblioteca da Escola Normal de São Paulo, que se encontra na origem do referido acervo. Complementares e interdependentes, esses dois movimentos investigativos buscam compreender os sentidos e significados de uma biblioteca destinada à formação de professores, do final do século XIX até meados do século XX; identificar e analisar as obras que constituíram o repertório de saberes pedagógicos destinados à leitura de professores e estudantes da Escola Normal, componentes da(s) cultura(s) pedagógica(s) da instituição. Além das obras do acervo, são fontes desta pesquisa documentos oficiais relacionados à Escola Normal de São Paulo, e não oficiais, como a imprensa periódica do estado, que participava do debate educacional coetâneo e acompanhava os principais acontecimentos relativos à Escola. Do ponto de vista téorico-metodológico, a pesquisa adota uma perspectiva transnacional, enfatizando os diálogos entre São Paulo e França, que marcam a constituição do acervo, em suas primeiras décadas. Conceitualmente, a pesquisa também dialoga com referenciais da história cultural dos saberes pedagógicos e da história do livro e da leitura.

Palavras-chave: Escola Normal, biblioteca, obras pedagógicas, culturas pedagógicas.

## Realizações no período

Este relatório apresenta as principais atividades e resultados do projeto "*Fronteiras do discurso pedagógico: entre bibliotecas e salas de aula*", financiado pela FAPESP, entre fevereiro de 2020 e julho de 2023, período em que fui contemplada com uma bolsa regular e uma bolsa BEPE. Pela dedicação intensiva ao pós-doutorado, nesses mais de três anos, pude ampliar minha experiência como pesquisadora, alcançando ganhos qualitativos que se expressam tanto em meu trabalho acadêmico, quanto nas atividades como docente e orientadora que hoje desenvolvo.

A pesquisa na Biblioteca Paulo Bourroul, uma das coleções especiais que integram a Biblioteca da FEUSP, está vinculada ao projeto temático FAPESP "*Saberes e práticas em fronteiras: por uma história transnacional da educação (1820...)"*, coordenado pelas professoras Dra. Diana Vidal e Carlota Boto[430]. Esse acervo "Paulo Bourroul" foi doado à FEUSP em 1976 e é composto por cerca de 6.500 obras, em 8.000 volumes, publicados entre o início do século XVII e meados do XX. Desse modo, a Faculdade tornou-se responsável pela guarda e conservação de um conjunto de obras raras, que perpassam diferentes momentos históricos, áreas do conhecimento, gêneros e tendências literárias, principalmente de impressos escolares destinados à formação do magistério.

Conforme as bibliotecárias da FEUSP à ocasião, Marina Almeida e Elza Maeda (1977, p. 14), "as obras que compunham o acervo eram de interesse para os estudos e pesquisas realizados pelo Corpo Docente da Faculdade, principalmente nas áreas de Filosofia da Educação e História da Educação", o que teria motivado sua requisição como doação para a Faculdade. Desde então, essa coleção não recebeu um tratamento sistemático, e a maior parte de seus títulos não constam no sistema *Dedalus* de Bibliotecas da USP, embora algumas obras tenham despertado o interesse de pesquisadores (CARVALHO, 2006; 2007; PESTANA, 2011; PEREIRA, 2011; PEREZ, 2013; TREVISAN, 2011; CÉFALO, 2021).

Por se tratar de um tema de pesquisa relativamente novo para mim, precisei investir no estudo de um amplo repertório bibliográfico sobre a história do livro e da leitura, sobre a história da formação de professores e, mais especificamente, da Escola Normal de São Paulo. Os

[430] Processo FAPESP 2019/25935-9

trabalhos Deaecto (2008; 2011), Denipoti (2007), Barbier (1981; 2018), Hébrard (2004), Chartier e Hébrard (1995), que tratam das bibliotecas no século XIX, no Brasil e na França, contribuíram muito para as análises que desenvolvo[431]. Ademais, realizei estudos sobre a história em perspectiva transnacional, o que tem sido fundamental para a compreensão de suas potencialidades para as pesquisas em história da educação. Um resultado desses estudos foi a publicação, em abril de 2021, da resenha do livro *História da Educação em perspectiva transnacional*, organizado por Diana Vidal, na revista *Cadernos de História da Educação* (A2).

Nos estudos bibliográficos que realizei, destacam-se os trabalhos de Marta Carvalho (2007) e Marina Pestana (2011), que assumem a biblioteca da Escola Normal como objeto central para investigar as leituras que conformavam a formação docente em São Paulo. Pestana e Carvalho adotam como recorte de suas pesquisas a compra de livros efetuada por Paulo Bourroul, na França, em 1883, que constituiria, em suas interpretações, uma "biblioteca pedagógica" para a formação de professores – expressão que aparece nos títulos de seus trabalhos. As investigações de Carvalho e Pestana foram pontos de partida fundamentais para a pesquisa que desenvolvo, sobretudo no que diz respeito à compreensão da importância e do significado da compra de livros franceses para comporem o acervo da escola que se destinava a formar o professorado paulista, no século XIX, instigando a análise sobre o significado da biblioteca escolar e sobre os processos envolvidos na constituição de seu acervo. A partir da revisão bibliográfica, assumi uma perspectiva de investigação que envolve um recorte temporal que recua e avança no tempo em relação à compra de Paulo Bourroul, abarcando um conjunto de fontes que me possibilitariam observar, para além da presença dos livros e seus significados, seus usos e os usos do espaço que lhes era destinado na escola.

Ainda estava me familiarizando com o acervo Paulo Bourroul, quando recebi, em março de 2020, a notícia do fechamento da universidade e dos acervos públicos de São Paulo em razão da pandemia de COVID-19. Nos meses seguintes, passei a fazer um levantamento das obras pedagógicas que compunham a Biblioteca Paulo Bourroul, por meio de uma cópia digital do catálogo impresso, elaborado em 1976, na ocasião de sua transferência para a Faculdade de Educação. Meu intuito era fazer uma primeira triagem de títulos, que seriam localizados no acervo e devidamente identificados, para que pudéssemos fazer as classificações propostas no plano de trabalho inicial. Esse levantamento considerou como obras pedagógicas as que tratam do ensino e da educação, seja como arte, ofício ou ciência, no que diz respeito ao conteúdo e à

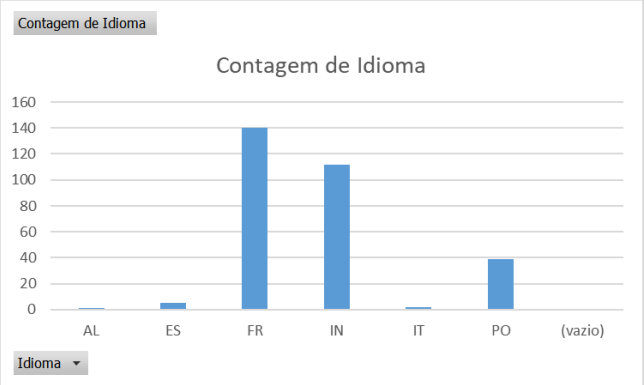
[431] Também poderiam ser citados os trabalhos de Pereira (2011), Martins (2013), Céfalo (2021) e Valdemarin (2022).

organização da própria obra, assim como a seus destinatários e usuários, ou seja, professores e estudantes da Escola Normal.

Assim, em uma das primeiras etapas do trabalho foi realizada uma transposição das informações sobre os títulos selecionados a uma planilha Excel, a fim de que os dados pudessem ser manipulados e reorganizados para responderem aos objetivos da pesquisa. Nessa planilha, foram separadas em colunas as informações sobre autoria, título, local, data de publicação, idioma e país. Foi acrescentada uma coluna para observações, inicialmente usada para transpor dados de edição e volumes, que constam no catálogo, mas a qual foram acrescentadas informações como: data de aquisição, número de títulos de um mesmo autor, resumo do conteúdo etc.

Foram selecionadas mais de mil obras do acervo. Inicialmente, separei as obras publicadas no século XIX, a fim de observar seus idiomas, para delimitar as primeiras aproximações transnacionais. Verifiquei, então, a prevalência de obras em francês, seguidas por obras em língua inglesa, conforme a Figura 1.

Figura 1: Frequência de idiomas nas obras




Fonte: Elaboração da autora

Esse levantamento inicial, concluído em setembro de 2020, indicou a pertinência de retomar a história da Biblioteca Paulo Bourroul, cuja origem se encontra na Escola Normal de São Paulo, no século XIX, buscando identificar movimentos de aquisição de obras e compreender como foram se constituindo as tendências pedagógicas na Escola e suas relações com o acervo bibliográfico, questão fundamental para situar no tempo a circulação dos saberes pedagógicos na escola e, por desdobramento, em São Paulo. Ademais, constatei que somente investigando a história da biblioteca seria possível compreender o que ela representou para a Escola Normal e, consequentemente, para a formação de professores, a que foi destinada.

Iniciei, então, uma investigação objetivando esclarecer o processo de institucionalização da biblioteca, com base na análise de leis, decretos, relatórios e regimentos da Escola Normal.

Procurei identificar o movimento composição do acervo, as formas de acessá-lo por parte de alunos e professores, a frequência ao espaço da biblioteca, seus bibliotecários etc. A pesquisa passou a se desenvolver em um movimento duplo: ao mesmo tempo em que investigava o acervo da Biblioteca Paulo Bourroul, buscava narrar a história da Biblioteca da Escola Normal de São Paulo, que se encontra em sua origem. Complementares e interdependentes, os dois movimentos investigativos são necessários para que se compreendam os sentidos e significados de uma biblioteca destinada à formação de professores, do final do século XIX até meados do século XX.

Em 2020, quando os arquivos estavam fechados em razão da pandemia de COVID-19, as principais fontes dessa pesquisa foram os periódicos disponíveis no acervo da Hemeroteca Digital da Biblioteca Nacional, dentre os quais se destaca o *Correio Paulistano*, no acervo histórico do jornal *A Província/O Estado de S. Paulo*, e a legislação da Província/Estado de São Paulo, disponível no site da Assembleia Legislativa do Estado de São Paulo. Dezenas de jornais foram consultados nessa investigação que recobriu as três últimas décadas do século XIX e alcançou resultados originais e consistentes, apresentados no artigo "Do acervo bibliográfico à biblioteca-espaço: aproximações transnacionais na escola normal de São Paulo (1874-1900)", publicado na Revista História da Educação da ASPHE (Qualis A1), em agosto de 2022. Ainda visando à divulgação desses primeiros resultados, em junho de 2021, ministrei, na Escola de Comunicação e Artes da USP, uma aula sobre a biblioteca da Escola Normal, na disciplina Biblioteca escolar: memória e práticas educativas, regida pelas professoras Diana Vidal e Neide Rezende.

Desde agosto de 2021, pude fazer visitas periódicas ao Arquivo Público do Estado de São Paulo, o que possibilitou a identificação e a organização de um vasto conjunto de documentos relativos aos livros e à biblioteca da Escola Normal de São Paulo, desde sua primeira fundação, em 1846, à década de 1890. Esse conjunto documental, que compõe o fundo da Instrução Pública da Secretaria de Interior, é formado por relatórios dos diretores da escola, listas de livros, recibos de compras, orçamentos, atas da congregação, atas de exames e concursos, ofícios ordinários que dizem respeito à organização e funcionamento da escola e, especificamente, da biblioteca. No final de 2021, comecei a pesquisar fontes sob a guarda do Centro de Referência Mario Covas, o que propiciou a composição de uma série de atas da congregação da Escola Normal que perpassa mais de quatro décadas, adentrando o século XX – material riquíssimo para investigar as práticas cotidianas, as sociabilidades, os conflitos etc.,

no interior da escola[432]. Busquei desenvolver uma análise cruzada dessas fontes, colocando-as em diálogo entre si e com as informações que havia levantado nos periódicos paulistas, nos primeiros meses da pesquisa.

Durante a pesquisa, busquei analisar a constituição da biblioteca em três frentes. Na primeira, investiguei documentos oficiais, normativos e prescritivos, como os regulamentos da Escola Normal, que prescrevem a presença de uma biblioteca e como deveria ser composta, antecedendo em muitos anos a criação de um espaço específico na instituição. Na segunda frente, acompanhei a constituição do acervo e a institucionalização de um espaço para a sua guarda e consulta, bem as possibilidades de usos, ancoradas em medidas tomadas ao longo de anos e que se relacionavam à crescente demanda por materiais para a escola, principalmente livros, que se afirmavam como suporte de difusão da cultura letrada. Na terceira frente, observei a biblioteca do ponto de vista simbólico, ou seja, como elemento que vai se constituir como parte do aparato simbólico escolar, em consonância com a moderna pedagogia, que destaca a importância pedagógica da arquitetura e dos espaços escolares. Percebi que, ao final do século XIX, a biblioteca era um atributo que representava a boa qualidade de uma instituição de ensino e, no caso de uma escola de formação de professores, reunia os materiais que os normalistas deveriam acessar para os estudos das diversas matérias do ensino normal, além de livros de literatura, viagens e artes, que indicam o intuito de dispor de temas da cultura geral que ultrapassassem o âmbito estritamente profissional – embora a especialização fosse sua característica principal.

Os resultados dessas investigações foram apresentados nos artigos: "Faculdade de Educação pela clivagem dos livros", em coautoria com Carlota Boto e Circe Bittencourt, publicado em dossiê temático na *Revista Ibero-americana do patrimônio histórico-educativo*; e no artigo "Professores e seus estudos: biblioteca, livros e leituras na Escola Normal de São Paulo (século XIX)", aprovado para publicação na *Revista Educação e Pesquisa*, em maio de 2023. Além disso, apresentei a comunicação "Uma biblioteca para a Escola Normal de São Paulo: aproximações transnacionais (1874-1900)" no 31º. Simpósio Nacional de História, em junho de 2021; e a comunicação "A biblioteca da Escola Normal de São Paulo: composição do acervo e institucionalização do espaço (1874-1900)", no Simpósio de Pós-doutorado da FEUSP, em agosto de 2021. Em novembro de 2021, ministrei, em parceria com a professora

[432] Este trabalho de levantamento de fontes no Arquivo Público do Estado de São Paulo e no Centro de Referência Mario Covas vem sendo realizado em parceria com Bruna Polachini, bolsista PD-FAPESP, que investiga as gramáticas usadas na Escola Normal de São Paulo, no século XIX.

Carlota Boto, o minicurso "Leituras de Formação: Biblioteca de Professores", organizado pela Cátedra Alfredo Bosi de Educação Básica, no Instituto de Estudos Avançados.

Entre junho e setembro de 2022, realizei estágio de pesquisa na França, sob supervisão da professora Anne-Marie Chartier, especialista em história da leitura, da escrita e da formação de professores na França, que desde a década de 1990 se tornou uma importante referência para pesquisadoras e pesquisadores brasileiros. Para isso, tive financiamento da FAPESP na modalidade BEPE, para uma estada de três meses. O objetivo principal desse estágio foi identificar fontes documentais sobre as bibliotecas das escolas normais francesas em funcionamento nas décadas finais do século XIX, destacando aspectos de sua organização e de seu acervo, principalmente, observando as obras de pedagogia e metodologia. Para tanto, desenvolvi pesquisas de campo na Biblioteca Diderot, em Lyon, e na Biblioteca Nacional da França, em Paris. Além disso, pude aprofundar conhecimentos sobre a formação de professores nas escolas normais francesas, referências para o sistema de ensino de São Paulo, o que permite examinar com mais propriedade as diferenças e semelhanças entre as escolas normais francesas e a escola paulista quanto aos modos de apropriação da literatura pedagógica direcionada à formação de professores primários.

O estágio trouxe ganhos significativos do ponto de vista documental, tornando possível reunir fontes inéditas – um conjunto de relatórios manuscritos das escolas normais francesas, produzidos nos anos de 1899 e 1900, com informações sobre suas histórias, organização material, currículo, etc. – que revelam o significado e o papel das bibliotecas e dos livros nessas instituições. Além disso, voltar à França ampliou minha experiência de pesquisa em instituições internacionais de referência e ofereceu uma proveitosa interlocução com a professora Anne-Marie Chartier, que se dispôs a me receber na França em ocasiões futuras. Vivi a experiência de localizar fontes inéditas em um acervo estrangeiro, o que levou Anne-Marie a me acompanhar na pesquisa empírica, para conhecer o material e verificar suas potencialidades. Passamos uma tarde no arquivo, pesquisando juntas. Eu pesquisando, principalmente, a maneira como a professora Chartier lia, registrava e fazia perguntas às fontes. Aprendi muito.

O contato com Anne-Marie abriu a oportunidade para convidá-la a participar, juntamente com Roger Chartier, do Seminário *Escola, pesquisa e mundo digital*, organizado pelo GEFHIPE, grupo coordenado pela professora Carlota, em setembro de 2022. Nesse Seminário, tive a honra e o desafio de mediar a mesa “Cultura escrita e mundo digital: mutações, desafios e perspectivas”, cujos palestrantes foram Anne-Marie e Roger Chartier. Além disso, durante sua breve estada em São Paulo, eu quis repetir a experiência francesa e conduzi Anne-Marie Chartier ao Centro de Referência em Educação Mario Covas. Mostrei a ela as fontes com

as quais tenho trabalhado na pesquisa. Mais uma vez, pude aprender com o seu olhar minucioso para a documentação histórica e com as perguntas que a pesquisa documental lhe suscita.

Com as pesquisas que desenvolvi no estágio, e sob a supervisão de Anne-Marie, me dediquei à escrita do artigo *"De la bibliothèque au manuel pédagogique : Appropriation des livres étrangers à l'Escola Normal de São Paulo"*, que será publicado, em novembro de 2023, na revista *Brésil(s). Sciences humaines et Sociales*, editada na École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, pelo Centre de Recherches sur le Brésil Colonial et Contemporain (CRBC). Nesse artigo, investigo os indícios de leitura e apropriação de livros estrangeiros na Escola Normal de São Paulo, mediante a abordagem do manual Pedagogia e Methodologia, publicado em 1887, por Camillo Passalacqua, professor da instituição. Passalacqua mobilizou autores de valores e princípios divergentes, compilou outros cujas escolhas ideológicas eram, em alguns aspectos, contrárias às suas, produzindo um manual atravessado pelo ecletismo das referências. Desse modo, oferecia ao leitor, preferencialmente um futuro professor, uma composição original do cânone pedagógico em circulação naquele fim de século, composto sobretudo por autores da Europa e Estados Unidos, como Gabriel Compayré, Froebel, Pestalozzi, Calkins, entre outros. Muitas das obras citadas por Passalacqua compunham o acervo da Biblioteca da Escola Normal. Uma versão em português desse artigo integrará uma coletânea que reúne os resultados das pesquisas desenvolvidas no projeto temático *Saberes e Práticas em fronteiras...*, que deverá ser publicada em 2024. A documentação acessada no estágio também tem sido utilizada na elaboração do capítulo "Bibliotecas de escola normais, entre São Paulo e França, em fase de elaboração.

Em 2022, apresentei resultados de minhas pesquisas no XI Congresso Brasileiro de História da Educação, com a comunicação "Pedagogias Em Disputa: Silva Jardim e Camilo Passalacqua na Escola Normal de São Paulo (1884/1887)", em coautoria com Bruna Polachini, e no 43. International Standing Conference for the History of Education (ISCHE), com a comunicação "The composition of São Paulo Teacher-Training School's Library: transnational appropriations". Ministrei duas aulas no curso sobre a biblioteca da Escola Normal de São Paulo, na disciplina "Biblioteca escolar: memória e práticas educativas", que atende a estudantes da Escola de Comunicação e Artes e da Faculdade de Educação da USP, a convite da professora Neide Rezende.

O trabalho apresentado no Congresso Brasileiro de História da Educação se desdobrou em um artigo que investiga as trajetórias de Silva Jardim (1860-1891) e Camillo Passalacqua (1858-1920), na Escola Normal de São Paulo, analisando e comparando suas concepções de educação e ensino. Neste artigo, eu e Bruna Polachini buscamos mostrar como disputas de

caráter político, religioso e intelectual permeavam as ideias e as práticas pedagógicas realizadas na instituição. Destacamos que, não obstante os diferentes valores e visões de mundo, Passalacqua e Silva Jardim se apropriaram de elementos dos discursos pedagógicos contemporâneos, como os preceitos da educação racional, do ensino gradual, intuitivo, etc., para formular concepções educacionais que consideravam convenientes à formação de professores. Vê-se como cada docente, em suas respectivas cadeiras e como alguma autonomia pedagógica ou didática, articulou esse repertório a perspectivas político-filosóficas e religiosas, mesmo que isso significasse o descumprimento do Regulamento institucional, como foi o caso, por exemplo, da subversão de Silva Jardim à regra de indicação do compêndio. O artigo foi publicado na revista Cadernos de História da Educação, importante periódica da área, em maio de 2023.

Nesse período de pós-doutorado, publiquei os artigos "O ensino profissional entre 'especialistas' e 'produtores'", na *Revista Educação em Foco*, e o artigo "As propostas educacionais do Congresso Agrícola, Industrial e Comercial de Minas Gerais (1903)", na *Revista Brasileira de História da Educação* – ambos contendo os resultados de minha pesquisa de doutorado, que contou com apoio da FAPESP (Bolsas Doutorado no País e BEPE).

Além das atividades de pesquisa e extensão na universidade, desenvolvi durante o pós-doutorado, com a autorização da FAPESP, atividades didáticas e de orientação, durante oito horas semanais. Entre 2019 e 2021, atuei na Faculdade do Educador, como mencionei no item anterior. Ao final de 2021, a FEDUC interrompeu o curso de Pedagogia, com a perspectiva de reformular seu currículo em vista da oferta de um curso em horário integral, o que incluiria um maior número de horas dedicadas ao estágio. Participei, como representante do corpo docente, das reuniões com a equipe de avaliação do MEC para a aprovação da nova matriz curricular, no que obtivemos sucesso.

Ainda em 2021, participei do processo seletivo para docente temporário de História da Educação na Faculdade de Educação da USP, tendo sido aprovada em primeiro lugar e indicada pela banca à contratação. Desde a conclusão do doutorado, almejava prestar concursos públicos e acreditava que a participação em processos seletivos para o cargo temporário poderia me ajudar a estar mais bem preparada, principalmente, em relação à experiência da prova didática, que nunca havia feito. Fiquei muito feliz por ter sido aprovada. Entretanto, como o contrato de trabalho estabelecia uma dedicação de 12 horas semanais, a FAPESP não autorizou o acúmulo da atividade na FEUSP concomitante com a bolsa. Optei por continuar como bolsista.

No começo de 2022, passei a integrar o corpo docente de um curso de Pedagogia, voltado para formar exclusivamente professoras e professores para a Educação Infantil, na

Faculdade Phorte, lecionando por 4 horas semanais. Essa experiência possibilitou a ampliação do meu escopo de estudos na área da Educação, trazendo contribuições para o meu desenvolvimento profissional.

Desenvolver o pós-doutorado, sob supervisão de Carlota Boto, me levou a integrar o Grupo de Estudos de Filosofia e História das Ideias Pedagógicas (GEFHIPE), por ela coordenado na FEUSP. O GEFHIPE é composto por colegas, da iniciação científica ao pós-doutorado, com formação nas áreas de História da Educação e Filosofia da Educação, e se reúne quinzenalmente para desenvolver estudos pertinentes aos temas dos integrantes e para a discussão de trabalhos. Além disso, o grupo busca desenvolver atividades de extensão, como o curso *"Leitura e escrita sob a clivagem da história: cenários e perspectivas"*, ofertado em 2021, em que atuei como uma das ministrantes; e o Seminário *"Escola, pesquisa e mundo digital pós-pandemia: desafios e perspectivas",* que contou com a participação de referências internacionais como António Nóvoa, Roger e Anne-Marie Chartier, e nacionais, como Diana Vidal, Marcos Neira e Julio Groppa Aquino.

A interlocução com colegas da Filosofia foi um ganho no que tange a estimular a leitura aprofundada, a exegese de textos e questões que marcam a área da Educação. Considero que ter trabalhado junto à professora Carlota Boto foi um presente para a minha formação profissional e pessoal. Carlota, uma das mais importantes referências brasileiras na área, é uma professora generosa e solidária, que cria condições para que todos os integrantes do grupo possam desenvolver suas potencialidades e contribuir para a formação mútua, estimulando parcerias entre colegas e os envolvendo em atividades como publicações, organizações de cursos e eventos. Além disso, demonstra, cotidianamente, que é possível desenvolver pesquisas de qualidade, juntamente com um consistente trabalho docente, uma orientação primorosa, exigente e gentil, e o necessário envolvimento na gestão da universidade.

Nos últimos anos, passei a receber demandas frequentes para a emissão de pareceres em revistas científicas de alta qualificação, como *Educação e Pesquisa* e *Educação e Sociedade,* indicando o reconhecimento da comunidade acadêmica quanto à minha expertise como pesquisadora/autora na especialidade. A prática de emissão desses pareceres é crucial para regular e induzir a qualificação do que é publicado, portanto, considero ter sido essa uma oportunidade de participar da crítica e da melhoria da produção nas áreas de Educação e História. Tive participações, também, em bancas de TCCs e Mestrado. Desse modo, os três anos de pós-doutorado representaram um mergulho mais profundo na área da Educação, a consolidação como uma docente e pesquisadora de História da Educação capaz de se inteirar rapidamente de novos conhecimentos, trabalhar de modo colaborativo e criativo e circular por

temas amplos, como as práticas de ensino e de avaliação, o papel das(os) estudantes e docentes, a formação dos sistemas de ensino em perspectiva histórica e na relação com o tempo presente.

Iniciei 2023 com a expectativa de renovação da bolsa PD, por mais 12 meses. Conforme o plano de trabalho, retornaria à França para concluir o exame dos volumes de manuscritos que havia localizado no ano anterior e para avançar diacronicamente no estudo dos livros e da biblioteca da Escola Normal de São Paulo. A FAPESP aprovou a renovação. Entretanto, fui chamada para um processo seletivo na Faculdade Sesi de Educação, e fui aprovada. Tratava-se de uma proposta para atuar no curso de Licenciatura em Ciências Humanas, por 40 horas semanais, divididas em atividades de docência, orientação e pesquisa. Insegura em relação à expectativa de realização de concursos para universidades públicas e assombrada pela possibilidade de ficar sem trabalho, ao final da bolsa PD, optei por assumir o novo emprego, considerando que poderia me dedicar tanto à formação de professores quanto à pesquisa, já que em três anos de pós-doutorado pude localizar e organizar um grande conjunto de fontes, com as quais sigo trabalhando. Por isso, antecipei o encerramento da bolsa, para julho de 2023.

Por fim, gostaria de mencionar que, durante o pós-doutorado, pude contar com boas condições de trabalho e oportunidades, na FEUSP, entre as quais destaco o atendimento da Maria José e da Daniela, funcionárias da biblioteca, para que o projeto pudesse ser desenvolvido com a qualidade esperada e que, sobretudo, que tivesse como resultado principal o meu aperfeiçoamento como pesquisadora e docente.

**Participação e organização de eventos**

1. X Simpósio de Pós-Doutorado da FEUSP – “Quando a pesquisa conta”, entre 2 e 4 de dezembro de 2020, apresentando o trabalho "Entre livros, autores e práticas: as obras pedagógicas da biblioteca Paulo Bourroul".
2. XI Simpósio de Pós-Doutorado da FEUSP – “Pesquisas caleidoscópicas: modos de ver e criar”, entre 18 e 21 de agosto de 2021, com a apresentação do trabalho *A biblioteca da Escola Normal de São Paulo: Composição do acervo e institucionalização do espaço (1874-1900)*.
3. 31º. Simpósio Nacional de História, entre 19 e 23 de junho de 2021, com a apresentação do trabalho *Uma biblioteca para a Escola Normal de São Paulo: aproximações transnacionais (1874-1900)*.
4. XI Congresso Brasileiro de História da Educação, entre 11 e 14 de julho, com o trabalho *Pedagogias Em Disputa: Silva Jardim e Camilo Passalacqua Na Escola Normal de São Paulo (1884/1887)*, em coautoria com Bruna Polachini.
5. ISCHE 43, com o trabalho: The composition of São Paulo Teacher-Training School’s Library: transnational appropriations, O evento ocorreu entre 31 de agosto e 03 de setembro de 2022.
6. Aulas ministradas na disciplina Biblioteca escolar: memória e práticas educativas, regida pelas professoras Diana Vidal e Neide Rezende, em 2021 e 2022.
7. Minicurso "Leituras de Formação: Biblioteca de Professores", organizado pela Cátedra Alfredo Bosi de Educação Básica, no Instituto de Estudos Avançados, no dia 25 de novembro de 2021, em parceria com a professora Carlota Boto.
8. Mediação da mesa “Cultura escrita e mundo digital: mutações, desafios e perspectivas”, cujos palestrantes foram Anne-Marie e Roger Chartier.
9. Organização, em 2021, do Curso de extensão *“Leitura e escrita sob a clivagem da história: cenários e perspectivas”*, na USP.
10. Organização, em 2022, do Seminário *“Escola, pesquisa e mundo digital pós-pandemia: desafios e perspectivas”.*

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RESENHAS

# História da Educação em perspectiva transnacional

History of Education in a transnational perspective

Historia de la educación bajo el enfoque transnacional

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# A FACULDADE DE EDUCAÇÃO PELA CLIVAGEM DOS LIVROS: BIBLIOTECA DO LIVRO DIDÁTICO E BIBLIOTECA PAULO BOURROUL

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## RESUMO

Este artigo propõe-se a reconstituir a trajetória de dois acervos reservados da Biblioteca da Faculdade de Educação da USP: a Biblioteca do Livro Didático (BLD) e a Biblioteca Paulo Bourroul. A Biblioteca do Livro Didático constituiu-se a partir dos anos finais de 1980, quando ocorreu na Faculdade de Educação da USP a organização de um acervo de livros didáticos vinculado a projetos de pesquisa sobre a história de livros, currículos e disciplinas escolares. A constituição inicial da biblioteca deu-se em meados dos anos 90 e foi formada por acervos particulares de pesquisadores, em especial da professora Circe Bittencourt, que sempre teve o livro didático como objeto central de sua pesquisa. A Biblioteca Paulo Bourroul chegou à Faculdade de Educação no final da década de 1970, quando a instituição (FEUSP) recebeu da Secretaria de Cultura, Ciência e Tecnologia a doação de parte do acervo constituído ao longo de um século de história da formação docente em São Paulo. Composto por aproximadamente 6.500 títulos, em 8.000 volumes, publicados entre o início do século XVII e meados do XX, esse acervo se tornou uma das "coleções especiais" que integram a Biblioteca da FEUSP, o que deu à Faculdade a possibilidade de guarda e conservação de um conjunto de obras raras, que perpassam diferentes momentos históricos, áreas do conhecimento e tendências literárias, principalmente de impressos escolares destinados à formação do magistério.

**Palavras-chave:** Biblioteca da Faculdade de Educação da USP. Biblioteca do Livro Didático (BLD). Biblioteca Paulo Bourroul.

## INTRODUÇÃO

A história da Faculdade de Educação da USP inscreve-se também na trajetória de suas bibliotecas. O que se procurará fazer aqui é o relato de dois fundos específicos que constam de seu acervo, os quais são respectivamente a Biblioteca do Livro Didático e a Biblioteca Paulo Bourroul. Conhecer um pouco a história desses dois acervos significa compreender mais diretamente como se deu e como se dá a constituição de um repertório do conhecimento pedagógico, que passa simultaneamente por obras de cariz didático e por obras de referência no campo da Pedagogia. A maneira pela qual o saber educativo se constituiu traz a marca e os

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Artigo

# A BIBLIOTECA DA ESCOLA NORMAL DE SÃO PAULO: ORGANIZAÇÃO DO ACERVO E DO ESPAÇO

Caroline Mostaro Neves da Silva*

**RESUMO**

Este artigo investiga a constituição da biblioteca da Escola Normal de São Paulo, nas últimas décadas do século XIX, identificando e analisando processos de composição do acervo, instalação, funcionamento, bem como os significados que esse espaço e suas práticas vão assumindo para a escola e para a própria educação paulista. Analisaram-se regulamentos, ofícios, relatórios, cartas, notícias de jornais, recibos de compra e venda. Buscou-se desenvolver uma narrativa historiográfica que privilegia fenômenos de trocas, circulação, transferências de sujeitos, objetos, materiais e saberes, destacadamente entre São Paulo e França, que se expressam na constituição da biblioteca. Entre a especialização e a ampliação, a biblioteca para a formação de professores fundia saberes pedagógicos a conteúdos específicos, relacionados às matérias de ensino e à cultura geral, tornando-se parte do repertório da pedagogia moderna e científica que, por meio de sujeitos, ideias e artefatos, circulava globalmente, cruzando fronteiras nacionais.

Palavras-chave: Biblioteca, Escola Normal de São Paulo, livros, manuais.

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ARTIGOS

# Apropriações da pedagogia moderna na Escola Normal de São Paulo: convergências e divergências entre Silva Jardim e Camillo Passalacqua (1884 a 1887)[1]

Appropriations of modern pedagogy at the São Paulo Teacher Training School: convergences and divergences between Silva Jardim and Camillo Passalacqua (1884-1887)

Apropiaciones de la pedagogía moderna en la Escuela Normal de São Paulo: convergencias y divergencias entre Silva Jardim y Camillo Passalacqua (1884-1887)

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## Resumo

Este artigo investiga as trajetórias de Silva Jardim (1860-1891) e Camillo Passalacqua (1858-1920), na Escola Normal de São Paulo, a fim de analisar e comparar suas concepções de educação e ensino. Foram consultadas atas da congregação, ofícios, relatórios e regulamentos da escola, jornais do período e as obras dos docentes: ***Reforma do Ensino da Língua Materna*** (1884), de Silva Jardim, e ***Pedagogia e Methodologia*** (1887) de Passalacqua. Procuramos analisar como esses sujeitos se apropriaram de elementos dos discursos pedagógicos contemporâneos, como os preceitos do ensino gradual, racional e intuitivo, articulando-os com perspectivas político-filosóficas e religiosas bastantes distintas. Essas diferenças se expressam em seus escritos, assim como nas aulas, e são visíveis, sobretudo, nos materiais adotados para o ensino por cada docente em sua cadeira.

**Palavras-chave:** Formação de professores. Escola Normal de São Paulo. Pedagogia. Educação.

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[1] Este artigo reúne resultados de duas pesquisas desenvolvidas no âmbito do projeto temático "Saberes e práticas em fronteiras: por uma história transcultural da educação (1810-...)", coordenado por Diana Vidal e Carlota Boto, com financiamento da Fundação de Amparo à Pesquisa do Estado de São Paulo (Processos: 2018/26690-4, 2019/25935-9 e 2020/06753-4).

**Artigos aceitos e não publicados**

# De la bibliothèque ao manual pedagogico :
Apropriation de livres estrangeiros na École Normale de São Paulo
# De la bibliothèque au manuel pédagogique :
Appropriation des livres étrangers à l'École Normale de São Paulo
# From the library to the pédagogiquel manual :
Appropriation of foreign books at École Normale de São Paulo

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Cet article présente les résultats d'une recherche menée dans le cadre du projet thématique « Savoirs et pratiques en frontières : pour une histoire transnationalte de l'éducation (1822...) », coordonnée par Diana Vidal et Carlota Boto, avec un financement de la Fondation d'Appui à la Recherche de l'État de Sao Paulo (Dossiers : 2018/26699-4 et 2019/25935-9).

**Resumo:**

Investigam-se os indícios de leitura e apropriação de livros estrangeiros na Escola Normal de São Paulo, mediante a abordagem do manual *Pedagogia e Methodologia*, publicado em 1887, por Camillo Passalacqua, professor da instituição. Passalacqua mobilizou autores de valores e princípios divergentes, compilou outros cujas escolhas ideológicas eram, em alguns aspectos, contrárias às suas, produzindo um manual atravessado pelo ecletismo das referências. Oferecia-se ao leitor, preferencialmente um futuro professor, uma composição original do cânone pedagógico em circulação naquele fim de século, composto sobretudo por autores da Europa e Estados Unidos.
**Palavras-chave:** livros, professores, biblioteca, escola normal

**Résumé :**

Cet article s'attache à démontrer la lecture effective et l'appropriation de livres étrangers à l'École Normale de Sao Paulo, au moyen d'une analyse du manuel *Pédagogie et Methodologie*, paru en 1887, de Camillo Passalacqua, professeur de cet établissement. Si Passalacqua s'est approprié des auteurs aux valeurs et aux principes divergents entre eux, il en atout e même cité d'autres dont les choix idéologiques étaient, par certains aspects, contraires aux siens, pour rédiger un manuel marqué par l'éclectisme de ses références. Le lecteur, généralement un futur instituteur, se voyait proposer une composition originale du canon pédagogique en vogue à l'Europe et aux États-Unis.
**Mots clés :** livres, professeurs, bibliothèque, école normale

**Abstract :**

This article investigates the indications of reading and the appropriation of foreign books at Escola Normal de São Paulo, through the approach of the manual Pedagogia e Methodologia, published in 1887 by Camillo Passalacqua, a teacher at that institution. Passalacqua has mobilized authors who had divergent values and principles, and has compiled some others whose ideological choices were, in some aspects, contrary to their own, to produce an eclectic manual. To the reader, preferably a future teacher, it was offered an original composition of the

vast spread pedagogical canon at the end of the century, mainly composed by authors from Europe and the United States.
**Key-words:** books, teachers, library, Teachers Training School

On était au mois d'août de l'an 1880 quand, dans la province de Sao Paulo, fut réouverte une école destinée à la formation de professeurs (Tanuri 2000 ; Monarcha 1999). Lors de ses premières années de fonctionnement ses cours avaient suscité chez ceux qui la fréquentaient et d'autres qui s'y intéressaient, débats et interventions sur divers aspects touchant à la fois à son organisation et à son contenu pédagogique. On discutait la répartition des différentes chaires et de leurs contenus, du besoin d'une formation théorique et pratique, de l'enseignement laïque, de la mixité, du matériel utilisé en salle de classe, etc. Le règlement interne indiquait que chaque professeur serait tenu de choisir un précis qu'il pourrait, si la congrégation l'approuvait, employer dans ses cours. On réfléchissait à la nécessité de donner accès à des livres susceptibles d'enrichir l'enseignement de futurs normaliens. Ainsi, cet établissement devait-il offrir une bibliothèque composée d'œuvres scientifiques, d'histoire, de littérature, de voyages, d'arts et métiers, acquises par son Directeur sur autorisation du gouvernement provincial.

La bibliothèque a commencé à se monter en 1883, à partir d'un achat réalisé en France par Paulo Bourroul, un médecin français qui enseignait et dirigeait l'École Normale[433], pour un mandat intérimaire. Il avait acquis des ouvrages d'auteurs français, comme Marie Pape-Carpantier, Gabriel Compayré et Michel Charbonneau, et des traductions françaises de penseurs anglo-saxons renommés, tels que Friedrich Froebel et Herbert Spencer (Pestana 2011 ; Bittencourt, Silva & Boto 2021). Par la suite le fonds de l'école augmentera continuellement grâce à des achats et à des dons. Ainsi, jusqu'à la fin du XIXème siècle, les livres en langue française représenteront la plus grande partie des travaux scientifiques de la bibliothèque. À l'époque, les liens avec la France et avec la francophonie étaient une évidence à l'École Normale. Ce pays, reconnu comme un leader culturel par les élites brésiliennes lettrées devenait également une référence pour la formation de cultures pédagogiques et scolaires (Silva 2022).

Le fonds présentait une significative variété de tendances et de perspectives pédagogiques, comme Marta Carvalho (2007a) le note à propos des ouvrages de pédagogie et de méthodologie acquis par Bourroul. Cela nous permet de supposer l'existence d'appropriations et d'emplois pluriels de ce répertoire. La composition des travaux indique

[433] À cette époque, le cursus de l'École Normale incluait cinq chaires : la 1ère, Grammaire et Portugais ; la 2ème, Arithmétique et Géométrie ; la 3ème, Géographie générale, Histoire du Brésil, en particulier, de la Province de Sao Paulo, et Histoire sacrée ; la 4ème, Pédagogie et Méthodologie, qui incluait dans exercices d'intuition ; et Doctrine chrétienne ; la 5ème, Grammaire et Français, notions de physique et de chimie. Paulo Bourroul était professeur de la 5ème chaire.

également, au vu de la diversité des pays d'origine des volumes, que la circulation des savoirs pédagogiques empruntait plusieurs voies, dans le temps et l'espace, même si pour les bibliothécaires brésiliens la médiation par la langue française demeurait une évidence. Il faut se souvenir que la construction des systèmes scolaires dans les pays occidentaux est allée puiser ses informations et ses modèles à l'étranger, pour les adapter aux conditions locales, même dans les pays européens (Matasci 2016). Les appropriations hybrides et complexes des connaissances qui se reflètent dans les manuels révèlent la façon dont les divers sujets avaient lu et tiré parti du répertoire qui leur était accessible et dont ils l'avaient souvent réagencé à leur manière.

Les livres intégraient la bibliothèque et constituaient une part importante de la culture matérielle de l'École Normale de Sao Paulo, comme une sorte de registre objectif, des références visibles et chargées de significations de la tradition pédagogique (Escolano 2007). Ainsi, même si la présence d'un riche fonds bibliographique pouvait attester symboliquement la bonne qualité de l'établissement scolaire, cette fonction ne deviendrait effective qu'à mesure que les ouvrages seraient effectivement lus et appropriés par les sujets scolaires. Sur ce point, les registres de prêt, les notes de cours, les copies d'examens des étudiants peuvent nous fournir de précieuses indications. Mais pour la bibliothèque de l'École Normale de São Paulo ce type d'information étant rare, les interrogations sur la manière dont se réalisaient les lectures et les appropriations demeurent pertinentes et sans réponse.

Dans le présent article, je m'attacherai à rechercher des indices de lecture et d'appropriation des livres du fonds de l'École Normale de Sao Paulo en m'appuyant sur le contenu du manuel *Pédagogie et Méthodologie*, publié en 1887 par Camillo Passalacqua (1858-1920), professeur de la 4ème chaire, de 1885 à 1890. Pour ce faire, je prendrai pour référence les travaux des disciplines de pédagogie et de méthodologie du Catalogue provisoire de la Bibliothèque, de 1884, et les listes de livres achetés par l'école jusqu'à la date de parution du manuel – soit près de 115 titres, de 90 auteurs. On pondèrera toutefois que ceux-ci ne représentent pas la totalité de la collection bibliographique de l'école qui, en 1885, comptait 505 ouvrages, en 1 015 volumes, couvrant l'ensemble des disciplines enseignées[434]. Une partie du lot acquis en 1885, ainsi que les livres achetés en 1886, n'ont pas été identifiés, même s'il est possible, dans certains cas, grâce à des annonces de journal, à la date de publication et à leur

[434] Rapport présenté par José Estácio Correa de Sá e Benevides au Président de la Province, le 26 décembre 1885. Manuscrit. Archives publiques de l'État de Sao Paulo.

présence dans le fonds Paulo Bourroul, de la Faculté d'éducation de l'USP, de supposer leur acquisition à l'époque visée[435].

Le livre écrit par Passalacqua, pour encadrer les cours de la Chaire de pédagogie et méthodologie et, donc, pour unifier la formation pédagogique des normaliens à Sao Paulo, nous donne des informations sur les auteurs et les ouvrages qui faisaient référence au cours des premières années de fonctionnement de l'École Normale, tout en révélant les aspects qui en ont été appropriés et diffusés. Ce manuel mentionne une profusion d'auteurs de différentes époques, presque tous européens, ce qui était une caractéristique commune aux manuels pédagogiques (Silva 2018). Je parlerai ici en particulier des auteurs ayant écrit sur l'éducation dont les travaux ont laissé leur empreinte dans le texte de Passalacqua. Je souhaite ainsi mettre à nu les appropriations qui, formulées par ce professeur dans son ouvrage, se sont répandues parmi les étudiantes et les étudiants de la chaire de pédagogie et méthodologie de l'École Normale de Sao Paulo, dans les années 1880.

**Le professeur de la chaire de pédagogie et méthodologie et son manuel**

D'après Marta Carvalho (2007b, 121), « parler de pratiques d'appropriation implique une relation entre une matière à approprier, une situation, une finalité et un agent doté de compétences particulières qui, dans cette situation, met à jour un certain répertoire culturel ». Envisagées comme pratiques de transformation, comme tactique, selon Michel de Certeau (2009), les appropriations se réfèrent à des situations particulières, où les sujets produisent de nouveaux objets. Camillo Passalacqua est ici le sujet qui, dans sa position de professeur de pédagogie et de méthodologie, s'est approprié un répertoire de savoirs pédagogiques pour produire le manuel destiné aux étudiants de la 4ème chaire.

Camillo Passalacqua est né en 1858, à Naples, et enfant, sa famille s'installe au Brésil. À São Paulo, il fréquente le Séminaire Épiscopal et est ordonné prêtre au début des années 1880. C'est là qu'en 1882, il démarre ses activités comme professeur remplaçant d'éloquence sacrée. En mars 1885, il occupe la 4ème chaire de l'École Normale, vacante depuis le mois de mai de l'année précédente, après le départ d'Ignacio Bulhões Jardim – Antonio da Silva Jardim, professeur de la 1ère chaire, avait assuré l'intérim jusqu'à la nomination de Passalacqua[436].

[435] Le fonds Paulo Bourroul, une des collections spéciales de la Bibliothèque de la Faculté d'Éducation de l'Université de São Paulo (FE-USP), est constitué d'ouvras provenant de la Bibliothèque de l'École Normale de Sao Paulo, données à la Faculté dans les années 1970.

[436] Quand il a remplacé Bulhões Jardim, Silva Jardim a été accusé dans la presse de ne pas respecter le règlement de l'École, qui interdisait le cumul de chaires pour une période supérieure à 15 jours. Silva Jardim a contesté ces accusations et, en dépit de la polémique, il est resté au poste de remplaçant de la 4ème chaire jusqu'en mars1885.

Avant même de terminer l'année comme remplaçant de 4ème chaire, Passalacqua passe le concours d'entrée en octobre 1885 et est admis comme professeur titulaire.

Le concours a été organisé dans l'incertitude quant à l'avenir de la chaire et, par conséquent de son occupant, car l'Assemblée provinciale examinait alors un projet de réforme incluant la suppression des disciplines de pédagogie et de méthodologie des cours de l'École Normale. Entre l'approbation et la suspension de cette mesure, le concours, auquel seuls deux candidats s'étaient inscrits, avait été programmé une première fois, annulé puis reprogrammé[437].

Une campagne de presse chercha à empêcher la tenue du concours, avec l'argument selon lequel la 4ème chaire pourrait continuer à être occupée internement, sans inconvénient : « Aujourd'hui, nommer un professeur titulaire revient à embrouiller les choses et cela ne peut que nuire à la Province »[438]. Cependant, les épreuves auront lieu avant que ne soit prise une décision définitive sur la réforme de l'instruction publique, avec l'autorisation du gouvernement provincial, et Passalacqua sera le seul candidat à se présenter.

Les sujets de l'examen choisis par le jury révèlent plusieurs perspectives des débats sur la pédagogie et la méthodologie à cette époque. Ils ont été partagés entre les matières couvertes par la chaire : pédagogie, méthodologie, doctrine chrétienne et constitution politique. Le premier sujet, portant sur la pédagogie, demandait si « la pédagogie peut constituer une discipline indépendante des matières enseignées dans une École Normale », une question discutée au sein de l'Assemblée Provinciale dans le cadre de la réforme. Le candidat devait ensuite disserter sur la coéducation des sexes et enfin, discourir sur les rapports entre les matières cours normalien et celles des écoles primaires publiques. Dans les sujets sur la méthodologie, il fallait se pencher sur les liens entre la pédagogie et la méthodologie, écrire sur la meilleure méthode d'enseignement, en justifiant son choix, puis expliquer les limites entre la « méthode de l'intuition » et celle « de la réflexion », alors que les principes de l'enseignement intuitif faisaient de nombreux adeptes à São Paulo (Schelbauer 2003).

Les questions de Doctrine Chrétienne portaient sur l'influence de la religion sur le milieu social et sur l'enseignement et sur la possibilité pour une société d'exister sans Dieu. Enfin, dans la partie sur la constitution politique et en particulier son article 3º, il était question des rapports entre la loi, le gouvernement et la souveraineté nationale, alors qu'à propos de l'article 45, c'est sur l'âge minimum de la candidature au Sénat qu'il fallait se pencher. Pour

[437] Cette réforme n'a jamais été mise en œuvre. Après plusieurs mois de suspension, le Président de la Province y a opposé son veto, en juin 1886, d'après le quotidien *A Província de S. Paulo* (19, 20 et 23 juin 1886).
[438] Rangel Pestana dans *A Província de S. Paulo*, 2 octobre 1885, p. 1.

l'examen écrit, le tirage au sort a désigné la question de « l'influence de la religion sur les sociétés et leurs destins ». Passalacqua qui, à l'écrit a reçu la mention « médiocre, compte tenu du peu qui a porté sur le sujet », a tout de même été admis après l'oral[439].

Le professeur titularisé à la 4ème chaire était donc un prêtre qui, sur l'échiquier politico-idéologique de l'École Normale, représentait la religion de l'État. Comme le déclara Rangel Pestana, dans un discours à l'Assemblée provinciale, il y avait à l'école « des professeurs distingués, bien que positivistes, mais aussi [...] des professeurs qui, bien que catholiques, ont toutefois un talent et une érudition incontestables »[440]. Silva Jardim, Godofredo Furtado et Cypriano José de Carvalho, collègues de Passalacqua dans l'établissement, étaient des positivistes déclarés.

Diverses polémiques agitaient alors la vie de l'école, quand des professeurs positivistes s'opposèrent aux catholiques autours de questions internes, comme l'obligation d'indiquer des précis et le maintien de l'enseignement religieux, exprimant ainsi des divergences sur des questions sociales plus larges, comme l'organisation politico-administrative du pays (Monarcha 1999 ; Silva & Polachini 2023)[441]. Pour les professeurs positivistes, la morale chrétienne comme fondement de l'éducation constituait un archaïsme à dépasser, tout comme la monarchie. Ils avaient tendance à considérer les catholiques comme réfractaires au progrès, donc incapables d'assimiler les innovations pédagogiques. L'arrivée de Passalacqua renforçait la présence catholique au sein de l'institution, à une époque où se manifestait l'intention politique de réduire la force des partisans d'Auguste Comte, y compris avec la nomination d'un autre prêtre au poste de directeur.

Obéissant à la détermination du Règlement[442], dans sa première année comme professeur titulaire de la 4ème chaire, Passalacqua choisit deux précis pour ses cours : le *Cours Théorique et Pratique de pédagogie*, de Michel Charbonneau et *Leçons de choses*, de Charles Saffray[443]. La première édition du livre de Charbonneau avait été publiée en 1862 et traduite par José Nicolau Botelho en 1883 (Silva 2018). Celui de Saffray, paru en 1881, avait été traduit

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[439] Secrétariat de l'École Normale de São Paulo, 13 octobre 1885. Manuscrit. Archives publiques de l'État de Sao Paulo.

[440] Publié dans *A Província de S. Paulo*, 20 février 1886.

[441] En 1882, lorsqu'il est nommé Directeur intérimaire de l'École Normale, Godofredo Furtado écrit une lettre au président de la Province pour décliner le poste. Parmi les motifs exposés, il déclare que la « direction est considérée comme un poste de confiance politique et le positivisme est républicain » alors que « l'enseignement officiel, en toute cohérence oblige à enseigner le dogme catholique, et le Positivisme élimine toute conception théologique ». (9 novembre 1882. Manuscrit. Archives publiques de l'État de Sao Paulo).

[442] *Regulamento expedido pelo Conselheiro Laurindo Abelardo de Brito, Presidente da Província para a Escola Normal*. São Paulo: Typ. de la Gazeta Liberal, 1880.

[443] Bulhões Jardim, prédécesseur de Passalacqua en tant que professeur titulaire de la 4ème chaire, avait sélectionné le *Compêndio de Pedagogia* (Précis de Pédagogie), d'Antônio Marciano Silva Pontes (1872), pour ses cours.

en portugais en 1884 par Bernardo Alves Carneiro, et imprimé à Paris, d'après une annonce du *Jornal do Commercio*[444]. Les versions françaises des deux ouvrages intégraient le fonds de la bibliothèque de l'École Normale. Cependant leur présence n'était plus le critère principal pour l'indication des précis, devant la préférence accordée à des œuvres en portugais, sans doute plus accessibles aux étudiantes et étudiants.

D'après Marta Carvalho (2007a, 25), le livre de Charbonneau se présente comme un imprimé du type « guide de conseil ». Selon elle, il regorge « de principes moralisateurs visant à modeler, selon des représentations éthiques appartenant à une longue tradition de la pensée théologico-politique européenne, un nouveau type professionnel : le professeur ». Pour Rapet (1887, 366), ce précis était considéré, par des personnes compétentes en France et à l'étranger, comme « le meilleur traité de pédagogie qui ait été publié chez nous ».

Ces deux ouvrages figurent au *Catalogue des Bibliothèques Pédagogiques* du Musée Pédagogique de France, de 1888. Le titre de Charbonneau y est classé à la section « Doctrine et Histoire de l'éducation », où la science pédagogique est envisagée dans ses principes généraux ; en revanche, celui de Saffray apparait dans la catégorie « Pédagogie Pratique » qui rassemble les ouvrages porteurs de conseils immédiatement applicables. Pour Valdemarin (2000), Saffray contient des principes et des procédés didactiques relevant de la méthode intuitive[445], soulignant l'importance des sens et, par conséquent, de l'observation et de l'expérience, pour l'apprentissage. Son adoption par Passalacqua peut avoir représenté une tentative de sa part d'inclure dans ses cours l'enseignement intuitif, puisque selon le règlement (1880), la partie portant sur la méthodologie devait comprendre les exercices d'intuition.

L'année suivante, Passalacqua adoptera le manuel qu'il a lui-même écrit et qui servira de référence dans les cours qu'il donnera jusqu'en 1890, quand il sera démis de ses fonctions en conséquence de la refonte du cursus de l'École Normale qui élimine la chaire de pédagogie et méthodologie[446]. Pour lui, son éviction est due au fait qu'il était un représentant du catholicisme. Même après qu'il eut publié dans la presse les lettres des directeurs de l'École

[444] Paru le 5 août 1884, page 7).
[445] D'après Bontempi Júnior (2004, 509), « en résumé, la méthode intuitive, dont on attribue l'invention à J. H. [Johann Heinrich] Pestalozzi (1746-1827), se fonde sur la supposition que l'éducation doit aller de l'intuition au concept. Par intuition le pédagogue entend l'acte créateur et spontané par lequel l'enfant est capable de représenter le monde et de se représenter lui-même, et qui se manifeste par trois qualités fondamentales : le nombre, la forme et le mot. [...]. Le concept, point d'arrivée de l'éducation, est la notion générale de l'objet représenté, auquel on a accès grâce à l'organisation des sens et de l'intelligence. De ce principe dérive la nécessité pour le professeur d'offrir à l´élève des activités éducatives basées sur l'observation directe et l'utilisation des sens, lesquelles, s'enchainant à différents niveaux successifs de complexité permettent d'arriver aux notions abstraites qui forment les concepts ».
[446] Décret n° 27, du 12 mars 1890: « Reforma a Escola Normal e converte em Escolas Modelos as Escolas anexas. Estado de São Paulo ».

Normale qu'il avait connus, attestant la qualité de son enseignement et malgré le soutien des étudiants, sa révocation sera maintenue. Au cours des années 1890, l'École Normale entrera dans une nouvelle phase marquée par la volonté de réforme des premiers républicains désireux de mettre en œuvre une ligne « plus scientifique » dans les matières de pédagogie. Après le départ de Passalacqua, son manuel ne sera plus utilisé dans l'établissement, mais on retrouve des traces de sa circulation dans d'autres provinces/états brésiliens, comme Santa Catarina et Sergipe (Schaffrath 1999 ; Souza 2004).

Les deux ans qui séparent l'entrée de Passalacqua à l'École Normale et la publication de son manuel pédagogique ont sans doute été mis à profit par le professeur pour connaitre et s'approprier le répertoire éducatif contemporain, tout en l'agençant de la manière qu'il considérait la mieux adaptée aux étudiants. L'expérience de la rédaction et de la publication de son propre précis était courante chez les enseignants des cours normaux, brésiliens ou étrangers ; cela avait été le cas de Silva Pontes, auteur du manuel choisi par Bulhões Jardim, prédécesseur de Passalacqua à la chaire de pédagogie, et du portugais Augusto Coelho (Boto 2010), dont le livre sera recommandé à l'École Normale de Sao Paulo, dans les années 1890[447]. Comme l'affirme Circe Bittencourt (1993), les dernières décennies du XIXème ont connu, autant de la part des professeurs eux-mêmes que des éditeurs, un effort de diffusion d'ouvrages spécialisés et pédagogiques susceptibles de contribuer à l'amélioration de l'enseignement.

Le manuel de Camillo Passalacqua a été approuvé par la congrégation en mars 1887. Sur la couverture il est indiqué qu'il se destine aux étudiants de l'École Normale de Sao Paulo. Toutefois, à en juger par l'envoi d'exemplaires à des membres de la presse dans d'autres villes, à l'intérieur mais aussi au-delà de la Province, on peut supposer que l'auteur et ses éditeurs visaient un public plus large. D'ailleurs, divers commentaires positifs de la presse figurent en préambule de l'ouvrage, aux côtés des lettres d'Arthur Cesar Guimarães, inspecteur-général de l'instruction publique de Sao Paulo et du Père Senna de Freitas, une façon de conférer une certaine légitimité au livre et à son auteur, comme le remarque Vivian Silva (2018).

Les avis sur le manuel n'ont pourtant pas été unanimement favorables. Le quotidien *A Provincia de S. Paulo* a publié une critique où on soulignait que Passalacqua avait été malheureux dans son amalgame entre « la naturelle inclination de son esprit religieux et les lois générales et invariables qui régulent l'éducation ». Pour le chroniqueur, le contenu de l'œuvre présentait de nombreux défauts et sa seule utilité était de « rendre plus facile pour les étudiants de correspondre aux souhaits [du professeur], en s'alignant sur les opinions suivies dans

[447] Prestes, Gabriel. *Relatório do Diretor da Escola Normal*. São Paulo: Typographie à vapeur de Vanorden & Comp., 1894.

l'établissement »[448]. Ce commentaire souligne le caractère doctrinant attribué au matériel qui, bien qu'il n'apporte pas grand-chose à leur formation, permettrait aux normaliens de satisfaire aux attentes de leur professeur, en jouant le rôle qui leur était imparti dans le jeu pédagogique.

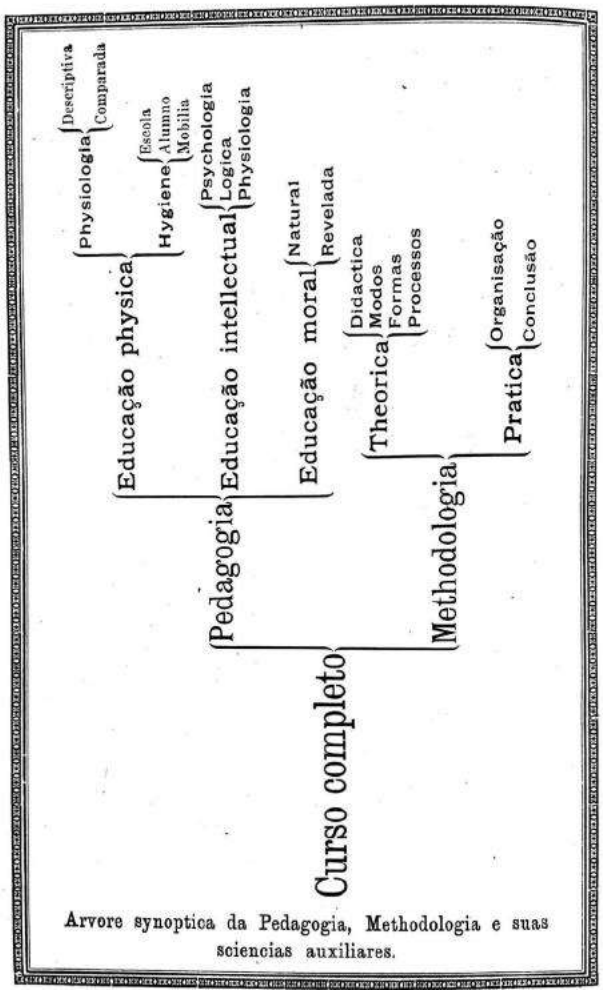
Toujours sur la construction de la légitimité, le préambule contient une lettre de Passalacqua, où il affirme qu'il y a deux types de livres : ceux qui sont maîtres et promoteurs du progrès et ceux qui mènent à la régression individuelle et sociale. Il inscrit évidemment le sien parmi les agents du progrès, et déclare qu'il s'agit d'un livre de science qui prend en compte, pour l'instruction des enfants, du milieu, de leur personnalité et de l'éducation qu'ils reçoivent chez eux. Même s'il mobilise plusieurs références étrangères, la légitimité du manuel adviendrait également du fait qu'il soit brésilien et qu'il tienne compte des caractéristiques particulières du peuple et de la région. « Les systèmes scolaires ne sauraient, dans les modifications correspondantes, être transposés d'un peuple à l'autre, d'une race à l'autre ». Pour ce faire, rien n'était plus nécessaire que son expérience de professeur. Ainsi rappelle-t-il que le livre n'est pas le fruit de « simples théories de cabinet », mais de connaissances acquises au cours de nombreuses années de pratique, au cours desquelles il aurait « éduqué plus de dix mille garçons et filles aux personnalités et aux âges différents » (Passalacqua 1887, VIII).

Le manuel de Passalacqua a été imprimé par la typographie à vapeur de Jorge Seckler & C., à São Paulo, et, d'après l'annonce parue dans le quotidien *Correio Paulistano,* il était vendu dans les deux principales librairies de la ville : la *Casa Garraux* et *Teixeira & Irmão*. Le livre fait moins de 200 pages, ce qui semble relativement court pour l'envergure des thèmes qu'il veut traiter. Il est divisé en deux parties, la première consacrée à la pédagogie et l'autre à la méthodologie, qu'il affirmait envisager du point de vue à la fois théorique et pratique. La page de garde signale que les contenus portent sur « l'hygiène scolaire, l'organisation générale et la direction de chaque école, selon les systèmes modernes d'enseignement et les principes des sciences physiologiques, psychologiques et morales ». Elle présente un tableau synoptique (fig. 1), illustrant la façon dont l'auteur voyait l'organisation de la pédagogie et de la méthodologie, donnant ainsi au lecteur un avant-goût de ce qu'il allant trouver dans ses pages.

La plus grande partie de l'ouvrage porte sur la pédagogie, présentée en trois livres : éducation physique, éducation intellectuelle et éducation morale. Le premier, aborde la physiologie, l'hygiène et la gymnastique, mais aussi l'organisation du bâtiment et le mobilier scolaire, donnant comme modèle des images d'écoles, de salles de classe et de mobilier. Le

[448] *A Província de S. Paulo*, 22 juillet 1887. À cette époque, le quotidien affichait des idéaux républicains fédéralistes et libéraux. Rangel Pestana, auteur de l'article cité, était un critique de la monarchie et un défenseur de l'enseignement laïque.

livre sur l'éducation intellectuelle s'intéresse à la psychologie qui donnait le la dans les débats pédagogique au XIXème siècle et consacre toute une partie aux sens et une autre au développement de l'intelligence. La section sur l'éducation morale, qui compte un plus grand nombre de pages, fait la distinction entre la morale naturelle et la morale révélée et présente les tempéraments et les tendances qui interfèrent sur le processus éducatif. La partie sur la méthodologie traite de questions telles que les processus d'enseignement et de présentation, la préparation des leçons et l'organisation des écoles. L'analyse de ce manuel permet de remettre en question la thèse du retard ou de la résistance à l'assimilation des innovations pédagogiques de la part du professeur catholique, avancée par ses collègues positivistes, et de mettre en lumière ses appropriations créatives d'auteurs et de thèmes convertis en symboles de la modernité pédagogique du XIXème siècle.



Arvore synoptica da Pedagogia, Methodologia e suas sciencias auxiliares.

Fig. 1 – Passalacqua 1887, s/p.

**Entre auteurs et livres**

Pour écrire sur ces questions, le professeur a eu recours à un répertoire vaste et diversifié d'auteurs et de travaux, contemporains ou anciens qui, clairsemant les pages de son manuel, témoignent de l'étendue de ses études et de son érudition. Cependant, le manuel étant composé de synthèses, le rapport avec les textes tient plus à l'appropriation d'aspects spécifiques, ou même à des références à des phrases isolées, qu'à celle de l'ensemble. La façon dont il les a agencées montre en revanche la force fédérative des valeurs et des croyances à partir desquelles il a examiné, sélectionné et organisé les connaissances, afin d'appuyer ses propres idées et convictions sur les fins et les moyens de l'éducation.

Dès le préambule, Passalacqua expose le principe fondamental de sa vision de l'éducation : « l'amour de Dieu et la pratique constante des vertus chrétiennes sont indispensables pour l'éducation ». Le professeur, qui démontrait être informé des débats et des expériences autour de l'éducation laïque auxquels il fait référence à plusieurs reprises, était convaincu que seule une éducation basée sur la religion chrétienne pouvait mener au progrès social et individuel. Pour lui, la finalité de l'éducation serait de « cultiver, renforcer et polir les facultés de l'homme, [...] sur les plans physique, intellectuel, moral et religieux » (Passalacqua 1887, 3). La « Vérité révélée » était le fondement de la raison et, par conséquent, de l'éducation, envisagée en tant qu'œuvre rationnelle et scientifique. La raison ne serait donc pas incompatible avec le sentiment religieux, ce qui lui permettait de plaider pour une éducation s'appuyant sur les préceptes catholiques.

Pour conférer un caractère scientifique à son point de vue, Passalacqua a recours à *L'espèce Humaine*, d'Armand de Quatrefages (1810-1892), professeur d'anthropologie du Musée d'Histoire Naturelle de Paris, dont la première édition avait été publiée en 1877. Considéré comme le plus grand défenseur et, en même temps, le principal adversaire de Charles Darwin en France, Quatrefages était créationniste et récusait autant la position desdits « libres penseurs », qui épousaient l'explication darwiniste de l'origine de l'homme, que « l'interprétation parfois « puérile » des textes sacrés » (Blanckaert 2015). Partant de l'affirmation du naturaliste français sur l'existence de manifestations de religiosité chez tous les peuples, Passalacqua soutient la nécessité d'éduquer ce qu'il considère être la « tendance religieuse » des êtres humains. Toutefois, certains groupes humains, à mesure qu'ils plongent dans la barbarie et le dérèglement moral, perdent « les notions exactes de Dieu et de ses attributs, de la religion révélée et de ses caractères ». Et de conclure : « C'est bel et bien de l'Église que nous devons recevoir la direction religieuse. Éduquer un enfant c'est le rendre obéissant à l'Église, c'est le faire chrétien » (Passalacqua 1887, 135). Le livre de Quatrefages ne figure pas au Catalogue de la Bibliothèque de 1884, mais il a fort bien pu y être incorporé

plus tard, puisque la Maison Garraux en faisait la réclame. L'École Normale a effectué plusieurs achats dans cette librairie, l'une des plus grandes de São Paulo ; c'est aussi sans doute là que Passalacqua a acheté nombre de ses livres.

En cohérence avec la vision chrétienne du monde, il se déclare contre la théorie évolutionniste et dépeint Herbert Spencer comme un « sectaire de l'évolutionnisme fataliste », dont la théorie serait « considérée comme une véritable utopie par les éducateurs ». La perspective évolutionniste se heurtait à la conception de Passalacqua selon qui la morale était « rationnelle, éternelle, immuable », constituant « l'ordre objectif des choses tel qu'il est connu par la raison humaine et établi par la Divine sagesse et sa volonté essentielle » (Passalacqua 1887, 170 et 93). L'ouvrage dont il parle est *Éducation*, un recueil d'articles écrits par Spencer dans les années 1850 et que la commission chargée de sélectionner les titres des bibliothèques pédagogiques françaises avait considéré, en 1880, le livre qu'il faudrait signaler le plus aux éducateurs (Spencer 1880).

Bien qu'en désaccord avec son contenu, Passalacqua choisit de le citer, comme s'il admettait la nécessité de montrer qu'il connaissait la théorie spencerienne qui engrangeait de plus en plus d'adeptes au Brésil, y compris à l'École Normale[449]. Ainsi, le professeur de la 4ème chaire laissait clairement voir que son jugement se formait à partir de sa connaissance de cet ouvrage et qu'il s'appuyait sur les opinions d'autres éducateurs, coupant l'herbe sous le pied à toute velléité d'insinuer quelconque a priori de sa part. Il y avait déjà depuis deux ans un exemplaire en français du livre de Spencer à la bibliothèque quand sa traduction en portugais a été achetée, en même temps que *Les Bases de la Morale Évolutionniste* (1880), du même auteur. Le fondement religieux conféré à l'éducation n'empêche pas d'attribuer une grande valeur et une grande importance à l'observation et à l'expérience dans les conceptions et dans les méthodes éducatives prônées par le manuel. Ainsi, l'épigraphe choisie pour la partie sur la pédagogie est tirée du livre *Cours de Pédagogie Théorique et Pratique,* de Gabriel Compayré (1843-1913), et rappelle que la pédagogie, ou la science de l'éducation, a pour méthode l'observation de tous les faits de la vie physique et morale de l'homme qui permettent de définir avec précision son objet et les principes qui devraient la régir. Compayré, qui enseignait la pédagogie à l'École Normale Supérieure de Sourcenay-aux-Roses, a publié ce livre en 1885, et on y perçoit le spiritualisme qui est caractéristique de la génération des éducateurs français qui

[449] Les idées de Spencer apparaissent, par exemple, dans les arguments que Rui Barbosa met en avant dans ses notes sur la réforme de l'enseignement primaire et secondaire dans la ville de la Cour (Santos 2010 ; Gatti & Santos 2022). Ces notes ont été rédigées à partir du Décret n° 7.247 du 19 avril 1879 (« Reforma o ensino primário e secundário no município da Côrte e o superior em todo o Império »).

ont accompagné l'émergence de l'école laïque (Dubois 2002). C'est avec le spiritualisme, qui se diffuse tout au long du XIXème comme une tendance différente et complexe, qu'on approfondira l'idée de la liberté individuelle comme base de l'éducation libérale qui a renouvelé l'école primaire en France, sous la IIIème république (Loeffel 2008). Outre l'épigraphe, Passalacqua fait plusieurs mentions aux écrits de Compayré, conciliables avec le principe d'éducation religieuse qu'il défend. Même si ce titre de Compayré ne figure pas sur les listes de la bibliothèque, il est très possible qu'il ait été disponible à l'École Normale[450], compte tenu de son prestige auprès des éducateurs brésiliens[451]. Parue en 1885, cette œuvre figure peut-être dans le lot d'achats dont les titres n'ont pas été identifiés. Toutefois, était présent à la bibliothèque le livre *Histoire critique des doctrines de l'éducation en France depuis le seizième siècle*, de Compayré, acheté par Bourroul en 1883.

L'ouvrage de Félix Dupanloup (1802-1878), *De l'éducation en général,* sorti en 1851 (Buisson 1887) constitue une autre importante référence de Passalacqua. Dupanloup, qui a suivi une longue carrière ecclésiastique, était réputé pour son engagement dans le débat public sur l'éducation et il a fait partie de la commission chargée par Alfred de Falloux, ministre de l'instruction publique, de réformer l'enseignement français. Pour Dupanloup, « l'éducation est une œuvre d'autorité et de respect » et « Dieu est la source et la raison de l'autorité et du respect, des droits et devoirs essentiels de tous : il est le modèle et l'image de l'œuvre qui est à faire » (Dupanloup 1861, 3-4). Passalacqua s'approprie ce point de vue. Pour lui, l'éducateur intelligent ne doit pas dédaigner la nature de l'enfant, « ses impulsions et ses mouvements », et intervenir de façon à aller vers l'harmonie sur le plan de la nature telle que Dieu l'a créée. Citant Dupanloup, il affirme : « Quoi qu'on fasse, on n'élèvera jamais un enfant sans lui ou malgré lui [l'enfant] » (Dupanloup 1861, 177 ; Passalacqua 1887, 11). Pour cela, l'éducateur devrait être capable de conjuguer les principes d'autorité et de respect avec la liberté. « L'enfant libre et actif comme il l'est, accepte facilement tous les préceptes éducatifs, à condition qu'ils ne viennent atrophier ses facultés, affaiblir sa dignité ou ternir l'éclat de sa nature rationnelle. »(Passalacqua 1887, 12).

Le portugais Almeida Garrett et son livre *De l'Éducation*, sorti en 1829, est aussi une référence de choix du manuel brésilien. Représentant d'un projet libéral pour l'éducation portugaise, Garrett est cité dès le début par Passalacqua, lorsqu'il aborde la définition de ce

[450] On trouve dix titres de Compayré dans la Collection Paulo Bourroul, de la FE-USP, publiés à la fin du 19ème siècle, en français et en anglais.
[451] D'après Silva (2018), Gabriel Compayré est l'auteur le plus cité dans les manuels pédagogiques brésiliens parus entre 1870 et 1910.

qu'est l'éducation, « avec des gradations progressives et des distinctions croissantes ». Garrett qui, d'après le manuel, attribue une grande importance à la régularité dans les processus éducatifs, peut avoir apporté une contribution à l'argumentaire sur la différence entre éducation générale et éducation technique ou professionnelle. D'après Passalacqua, cette distinction devrait être précédée de « informations sur la bonne moralité de l'élève, du point de vue de sa personnalité, de sa position et de son destin » (Passalacqua 1887, 9). L'auteur portugais est également repris pour la définition de l'éducation morale, avec l'affirmation selon laquelle Dieu a créé les hommes pour la vertu et le bonheur. Tous deux considèrent que la base de l'éducation morale est la justice. Selon Boto (2012, 41), chez Garrett « le sens de la justice que l'éducation se doit de développer s'affirmerait face à la disposition humaine à accepter, à respecter et à obéir aux normes religieuses, civiles ou sociales ». Dans le manuel, Dieu est la justice et l'éducation morale doit faire de l'enfant : « un bon fils, un bon mari et un bon père ; vis-à-vis de la société civile et de l'État, un bon citoyen (sujet ou souverain) ; enfin, vis-à-vis de Dieu, un bon chrétien (prêtre ou simple fidèle) » (Passalacqua 1887, 94). Bien que le titre d'Almeida Garrett n'apparaisse pas dans le Catalogue Provisoire de la Bibliothèque (1884), ni dans les listes d'achats identifiés, une édition de 1883 intègre la Collection Paulo Bourroul, de la FEUSP, qui a pu être acquise à cette époque. De toute façon, le fait qu'il ait été approprié par Passalacqua est un indice de la présence de Garrett parmi les auteurs référents du cours normalien, ne serait-ce que par sa citation dans le manuel du professeur.

Quand il traite de la liberté dans l'éducation, Passalacqua cite un extrait de Thomas Huxley, qui figure dans l'ouvrage de Compayré, et qui rappelle que l'éducation libérale est celle qui permet d'accomplir la volonté de l'esprit, ce qui se réaliserait dans la sphère du bien[452]. S'il considère qu'il faut que le choix de l'éducation technique et professionnelle soit libre, Passalacqua affirme que cela ne doit pas être le cas par rapport à « l'essentiel et commun à tous » et, donc, que « l'homme n'a pas le droit de ne pas s'éduquer, de ne pas recevoir une éducation commune » (Passalacqua 1887, 11). Il est intéressant de noter que Compayré et Passalacqua ont recours à Dupanloup pour faire la différence entre l'éducation générale, essentielle et qui convient à tous, et l'éducation professionnelle et technique qui prépare à une profession. Compayré considère cependant que l'éducation libérale serait « le vrai nom qui conviendrait pour l'éducation Générale, essentielle », et que les hommes auraient le droit, quelle que soit leur condition sociale, d'éclairer et de libérer leur esprit et leur volonté (Compayré

[452] Compayré connaissait bien Thomas Huxley, comme l'indique la préface de1880 à la traduction française de *Hume*, publié par la philosophe anglais en 1879. Un exemplaire de cette édition française figure au fonds Paulo Bourroul.

1897, 19). Pour Passalacqua, l'éducation essentielle ressemble plus à un devoir, dans la mesure où « l'homme n'a pas le droit de tuer ses aspirations ; il a par contre le devoir de réaliser son destin social et individuel » (Passalacqua 1887, 11). La circulation des références est mise à nu, ici appropriées de façon distincte.

Dans plusieurs passages, Passalacqua se rapproche de Compayré. On retrouve dans les deux livres des citations identiques, comme celles de Stuart Mill et de James Mill, ainsi que des références à certains auteurs, comme Locke, Helvécio, Baldwin, lorsque les mêmes thèmes sont abordés. La partie sur le pouvoir et les limites de l'éducation affiche des paraphrases et des traductions littérales du *Cours de Pédagogie*. Avec l'auteur français, Passalacqua conclut que la formation de l'esprit et du caractère dépendent en grande partie de l'éducation, mais son action trouve ses limites dans des états naturalisés chez l'individu, par le temps et souvent par les conditions mésologiques[453].

Le professeur de l'École Normale de São Paulo s'écarte toutefois du français lorsqu'il parle de l'éducation morale – le thème le plus longuement développé de la première partie, sur la pédagogie. Compayré, dans le cadre de la laïcisation de l'enseignement français, s'attache à exposer les raisons pour lesquelles les enfants ne doivent pas être impliqués dans des « querelles religieuses ». Il considère que « l'enseignement de la morale à l'école primaire ne doit être lié à aucune doctrine religieuse », car il devrait être universel et commun, indépendamment de la confession (Compayré 1897, 386). Cette conception de l'éducation morale ne saurait être appropriée par le professeur brésilien, car elle se heurtait frontalement à sa vision chrétienne. Par ailleurs, partant du fait que la loi provinciale exigeait l'enseignement de la religion de l'État, Passalacqua (1887, 136) disait qu'il « faudrait que tout le corps enseignant soit catholique », sous peine de « violer » la loi.

La section sur l'éducation physique explicite l'importance que le professeur de l'École Normale accorde aux sciences qui n'allaient pas à l'encontre de ses valeurs chrétiennes. Ainsi discourt-il sur l'intérêt pour les normaliens d'avoir des connaissances d'anatomie, de physiologie et d'hygiène, tout en soulignant que l'école primaire devrait faire sa place à une étude élémentaire de ces disciplines. Le livre *Hygiène Scolaire*, d'Aimé Riant (1827-1902), paru en 1874, est une référence majeure pour Passalacqua. Riant, professeur de l'École Normale de la Seine, avait étudié l'influence du milieu dans l'enseignement scolaire, en analysant des aspects comme la localisation, l'exposition à la lumière, la qualité et la circulation de l'air, le mobilier, l'alimentation et la santé des enfants. De son ouvrage, Passalacqua retient l'idée selon

[453] Pour Compayré (1897, 26), « en fait elle [l'éducation] est limitée dans son action, soit par les aptitudes et les qualités naturelles des individus sur lesquels elle s'exerce, soit par le temps dont elle dispose ».

laquelle le bâtiment scolaire, en fonction de sa finalité, doit répondre à des exigences fondamentales du point de vue de l'architecture et de l'hygiène. Les éléments concernant les écoles et le mobilier scolaire, qui prennent en compte des aspects tels que l'aération, l'éclairage ou l'organisation de la classe, sont clairement inspirés du livre de Riant (1882 [1874]), dont il reproduit d'ailleurs plusieurs illustrations. Les idées de Riant ont également alimenté les débats sur l'éducation scolaire brésilienne grâce aux notes de Rui Barbosa, publiés entre 1882 et 1883, et largement commentés dans la presse de l'époque (Santos 2010).

La conception selon laquelle la science de l'éducation est constituée de lois générales, déduites de la nature humaine imprègne elle aussi le manuel. Dans la partie sur l'éducation intellectuelle, Passalacqua s'appuie sur le livre de l'écossais Alexander Bain (1818-1903), dans sa version française, *La Science de l'éducation,* qui intégrait le fonds de la bibliothèque de l'École Normale (Bain 1882 [1879]), et il endosse le point de vue qui veut que l'étude des lois psychologiques liées à l'acquisition des connaissances soit la tâche la plus importante de la science de l'éducation. Il emprunte chez cet auteur l'idée que la base de l'intelligence est le discernement. Pour Bain, « la conscience de la différence est le commencement de tout exercice de l'intelligence », qui part de l'expérience d'une nouvelle impression. Passalacqua relie cette étape du développement à l'intuition, qui serait suivie des étapes de l'élaboration et de la combinaison. Bain réapparait dans le manuel aux côtés de Pascal et de Guizot, lorsqu'il traite de la mémoire, pour renforcer l'importance de cette faculté, définie par l'auteur écossais comme « la faculté qui joue le plus grand rôle dans l'éducation » (Bain 1882, 12 et 15). Un autre ouvrage de Bain, intitulé *Emotions*, figure dans une liste d'achats à la librairie Garraux, en 1885. Il s'agit très probablement de *The Emotions and Will*, ou de sa traduction française *Les Émotions et la Volonté,* publiée à Paris la même année.

Dans l'explication sur le caractère progressif de l'éducation intellectuelle, il reprend l'idée des trois manifestations progressives de l'intelligence, selon Henri Marion, dans ses *Leçons de psychologie appliquée à l'éducation* (1882). Le manuel de Passalacqua va jusqu'à reproduire la mise en page de sa référence française qui présente l'information en trois groupes, séparés par des accolades dans lesquelles il liste les caractéristiques de chacun : intuition, élaboration et comparaison. On notera que cet auteur apparait également par l'intermédiaire du livre de Compayré, qui cite le *Cours sur la Science de l'éducation,* dans un autre passage approprié par Passalacqua, pour examiner les limites et les possibilités de l'éducation. Seul le premier ouvrage de Marion, *Leçons de Psychologie,* figure au catalogue de la bibliothèque. À plusieurs endroits, l'appropriation est indirecte, ce qui démontre que les répertoires se formaient

grâce à la lecture d'un ouvrage de référence, comme dans le cas de Compayré, pour Passalacqua.

Quand il parle des sens, question soulevée dans la partie sur l'éducation intellectuelle, Passalacqua mobilise divers auteurs. Bernard Pérez, qui a publié *L'éducation dès le berceau : essai de pédagogie expérimentale (1880)* – recensé dans le fonds de l'École – est convoqué pour affirmer que l'éducation des sens devrait commencer dès le berceau car leur développement précèderait celui des autres facultés. Jean-Baptiste Fonssagrives et Almeida Garrett fournissent des arguments pour l'éducation de l'odorat et du goût. Rousseau, mentionné en tant que « pédagogue français », est considéré comme « exagéré » pour avoir affirmé que pour apprendre à penser, on doit exercer ses sens. Passalacqua semble ne pas être d'accord avec le philosophe sur la signification qu'il attribue aux sens. Rousseau conclut le paragraphe duquel a été extrait le passage cité en soutenant que « loin que la véritable raison de l'homme se forme indépendamment du corps, c'est la bonne constitution du corps qui rend les opérations de l'esprit faciles et sûres » (Rousseau 2018 [1759], 115) ; de son côté, le professeur de l'École Normale brésilienne affirme que les sens n'étaient « que les véhicules des impressions, parce que chez l'homme le début de tout, c'est l'âme, servie par le corps et la partie organique [serait] simple condition aux opérations de l'esprit » (Passalacqua 1887, 70). Rappelé dans l'accord et dans la divergence, le nom de Rousseau, dont les écrits avaient marqué la pédagogie du XIXème siècle, apparait à trois reprises dans le manuel. À la bibliothèque de l'École, étudiants et professeurs pouvaient consulter *Émile ou de l'éducation*.

Dans la section consacrée à la méthodologie, Passalacqua cite plusieurs auteurs aujourd'hui considérés comme des sommités de la pédagogie moderne et dont les ouvrages se trouvaient à la bibliothèque de l'École. De *Lettres sur la profession d'instituteur*, d'Augustin Théry (1796-1878), Passalacqua s'approprie la croyance qui veut que, pour le professeur, une bonne méthode d'enseignement, comme un instrument bien monté, « centuple les forces et les succès d'un artiste » (Théry 1880, 201). Chez Adolpho Coelho, il pince l'idée que la finalité de l'enseignement est « de mener l'homme à la conception la plus parfaite de son destin » et que l'école primaire doit préparer les enfants à la vie sociale et pratique (Passalacqua 1887, 147).

Passalacqua mentionne également qu'il « n'est pas possible d'écrire un livre sur l'instruction sans parler de l'Enseignement Intuitif' » et consacre quelques paragraphes à définir et à expliquer cette méthode, qui glane alors de nombreux adeptes dans la Province de Sao Paulo (Schelbauer 2003). Selon sa conception, l'enseignement intuitif, lancé par Pestalozzi et Froebel, est celui qui « s'adresse à l'esprit et au cœur au moyen des sens », principalement de la vue, et qui consiste à habituer l'enfant à cultiver ses facultés par lui-même, sous la conduite

du maître et en conformité avec ses bons instincts (Passalacqua 1887, 176). Le Catalogue Provisoire de la Bibliothèque mentionne deux livres de Froebel, *L'éducation de l'homme* (1826) et *Manuel pratique des jardins d'enfants à l'usage des institutrices et des mères de familles* (1859)[454], ainsi que plusieurs qui diffusent ses idées et ses expériences, comme *Méthode Froebel : Le jardin d'enfants, dons et occupations* (1877) d'Hermann Goldammer, *L'école Froebel : histoire d'un jardin d'enfants* (1880), de Masson. D'autres titres divulguent les idées de Pestalozzi, comme *Études sur la vie et les travaux pédagogiques de J.-H. Pestalozzi,* de Pierre-Philibert Pompée (1878), *L'école primaire : cahiers de Pédagogie d'après les principes de Pestalozzi* (1879), de Jules Paroz, et, de Fanny et Charles Delon, *Exercices et travaux pour les enfants selon la méthode de Pestalozzi et de Froebel* (1873)[455].

Ainsi, Pestalozzi et Froebel étaient-ils des références essentielles pour une pédagogie axée sur l'enfant et sur son développement qui, si elles forment le socle de la méthode intuitive, ont ensuite été déclinées en mouvements de rénovation de l'école au début du XXème siècle. Mais bien que leurs idées imprègnent divers ouvrages de la bibliothèque, le manuel ne fait que des références ponctuelles aux deux éducateurs. Froebel, qualifié de « célèbre éducateur », n'est cité qu'une fois, en lien avec les jardins d'enfance. Pestalozzi en revanche, « célébré pédagogue », mentionné à trois reprises, est associé aux « leçons de choses ».

De Buisson (1878), Passalacqua tient que le secret de l'enseignement intuitif est de considérer que l'enfant possède en lui l'instinct du savoir. Norman Calkins, fondateur de la méthode des *Primary Object Lessons* (1886 [1861]), qui a longtemps été pratiquée dans les écoles occidentales, est mentionné. Parlant des processus d'exposition, Passalacqua affirme que « le processus intuitif est une aide très féconde pour l'enseignement primaire, qui doit être dispensé aux classes populaires » (Passalacqua 1887, 155). Il semble ne pas douter des atouts de cette méthode, mais souligne la nécessité de moyens essentiels sans lesquels elle ne pourrait être mise en œuvre. Il s'agit d'outils tels que les globes, les cartes, les collections botaniques, minéralogiques etc., qui doivent être organisés dans des musées scolaires. Citant le *Manuel de l'enseignement primaire : pédagogie théorique et pratique,* d'Eugène Rendu, disponible à la bibliothèque, il affirme qu'il ne saurait y avoir de domaine de l'enseignement où on ne puisse monter des collections.

[454] J. F. Jacons a écrit cet ouvrage à partir de documents allemands provenant des expériences de Froebel. Dans certains catalogues, comme ceux de la Bibliothèque Diderot, de l'École Normale Supérieure de Lyon et du Musée National de l'Éducation, en France, Jacons apparait comme auteur aux côtés de Froebel.

[455] Les dates mentionnées à ce paragraphe correspondent aux éditions françaises les plus anciennes localisées.

D'autres auteurs encore, dont les livres se trouvaient dans la bibliothèque, comme John Locke, François Fénelon, Marie Pape-Carpantier, se voient mentionnés dans le manuel. En revanche, plusieurs autres, comme Irénée Carré, Michel Bréal, Ernest Bersot, dont deux ou trois titres intégraient le fonds ne le sont pas. Même Chaborneau et Saffray, auteurs des précis choisis par Passalacqua en 1886, n'apparaissent pas. Évidemment, le professeur a sélectionné ce qu'il pourrait, ou qu'il voulait, lire et consigner à des fins didactiques. Il se peut qu'il ait lu plus d'ouvrages qu'il n'en mentionne, mais nous savons déjà ceux qu'il a retenus pour son manuel, dont le but était de réunir les éléments de pédagogie et de méthodologie qu'il considérait essentiels pour la formation des normaliens.

**Considérations finales**

Passalacqua a mobilisé des auteurs aux valeurs et aux principes parfois divergents, il en a cité d'autres dont les affinités idéologiques étaient sous certains aspects contraires aux siennes, pour produire un manuel marqué par l'éclectisme des références. Sa stratégie a consisté à en assembler les aspects acceptables, quand ils fournissaient des éléments considérés comme « compatibles » avec ses propres opinions, comme les appropriations qu'il fait de Compayré et de Rousseau. Il a aussi inclus des références avec lesquelles il était ouvertement en désaccord, comme c'est le cas de Spencer, dont l'ouvrage était par ailleurs connu pour traiter l'éducation sur les plans à la fois physique, moral et intellectuel, division que Passalacqua reprend dans son manuel. Cet éclectisme offre au lecteur, qui est généralement un futur instituteur, une « culture générale » du *corpus* d'auteurs reconnus en Europe et aux États-Unis. Cela démontre le sérieux de sa documentation ainsi que son libéralisme et son ouverture à l'égard de la science et de la connaissance, même quand il s'agit d'auteurs qu'il considère à l'opposé de sa foi catholique. Le résultat est une composition originale du canon pédagogique en vogue en cette fin de siècle.

Dans certains cas, Passalacqua mentionne les titres, dans d'autres, seul apparait le nom des auteurs, ce qui rend plus difficile la distinction entre références directes et de seconde main. On peut toutefois noter qu'un grand nombre des ouvrages cités intégraient le fonds de la Bibliothèque de l'École Normale. Et même le *Cours de pédagogie théorique et pratique,* de Gabriel Compayré, *De l'éducation en général*, de Dupanloup et *De la Éducation*, d'Almeida Garrett, qui n'ont été identifiés ni dans les catalogues, ni dans les listes ou les reçus d'achat et de vente, ont circulé à l'École Normale grâce à leur appropriation par Passalacqua. En général, les livres les plus consultés sont ceux qui s'abîment le plus vite, sont perdus ou, quand ils sont endommagés, sont retirés de circulation. C'est peut-être ce qui explique qu'ils ne se trouvent pas dans le fonds qui est parvenu jusqu'à nous.

À l'intersection entre le fonds et les ouvrages appropriés, un autre aspect intéressant mérite d'être mentionné : Célestin Hippeau, auteur le plus prolixe dans les matières enseignées par Passalacqua, n'est jamais rappelé. Neuf de ses titres sont au Catalogue Provisoire de 1884, et un dixième a été acquis en 1885. D'autres achats ont pu avoir lieu, le nombres d'ouvrages de la bibliothèque dépassant celui de titres identifiés. Cela amène une réflexion sur les rapports entre le fonds, les auteurs et les lectures, et nous oblige à penser que la récurrence des mentions ne peut être directement convertie en circulation et en consommation. Considérant que le professeur de l'École Normale inclut des références avec lesquelles il partage des opinions et d'autres avec lesquelles il affiche des divergences, ce qui donne sa légitimité à son ouvrage et prouve son effort et son érudition, on se demandera : Passalacqua a-t-il lu des livres d'Hippeau ? Si oui, pourquoi ne fait-il aucune référence à un auteur dont la présence dans la bibliothèque est pourtant significative ?[456]

Le manuel *Pédagogie et Méthodologie (1887)* sera utilisé à l'École Normale de Sao Paulo jusqu'en 1890, quand son auteur sera congédié. Il a cependant continué à l'être dans d'autres établissements. Le livre donne les références les plus importantes du canon pédagogique contemporain dans les pays occidentaux, à la fin du XIXème, dont bon nombre, comme Calkins, Froebel et Pestalozzi, sont aussi souvent citées dans les textes pédagogiques brésiliens. L'analyse de l'ouvrage met en lumière les complexes appropriations des savoirs, et bouscule les affirmations génériques qui attribuent les progrès ou les retards pédagogiques à un groupe social précis. À l'époque, la pédagogie catholique était sous le feu des critiques des défenseurs de l'enseignement laïque qui s'autoproclamaient seuls représentants de « l'école moderne ». Les stratégies de légitimation et de survie des acteurs, dans leurs domaines d'intervention, sont multiples. Le livre de Passalacqua est resté présent dans les annonces publicitaires d'importants journaux, alors que le prêtre enseignait dans de prestigieuses institutions, comme l'Institut *Brasilia Buarque* et le *Gymnasio Paulista*.

Les voies qui mènent à la lecture sont multiples. La présence dans le fonds, la langue, l'intérêt, par exemple, sont des variables de ce processus. D'autres lectures ont certainement été faites. Les appropriations de Passalacqua, dont les traces ont été consignées dans *Pédagogie et Méthodologie*, constituent ainsi une des possibilités permettant de retracer la circulation des connaissances pédagogiques et contribuent à enrichir les études sur la formation des professeurs à l'École Normale de Sao Paulo.

[456] Maria Helena Bastos (2002) a mené une étude sur les livres d'Hippeau que l'on trouve au Brésil, à la fin du 19ème. Cette enquête pourrait se décliner en études sur l'appropriation de ces œuvres et sur la circulation de l'auteur lui-même dans différents pays, et les réseaux de relations et les établissements par lesquels il est passé.

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# **Professores e seus estudos:** biblioteca, livros e leituras na Escola Normal de São Paulo (século XIX)

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**Resumo:**

Este artigo investiga a relação entre livros, leitura e formação docente na Escola Normal de São Paulo, no final do século XIX. Analisa a constituição de um acervo que deveria compor o repertório de estudantes e professores, e a institucionalização de um espaço para sua guarda e consulta. Para tanto, examina-se um conjunto diverso de fontes, que inclui relatórios, regulamentos, regimentos, legislação, publicações de jornais, catálogos de livros etc. Adota-se a perspectiva transnacional, enfatizando as relações entre São Paulo e França, que marcaram a constituição do acervo em suas primeiras décadas. Dialoga-se com referenciais da história cultural dos saberes pedagógicos e da história do livro e da leitura. Observa-se, desde 1870, o intuito de criar uma biblioteca composta preferencialmente por títulos referentes às matérias do curso normal. A composição de seu acervo acompanhou a diversificação e a ampliação das cadeiras, nos anos de 1880 e 1890, evidenciando a ascensão do caráter científico no campo da pedagogia e a circulação de materiais e ideias pedagógicas. No contexto em que as reformas da instrução pública na França eram admiradas por políticos e educadores brasileiros, a posse de materiais e livros franceses ou adotados naquele país era tida como fundamental para a apropriação de experiências e métodos modernos. Entretanto, havia obstáculos à leitura, tais como o horário de funcionamento, a iluminação e o escasso domínio do idioma, sendo constante a afirmação de que a frequência à biblioteca era pequena e que poucas obras eram lidas.

Palavras-chave: formação de professores; livros; leitura; biblioteca

## Introdução[457]

[457] Este artigo apresenta resultados de pesquisa desenvolvida no âmbito do projeto temático “Saberes e práticas em fronteiras: por uma história transnacional da educação (1822-...)”, coordenado por Carlota Boto e Diana Vidal, e financiada pela FAPESP (Processo 2018/26699-4 e 2019/25935-9).

A associação entre docência e estudo não causa estranhamento neste começo de século XXI. Em alguma medida, assim como o fizemos com a relação entre leitura e conhecimento, naturalizamos uma antiga imagem do professor erudito, carregado de livros e com apreço pela leitura. No imaginário social contemporâneo, a professora ou o professor ensina o que sabe, principalmente, o que sabe bem, e estuda para isso. É evidente, no entanto, que essa imagem comporta ressalvas, nuances e dúvidas em relação às qualidades ou às competências de uma boa ou de um bom docente – não raro, por exemplo, profissionais de outros campos se veem aptos a dizer aos professores como devem ou podem fazer seus trabalhos. Valoriza-se a educação, valoriza-se o trabalho docente, mas pairam dúvidas sobre a competência desse profissional e, principalmente, sobre sua formação.

O que uma pessoa que pretende ser uma boa ou um bom docente deveria estudar? O quanto, ou como os livros e a leitura poderiam contribuir para a formação docente? Como se daria a relação entre a teoria e os exercícios práticos na formação inicial? Essas questões, que podem ser vistas como tipicamente contemporâneas, atravessam a história da escola e da formação docente e nos permitem pensar como, em distintos contextos, conformamos culturas pedagógicas, mais ou menos enlaçadas a livros e competências leitoras, que são localmente específicas, sem estarem, porém, sincrônica ou diacronicamente desconectadas de outras culturas. Neste artigo, questões como essas emergem, do ponto de vista historiográfico, do estudo sobre a institucionalização de uma biblioteca na Escola Normal de São Paulo, no século XIX. Trata-se dos primórdios da formação escolar para a docência na província paulista, que se relacionava a um movimento inicial de difusão da escola primária e de constituição da pedagogia como campo específico de conhecimento (TANURI, 2000; BOTO, 2014).

Buscando analisar a institucionalização de um espaço destinado à guarda, organização e consulta dos livros que deveriam compor o repertório de estudantes e professores da Escola Normal, além de um espaço para práticas de leitura e formação docente, examino um conjunto diverso de fontes, que inclui relatórios dos diretores da Escola Normal, regulamentos e regimentos internos, legislação, publicações de jornais contemporâneos, catálogos de livros, etc. Inspirada em Certeau (1982), intento construir uma narrativa que destaca os detalhes, e na qual cada documento, isolado de seu contexto original, passa a constituir peça fundamental da operação historiográfica[458]. Como referencial teórico-metodológico, o artigo adota a perspectiva transnacional (VERA, 2013; FONTAINE; MATASCI, 2015), enfatizando as

[458] As características específicas de cada documento, como o seu contexto de produção, a intencionalidade e a autoria, foram considerados na análise documental, para o levantamento de informações e indícios sobre a biblioteca, seus agentes e a circulação dos livros na Escola Normal.

relações entre São Paulo e França, que marcaram a constituição do acervo em suas primeiras décadas. Dialoga, também, com referenciais da história cultural dos saberes pedagógicos e da história do livro e da leitura (CHOPPIN, 2009; BITTECOURT, 2008; SILVA, 2018). Assim, observo, em diacronia, o movimento de composição do acervo e suas relações com as cadeiras que compunham o currículo escolar, dando ênfase à Pedagogia.

## Os livros e o alvorecer da formação de professores

A antiga relação entre estudo e livros e, mais precisamente, entre instituições de ensino e bibliotecas alterou-se no decorrer do processo de estatização da escola e de configuração de um ensino primário público que se pretendia difundir amplamente. A disposição de um acervo bibliográfico para o sustento dos estudos, comum a grandes colégios religiosos como os da Companhia de Jesus, não mais se observava nas escolas régias ou avulsas, por meio das quais o Império Português se lançou, no século XVIII, a erigir o ensino estatal (BOTO, 2017a). Nessas escolas, muito frequentemente, ficava a cargo do professor arcar os custos relativos ao espaço e aos materiais necessários às suas aulas (CARDOSO, 2002). Por isso, não surpreende que em muitas delas os recursos materiais fossem escassos, indicando o descontínuo e heterogêneo caminho pelo qual a biblioteca se associaria ao espaço escolar nos domínios portugueses.

Para que se compreenda a incorporação de acervos bibliográficos em escolas, – neste caso, em uma instituição para formação de professores, cuja origem está ligada à demanda de profissionais para o ensino de primeiras letras – é preciso examinar o processo de constituição da própria escola como matéria de tratamento público, em suas dimensões práticas, que se referem aos recursos concretos e materiais que precisam ser mobilizados para o seu funcionamento, e teórico-simbólicas, que dizem respeito às concepções que irão sustentar, pedagógica e socialmente, essa instituição. Deve-se observar que internamente à instituição escolar constituíam-se ritmos e rotinas, em uma espécie de liturgia de signos e rituais, que perpassam a interação entre estudantes e professores, a organização do espaço, dos horários, do currículo, dos materiais etc., ou seja, de uma de uma cultura escolar, na qual o livro recebe um lugar de destaque, como suporte e símbolo do ensino (BOTO, 2014; FARIA FILHO, 1999).

Nos processos de institucionalização da escola estatal e de formação de professores multiplicaram-se discursos sobre os modos mais adequados, eficazes ou de menor custo para atender a um maior número de crianças, assim como acerca dos conteúdos e materiais a serem adotados nas escolas – ainda que questões relativas à organização do tempo e das matérias, à

uniformização do contexto de aprendizagem e mesmo ao preparo específico para a docência já estivessem postas no século anterior, como indica, por exemplo, a iniciativa de Jean Baptiste La Salle de substituir o ensino individual pelo simultâneo (BOTO, 2017b; GALLEGO, 2011). Esses discursos encontraram suporte nos impressos, periódicos e livros que, segundo Circe Bittencourt (2008, p. 28), desde o final do século XVIII já se configuravam nas sociedades ocidentais "como principal instrumento para a formação do professor, garantindo, ao mesmo tempo, a veiculação de conteúdo e método de acordo com as prescrições do poder estabelecido". Durante o século XIX, a publicação de textos pedagógicos, em meio ao movimento de constituição dos sistemas educativos estatais, conduziu à autonomização das edições especificamente produzidas para o uso escolar (CHOPPIN, 2009). O impresso escolar, sob diversas denominações, passou a integrar um crescente mercado editorial de dimensões internacionais, possibilitando o compartilhamento de conhecimentos pedagógicos e experiências educativas em diversos espaços territoriais. Desse modo, a organização e o acesso a acervos bibliográficos que sustentassem iniciativas de escolarização para estudantes e professores passou a ser um aspecto essencial do processo de difusão da escola elementar.

No princípio dos Oitocentos, essa questão se evidencia nas prescrições para a adoção do ensino mútuo ou lancasteriano em vários países e regiões, poucos anos após o seu aparecimento na Inglaterra (VERA, 2013). Sinalizando a circulação de modos de ensinar e organizar a escola no contexto ocidental, promotores do ensino mútuo elaboraram guias, tratados, manuais e artigos. Nota-se um movimento de produção de materiais para o uso das escolas de ensino mútuo, além de publicações, como o *Journal d'Éducation*, da Sociedade pela Instrução Elementar de Paris, destinados a instruir sobre o método (BASTOS; FARIA FILHO, 1999). Eugenia Róldan Vera (2013, p. 193) identifica intercâmbios bilaterais entre sociedades lancasterianas europeias e americanas, em que "las segundas solicitaban libros, cartillas, tablas y otros materiales didácticos para las escuelas"; e as primeiras enviavam "certificados de membresía, copias de sus reglamentos internos y prescripciones para formar sociedades lancasterianas a su semejanza". Consolidava-se a relação entre a difusão da escola elementar, a preparação de professores e a produção de impressos especificamente destinados a atender a demanda escolar, o que reconhecidamente guardava particularidades regionais (BITTECOURT, 2008).

No Brasil, as primeiras iniciativas de instrução específica para o magistério são atravessadas por indicações para o ensino pelo sistema lancasteriano, que repercutem antes mesmo da constituição do Estado independente, mas que culminam em sua prescrição, pela Lei Geral da Educação, em 1827, como método de ensino a ser adotado nas escolas de primeiras

letras no Império (BASTOS; FARIA FILHO, 1999; TANURI, 2000). Como aponta a literatura, porém, o ensino mútuo não experimentou um êxito generalizado, uma vez que a complexidade da realidade escolar das províncias brasileiras, ao longo do século XIX, comportou uma série de arranjos entre o ensino individual e o simultâneo (GALLEGO, 2011; INÁCIO et al., 2006). Ainda assim, o interesse por um modo que substituísse o ensino individual, possibilitando o atendimento de um maior número de crianças em pouco tempo e sob rigorosa disciplina, produziu entusiasmo suficiente para colocar em questão as condições materiais e intelectuais para a atuação de mestres e mestras conforme um programa específico de atividades de que dependia o seu sucesso.

Em São Paulo, preocupações com a formação do magistério primário levaram à criação, na década de 1840, de uma Escola Normal, que conferia habilitação vitalícia ao cargo de professor primário. Apresentava-se para os candidatos ao magistério uma alternativa aos exames avulsos, que muitas vezes transcorriam de forma obscura, sob o manto do protecionismo político e das relações sociais de parentesco ou compadrio (MONARCHA, 1999). Estabelecia-se um curso com duração de dois anos, em que se ensinaria lógica, gramática geral e língua nacional, teoria e prática de aritmética, noções gerais de geometria prática e suas aplicações usuais, caligrafia, princípios e doutrina da religião do Estado e "os diversos métodos e processo de ensino, sua aplicação e vantagens comparativas". A nomeação do professor, assim como o provimento de "todos os instrumentos, livros, modelos, e mais objetos que forem precisos para os exercícios", ficaria a cargo do governo (SÃO PAULO, 1846, s/p.).

A escola funcionou por duas décadas, tendo como único professor Manoel José Chaves, bacharel em Direito, que havia ocupado vários cargos públicos antes de ser nomeado para a Escola Normal (DIAS, 2013). A instituição contou com parcos recursos materiais. Em 1861, Chaves (1861, p.1) apontou que as necessidades da escola eram "por sem dúvida bastantes", não possuindo "livros importantes, que não podem ter os alunos, nem os instrumentos e modelos precisos para os convenientes trabalhos, até os móveis da aula são poucos e estão em muito mau estado".

Para o ensino de "todos os métodos para a direção da instrução e educação da mocidade", o professor afirmou usar "os tratados metodológicos mais célebres", principalmente o método de Descartes, que considerava a "obra recomendável para explicar esta matéria em geral", para depois tratar "dos métodos especiais de ensino, do singular, mútuo e simultâneo" (CHAVES, 1852, p, 5). Chaves tinha acesso a livros e mencionou, em seus relatórios, títulos que usava para aulas. Possivelmente, possuía seu próprio acervo bibliográfico – o que não era incomum entre os bacharéis – ou buscava livros na biblioteca da Academia de Direito, onde

havia se formado. Na Escola Normal, segundo ele, faltavam os "livros indispensáveis para o ensino, como são os dicionários, clássicos da língua e outros, que os alunos não podem possuir, e que bem seria haverem na aula para consulta" (CHAVES, 1859, p. 248). Mais de uma década após a inauguração da instituição, o professor indicava que os livros não faziam parte da rotina escolar dos estudantes, não obstante o fato de ele mesmo se servir de compêndios "para explicação das matérias ensinadas em aula". As evidências da época contam mais sobre a falta dos livros do que sobre sua presença ou utilização cotidiana na Escola Normal de São Paulo. Embora a importância de uma instituição destinada à formação do magistério fosse reconhecida, inclusive entre as autoridades públicas, a escola foi suprimida em 1867, após vários anos de críticas quando à organização e ao ensino ministrado.

Os livros estão chegando

Passados sete anos, juntamente com a aprovação da obrigatoriedade do ensino primário, foi aprovada a criação de uma nova Escola Normal na capital da província. Estabeleceu-se um curso de dois anos, com as matérias distribuídas em duas cadeiras, cada uma sob a responsabilidade de um docente. Inicialmente, os ingressantes seriam maiores de 16 anos, do sexo masculino, e deveriam saber ler, escrever e contar[459]. Observa-se, em comparação com a primeira experiência de ensino normal na cidade de São Paulo, a ampliação das matérias curriculares, com a prescrição dos ensinos de História, Geografia, Cosmografia e Francês, além de "Metódica e Pedagogia, com exercícios práticos nas escolas da Capital" (REGULAMENTO, 1874). Já era corrente a ideia de que a formação de professores não deveria prescindir do exercício prático – questão que aparecia entre as críticas à experiência anterior.

O Regulamento da escola, publicado em 1874, selava a conexão entre o ensino para a formação de professores e a organização de um repertório de leitura, que constituiria uma biblioteca "destinada especialmente ao uso de professores e alunos, formada de livros dos melhores e mais recentes escritores das diversas matérias do ensino". O acervo, segundo o documento, seria enriquecido anualmente, "a fim de ficar a par do progresso da instrução na parte dos estudos normais primários". Os professores deveriam indicar a compra de obras recentes sobre as matérias a seu cargo, "das quais deva a biblioteca da Escola fazer pronta aquisição". Previa-se, ainda, uma classificação dos títulos "por ordem de matérias e cadeiras, inventariados em livro próprio", com designação de autor, edição, lugar, volumes e formato.

[459] Em 1876, a idade mínima dos ingressantes passou a ser de 18 anos, e foi criada uma seção feminina (SÃO PAULO, 1876).

Nota-se que os princípios civilizatórios projetados na instituição escolar e compartilhados pelas bibliotecas, que dão centralidade à cultura letrada e erudita, ajustavam-se ao propósito de proporcionar leituras adequadas e específicas para a formação docente. Não se tratava, portanto, de propor a criação de uma biblioteca ampla e universal, voltada à erudição, com títulos das mais diversas épocas e temáticas, mas que reunisse obras sobre as "matérias do ensino" normal, privilegiando, sobretudo, a formação para o magistério.

Além do acervo bibliográfico, o documento determinava a organização de um espaço com mesas e assentos que funcionasse por três horas diárias, sob a responsabilidade do porteiro, e de onde nenhum livro pudesse sair sem autorização do encarregado da direção da escola, ou seja, o próprio Inspetor Geral da Instrução Pública (REGULAMENTO, 1874). Delineava-se a ideia de que uma instituição de ensino que se prezasse, como deveria ser aquela destinada a formar o magistério primário, não poderia prescindir de acervo bibliográfico e de um espaço destinado à sua consulta (SILVA, 2022). Nesse contexto, os impressos e suas instituições se espalhavam pela província de São Paulo, sobretudo na capital, e gabinetes literários e bibliotecas contribuíam para que se superassem obstáculos decorrentes da dificuldade de acesso aos livros por meio da compra (DEAECTO, 2011). Na solenidade de instalação da Escola Normal, o presidente de São Paulo, João Teodoro Xavier de Matos, lembrou das "cidades de Lorena, Areias, Cunha, Itu, e muitas outras", onde "surgem associações, ricas de vida, levantando e mantendo escolas noturnas e bibliotecas populares, para uso gratuito do povo" (DIÁRIO DE S. PAULO, 18 de fevereiro de 1875, p. 3).

A questão do acesso aos livros tornava-se premente na Escola Normal, em que se formariam os responsáveis pelo ensino escolar da leitura e da escrita. Conforme projetava o regulamento da instituição, o curso se franqueava a pessoas de poucas posses, razão pela qual estabelecia a isenção de pagamento da taxa escolar anual aos reconhecidamente pobres. Nessa época, já se reconhecia a "exiguidade dos ordenados" do magistério primário, como mencionou o próprio Xavier de Matos, considerando esse aspecto uma das causas do atraso na "difusão das luzes na província" (CORREIO PAULISTANO, 16 de maio de 1875). Cabe lembrar a observação do professor Manoel Chaves, quinze anos antes, acerca da impossibilidade de seus alunos adquirirem livros indispensáveis aos estudos na Escola Normal. Assim, estabelecendo o funcionamento de uma biblioteca para atender à finalidade de formar o professorado primário paulista, na ocasião de refundação da Escola Normal, essa ordem de dificuldade poderia ser superada. O regulamento determinava, ainda, que fosse concedido como "prêmio" a alunos que se distinguissem por sua "reconhecida inteligência" um livro "elegantemente encadernado", cujo conteúdo se referisse a uma das matérias do curso.

Em fevereiro de 1875, a Escola Normal começou suas atividades provisoriamente instalada em uma sala da Faculdade de Direito – esperava-se, então, que lhe fosse construído um prédio próprio. Os primeiros livros chegaram no início do ano letivo, tendo sido adquiridos por Paulo do Valle, professor interino da primeira cadeira[460]. Valle listou 27 títulos, que atendiam às matérias abarcadas pela cadeira sob sua responsabilidade[461]. A maior parte correspondia ao ensino da Língua Nacional e Francesa, sendo gramáticas, dicionários e seletas. Na lista havia, ainda, um título de aritmética, de Louis Pierre Marie Bourdon, e seis títulos destinados ao ensino de Metódica e Pedagogia: um de Jean-Baptiste Daligault (1811-1894), indicado na lista como "compêndio", outro de Michel-Charbonneau (1817-1870), um de José Maria Graça Affreixo (1842-1919), além de três títulos de Louis-Aimé Martin (1786-1847). Além desses, foram adquiridos na Casa Garraux, no mesmo ano, um livro de Charles Lenormant, possivelmente *Essais sur la instruction publique*, publicado em 1873, e uma obra indicada com o título *Pedagogia,* cuja autoria mencionada é de "Cordeiro"[462]. A presença desses livros, que ensinam a ensinar, "produzindo uma espécie de gramática do magistério e articulando os elementos para se conceber e agir nesse ofício" indica os caminhos pelos quais se configurava a cultura pedagógica da Escola Normal (SILVA, 2018, p. 67).

Destaca-se a apropriação do livro de Daligault, *Curso Prático de Pedagogia*, como referência principal nas aulas de Pedagogia da Escola Normal, entre 1875 e 1877, conforme indicam as provas de final de ano dos estudantes normalistas (TREVISAN, 2011; PEREZ, 2012; PEREZ; SILVA, 2014). O manual francês, originalmente publicado em 1851, havia recebido duas traduções para o português, em 1865 e 1874, e teve ampla circulação no Brasil (BASTOS, 2011; TREVISAN, 2011; ARAÚJO, 2018). As transcrições, paráfrases e menções à obra de Daligault identificadas em exames de normalistas revelariam o quanto suas palavras "eram valorizadas para legitimar o exercício do magistério" (SILVA; PEREZ, 2014, p. 101). Schelbauer (2003) observa que as provas trazem conteúdos e definições semelhantes, levantando a hipótese de que o contato dos estudantes com o conteúdo das obras pode não ter sido direto, mas mediado pelas apropriações que dele haviam feito os professores da disciplina.

[460] Paulo Antônio do Valle (1824-1886) formou-se bacharel na Academia de Direito de São Paulo, em 1848. Atuou como redator na imprensa periódica, professor, historiador e teatrólogo (DIAS, 2003).

[461] A primeira cadeira da Escola Normal era composta pelo ensino da Língua Nacional e Língua Francesa, Aritmética e Sistema Métrico, Caligrafia, Doutrina Cristã, Metódica e Pedagogia. Já a segunda cadeira reunia as matérias de Noções de História Sagrada e Universal, inclusive a do Brasil; Geografia, especialmente do Brasil; e elementos de Cosmografia. Em 1876, a Escola passou a ter quatro cadeiras e uma seção feminina (MONARCHA, 1999; DIAS, 2013).

[462] A Casa Garraux, fundada pelo francês Anatole Louis Garraux (1833-1904), foi uma das mais importantes casas comerciais a vender livros europeus em São Paulo, na segunda metade do século XIX (DEACTO, 2011).

Em fevereiro de 1875, Paulo do Valle recebeu do Tesouro Provincial a quantia de 428$000 para a aquisição de livros para a Escola Normal (DIÁRIO DE S. PAULO, 27 de fevereiro de 1874, p. 1; VALLE, 1875, p.2). Uma nota da Casa Garraux, de junho do mesmo ano, indica a aquisição de nove títulos, em 39 volumes, pelo valor de 125$600. Essa nota foi encaminhada por um ofício, em que o professor dizia se "desobrigar" com o tesouro em relação ao dinheiro que recebera em fevereiro, indicando que cerca de 312$000 já haviam sido despendidos em livros para a Escola. Em 1875, um exemplar da *Gramática*, de Julio Aulete, custava cerca de 1$000; em 1876, o livro *Elementos de Pedagogia*, de Graça Affreixo, era anunciado por 2$500, pela livraria Garraux. Assim, ainda que não se possa precisar o número exato de obras e volumes adquiridos, ou mesmo quantas compras ocorreram, os ofícios e recibos indicam que, no mesmo ano em que a escola teve 33 alunos matriculados, Paulo do Valle adquiriu dezenas de livros. Além disso, havia a possibilidade de a Escola Normal receber doações, como ocorreu com os 40 exemplares da *Gramática de Língua Francesa* (1860), de Abílio César Borges, doados pelos membros da Sociedade Literária Nova Arcádia, em 1875 (DIÁRIO DE S. PAULO, 11 de abril de 1875, p. 2).

Se os indícios confirmam a composição de um acervo bibliográfico, possivelmente contendo obras para o uso cotidiano dos alunos, não é possível afirmar o mesmo quanto à organização de um espaço de leitura e consulta que remeta à imagem atual de uma biblioteca. Em 1877, um novo regulamento reiterava a promessa de uma biblioteca-espaço, com a prescrição de que o acervo, além das obras "dos melhores escritores sobre as diversas matérias do ensino normal", seria constituído "dos livros de ciência, história, viagens, literatura, artes e ofícios, que puderem ser adquiridos com consignações que forem concedidas pelo poder legislativo ou por donativos particulares". Esse espaço estaria aberto "não só aos alunos e alunas da escola normal, como a qualquer outra pessoa que deseje visitá-la ou consultar obras". Aparecia, no documento, a função de "bibliotecário", acumulada pelo porteiro.

O desejo de criar um espaço para a guarda e consulta de livros foi reafirmado, mas havia obstáculos para sua efetivação, sobretudo, de ordem prática e financeira: a Escola Normal contava com exímios recursos para manutenção e esteve, durante os três anos de funcionamento, instalada de modo improvisado, com a seção masculina inicialmente instalada na Faculdade de Direito, em seguida, no prédio do Tesouro Municipal, e a seção feminina, no Seminário de Nossa Senhora da Glória. Conforme o relatório de João Batista Pereira, que ocupava a presidência da província quando a escola foi fechada, em 1878, até mesmo sua mobília era emprestada (MONARCHA, 1999).

Temos uma biblioteca!

Em 1880, a Escola Normal de São Paulo foi reaberta e seu regulamento reafirmava o compromisso com a criação de uma biblioteca que pudesse atender, além de professores e estudantes da instituição, o público em geral. Os temas sobre os quais os livros deveriam versar eram os mesmos indicados no regulamento anterior (1877). No entanto, na nova proposição a biblioteca abriria por no mínimo cinco horas diárias, durante o funcionamento das aulas, mantendo-se sob a responsabilidade do porteiro.

Os livros começaram a ocupar o cotidiano escolar no momento inicial de retomada das aulas, em agosto de 1880, uma vez que era obrigatório a cada um dos cinco professores do curso a indicação de um compêndio para a sua respectiva cadeira[463]. Naquele ano, foram indicados a *Gramática Portuguesa*, de Freire da Silva, juntamente com uma seleta de autores clássicos, para a cadeira de gramática e língua portuguesa; as obras *Aritmética*, de Antonio Trajano, e *Geometria*, de Ottoni, para a segunda cadeira[464]; para a terceira, *História Universal* de Victor Duruy, *Lições de História Pátria*, de Américo Brasiliense, *Geographia* de Pedro de Abreu e *Geographia do Brazil* de Thomas Pompeo; *Pedagogia* de Antônio Marciano Silva Pontes, para a quarta cadeira; e, para as aulas anexas, adotava-se a *Cartilha Maternal* de João de Deus.

A notícia da adoção dos compêndios pela Escola Normal repercutiu e, no dia seguinte à reunião da Congregação que aprovou os títulos, o *Jornal da Tarde* (4 de agosto de 1880, p. 1) os publicou em seu noticiário, mencionando que se tratava de uma adoção provisória e dependente da aprovação do governo. No relatório de 1880, Vicente Mamede de Freitas, professor e diretor interino da escola, apontou a dificuldade da Congregação em escolher as "obras apropriadas" para um curso "especial", como o da Escola Normal, afirmando que havia "carência de bons compêndios" no Brasil. Conforme Mamede de Freitas, "a dificuldade é tamanha que o professor de Física e Química fornece apostilas de sua própria lavra a seus alunos, atenta a impossibilidade de encontrar um compêndio dentro dos limites da programação da escola" (FREITAS, 1880, p. 9-10).

A experiência de produzir o próprio material não era estranha aos professores dos cursos normais; o próprio compêndio de Silva Pontes, adotado pela cadeira de Pedagogia, havia sido

[463] Na época, o curso normal era composto por cinco cadeiras – 1ª. Gramática e Língua Nacional; 2ª. Aritmética e Geometria; 3ª. Geografia Geral, História do Brasil e da Província, História Sagrada e Universal; 4ª. Pedagogia e Metodologia, Doutrina Cristã; e 5ª. Francês, Química e Física (REGULAMENTO, 1880).
[464] Em 1879, foram publicados os livros *Arithmetica Progressiva* e *Arithmetica Elementar Ilustrada*, de Antônio Trajano (OLIVEIRA, 2013). No relatório da Escola Normal consta apenas o título "Arithmetica".

elaborado a partir da experiência do autor na Escola Normal de Niterói[465]. Observa-se que a indicação dos livros envolvia, além de razões pedagógicas e institucionais, questões políticas e comerciais, já que os títulos deveriam ser aprovados por agentes do governo e, por óbvio, estarem disponíveis para a compra em São Paulo[466].

Em agosto de 1880, a Livraria Popular, de propriedade de Abílio Marques, direcionou anúncios na imprensa ao público da Escola Normal, com os compêndios indicados pela Congregação e mais alguns que pudessem interessar aos estudantes, como *Lições de História do Brasil*, de Joaquim Manoel de Macedo, e *Curso Teórico e Prático de Pedagogia* de Michel-Charbonneau – que já aparecia em anúncios dessa livraria desde o final da década de 1870. Títulos relacionados aos temas educacionais eram recorrentes em anúncios de livrarias, como a Casa Garraux, que ofereciam livros importados aos leitores paulistas, o que contribuía, em certa medida, para que se pudesse contornar a referida carência local de bons compêndios.

Não obstante a adoção desses livros para as aulas, como previa o Regulamento da Escola Normal, as primeiras mobilizações para a composição de um acervo bibliográfico levaram mais de dois anos para acontecer. Foi, no final de 1882, quando viajou à França Paulo Bourroul (1855-1942), professor da cadeira de Física, Química e Francês e diretor interino da Escola Normal, que a promessa de uma biblioteca começou a se concretizar. Naquela altura, em suas aulas Bourroul sofria com a falta de aparelhos que possibilitassem ensaios práticos, o que alimentava acusações de que governo não provinha a escola com os materiais necessários a seu adequado funcionamento. Em *A Província de S. Paulo,* Rangel Pestana afirmava: "as aulas de Química e Física funcionam há mais de dois anos e não existe na casa um só aparelho, nem mesmo desses que se encontram por aí em qualquer botica de aldeia!" (24 de outubro de 1882, p.1). O próprio Presidente da Província, Francisco Brandão (1882, p.1), reconheceu que a escola ressentia, não só de aparelhos indispensáveis para as aulas de física e química, mas "da falta de uma biblioteca apropriada, não possuindo mesmo livro algum de pedagogia". Assim, em meio às pressões da imprensa e às demandas da escola, Brandão oficialmente encarregou Bourroul de adquirir, na Europa, os itens necessários às aulas de sua cadeira e "as melhores e mais modernas obras de pedagogia". Além disso, foi solicitado ao professor que se dedicasse ao estudo para a organização de um museu pedagógico – questão intrinsecamente conectada à

[465] Em São Paulo, Camilo Passalácqua, regente da Cadeira de Pedagogia a partir de 1884, também optou por adotar um compêndio de sua autoria.

[466] Houve, a propósito, grande polêmica em torno dos professores Silva Jardim, Cypriano de Carvalho e Godofredo Furtado, reconhecidamente positivistas, entre os anos de 1885 e 1886. Os dois primeiros se recusaram a indicar compêndios para as suas cadeiras. Já Furtado, teria indicado "Condorcet e Lacroix unicamente porque Comte os recomendava" (BENEVIDES, 1886, p.1).

construção dos sistemas escolares nacionais, tanto na Europa como na América do Norte (FONTAINE; MATASCI, 2015).

Foram mais de 120 títulos importados da França, cujos temas atendiam a todas as cadeiras da Escola Normal, com exceção da Cadeira de Gramática e Língua Nacional. Mais da metade das obras, como observa Pestana (2011), destinava-se aos assuntos diretamente abordados na 4ª cadeira, mais especificamente à Pedagogia e Metodologia, embora pudessem ser úteis aos professores das demais matérias do curso normal. Havia livros sobre lições de coisas, instrução moral e cívica, educação física, história da educação, pedagogia teórica e prática, metodologias de ensino e higiene.

Essas obras chegaram à escola em abril de 1883, quando a instituição enfrentava problemas de infraestrutura e carência de itens básicos, tais como mesas e bancos que acomodassem o crescente número de matriculados. Ainda assim, um espaço foi dedicado aos livros, como indica um ofício em que Paulo Bourroul solicitava recursos para as obras de encanamento de gás, necessárias ao funcionamento da biblioteca (BOURROUL, 1883, p.1). No começo do ano seguinte, o noticiário de *A Província de S. Paulo* anunciava a abertura da biblioteca:

> O atual diretor da Escola Normal, sr. Dr. Benevides, procura levar a efeito algumas medidas que, pela força das coisas, não têm sido realizadas. Entre outras, providenciou acerca da abertura da Biblioteca da Escola, formada principalmente, por ora, dos livros de Pedagogia comprados pelo dr. Bourroul. A biblioteca, cujo regimento já se acha organizado, está aberta todos os dias úteis, dias na semana para os alunos, e dias para as alunas. Estas durante a sua estada na sala de leitura são, segundo resolveu a congregação, acompanhadas pela adjunta da professora da aula anexa (A PROVÍNCIA DE S. PAULO, 19 de março de 1884, p.2).

O atendimento em dias alternados para alunas e alunos, além de reverberar as dúvidas e ressalvas em relação à coeducação estabelecida pelo regulamento da instituição, reduzia as possibilidades de frequência à biblioteca. Em 1885, Sá e Benevides escreveu: "a frequência de alunos consultantes tem sido pequena em proporção ao número de matriculados, o que se deve atribuir ao fato de conservar-se a biblioteca aberta [...] somente durante o tempo em que funcionam as aulas". Naquele ano, em que havia 227 estudantes matriculados, foram somados 140 consultantes nos meses de outubro e novembro, período que antecedia os exames (BENEVIDES, 1885, p. 2-3). Em 1886, com a matrícula de 336 estudantes, a biblioteca obteve um total de 608 consultas (BENEVIDES, 1886, p. 3; 6).

Nesse contexto, em que a França e suas reformas da instrução pública eram observadas e admiradas por políticos e educadores brasileiros, a posse de materiais e livros de autores

franceses, ou de títulos adotados naquele país, era tida como fundamental para que experiências educacionais e métodos de ensino considerados modernos fossem apropriados na capital paulista. Em 1884, do total de 323 títulos listados no "catálogo provisório" da biblioteca da Escola Normal, havia 203 em língua francesa, dentre os quais traduções de obras originalmente escritas em inglês e alemão, como *De l´éducation*, de Herbert Spencer, *L'éducation de l'homme* e *Manuel pratique des jardins d'enfants*, de Froebel (BENEVIDES, 1884a). Nesse catálogo, 99 títulos foram atribuídos à cadeira de Pedagogia, Metodologia e doutrina cristã, dos quais apenas dez estavam em português[467]. Assim, pensadores anglo-saxônicos que marcaram as concepções educacionais nos séculos XIX e XX, chegaram à Escola Normal de São Paulo por meio de traduções francesas ou, ainda, pela mediação de autores franceses, como é o caso da obra *Études sur la vie et les travaux pédagogiques de J.-H. Pestalozzi*, de Pierre-Philibert Pompée (1809-1874)[468].

A presença dos livros não significava, entretanto, que todos os obstáculos à leitura haviam sido transpostos naquele espaço escolar. Para além do gás, cuja instalação foi autorizada ainda em 1883, e do reduzido horário de funcionamento, nos primeiros anos da década de 1880 a biblioteca precisou ser fechada por falta de um funcionário que dela se encarregasse. Sá e Benevides (1884b, p.1), considerando "não ser possível ao porteiro pela natureza de seus serviços estar efetivamente na biblioteca durante todo o tempo determinado pelo Regulamento", precisou insistir para que outro funcionário fosse contratado, o que aconteceu no final de 1884. Cerca de três anos depois, a Escola Normal recebeu um novo Regulamento (1887) em que constava a função de bibliotecário, a ser exercida por um dos professores da instituição.

Esses avanços com relação à institucionalização da biblioteca não resolviam, porém, a questão do acesso ao idioma estrangeiro. Sabe-se que a língua francesa era conhecida das elites escolarizadas no Brasil oitocentista, principalmente, dos egressos do ensino superior ou dos liceus equiparados ao Colégio Pedro II. No entanto, o público que majoritariamente frequentava a escola não era oriundo do grupo social e economicamente privilegiado que frequentava os ensinos secundário e superior. Muitos estudantes eram professores públicos primários, autorizados a se matricularem na escola desde que comprovassem apenas um ano de exercício

[467] Os livros em português eram: *Pedagogia*, de Maria da Graça Affreixo; *Reorganização do ensino* (brochura) de Almeida Oliveira; *Resumo de história da Pedagogia*, de Cirne Junior; *Guia do professor primário*, de Robinson; *A educação das crianças*, de Siqueira Ferraz; e o *Compêndio de Pedagogia*, de Silva Pontes. Além desses, pertenciam à 4ª. cadeira os livros *Catecismo da Diocese de S. Paulo* (quatro exemplares) e a *Bíblia Sagrada*, além da *Constituição do Império*. Os demais títulos estavam em francês.

[468] Conforme Fontaine e Matasci (2015), Pierre-Philibert Pompée foi um educador francês que esteve na Suíça, estudando o método Pestalozzi, e que se tornou um importante mediador desse autor na França.

docente (REGULAMENTO, 1880). Para algumas pessoas, o curso normal era a possibilidade de se escolarizar e alcançar uma ocupação estável. Não se esperava que o público estudantil ingressasse na instituição sendo capaz de compreender e interpretar textos em francês.

No entanto, a cadeira de Gramática e Língua Francesa estava prevista no primeiro ano do curso, conforme os regulamentos de 1880 e de 1887, e esse estudo seguiria até o final. O domínio suficiente da língua francesa por parte dos normalistas foi, porém, questionado por uma comissão que, em 1884, analisou o projeto de regulamento encaminhado pela Congregação da Escola Normal[469]. Segundo a comissão:

> Faz-se preciso o estudo de uma língua estranha, como meio de aquisição de conhecimentos. É palmar, portanto, que, ao ser alguém admitido à matrícula, possa já usar dela, sabendo quando menos, traduzi-la, para se não dar o fato, aliás frequente entre alunos normalistas, de não poderem interpretar livros em francês, adotados para o estudo da Pedagogia, História, Física, Química, etc., vendo-se forçados a recorrer a quem os ensine verter os tópicos correspondentes às lições. [...]. Somos, pois, de opinião que se suprima a sexta cadeira, para incluir-se Língua Francesa e sua Gramática, que constituem a matéria dela, no curso preparatório das Escolas Anexas (SILVA et al., 1884, p. 2-3).

A biblioteca se institucionalizava, com bibliotecário, regimento e a promessa de catalogar o acervo e "organizar uma estatística do número dos consultantes e das obras consultadas e fazê-la publicar mensalmente" (REGULAMENTO, 1887, p. 2). As compras continuaram sendo realizadas e o acervo crescia continuamente, embora aquém das expectativas de Sá e Benevides, que, em 1886, lamentava ter sido preciso usar a verba que era destinada à compra de livros para suprir "outras necessidades escolares". Nesse ano, o acervo contava com 505 títulos e 1.015 volumes (OLIVEIRA, 1886). Como não há registros das obras consultadas, não se pode reconhecer e acompanhar a diversidade de leituras feitas por estudantes e professores da Escola Normal – já que apenas a esses a biblioteca foi franqueada, e não ao "público geral", como prescrevia o Regulamento de 1880.

Com as reformas da década de 1890, o bibliotecário, não mais um professor que acumulava essa função, passou a ser nomeado pelo do Governo do Estado e cuidou de classificar as obras em três sessões: científica, literária e diversa (SÃO PAULO, 1892). Assim como o acervo, o movimento da biblioteca aumentou. Em 1893, a Escola Normal registrou 121 matriculados, e sua biblioteca teve 826 consultantes e 170 obras consultadas, registrando uma maior presença de mulheres do que de homens. Foram consultadas obras que percorriam o

[469] Essa comissão foi composta por Paulo Antônio do Valle, que atuou como professor na Escola Normal de São Paulo na década de 1870; Manoel José da Lapa Trancoso, professor substituto na Escola Normal em 1882; e por Augusto Freire Silva, professor de Gramática e Língua Nacional no curso preparatório da Faculdade de Direito.

variado espectro do currículo da Escola Normal: Corografia do Brasil; Ginástica; Química; Astronomia; História; Psicologia; Pedagogia; Botânica, Zoologia e História Natural, sendo que o maior número correspondia às matérias de História do Brasil e Astronomia.

Entre as científicas, mais de dois terços estavam em francês. No mês de maio do referido ano, a biblioteca recebeu 222 estudantes que consultaram 40 obras, 29 em português e 11 em francês. No mês de julho, foram consultadas 23 obras, 12 em português e 11 em francês (O ESTADO S. PAULO, 13 de junho de 1893; CORREIO PAULISTANO, 5 de agosto de 1893). Esses números, apesar de pontuais, indiciam que, embora o acervo fosse composto majoritariamente por títulos em língua francesa, na biblioteca da Escola Normal lia-se mais em português.

## Considerações Finais

A Escola Normal de São Paulo chegou ao final do século XIX com uma biblioteca diversa. Havia obras para todas as matérias do curso normal – cujo currículo se ampliou entre as décadas de 1870 e 1890 –, além de títulos de literatura, artes, viagens. A composição de seu acervo, crescentemente especializado, ou seja, formado por obras escritas ou usadas para a formação docente, para o conhecimento do funcionamento das escolas, dos sistemas escolares, de métodos e conteúdos de ensino, reflete o movimento de institucionalização e consolidação do curso normal, que se tornou referência para muitos de seus congêneres no estado e no país.

Os títulos incluídos no final do século XIX expressam a ascensão do caráter científico no próprio campo da pedagogia, ofertando aos frequentadores da biblioteca informações sobre as modernas concepções pedagógicas em circulação no mundo ocidental. Indicam, também, que havia grande probabilidade de apropriação seletiva e criativa desse material.

Os livros estavam na biblioteca, muitos deles importados, em maior parte da França, o que evidencia a circulação dos saberes pedagógicos e nos faz conjeturar sobre os fatores que explicam essa primazia: a tradicional preferência da elite letrada brasileira pela literatura francesa; a expectativa dos gestores da Escola Normal de São Paulo em espelhar suas congêneres daquele país; a oferta mais numerosa e frequente de livros produzidos na França e vendidos pelas casas livreiras, em São Paulo (DEACTO, 2011); ou ainda, o fato de esse país ter passado por uma reforma da instrução pública que motivou o estudo, a produção e a reunião de materiais sobre experiências educativas de diferentes nações (SILVA, 2022; FONTAINE; MATASCI, 2015).

A história da constituição da biblioteca não indica, entretanto, ter havido o objetivo expresso de emular uma biblioteca francesa, ou de assumir que as escolas francesas fossem o modelo único para a formação do magistério paulista. É importante lembrar que o impulso inicial para a constituição da biblioteca da Escola Normal, em 1880, foi a viagem do diretor Paulo Bourroul à França, para tratar de questões pessoais. Foi essa uma oportunidade, que chama a atenção para que se considere, no processo de constituição do acervo, a intervenção do acaso e das conveniências. Ainda que os caminhos que levaram os livros à escola tenham sido diversos e guardem em si alguma aleatoriedade, é notória a presença de livros em língua francesa, na biblioteca, naquele final de século.

Objetos circulantes, que podem ganhar novos sentidos em diferentes territórios, físicos ou epistemológicos, os livros estavam disponíveis para serem lidos, reproduzidos, apropriados. Entretanto, ao longo das três décadas investigadas, várias evidências revelam que estudantes e professores precisaram encarar obstáculos, tanto de ordem prática como de ordem cultural, para os acessarem. Da ausência de um funcionário que pudesse manter a biblioteca aberta à falta de iluminação, da precariedade do espaço ao imperfeito domínio do idioma estrangeiro, foram várias as dificuldades enfrentadas para a leitura das obras pertencentes ao acervo da Escola Normal. Quais obras eram lidas e como os estudantes se apropriavam de seus conteúdos para a formação docente são questões que permanecem em aberto. Investigar tais questões demanda o recurso a outras fontes, como cadernos, notas de aulas, exames.

É possível que, na Escola Normal, a consulta tenha se restringido a um pequeno número de títulos do acervo, variando no tempo de acordo com as recomendações de leitura das cadeiras; que as obras estrangeiras fossem mais acessadas pelos docentes, hipoteticamente mais familiarizados com outros idiomas, a fim de traduzir e explicar trechos selecionados a seus estudantes em uma linguagem mais acessível. Nesse caso, poderia ser diminuída ou relativizada a importância dos livros para a formação de professores na Escola Normal de São Paulo, no século XIX? Talvez. De todo modo, é plausível considerar que a presença e a circulação de livros, preservados e oferecidos à toda comunidade escolar por meio de um equipamento especializado, a biblioteca, veio permitir a constituição de leituras híbridas, por vezes amalgamadas de distintos elementos pedagógicos e culturais, nacionais e estrangeiros, religiosos e políticos.

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## Da biblioteca ao manual pedagógico:

Apropriação de livros estrangeiros na Escola Normal de São Paulo[470]

Era agosto de 1880, quando, na província de São Paulo, reabriu-se uma escola destinada à formação do professorado (TANURI, 2000; MONARCHA, 1999). Nos primeiros anos de funcionamento, o seu curso motivou, entre os envolvidos e interessados pela instituição, debates e ações relacionadas a aspectos de ordem organizacional e pedagógica. Tratava-se da divisão de cadeiras e seus conteúdos, da necessidade de uma formação teórica e prática, do ensino laico, da coeducação dos sexos, dos materiais usados nas aulas etc. Em relação ao material didático, o Regulamento (1880) indicava que cada professor ficaria incumbido de escolher um compêndio que, se aprovado pela congregação, seria usado em suas aulas. Além disso, pensava-se na necessidade de acesso a livros que pudessem enriquecer o ensino de pretendentes à carta de normalista. Para tanto, a instituição disponibilizaria uma biblioteca, composta de obras de ciências, história, literatura, viagens, artes e ofícios, compradas pelo diretor mediante autorização do governo provincial.

Essa biblioteca começou a ser constituída em 1883, a partir de uma compra realizada na França, por Paulo Bourroul, médico francês, que também atuava como professor e diretor interino da Escola Normal[471]. Foram adquiridas obras de autores franceses, como Marie Pape-Carpantier, Gabriel Compayré e Michel Charbonneau, e traduções francesas de renomados pensadores anglo-saxônicos, como Friedrich Froebel e Herbert Spencer (PESTANA, 2011; BITTENCOURT; SILVA; BOTO, 2021). Desde de então, o acervo da escola se expandiu continuamente, por meio de compras e doações. De todo modo, até o final do século XIX, os livros em língua francesa representavam a maior parte das obras científicas da instituição. Nesse período, os enredamentos com a França e com a francofonia eram evidentes na Escola Normal. Aquele país, reconhecido como um expoente cultural para as elites letradas brasileiras, se convertia também em uma referência para a formação de culturas pedagógicas e escolares (SILVA, 2022).

O acervo apresentava uma significativa variedade de tendências e perspectivas pedagógicas, como Marta Carvalho (2007a) identificou em relação aos livros de Pedagogia e

[470] Este artigo é uma versão em português do artigo "De la bibliothèque au manuel pédagogique : Appropriation des livres étrangers à l'Escola Normal de São Paulo", publicado na Revista *Brésil(s). Sciences humaines et sociales*.
[471] Naquele momento, o curso da Escola Normal era composto de cinco cadeiras: 1ª Gramática e Língua Portuguesa; 2ª Aritmética e Geometria; 3ª Geografia Geral; História do Brasil, especialmente da Província; História Sagrada; 4ª Pedagogia; Metodologia, compreendendo exercícios de intuição; Doutrina cristã; 5ª Gramática e Língua Francesa, noções de Física e Química. Paulo Bourroul era o professor da 5ª cadeira.

Metodologia adquiridos por Bourroul. Isso permite supor a existência de apropriações e usos plurais desse repertório. A composição das obras indica, ainda, pela variedade dos países de origem dos volumes, que a circulação dos saberes pedagógicos se dava em várias direções, no tempo e no espaço, embora, para a curadoria brasileira, fosse evidente a necessidade de mediação pela língua francesa. É preciso considerar que a construção dos sistemas escolares nos países ocidentais ocorreu a partir de informações e modelos estrangeiros, adaptados, modificados e transformados de acordo com as condições locais, mesmo nos países europeus (MATASCI, 2016). As apropriações híbridas e complexas dos saberes, que se expressam nos manuais, indicam os modos como os diversos sujeitos leram e usaram o repertório que lhes era acessível, construindo, frequentemente, articulações particulares.

Os livros estavam na biblioteca e constituíam parte importante da cultura material da Escola Normal de São Paulo, como uma espécie de registro objetivo, como expoentes visíveis e carregados de significados da tradição pedagógica (ESCOLANO, 2007). Assim, embora a presença de um rico acervo bibliográfico pudesse, simbolicamente, denotar a boa qualidade da instituição escolar, essa função somente se efetivava à medida que as obras fossem lidas e apropriadas pelos sujeitos escolares. A esse respeito, os registros de empréstimos, as anotações de aulas, os exames de estudantes podem dar pistas preciosas. Em relação à biblioteca da Escola Normal de São Paulo, porém, esse tipo de informação é raro, o que faz com que se mantenham pertinentes e em aberto perguntas sobre como se davam as leituras e apropriações.

Neste artigo, busco investigar indícios de leitura e apropriação de livros do acervo da Escola Normal de São Paulo, mediante a abordagem do manual *Pedagogia e Methodologia*, publicado em 1887 por Camillo Passalacqua (1858-1920), professor da 4ª cadeira entre os anos de 1885 e 1890. Considerei, para tanto, as obras referentes às matérias de Pedagogia e Metodologia indicadas no Catálogo Provisório da Biblioteca, de 1884, e as listas de livros comprados pela escola até a data de publicação do manual – um conjunto de cerca de 115 títulos, de 90 autores. É preciso ponderar, no entanto, que estes não representam a totalidade da coleção bibliográfica da escola, que, em 1885, era de 505 obras, em 1.015 volumes, que atendiam a todas as matérias do curso[472]. Parte do lote adquirido em 1885, além do que foi incorporado em 1886, não foi identificado, embora, em alguns casos, por anúncios de jornais, pela data de

[472] Relatório apresentado por José Estácio Correa de Sá e Benevides, ao Presidente da Província, em 26 de dezembro de 1885. Manuscrito. Arquivo Público do Estado de São Paulo.

publicação e por sua presença física no acervo Paulo Bourroul, da Faculdade de Educação da USP, seja possível supor sua aquisição na época investigada[473].

O livro escrito por Passalacqua, para orientar as aulas da Cadeira de Pedagogia e Metodologia e, portanto, para integrar a formação pedagógica de normalistas em São Paulo, traz informações a respeito de autores e obras que se tornaram referência nos primeiros anos de funcionamento da escola normal, bem como revela os aspectos que deles foram apropriados e difundidos. Esse manual menciona uma profusão de autores, de diferentes épocas, quase todos europeus, o que era uma característica comum aos manuais pedagógicos (SILVA, 2018). Neste artigo, destaco os autores que escreveram sobre a educação e cujas obras deixaram maiores marcas na escritura de Passalacqua. Pretendo, assim me aproximar das apropriações que, formuladas por esse professor em sua obra, foram difundidas entre os alunos e alunas da cadeira de Pedagogia e Metodologia da Escola Normal de São Paulo, na década de 1880.

## O professor da cadeira de Pedagogia e Metodologia e seu manual

Conforme Marta Carvalho (2007b, p. 121), "falar em práticas de apropriação implica por em relação uma matéria a ser apropriada, uma situação, uma finalidade e um agente dotado de competências específicas que, nesta situação, atualiza um repertório cultural determinado". Entendidas como práticas de transformação, como tática, de acordo com Michel de Certeau (2009), as apropriações se referem a situações particulares, em que os sujeitos produzem novos objetos. Neste artigo, Camillo Passalacqua é o sujeito que, na posição de professor de Pedagogia e Metodologia, apropriou-se de um repertório de saberes pedagógicos para produzir o manual destinado aos estudantes da 4ª cadeira.

Camillo Passalacqua nasceu no ano de 1858, em Nápoles, e ainda criança se mudou, com a família, para o Brasil. Em São Paulo, frequentou o Seminário Episcopal e foi ordenado sacerdote, no começo da década de 1880. Nessa instituição, em 1882, iniciou suas atividades como docente interino de Eloquência Sagrada. Em março de 1885, assumiu a 4ª cadeira da Escola Normal, que, desde de maio do ano anterior, com o afastamento de Ignácio Bulhões Jardim, estava vaga – Antônio da Silva Jardim, professor da 1ª cadeira, realizou a substituição,

[473] O Acervo Paulo Bourroul, uma das coleções especiais da Biblioteca da Faculdade de Educação da Universidade de São Paulo (FE-USP), é constituído por obras originárias da biblioteca da Escola Normal de São Paulo, que foram doadas à Faculdade na década de 1970.

até a nomeação de Passalacqua[474]. Antes de completar um ano como interino da 4ª cadeira da Escola Normal, em outubro de 1885, Passalacqua realizou o concurso e, aprovado, tornou-se docente efetivo.

Esse concurso foi realizado sob um clima de incerteza em relação ao futuro da 4ª cadeira e, consequentemente, de seu regente, pois na Assembleia Provincial tramitava uma reforma que pretendia suprimir as matérias de Pedagogia e Metodologia do curso oferecido na Escola Normal. Em meio à aprovação e à suspensão dessa medida, o certame, que havia motivado a inscrição de apenas dois candidatos, foi marcado, cancelado e remarcado[475].

Pela imprensa, procurou-se evitar que o concurso acontecesse, argumentando que a 4ª cadeira poderia continuar sendo regida interinamente, sem nenhum inconveniente: "Hoje, nomear um professor efetivo é baralhar as coisas e isto só pode ser prejudicial à Província"[476]. No entanto, antes que fosse tomada uma decisão definitiva sobre a reforma na instrução pública, as provas foram realizadas, com a autorização do governo provincial, tendo Passalacqua como o único candidato a se apresentar.

Os pontos do exame estabelecidos pela banca examinadora expressam alguns dos caminhos pelos quais se davam os debates relativos à Pedagogia e à Metodologia, naquela época. Eles foram divididos entre as matérias abrangidas pela cadeira: Pedagogia, Metodologia, Doutrina Cristã e Constituição Política. O primeiro ponto, referente à Pedagogia, perguntava "se a Pedagogia pode constituir uma disciplina independente das matérias ensinadas numa Escola Normal", questão em pauta na reforma debatida na Assembleia Provincial. No segundo ponto, o candidato teria que tratar da coeducação dos sexos e, no último, discorrer sobre a relação entre as matérias do curso normal e as das escolas públicas primárias. Nos tópicos referentes à Metodologia, teria de tratar a relação entre a Pedagogia e a Metodologia; escrever sobre o melhor método de ensino, justificando sua escolha; e explicar os limites entre o "método de intuição" e o "de reflexão", no contexto em que preceitos do ensino intuitivo ganhavam muitos adeptos em São Paulo (SCHELBAUER, 2003).

Os pontos relativos ao tópico de Doutrina Cristã perguntavam sobre a influência da religião no meio social e no ensino e sobre a possibilidade de existir uma sociedade sem Deus. Por fim, no tópico referente à Constituição Política, perguntava-se sobre o artigo 3º. da

[474] Quando substituiu Bulhões Jardim, Silva Jardim foi acusado, por meio da imprensa, de descumprir o Regulamento da Escola, que impedia acumulação de cadeiras por um período maior do que 15 dias. Silva Jardim contestou as acusações e, apesar da polêmica, manteve-se no cargo de substituto da 4ª cadeira até março de 1885.
[475] Essa reforma não chegou a ser efetivada. Depois de meses suspensa, em junho de 1886, teve sua sanção negada pelo presidente da Província, segundo notícia de *A Província de S. Paulo* (19, 20 e 23 de junho de 1886).
[476] Rangel Pestana em *A Província de S. Paulo*, São Paulo, 2 de outubro de 1885, p. 1.

Constituição, sobre a relação entre a lei, o governo e a soberania nacional, e sobre o artigo 45º da Carta Constitucional e a idade mínima para a candidatura ao senado. Após o sorteio, a prova escrita teve como tema a "influência da religião sobre as sociedades e seus destinos". Passalacqua, cujo exame escrito foi avaliado como "sofrível no pouco que disse com relação ao ponto", ainda assim foi aprovado, após realizar o exame oral[477].

O professor efetivado na 4ª cadeira era, portanto, um padre que, no tabuleiro dos jogos político-ideológicos ocorridos na Escola Normal, representava a religião do Estado. Como mencionou Rangel Pestana, em discurso na Assembleia Provincial, na escola havia "professores distintíssimos, embora positivistas, como também [...] professores que, embora católicos, entretanto são de talento e ilustração incontestáveis"[478]. Silva Jardim, Godofredo Furtado e Cypriano José de Carvalho, colegas de Passalacqua na instituição, eram assumidamente positivistas.

Na escola, por essa época, ocorreu uma série de polêmicas, em que professores positivistas se opuseram aos católicos quanto a aspectos internos à instituição, como a obrigatoriedade de indicação de compêndios e a manutenção do ensino religioso, as quais refletem divergências quanto a questões sociais amplas, como a organização político-administrativa do país (MONARCHA, 1999; SILVA; POLACHINI, 2023)[479]. Para os professores positivistas, a moral cristã como fundamento da educação era um arcaísmo a ser superado, assim como a monarquia. Tendiam a considerar os católicos como refratários ao progresso, portanto, incapazes de assimilar inovações pedagógicas. O ingresso de Passalacqua fortalecia a presença católica na instituição, no momento em que houve a intenção política de reduzir a força dos seguidores de Auguste Comte, inclusive com a nomeação de outro clérigo para exercer o cargo de diretor.

Cumprindo a determinação do Regulamento[480], em seu primeiro ano como professor efetivo da 4ª cadeira, Passalacqua escolheu dois compêndios para as suas aulas: o *Curso Theórico e Prático de Pedagogia*, de Michel Charbonneau e *Lições de cousas*, de Charles

[477] Secretaria da Escola Normal de São Paulo, 13 de outubro de 1885. Manuscrito. Arquivo Público do Estado de São Paulo.
[478] Publicado em *A Província de S. Paulo*, 20 de fevereiro de 1886.
[479] Em 1882, ao ser designado para ocupar interinamente a direção da Escola Normal, Godofredo Furtado escreveu uma carta ao presidente da província, declinando da função. Entre os seus motivos, declarou que a "diretoria é considerada um cargo de confiança política e o positivismo é republicano" e, além disso "o ensino oficial, com toda coerência obriga a ministrar o dogma católico, e o Positivismo elimina qualquer concepção teológica". (9 de novembro de 1882. Manuscrito. Arquivo Público do Estado de São Paulo).
[480] *Regulamento expedido pelo Conselheiro Laurindo Abelardo de Brito, Presidente da Província para a Escola Normal*. São Paulo: Typ. da Gazeta Liberal, 1880.

Saffray[481]. O livro de Charbonneau teve sua primeira edição publicada em 1862 e foi traduzido por José Nicolau Botelho, em 1883 (SILVA, 2018). Já o de Saffray, publicado em 1881, foi vertido ao português em 1884, por Bernardo Alves Carneiro, e impresso em Paris, conforme anúncio do *Jornal do Commercio*[482]. Ambas as obras, em versões francesas, faziam parte do acervo da biblioteca da Escola Normal. Entretanto, a preferência por uma obra em idioma nacional, possivelmente mais acessível aos alunos e às alunas, fez com que essa presença deixasse de ser o critério principal para a definição dos compêndios.

De acordo com Marta Carvalho (2007a, p. 25), o livro de Charbonneau se configura como um impresso do tipo "guia de aconselhamento". Trata-se, segundo a autora, de uma obra recheada "de preceitos moralizantes que visam moldar, segundo representações éticas de longa tradição no pensamento teológico-político europeu, um novo tipo profissional: o professor". Conforme Rapet (1887, p. 366), esse compêndio era considerado, por pessoas competentes na França e no exterior, como "o melhor tratado de Pedagogia entre nós publicado"[483].

Essas duas obras aparecem no *Catalogue des Bibliothèques Pédagogiques*, publicado pelo Musée Pédagogique da França, em 1888. O título de Charbonneau foi classificado na seção "Doctrine et Histoire de l'éducation", em que a ciência pedagógica é considerada em seus princípios gerais; enquanto o de Saffray aparece na categoria "Pédagogie Practique", destinada a obras portadoras de conselhos de aplicação imediata. Conforme Valdemarin (2000), Saffray traz princípios e procedimentos didáticos relativos ao método intuitivo[484], enfatizando a importância dos sentidos e, consequentemente, da observação e da experiência para a aprendizagem. Sua adoção por Passalacqua pode ter representado uma tentativa de o professor trazer para as suas aulas o ensino intuitivo, já que, conforme o Regulamento (1880), a parte referente à Metodologia deveria compreender os exercícios de intuição.

No ano seguinte, Passalacqua passou a adotar o manual de sua autoria, que foi referência para as aulas que ministrou até 1890, ano em que foi exonerado, em consequência da reforma

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[481] Bulhões Jardim, antecessor de Passalacqua como docente efetivo da 4ª cadeira, optou por indicar o *Compêndio de Pedagogia*, de autoria Antônio Marciano Silva Pontes (1872), para uso em suas aulas.
[482] Publicado em 5 de agosto de 1884, p. 7.
[483] Todas as citações de obras francesas foram feitas pela autora deste artigo.
[484] De acordo com Bontempi Júnior (2004, 509), "de forma resumida, o método intuitivo, cuja criação é atribuída a J. H. [Johann Heinrich] Pestalozzi (1746-1827), fundamenta-se no suposto de que a educação deve caminhar da intuição ao conceito. Por intuição, o pedagogo entende o ato criador e espontâneo pelo qual a criança é capaz de representar o mundo e a si mesma, e que se manifesta em três qualidades fundamentais: o número, a forma e a palavra. [...]. O conceito, ponto de chegada da educação, é a noção geral do objeto representado, a que se acede pela organização dos sentidos e da inteligência. Desse princípio deriva a necessidade de o professor proporcionar ao aluno atividades educativas baseadas na observação direta e no uso dos sentidos, as quais, encadeadas em graus sucessivos de complexidade permitem que se chegue às noções abstratas de que se compõem os conceitos".

do currículo da Escola Normal, que excluía a cadeira de Pedagogia e Metodologia[485]. Para ele, seu afastamento teria ocorrido em razão de ser um representante do catolicismo. Mesmo fazendo publicar na imprensa cartas dos diretores da Escola Normal com os quais havia trabalhado, atestando os bons serviços prestados e recebendo o apoio de estudantes, a exoneração não foi revertida. Na década de 1890, a Escola Normal iniciava uma nova fase, marcada pelo reformismo dos primeiros republicanos, que buscaram implementar uma orientação "mais científica" aos estudos pedagógicos. Com a saída de Passalacqua, seu manual deixou de ser usado na instituição, mas há indícios de que tenha circulado em outras províncias/estados brasileiros, como Santa Catarina e Sergipe (SCHAFFRATH, 1999; SOUZA, 2004).

Os dois anos que separam a chegada de Passalacqua à Escola Normal e a publicação de seu manual pedagógico foram, provavelmente, tempos em que o professor buscou conhecer e se apropriar do repertório educacional contemporâneo, articulando-o da maneira que considerava mais adequada aos estudantes. A experiência de produzir e publicar o próprio compêndio era comum aos professores dos cursos normais, brasileiros ou estrangeiros; foi este o caso de Silva Pontes, autor do manual adotado por Bulhões Jardim, antecessor de Passalacqua na cadeira de Pedagogia, e do português Augusto Coelho (BOTO, 2010), cujo livro seria indicado na Escola Normal de São Paulo, na década de 1890[486]. Como afirmou Circe Bittencourt (1993), nas décadas finais do Oitocentos, houve um movimento, tanto por parte dos próprios docentes, quanto de editoras, de difusão de obras especializadas e didáticas que pudessem contribuir para o aperfeiçoamento do ensino.

O manual de Camillo Passalcqua foi aprovado pela congregação em março de 1887. Na capa, estava a indicação de que se destinava aos estudantes da Escola Normal de São Paulo. Entretanto, a julgar pelo envio de exemplares a representantes da imprensa em outras cidades, dentro e fora da província, supõe-se que seus produtores almejavam um público mais amplo. Aliás, diversos comentários positivos da imprensa foram publicados no preâmbulo da obra, juntamente com as cartas de Arthur Cesar Guimarães, inspetor geral da instrução pública de São Paulo, e do padre Senna de Freitas, na expectativa de conferir legitimidade ao livro e a seu autor, como observou Vivian Silva (2018).

[485] Decreto n° 27, de 12 de março de 1890: « Reforma a Escola Normal e converte em Escolas Modelos as Escolas anexas. Estado de São Paulo ».

[486]PRESTES, Gabriel. *Relatório do Diretor da Escola Normal*. São Paulo: Typographia a vapor de Vanorden & Comp., 1894.

As opiniões sobre o manual não foram, entretanto, unanimemente favoráveis. O jornal *A Província de S. Paulo* emitiu uma crítica, destacando que Passalacqua havia sido infeliz ao amalgamar "a natural inclinação de seu espírito religioso com as leis gerais e invariantes que regulam a educação". Para o articulista, o conteúdo da obra era defeituoso e sua única utilidade era "facilitar ao aluno o poder responder aos desejos [do professor], pondo-se de acordo com as opiniões seguidas no estabelecimento"[487]. Evidencia-se, nesse comentário, o papel doutrinador atribuído ao material, que, mesmo sem trazer grandes contribuições para a formação, permitiria aos estudantes normalistas atenderem às expectativas de seu professor, cumprindo o papel a eles designado no jogo pedagógico.

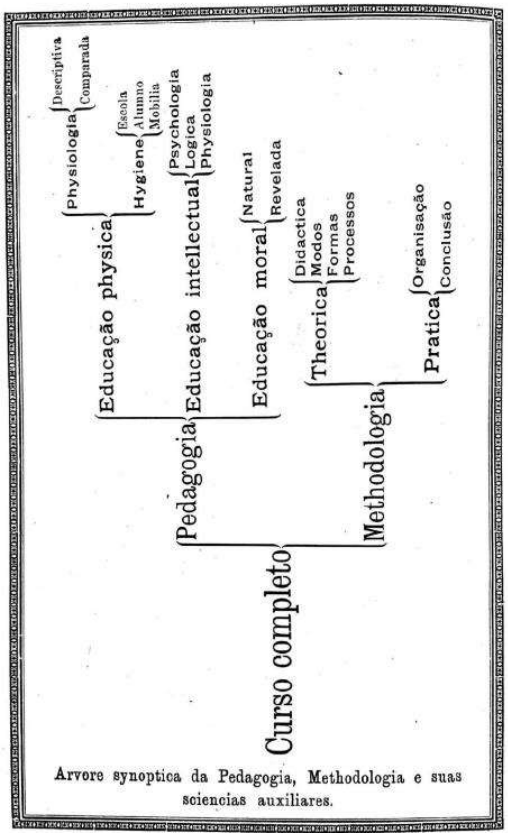
Ainda quanto à construção da legitimidade, o preâmbulo traz uma carta de Passalacqua, na qual aponta que haveria dois tipos de livros, aqueles que são mestres e promotores do progresso e aqueles que levam ao retrocesso individual e social. Obviamente, inscreveu o seu livro entre os agentes do progresso, afirmando se tratar de um livro de ciência que considera, para a instrução das crianças, as condições mesológicas, sua índole e a educação que recebem em suas casas. Embora mobilize várias referências estrangeiras, a legitimidade do manual adviria também do fato de ser nacional e considerar as características particulares do povo e da região. "Os sistemas escolares não se podem, sem as modificações correspondentes, transportar de um povo para outro, de uma raça para outra". Para tanto, nada era mais necessário do que a sua experiência como professor. Assim, aponta que o livro não teria sido produzido com "meras teorias de gabinete", mas com o conhecimento adquirido em muitos anos de prática, em que teria "educado mais de dez mil meninos e meninas de índoles e idades diferentes" (PASSALACQUA, 1887, p. VIII).

O manual de Passalacqua foi impresso pela Typographia a vapor de Jorge Seckler & C., em São Paulo, e, conforme anúncio no *Correio Paulistano*, era vendido em duas das principais livrarias da cidade: a Casa Garraux e a Teixeira & Irmão. Trata-se de um livro relativamente curto, com menos de 200 páginas, considerando a amplitude dos temas que pretendia abordar. Possui duas partes, uma dedicada à Pedagogia e outra à Metodologia, à qual pretendia abordar em perspectivas teórica e prática. Destaca-se, na folha de rosto, que os conteúdos compreendiam "a higiene escolar, organização geral e a direção particular das escolas, de acordo com os sistemas modernos de ensino e com os princípios das ciências fisiológicas, psicológicas e morais". Apresenta um quadro sinóptico (fig. 1), que ilustra o modo como o

[487] *A Província de S. Paulo*, 22 de julho de 1887. Nesta época, o jornal *A Província de S. Paulo* expressava ideais alinhados a uma tendência republicana federalista e liberal. Rangel Pestana, autor do artigo citado, era um crítico da monarquia e defensor do ensino laico.

autor entendia a organização da Pedagogia e da Metodologia, dando aos leitores uma perspectiva do que encontrariam em suas páginas.

A maior parte da obra se refere à Pedagogia, apresentada em três livros: Educação Física, Educação Intelectual e Educação Moral. No primeiro, relativo à educação física, abordam-se a Fisiologia, a Higiene e a Ginástica, assim como a organização do edifício e o mobiliário escolar, trazendo como modelos imagens de escolas, salas de aula e mobiliário. No livro da educação intelectual, aborda-se a Psicologia que orientava debates pedagógicos no século XIX, dedicando uma parte aos sentidos e outra ao desenvolvimento da inteligência. A seção relativa à educação moral, com maior número de páginas, trata da moral natural e da moral revelada, apresenta os temperamentos e as tendências a interferir no processo educacional. A parte da Metodologia aborda temas como os processos de ensino e de exposição, a preparação das lições e a organização das escolas. Desse modo, a análise desse manual possibilita colocar em questão a premissa do atraso, da resistência à assimilação de inovações pedagógicas, atribuída ao professor católico pelos colegas positivistas, destacando suas apropriações criativas de autores e temas convertidos em símbolos da modernidade pedagógica do século XIX.




Arvore synoptica da Pedagogia, Methodologia e suas sciencias auxiliares.

Fig. 1 – Passalacqua 1887, s/p.

**Entre autores e livros**

Para escrever sobre esses assuntos, o professor recorreu a um repertório amplo e diverso de autores e obras, entre contemporâneos e antepassados, que espalhados pelas páginas expressavam os volumes de seus estudos e de sua erudição. Entretanto, como o manual é composto por escritos sintéticos, a relação com os textos dá-se mais pela apropriação de um aspecto específico, ou mesmo pela referência a uma só frase, do que pelo conjunto. A maneira como os articulou indica, em contrapartida, a força integrativa dos valores e crenças a partir dos quais examinou, selecionou e organizou saberes, a fim de sustentar suas próprias ideias e convicções sobre os fins e os meios da educação.

Já no preâmbulo, Passalacqua expõe o princípio fundamental de sua visão da educação: "o amor de Deus e a prática constante das virtudes cristãs são indispensáveis para a educação". O professor, que demonstrava conhecer debates e experiências sobre a educação laica, fazendo-lhe referências em várias partes do livro, estava certo de que somente uma educação baseada na religião cristã poderia levar ao progresso social e individual. Assim, entende que a finalidade da educação seria "cultivar, fortificar e polir as faculdades do homem, [...] consideradas sob os pontos de vista físico, intelectual, moral e religioso" (PASSALACQUA, 1887, p. 3). Para ele, a "Verdade Revelada" era o fundamento da razão e, por consequência, da educação, entendida como obra racional e científica. Portanto, a razão não seria antinômica ao sentimento religioso, o que lhe possibilita fazer a defesa de uma educação que se amparasse em preceitos católicos.

Para conferir cientificidade a essa visão, Passalacqua recorre a *L'espèce Humaine,* de Armand de Quatrefages (1810-1892), professor de antropologia do Museu de História Natural de Paris, cuja primeira edição fora publicada em 1877. Considerado o maior defensor e, ao mesmo tempo, o principal adversário de Charles Darwin na França, Quatrefages era criacionista e recusava tanto a posição dos chamados "libres penseurs", que abraçaram a explicação darwinista sobre a origem humana, quanto "a interpretação às vezes 'pueril' de textos sagrados" (Blanckaert, 2015, s/p). Partindo da afirmação do naturalista francês sobre a existência de manifestações de religiosidade em todos os povos, Passalacqua sustenta a necessidade de educar o que considera ser a "tendência religiosa" dos seres humanos. Porém, alguns grupos humanos, à medida em que caiam na barbárie e no desregramento moral, perdiam "as noções exatas de Deus e de seus tributos, da religião revelada e de seus caracteres". E conclui: "Da igreja, pois é que devemos receber a direção religiosa. Educar uma criança é torná-la filha obediente da igreja, é fazê-la cristã" (PASSALACQUA, 1887, p. 135). O livro de Quatrefages

não aparece no Catálogo da Biblioteca, de 1884, mas pode ter sido adquirido posteriormente, já que era anunciado pela Casa Garraux. Nessa livraria, uma das maiores de São Paulo, a Escola Normal realizou várias compras; lá, possivelmente, Passalacqua também adquiriu muitos dos seus livros.

Coerentemente com a visão de mundo cristã, ele se declara contrário à teoria evolucionista, trazendo Herbert Spencer como um "sectário do evolucionismo fatalista", cuja teoria estaria "sendo considerada pelos educadores uma verdadeira utopia". A perspectiva evolucionista esbarrava no entendimento de Passalacqua de que a moral era "racional, eterna, imutável", constituindo a "ordem objetiva das coisas, tal qual é conhecida pela razão humana e estabelecida pela divina sabedoria e sua essencial vontade" (PASSALACQUA, 1887, p. 170 e 93). A obra a que se refere é *Educação*, compilação de artigos escritos por Spencer na década de 1850, e que, em 1880, havia sido considerada, pela comissão responsável por definir os títulos das bibliotecas pedagógicas francesas, como a obra para a qual se deveria chamar mais a atenção dos educadores (SPENCER, 1880).

Mesmo em discordância quanto ao conteúdo, Passalacqua opta por citá-la, como se reconhecesse a necessidade de mostrar que conhecia a teoria spenceriana, que vinha ganhando adeptos no Brasil, inclusive na Escola Normal[488]. Assim, o professor da 4ª cadeira deixava claro que o seu juízo se formava pelo conhecimento da obra e se assentava na opinião de outros educadores, afastando a possibilidade de se aventar qualquer pré-julgamento de sua parte. Embora já houvesse no acervo da biblioteca uma edição francesa do livro de Spencer, a publicação traduzida foi adquirida em 1885, na ocasião em que se comprava *Les Bases de la Morale Évolutionniste* (1880), do mesmo autor.

O fundamento religioso conferido à educação não impede que atribua grande valor e importância à observação e à experiência nas concepções e nos processos educacionais defendidos no manual. Nessa direção, a epígrafe que escolheu para a parte relativa à Pedagogia foi extraída do livro *Cours de Pédagogie Théorique et Pratique*, de Gabriel Compayré (1843-1913), destacando que a Pedagogia, ou a ciência da educação, tem como método a observação de todos os fatos da vida física e moral do homem que possibilitassem definir com precisão o seu objeto e os princípios que a deveriam guiar. Compayré, que lecionava Pedagogia na Escola Normal Superior de Fontenay-aux-Roses, publicou essa obra em 1885, e nela se percebe o

[488] As ideias de Spencer aparecem, por exemplo, entre os argumentos de Rui Barbosa, nos pareceres que elaborou sobre a reforma do ensino primário e secundário no município da Corte (Santos 2010; Gatti & Santos 2022). Esses pareceres são elaborados a partir do Decreto n° 7.247 de 19 de abril de 1879 ("Reforma o ensino primário e secundário no município da Côrte e o superior em todo o Império").

espiritualismo que é característico da geração de educadores franceses que acompanharam o surgimento da escola laica (DUBOIS, 2002). Foi com o espiritualismo, difundido ao longo do século XIX como uma tendência diversa e complexa, que se aprofundou a ideia de liberdade do indivíduo como base da educação liberal que orientou a renovação do ensino primário francês, na Terceira República (LOEFFEL, 2008). Além da epígrafe, aparecem no livro de Passalacqua várias menções ao referido escrito de Compayré, passíveis de serem harmonizadas ao princípio religioso da educação que defende. Embora esse título de Compayré não apareça entre os identificados nas listas da biblioteca, é muito possível que estivesse disponível na Escola Normal[489], tendo em vista o seu prestígio entre os educadores brasileiros[490]. Como foi publicada em 1885, a obra pode estar no lote de compras cujos títulos não foram identificados. Na biblioteca, no entanto, estava presente *Histoire critique des doctrines de l'éducation en France depuis le seizième siècle*, de Compayré, adquirido por Bourroul em 1883.

Outra importante referência de Passalacqua é a obra de Félix Dupanloup (1802-1878), *De l'éducation en général,* publicado em 1851 (BUISSON, 1887). Dupanloup, que teve uma longa carreira eclesiástica, ficou conhecido por seu envolvimento no debate público sobre a educação, tendo integrado a comissão encarregada por Alfred de Falloux, ministro da instrução pública, de reformar o ensino francês. Para Dupanloup, "a educação é uma obra de autoridade e respeito" e "Deus é a fonte e a razão da autoridade e do respeito, dos direitos e deveres essenciais de todos: ele é o modelo e a imagem da obra a realizar" (DUPANLOUP, 1861, p. 3-4). Passalacqua se apropria dessa visão. Para ele, o educador inteligente não deve desprezar a natureza da criança, "seus impulsos e movimentos", atuando para obter a harmonia no plano da natureza, tal como criada por Deus. Citando Dupanloup, afirma: "Façamos o que fizermos, nunca criaremos uma criança sem ela ou apesar dela" (DUPANLOUP 1861, P. 177; PASSALACQUA, 1887, p. 11). Por isso, o educador deveria ser capaz de unir os princípios de autoridade e de respeito com a liberdade. "A criança livre e ativa como é aceita facilmente todos os preceitos educativos desde que não vão atrofiar suas faculdades, enfraquecer sua dignidade ou empalidecer o brilho de sua natureza racional" (PASSALACQUA, 1887, p. 12).

O português Almeida Garrett e sua obra *Da Educação,* originalmente publicada em 1829, é outra referência destacada no manual paulista. Representante de um projeto liberal para a educação portuguesa, Garrett foi citado por Passalacqua na parte inicial do livro, quando trata

[489] Existem dez títulos de Compayré no Acervo Paulo Bourroul, da FE-USP, publicados no final do século XIX, em edições de língua francesa e inglesa.
[490] Conforme Silva (2018), Gabriel Compayré é o autor com o maior número de citações nos manuais pedagógicos brasileiros publicados entre 1870 e 1910.

da definição de educação, “com gradações progressivas e distinções crescentes”. Garrett, que, segundo o manual, atribui importância à regularidade nos processos educacionais, pode ter contribuído para o argumento quanto à diferenciação entre educação geral e técnica ou profissional. De acordo com Passalacqua, essa distinção deveria ser precedida de “conhecimentos moralmente certos acerca do educando sob o ponto de vista de sua índole, de sua posição e destino” (PASSALACQUA, 1887, p. 9). O autor português é retomado na definição de educação moral, com a afirmação de que Deus havia criado os homens para a virtude e a felicidade. Ambos consideram que a base da educação moral é a justiça. De acordo com Boto (2012, p. 41), em Garrett, “o senso de justiça que a educação deve desenvolver firmar-se-ia perante a disposição humana de acatar, respeitar e obedecer a normas religiosas, civis ou sociais”. No manual paulista, Deus é a justiça, e a educação moral deve formar da criança: “um bom filho, um bom esposo e um bom pai; em relação à sociedade civil e ao Estado, um bom cidadão (súdito ou soberano); finalmente, em relação a Deus, um bom cristão (sacerdote ou simples fiel)” (PASSALACQUA, 1887, p. 94). Embora o título de Almeida Garrett não apareça no Catálogo Provisório da Biblioteca (1884) e nas listas de compras identificadas, há uma edição de 1883 na Coleção Paulo Bourroul, da FEUSP, que pode ter sido adquirida nessa época. De todo modo, o fato de ter sido apropriado por Passalacqua é um indício da presença de Garrett no cânone de autores do curso normal, ainda que fosse apenas por sua mediação no manual escrito pelo professor.

Ao falar sobre liberdade na educação, Passalacqua cita um trecho de Thomas Huxley, que aparece na obra de Compayré, destacando que a educação liberal é aquela que possibilita cumprir a vontade do espírito, o que se realizaria na esfera do bem[491]. Embora considere que deva haver liberdade na escolha da educação técnica e profissional, Passalacqua afirma que o mesmo não deve se dar em relação ao “essencial e comum a todos” e, portanto, que “o homem não tem direito de não educar-se, de não receber uma educação comum” (PASSALACQUA, 1887, p. 11). É interessante observar que Compayré e Passalacqua recorrem a Dupanloup para diferenciar a educação geral, essencial e que convém a todos, da educação profissional, técnica, que prepara para uma profissão. Compayré (1897, p. 19) considera, no entanto, que a educação liberal seria “o nome verdadeiro que seria apropriado para a educação geral, essencial”, e que os homens teriam o direito, qualquer que fosse a sua condição, de esclarecer e libertar sua mente e sua vontade. Para Passalacqua (1887, p. 11), a educação essencial se parece mais com um

491 Thomas Huxley era um autor bem conhecido por Compayré, como indica o prefácio escrito para a tradução francesa, que fez, em 1880, para a obra *Hume*, publicada pelo filósofo britânico em 1879. Há um exemplar dessa edição francesa no Acervo Paulo Bourroul.

dever, uma vez que "o homem não tem direito de matar suas aspirações; tem sim o dever de realizar seu destino social e individual". Evidencia-se a circulação das referências, que, nesse caso, foram distintamente apropriadas.

Em vários trechos, Passalacqua se aproxima de Compayré. Citações idênticas, como as de Stuart Mill e James Mill, estão em ambas as obras, assim como referências a alguns autores, como Locke, Helvécio, Baldwin, são feitas quando os mesmos temas são tratados. Na parte referente ao poder e aos limites da educação, há paráfrases e traduções literais do *Cours de Pédagogie*. Com o autor francês, Passalacqua conclui que a formação do espírito e do caráter dependem em grande parte da educação, mas sua ação encontra limites em condições naturalizadas no indivíduo, pelo tempo e, muitas vezes, pelas condições mesológicas[492].

O professor da Escola Normal de São Paulo se afasta do francês, no entanto, ao falar da educação moral – tema mais longo da primeira parte, referente à Pedagogia. Compayré, no contexto de laicização do ensino francês, dedica-se a expor as razões pelas quais as crianças não deveriam ser introduzidas em "querelas religiosas". Considera que "o ensino da moral na escola primária não deve estar ligado a nenhuma doutrina religiosa", pois deveria ser universal e comum, independentemente da confissão (COMPAYRÉ, 1897, p. 386). Essa concepção de educação moral não poderia ser apropriada pelo professor paulista, pois conflitava com a sua visão cristã. Além disso, considerando que a lei provincial estabelecia o ensino da religião do Estado, Passalacqua (1887, p. 136) dizia que "seria necessário que todo o professorado fosse católico", pois de outro modo estaria "violando" a lei.

A parte referente à educação física explicita a importância dada pelo professor da Escola Normal às ciências, que não conflitavam com seus valores cristãos. Assim, considera a importância de os normalistas terem conhecimentos de Anatomia, Fisiologia e Higiene, destacando que o estudo elementar desses temas deveria fazer parte do ensino primário. O livro *Hygiène Scolaire*, de Aimé Riant (1827-1902), publicado originalmente em 1874, foi importante referência para Passalacqua. Riant, professor da Escola Normal do Sena, desenvolveu estudos sobre a influência do meio no ensino escolar, observando aspectos como localização, exposição à luz, qualidade e circulação do ar, mobílias, alimentação e saúde das crianças. De sua obra, Passalacqua apropria a ideia de que o prédio escolar, pelo fim a que se destinava, deveria atender a necessidades fundamentais do ponto vista arquitetônico e higiênico. Os tópicos relativos ao edifício e ao mobiliário escolar, que consideram aspectos como a ventilação, a iluminação, a organização da classe, são claramente inspirados no livro de

492 Para Compayré (1897, p. 26), « en fait elle [l'éducation] est limitée dans son action, soit par les aptitudes et les qualités naturelles des individus sur lesquels elle s'exerce, soit par le temps dont elle dispose ».

Riant (1882 [1874]), havendo, inclusive, imagens dele reproduzidas no manual paulista. As ideias de Riant penetraram nos debates sobre a educação escolar brasileira também pelos pareceres de Rui Barbosa, publicados entre 1882 e 1883, e muito comentados na imprensa contemporânea (SANTOS, 2010).

A ideia de que a ciência da educação é constituída por leis gerais, deduzidas da natureza humana, também permeia o manual. Na parte relativa à educação intelectual, Passalacqua recorre ao livro do escocês Alexander Bain (1818-1903), em versão francesa, *La Science de l'éducation,* que fazia parte do acervo da biblioteca da Escola Normal (BAIN, 1882 [1879]), endossando a visão de que o estudo das leis psicológicas relacionadas à aquisição de conhecimentos constitui o trabalho mais importante da ciência da educação. Desse autor, Passalacqua traz a noção de que a base da inteligência é o discernimento. Conforme Bain, "a consciência da diferença é o começo de qualquer exercício de inteligência", que parte da experiência de uma nova impressão. Passalacqua relaciona essa etapa do desenvolvimento à intuição, que seria sucedida pelas etapas da elaboração e da combinação. Bain reaparece no manual paulista, junto de Pascal e Guizot, ao se tratar da memória, para sustentar a importância dessa faculdade, definida pelo autor escocês como "a faculdade que desempenha o maior papel na educação" (BAIN, 1882, p. 12 e 15). Além desse, outro livro de Bain, denominado *Emotions*, aparece numa lista de compras realizada na livraria Garraux, em 1885. Provavelmente, trata-se de *The Emotions and Will*, ou de sua tradução francesa *Les Émotions et la Volonté*, publicada em Paris naquele mesmo ano.

Na explicação do aspecto progressivo da educação intelectual, foi apropriada a ideia das três manifestações progressivas da inteligência, conforme Henri Marion, na obra *Leçons de psychologie appliquée à l'éducation* (1882). O manual de Passalacqua reproduz, inclusive, a disposição gráfica de sua referência francesa, apresentando a informação em três grupos, separados com chaves nas quais lista as caraterísticas de cada um: intuição, elaboração e comparação. É interessante observar que esse autor também aparece por meio da obra de Compayré, que cita o *Cours sur la Science de l'éducation*, em outro trecho que foi apropriado por Passalacqua, para tratar dos limites e das possibilidades da educação. Apenas a primeira obra de Marion, *Leçons de Psychologie*, aparece no catálogo da biblioteca. Em algumas ocasiões, a apropriação é indireta, evidenciando que os repertórios se constituíam pela leitura apropriada de uma obra de referência, como foi o caso de Compayré, para Passalacqua.

Ao tratar dos sentidos, tópico destacado na parte relativa à educação intelectual, Passalacqua mobiliza diversos autores. Bernard Pérez, autor de *L'éducation dès le berceau: essai de pédagogie expérimentale* (1880) – obra pertencente ao acervo da escola – é

referenciado para se afirmar que a educação dos sentidos deveria começar no berço, uma vez que seu desenvolvimento precederia o das demais faculdades. Jean-Baptiste Fonssagrives e Almeida Garrett aparecem com argumentos para a educação do olfato e do paladar. Já Rousseau, mencionado como "um pedagogista francês", é considerado "exagerado" por ter afirmado que para aprender a pensar, deve-se exercitar os sentidos. Passalacqua parece discordar do filósofo também em relação ao significado que atribui aos sentidos. Rousseau conclui o parágrafo do qual foi extraído o trecho citado, afirmando que "longe de a verdadeira razão do homem se formar independentemente do corpo, a boa constituição do corpo é que torna as operações do espírito fáceis e seguras" (ROUSSEAU 1995 [1759], p. 121) ; já o professor da Escola Normal paulista afirma que os sentidos eram "apenas os veículos das impressões, porque no homem o princípio de tudo é a alma, servida pelo corpo, e a parte orgânica [seria] mera condição para as operações do espírito" (PASSALACQUA, 1887, p. 70). Lembrado pela concordância ou pela divergência, o nome de Rousseau, cujos escritos marcaram a pedagogia do século XIX, aparece em três diferentes partes do manual. *Émile ou l'éducation* podia ser consultado por estudantes e professores na biblioteca da escola.

Na parte relativa à Metodologia, Passalacqua cita diversos autores, hoje considerados expoentes da pedagogia moderna, cujas obras estavam na biblioteca da escola. De *Lettres sur la profission d'instituteur*, de Augustin Théry (1796-1878), Passalacqua se apropria da crença de que, para o professor, um bom método de ensino, como um instrumento bem montado, "centuplica as forças e os sucessos de um artista" (THÉRY, 1880, p. 201). De Adolpho Coelho, traz as ideias de que a finalidade do ensino seria "levar o homem à concepção mais perfeita de seu destino" e de que a escola primária deve preparar as crianças para a vida social e prática (PASSALACQUA, 1887, p. 147).

Passalacqua menciona que "não e[ra] possível escrever um livro sobre instrução sem falar do 'Ensino Intuitivo'", dedicando alguns parágrafos para definir e explicar esse método, que conquistava muito adeptos em São Paulo (SCHELBAUER, 2003). Em sua concepção, o ensino intuitivo, inaugurado por Pestalozzi e Froebel, é aquele que "se dirige ao espírito e ao coração por meio dos sentidos", principalmente da visão, consistindo em habituar a criança a cultivar suas faculdades por si mesma, sob a direção do mestre e em conformidade com seus bons instintos (PASSALACQUA, 1887, p. 176). O Catálogo Provisório da Biblioteca menciona duas obras de Froebel, *L'éducation de l'homme* (1826) e *Manuel pratique des jardins d'enfants*

*à l'usage des institutrices et des mères de familles* (1859)[493], além de outras que divulgam suas ideias e experiências, como *Méthode Froebel: Le jardin d'enfants, dons et occupations* (1877) de Hermann Goldammer, *L'école Froebel: histoire d'un jardin d'enfants* (1880), de Masson. Além desses, há títulos que divulgam as ideias de Pestalozzi, como *Études sur la vie et les travaux pédagogiques de J.-H. Pestalozzi*, de Pierre-Philibert Pompée (1878), *L'école primaire : cahiers de Pédagogie d'après les principes de Pestalozzi* (1879), de Jules Paroz, e, de Fanny Delon e Charles Delon, *Exercices et travaux pour les enfants selon la méthode de Pestalozzi et de Froebel* (1873)[494].

Naquele contexto, Pestalozzi e Froebel constituíam referências fundamentais para uma Pedagogia centrada na criança e em seu desenvolvimento, que, além de base para o método intuitivo, desdobraram-se em movimentos de renovação da escola no começo do século XX. Embora suas ideias permeassem várias obras da biblioteca, a referência aos educadores no manual paulista é pontual. Froebel, considerado "célebre educador", é citado apenas uma vez e associado aos jardins de infância. Já Pestalozzi, "famoso pedagogo", por três vezes mencionado, é relacionado às "lições de coisas".

De Buisson (1878), Passalacqua traz a ideia de que o segredo do ensino intuitivo é considerar que a criança tem em si o instinto do saber. Norman Calkins, criador do método das *Primary Object Lessons* (1886 [1861]), que permaneceu como uma prática de longa duração nas escolas ocidentais, foi mencionado. Ao tratar dos processos de exposição, Passalacqua afirma que "o processo intuitivo é fecundíssimo auxiliar para o ensino primário, que se deve dar às classes populares" (PASSALACQUA, 1887, p. 155). Passalacqua parece não ter dúvidas sobre as vantagens desse método, mas aponta a necessidade de haver meios essenciais, sem os quais não poderia ser aplicado. Esses meios são instrumentos como globos, mapas, coleções botânicas, mineralógicas etc., que deveriam ser organizados em museus escolares. Citando o *Manuel de l'enseignement primaire: pédagogie théorique et pratique*, de Eugène Rendu, obra disponível na biblioteca, afirma que não haveria ramo de ensino em que não se pudessem organizar coleções.

Outros autores, cujas obras estavam na biblioteca, como John Locke, François Fénelon, Marie Pape-Carpantier, têm seus nomes mencionados no livro. Enquanto alguns, como Irénée Carré, Michel Bréal, Ernest Bersôt, dos quais havia dois ou três títulos no acervo, não foram

493 Essa obra foi composta por J. F. Jacons, a partir de documentos alemães, originários das experiências de Froebel. Em alguns catálogos, como o da Bibliothèque Diderot, da Escola Normal Superior de Lyon, e o do Museu Nacional de Educação da França, Jacons é mencionado como autor junto ao nome de Froebel.
494 As datas mencionadas neste parágrafo correspondem às mais antigas edições francesas localizadas.

citados. Mesmo Chabornneau e Saffray, autores dos compêndios escolhidos por Passalacqua em 1886, não aparecem. Evidentemente, o professor procedeu a uma seleção do que poderia, ou do que queria ler e registrar para fins didáticos. É possível que tenha lido mais do que menciona, mas já sabemos quais foram os escolhidos para compor o manual, cuja finalidade era compendiar os elementos de Pedagogia e Metodologia que considerava essenciais à formação dos normalistas.

## Considerações finais

Neste artigo, partindo de uma perspectiva transnacional, que nos estimula a observar a circulação de sujeitos e objetos, para além de limites nacionais, busquei analisar as apropriações do repertório estrangeiro realizadas por Passalacqua, tendo como eixo central a presença dos livros importados na Biblioteca da Escola Normal. Foi possível observar que Passalacqua mobilizou autores, em alguns casos, de valores e princípios divergentes, compilou outros cujas escolhas ideológicas eram, em certos aspectos, contrárias às suas, produzindo um manual atravessado pelo ecletismo das referências. Sua estratégia foi alinhavar os aspectos aceitáveis, na medida em que trouxessem elementos considerados "compatíveis" com as suas crenças, como, por exemplo, as apropriações que faz de Compayré e Rousseau. Ainda, trouxe ao texto referências com as quais discordava abertamente, como é o caso de Spencer, cuja obra, a propósito, tornou-se conhecida por abordar a educação em suas perspectivas física, moral e intelectual, divisão que Passalacqua adotou em seu manual. Esse ecletismo oferece ao leitor, que é preferencialmente um futuro professor, uma "cultura geral" do *corpus* de autores reconhecidos na Europa e nos Estados Unidos. Desse modo se expressa a seriedade de sua documentação, bem como o seu liberalismo e a abertura para a ciência, para o conhecimento, mesmo quando se trata de um autor que considera contrário a suas crenças católicas. O resultado é uma composição original do cânone pedagógico em circulação naquele fim de século.

Em alguns casos, Passalacqua menciona os títulos, em outros, apenas os nomes dos autores, o que dificulta diferenciar as referências diretas das de segunda mão. Entretanto, é possível observar que muitas das obras citadas compunham o acervo da Biblioteca da Escola Normal. Mesmo os títulos *Cours de pédagogie théorique et pratique*, de Gabriel Compayré; *De l'éducation em général*, de Dupanloup; e *Da Educação*, de Almeida Garrett, que não foram identificados entre os catálogos, listas e recibos de compra e venda, circularam na Escola Normal por meio da apropriação de Passalacqua. Geralmente, os livros mais consultados são

os que primeiro se deterioram e, por isso, se perdem ou, se danificados, são retirados de circulação. Talvez por isso, não estejam presentes no acervo que nos chegou até o presente.

No cruzamento entre o acervo e as obras apropriadas, há outro aspecto interessante a ser mencionado: Célestin Hippeau, autor com o maior número de títulos referentes às matérias por lecionadas por Passalacqua, não é mencionado em seu livro. Há nove títulos de Hippeau listados no Catálogo Provisório de 1884, e outro foi comprado em 1885. Pode ter havido mais aquisições, já que o número de livros da biblioteca supera o de títulos identificados. Essa questão instiga a reflexão sobre as relações entre o acervo, os autores e as leituras, impondo pensar que a recorrência das menções não pode ser convertida diretamente em circulação e consumo. Considerando que o professor da Escola Normal inclui referências com as quais compartilha opiniões e discordâncias, o que confere legitimidade a sua obra e comprova seus estudos e erudição, pergunta-se: Passalacqua teria lido algum dos livros de Hippeau? Se sim, por que não há referência a esse autor, que tem significativa presença na biblioteca?[495]

O manual *Pedagogia e Methodologia* (1887) foi usado na Escola Normal de São Paulo até 1890, quando seu autor foi exonerado. A mudança de professor interrompeu o uso da obra na escola paulista, embora seguisse sendo usada em outras instituições. O livro traz as mais importantes referências do cânone pedagógico em circulação nos países ocidentais, no final do século XIX, muitos dos quais, como Calkins, Froebel e Pestalozzi, são referidos frequentemente em textos pedagógicos brasileiros. Sua análise evidencia as complexas apropriações dos saberes, desmontando afirmações genéricas que atribuem o avanço ou o atraso pedagógico a um determinado grupo social. No final do século XIX, a pedagogia católica foi muito criticada pelos defensores do ensino laico, que se autoproclamavam como os únicos representantes da "escola moderna". As estratégias de legitimação e sobrevivência dos atores, em seus campos de atuação, são diversas. O livro de Passalacqua continuou presente nos anúncios publicitários de importantes jornais, enquanto o padre lecionava em instituições de ensino de prestígio, como o Instituto Brasília Buarque e o Gymnasio Paulista.

Os caminhos pelos quais se dão as leituras são múltiplos. A presença no acervo, o idioma, o interesse, por exemplo, são variáveis envolvidas nesse processo. Outras leituras certamente foram feitas. As apropriações de Passalacqua, cujos rastros foram registrados em *Pedagogia e Methodologia*, representam, portanto, uma das possibilidades de investigar a

[495] Maria Helena Bastos (2002) desenvolveu um estudo sobre as obras de Hippeau encontradas no Brasil, no final do século XIX. Essa investigação poderia se desdobrar em estudos sobre a apropriação dessas obras e sobre a circulação do próprio autor por diferentes países, considerando as redes de relações e instituições pelas quais passou.

circulação dos saberes pedagógicos, e contribuem para enriquecer os estudos sobre a formação de professores na Escola Normal de São Paulo.

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**Cópia do relatório BEPE**

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# AUTEURS, LIVRES ET BIBLIOTHÈQUES DES ÉCOLES NORMALES AU DIX-NEUVIÈME SIÈCLE : RAPPORTS ENTRE SÃO PAULO ET LA FRANCE

Processus : 2021/12663-0
Période : 15/06/2022 à 14/09/2022
Carlota Boto – Superviseur

Anne-Marie Chartier – Lyon 2

São Paulo

Septembre/2022

**RAPPORT**

Ce rapport décrit les activités développées pendant un stage de trois mois en France, associé au Laboratoire de Recherche Historique Rhône-Alpes (LARHRA), Université Lyon 2, sous la direction d'Anne-Marie Chartier. Le principal objectif de ce stage a été d'identifier les sources documentaires sur les bibliothèques des écoles normales françaises en activité pendant les dernières décennies du XIX siècle, en soulignant des aspects de leur organisation et de leur collection, surtout en ce qui concerne les œuvres de pédagogie et de méthodologie. Pour ce faire, j'ai choisi de développer une recherche sur le terrain à la Bibliothèque Diderot, à Lyon, et à la Bibliothèque Nationale de France, à Paris. En outre, j'avais l'intention de développer des études bibliographiques sur l'histoire de l'école normale et sur les bibliothèques destinées à la formation des élèves instituteurs en France, en cherchant les indices des différences et des similitudes entre les écoles normales françaises et l'école paulista en ce qui concerne les modes d'appropriation de la littérature pédagogique dirigée à la formation d'instituteurs. La première étape de ce stage en France a été la recherche à la Bibliothèque Diderot, qui a hérité du fond de la bibliothèque de l'ancien Musée Pédagogique Français – auparavant conservé à l'Institut National de Recherche Pédagogique (INRP), supprimé en 2010. Quelques jours avant mon départ en France, j'ai contacté cette bibliothèque et je leur ai présenté mon projet de recherche, qui a été accueilli favorablement. J'ai appris à cette occasion-là que, en plus des collections identifiées dans le catalogue de la bibliothèque, il y avait un ensemble de manuscrits qui appartenait également à la collection mais qui n'avait pas encore été répertorié. Ce matériel avait été produit dans des écoles normales françaises à la fin du XIXe siècle et il était peut-être possible d'y trouver des informations sur leurs bibliothèques et/ou sur des livres que l'on y utilisait. Puisqu'il n'y avait pas d'information sur la nature de ces manuscrits, j'ai demandé à Mme. Giordanengo, la responsable du service patrimoine et conservation, une autorisation pour en examiner quelques exemplaires, ce qui m'a été autorisé.

J'ai constaté qu'il s'agissait de textes riches en informations sur l'organisation matérielle et pédagogique des écoles normales françaises, dont l'élaboration a été sollicitée aux directeurs et directrices de ces institutions par le Ministère de l'Instruction Publique dans le but de rassembler des informations qui seraient plus tard partagées lors de l'Exposition Universelle de Paris, en 1900. Il s'agit de monographies écrites de 1899 à 1900, rassemblées dans des

brochures de l'Académie[496], ayant des volumes différents pour les écoles normales d'instituteurs et d'institutrices (images 1 et 2). Puisqu'il s'agit d'un matériel non répertorié, l'information du nombre de volumes dans la collection de la bibliothèque n'était pas disponible.

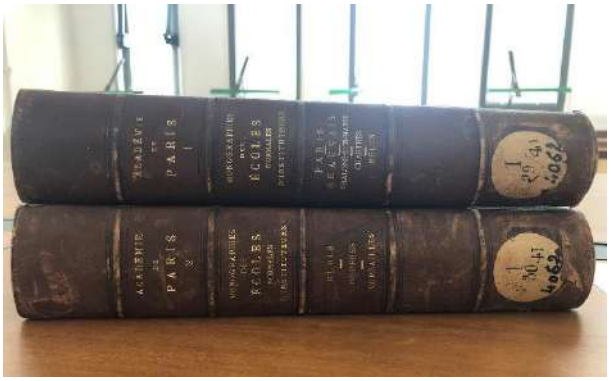



Image 1 – Volumes de l' Académie de Paris – Collection personnelle



Image 2 – Livre de l'Académie de Besançon - Collection personnelle

La taille des monographies varie en termes de quantité de pages et de dimensions des feuilles de papier. Il y avait des textes plus courts, d'environ 20 pages, et d'autres ayant plus de 200 pages – il y a encore le cas exceptionnel de la Monographie de l'École Normale d'Orléans, qui avait plus de 800 pages. La plupart des monographies examinées ont, pourtant, environ 100 pages. Le type et la taille des feuilles varient aussi, mais la plupart des manuscrits ont été écrits sur des feuilles de 32cm de haut et 23cm de large; leur épaisseur est variable de 1cm à 7cm. Les monographies n'ont pas toutes une table de matières et des pages numérotées.

Il y a des différences en ce qui concerne le contenu des textes, mais il semble qu'il y a eu une demande commune du ministère pour que chaque institution traite de sa création et de son histoire, de sa situation matérielle – ce qui couvrait des aspects concernant les bâtiments et les matériels disponibles dans les écoles –, de son organisation pédagogique, du recrutement des étudiants et de l'éducation professionnelle, tous des thèmes présents dans la plupart des textes. Il y a des monographies avec des photographies, des plans d'étage des bâtiments, des

[496] Circonscription administrative du ministère de l'Éducation nationale et du ministère de l'Enseignement supérieur et de la Recherche.

programmes de fêtes, des listes de professeurs et d'autres informations qui peuvent être des sources utiles pour plusieurs recherches sur l'histoire de la formation des maîtres en France.

Dès la première monographie examinée, en provenance de l'École Normale d'institutrices de Rennes, j'ai trouvé des informations sur la bibliothèque qui m'ont encouragée à continuer à examiner les manuscrits pendant toute la période que j'ai passée à Lyon – sauf pendant les deux dernières semaines, où la Bibliothèque Diderot était fermée, ce qui se passe chaque année. Voici la liste des volumes et des monographies que j'ai pu examiner:

1) Académie de Rennes – Monographies des écoles normales d'institutrices : Rennes, Angers, Laval, Nantes, Quimper, Saint-Brieuc et Vannes.

2) Académie de Besançon – Monographies des écoles normales d'institutrices : Besançon, Lons-le-saunier (Jura), Vesoul.

3) Académie de Dijon – Monographies des écoles normales d'instituteurs (vol. 1 et 2) : Dijon, Auxerre, Chaumont, Troyes et Varzy.

4) Académie de Paris – Monographies des Écoles normales d'instituteurs (vol. 1) : Paris (Seine), Beauvais, Châlons-Sur-Marne, Chartres et Melun.

5) Académie de Paris – Monographies des Écoles normales d'instituteurs (vol. 2) : Blois, Bourges et Versailles.

6) Académie de Paris – Monographies des Écoles normales d'institutrices (vol. 1) : Paris (Seine) et Beauvais.

7) Académie de Paris – Monographies des Écoles normales d'institutrices (vol. 2) : Blois, Bourges (Cher), Châlons-sur-Marne, Chartres, Orléans, Melun et Versailles.

8) Académie de Besançon – Monographies des écoles normales d'instituteurs : Besançon, Belfort, Courtefontaine, Lons-le-Saunier et Vesoul.

9) Académie d'Orléans – Monographies de l'école normale d'instituteurs (vol. 1 et 2) : Orléans.

11) Académie d'Aix – Monographies d'École Normale d'institutrices : Aix, Digne, Draguignan.

12) Académie de Clermont – Monographies des écoles normales d'institutrices : Clermont-Ferrand, Aurillac, Guéret, Haute Loire (Puy), Moulins et Tulle.

13) Académie de Clermont – Monographies des écoles normales d'instituteurs : Aurillac, Guéret, Moulins, Haute Loire (Puy) et Tulle.

14) Académie de Clermont-Ferrand - École normale d'instituteurs de Clermont

15) Académie de Dijon – Monographies des écoles normales d'institutrices : Dijon (Côte d'Or), Auxerre, Chaumont, Nevers et Aube.

16) Académie de Chambéry – Monographies des écoles normales d'institutrices : Chambéry (Savoie) et Rumilly.

17) Académie de Chambéry – Monographies des écoles normales d'instituteurs : Albertville et Bonneville.

18) Académie de Bordeaux – Monographies des écoles normales d'institutrices : Bordeaux (Gironde), Agen, Mont-de-Marsan, Pau et Périgueux.

19) Académie de Bordeaux – Monographies des écoles normales d'instituteurs : La Grande Sauve (Gironde), Agen, Dax (Landes), Lescar (Basse Pyrénées) et Périgueux.

20) Académie de Caen – Monographies des écoles normales d'institutrices : Caen, Alençon, Coutances, Évreux, Le Mans et Rouen.

21) Académie de Caen – Monographies des écoles normales d'instituteurs (vol. 1 et 2) : Caen, Alençon, Évreux, Le Mans, Rouen et Saint-Lô.

22) Académie de Grenoble – Monographies des écoles normales d'institutrices : Grenoble (Isère), Privas et Valence.

23) Académie de Grenoble – Monographies des écoles normales d'instituteurs : Grenoble, Gap, Privas et Valence.

De façon générale, les Monographies rapportent la présence d'au moins une bibliothèque dans chaque école normale, avec des collections ayant des quantités différentes d'exemplaires. Il y en a peu qui ne mentionnent rien sur l'existence de bibliothèques. Pour vous donner une idée des différences entre les écoles, le rapport de l'École Normale d'Institutrices de Maine et Loire montre que cet établissement, qui a commencé ses activités en 1886, avait une collection de 1170 livres dans sa bibliothèque, alors que l'École Normale d'Institutrices de Blois, créée en 1880, avait 2034 œuvres. Il y a des Monographies, telles que celle de l'École Normale d'Institutrices de la Seine, qui indiquent l'existence de deux bibliothèques : la "Grande Bibliothèque" et la "Bibliothèque des étudiants", celle-ci pour "les livres de 'tous les jours', ceux que l'on consulte sans cesse" (BOURGUET, 1899, p.90). Plusieurs Monographies indiquent les mouvements d'augmentation de la collection et d'améliorations des locaux pendant les décennies de 1880 et 1890, grâce aux réformes mises en œuvre par le ministère de Jules Ferry. Il y a aussi des indications de transformations concernant la nature des livres qui composaient la bibliothèque, montrant que les livres religieux, les histoires saintes et les catéchismes ont été remplacés par des livres scientifiques et pédagogiques, ce que montre l'*Étude historique et critique sur la bibliothèque de l'école normale d'instituteurs de Blois*, présentée en 51 pages.

En plus d'identifier les œuvres utilisées, l'importance des livres pour la vie quotidienne des écoles, les efforts pour contrôler le temps et le contenu des lectures faites par les élèves, les Monographies contiennent des informations concernant les méthodes d'enseignement de lecture dans ces écoles, surtout les tentatives d'incorporation de ce que l'on appelait "la méthode active" dans la vie quotidienne des écoles normales – ce que nous montrent les Monographies des écoles normales d'instituteurs d'Auxerre et de la Seine, par exemple. L'examen de cet ensemble m'a également permis de mieux comprendre le processus de laïcisation de l'enseignement en France au début de la Troisième République, puisqu'il révèle les permanences de l'enseignement congréganiste dans l'école républicaine et laïque tout au long des deux dernières décennies du XIXe siècle. Cette étude a été très importante pour moi car elle apporte des éléments qui complexifient ma lecture sur l'école française au début de la Troisième République, en déconstruisant une représentation sur l'école laïque française qui projette déjà, à cette époque-là, la disparition de tout trait religieux dans l'enseignement publique de ce pays-là.

Dans la Bibliothèque Diderot encore, j'ai pu consulter des publications du Musée Pédagogique, telles que le fascicule *Bibliothèque circulante du Musée Pédagogique*, publié en 1887, et le *Catalogue des Bibliothèques Pédagogiques*, de 1888, qui font partie d'un effort de diffusion d'œuvres pédagogiques entre les professeurs français. Ce matériel, tout comme la lecture du livre *Les manuels de pédagogie, 1880-1920 : apprendre à enseigner dans les livres ?*, de Michelle Roullet, offre des éléments de réflexion sur la place de la bibliothèque et des livres dans le cadre de la formation des professeurs à la fin du XIXe siècle.

À Paris, j'ai développé des recherches dans la Bibliothèque Nationale de France (BNP), site François Mitterrand, et à la Bibliothèque d'Histoire des Religions (BHR). Pendant quatre semaines, j'ai travaillé à la bibliothèque de recherches de la BNF, ce qui m'a permis de lire des manuels de pédagogie qui ont été des références pour l'enseignement normal de l'école paulista pendant la période étudiée, tout comme de toucher les livres dont je ne connaissais que la version numérique. J'ai pu travailler avec les livres de Compayré, *Cours de Pédagogie* et *Histoire critique des doctrines de l'éducation en France depuis le seizième siècle* (vol. 2) ; Cadet, *Lettres sur la pédagogie. Résumé du cours de l'Hôtel de Ville (Mairie du 3e arrondissement)*; Bain, *La Science de l'éducation*, entre autres.

En outre, à la BNF j'ai cherché des publications de la fin du siècle qui portent sur les bibliothèques ou sur l'usage des manuels de pédagogie. À cet égard, j'ai pu consulter des publications telles que le *Catalogue* de la Bibliothèque Pédagogique du Sens, de 1899; le livre *Les Bibliothèques populaires, scolaires et pédagogiques, documents législatifs et*

*administratifs, recueillis et mis en ordre* de Subercaze, de 1892; et le livre *La lecture chez les jeunes et les bibliothèques dans l'enseignement du second degré* (1969), de J. Hassenforder, dont la lecture a attiré mon attention sur des questions liées au rapport entre l'accès au livre, la qualité des lecture et l'intérêt des étudiants. J'ai pu lire les leçons *La question de l'éducation intellectuelle et L'enseignement de la pédagogie,* prononcées par l'inspecteur Alexandre Martin à l'occasion de l'ouverture du cours de pédagogie professée à la Faculté des lettres de Nancy, en 1886.

Ces études ont été fondamentales pour l'écriture, pendant le stage, de l'article "De la bibliothèque au manuel pédagogique: Pédagogie et Méthodologie, de Camillo Passalacqua (1887)", dans lequel je discute des appropriations des livres de la collection de la bibliothèque de l'École Normale par le professeur de la chaire de Méthodologie et Pédagogie (Annexe I). Cet article est traduit en ce moment pour que je le soumette ensuite à une revue scientifique internationale.

Dans le projet j'avais prévu de faire des recherches à la Bibliothèque de l'Institut national supérieur du professorat et de l'éducation (INSPÉ). Quand j'ai inséré cette recherche dans le système de bibliothèques de la Sorbonne – qui comprend aussi celle de l'INSPÉ –, j'ai identifié dans la collection de la BHR le livre *Histoire de Écoles Normales de l'Aveyron* (1936), de Julien et Naudan, et j'ai choisi de le consulter, dans l'espoir d'y trouver des informations sur l'organisation matérielle et pédagogique de l'institution qui contribuent, avec les manuscrits consultés à Lyon, à la composition d'un contexte varié des bibliothèques des écoles normales françaises.

Ce stage en France, assez riche du point de vue de la recherche, a compté sur l'interlocution généreuse de Anne-Marie Chartier. Quelques jours avant mon départ, je lui ai envoyé un article dans lequel je présentais des résultats récents de la recherche que je développe au Brésil, qui avait déjà été soumis à la publication en mars 2022 et est en cours d'évaluation. Mon intention était de lui donner les dernières informations de mon travail pour que nous puissions ensemble établir le bon chemin vers le stage.

Nous nous sommes retrouvées le 1er juillet, où nous avons discuté des aspects de mon article, de la recherche que je développe au Brésil et de celle que je faisais en France. Nous avons parlé des difficultés à trouver des sources qui apportent des informations sur la lecture des livres de la bibliothèque de l'École Normale de São Paulo et de la possibilité d'analyser les appropriations d'œuvres à partir de l'analyse du manuel de Pédagogie, écrit par Camillo Passalacqua. Encouragée par Anne-Marie Chartier, j'ai profité du stage pour avoir accès à des

livres et produire l'article mentionné ci-dessus sur ce professeur (Annexe I). Nous avons aussi parlé des manuscrits des écoles françaises, qui ont éveillé son intérêt.

Le 7 juillet, Mme. Chartier m'a donné rendez-vous à la bibliothèque pour voir ce matériel, ce qui m'a fait comprendre l'importance de la richesse de cette source à partir des impressions d'une chercheuse expérimentée et qui connaît profondément les archives françaises. Cela a été un après-midi de beaucoup d'apprentissages dans ce partage de lecture et de manipulation des sources entre Mme. Chartier et moi. Nous avons donné suite à notre communication par courriel pendant le reste de la période où j'ai vécu en France. En août, je lui ai envoyé la première version de l'article mentionné ci-dessus, qu'elle a également lu et commenté.

Mme. Chartier et moi avons maintenu nos échanges après mon retour au Brésil. En septembre, M. et Mme. Chartier sont venus à la FEUSP pour participer au Séminaire *École, recherche et monde numérique*, organisé par GEFHIPE, un groupe d'études coordonné par Carlota Boto. Lors de ce séminaire j'ai eu l'honneur et le défi de coordonner la table "Culture écrite et monde numérique : mutations, défis et perspectives", à laquelle Anne-Marie et Roger Chartier ont participé. En outre, j'ai pu faire visiter à Mme. Chartier le Centre de Référence Mário Covas et lui montrer les sources avec lesquelles je travaille depuis quelque temps dans ma recherche. Une fois de plus j'ai pu beaucoup apprendre à partir du regard minutieux de cette enseignante sur les documents historiques et des questions que la recherche documentaire suscite en elle.

Pour donner suite à ce travail, nous avons parlé de mon retour en France pour consulter les volumes que je n'ai pas eu le temps d'examiner pendant mon stage et de l'écriture d'un article sur la représentation des bibliothèques des écoles normales françaises, dont les Monographies seront le corpus documentaire.

Finalement, pendant le stage j'ai pu aussi participer à deux réunions scientifiques très importantes dans le domaine de l'Histoire de l'Éducation: le XI Congrès Brésilien d'Histoire de l'Éducation (CBHE), organisé par PUC/SP du 11 au 14 juin, lors duquel j'ai présenté le travail "Pédagogies en jeu: Silva Jardim et Camilo Passalacqua dans l'École Normale de São Paulo (1884/1887)", coécrit avec Bruna Polachini; et l'International Standing Conference for the History of Education, du 5 au 6 septembre, avec le travail "The composition of São Paulo Teacher-Training School's Library: transnational appropriations". La communication présentée au CBHE est devenue un article qui est en cours d'évaluation (Annexe II).

Ainsi, le stage m'a apporté des gains importants du point de vue de la recherche documentaire : cela m'a permis de rassembler des sources inédites qui contribuent à la compréhension de la signification et du rôle des bibliothèques dans les écoles normales

françaises du XIXe siècle. Cela a été l'occasion d'approfondir mes connaissances sur la formation des professeurs et les écoles normales françaises, en élargissant mes références pour la formation de professeurs à São Paulo, ce qui me permettra, certainement, de développer des analyses plus complexes et étayées. Le stage a élargi mon expérience de recherche dans des institutions internationales de référence, telles que la BNF et la Bibliothèque Diderot. En outre, grâce à cela j'ai pu avoir des échanges très enrichissants avec Anne-Marie Chartier, qui s'est montrée disponible pour me recevoir en France dans l'avenir et maintenir nos échanges de recherche universitaire.

## 21. APÊNDICE M: RELATÓRIO ANUAL DE ATIVIDADES DA BOLSISTA PD FRANCIELE FERREIRA FRANÇA

# A NEF NO CIRCUITO SUL-AMERICANO

**Relatório Científico Final**
Processo: 2020/12621-3
Pós-Doutoranda: Dra. Franciele Ferreira França
Supervisora: Profa. Dra. Diana Gonçalves Vidal

São Paulo

Fevereiro/2024

# IDENTIFICAÇÃO DO PROCESSO

**Número do Processo FAPESP:** 2020/12621-3

**Título do Projeto:** A NEF no Circuito Sul-Americano

**Instituição Sede:** Faculdade de Educação da Universidade de São Paulo

**Bolsista:** Dra. Franciele Ferreira França

**Supervisora:** Profa. Dra. Diana Gonçalves Vidal

**Período de Vigência do Projeto:** 01/01/2021 a 31/12/2023

**RESUMO DO PROJETO**

Este projeto tem por objetivo investigar as vinculações entre a New Education Fellowship (NEF) e o Brasil. Para tanto, orienta-se pela perspectiva de uma história transnacional da educação, dando vistas ao intercâmbio que fora realizado com o contexto anglófono, pouco explorado, em detrimento da ênfase dada ao contexto francófono (VIDAL; RABELO, 2017; 2018). Esta investigação, portanto, tem por intuito contribuir para o movimento já iniciado de dar visibilidade à documentação inédita, que se vincula às viagens pedagógicas de Carleton Washburne a países da América do Sul, incluindo o Brasil e dessa forma compreender os discursos veiculados, nas trocas e formações favorecidas por meio dessas viagens. Aliado a isso, também é feita a busca por periódicos educacionais vinculados às Seções da NEF criadas em diferentes países sul-americanos, entre as décadas de 1920 a 1940: Argentina, Equador, Peru, Paraguai, Uruguai, Bolívia e o Brasil (VIDAL; RABELO, 2017; 2018). A pesquisa visa ainda investigar documentos sobre as viagens de Adolphe Ferrière e Carleton Washburne à América do Sul; periódicos educacionais criados ou associados pelos países sul-americanos à NEF; viagens educacionais efetuadas por educadores sul-americanos no âmbito das relações estabelecidas pela NEF entre os países da América do Sul, reconstruindo por meio da metodologia das redes (networks) as teias constituídas e os produtos e iniciativas pedagógicas dela decorrentes ou com ela em relação.

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## 1. Introdução

Idealizado em fins do século XIX e início do século XX, o movimento educacional conhecido na historiografia educacional como Nova Educação (Escola Nova, Educação Nova) constituiu-se com o objetivo de promover uma reforma da sociedade por meio de uma transformação na educação (Fuchs, 2004). Foi no contexto de internacionalização desse movimento (Fuchs, 2004) que a *New Education Fellowship* (NEF) foi fundada no ano de 1921, durante congresso realizado em Calais, França. Com sede estabelecida em Londres, teve como fundadores Baillie-Weaver, que assumiu o cargo como presidente, Beatrice Ensor, como diretora organizadora, além de Elizabeth Rotten e Adolphe Ferrière, como diretores (Brehony, 2004; Vidal; Rabelo, 2019). Também conhecida como *Ligue Internationale Pour L' Education Nouvelle* (LIEN)[497], a instituição, evidenciada como um dos principais eixos de propagação do movimento escolanovista (Carvalho, 2007), emergiu como uma organização internacional que buscava reunir educadores, profissionais da educação e leigos de diferentes países em prol da renovação da educação e da escola (Rabelo; Vidal, 2018, p. 03).

Em relação aos ideais pedagógicos do movimento da nova educação que visava difundir, a NEF sustentava entre seus princípios: a preservação e o aumento do poder espiritual da criança; o respeito à individualidade da criança por meio de uma disciplina que assegurasse a liberdade de suas faculdades espirituais; o espírito de cooperação entre as crianças, levando-as a se colocar a serviço da comunidade; e a coeducação (La Nueva Era, n. 01, 1926). A instituição promulgava ainda entre seus objetivos, que tais princípios fossem propagados e empregados em todas as escolas existentes ou mesmo que se criasse outras para que fossem expandidos, a partir de métodos pensados para esse fim.

Esses princípios foram materializados, pela NEF, a partir do incentivo à cooperação internacional e a irradiação das ideias e práticas da nova educação por meio dos congressos educacionais e da publicação de revistas internacionais. Um número considerável de conferências bianuais foram realizadas em diferentes países ao longo dos anos[498], com público variante entre 150 e 2000 pessoas, além da edição de três revistas educacionais: a *The New Era (TNE)*, editada por Beatrice Ensor; a *Pour L'Ère Nouvelle (PEN)*, por Adolphe Ferrière; e *Das*

[497] Rabelo e Vidal (2021), discutem, em artigo publicado na revista Sarmiento, a problemática do nome da instituição e suas traduções para outros idiomas.

[498] 1921 – Calais/França, 150 participantes; 1923 – Montreux/Suiça, 300 participantes; 1925 – Heidelberg/Alemanha, 450 participantes; 1927 – Locarno/Suiça, 1200 participantes; 1929 – Elsinore/Dinamarca, 2000 participantes; 1932 – Nice/França, 1800 participantes; 1936 – Cheltenham/Inglaterra, 1400 participantes. (Brehony, 2004, p. 734).

*Werdende Zeitalter (DWZ)*, por Elizabeth Rotten; com o intuito de propagar e promover discussões referentes aos diferentes aspectos da educação nova (Vidal; Rabelo, 2019).

De forma a expandir conexões de cooperação internacional e a disseminação das ideias e práticas da educação nova, a NEF investiu, ao longo dos anos, na criação de seções em outros países, configurando sua estrutura com base em "células nacionais", as quais eram responsáveis por organizar congressos, manter periódicos educacionais locais e divulgar informações sobre o estado da educação em cada país (Rabelo; Vidal, 2020, p. 27). Com relação à América do Sul, os estudos já realizados sobre a temática (Vidal; Rabelo, 2019; 2021; Rabelo, 2021), evidenciam que a maioria das seções da NEF presentes no continente sul-americano foram criadas entre os anos de 1928 e 1931. Segundo Vidal e Rabelo (2020), esse período, entre os anos 1920 e início dos 1930, pode ser classificado como uma primeira fase das interlocuções entre a NEF e a América do Sul, caracterizada principalmente por conexões com o ramo francófono da instituição (Suíça, Bélgica e França), tendo Adolphe Ferrière como o principal interlocutor.

Foi para essa ramificação da NEF nos países da América do Sul que a pesquisa de pós-doutorado[499] se voltou, com o intuito de identificar e compreender em que bases as seções sul-americanas foram estabelecidas, mapeando conexões que promoveram sua instalação ou que resultaram dela, explorando a circulação de sujeitos, objetos e concepções pedagógicas.

Vinculada ao Projeto Temático *Saberes e práticas em fronteiras: por uma história transnacional da educação (1810-...)*[500], a pesquisa teve por propósito dar continuidade ao investimento investigativo iniciado no interior do grupo que compõe o eixo 2[501], que se volta para a circulação de sujeitos, saberes e objetos. Mais especificamente, em contribuir com a abordagem que procura evidenciar uma documentação inédita, que se vincula à NEF e às viagens pedagógicas de Carleton Washburne e Adolphe Ferrière a países da América do Sul, incluindo o Brasil e, dessa forma compreender os discursos veiculados, nas trocas e formações favorecidas por meio dessas viagens.

Por objetivo inicial, pretendia-se investigar possíveis vinculações entre a New Education Fellowship (NEF) e o Brasil, tendo por finalidade a identificação e compreensão das relações estabelecidas para a criação da seção brasileira da NEF. Para tanto, a pesquisa teve como intento: o levantamento e análise de documentos sobre as viagens de Adolphe Ferrière e Carleton Washburne à América do Sul entre as décadas de 1920 e 1940; a localização de

[499] Projeto FAPESP, n. 2020/12627-3, intitulado: **A NEF em circuito sul-americano**.
[500] Processo FAPESP n. 2018/26699-4.
[501] Sujeitos e artefatos: movimentos e vestígios.

periódicos educacionais criados pelos países Sul-americanos e/ou associados à NEF; além da tentativa de mapear viagens educacionais efetuadas por educadores sul-americanos no âmbito das relações estabelecidas pela NEF entre os países da América do Sul. Diante do material encontrado e das análises realizadas, optou-se por reavaliar os objetivos e delinear demais encaminhamentos, portanto, redesenhou-se o escopo inicial acrescentando outros objetivos específicos: identificar e compreender os meandros do funcionamento das seções nacionais nos países da América do Sul e das redes de circulação que conectam educadores, objetos e ideias em um cenário nacional e internacional; investir no mapeamento e análise de como as ideias da NEF foram propagadas e apropriadas nos/pelos discursos dos educadores sul-americanos.

A perspectiva que se toma para esse estudo, ancora-se em uma abordagem da história transnacional da educação (Vera; Fuchs, 2021) no trato com as fontes. A história transnacional é um campo de estudo que busca entender as interações e trocas que ocorrem para além das fronteiras nacionais. Segundo Struck, Ferris e Revel (2011), a história transnacional pode vir a ser uma mudança metodológica expressiva na historiografia, assim como foi com outras perspectivas, como por exemplo a micro-história. Sustentando-se nesses autores, Vidal (2021, p. 12), indica que um dos motivos de interesse que levou os historiadores a voltarem-se para este enfoque é o de uma "convicção de que os processos históricos e sociais não são confinados a espaços (Nações, Estados, Impérios ou regiões). Ao contrário, produzem-se pela interação e trânsito de ideias, pessoas, instituições e tecnologias e pelo contato e mútua influência de Estados, sociedades e culturas".

Diante disso, pode-se pontuar que uma das principais contribuições da abordagem transnacional para a história da educação é a sua ênfase na interconexão e na interdependência de diferentes contextos educacionais. Ao invés de enfatizar apenas as diferenças nacionais ou regionais, esta abordagem, auxilia, portanto, na compreensão de que os processos de reformas educacionais não ocorrem apenas em um nível nacional, mas também em um nível global, o que significa que as políticas e práticas educacionais de um país podem ter implicações significativas em outros países e regiões. Nesse sentido, esse estudo, considera a NEF como um ponto de convergência, de conexão de redes (Rabelo; Vidal, 2021), em um contexto mais abrangente que envolve movimentos de renovação pedagógica.

Como forma de conduzir o estudo em uma abordagem transnacional, pauta-se nas considerações de Eckhardt Fuchs (2007, p. 185) sobre a noção de redes, nas quais o autor afirma que sua operacionalização pode permitir a reinterpretação de "pressupostos de uma historiografia centrada na nação", pois concilia uma análise que abrange espaços além do

estado-nação e a que se volta para os agentes e suas interações. Fuchs (2019, p. 187) ainda afirma que “as redes são comunicativas e, na maioria das vezes, elos horizontais entre agentes interdependentes – atores individuais, corporativos ou coletivos – que são relativamente iguais, confiam um no outro e compartilham interesses ou valores semelhantes”.

A teoria de redes tem se mostrado um enfoque valioso para analisar as redes complexas de conexões transnacionais entre atores sociais, instituições e elementos culturais, políticos e econômicos, identificando os atores-chave envolvidos, os fluxos de informação, os padrões e as dinâmicas de poder que permeiam as relações entre diferentes nações e regiões. Nesse contexto, a ideia de hubs, ou centros, desempenha um papel importante na compreensão dessas dinâmicas transnacionais, destacando os nós centrais que facilitam essas conexões. Em termos de redes, um hub refere-se a um nó central em uma rede que é altamente conectado a outros nós. A NEF, neste caso, pode ser caracterizada como um hub educacional, servindo como um centro de propagação das ideias e práticas atinentes ao movimento pela nova educação. De mesmo modo, os sujeitos envolvidos na difusão das ideias da NEF na América Latina, como educadores, intelectuais, políticos e ativistas, podem ter atuado como hubs de conexões transnacionais, facilitando a disseminação das ideias da instituição em suas redes de contatos e influenciando a adoção de políticas e práticas educacionais mais progressistas na região.

## 2. Os caminhos da pesquisa

O projeto de pós-doutorado teve início em janeiro de 2021, e em um primeiro momento, foi necessário a pesquisadora dedicar-se a um aprofundamento teórico-metodológico acerca da temática a ser pesquisada. Deste modo, foram realizados levantamentos, leituras e análises de textos que discutiam, principalmente, a história transnacional da educação, metodologia de redes, história da educação nova e viagens pedagógicas, resultando em uma significativa sistematização teórica de suporte para a pesquisa, com o intuito de refinar as análises a serem empreendidas.

Neste processo, objetivando uma aproximação e entendimento com o contexto a ser estudado, também foi preciso efetuar um extenso levantamento bibliográfico sobre a história da educação na América do Sul, com foco nos países elencados no projeto (Argentina, Equador, Peru, Paraguai, Uruguai, Bolívia, Colômbia e Chile), e sobre o movimento da escola nova nos países sul-americanos no período delimitado entre 1920 e 1940; além de textos que versavam sobre as viagens realizadas por Adolphe Ferrière e Carleton Washburne.

Por tratar-se de um trabalho em diálogo com o que já foi produzido sobre a NEF, no interior do eixo 2 do projeto temático, e com o propósito de melhor delimitação da pesquisa, a investigação se valeu principalmente das informações levantadas sobre a circulação e/ou presença da NEF nos países sul-americanos, como os trabalhos produzidos por Rafaela Rabelo e Diana G. Vidal. Nesse processo também foi somada uma bibliografia produzida por Ad. Ferrière a respeito da sua passagem pela América do Sul (quadro n. 1), inventariada no decorrer da pesquisa, que também possibilitou direcionamentos ao trabalho empírico.

QUADRO 1: DOCUMENTOS DO EDUCADOR ADOLPHE FERRIÈRE SOBRE OS PAÍSES SUL-AMERICANOS.

| Fonte | Arquivo | Observações |
|---|---|---|
| Conferencias de Adolfo Ferrière durante su visita a Montevideo | Museo Pedagógico José Pedro Varela (Montevideo/UY) | Publicadas na Revista Enciclopedia de Educación. Tomo VIII, sept/1930, Uruguai. |
| Conferencias dictadas por el doctor Adolfo Ferrière al profesorado de Santiago | Biblioteca do Congresso Nacional do Chile | Traducción de Oscar Bustos A.; Publicaciones de la Sección Pedagógica y de Perfeccionamiento del Personal; Folleto N. 25; Jul/Ago 1:1930 |
| La Escuela Activa en America Latina. Adolfo Ferrière, 1936. | Museo Pedagógico José Pedro Varela (Montevideo/UY) | Versão em espanhol do seu relato sobre as visitas realizadas nos países da América do Sul; inclui informações sobre Equador, Peru, Argentina, Uruguai, Paraguai, Brasil, Colômbia, Bolívia, Guatemala, Venezuela, Costa Rica e México. |
| L'Amérique Latine adopte l'école active. Adolphe Ferrière. Neuchatel, 1931. | Cópia arquivada no acervo do Centro de Memória e Pesquisa Hisales (Pelotas/RS-BR) | Versão em francês do seu relato sobre as visitas realizadas nos países da América do Sul; inclui informações sobre Argentina, Peru, Equador, Paraguai, Uruguai, Chile, Brasil, Colômbia e México. |
| La Educación Nueva en Chile (1928-1930). Adolfo Ferrière, Madrid, s./a. | Biblioteca Nacional do Chile | Sobre a educação nova no Chile. |
| Revista *Pour L'Ère Nouvelle* entre os anos de 1922 e 1940. | Disponíveis *online*[502] | Artigos diversos sobre a educação nova nos países da América do Sul. |

Fonte: Organizado pela pesquisadora.

Com relação à América do Sul, os estudos já realizados sobre a temática, que integram o eixo 2 do Projeto Temático (Vidal; Rabelo, 2019; 2021; Rabelo, 2021), evidenciam que a maioria das seções da NEF presentes no continente sul-americano foram criadas entre os anos de 1928 e 1931, caso da Argentina em 1928; Equador, Peru e Paraguai em 1930; Uruguai em 1931; já a Bolívia teve sua seção criada em 1936 e o Brasil, em 1942.

Esses dados, mais o estudo do conjunto bibliográfico mencionado anteriormente, foram ponto de partida para a pesquisa desenvolvida durante os anos de 2021 e 2022, resultando na sistematização inicial de indícios para o trabalho empírico, na qual foi possível inventariar nomes, datas, locais e produções que materializam a presença da NEF na América do Sul. Uma parte dessa sistematização pode ser observada no quadro n. 2.

[502] https://archive.org/search?query=subject%3A%22pour+l%27ere+nouvelle%22

QUADRO 2: A NEF NO CIRCUITO SUL-AMERICANO

| País | Sessões da NEF | Sujeitos | Revista vinculada |
|---|---|---|---|
| Argentina | 1928 | - José Rezzano<br>- Clotilde Gillén de Rezzano<br>- Juan Cassani<br>- Olga Cossettini | - La Obra (Teve entre seus editores José Rezzano)<br>- Nueva Era |
| Bolívia | 1933 | - J. Sixto Vaca Guzmán<br>- Carmela Velazco | - Nueva Era<br>(em 1936) |
| Chile | 1932 | - Irma Salas<br>- Alfonso Aguirre<br>- Armando Hamel<br>- Oscar Bustos | - La Nueva Era (1926), (Ed. Armando Hamel) |
| Colômbia | 1929 | - Daniel Samper Ortega<br>- Ana Restrepo<br>- Agustín Nieto Caballero | |
| Equador | 1930 | - Julio C. Larrea<br>- Lucia Baquero | - Nueva Era (Ed. Julio C. Larrea) |
| Paraguai | 1930 | - Ramon Indalecio Cardozo<br>- Adolfo Avalos<br>- Felicidad Gonzales | - Nueva Enseñanza |
| Peru | 1931 | - | - |
| Uruguai | 1931 | - Santín C. Rossi<br>- Blas S. Genovese | - Escuela Activa<br>(1931) |
| Brasil | 1942 | - M. B. Lourenço Filho<br>- Nina Celina | - |

Fonte: Organizado pela pesquisadora com base no cotejamento entre os textos lidos, fontes consultadas e dados que foram levantados pelos pesquisadores do eixo 2.

Durante o primeiro ano de desenvolvimento do projeto, a pesquisa empírica seguiu exclusivamente de forma remota, feita em bases de dados e arquivos disponíveis de forma *online* devido à pandemia do COVID-19, a qual impedia a realização da consulta aos arquivos físicos e das atividades presenciais. Deste modo, foram realizadas pesquisas nos catálogos *online* da Biblioteca Nacional Argentina, da Biblioteca Nacional do Chile, da Biblioteca Nacional do Paraguai e da Biblioteca Nacional do Uruguai; vale evidenciar, que as buscas foram feitas tanto nos catálogos gerais dessas bibliotecas, como em suas hemerotecas digitais e nas coleções e fundos especiais, na busca por material que correspondesse aos objetivos da pesquisa. A procura foi feita por termos decorrentes da sistematização realizada, como os apresentados no quadro n. 2, com a finalidade de localizar a disponibilidade dos periódicos vinculados à NEF, demais evidências da criação das seções da Fellowship nesses países, registros dos sujeitos envolvidos nessas criações ou mesmo com os movimentos de renovação pedagógica. O investimento realizado nessa busca foi extenso; profícuo na medida em que foram encontrados documentos que poderiam auxiliar no entendimento das vinculações da NEF com a América do Sul, mas também foi limitada devido à condição de acesso a esses

documentos que só poderiam ser consultados fisicamente. Poucos foram os documentos em formato digital encontrados nesses catálogos relevantes a investigação.

Diante disso, no decorrer da pesquisa foi necessário delinear uma procura por documentos em outras bases *online* de dados, na tentativa de ampliar o campo de possibilidades de investigação, a qual acabou por direcionar o olhar para determinados acervos, como da Biblioteca Nacional de Maestros y Maestras (Argentina), Biblioteca do Parlamento do Uruguai, Biblioteca do Congresso Nacional do Chile, Biblioteca da Faculdade de Humanidades e Ciências da Educação da Universidade de La Plata (Argentina), o catálogo digital da Dirección General de Cultura y Educación de la Provincia de Buenos Aires e do Centro Virtual de Memória em Educación e Pedagogía (Colômbia). Com esse levantamento empírico efetuado, foi possível encontrar outros documentos disponíveis em formato digital, além de permitir uma nova sistematização de dados, com uma listagem de documentos a serem consultados em sua forma física *in loco* em seus respectivos acervos.

A consulta em alguns acervos físicos foi possível no segundo semestre de 2022, quando foram realizadas viagens de pesquisa para Buenos Aires (Argentina), Montevidéu (Uruguai) e Santiago (Chile).

Em Buenos Aires, a consulta se concentrou na Biblioteca Nacional de Maestros y Maestras, a qual possui uma numerosa coleção de pedagogia e ciências da educação. Em seu acervo foram encontrados documentos relacionados diretamente à seção da NEF na Argentina, como a *Revista La Obra*[503] e a *Nueva Era*[504], ambas vinculadas à Fellowship, assim como outras revistas educacionais que se configuram como fontes importantes, não só para o entendimento do contexto educacional argentino, como para a análise de uma dimensão transnacional da circulação de sujeitos, objetos e ideias pedagógicas, além de uma bibliografia educacional publicada no período concernente à pesquisa. Todos os documentos encontrados foram fotografados para posterior organização e análise, no entanto, devido à grande quantidade de volumes encontrados da *Revista La Obra* referente à delimitação temporal em estudo, foram consultados apenas os volumes de 1926 a 1934 e desses foram fotografados por completo os primeiros números de cada ano mais os índices de cada volume para uma consulta e estudo posterior. Já sobre os volumes correspondentes aos anos de 1935 a 1945, foi disponibilizada a digitalização dos seus índices pela pessoa responsável por essa parte do arquivo na biblioteca.

[503] Periódico argentino criado em 1921 que se vincula à NEF oficialmente em 1926.
[504] Periódico publicado como suplemento da Revista La Obra, entre os anos de 1926 e 1927.

Em Montevideu, a investigação se deu no Centro de Documentação do Museo Pedagógico José Pedro Varela. O Museu possui um rico acervo de documentos e objetos pedagógicos significativos para a história da educação uruguaia, e neste foram encontrados documentos inéditos atinentes à pesquisa sobre a presença da NEF em território uruguaio, como o primeiro número da revista *Escuela Activa*, periódico publicado pela seção da Fellowship criada no país, e a nota que informava o estabelecimento dessa seção no Uruguai, com destaque para os sujeitos presentes, publicada no n. 6 da revista. Entre os "achados" da pesquisa no acervo do Museu, ressalta-se três periódicos publicados pela Dirección de Enseñanza Primaria e Normal do Uruguay: *Annales de Instrucción Primaria, Enciclopedia de Educación e Educación: revista de enseñanza primaria e normal*; os quais foram consultados de forma pontual, mas que valem uma investigação mais acurada e de forma seriada do seu conteúdo, pois são fontes ricas quanto aos registros de viagens realizadas por professores uruguaios em missões de estudo, como de educadores que visitaram o país com o mesmo objetivo.

Já em Santiago, a pesquisa foi efetuada na Biblioteca Nacional do Chile e no Museo de la Educación Gabriela Mistral. Ainda que pouco substantiva com relação a uma documentação sobre ou relativa à NEF, nos acervos dessas duas instituições foram encontradas fontes significativas que versam sobre o movimento de renovação pedagógica no Chile, possibilitando a construção de um painel analítico dessa mobilização no contexto de criação da seção da Fellowship em território chileno. De forma mais específica, referente ao objeto desta pesquisa, obteve-se acesso ao volume correspondente aos anos de 1927 a 1929 da revista *La Nueva Era*, outro periódico vinculado a NEF por meio da seção local da instituição, e ao volume do ano de 1945 da revista *Nueva Era*, de publicação da seção equatoriana.

Ainda que os dados sistematizados anteriormente dessem uma proporção e base de busca dos documentos disponíveis, a pesquisa nos acervos físicos se mostrou muito mais significativa, pois apresentou uma dimensão maior de documentos a serem consultados e analisados, como pode ser visualizado no que se apresenta no quadro n. 3 em relação ao quantitativo de revistas vinculadas as seções da NEF nos países sul-americanos, encontradas nos acervos pesquisados.

QUADRO 3: REVISTAS VINCULADAS A NEF LOCALIZADAS DURANTE A PESQUISA.

| Revista | Arquivo | Ano/N. | Descrição |
|---|---|---|---|
| La Obra (Argentina) | Biblioteca Nacional de Maestros y Maestras | 1921-1945 (n.1 ao n.575) | Revista quinzenal publicada nos dias 20 e 05 de cada mês, o primeiro número data de 20/02/1921. |
| Nueva Era (Argentina) | Biblioteca Nacional de Maestros y Maestras | 1926-1927 (n.1 ao n.18) | Suplemento publicado em anexo a Revista La Obra; primeiro número de jul/1926. |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| La Nueva Era (Chile) | Biblioteca Nacional do Chile | 1926-1929 (n.1 ao n.12) | Revista trimestral, editada por Armando Hamel, primeiro número publicado em dez/1926 |
| Nueva Era (Ecuador) | Biblioteca Nacional do Chile | 1945 (volume XIV) | Editada por Julio C. Larrea; publicada no Chile devido a viagem de Larrea ao país em missão pedagógica. |
| Escuela Activa (Uruguay) | Museo Pedagógico José Pedro Varela | 1931 (n.1 e n.5/6) | Revista mensal, dirigida por Blas S. Genovese, primeiro número data de mar/1931. |

Fonte: Organizado pela pesquisadora.

Devido à dimensão quantitativa dos impressos inventariados, esses foram analisados a partir de recortes, primeiramente com a identificação dos sujeitos envolvidos com as publicações, natureza dos artigos que compunham as edições, assim como os autores dos artigos. Como supunha-se, há a predominância de artigos sobre a escola nova, seja sobre seus preceitos, métodos ou experiências educativas locais ou estrangeiras, assim como traduções de artigos de educadores vinculados a NEF, uma vez que o intuito desses periódicos era o de difundir o movimento da educação nova, aspectos esses que corroboram a hipótese de que esses impressos foram veículos de circulação de ideias pedagógicas.

Mas também há artigos ou notas que contam sobre missões pedagógicas, tanto de educadores locais que partem em viagens para outros países, como de educadores estrangeiros que visitam esses países com o mesmo objetivo. Em uma primeira aproximação com as fontes, pode-se citar como exemplo, o professor Julio C. Larrea, do Equador e diretor da revista Nueva Era, que, em 1945, foi convidado pela Universidade do Chile a ministrar cursos sobre a educação na América, com o argumento de que, além de autor de diversos livros, empreendia viagens pelo continente para conhecer experiências educativas e, portanto, possuía conhecimento sobre o tema[505]. Julio C. Larrea faz parte de uma rede de educadores sul-americanos, que a pesquisa em curso intenta identificar e analisar com o objetivo de reconstruir por meio da metodologia das redes (networks) as teias constituídas e os produtos e iniciativas pedagógicas dela decorrentes ou com ela em relação, no âmbito das relações estabelecidas pela NEF entre os países da América do Sul.

Outras fontes foram encontradas para além dos periódicos vinculados a NEF, como revistas educacionais publicadas no período como relatórios de viagens pedagógicas, artigos e notas sobre ações em prol ou decorrentes dos movimentos de renovação pedagógica, livros de educadores associados a NEF, materiais sobre o movimento da escola nova.

[505] "Dialogo con el profesor Don Julio C. Larrea". Revista de Educación. Ministerio de Educación Publica de Chile, 1945, p. 26-28.

Já em 2023, com a prorrogação do projeto para mais um ano, foi dado continuidade a análise das fontes encontradas, bem como prosseguiu-se com a busca por uma documentação relativa aos demais países elencados no projeto. Deste modo, foram realizadas pesquisas nos catálogos e coleções disponíveis online das bibliotecas nacionais da Bolívia, da Colômbia, do Equador, do Paraguai e do Peru, do Arquivo Nacional de Assunção (Paraguai), do Museu Pedagógico Colombiano (da Universidade Pedagógica Nacional – Colômbia), entre outros. No entanto, evidencia-se que, por ora, foram poucos ou nenhum indício de uma documentação acerca da temática investigada.

No segundo semestre foi realizada outra viagem de pesquisa para Buenos Aires (Argentina), com retorno à Biblioteca Nacional de Maestros y Maestras. Nesta visita ao centro de documentação educativa da biblioteca foi retomada a consulta as edições da revista La Obra, além de outras publicações de autores identificados como adeptos do movimento de renovação da educação nova. Com relação a revista La Obra, foram consultados os tomos dos anos de 1926 a 1931 e estes foram fotografados para digitalização de forma integral, os quais auxiliarão em análises futuras propostas no interior do projeto ao qual essa pesquisa se vinculou.

A continuidade do trabalho permitiu aprofundar e refinar as análises realizadas com relação a circulação da NEF nos países sul-americanos. Empreendeu-se ainda um redirecionamento do olhar para as fontes com foco específico para localização de indícios particulares sobre algumas das seções da NEF criadas na América do Sul, ocasionando no detalhamento de dados anteriormente inventariados e na elaboração de um panorama mais abrangente da relação da associação com os países sul-americanos. Alguns desses dados foram sistematizados no quadro n. 4, a seguir:

QUADRO 4: DADOS SOBRE AS FILIAÇÕES NA AMÉRICA LATINA À NEW EDUCATION FELLOWSHIP

| **PAÍS** | **REGISTROS ENCONTRADOS** | |
|---|---|---|
| **Argentina** | “LA OBRA, que desde hace tiempo se ha incorporado al movimiento de la nueva educación mediante la difusión de sus principios y orientaciones, se adhiere ahora formalmente a la Liga Internacional para la Nueva Educación y a la Oficinal Internacional de Educación”. (La Obra, n. 09, 20/06/1926). | Em Julho de 1926, publica-se o primeiro número do suplemento Nueva Era, aderida a liga: “con el único propósito de hacer conocer el estado actual del mundo en materia escolar, analizando en especial lo que se refiere al movimiento que unifica la "liga internacional para la educación nueva" (Nueva Era, Julho/1926, n. 01). |
| **Bolívia** | Em fins de 1933 constituiu-se uma seção da Liga em La Paz. Iniciador: Sixto Vaca Guzmán, membro do conselho nacional de educação. (La escuela activa em AL – Adolphe Ferrière, 1936). | Em 1936, Sr. J. S. Vaca Guzmán como diretor e Carmela Velazco como gerente. Publica o 1º número da revista Nueva Era. (La escuela activa em AL – Adolphe Ferrière, 1936). |
| **Brasil** | - | - |

| PAÍS | REGISTROS ENCONTRADOS | |
|---|---|---|
| **Chile** | Tomamos nota de que la asociación general de profesores de Chile ha acordado adherir a la Liga Internacional de la Educación Nueva. (Revista La Nueva Era, 1926, n. 01, p. 30). | Estatutos de la asociación de la nueva educación – Criação da associação no Chile (Revista La Nueva Era, 1927, n. 4, p. 142). |
| **Colômbia** | | |
| **Equador** | | |
| **Paraguai** | "Liga Internacional para la Educación Sección Paraguaya".<br>"Reunidos en la Asunción, el veinte y tres de octubre de mil novecientos treinta (23/10/1930) en el despacho de la Dirección General de Escuelas, los que suscriben la presente y en atención a la necesidad de colaborar más intensamente en la práctica de la educación nueva y respondiendo a una Invitación hecha por el señor Ramón I. Cardozo". (La Pluma, 01/09/1931, Montevideo). | |
| **Peru** | Carlos Velasquez aceitou ser correspondente da oficina de Instituto de Educação e quem deu o impulso para a criação da seção peruana e comprometendo-se a fundar a revista (La escuela activa em AL – Adolphe Ferrière, 1936). | |
| **Uruguai** | Criação da seção no Uruguai – 12/08/1931. Presidente Santín C. Rossi; secretário Blas S. Genovese. (La escuela activa em AL – Adolphe Ferrière, 1936). | Seción Uruguaya de La Liga Internacional de La Nueva Educación: El día 12 de agosto quedó constituída la Sección Uruguaya de la Liga Internacional de la Nueva Educación. (La Escuela Activa, Ano I, n. 5-6, jul./ago. 1931). |

Fonte: Organizado pela pesquisadora.

A partir dos dados empíricos sistematizados, o próximo tópico deste relatório apresenta algumas evidências das criações e/ou formas de vinculação de sujeitos e associações a New Education Fellowship nos países da América do Sul.

3. As seções da New Education Fellowship na América do Sul (Argentina, Chile e Uruguai).

Em novembro de 1926, saía a público a 1ª edição do periódico **La Nueva Era: revista de la nueva educación**, órgão oficial da *Asociación de la Nueva Educación* chilena. Já na primeira página, lê-se a informação de que era afiliada a "Liga Internacional para la Nueva Educación[506]" (New Education Fellowship) e em seu editorial, a publicação afirmava ter sido criada com o intuito de contribuir para a divulgação do movimento da nova educação, propondo-se a cientificar seus leitores sobre o movimento de reforma educacional que "agitava os principais centros culturais da Europa e América do Norte" (La Nueva Era, 1926, p. 02). Diante disso, a

[506] Tradução do nome em francês da Associação para o espanhol, utilizado na maioria das revistas proveniente da América do Sul consultadas. Dessa forma, quando da citação das fontes, direta ou indiretamente, a nomenclatura seguirá conforme a indicação do documento. No entanto, é importante ressaltar que se trata da mesma instituição.

revista comprometia-se a informar sobre as publicações provenientes da Liga, traduzir os artigos mais interessantes de suas 3 revistas ou então publicar resumos dos mais extensos, indicar listas de obras sobre o tema e comunicar sobre estabelecimentos que foram fundados de acordo com o novo sistema.

Partilhando dos mesmos objetivos postulados pela revista chilena, no mesmo ano, 1926, porém poucos meses antes, em Buenos Aires, a revista **La Obra**, inaugurava um suplemento intitulado **Nueva Era**, dirigido por José Rezzano. O editorial da publicação de n. 09, de 20 de junho de 1926 de **La Obra**, fez um histórico do movimento de renovação escolar pela Europa e das ações da Liga, enfatizando que desde sua criação (1921) vinha publicando matérias relativas à nova educação, portanto, indiretamente "incorporada ao movimento". Como uma de suas justificativas de filiação à Associação, agora de maneira formal, afirmava que por tratar-se de uma revista que representava o magistério argentino, não podia postergar por mais tempo sua adesão. Deste modo, dirigia-se à Liga expressando sua concordância com os princípios propagados e colocava-se a disposição para colaborar com os educadores dos países vinculados à instituição (La Obra, 1926, n. 09, p. 386).

> Al incorporarse LA OBRA a un movimiento pedagógico de índole internacional contrae - demás está decirlo - un serio compromiso de honor: el de formar poco a poco, sin apresuramientos prematuros pero con firme voluntad, el grupo reducido, esa minoría que en todas las épocas y en todos los pueblos ejerce dominio e impulsa las masas, minoría compuesta, en nuestro caso, por maestros, únicos capaces de hacer progresar la escuela y que no deben confiar en nadie, absolutamente en nadie, para llevarlo a cabo, sino en sí mismos, apelando a su propio cerebro y a su proprio corazón. (LA OBRA, 1926, n. 09, p. 386).

Já na primeira página do número inaugural do suplemento, de julho de 1926, logo abaixo do seu título foi colocada a frase "adherida a la Liga Internacional para la Educación Nueva", indicando de forma oficial que a revista fazia parte da LIEN/NEF. Pode-se afirmar que o complemento elaborado para compor a **La Obra**, foi uma forma de objetivar essa formalização, dando um lugar de maior importância ao tema da escola nova, fosse da divulgação do que chegava do estrangeiro ou da propaganda das experiências locais.

Quando a NEF foi criada, em 1921, as diretrizes apresentadas quanto às adesões dispunham que para ser um membro bastava a assinatura de uma de suas três revistas oficiais (TNE, PEN, DWZ), a aceitação dos seus princípios e com isso, o direito de assistir aos congressos bianuais. Por suas características, a Associação consentiria que seus integrantes, de outro e qualquer país, pudessem se unir da forma que melhor lhes aprouvesse caso desejassem uma maior comunhão a fim de propagar ideais compatíveis, ainda concedia a cada país a liberdade em seguir seu

próprio caminho de desenvolvimento (The New Era, 1921, p. 217-220). O objetivo era agregar o maior número de associados para formar um grande grupo de entusiastas unidos por um ideal comum, para que tais ideais pudessem ser difundidos em grande escala, em todos os lugares que pudesse alcançar, fazendo de cada membro um representante da NEF. Também se planejava estabelecer em cada país um centro de informações sobre os movimentos inovadores em educação e novas escolas, de modo que visitantes estrangeiros tivessem acesso imediato aos avanços mais atuais na área educacional, permitindo o contato com as mais recentes tendências educacionais em cada país (The New Era, 1921, p. 217-220).

Na época em que **La Nueva Era** (CL) e **La Obra/Nueva Era** (AR) manifestaram sua filiação à NEF, novas orientações sobre as adesões de membros e seções estavam em discussão, e estas foram melhor definidas e acordadas durante a realização do Congresso bianual da NEF em Locarno (Suíça), em 1927, deste modo, ambas as revistas foram colocadas em um lugar de "filiação provisória" à instituição. Com a justificativa de crescimento da organização, que já congregava um número elevado de participantes, o Conselho Internacional da NEF, decidiu por se reestruturar reorganizando as condições para admissões individuais, de grupos e seções, além de definir que novas revistas, antes de serem totalmente afiliadas, teriam um período de *filiação provisória* de dois anos, e quando aceitas nesta condição seriam listadas nas páginas índices das revistas oficiais (The New Era, n. 32, 1927, p. 112). Por esse motivo que, a partir do número 32 da TNE, de outubro de 1927, tanto a **La Nueva Era** (CL) quanto a **La Obra/Nueva Era** (AR), aparecem nas páginas índices como revistas *filiadas provisoriamente*, condição alterada no número 40, de outubro de 1929, para filiação total.

Segundo as novas diretrizes, uma organização nacional (em cada país), poderia ser na forma de **um único representante**, reconhecido pelo Conselho Internacional; **um grupo** afiliado a NEF, o qual pagaria uma taxa de afiliação única todo mês de janeiro à Sede Internacional e com pedido de renovação a cada dois anos; **vários grupos** associados em um mesmo país; ou na organização de **uma seção nacional** que deveria preencher as seguintes condições:

> (a) Cada Secção será completamente autónoma. Ela aceitará os princípios e objetivos da New Education Fellowship, mas será responsável por sua própria organização interna. Cada Seção fixará sua própria assinatura para a sede nacional, à qual os Grupos podem ser filiados.
>
> (b) Deve ter um Comitê de não menos que cinco, incluindo Presidente e Secretário, consistindo em pessoas bem conhecidas nos círculos educacionais e representantes de diferentes aspectos do trabalho educacional.

> (c) Deve fornecer uma vez por ano, em janeiro, um relatório completo de atividades à Sede Internacional.
>
> (d) Deve enviar uma vez por ano, em janeiro, à Sede Internacional, um valor que represente dez por cento da assinatura de cada membro (exclusivo da revista).
>
> (e) Um representante eleito por cada Seção nacional terá assento como membro do Conselho Internacional. Se em qualquer país houver uma revista e uma Seção, o editor da revista também será membro do Conselho Internacional; pode ser adicionado ao representante da Seção, quando o editor e o representante da Seção não forem a mesma pessoa. Se em qualquer país houver uma revista, mas nenhuma Seção, o editor deverá sentar-se como representante no Conselho Internacional. (THE NEW ERA, n. 32, 1927, p. 180).

No Chile A *Asociación de la Nueva Educación* era a responsável pela publicação da Revista **La Nueva Era** (CL), e faziam parte da direção da revista o Sr. Armando Hamel, Sr. Alejandro Parra, Sta. Luz Rayo Riquelme, Sta. Albina Román e Sr. Ignacio Herrera Sotomayor. Por ora não foram encontradas nas fontes consultadas informações sobre a Associação ou mesmo sobre a equipe diretiva da revista, no entanto Armando Hamel é referenciado como o fundador e presidente da sessão chilena da NEF.

No número 2 da revista La Nueva Era, publica-se uma carta de Ad. Ferrière dirigida a Armando Hamel agradecendo o envio do primeiro número, o autor se diz feliz pelo recebimento e por haver um novo espaço de divulgação das ideias sobre a nova educação. Também afirma que faz menção a publicação da nova revista nas páginas da Pour l'Ère Nouvelle de janeiro daquele ano (1927).

Nesse primeiro número, para além de artigos sobre métodos educacionais ou experiências em instituições estrangeiras seguindo o modelo da nova educação, na seção "notícias diversas" encontra-se a nota com a informação de que a Associação Geral de Professores do Chile tinha concordado em aderir à "la Liga Internacional de la Educación Nueva", e que no último congresso geral do professorado, seus participantes tinham aprovado grande parte dos princípios fundamentais apresentados pela Liga (LA NUEVA ERA, 1926, n. 01, p. 30). Segundo Prietro (1997, p. 7), a Associação Geral de Professores, a propósito de sua filiação, publicou em seu periódico intitulado "Nuevos Rumbos", os princípios e fins da Liga, assim como notícias sobre o BIE, também passou a publicar em seus números seguintes traduções da revista Pour L' Ere Nouvelle. "Por referencias secundarias, se sabe que el Boletin se dedico especialmente a la difusión de la pedagogía activa y de nuevo, incluyo textos de Ferrière" (Prieto, 1997, p. 07).

Já a revista **La Obra** começou a ser publicada em 1921, na Argentina. Gvirtz e Barolo (2020), demarcam que quando de sua fundação, a **La Obra** foi uma das propostas mais relevantes de divulgação do movimento na Argentina. As autoras ainda evidenciam que sua particularidade e importância "residiam não apenas no fato de ser uma revista pedagógica escrita para professores, mas na estrutura particular que possuía e com a qual respondia às demandas de conhecimento prático e teórico de professores daquela época" (Gvirtz; Barolo, 2020, p. 137).

O Suplemento Nueva Era, sob a direção de José Rezzano, foi publicado durante dois anos, e diferentemente da revista chilena, não há em seus números a publicação dos princípios da Liga, tampouco as informações sobre os outros periódicos filiados, como orientava a instituição às suas seções nacionais. Em 1928, a La Obra deixa de publicar o suplemento Nueva Era e passa a editar uma sessão intitulada "La Escuela Nueva em Acción" a cargo de Clotilde G. de Rezzano, na qual se apresentariam quinzenalmente procedimentos educativos orientados de acordo com leis que regiam o desenvolvimento da criança, assim como informações didáticas sobre os sistemas mais difundidos ao redor do mundo e sobre as experiências realizadas nas escolas argentinas (La Obra, 1928, n. 01).

No Uruguai, em março de 1931, publicava-se em Montevideu a revista de estudos pedagógicos intitulada **Escuela Activa**, que já em seu primeiro número assinalava sua adesão a Liga Internacional de Educación Nueva e o aceite de seus princípios e objetivos. A direção da revista, no editorial, postulava que no país não havia uma publicação que incentivasse o estudo ou divulgasse iniciativas sobre novos métodos, sistemas e/ou planos de ensino que visassem o melhoramento da educação, assim um grupo de professores havia se reunido e decidido publicar o impresso, aspirando ser "la revista de todos los educadores que sientan la Escuela nueva" (ESCUELA ACTIVA, 1931, n. 01, p. 02). O grupo de professores se autodefinia como uma reunião de pessoas com objetivos em comum e que, portanto, estava aberta a outros que apoiassem os princípios educacionais da escola nova e a campanha para sua implementação, solicitava apenas que acordassem para o fato de que as ações seriam pautadas no programa formulado sob as orientações da LIEN.

A vinculação das revistas chilena, argentina e uruguaia pode ser vista como um primeiro movimento material de conexão entre a NEF e a América do Sul, a partir da qual outras relações foram fortalecidas ou criadas. Embora seja possível supor, pela inicial configuração da NEF, que alguns dos sujeitos envolvidos na organização de tais impressos, já eram membros da Associação por meio da assinatura de uma das revistas oficiais antes que as revistas sob a sua

direção fossem também afiliadas, ou mesmo que tivessem um contato mais próximo com demais sócios, caracterizando um dos motivos de interesse em organizar a publicação de um periódico ou então uma seção nacional em seus respectivos países. Nesse caso, a organização das revistas e sua adesão a NEF passa de um lugar individual para um espaço agremiador de divulgação do movimento renovador.

## 4. Algumas considerações

Nos encaminhamentos da pesquisa, o trabalho com as fontes permitiu ainda um redirecionamento do olhar, o qual buscou compreender, principalmente, em que bases as seções criadas na América do Sul foram estabelecidas, além da tentativa de mapeamento de como as ideias da NEF foram propagadas e apropriadas nos/pelos discursos dos educadores sul-americanos. Inicialmente, é possível perceber que, dentre os três países por ora analisados, o êxito da interação com a Fellowship em âmbito local teve níveis distintos, resultando em ações para além da publicação de revistas.

Faz-se aqui destaque para os educadores vinculados à seção argentina que, com o intuito de difundir as concepções da escola nova, publicaram artigos em outros periódicos educacionais, proferiam conferências pelo país, e promoveram cursos para a formação de professores, como o organizado em 1933, na Faculdade de Filosofia e Letras de Buenos Aires, e teve entre os conteúdos ministrados o sistema de Decroly, o Plano Dalton[507], centros de interesse, didática da escola nova, entre outros. No entanto, ainda há que se estender essa análise para uma documentação proveniente dos outros países elencados na pesquisa, para afirmações e conclusões mais assertivas.

Para além de possibilitar a constituição de um cenário analítico mais alargado das vinculações da New Education Fellowship com os países sul-americanos, a partir dessa documentação, também foi possível estabelecer a necessidade de um investimento maior na frente de pesquisa que se volta para a presença e atuação de Adolphe Ferrière nos países da América do Sul, em seu empenho em propagar os preceitos da escola nova e firmar a permanência da NEF no circuito sul-americano. Na documentação levantada, esse educador se mostra um ponto de intersecção, não só de uma perspectiva e metodologia educativa, mas também entre sujeitos e iniciativas pedagógicas, o qual pode evidenciar a constituição de uma rede de educadores latino-americanos e a circulação de uma produção de saberes e práticas

[507] Foi idealizado por Helen Parkhurst, no ano de 1920, na cidade de Dalton (Massachusetts/EUA).

educativas em um contexto transnacional pouco explorado pela historiografia da educação. A viagem de Ad. Ferrière à América do Sul pode ser considerada uma clara indicação da constituição dessa rede, pois seu itinerário foi, em grande parte, configurado e sustentado em relações construídas antes e durante (e depois) a sua missão pedagógica nos países sul-americanos. Por suas palavras, temos conhecimento que muitos dos sujeitos com os quais esteve nesses países, não eram desconhecidos seus, uma vez que já haviam se encontrado em outras ocasiões, alguns chegaram a frequentar o Instituto Jean-Jacques Rousseau (do qual foi um dos fundadores), este também considerado como um ponto de convergência de formação de rede relacionada a NEF (Rabelo; Vidal, 2021). O educador fez questão de manter um registro detalhado dessa viagem, o qual derivou em algumas publicações, seja em livros ou em artigos na *Pour L' Ère Nouvelle* (PEN) (vide quadro n. 1).

A pesquisa realizada foi muito profícua quanto aos resultados obtidos, pois permitiu dimensionar de forma mais significativa as relações estabelecidas entre a New Education Fellowship e os países sul-americanos, entre as décadas de 1920 e 1940. A documentação encontrada apresentou um volume considerável de fontes a serem analisadas para a compreensão das interações transnacionais de sujeitos, objetos e ideias pedagógicas no período, e voltar-se para esse conjunto documental ancorada em uma perspectiva de história transnacional da educação (Vera; Fuchs, 2021), permitiu inferir outros olhares sobre os objetivos inicialmente definidos para a pesquisa, ampliando e redirecionando a lente para novos encaminhamentos e abordagens acerca da temática sobre o movimento de renovação pedagógica.

Diante disso, no estudo aqui realizado, é possível afirmar que algumas bases dessas redes já foram identificadas, e elas tem pontos de convergência que podem ser caracterizados em instituições, como a NEF e o IJJR (entre outras), em impressos, como as revistas produtos das seções, em "interesses em comum", como o movimento de renovação pedagógica – a educação nova, ou em pessoas, como Adolphe Ferrière. Entretanto, ainda é necessário uma análise mais aprofundada desse conjunto material, com a lente voltada para os meandros das redes que se formam nessas bases, para compreender a circulação de sujeitos, objetos e concepções pedagógicas, além da possibilidade de compreensão do cenário educacional nacional.

Por fim, ressalta-se que a pesquisa de pós-doutorado, teve por propósito contribuir para os estudos em história da educação, seja na mobilização e levantamento de um corpus documental ou nas análises efetuadas a partir de novas perspectivas como a da história transnacional da

educação. Pois, de um lado, as informações inventariadas possibilitam o vislumbre de casos e movimentos mais específicos com relação a NEF e os países sul-americanos, assim como da circulação internacional de sujeitos, ideias e objetos; e de outro, permite conjecturar sobre um cenário mais abrangente que é o movimento da educação nova nos países da América do Sul, também sobre os processos de escolarização e as tensões neles envolvidas e ainda identificar uma rede internacional de educadores latino americanos.

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3. Participação em eventos científicos:

- **XI Congresso Brasileiro de História da Educação (CBHE),** realizado em julho de 2022.

1. FRANÇA, Franciele F. Ofício docente e materialidade escolar no século XIX. Artefatos que instrumentalizam fazeres, saberes que ressignificam objetos. (Comunicação oral).




- II Encontro Paranaense de História da Educação Preservação de acervos, pesquisa e formação de



pesquisadores – 25 anos da Linha de Pesquisa História e Historiografia da Educação (UFPR/PPGE)



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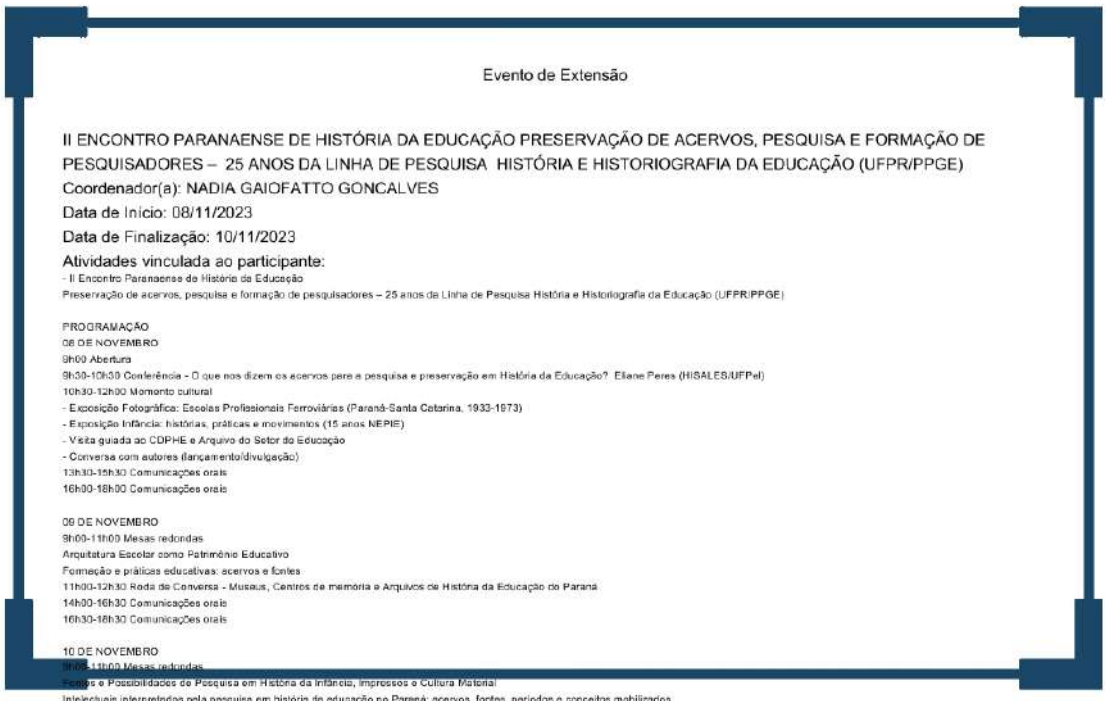
# CERTIFICADO

FRANCIELE FERREIRA FRANÇA frequentou o(a) Evento de Extensão "II ENCONTRO PARANAENSE DE HISTÓRIA DA EDUCAÇÃO PRESERVAÇÃO DE ACERVOS, PESQUISA E FORMAÇÃO DE PESQUISADORES – 25 ANOS DA LINHA DE PESQUISA HISTÓRIA E HISTORIOGRAFIA DA EDUCAÇÃO (UFPR/PPGE)", coordenado por NADIA GAIOFATTO GONCALVES, realizado no período de 08/11/2023 a 10/11/2023, promovido pelo(a) Setor de Educação da Universidade Federal do Paraná, obtendo frequência 10% e aproveitamento 100, cumprindo 20h conforme Resolução 57/19 - CEPE.

27 de Fevereiro de 2024

Profª. Drª. Mayara Elita Braz Carneiro
Pró-Reitor(a) de Extensão e Cultura

Profª. Drª. Mabel Karina Arantes Alves
Coordenador(a) de Extensão



Evento de Extensão

II ENCONTRO PARANAENSE DE HISTÓRIA DA EDUCAÇÃO PRESERVAÇÃO DE ACERVOS, PESQUISA E FORMAÇÃO DE PESQUISADORES – 25 ANOS DA LINHA DE PESQUISA HISTÓRIA E HISTORIOGRAFIA DA EDUCAÇÃO (UFPR/PPGE)
Coordenador(a): NADIA GAIOFATTO GONCALVES
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Preservação de acervos, pesquisa e formação de pesquisadores – 25 anos da Linha de Pesquisa História e Historiografia da Educação (UFPR/PPGE)

PROGRAMAÇÃO
08 DE NOVEMBRO
9h00 Abertura
9h30-10h30 Conferência - O que nos dizem os acervos para a pesquisa e preservação em História da Educação? Eliane Peres (HISALES/UFPel)
10h30-12h00 Momento cultural
- Exposição Fotográfica: Escolas Profissionais Ferroviárias (Paraná-Santa Catarina, 1933-1973)
- Exposição Infância: histórias, práticas e movimentos (15 anos NEPIE)
- Visita guiada ao CDPHE e Arquivo do Setor de Educação
- Conversa com autores (lançamento/divulgação)
13h30-15h30 Comunicações orais
16h00-18h00 Comunicações orais

09 DE NOVEMBRO
9h00-11h00 Mesas redondas
Arquitetura Escolar como Patrimônio Educativo
Formação e práticas educativas: acervos e fontes
11h00-12h30 Roda de Conversa - Museus, Centros de memória e Arquivos de História da Educação do Paraná
14h00-16h30 Comunicações orais
16h30-18h30 Comunicações orais

10 DE NOVEMBRO
9h00-11h00 Mesas redondas
Fontes e Possibilidades de Pesquisa em História da Infância, Impressos e Cultura Material
Intelectuais interpretados pela pesquisa em história da educação no Paraná: acervos, fontes, períodos e conceitos mobilizados.
11h00-12h30 Mesa de Encerramento
25 anos da educação no Paraná e no Brasil: a Linha de História e Historiografia da Educação da UFPR (on-line)

4. Publicações:

- Publicação em periódicos:

FRANÇA, Franciele F. Resenha. A Escola Nova e A New Education Fellowship sob uma nova perspectiva na História da Educação. *Cadernos de História da Educação*, v.21, p.1-5, e095, 2022 ISSN: 1982-7806 (on-

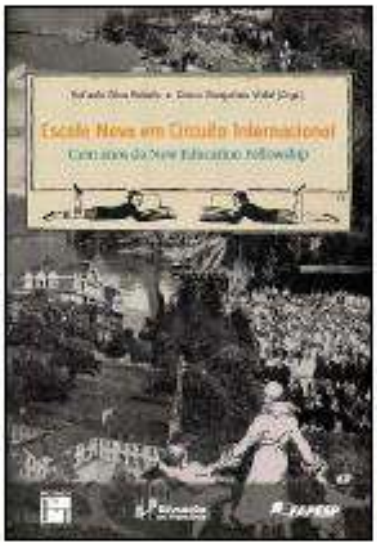
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RESENHAS

**A Escola Nova e A *New Education Fellowship* sob uma nova perspectiva na História da Educação**

The New School and the New Education Fellowship in a new perspective in the History of Education

Escola Nova y la New Education Fellowship bajo una nueva perspectiva en la Historia de la Educación

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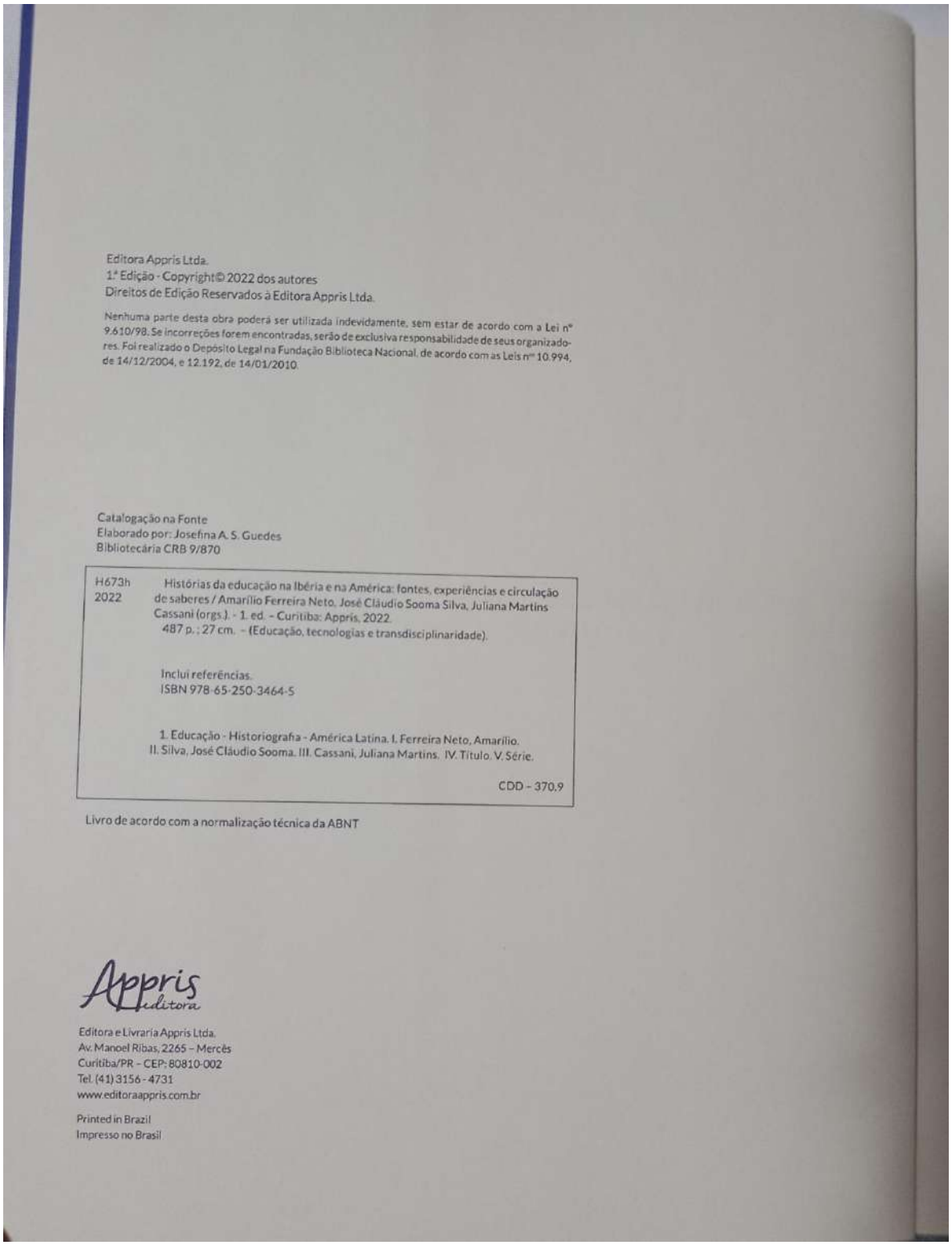



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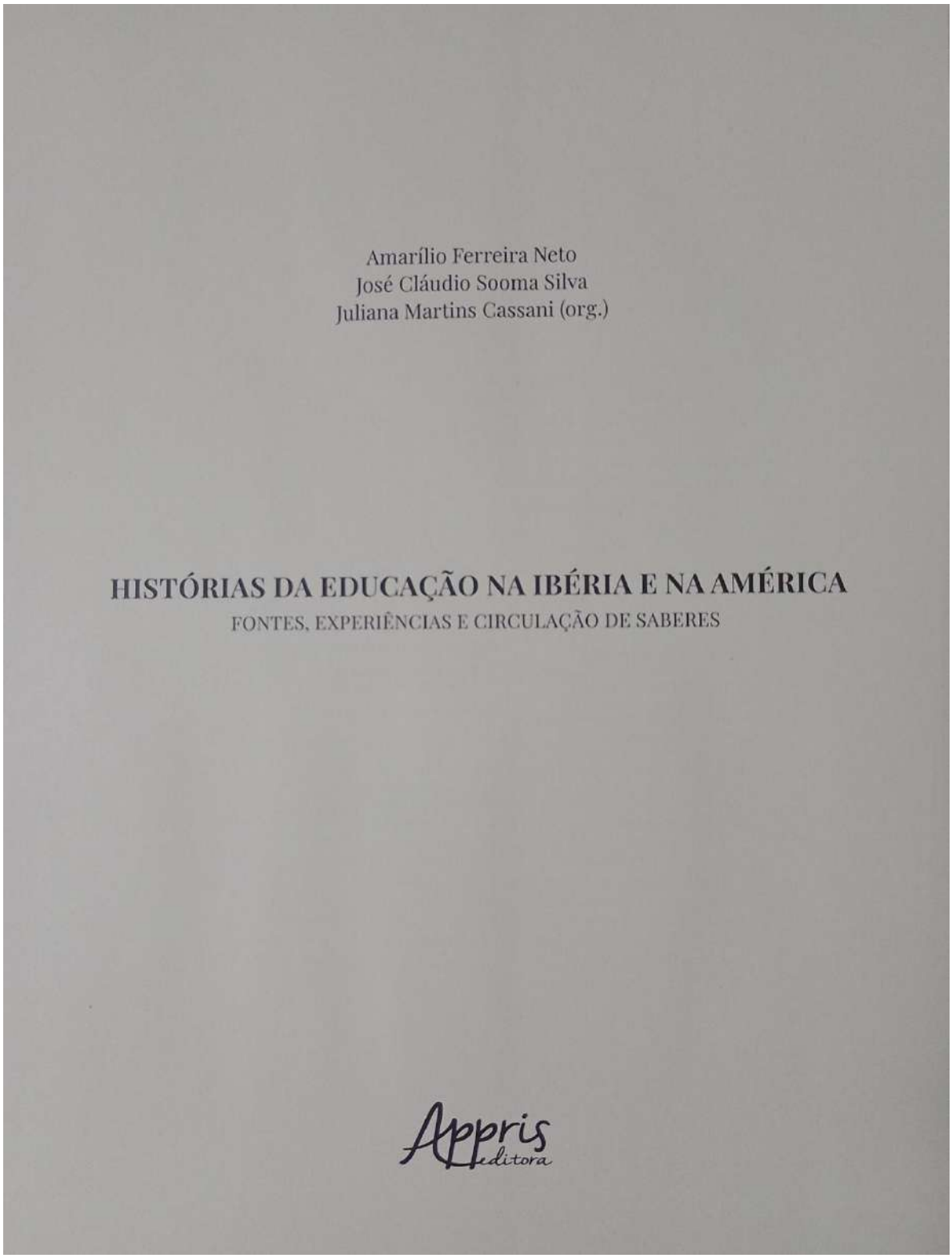
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# EDUCAÇÃO NOVA E SOCIALISMO: UM DEBATE PARA ALÉM DAS FRONTEIRAS NACIONAIS

Diana Gonçalves Vidal
Vinicius de Moraes Monção
Franciele F. França

## INTRODUÇÃO

A Escola Nova tem sido um dos temas mais estudados no âmbito da investigações histórico-educativas no Brasil. Os anos 1920 e 1930 suscitam o interesse de pesquisadores e pesquisadoras da área por razões já destacadas por Marta Carvalho (1989), quando remete a Fernando de Azevedo e à construção de um discurso fundador da história da educação brasileira, no reiteradamente citado *A cultura brasileira;* ou ainda por Libânia Xavier (2002), quando destaca a função de documento-monumento atribuído pela historiografia ao *Manifesto dos Pioneiros da Educação Nova,* publicado em 1932, para citarmos apenas duas das muitas análises realizadas sobre o período. A força desse personagem coletivo, os pioneiros, e do discurso de inovação pedagógica que emergiu na época, a despeito das variações e, mesmo, dissensões, foi capaz de galvanizar por muito tempo a narrativa sobre a história da escola primária pública brasileira, produzindo uma proliferação de trabalhos acadêmicos em que a Escola Nova é tematizada, seja pela abordagem de uma história das ideias, dos intelectuais, das instituições de ensino e das reformas educativas, ou por um enfoque na cultura e práticas escolares, na agência de sujeitos e nos materiais didáticos.

Estas investidas, no entanto, em sua maioria, circunscreveram-se ao território brasileiro, exercitando aquilo que Martin Lawn (2014) e outros autores têm denominado de "nacionalismo metodológico"; ou seja, tomaram o nacional como o espaço de discussão sobre a temática. Por certo, muitos desses estudos dialogaram com a literatura estrangeira e/ou se dispuseram a perceber como a Escola Nova e seus atores estiveram articulados ao movimento internacional, em geral focando as trocas estabelecidas com os EUA e a Europa. Recentemente, a ancoragem da história transnacional da educação vem ampliando o questionário de historiadores e historiadoras da educação brasileiros, fornecendo novas ferramentas e suscitando outras interrogantes. Partilhando desta perspectiva, o Projeto Temático *Saberes e práticas em*

*fronteiras: por uma história transnacional da educação (1810-...)*[508] tem favorecido o desenvolvimento de investigações sobre a New Education Fellowship (NEF), também conhecida como Liga Internacional pela Educação Nova[509]. Uma das linhas de interesse se endereça a avançar sobre a compreensão das relações tramadas pela NEF com os países latinoamericanos[510], no reconhecimento de que a produção acadêmica sobre a questão é ainda bastante escassa.

Ao inverter a lente de análise, ou seja, em lugar de partir do Brasil para acompanhar o movimento internacional da Escola Nova, tomamos a arena transnacional, passamos a nos interrogar sobre as muitas facetas que a renovação educacional assumiu no entreguerras para percebermos o repertório de ideias e práticas à disposição no período e as possíveis relações estabelecidas com ele por educadores e educadoras brasileiras. Nesse percurso, temos entretecido aos alertas da história transnacional os aportes da história digital e a localização de fontes em plataformas digitais[511], com a preocupação de procurar escapar aos não-ditos (DE CERTEAU, 1982) das historiografias nacionais da educação. Foi assim que a proposta de educação socialista despertou nossa atenção, professada pelo México, mas inserida no campo de recorrência do movimento internacional pela educação nova por meio das notícias veiculadas pela revista *The New Era,* periódico oficial do braço anglófono da NEF, objeto deste capítulo.

Três foram as razões que nos moveram a perscrutar essa temática. Inicialmente, acreditamos que poderia oferecer elementos para o entendimento do sistema de referência que permitiu associar, por parte de educadores católicos, Fernando de Azevedo ao socialismo, ou, mesmo, Anísio Teixeira ao comunismo. Em segundo lugar, concebemos que o expediente alargaria nossa compreensão sobre os modos de apropriação e de invenção na América Latina da renovação educacional. E, por fim, avaliamos que nos facultaria interrogar a construção de objetos de pesquisa por meio das historiografias nacionais, posto que o tema da Escola Nova emerge apenas transversalmente na produção histórico-educativa mexicana, não assumindo a mesma relevância que possui no Brasil. Ou seja, a investida, a um tempo, possibilita uma incursão acontecimental e epistemológica.

Para dar conta desses intuitos, este texto está organizado em quatro partes. Na primeira, explicitamos as referências ao México com que nos deparamos ao tratar a revista *The New Era*.

[508] O projeto é liderado por Diana Vida, FAPESP, processo 2018/26699-4. Para conhecer mais sobre o projeto, ver https://sites.usp.br/educacaoemfronteiras/

[509] Sobre a NEF, por exemplo, ver as recentes publicações do projeto: VIDAL & RABELO (2020) e RABELO & VIDAL (2021).

[510] A questão é objeto da investigação de Pós-doutorado de Franciele França, processo FAPESP nr. 20/12621-3.

[511] A discussão vem sendo abraçada principalmente por Vinicius Monção em seu Pós-doutorado, processo FAPESP nr. 20/00219-6.

Detemo-nos, na segunda parte, na Conferência regional norte americana da NEF ocorrida na cidade do México em 1935 por dois motivos: o primeiro relaciona-se com o fato de que até o momento, na leitura dos trabalhos realizados sobre a NEF por pesquisadores e pesquisadoras de vários países, em especial do estudo clássico de Brehony (2004), que situa as conferências internacionais realizadas pela NEF entre 1921 e 1938, incluindo as regionais, não havíamos localizado qualquer relato sobre o evento mexicano; o segundo incide sobre a constatação de que nada indica que o México tenha se associado à NEF. A investida assim abriria novas perspectivas de investigação sobre a relação entre a NEF e a América Latina. A educação socialista, por sua vez, é escrutinada por nós, na terceira parte deste texto, a partir de um diálogo com a historiografia educacional mexicana, com o objetivo de prover maiores elementos sobre a proposta. Por fim, à guisa de comentários, entretecemos as partes anteriores e desenhamos algumas conclusões.

## A PRESENÇA MEXICANA NA REVISTA *THE NEW ERA*

Aproximações entre a história da educação (HE) e a história digital (HD), via abordagens teóricas e metodológicas, têm sido realizadas por diversos historiadores e historiadas da educação no Brasil desde a década de 1990[512]. Dentre os motivos, podemos destacar a virada tecnológica em curso a partir dos últimos anos do século XX, na qual a popularização dos computadores pessoais, o desenvolvimento da internet comercial, a criação de acervos bibliográficos e documentais digitais/digitalizados têm oportunizado mudanças significativas na prática historiográfica (BONATO, 2004; RUYSKENSVELDE, 2014; ROCHA, 2020; CÁRDENAS; HOLGIÓN; PIÑÓN, 2021).

Nos últimos anos, é possível identificar pesquisas em história (da educação) que adotaram o uso de softwares como ferramenta para coleta, armazenamento, organização e análise das fontes/dados nascidos digitais ou aqueles que passaram por um processo de rematerialização[513]. Como no caso de documentos textuais em que a digitalização e o tratamento de ocerização tem favorecido outros modos de leitura e relações com o conteúdo escrito[514]. Por exemplo, pela ferramenta de busca de diversos softwares editores e leitores de texto, podemos localizar com exatidão o lugar de determinado termo em um documento

[512] No Brasil, as discussões sobre as pesquisas em História da Educação e os ambientes virtuais se estabeleceram entre as décadas de 1990 e 2000. Ver discussão em Faria Filho (2000) e Bonato (2004).
[513] Ver em Monção (2021) a discussão sobre o uso de softwares em pesquisa em história da educação.
[514] Sobre potencialidades e limitações do OCR, ver Brasil e Nascimento (2020).

digital/digitalizado. No entanto, se a leitura fragmentada e não linear dos documentos é uma realidade que tem facilitado o manuseio com a produção textual eletrônica, a abordagem integral do documento continua sendo um dos requisitos básicos e fundamentais para a compreensão da fonte em sua integralidade, tanto no suporte como na relação com o contexto em que foi produzido e esteve em circulação (CHARTIER, 2002, 2009).

É neste ponto que nos situamos. A revista *The New Era* (TNE) recentemente passou por um processo de digitalização e seus exemplares, que outrora só poderiam ser consultados em arquivos especializados em geral na Inglaterra e nos Estados Unidos, estão disponíveis para download a qualquer interessado[515]. Do vasto corpus documental digitalizado, coletamos os volumes referentes aos primeiros 20 anos de circulação da revista, que correspondem a 138 números e mais de cinco mil páginas. Como forma de abordagem ao vasto material, optamos por usar as ferramentas existentes no software de análise de dados qualitativo ATLAS.Ti[516]. Dentre as possibilidades do uso do software está o uso da ferramenta de busca que, através da análise de frequência (relativa ou absoluta) de termos, é possível identificar a presença de debates, discussões e termos distribuídos no recorte temporal da TNE.

Para identificar o conteúdo existente sobre o México no *corpus* da TNE, foi feito uma varredura do termo "mexico", através da ferramenta "pesquisa de texto", nos números da revista do qual apresentou 40 ocorrências no período recortado (Gráfico 1). A ocorrência do termo está circunscrita entre os anos de 1927 e 1938, com a maior incidência registrada na edição de número nove (9 ocorrências) no mês de novembro de 1935. Dentre os assuntos que se relacionam com o termo encontramos: a participação do país nos congressos internacionais da NEF realizados em Locarno (1927), Nice (1932) e Cheltenham (1936); nas conferências regionais, como a norte-americana realizada na Cidade do México (1935), e a do Pacífico realizada em Honolulu (1938); em artigo sobre ensino de geografia; notícias sobre o estabelecimento da Associação de Pais no México; referência ao golfo do México em propaganda da escola de Sarasota[517]; informações sobre a prática de castigos corporais a partir de um inquérito internacional publicado em 1929 na revista; relatos sobre a relação entre o país

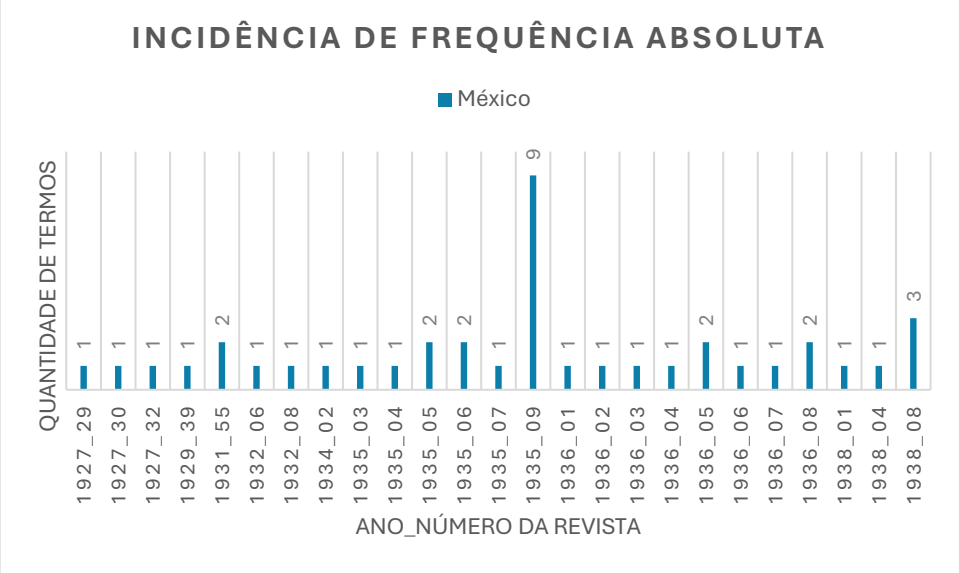
[515] Os exemplares digitalizados podem ser consultados no repositório digital Internet Archive: https://archive.org/details/uclinstituteofeducation?and%5B%5D=creator%3A%22new+education+fellowship%22&sort=titleSorter.

[516] O software desenvolvido na Universidade Técnica de Berlin por Thomas Muhr e colaboradores. A versão do software utilizada na pesquisa corresponde a 9ª. Sobre algumas possibilidades de usos do ATLAS.ti em áreas diversas ver: Konopásek (2008) e Paulus, et al (2015).

[517] A escola ao ar livre de Sarasota foi criada em 1924 por Fanneal Harrison e Catherine Gavin, a partir dos princípios do método Decroly, localizada na cidade homônima na Flórida, Estados Unidos. Disponível em: http://www.sarasotahistoryalive.com/history/articles/out-of-door-school/?back=history. Acesso: 04/10/2021.

com o International Bureu of Education do Instituto Jean Jacques Rousseau; uma resenha do livro *A method for creative design*, de Adolfo Best-Maugard (1927) e sobre o emprego do método em escolas mexicanas[518]. Por sua vez, não foi localizada nenhuma informação sobre adesão do México nas redes oficiais da NEF, seja com a associação de revista e/ou com a criação de uma seção nacional.

Gráfico 1 – Incidência de frequência absoluta do termo "mexico" na revista TNE (1920-1939)




Fonte: levantamento feito pelos autores a partir das informações existentes na revista *The New Era* (1920-1939).

Embora em alguns resultados a referência ao México seja pontual e fragmentada, é possível considerar que os indícios localizados revelam novas margens para o investimento de análise nas relações entre a América Latina e América do Norte, bem como da NEF com a Progressive Education Association (PEA)[519]. Em especial, destacamos a conferência regional de 1935, que não tem sido objeto de atenção pelos historiadores da educação. Importante reiterar que, embora Brehony (2004) tenha analisado as conferências internacionais realizadas pela NEF entre 1921 e 1938, incluindo as conferências regionais realizadas nos países pertencentes à Commonwealth, as três conferências regionais ocorridas em 1935, no Japão, México e Havaí, respectivamente, não constituíram seu interesse de análise. Por sua vez, dada a proposta deste artigo, iremos nos deter na temática referente ao encontro da Cidade do México.

[518] Referente ao livro *A method for creative design*, de Adolfo Best-Maugard (1927).
[519] De acordo com Brehony (2004), a relação entre NEF e PEA se estabeleceu durante o congresso de Locarno, em 1927, com a participação de Harold Rugg professor do *Teachers College* da Universidade de Columbia, como conferencista e representante da PEA no evento.

## A CONFERÊNCIA REGIONAL NORTE AMERICANA DA NEF NA CIDADE DO MÉXICO

A partir do gráfico 1 é possível observar que, nas primeiras duas décadas de circulação da TNE, o ano que registrou a maior ocorrência de frequências do termo "mexico" refere-se a 1935 com 16 ocorrências, seguido de 1936 com 10 ocorrências, e os demais anos com uma variação entre uma e quatro ocorrências. A edição que registrou a maior alta do resultado refere-se ao número nove, publicado em novembro de 1935; no qual o resultado refere-se diretamente à publicação do relatório da conferência[520].

Seguir as ocorrências apresentadas pelo software a partir da análise dos termos de frequência nos permitiu identificar alguns aspectos que sustentavam a proposição da conferência, presentes, por sua vez, em anúncios sobre a organização do evento. A primeira notícia foi publicada na coluna *International notes*, na edição de maio daquele ano, na qual destacou que a conferência no México estava sendo organizada pela seção estadunidense da NEF, pela PEA e em co-organização com o governo mexicano. Além de conferências e grupos de estudo realizados nos dias dos encontros sobre a temática da escola rural, psicologia moderna, educação e o desenvolvimento infantil, fora anunciado também a realização de viagens de campo como atividade que seria oferecida aos participantes (TNE, 1935, p. 139). A estrutura da conferência apresentada se aproxima das outras conferências da NEF. Além do objetivo de discutir sobre os problemas da educação, do compartilhamento de experiências sobre a educação nova, havia uma preocupação que os encontros pudessem oferecer atividades artísticas, culturais e de visita a escolas locais e experimentos educativos.

A conferência do México fez parte de uma série de três encontros realizados ao redor do mundo que tinha o objetivo em disseminar as discussões sobre a educação nova, ampliar as redes de parceria e atuação da NEF e conectar educadores em uma dimensão internacional. O primeiro encontro regional de 1935 foi realizado em Tóquio, organizado pela New Education Association of Japan, seção japonesa da NEF, e intitulada Conferência Pan-Pacífico. A segunda realizada nas ilhas britânicas, entre 13 e 23 de agosto, sediada na Universidade de St. Andrews na Escócia. E, a terceira na cidade do México, entre 26 e 31 de agosto, com a proposta de integrar representantes do México, Caribe, Estados Unidos e Canadá (TNE, 1935, p. 143).

[520] Além de informações sobre a conferência publicadas na TNE, o programa da conferência está disponível para consulta presencial no arquivo do *Institute of Education* da *University College London*.

A notícia de que a conferência seria realizada no país também foi publicada em nota pelo jornal *El Informador*[521], da cidade de Guadalajara, em março de 1935. Esta informava, sem mais detalhes, que a PEA celebraria uma conferência da "Nueva Confraternidad de Educación", com o objetivo de tentar unificar a educação para todos os povos do continente, para isso convidava todos os países do continente americano a enviarem seus delegados (*EL INFORMADOR*, 22/03/1935, p. 06). Já em relatório das atividades desenvolvidas durante a conferência, publicado na edição de novembro da TNE, consta que dentre os membros das comitivas, cerca de 200 pessoas estrangeiras realizaram inscrição para participação, com destaque para os seguintes personagens:

> Willard W. Beatty, Carleton Washbourne, Laura Zirbes, Mabel Carney, Goodwin Watson, Joseph McCulley, María Machín, Rose Alschuler, e Frederick L. Redefer. Cinco líderes da educação negra dos Estados Unidos estiveram presentes: Charlotte Hawkins Brown, da Palmer Memorial Institute; Howard Hale Long, representante das escolas públicas do Distrito de Columbia; Fannie Williams, da V. C. Jones School; Mark Hanna Watkins, da Universidade Fisk; e Gertrude E. Ayer, representante das escolas públicas da cidade de Nova York. O escritório de assuntos indígenas enviou quatro representantes que foram liderados por Mary Stewart, assistente da direção de educação[522]. (TNE, 1935, p. 279, tradução nossa).

Ainda segundo o relatório, os assuntos abordaram temas como educação rural, artes na educação, formação de professores, sobre os aspectos sociais e biológicos do desenvolvimento infantil, temas sobre a psicologia moderna; além de terem tratado os problemas referentes à educação primária, secundária e da educação destinadas às minorias culturais (TNE, 1935, p. 278). A ênfase no documento se voltou para a temática do programa socialista de educação implementado pelo governo mexicano, assunto de "grande interesse dos participantes". O tema foi endereçado por Gonzalo Vázquez Vela, secretário de educação mexicana, responsável pela abertura da conferência, em nome do presidente Lázaro Cárdenas del Río, que não esteve

[521] Jornal com sede em Guadalajara, Jalisco, foi fundado em 5 de outubro de 1917 por Jesús Álvarez del Castillo junto com seus sócios Ramón Castañeda e Eugenio Pinzón, gerente da hidrelétrica de Chapala, além de alguns comerciantes e industriais da colônia francesa de Guadalajara, entre os quais Ernesto Javelly, Mariano Favier e Enrique Teissier. (Disponível em: https://amp.es.what-this.com/4635642/1/el-informador-mexico.html Acesso em: 09/11/2021). Em sua plataforma digital encontra-se disponível uma Hemeroteca, na qual os arquivos digitais das edições impressas podem ser consultados desde sua fundação até os dias atuais (http://hemeroteca.informador.com.mx/#). Além disso, seus exemplares também podem ser consultados no site da Hemeroteca Nacional Digital de México (http://www.hndm.unam.mx/index.php/es/).

[522] No original: "From the United States, Canada, and Puerto Rico there were in attendance, among others, Willard W. Beatty, Carleton Washbourne, Laura Zirbes, Mabel Carney, Goodwin Watson, Joseph McCulley, María Machín, Rose Alschuler, and Frederick L. Redefer. Five leaders in Negro education were present from the United States: Charlotte Hawkins Brown, Palmer Memorial Institute; Howard Hale Long, Public Schools of the District of Columbia; Fannie Williams, V. C. Jones School; Mark Hanna Watkins, Fisk University; and Gertrude E. Ayer, New York City Public Schools. The Office of Indian Affairs sent four representatives, headed by Miss Mary Stewart, Assistant Director of Education".

presente no evento; Gabriel Lucio Argüelles, subsecretário de Educação Pública, abordou as tendências socialistas na educação primária; Manuel R. Palacios, presidente do Instituto de Orientação Socialista, discorreu sobre a função educativa do Estado e a liberdade de ensino; e Manuel Gamio, membro do mesmo instituto, apresentou o sistema educativo como um fator essencial de integração da nação (TNE, 1935, p. 279).

Dadas as tensões políticas em torno da perspectiva socialista em curso no México, o relatório destacou que "as apresentações do ponto de vista oficial da educação mexicana foram um desafio para os educadores de outros países quanto à objetividade" do Governo, principalmente para a comitiva estadunidense, em razão das "crenças da educação socialista". Embora a conferência tenha se desdobrado em tom "amigável", comentou-se sobre a divergência entre as partes representantes dos Estados Unidos e México. Ainda, como extensão da programação da conferência, o governo mexicano convidou um grupo de seis delegados dos Estados Unidos e do Canadá para visitarem as escolas de Jalapa, capital de Vera Cruz, onde o programa de educação socialista havia iniciado quatro anos, o que pode ser entendido como uma estratégia de apresentar os avanços pedagógicos. Ao final, o relator destacou que o encerramento da conferência "não foi o final do trabalho da *New Education Fellowship*, mas apenas o início do que pode ser uma experiência rica, útil e contínua."[523] (TNE, 1935, p. 279, tradução nossa).

A realização da conferência na Cidade do México permite-nos avançar na compreensão do estabelecimento de redes e presença da NEF na região da América Latina no período de entreguerras, que, como indicaram Rabelo e Vidal (2020), compõem uma conjuntura complexa, tênue, permeada de "(de)encontros e (des)conexões"[524]. Tendo sido fundada no congresso de Calais em 1921, a presença de educadores latino-americanos passou a ser relatada a partir do congresso de Locarno em 1927. Neste, dos 1200 inscritos que participaram da conferência, os representantes da América Latina contabilizaram seis inscrições dos quais três eram brasileiros, um mexicano, um peruano e um uruguaio (TNE, 1927, p. 117).

Entre as décadas de 1920 e 1940, Rabelo e Vidal (2020) apontam para uma mudança de atuação de representantes da NEF para o contexto latino-americano. Em um primeiro momento, Adolphe Ferrière ficou responsável pela difusão da *fellowship*, via excursão realizada entre 1929 e 1930 e no estabelecimento de contatos, no contexto latino e com a missão de mobilizar a criação das seções nacionais pelos países. As seções nacionais "eram as responsáveis pela

[523] No original: "For them, the closing session was not the finale of the work of the New Education Fellowship, but only the beginning of what can prove to be a rich, helpful and continuing experience".
[524] Sobre a criação das seções nacionais da NEF na América do Sul, ver Rabelo e Vidal (2020).

organização dos congressos e pela manutenção dos periódicos, bem como pela difusão de informes sobre o estado da educação de cada país" (RABELO; VIDAL, 2020, p. 27). Na década de 1930, a projeção econômica, política e cultural dos Estados Unidos no cenário mundial, bem como a reestruturação do Império Britânico com a criação da Commonwealth, tensionou a mudança do eixo político mundial. Ainda, convém apontar para proeminência no campo educativo que o Teachers College da Universidade de Columbia alcançou no período, tornando-se um espaço de referência na formação de professores. A organização da conferência regional norte-americana na Cidade do México pode ser entendida como um episódio de fortalecimento entre as ações desenvolvidas pelo escritório central da NEF em Londres, com a seção estadunidense e a PEA.

Como recentemente discutiram Rabelo e Vidal (2020) e Pinheiro (2021), a circulação e presença de Carleton Washburne em eventos, instituições no estabelecimento e manutenção de redes entre instituições e educadores ao redor do mundo a partir dos princípios da escola nova defendidos pela NEF e pela PEA, foi uma constante em sua trajetória. Inclusive, na década de 1940, Carleton realizou uma viagem pela América do Sul pela qual buscou a criação de seções nacionais da NEF. Foi nesse contexto que, em 1942, visitou a Colômbia, Equador, Chile, Paraguai e Brasil, momento em que foi criada a seção brasileira, empreendimento pouco profícuo e de curta duração (RABELO; VIDAL, 2020).

Posterior às publicações sobre a conferência regional norte-americana de 1935, as referências presentes sobre o México na TNE estão relacionadas com a Conferência Internacional de Cheltenham (1936), e na Conferência Regional do Pacífico, realizada em Honolulu[525] (1938). A primeira, organizada pela sede da NEF, indicou a participação de representantes oficiais enviados pelo governo mexicano (cujos nomes e quantidade não são mencionados) e a participação de trabalhos de crianças mexicanas na exposição internacional de desenhos e pinturas infantis que ocorreu durante o encontro[526] (TNE, 1936, p. 136). Já a segunda foi organizada pela PEA e pela seção estadunidense da NEF, voltada para a congregação de educadores de países banhados pelo oceano pacífico, tanto do hemisfério Norte quanto Sul, cujo relatório produzido pela PEA foi escrito por Ruth McMurry, professora do Teachers College, e reproduzido nas páginas da *The New Era* (TNE, 1938, p. 116-117; 250-252).

[525] A conferência acolheu mais de 700 inscritos oriundos da Austrália, Canadá, China, Japão, México, Filipinas, Nova Zelândia, Samoa Americana, dos Estados Unidos e das Ilhas Havaianas. A maioria, no entanto, eram educadores locais (TNE, 1938, p. 251).

[526] Além do México, compareceram à conferência educadores de El Salvador, Panamá e Colômbia.

Na conferência houve a participação de um representante do governo mexicano, Moises Saenz, que proferiu palestra na terceira seção intitulada *Mexican Education and Youth*. O relatório publicado não apresentou detalhes sobre a fala de Saenz e não faz referência ao programa educacional socialista. Apontou para o problema do curto período da infância na sociedade mexicana, uma vez que os adolescentes ingressam prematuramente no mundo do trabalho, e para a reforma mexicana como meio de construção da democracia pela reorganização dos elementos materiais, considerando a educação como caminho para a vida social (TNE, 1938, p. 250-252).

Na edição de janeiro de 1938, dentre as informações referentes às ações planejadas pela PEA, relatou-se o interesse em realizar uma segunda excursão ao México. De acordo com a notícia, essa seria "a oportunidade para um grupo limitado de educadores interessados em estudar o programa de educação comunitária mexicana em primeira mão durante três semanas"[527] (TNE, 1938, p. 28, tradução nossa). Frente aos elementos indiciários é possível considerar que a ampliação das discussões sobre a relação entre o México com a NEF possa ser investigada a partir das ações desenvolvidas pela PEA no contexto norte-americano. Tal fator ainda contribui para o avanço das discussões sobre a complexidade latino-americana das redes estabelecidas entre educadores, países e instituições em contexto transnacional no período entreguerras.

## A EDUCAÇÃO SOCIALISTA MEXICANA

> Art. 3º - **A educação do Estado será socialista**, e além de excluir toda a doutrina religiosa, combaterá o fanatismo e o preconceito, pelo que a escola organizará seus ensinamentos e atividades de forma que permita criar na juventude um conceito racional e exato do universo e da vida social.[528] (MEXICO. *Diario Oficial*, 13/12/1934, grifos nossos, tradução nossa).

Como mencionado anteriormente, as discussões em torno da educação socialista, concepção adotada oficialmente no México, foram de grande interesse dos participantes e ganharam relevância durante a conferência, realizada pela PEA em 1935. No entanto, o relatório sobre as atividades do encontro pontua que as apresentações sobre essa perspectiva educacional, por não

[527] No original: "The P.E.A is also planning a second tour into Mexico. This will be an opportunity for a limited group of educators interested in the community programme of education in Mexico to study it at first hand for three weeks".

[528] No original: "Artículo 3 - La educación que imparta el Estado será socialista, y además de excluir toda doctrina religiosa combatirá el fanatismo y los prejuicios, para lo cual la escuela organizará sus enseñanzas y actividades en forma que permita crear en la juventud un concepto racional y exacto del universo y de la vida social".

terem conferido certa objetividade em relação ao tema, foram um desafio para o entendimento dos participantes de outros países. Diante disso, foi organizada uma reunião adicional para que a concepção fosse melhor apresentada. Nesse encontro, as autoridades mexicanas estiveram presentes com o intuito de defender seu ponto de vista educativo assim como detalhar aspectos que teriam sido mal interpretados pelos demais visitantes que, por sua vez, comentaram, elogiaram e questionaram as apresentações. Ainda segundo o relatório, a discussão "foi amistosa e fundamental", porém ficaram evidentes as discordâncias entre os americanos quanto à filosofia socialista e suas crenças educacionais (TNE, 1935, p. 279).

A dificuldade no entendimento quanto à abordagem da concepção educacional socialista não foi particularidade dos educadores presentes na conferência, também esteve presente entre outras organizações mexicanas, uma vez que não houve por parte do governo uma explicitação do que compreendia por "escola socialista". Tanto o partido comunista como algumas autoridades e outros atores envolvidos com a educação cobraram uma conceituação mais clara a respeito do que consistia tal educação.

De acordo com Elvia Montes de Oca Navas (2008) e Alejandro Ortiz-Cirilo (2015), a educação socialista constituiu-se em uma reforma educacional implementada oficialmente, em fins de 1934, por decreto assinado pelo então presidente mexicano Lázaro Cárdenas. A reforma, aprovada pelo Congresso Legislativo, foi uma proposta do Partido Nacional Revolucionário (PNR), do qual o presidente fazia parte, que, segundo Montes de Oca Navas (2008, p. 504, tradução nossa), "considerou essa reforma não apenas como uma resposta a uma necessidade social existente: expandir o ensino fundamental em todo o país e entre todos os setores da população, mas também como um instrumento político de mudança[529]". O objetivo era que a educação elementar chegasse a todos os mexicanos, para tanto considerava-se necessário centralizar o sistema educativo sob domínio do governo federal, numa política de federalização das escolas.

Montes de Oca Navas (2008, p. 504, tradução nossa) esclarece ainda que, dentre os princípios que embasam a proposta, estava "a escola de ação", pois havia a percepção de que, seguindo os caminhos das nações mais avançadas, "era necessária uma educação útil para o trabalho produtivo, tanto no campo quanto nas fábricas, então os alunos tinham que aprender fazendo[530]". Esta escola deveria ainda permitir que os alunos pudessem criar um conceito

[529] No original: "(…) consideró dicha reforma no sólo como respuesta a una necesidad social existente: el expandir la educación elemental por todos los rumbos del país y entre todos los sectores de la población, sino también como una herramienta política de cambio".

[530] No original: "(…) era necesaria una educación útil para el trabajo productivo, tanto en el campo como en las fábricas, luego los alumnos debían aprender-haciendo".

racional e exato do universo e da vida social. Como pode ser observado na transcrição do artigo 3º, feita anteriormente, a abordagem negava explicações provenientes de uma doutrina religiosa, pautando-se apenas na ciência.

No entanto, ainda que muito discutida no interior do partido, quando aprovada, a reforma, segundo alguns autores (MARTINS, 2018; MONTES DE OCA NAVAS, 2005, 2008; ORTIZ-CIRILO, 2015; QUINTANILLA, 1996; ROCHA, 2019), não teve o devido tratamento conceitual, e isso pode ser observado no texto sucinto do Decreto de 1934. O documento, além de determinar que a educação seria socialista e excluir toda e qualquer doutrina religiosa, deliberava que somente a federação, os estados e municípios poderiam gerir as escolas primárias, secundárias e normais. Deste modo, também dispunha sobre a condição das escolas particulares, as quais só receberiam autorização caso se adequassem aos preceitos do artigo 3º. Não há no texto detalhamentos sobre a concepção pedagógica ou orientação metodológica a ser adotada, talvez por uma compreensão de que isso seria feito em leis posteriores.

Nas análises sobre a reforma, empreendidas por Ortiz-Cirilo (2015) e Montes de Oca Navas (2005, 2009), é possível perceber, embora os autores não façam a afirmação, que a falta de definição acerca da educação socialista derivou da ausência de consenso entre os debatedores durante o processo de formulação da proposta. Ortiz-Cirilo (2015) relata que, durante as reuniões, o problema estava em conceituar o termo "socialista", o qual possuía conotações distintas para os grupos que formavam a comissão. Montes de Ocas Navas (2009, p. 96, tradução nossa) demarca que não havia acordo sobre o próprio significado de socialismo, "para alguns era um termo unívoco, enquanto para a maioria resultava difícil distingui-lo e compreendê-lo[531]".

> No início dos debates, nenhuma outra proposta foi aceita senão a do socialismo científico, com seus postulados da socialização progressiva dos meios de produção, a luta de classes, a interpretação materialista do mundo, a teoria do estabelecimento da ditadura do proletariado, e assim por diante. Então, por educação socialista entendia-se um conjunto de saberes e técnicas pedagógicas destinadas a promover essa concepção de mundo e de vida em crianças e jovens, a fim de despertar neles a consciência de classe, e assim trabalhar por um regime econômico e político em poder a serviço do proletariado. (ORTIZ-CIRILO, 2015, p. 48, tradução nossa)[532].

[531] No original: "(…) para unos pocos era un término unívoco, mientras para la mayoría resultaba difícil distinguirlo y comprenderlo".

[532] No original: "Al inicio de los debates no se aceptaba otra propuesta que la del socialismo científico, con sus postulados de la progresiva socialización de los medios de producción, la lucha de clases, la interpretación materialista del mundo, la teoría del establecimiento de la dictadura del proletariado, etcétera. Entonces, por educación socialista se entendía un conjunto de conocimientos y técnicas pedagógicas encaminados a promover

Diante dos embates, dúvidas e incertezas que surgiram a partir da adoção da escola socialista, a Secretaria de Educação Pública (SEP) mobilizou uma série de medidas a fim de orientar os professores em sua organização escolar. Desta forma, foram publicados guias como "o *Plan de Acción de la Escuela Primaria Socialista* e o *Las Bases de la Escuela Secundaria Socialista*. Além disso, Cárdenas criou em 1935 o Instituto de Orientación Socialista, com o objetivo de preparar os maestros para a reforma educacional" (MARTINS, 2018, p. 291). A SEP ainda promoveu as "missões migrantes de orientadores socialistas que, durante três semanas em cada lugar, doutrinaram professores de lugares isolados" (ZORAIDA VÁZQUEZ, 1981, p. 162 *apud* MARTINS, 2018, p. 291, tradução nossa)[533]. Conforme assinala Anderson M. Martins (2018), foram traduzidas as obras de Marx, Engels e Plekhanov, e publicados artigos ideológicos e pedagógicos na revista *El Maestro Rural*.

Com o objetivo de amparar interpretações e ações coetâneas ao esperado pelo governo e reduzir a resistência ao novo sistema escolar, alguns periódicos, principalmente do estado de Toluca, foram veículo de circulação de material pedagógico, oferecendo conteúdos adequados às escolas socialistas (MONTES DE OCA NAVAS, 2009).

> *El Nacional* se dedicou a publicar livros de texto e de pedagogía para reforçar a educação no México, exemplo disso foi *Escuela Nueva,* de Lorenzo Filho; *Cartas a los maestros rurales*, de León Díaz Cárdenas; *El método de proyectos en las escuelas rurales* de Fernando Sáinz; *Juegos educativos,* de Román García Ruiz; *Utilización del radio como método educativo,* de Simón Serna; *Historia de América,* de Luis Álvarez Barrel y Antonio Rangel; *Geogrqfia de México,* de Elpidio López e Jorge Casahonda; *Cartilla de liberación proletaria para la enseñanza de la lectura a los adultos*, de Blanca Luna Islas; *Las pequeñas industrias en la escuela del campo,* de Aurelio del Río; *Historia Universal*, de Raúl Contreras e Faustino Celaya Garda y *Enseñanza revolucionaria de la historia,* de Lucio Sandoval Rivera. Os autores eram professores em atividade. (MONTES DE OCAS NAVAS, 2005, p. 96, tradução nossa)[534].

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en el niño y en el joven esta concepción del mundo y de la vida, a fin de despertar en ellos la conciencia clasista, y laborar así por un régimen económico y político en el poder al servicio del proletariado."

[533] No original: "misiones trashumantes de orientadores socialistas que, durante tres semanas en cada lugar, adoctrinaban maestros de lugares aislados".

[534] No original: "*El Nacional* se dedicó a publicar libros de texto y de pedagogía para reforzar la educación en México, ejemplo de ello fue *Escuela Nueva,* de Lorenzo Filho; *Cartas a los maestros rurales*, de León Díaz Cárdenas; *El método de proyectos en las escuelas rurales* de Fernando Sáinz; *Juegos educativos,* de Román García Ruiz; *Utilización del radio como método educativo,* de Simón Serna; *Historia de América,* de Luis Álvarez Barrel y Antonio Rangel; *Geogrqfia de México,* de Elpidio López y Jorge Casahonda; *Cartilla de liberación proletaria para la enseñanza de la lectura a los adultos*, de Blanca Luna Islas; *Las pequeñas industrias en la escuela del campo,* de Aurelio del Río; *Historia Universal,* de Raúl Contreras y Faustino Celaya Garda y *Enseñanza revolucionaria de la historia,* de Lucio Sandoval Rivera. Los autores eran profesores en activo."

O Partido Comunista, que apoiava a política de reforma do governo, também promoveu conferências com a intenção de não só orientar os professores, mas de aclarar os preceitos da educação socialista. A concepção propagada era a de que o professor desta nova escola deveria ser um líder social da comunidade em que estava inserido, capacitando todos os membros e não apenas seus alunos; teria a responsabilidade de reunir as crianças e os adultos em clubes e sociedades e fomentar o autogoverno escolar, configurando desta forma uma escola única em conteúdos e propósitos visando a unidade nacional. "Uma escola igual para todos, independentemente da situação econômica ou do gênero, uma escola mexicana única. A escola como patrimônio de todos, não só de quem teve que pagar por ela." (MONTES DE OCA NAVAS, 2008, p. 498, tradução nossa)[535]. Tratava-se de uma pedagogia socialista, voltada para as escolas rurais, objetivando a organização coletiva de crianças e adultos, com o fito de combater principalmente o fanatismo e as práticas religiosas (MARTINS, 2018, p. 291).

Conforme destaca Montes de Oca Navas (2008), as escolas socialistas deveriam impulsionar a alfabetização e o ensino da língua castelhana para os adultos e crianças, além de disseminar o ensino de modernas formas de organização produtiva e cooperativas, com a aprendizagem de novas técnicas de trabalho agrícola, otimizando a produção de camponeses e seus filhos. Enquanto no campo se ensinariam as crianças a trabalharem com os animais e com a terra, na cidade ou em regiões industriais, em que houvesse operários assalariados, os professores teriam a tarefa de orientá-los para exercerem e cobrarem seus direitos trabalhistas. Ainda segundo a autora, o mais importante, nesta concepção educativa, era habilitar os alunos a assumirem uma responsabilidade conjunta no interior de um grupo, colocando os interesses coletivos acima dos individuais.

Vanessa de Souza V. da Rocha (2019) analisou em seu estudo os pronunciamentos do Presidente Lázaro Cárdenas em favor de sua política de reforma. Segundo a autora, a escola socialista deveria tanto garantir o aprendizado dos saberes racionais e científicos, "como ser capaz de fomentar um sentido coletividade e cooperação entre as classes menos favorecidas, para que estas tivessem acesso a condições mais dignas de trabalho e de vida, e para que a nação superasse sua 'condição de atraso'" (ROCHA, 2019, p. 11). Neste intento, mais do que uma proposta educacional, a reforma visava a adesão das classes trabalhadoras ao projeto de desenvolvimento nacional. Para a autora, "a educação socialista faz parte de um conjunto de políticas públicas, que visavam o desenvolvimento econômico e social mexicano, através de

[535] No original: "Una escuela que fuera igual para todos, sin distinciones de situaciones económicas ni sexos, una escuela mexicana única. La escuela como patrimonio de todos, no sólo de quienes tuvieran para pagarla."

uma aproximação com as camadas populares", e que portanto, em sua compreensão, "o 'socialismo' defendido não envolvia necessariamente a abolição da propriedade privada, e sim a tentativa de aceleração do desenvolvimento mexicano sobre bases mais independentes, o que por sua vez incluía o acesso a terras e à educação pelas camadas populares" (ROCHA, 2019, p. 07-08, grifos no original).

Rocha (2019) ainda assinala que o governo defendia a reconstrução do México em bases mais autônomas no que tange ao aspecto econômico, assegurando desta forma um papel de destaque aos trabalhadores. Nesse sentido, a formação profissional e a educação para o trabalho, defendidas na educação socialista, tornavam-se importantes meios para a concretização de tais objetivos. No entanto, apesar dos esforços empreendidos pelo governo e seus apoiadores, em apresentarem as vantagens da educação socialista, a reforma educacional também foi alvo de críticas, principalmente por seu posicionamento radical contra a doutrina religiosa.

> O que afeta a nova escola não são precisamente suas tendências sociais de formar gerações de homens capazes de enfrentar a vida com sua riqueza de conhecimentos práticos, mas a tendência antirreligiosa que atormenta aqueles que cultivam uma certa fé, e por isso e muito mais, argumenta-se que é preciso pensar em despertar a confiança na escola através da divulgação da verdade, convidando os cidadãos; pais e mães, para presenciar a educação dada aos filhos e ver se há perseguição ou não e confirmar se a nova escola é ou não um campo de ensino sectário. (EL INFORMADOR. *Confianza en la escuela*, 23/02/1935, p. 03, tradução nossa)[536].

A opinião, expressa na nota do jornal *El Informador*, verbalizava o receio dos pais em enviarem seus filhos a uma instituição que se postulasse contra a sua religião. Ademais, temiam as ameaças de excomunhão feitas pelos clérigos da Igreja Católica, adversários políticos do governo, àqueles que mandassem as crianças à escola.

O posicionamento radical em relação à doutrina religiosa foi pauta dos debates quando da elaboração da proposta de reforma. Houve sugestões de que se incluísse no texto do decreto somente que a escola socialista seria obrigatória, gratuita e laica, sem oposição à religião. Porém, existiram argumentos que defendiam a necessidade de demarcar o combate e a exclusão de qualquer doutrina religiosa dentro da escola, impedindo assim a interferência da Igreja Católica na educação (ORTIZ-CIRILO, 2015). Prevaleceu no decreto o último posicionamento,

[536] No original: "Lo que afecta a la escuela nueva no son precisamente sus tendencias sociales de formar generaciones de hombres capaces de enfrentarse a la vida con su caudal de conocimientos prácticos, sino la tendencia anti-religiosa que atormenta a los que cultivan determinada fe y por esto y más que se aduce, es ya necesario que se piense en despertar la confianza hacia la escuela por medio de la difusión de la verdad, invitando a los ciudadano; padres de familia y a las madres, a que presencien la educación que se les da a los hijos y vean si hay o no persecución y confirmen que la escuela nueva es o no campo de enseñanza sectaria".

o que marcou os dissensos durante o período em que a reforma esteve vigente, evidenciando a profunda adesão do México à religião católica.

Por esta razão, alguns membros do Partido Comunista aconselhavam não atacar diretamente a Igreja. Os riscos não se resumiam a que os pais retirassem os filhos das escolas, em regiões mais conservadoras do país, chegaram ocorrer, inclusive, assassinato de professores (MONTES DE OCA NAVAS, 2008, p. 497). Susana Quintanilla (1996, p. 06, tradução nossa), ao abordar os estudos regionais acerca da implantação da reforma, alerta, entretanto, que "graças a isso, hoje sabemos que os princípios da educação socialista foram recebidos de forma particular em cada região, estado e comunidade. Em alguns casos, o movimento católico foi o elemento decisivo no tipo de respostas; em outros, desempenhou um papel secundário"[537].

Por fim um outro problema, gerado pela implementação da educação socialista e criticado nos jornais da época, foi a determinação de que fossem fechadas as escolas particulares que não se adequassem aos preceitos da reforma. Isso ocasionou a diminuição do acesso das crianças ao ensino, principalmente nas comunidades rurais, pois em algumas dessas localidades essas eram as únicas escolas a atender a demanda por educação. As escolas particulares uma vez fechadas nem sempre eram substituídas por oficiais pelo governo.

Para os autores que analisaram a reforma educacional mexicana, citados anteriormente, é consenso que a educação socialista fez parte de um projeto político que inaugurou um novo período da história do México, decorrente da revolução radical instituída pelo governo.

## COMENTÁRIOS FINAIS

Talvez o primeiro aspecto a ser destacado por nós nesta conclusão se refira ao modo como utilizamos as bases digitais da revista *The New Era* para levantarmos as referências ao México. Partimos da interrogação acerca da ausência de menção ao país na bibliografia sobre a NEF percorrida e, mesmo, nas investigações que a equipe vem conduzindo no âmbito do Projeto Temático, em particular os estudos de Rafaela Rabelo (2021). No entanto, ao buscar o termo "mexico" nos deparamos com algumas alusões que suscitaram nossa curiosidade. A primeira delas a informação sobre as Conferências regionais do México, Japão e Havaí, até então não localizadas na literatura; a segunda a indicação da implantação de uma educação socialista no país por meio de uma reforma educativa. Nesse sentido, fomos surpreendidos com

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duas novas linhas de investigação para as quais ainda não havíamos atentado e que nos permitiam interrogar a historiografia educacional produzida sobre a relação entre a PEA e a NEF a partir de um outro ponto de vista. Portanto, se o intuito inicial tinha sido alargar nosso conhecimento sobre o tramado entre NEF e América Latina, acabamos por ampliar nossa compreensão sobre a atuação dos Estados Unidos na difusão da NEF.

Um outro elemento que podemos destacar desta investida, já mencionado neste texto, foi a reiteração da complexidade latino-americana das redes estabelecidas entre educadores, países e instituições em contexto transnacional no período entreguerras. Nesse âmbito, identificamos uma circulação imprevista de ideias situadas no mesmo marco temporal que colocavam em conjunção duas instituições – o Estado e a Igreja Católica – na disputa sobre as práticas escolares, aproximando Brasil e México, ainda que de forma contrastante. A observação dos embates ocorridos com introdução de uma educação socialista nos fez recordar as lutas entre educadores pioneiros e católicos no caso brasileiro. As datas assemelham-se. Se em 1934, foi promulgado o decreto mexicano que apartava a religião católica da educação escolar; no Brasil a Constituição incluía, no mesmo ano, o ensino religioso de frequência facultativa e ministrado de acordo com os princípios da confissão religiosa do aluno manifestada pelos pais ou responsáveis, introduzido como matéria dos horários nas escolas públicas primárias, secundárias, profissionais e normais. Aprofundava as pelejas iniciadas com a publicação do *Manifesto dos pioneiros da educação nova,* e abria espaço à perseguição de educadores.

O sinal parecia invertido. Se no caso do México, a repressão se fazia sentir por parte do governo às crenças religiosas e, no Brasil, eram os membros da Igreja Católica que assediavam os educadores liberais, não é certo dizer que os confrontos aconteciam fora do mesmo campo de recorrência que supunha ser a educação escolar o principal motor de conformação da infância e da adolescência e de sua identificação com um ou outro sistema de representação. Assim como em terras mexicanas, estas disputas no âmbito do simbólico se materializaram em práticas violentas, como o assassinato de professores, em terras brasileiras reprimiram a ação de educadores e perseguiram a atores políticos. O exemplo de Anísio Teixeira ganha relevo. Ao recusar-se a implantar o ensino religioso nas escolas da capital da República, ao defender o direito de associação da Juventude comunista, ao professar o liberalismo, Teixeira, como diretor geral da Educação Pública carioca, emergiu na condição de inimigo de primeira ordem nas manifestações da Igreja Católica.

De acordo como Clarice Nunes (2000, p. 456, grifos no original),

> A "reforma pela educação" dos liberais representava o mesmo perigo que a "revolução pelas armas" do Partido Comunista. O antídoto contra os dois casos era o fortalecimento da autoridade constituída. Esse elemento era considerado básico pelos prelados, para que a Igreja Católica pudesse de novo afirmar sua presença na sociedade brasileira.

As consequências do avanço das hostes católicas contra Teixeira foram devastadoras. Não apenas exonerou-se do cargo em 1935, como exilou-se na Argentina e depois no sertão baiano até o retorno à política em 1946. Para Fernando de Azevedo os revezes foram de menor monta, mas eivados do mesmo recorte ideológico. No opúsculo *O Sr. Fernando de Azevedo, a sua sociologite aguda e do que mais lhe aconteceu,* editado em 1936, com colaborações de Alexandre Correia e Leonardo Van Acker, a reforma do Distrito Federal, efetuada por Azevedo em 1928, era identificada como ponto inicial de uma série de episódios – a publicação de *Novos caminhos e novos fins* e do *Manifesto dos Pioneiros da Educação Nova* e a realização da Quinta Conferência Nacional de Educação – de "descristianização e bolchevização da infância e da mocidade nacional". Na retórica de Van Acker, liberalismo e bolchevismo associavam-se na defesa da escola única e denotavam a íntima relação entre escola nova e comunismo (VAN ACKER, 1936, p. 13-16). O opúsculo saia a lume editado pelo Centro D. Vital. Criado em 1922, com o objetivo de promover estudos, discussões da doutrina religiosa e congregar intelectuais para uma ação apostólica (BAÍA HORTA, 1994), o Centro reunia educadores e prelados, como o Padre Leonel Franca, Jakson Figueiredo, Alceu de Amoroso Lima, Jonathas Serrano e Everardo Backheuser, constituindo-se em um importante lugar de luta política e de enunciação de propostas católicas, disseminadas pela revista *A Ordem* e por publicações diretamente ligadas à entidade.

Cabe ainda dar realce à remissão à *Escuela Nueva,* de Lorenzo Filho, feita por Elvia Montes de Oca Navas, como um dos livros utilizados como referência ao trabalho de professores e professoras da escola socialista. Muito possivelmente refere-se a *La Escuela Nueva,* de M.B. Lourenço Filho, publicado em Barcelona, pela Editorial Labor, em 1933. Tratava-se de tradução de Enrique de Leguina do opúsculo *Escola Nova,* resposta ao inquérito sobre o ensino paulista promovido pelo jornal *O Estado de S. Paulo* em 1926 e saído a lume no Brasil em 1927. De acordo com Carlos Monarcha (2000), o livro está na gênese de *Introdução aos Estudos da Escola Nova.* Lourenço Filho, diferentemente de Fernando de Azevedo e Anísio Teixeira, teve o beneplácito da Igreja Católica e permaneceu em cargos públicos junto ao Ministério de Educação e Saúde durante e após a ditadura de Vargas no Brasil. Segundo Clarice Nunes (2000, p. 308), manifestou-se publicamente contra as ideias comunistas em 1934, quando do inquérito realizado sobre a presença de membros da Federação Vermelha de

Estudantes entre as alunas do Instituto de Educação do Rio de Janeiro. Portanto, por certo não foi o seu posicionamento ideológico que o tornou um autor indicado para formação de docentes no México, oferecendo conteúdo adequado a escolas socialistas, mas a sistematização de ideias escolanovistas que o opúsculo trazia.

Esta constatação nos leva ao quarto e último aspecto que podemos invocar a título de comentários finais: as várias representações de educação em circulação no entreguerras, direta ou indiretamente vinculadas ao movimento da educação nova. A acepção tornada recorrente no Brasil de Escola Nova não emerge, a não de maneira transversal, nos documentos mexicanos. No entanto, enunciados como escola ativa (la escuela de acción), escola única, educação para o trabalho produtivo, aprender-fazendo e escola como adaptação do individuo a seu meio aproximam ênfases encontradas nos textos provenientes dos dois países, exibindo uma similaridade de propostas e um campo de recorrência de ideias. Outros termos, como escola obrigatória, gratuita e laica, marcam ainda proximidades históricas no que concerne à oferta desigual de escolarização às populações brasileiras e mexicanas. Por si só, estes enunciados não podem promover em nós a sensação de uma identidade de processos. São indiciários de parentescos na constituição dos sistemas educativos em países colonizados da América Latina, mas evocam o aprofundamento das pesquisas para que a superficialidade das problemáticas, apenas arranhada neste capítulo, possa permitir afirmações mais contundentes.

Nesse sentido, investir na compreensão dos regimes presentes na conformação dos Estados nacionais, na configuração populacional, com seus diversos grupos étnicos, nas construções identitárias, nas revoluções sociais e políticas, enfim, alterar a lente para contemplar as especificidades da história de cada país e, simultaneamente, exercitar sua ultrapassagem pelo olhar que mira tramas transnacionais poderia nos auxiliar no entendimento dos sentidos diversos que os termos realçados acima assumiram em cada contexto, na fabricação de práticas múltiplas, simbolicamente articuladas e constitutivas das diversas expressões da renovação educacional na América Latina.

Afinal, não são uma questão menor que o ponto nodal das reformas educativas no Brasil tenha se dado no espaço urbano, enquanto no México a educação rural atraiu o maior investimento do Estado (ROCKWELL, 2007) e que o atributo de revolucionário possa ser associado à educação mexicana, sendo impertinente para designar a educação brasileira do período, à qual se imputava não a revolução, mas a reforma da sociedade (CARVALHO, 1998).

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# “La Escuela Nueva en Acción”: a materialidade escolar para a nova educação na América Latina em revistas para professores no primeiro terço do Século XX.

Andrea Bezerra Cordeiro

Franciele F. França

## Introdução

Uma nova educação, capaz de mudar o mundo através da transformação das sensibilidades em favor dos valores da simplicidade, da liberdade, da responsabilidade, do retorno à natureza e do cultivo da beleza, conhecimento e verdade. Esta sentença poderia estar na propaganda de quase toda escola que se deseje transformadora no século XXI. No entanto, trata-se aqui de uma formulação bastante geral e difundida de ideias-motor do movimento por uma nova educação, que ganha força na Europa logo após a Primeira Guerra Mundial, movimento conhecido pelo nome de Escola Nova.

A perpetuação e a atualidade destes anseios, ou slogans[538], por uma educação capaz de reverter mazelas que atingem à humanidade, nos instigam a compreender o fenômeno da difusão, circulação e apropriação destas ideias, que parecem ainda ter força, não obstante datarem de quase um século e terem assumido diferentes roupagens através de métodos e movimentos que se sucederam na história da educação do ocidente desde o século XX.

Neste sentido, trazemos para debate no presente artigo a discussão que tais ideias, surgidas no Velho Mundo, ganharam força e espraiamento na América Latina através de um esforço racional de divulgação do ideário da escola nova a partir da década de 1920, entendendo que os educadores e as educadoras envolvidos no surgimento da escola nova, buscaram

[538] A sloganização reduz as possibilidades de co-criação dialógica no fazer educativo, é uma tática a ser usada para dominar o discurso de maneira condutiva e prescritiva, e não praxiológica, sendo para Paulo Freire, o antidiálogo. (Freire, 1997)

estrategicamente divulgar suas ideias, fazendo uso de uma mídia que tinha destaque e alcance naquele período: as revistas de caráter pedagógico.

A imprensa pedagógica tem se constituindo como um produtivo espaço para a análise histórico-educacional por meio de diversificadas abordagens, em um movimento reconhecido por Catani (2013) como intrínseco à profissionalização docente desde meados do século XIX, fortificando-se no século XX, publicizando, produzindo, formando e orientando o fazer de professores e professoras.

Em se tratando do movimento escolanovista, as revistas oficialmente ligadas à *New Education Fellowship* (Liga Internacional para a Educação Nova) assumiram um papel de autoridade e propaganda desse ideário educativo, trazendo (sob a forma de artigos majoritariamente de cunho científico, assinados por autoridades do movimento) discussões teóricas, modelos, propostas, narrativas de visitas a instituições, que destacaram a potência dos princípios escolanovistas a serem aplicados nas instituições que almejassem a renovação da educação, e com ela, a renovação do mundo.

Brasters e Andres (2018) destacam que os esforços de propaganda desse movimento se tornaram uma das principais estratégias de seus criadores e um elemento de extrema importância à expansão mundial do escolanovismo. Os autores afirmam que o movimento, desde seu nascimento, será marcado pela "*vocacion propagandística de sus primeras y más conocidas figuras*" (p. 100), citando como exemplo os inúmeros documentários produzidos por Maria Montessori, Decroly e outros educadores, e apresentados para grandes audiências na Europa e nos Estados Unidos, desde início dos anos de 1910 e por toda década de 1920.

Ainda de acordo com Brasters e Andres (2018), entendemos que:

> A Escola Nova foi um movimento transnacional, impulsionado pela celebração do primeiro Congresso Internacional de Educação Nova, em Calais (1921), durante o qual ocorreu a criação do *New Education Fellowship* (NEF), rede na qual se integravam os educadores que acreditavam em uma educação centrada na personalidade da criança. Três figuras estiveram envolvidas em sua fundação, o suíço Adolphe Ferrière, a alemã Elizabeth Rotten e a britânica Beatrice Ensor. Esta última forneceu as raízes institucionais da NEF, a Fraternidade Teosófica em Educação que ela ajudou a estabelecer em 1915, em meio ao horror da Primeira Guerra Mundial, impulsionada pela ideia de que o conflito bélico poderia ter sido evitado com uma educação diferente. Ensor pensava que a nova educação poderia mudar o mundo, mas não com medidas legislativas, e sim «*changing public opinion and the hearts and minds of men and women*», ou seja com uma ação de propaganda tal e qual a entendiam os intelectuais do pós-guerra (Brasters; Andres, 2018, p. 100).[539]

[539] Optamos, para facilidade dos leitores, por traduzir para o português o referencial teórico e as citações de fontes que se encontram originalmente em espanhol.

Assim, o movimento escolanovista se desenvolveu mantendo muito ativas inúmeras iniciativas de espraiamento de suas matrizes teóricas, metodologias e aplicação, seja através de filmes, congressos ou revistas, focando na mudança das mentalidades em direção a uma melhoria da humanidade através da educação.

Beatrice Ensor, muito consciente do poder da propaganda foi também a responsável pela publicação da revista *The New Era*, que já existia desde janeiro de 1920 como veículo da Fraternidade Teosófica, e que se torna, a partir de julho de 1921, uma publicação oficial da NEF e a primeira revista de divulgação da Escola Nova nos países de língua inglesa, sendo seguida na Europa pela versão francesa *Pour l'Ère Nouvelle*, em janeiro de 1922, dirigida por Adolphe Ferrière, e pela versão alemã *Das Werdende Zeitalter*, inaugurada no mesmo ano de 1922, sob responsabilidade de Elisabeth Rotten (Brasters; Andres, 2018, p. 102).

Na América Latina o movimento de renovação da educação e a divulgação da escola nova acontecerá também por meio de revistas voltadas aos professores. Diante do contexto exposto anteriormente, nos dedicaremos a pensar sobre a composição da materialidade escolar a partir de duas destas revistas, tomando por base sua vinculação com a *New Education Fellowship* (Liga Internacional para a Educação Nova) entre os anos de 1926 e 1928: o periódico **La Obra**, e seu apêndice *Nueva Era*, de publicação argentina, e o periódico **La Nueva Era**: *revista de la nueva educación*, publicação chilena.

É importante ressaltar que não se trata de uma análise concreta sobre um objeto ou outro da materialidade escolar presente nos discursos escolanovistas, ou mesmo de adentrar um campo de definições e perspectivas sobre a temática da escola nova. Nossa proposta consiste em apresentar, de forma ainda inicial, algumas possibilidades de análise destas publicações em relação ao contexto latino-americano, atentando sobretudo aos elementos indicativos de uma cultura material escolar que transparecem em relação ao ideário escolanovista no contexto da América do Sul, e explorar de que forma os discursos de renovação escolar abordam a materialidade que compõe a escola.

Nesse sentido, a abordagem que empregamos neste estudo considera os artefatos materiais, como objetos que "deixam entrever projetos pedagógicos de escolarização da infância, racionalidades pedagógicas, representações da escola; métodos de ensino, dispositivos educativos; intenções educacionais, dentre outros aspectos" (PERES; SOUZA, 2011, p. 54).

Voltar-se para as revistas pedagógicas a partir de uma perspectiva fundamentada numa cultura material escolar pode auxiliar na compreensão das propostas educacionais em diferentes contextos, bem como no entendimento de como movimentos de renovação escolar se traduzem

em objetos, espaços escolares e práticas pedagógicas. Além disso, uma análise da cultura material escolar pode permitir um aprofundamento sobre as condições de ensino, as mudanças nas práticas educacionais e os impactos culturais sobre a educação.

Destaca-se ainda, que esse tipo de documento – periódicos pedagógicos – foi produzido com o intuito de levar aos professores saberes que estavam em circulação nacional e em países estrangeiros, eram produzidas por professores para professores, que defendiam um projeto pedagógico específico em consonância ou não com as aspirações governamentais ou do professorado. Desta forma, essas revistas foram compostas de artigos advindos da prática, de traduções e recompilações de materiais específicos sobre o ensino e o ofício docente, de matérias divulgadoras de materiais para o professor e para a escola, de artigos legislativos e de notícias educacionais nacionais e de outros países, com o intuito principal de "aperfeiçoar" o exercício do magistério.

Na ótica dos professores leitores, pode-se afirmar que, na falta de materiais mais detalhados sobre as práticas do ofício, essas revistas preencheram esse espaço como suportes de orientação, informando principalmente sobre os modos de ensinar nas escolas.

## *La Obra* e *La Nueva Era*: Argentina e Chile no circuito escolanovista

A primeira edição do periódico **La Nueva Era: revista de la nueva educación** foi publicada em novembro de 1926, como órgão oficial da *Asociación de la Nueva Educación* chilena. Em seu editorial, a direção da revista afirmava que esta havia sido criada com o intuito de contribuir para a divulgação do movimento da nova educação, propondo-se a cientificar seus leitores sobre o movimento de reforma educacional que "agitava os principais centros culturais da Europa e América do Norte" (LA NUEVA ERA, 1926, p. 02).

Diante disso, a revista comprometia-se a informar sobre as publicações provenientes da Liga, traduzir os artigos mais interessantes de suas 3 revistas ou então publicar resumos mais extensos, indicar listas de obras sobre o tema e comunicar sobre estabelecimentos que teriam sido fundados de acordo com o novo sistema.

Já a revista **La Obra**[540] começou a ser publicada em 1921, na Argentina. Segundo Gvirtz e Barolo (2020), quando de sua fundação, a **La Obra** foi uma das propostas mais relevantes de

[540] Para mais detalhes sobre a revista **La Obra** (história, forma e conteúdo), conferir: Frechtel, Ignacio. La construcción de una sociabilidad pedagógica renovadora en la primera mitad del siglo XX en la Argentina. Conflictos, disputas y negociaciones en la circulación de la Escuela Nueva a través de la revista **La Obra**. Tese (Doutorado em Ciências da Educação) - Programa de doctorado de la Facultad de Filosofía y Letras de la Universidad de Buenos Aires. 2021.

divulgação do movimento na Argentina. As autoras ainda evidenciam que sua particularidade e importância "residiam não apenas no fato de ser uma revista pedagógica escrita para professores, mas na estrutura particular que possuía e com a qual respondia às demandas de conhecimento prático e teórico de professores daquela época" (Gvirtz; Barolo, 2020, p. 137).

Em 1926, a revista passa a publicar um suplemento intitulado *Nueva Era*, devido a sua afiliação à *New Education Fellowship* (Liga Internacional para a Educação Nova). O editorial da publicação de número 09 de **La Obra**, de 20 de junho de 1926, apresenta um histórico do movimento de renovação escolar pela Europa e das ações da Liga, e faz uso disso para enfatizar que, desde sua criação (1921), vinha publicando matérias relativas à nova educação, portanto, indiretamente "incorporada ao movimento".

Afirmando tratar-se de uma revista que representava o magistério argentino, não podia postergar por mais tempo sua adesão à Associação, deste modo, dirigia-se à NEF expressando sua concordância com os princípios propagados e colocava-se à disposição para colaborar com os educadores dos países vinculados à instituição (LA OBRA, 1926, n. 09, p. 386).

A disseminação de periódicos como estratégia de crescimento do movimento está expressa na abertura do primeiro número da revista chilena **La Nueva Era**, publicado em dezembro de 1926. Na primeira edição do Ano Um da revista, o texto de abertura, intitulado *Nossas primeiras palavras*, não será de fato o primeiro contato da revista com seus leitores. Ao texto de abertura se sobrepõe uma folha impressa de tamanho menor e sem paginação, que aparenta ter sido acrescentada à publicação depois de o periódico já ter sido preparado (fig. 1).



AÑO I. VALPARAISO, NOVIEMBRE DE 1926. N.º 1.

ASOCIACION DE LA NUEVA EDUCACION

LA NUEVA ERA
REVISTA DE LA NUEVA EDUCACION

## A nuestros lectores

En la carta circular que dirigimos a las personas o agrupaciones que pensamos tomasen interés en la reforma educativa, anunciábamos la publicación de una Revista trimestral, titulada «*La Nueva Educación*», destinada a mantener a sus lectores informados sobre las actividades de la «*Liga Internacional de La Nueva Educación*» y a difundir nuestros propios problemas.

Ofrecimos también la distribución gratuita de un primer número a quienes contestaran esa circular.

*Esta es esa Revista*; este es su primer número; pero debemos explicar el cambio de nombre y por qué hemos escogido el de «*La Nueva Era*» en vez de «*La Nueva Educación*» como lo habíamos anunciado.

Ello se ha debido a la imposibilidad de inscribir este en los registros respectivos; la oficina de marcas comerciales objetó que se trataba de un nombre genérico, sobre el que no era posible conceder derecho de propiedad; y mientras preparábamos el presente número un grupo de profesores de Chillán ha editado con *el mismo nombre*, en el mes de Agosto pasado, una Revista que tiene, según nos informan sus editores, igual finalidad.

No deseando provocar en el público la natural confusión que su aparición en dos publicaciones, con los mismos o parecidos fines y tratando los mismos temas, llevaría el mismo título, no hemos vacilado en cambiar el nuestro, adoptando el de *La Nueva Era*, que está debidamente registrado.

Nuestros lectores no ignoran que este es el de las publicaciones primarias que se ocupan de Educación nueva en Inglaterra, Suiza, Francia y Bélgica. El cambio ya está hecho, las dificultades que originó ya la hemos olvidado, y confesamos que estamos muy satisfechos de nuestro nuevo nombre, por el hecho señalado, de ser el mismo que llevan los órganos de que se valen para difundir en el mundo sus jacobinas experiencias educativas y para señalarnos rumbos, Beatrix Ensor, Paul Passonnet, Ovide Decroly y Adolfo Ferriere.

La Dirección.

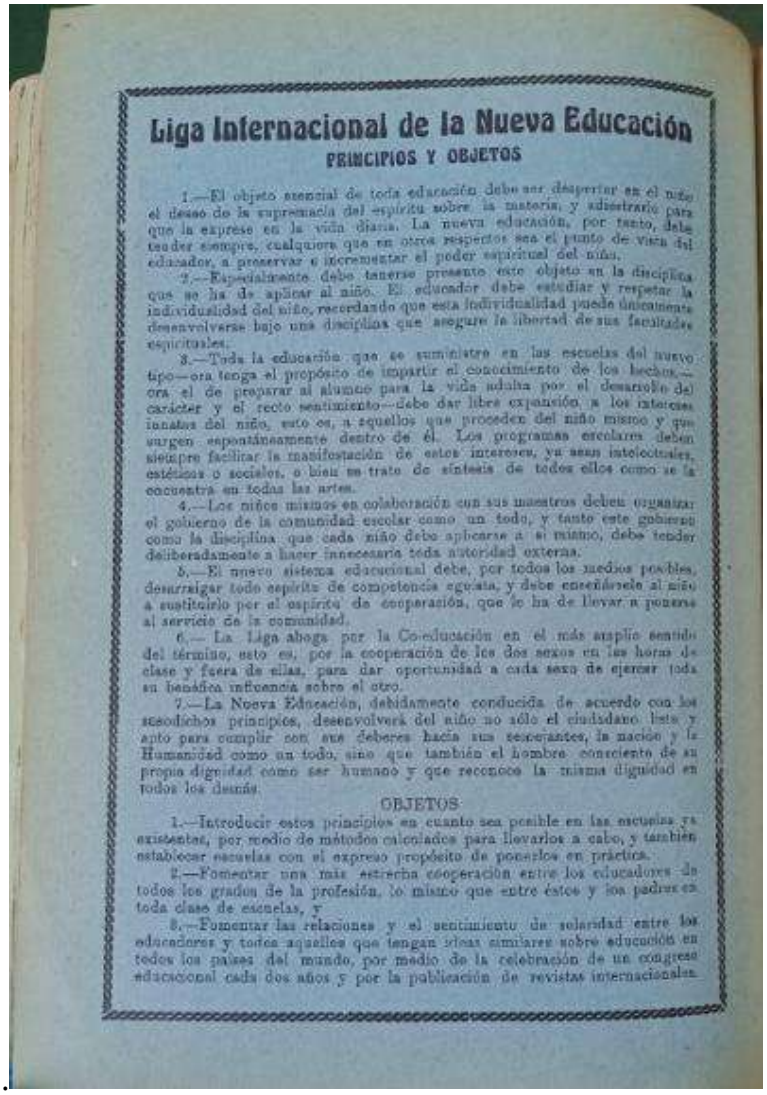
Figura 1: Carta aos leitores na Revista **La Nueva Era**, Número 1, ano 1. 1926, Chile.

Se trata de uma carta da direção da revista aos seus leitores, explicando que, embora tenha sido anunciado o nascimento de uma revista intitulada *La Nueva Educación*, que seria veículo de divulgação dos trabalhos da *Liga Internacional de La Nueva Educación,* a revista estava sendo apresentada sob novo nome: ***La Nueva Era***. Segundo os autores da carta, houve problemas para registrar o nome originalmente pensado para o periódico porque, após o anúncio do nome e alguns meses antes da publicação de fato do número um da revista, um grupo de professores da localidade de Chillan registrou e lançou uma revista pedagógica sob o nome *La Nueva Educación*, que também intencionava dedicar-se à escola nova. A carta frisa que a revista oficialmente ligada à Liga Internacional da Nova Educação era aquela que estava em suas mãos, sob o título agora registrado de *La Nueva Era.*

O tom da breve carta é de desambiguação para evitar que os leitores tomassem uma revista pela outra, com ênfase em destacar que a troca, embora tenha gerado aborrecimentos, resultou em motivo de orgulho, “pois agora a revista levaria o mesmo nome que os órgãos de

que se valiam para levar as suas magníficas experiências educativas e apontar-nos rumos, Beatriz Ensor, Paul Fauconnet, Ovide Decroly, e Adolfo Ferrière" (LA NUEVA ERA, nº1, 1926).

A intencionalidade propagandística não será expressa apenas na primeira edição da revista. Diversas edições posteriores da chilena **La Nueva Era** que analisamos, entre os anos de 1927 e 1929, apresentaram um texto, localizado antes do sumário e folha de rosto da revista, intitulado *Liga Internacional de la Nueva Educación: Princípios y Objectos.* Tal texto, sempre apresentado com diagramação idêntica nos diferentes números (fig. 2), traz, como denuncia o título, os princípios da educação nova, e dentre os três objetos apresentados está o compromisso de "fomentar as relações e o sentimento de solidariedade entre educadores e todos aqueles que tenham ideias similares sobre educação em todas as partes do mundo por meio da celebração de um Congresso educacional a cada 2 anos e através da publicação de revistas internacionais".



Liga Internacional de la Nueva Educación

PRINCIPIOS Y OBJETOS

1.—El objeto esencial de toda educación debe ser despertar en el niño el deseo de la supremacía del espíritu sobre la materia, y adiestrarlo para que la exprese en la vida diaria. La nueva educación, por tanto, debe tender siempre, cualquiera que en otros respectos sea el punto de vista del educador, a preservar e incrementar el poder espiritual del niño.

2.—Especialmente debe tenerse presente este objeto en la disciplina que se ha de aplicar al niño. El educador debe estudiar y respetar la individualidad del niño, recordando que esta individualidad puede únicamente desenvolverse bajo una disciplina que asegure la libertad de sus facultades espirituales.

3.—Toda la educación que se suministre en las escuelas del nuevo tipo—ora tenga el propósito de impartir el conocimiento de los hechos—ora el de preparar al alumno para la vida adulta por el desarrollo del carácter y el recto sentimiento—debe dar libre expansión a los intereses innatos del niño, esto es, a aquellos que proceden del niño mismo y que surgen espontáneamente dentro de él. Los programas escolares deben siempre facilitar la manifestación de estos intereses, ya sean intelectuales, estéticos o sociales, o bien se trate de síntesis de todos ellos como se la encuentra en todas las artes.

4.—Los niños mismos en colaboración con sus maestros deben organizar el gobierno de la comunidad escolar como un todo, y tanto este gobierno como la disciplina que cada niño debe aplicarse a sí mismo, debe tender deliberadamente a hacer innecesaria toda autoridad externa.

5.—El nuevo sistema educacional debe, por todos los medios posibles, desarraigar todo espíritu de competencia egoista, y debe enseñarsele al niño a sustituirlo por el espíritu de cooperación, que le ha de llevar a ponerse al servicio de la comunidad.

6.— La Liga aboga por la Co-educación en el más amplio sentido del término, esto es, por la cooperación de los dos sexos en las horas de clase y fuera de ellas, para dar oportunidad a cada sexo de ejercer toda su benéfica influencia sobre el otro.

7.—La Nueva Educación, debidamente conducida de acuerdo con los susodichos principios, desenvolverá del niño no sólo el ciudadano listo y apto para cumplir con sus deberes hacia sus semejantes, la nación y la Humanidad como un todo, sino que también el hombre consciente de su propia dignidad como ser humano y que reconoce la misma dignidad en todos los demás.

OBJETOS

1.—Introducir estos principios en cuanto sea posible en las escuelas ya existentes, por medio de métodos calculados para llevarlos a cabo, y también establecer escuelas con el expreso propósito de ponerlos en práctica.

2.—Fomentar una más estrecha cooperación entre los educadores de todos los grados de la profesión, lo mismo que entre éstos y los padres en toda clase de escuelas, y

3.—Fomentar las relaciones y el sentimiento de solaridad entre los educadores y todos aquellos que tengan ideas similares sobre educación en todos los países del mundo, por medio de la celebración de un congreso educacional cada dos años y por la publicación de revistas internacionales.

Figura 2: exemplo da diagramação do texto com princípios e objetivos da *Liga Internacional da educação Nova*, apresentada em diversas edições da revista chilena **La Nueva Era** entre os anos de 1927 e 1929.

**La Obra**, a revista Argentina, apresentará em sua edição de número 143, de 1928, um texto assinado por Ensor, Ferrier e Rotten no qual se expressam as condições para que uma revista possa se considerar um veículo da *Liga Internacional de la Nueva Educación*, sendo que o primeiro deles afirma que "cada fascículo reproduzirá em lugar visível os princípios e fins da Liga" (LA OBRA, 1928), mostrando que as revistas compunham um contexto de produção, no qual há o compromisso de que seus artigos e demais publicações coadunem com esses princípios. Apesar disso, percebemos que no caso da **La Obra,** ou mesmo no suplemento **Nueva Era**, o texto *Liga Internacional de la Nueva Educación: Princípios y Objectos* não se fará presente em todas as edições, e quando aparece apresenta cortes em relação à integra apresentada na revista **La Nueva Era**, produzida no Chile.

O conteúdo das revistas apresentava traduções para o castelhano de diversos artigos antes publicados em francês, inglês ou alemão nas revistas europeias, e oferecia aos leitores alguns artigos inéditos que relatavam experiências de escolas locais envolvidas com as mudanças pedagógicas e filosóficas espelhadas nos princípios escolanovistas.

## "Despertando na criança a supremacia do Espírito sobre a Matéria": Cultura material para crianças nas páginas de *La Obra* e *La Nueva Era*

> *O objeto essencial de toda a educação, deve ser despertar na criança o desejo da supremacia do espírito sobre a matéria e adestrá-la para que o expresse na vida diária. A Nova Educação, portanto, deve ter sempre, a despeito das diferenças do ponto de vista do educador, preservar e incrementar o poder da criança. (Liga Internacional da Nova Educação, Declaração de Princípios e Objetos, Princípio 1 – Revista La Nueva Era, Número 1- Chile, 1926).*

O primeiro princípio declarado no documento que estabelecia as bases de uma educação nova da Liga Internacional da Educação Nova, (delineado a partir do primeiro congresso da *New Educacion Folowship* em Calais, no ano de 1921), nos apresenta a ideia da superioridade do espírito sobre a matéria. Tal anseio estará presente em uma dimensão muito elaborada e transcendental, pois trata-se de sublinhar que os objetivos da educação não se restringiam à preparação para o trabalho, para a docilização das atitudes, nem apenas ao desenvolvimento da inteligência:

> O que se propõe nessas escolas? A educação de nossos antepassados, e também a nossa, há consistido especialmente no cultivo da nossa inteligência. Porque não se há reconhecido ou levado em conta outro valor no indivíduo, do que o intelecto. Hoje, um poderoso núcleo de opiniões, estima errônea essa atitude e muito laudáveis e interessantes estudos se estão efetuando para demonstrá-lo. Entre essa opinião figuram os diretores e professores das Escolas Novas, que desejam mostrar a bondade das teorias por meio da sua prática num laboratório-escola junto à criança, considerando seu triplo aspecto: a vontade, a inteligência e o coração, procurando manter o seu harmônico desenvolvimento. O primeiro aspecto se refere a convidá-lo a manter-se naquilo que é sua potência, acrescentando o seu domínio sobre si mesmo e sobre as circunstâncias. Enquanto ao segundo, esforçando-se para que a inteligência não represente a acumulação de teorias externas, se não um profundo e verdadeiro conhecimento das matérias estudadas. Quanto ao terceiro, procurando que cresça seu coração em compaixão e força para que suas emoções e sentimentos sejam dignos do homem que anseia melhorar a sua raça, enriquecendo-a com seu concurso (SELLAREES, LA NUEVA ERA, n. 3, Chile, 1927, p. 70).

No compasso destes ideais educacionais grandiloquentes, impactados sobretudo pela situação da Europa com seu trauma da Primeira Guerra Mundial, a questão da materialidade escolar será trazida aos textos selecionados para serem traduzidos a partir de revistas escolanovistas europeias ou em textos inéditos publicados nos primeiros anos de circulação nas revistas **La Nueva Era** e **La Obra** a partir de sua associação com os métodos de ensino (especialmente com o método de Maria Montessori) e também de um dos princípios mais caros à Escola Nova: o princípio de retorno à Natureza.

A centralidade do contato com a natureza aparecerá como o terceiro ponto dentre os trinta princípios escolanovistas elaborados por Adolphe Ferrière, que os publica pela primeira vez no prefácio do livro *Une école nouvelle en Belgique*, do educador Faria de Vasconcelos, fundador da Escola Nova de Bièrges, na Bélgica, e expoente do movimento escolanovista (Almeida Neto; Fortunato, 2023, p. 4):

> A escola nova está situada no campo, sendo este o meio natural da criança. A influência da natureza, a possibilidade que oferece para se entregar aos divertimentos dos primitivos, os trabalhos dos campos que permitem realizar fazem dele o melhor auxiliar da cultura física e educação moral (Ferrière apud Alves, 2010).

A partir desta idealização da escola que se institui no campo, se difundem discursos sobre a necessidade de que a escola deixe a clausura das salas de aula e a rigidez dos mobiliários e materiais "tradicionais" e busque cada vez mais trazer as crianças para espaços abertos ou semiabertos, onde a luz do sol, o ar puro, o contato com os sons e pequenas criaturas da natureza possam ajudar na tarefa educativa, compreendida, segundo uma das educadoras publicadas, como um conjunto de "meios que facilitem a exteriorização do que já guarda em latência, a alma da criança" (Sellarees, LA NUEVA ERA, 3 , Chile, 1927) .

"A escola deve estar localizada dentro do ambiente natural em um lugar onde a criança possa estar em íntimo contato com os fenômenos da natureza todos os dias, entre as manifestações da vida e os seres viventes em geral", afirma Decroly, em outro artigo publicado na **La Nueva Era** chilena, de setembro de 1928. Luz, ar, água e terra se constituirão, segundo esta perspectiva, os principais materiais com os quais se deveria encaminhar as práticas educacionais renovadas.

Nesse sentido, encontraremos também nas páginas das revistas algumas descrições de visitas a escolas, com descrições dos espaços nas quais se enaltecem elementos da simplicidade e do engenho e produção artesã de professores e alunos.

É o caso da descrição, bastante bucólica, de uma visita a uma Escola Nova belga fundada na região de mineração de Marcinelle, que aparece no número 2, do ano de 1927, da revista **La Nueva Era**.

> Um professor, empapado pelo Espírito Novo, decidiu dar-se de corpo e alma à realização da nova metodologia. E se essa é, essencialmente, inventiva e energética, nada mais conforme ao novo espírito que começar do nada sem pedir ajuda nem esforço a ninguém: sem local, sem livros, sem qualquer tipo de material de classe, sem tudo aquilo em que primariamente tendem a pensar a maioria dos professores: que se proporcionem tudo já feito, ou, ao menos, que se lhes deem os meios necessários para realizar a obra que se propõe. O bom professor de Marcinelle começou abrindo uma escola em um estábulo. Foi esse, limpo pelas próprias mãos do professor e de seus escassos e andrajosos alunos da região que a ele vieram se juntar. (Juan Bardina, LA NUEVA ERA, 1927, n. 2, p. 36).

Nesse texto a argumentação toda gira em torno do quanto seria simples produzir um espaço para uma boa Escola Nova desde que houvesse a dedicação e o conhecimento do professor, somado a sua maestria, e junto com os alunos transformar os elementos que estivessem em seu alcance, em verdadeiras obras de arte úteis, em favor da aprendizagem dos alunos e do provimento de elementos para a própria escola.

> A singular mobília da escola ficou ao encargo dos próprios habitantes dela, constituía-se em várias mesas primitivamente acabadas e de alguns bancos de estilo robinsoniano, nos quais o prazer da obra própria fazia assentar alunos e professor com não dissimulado e nobre orgulho. Tinteiros feitos de garrafas, muito variados e primitivos e uns armários modestíssimos, nada mais. Se ia de um piso ao outro mediante uma escada de mão, cujo incômodo era superado com um pouco de habilidade e também com um pouco de bom humor. (Juan Bardina, LA NUEVA ERA, 1927, n. 2, p. 36).

O texto apresenta de maneira heroica e romantizada a precariedade sobre a qual o professor, que não é nomeado, ergue a escola. A tônica do relato pode ser lida como um estímulo à expansão da ideia de uma escola nova possível, e que exige quase nada em termos materiais. No entanto é também uma prescrição de como colocar o novo modo de educação em prática de maneira efetiva e simples, contando com dois elementos imprescindíveis: a destreza,

criatividade, boa vontade e preparo do professor, e o ambiente suburbano, com áreas verdes e contato com a natureza.

No bojo deste discurso, entrevemos o esvaziamento do papel do Estado em prover as escolas públicas, a sobrecarga de atribuições sobre o professor e a recusa da pauperização da escola para as crianças pobres.

No contexto latino-americano discursos com teor aproximado irão se repetir, mas nas terras do novo continente outros elementos se somarão. É interessante a maneira pela qual, tanto a revista argentina como a chilena, encontrarão meios de discursivamente enaltecer as condições naturais apresentadas no continente sul-americano para a implementação efetiva da Escola Nova.

No contexto das publicações escolanovistas estudadas é possível perceber esse raciocínio nas palavras do próprio Decroly, em seu texto "Una Escuela Nueva em Sud-américa: El Gimnasio Moderno de Bogotá, Colombia", publicado em duas partes, na revista chilena **La Nueva Era**, edição 3 e 4 de 1927:

> A 2.600 m de altura, há 12 dias no mar e há 30 dias das costas da França, como em um descomunal ninho de águia, encontra-se a capital da Colômbia, localizada em sua savana cercada por um cinturão de montanhas. (...) é nessa longínqua savana que se ergue o ginásio moderno. Uma espécie de milagre pedagógico. Do qual vou dar algumas palavras depois da viagem que empreendi durante 2 meses para estudar o seu funcionamento. E testemunhar o seu progresso. (...)

Ao situar a distância do mar e da França, Decroly salienta a interiorização e expansão do movimento pela nova educação, ao mesmo tempo em que introduz no leitor a ideia do pitoresco e da profundidade da natureza na qual o ginásio foi erguido. O elogio das terras sul-americanas, com seu clima, sua vegetação, suas águas, foi usado com certa recorrência no período durante e logo após a Primeira Guerra Mundial, por intelectuais latino-americanos que, aproveitando o ensejo da crise trazida pelo conflito europeu, construíram seus argumentos baseados no frescor e nas possibilidades das américas como alternativa à decadência do Velho Mundo (Cordeiro, 2015, p.26). Na continuação de seu relato de viagem e visita ao Ginásio Moderno de Bogotá, Decroly endossa esse tipo de discurso:

> O Ginásio surgiu lá pelos anos de 1914; enquanto os povos da Europa se matavam entre si e as escolas morriam ou vegetavam, para além, nas lonjuras e nas alturas, nos confins da savana se desenvolvia e progredia uma obra vivificadora e progressista, tanto que antes do fim da guerra já se havia feito a adequação de um terreno de 10 hectares para a construção dos edifícios, empresa que pareceria quimérica alguns anos antes. Assim, em 1918, ao terminar o ginásio seu quarto ano de vida, se construiu sobre este vasto terreno, situado muito longe da congestão urbana, todos os edifícios e anexos necessários a um ginásio com internato: salas de aula, salas de estudo,

> dormitórios, biblioteca, teatro, oficinas para trabalhos manuais de carpintaria, cartonagem, modelagem, uma piscina de natação, canchas de futebol, tênis e etc., terrenos para cultivo e experimentação.

As escolas parque, as escolas ao ar livre, e os acampamentos de verão também aparecem como alternativas inovadoras, higiênicas, pedagogicamente adequadas à perspectiva escolanovista de desenvolvimento da criança junto à natureza. Há na edição de setembro de 1927 da revista chilena um interessante texto sobre o projeto de criação de Parques Escolares suburbanos em Montevidéu, escrito por Leonila Rocios. Nesse entusiasmado texto as vantagens do espaço verde em contraposição à cidade são destacadas:

> Parques Escolares! Ou seja, parques para as crianças da cidade, que recebem no meio urbano um ensino inadequado, perturbador e deformador de muitas belas vocações desatendidas e maltratadas (...) não é só uma questão sobre edifícios é uma questão de saúde e vida de um povo. Questão de saúde pública essa é, de criar sãos e fortes nossos filhos (...). As cidades não são construídas nessa aspiração, são outros os motivos determinantes de suas características. É preciso buscar, pois, soluções que compensem ou atenuem os efeitos contrários dessas fatalidades que são consequência das aglomerações urbanas. (Leonila Rocios, LA NUEVA ERA, set.1927, p.108).

No texto é desenvolvido o argumento eugenista de que além da herança dos progenitores a criança precisa de ar puro, natureza, sol, para poder cumprir o ideal de melhoramento da raça, e as escolas parque seriam a solução. A autora propõe que os governos das cidades da América do Sul adquiram terrenos afastados da cidade com o fim de reservar espaços arborizados para que as crianças possam se desenvolver longe do caos urbano, indo de ônibus para a escola pela manhã e voltando ao final da tarde. Quanto à questão do custo e provimento material ela argumenta:

> O que necessita um Parque Escola? Uma terra arborizada, um edifício central, e logo salas de aula simplíssimas. Um campo e um bosque, quer dizer, isso é tudo. As escolas dispersas de hoje? São todo um problema de complicada arquitetura, em cada caso são logo uma prisão, um claustro. O mesmo claustro de sempre. (Leonila Rocios, LA NUEVA ERA, set.1927, p. 110).

Na revista argentina, além dos artigos de autores estrangeiros sobre métodos ou experiências educacionais em outros países, havia o interesse em divulgar experiências locais com base nos preceitos da nova educação. No suplemento publicado pela **La Obra**, intitulado *Nueva Era*, publicava-se uma coluna denominada *Escuela Nueva en Acción*, na qual seriam divulgadas algumas dessas experiências realizadas nas escolas argentinas, ou apresentaria propostas de uma metodologia para a execução do ensino.

Em alguns desses artigos é possível encontrar menções a utilização de materiais específicos relacionados a um determinado tema que auxiliam e promovem o desenvolvimento do ensino, ou indicações de uma materialidade escolar que implicaria numa reorganização do espaço escolar. Apresentamos como exemplo desse último aspecto, dois artigos que destacam o trabalho realizado pela educadora Clotilde G. de Rezzano, diretora da Escola Normal n. 5.

Na edição de número 09, de 1926, de autoria da educadora, foi impresso um artigo sobre as suas propostas pedagógicas abordadas no curso de aplicação da Escola Normal n. 5, na organização do ciclo infantil.

> Ambiente material: É necessário preparar o ambiente material da sala de aula. Deve conter todos os elementos ilustrativos relacionados ao centro. Não deve conter nada estranho a ele. Sempre que possível, é necessário retirar os bancos escolares, instrumentos que promovem o ócio e deformação física. Os bancos deverão ser substituídos por mesas baixas para 4, 6 ou 8 alunos e cadeiras. Deve haver também dois armários abertos; um pequeno para o museu do centro de interesse e outro com 30 ou 35 divisões para uso dos alunos. Nas paredes deverá haver ripas de madeira com ganchos para pendurar as ilustrações detalhadas no final do centro. (NUEVA ERA, n. 09, 1926, p. 72).

Já no ano seguinte, em 1927, em um informe na edição de número 7, da **Nueva Era**, ressalta-se o trabalho que Clotilde estava realizando na organização da escola experimental da Escola Normal n. 5, com distinção para o que a educadora havia implantado na escola.

> Mudança de mobiliário: A Senhora Rezzano, convencida da necessidade de criar um ambiente especial para a criança, substituiu em sua escola o nosso atual banco escolar por cadeiras, as carteiras por mesas ovais, com capacidade para 5 ou 6 crianças pequenas, ambas proporcionais aos seus tamanhos. Nossos armários antigos foram substituídos por dois mais modernos, com altura não superior à altura normal de uma criança de 10 anos. Um aberto e dividido em tantos compartimentos quantos forem os números de matrícula em cada série; destina-se a crianças pequenas, que guardam o seu equipamento escolar no respetivo cacifo. E outro, destinado ao armazenamento de material didático e de uso exclusivo do professor, é dividido em estantes e fechada. Além disso, em cada série existe uma mesa de areia, onde as crianças podem trabalhar, o professor pode realizar suas experiências, ou transformá-la em *jardinera* se desejar; somam-se a isso decorações e brinquedos *ad-hoc* que ajudam a alegrar a sala de aula. Tudo isto acaba com o ambiente austero e desagradável das salas de aula atuais; tornando-os algo mais tranquilo, que tenha um clima familiar e torne a iniciação escolar menos abrupta para a criança. Tem ainda a vantagem de a mobilidade da criança ser mais fácil e o professor poder acompanhar de forma mais eficiente o trabalho individual de cada aluno, uma vez que rever o trabalho de 35 crianças sentadas em bancos diferentes, não é o mesmo que acompanhar o trabalho de seis grupos de

> cinco crianças trabalhando em torno de uma mesa. Este ambiente é tão amigável que é necessária sua adaptação, seja qual for a forma de ensino e o curso em questão. Além do acima exposto, existem estantes e caixas individuais, que fazem parte do equipamento infantil. (NUEVA ERA, n. 7, 1927, p. 111-112).

A Escola Normal n. 5, em Buenos Aires, dirigida por Clotilde tinha um caráter de experimentação e realizava ensaios com vistas a modificar ou aprimorar o ensino de acordo com as correntes de renovação pedagógica. Em outro artigo publicado na **Nueva Era,** os ensaios e análises eram realizados somente no ciclo infantil, com crianças de 6 a 9 anos, principalmente com as que ingressavam na escola em condição de analfabetos. (NUEVA ERA, n. 15, 1927, p. 51-52). Segundo a educadora,

> Sendo uma instituição oficial, portanto sujeita a requisitos regulamentares, a experiência teve que ser realizada num campo de atuação limitado pela regulamentação em vigor. Uma aplicação generalizada de qualquer um dos novos sistemas (Montessori, Decroly, Winetka, Dalton, etc.) teria exigido modificações essenciais no edifício e um período e horário escolar mais longos do que os atualmente em vigor nas nossas escolas. Portanto, não se trata de reproduzir um sistema, trata-se de vivificar o ambiente e, sobretudo, de canalizar a atividade docente em correntes modernas que partem do princípio da autonomia. (…) Em resumo, diremos que o ensaio se propôs a fazer o seguinte: garantir que a criança, livre de obstáculos, em constante atividade, descubra instintivamente as verdades que a sua personalidade necessita, num ambiente iluminado por um refletor gerido pelo professor. (LA OBRA, n. 1, 1928, p. 21).

Clotilde G. de Rezzano propõe uma reorganização do ambiente escolar com base em uma perspectiva renovadora que enfatiza a importância de criar um ambiente material específico na sala de aula. Nesse contexto, a educadora destaca a necessidade de eliminar elementos que não guardem relação com o contexto educacional, tais como os bancos escolares tradicionais e objetos que não contribuem diretamente para o processo de aprendizado. Em vez disso, sua proposta contempla a substituição desses elementos por mobiliário adequado às dimensões das crianças, a integração de armários destinados ao armazenamento de materiais didáticos, bem como áreas de armazenamento individual para os alunos e mesas ovais, reorganização esta que promove a interação entre grupos de crianças.

A introdução de novos recursos, como mesas de areia, decorações e brinquedos específicos, visa conferir ao ambiente da sala de aula um caráter mais acolhedor, contribuindo para tornar a experiência de aprendizado mais agradável e menos austera. Adicionalmente, essa proposta é projetada para facilitar a mobilidade das crianças no ambiente escolar, tornando mais fácil para elas se deslocarem pela sala de aula e se envolverem em atividades variadas, além de

proporcionar melhores condições de supervisão por parte dos professores, permitindo que eles tenham uma visão clara de todos os alunos e interajam de forma mais eficaz.

**Considerações Finais**

A imprensa pedagógica tem desempenhado um papel significativo na história da educação, aparecendo principalmente como fonte privilegiada sobre a circulação de saberes. No contexto do movimento da Escola Nova, as revistas oficialmente ligadas à *New Education Fellowship* (Liga Internacional para a Educação Nova) desempenharam um papel de autoridade e propaganda desse ideário educativo. Elas abordaram discussões teóricas, modelos, propostas e narrativas de visitas a instituições que destacaram a eficácia dos princípios escolanovistas na renovação da educação.

No intuito de pensar especificamente em como a cultura material escolar se apresentou nesses periódicos, concentramos nossos esforços em perceber as formas pelas quais a cultura material, vinculada aos preceitos da escola nova, apareceria nas páginas de **La Nueva Era** (Chile) e **La obra** e seu suplemento **Nueva Era** (Argentina).

A princípio construímos a hipótese de que, ao anunciar uma renovação educacional e indicar uma metodologia, a revista apresentaria uma grande quantidade de materiais, mobiliários e artefatos vinculados às novas teorias e práticas educacionais propagadas pela Liga. Tal hipótese se provou parcialmente correta, pois, se por um lado as revistas, especialmente a argentina **Nueva Era**, dedicou significativo espaço para a prescrição de materiais vinculados à educação nova tanto sob um viés montessoriano como decrolyano, percebemos que nas edições da chilena **La Nueva Era** a ênfase à propagação de uma ideia, romântica, de que a escola nova poderia prescindir de tantas preocupações materiais, desde que se localizasse a escola em áreas verdes e amplas, afastadas da cidade e que houvesse um intenso, abnegado e bem fundamentado trabalho do professor, ao criar condições de aprendizagens significativas a partir de poucos recursos.

Ao direcionar o olhar para as revistas pedagógicas a partir de uma perspectiva de cultura material escolar, nos é possível compreender as propostas educacionais em diferentes contextos, o desenvolvimento das práticas educacionais e os impactos culturais sobre a educação. Além disso, essa análise permite uma exploração mais aprofundada das condições de ensino e das mudanças nas práticas educacionais.

Para além da breve análise aqui apresentada, ao empreendermos o trabalho de pesquisa com as citadas revistas, levando em consideração o aspecto transnacional que as perpassa,

conseguimos elencar uma série de possibilidades de recortes investigativos favorecidos por estas ricas fontes. Algumas destas possíveis entradas de pesquisa seriam a comparação entre as duas revistas no intuito de mapear quais os artigos serão traduzidos para ambos os periódicos, quem são os autores mais presentes nas publicações, qual a frequência de fotografias e outras imagens, que tipo de assunto se faz mais presente a partir de uma análise criteriosa de conteúdo, quem seriam os agentes no Chile e na Argentina da rede de sociabilidade de educadores escolanovistas nas américas, entre outros tantos instigantes questionamentos suscitados por um material tão profícuo quanto este.

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SOUZA, Rosa F. de. Objetos de ensino: a renovação pedagógica e material da escola primária no Brasil, no século XX. **Educar em Revista**, Curitiba, n. 49, p. 103–120, 2013. https://doi.org/10.1590/S0104-40602013000300007

VIDAL, Diana G.; RABELO, Rafaela S. (org.). **Movimento internacional da educação nova**. 2. ed. Belo Horizonte [MG]: Fino Traço, 2020.

**Fontes**

**La Nueva Era**. 1926 a 1929. Asociación de la Nueva Educación, Chile.

**La Obra**: revista de educación. 1926-1929. Buenos Aires, Argentina.

**La Nueva Era**. Carta aos leitores na Revista, Número 1, ano 1. 1926, Chile.

**Nueva Era**. 1926-1927. Buenos Aires, Argentina.

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REZZANO, Clotilde G. La Escuela Nueva em acción. **Nueva Era**, Buenos Aires, n. 09, p. 72, 1926.

REZZANO, Clotilde G. **La Obra**, Buenos Aires, n. 1, p. 21, 1928.

SELLAREES, María Sola. **La Nueva Era**, Chile, n. 3, p. 70, 1927.

# 5. Apêndices

## 1. Outras atividades desenvolvidas

Em conjunto às atividades de pesquisa, foram realizadas outras atividades com vistas a fundamentar e aprimorar, não só o percurso teórico-metodológico de análise, como também a formação profissional e acadêmica.

- A organização e participação como docente colaboradora, junto à supervisora Profa. Dra. Diana G. Vidal e demais colegas, na disciplina "IEB5051 – Movimento Internacional da Educação Nova: uma História Transnacional", no primeiro semestre de 2021 (Cf. apêndice 2), oferecida pelo Programa de Pós-Graduação Multidisciplinar em Culturas e Identidades Brasileiras do Instituto de Estudos Brasileiros, na qual fui responsável por ministrar uma aula com o tema pesquisado no pós-doutorado. Vale evidenciar que a participação nesta disciplina foi de extrema relevância no percurso da pesquisa, pois a seleção bibliográfica, com produções nacionais e internacionais, assim como as discussões, proposições e reflexões durante os encontros, auxiliaram na compreensão do objeto em investigação, possibilitando reflexões sobre a abordagem adotada e uma nova dimensão analítica;

- Participação como docente convidada no curso de extensão "História da Educação: temas, acervos e fontes de pesquisa", em maio de 2021, oferecido pelo Centro de Documentação e Pesquisa em História da Educação, do Setor de Educação, da Universidade Federal do Paraná (Cf. apêndice 3);

- Participação como palestrante convidada pelo Prof. Agustín Escolano Benito em Conferência Internacional de História e Historiografia de la Educación, organizada em parceria pelo Centro Internacional de Cultura Escolar (CEINCE – Espanha) e o Laboratório de Informação, Arquivo e Memória da Educação (LIAME - UNISANTOS, SP), em Março/2022 (Cf. apêndice 6);

- Participação como ouvinte nas seguintes disciplinas da pós-graduação: "Produção e Circulação de Saberes para Professores e Alunos: livros e manuais escolares", ministrada pela profa. Vivian Batista da Silva, na FEUSP, no segundo semestre de 2021; "Tópicos especiais em História da Educação: Michel de Certeau e as artes de fazer", ministrada pela profa. Diana G. Vidal, no PPGE/UFRJ, no segundo semestre de 2021 e início de 2022; "Artes de Produzir Sentidos para o Passado: acervos e fontes em História da Educação", ministrada pela profa. Diana G. Vidal, no PPGE/IEB-USP, no primeiro semestre de 2022;

- A escrita de artigo, intitulado **Educação nova e socialismo: Um debate para além das fronteiras nacionais**, em parceria com a profa. Diana G. Vidal e Vinicius de Moraes Monção, para o livro "História da Educação na Ibéria e na América: fontes, experiências e circulação de saberes", publicado em 2023;

- A escrita do capítulo de livro, intitulado **"La Escuela Nueva en Acción": a materialidade escolar para a nova educação na América Latina em revistas para professores no primeiro terço do Século XX.** Em parceria com Andrea Bezerra Cordeiro, para o E-book "Fontes, enredos e acervos: cultura material escolar em pesquisa(s)", com publicação para 2024 [prelo];

- A escrita da resenha intitulada “A Escola Nova e A New Education Fellowship sob uma nova perspectiva na História da Educação”[541], publicada na *Revista Cadernos de História da Educação*, sobre o Ebook “Escola nova em circuito internacional: cem anos da New Education Fellowship”, organizado por Rafaela Silva Rabelo e Diana Gonçalves Vidal;

- Participação XI Congresso Brasileiro de História da Educação (CBHE), realizado em julho de 2022, com apresentação de trabalho decorrente de pesquisa anterior e como coordenadora de seção de apresentações individuais;

- Envio de resumo para o XII Congresso Brasileiro de História da Educação (CBHE), a ser realizado em agosto de 2024;

- Participação como professora convidada na disciplina História e Historiografia da Infância**,** ministrada pela Profª Drª Andréa B. Cordeiro, no PPGE/UFPR, com o tema História da Infância em perspectiva transnacional, no dia 19 de junho de 2023 (Cf. apêndice 4);

- Participação como professora convidada na disciplina Seminário de Pesquisa Avançada em História e Historiografia da Educação II (Doutorado) / EE713 Pesquisa em História e Historiografia da Educação II (Mestrado), na Unidade II, ministrada pelas professoras, Gizele de Souza, Dulce Osinski, Roberlayne Roballo, no PPGE/UFPR, no dia 05 de setembro de 2023 (Cf. apêndice 5).

- Produção de pareceres para periódicos científicos (Cf. apêndice 7, 8, 9 e 10): *Educar em Revista*, agosto de 2021; *Revista Debates em Educação*, junho de 2022; *Educar em Revista*, Julho de 2023; *Revista Brasileira de História da Educação*, 2022 e 2023; *Em aberto*, julho de 2023;

- Pesquisa de campo em países da América do Sul para consulta de documentos disponíveis somente in loco;

- Participação como avaliadora em bancas de trabalho de conclusão de curso (Cf. apêndices 11, 12, 13, 14 e 15);

- Participação como palestrante no Evento Quinze anos do NEPIE- Núcleo de Estudos e Pesquisas em Infância e Educação Infantil-UFPR (Cf. apêndice 16);

- Ainda que as informações que compõem o relatório aqui apresentado sejam de exclusividade do que foi desenvolvido e produzido em decorrência do projeto de pesquisa, considera-se importante indicar a produção de outros trabalhos produzidos pela pesquisadora resultantes de pesquisas anteriores a realizada no pós-doutorado, quais sejam:

- FRANÇA, Franciele F**.**; GARCIA, Gecia Aline. Incumbências da “boa guarda” material: a responsabilidade do professor sobre a instalação, provisão e manutenção de sua escola na segunda metade do Século XIX. *In*: Cordeiro, A. B.; Garcia, G. A.; Kinchescki, A. P. de S.; Kanazawa, J. N. (Org.). *A Teia das Coisas: cultura material escolar e pesquisa em rede.* 1ed. Curitiba: NEPIE-UFPR, 2021, v. 1, p. 306-321.

[541] Disponível em: https://seer.ufu.br/index.php/che/article/view/65799

Disponível em: https://nepie.ufpr.br/e-book-a-teia-das-coisas-cultura-material-escolar-e-pesquisa-em-rede/

- FRANÇA, Franciele F. Resenha - Perspectivas teóricas e experiências educativas: a brincadeira na educação infantil. *Revista em aberto* - INEP, v. 34, p. 201-205, 2021. Disponível em: http://emaberto.inep.gov.br/ojs3/index.php/emaberto/article/view/4588
- MORO, C. S. ; SOUZA, G.; BARBOSA, E. B. L. ; FRANÇA, Franciele F. Pelo fio do nome: as proposições de Enzo Catarsi para as crianças de 0 a 3 anos. *Debates em educação*, v. 14, p. 445-467, 2022. Disponível em: https://www.seer.ufal.br/index.php/debateseducacao/article/view/12637

2. Programa da disciplina "IEB 5051 – Movimento internacional da educação nova: uma história transnacional"

**IEB 5051 - MOVIMENTO INTERNACIONAL DA EDUCAÇÃO NOVA: UMA HISTÓRIA TRANSNACIONAL**

Diana Vidal
Colaboradores: Franciele França
Nara Pinheiro
Rafaela Rabelo
Tamya Moreira
Vinicius Monção

Cronograma de atividades:
Sextas-feiras das 14h às 17h 30m

Março:
Dia 26- (Aula 1) – Apresentação geral da disciplina, da professora, d@s colaborador@s e d@s alun@s. Socialização dos textos.

Abril:
Dia 09– (Aula 2) – Entre 1920 e 1940: o movimento internacional da escola nova (Diana)
Bibliografia:
BARABÁSI, Albert-László. *Linked*: how everything is connected to everything else and what it means for business, science, and everyday life. New York: Plume, 2003.
ROLDAN VERA, E.; FUCHS, E. O transnacional na história da educação. *Educação & Pesquisa,* 2021. Tradução Alexandre Ribeiro e Silva e Ana Carolina Guimarães
VIDAL, D.G; RABELO, R.S. Fórmula e utopia: o movimento internacional da educação nova. *Sarmiento*, nr. 25, 2021, no prelo.

**Eixo 1: Hubs**

Dia 16 - (Aula 3) – Instituto Jean Jacques Rousseau e Maison des Petits (Diana)
Bibliografia:
HOFSTETTER, Rita. The construction of a New Science by means of an institute and its communication media: the institute of educational sciences in Geneva (1912–1948), *Paedagogica Historica* 40, n5-6(2004):, 657-683.
HAMELINE, Daniel "Aux origins de la Maison des Petitis". Christiane Perregaux, Laurence Rieben et Charles Magnin (dir*). Une école où les enfants veulent ce qu'ils font; La Maison des Petits hier et aujourd'hui*. (Lausanne: Société coopérative des Editions des Sentiers,1996), 17-62.

Dia 23 – (Aula 4) – Bureau International d'Éducation, Bureau International d'Éducation Nouvelle e Home chez nous (Diana)
Bibliografia:
COQUOZ, Joseph, Le Home 'Chez Nous' comme modèle d'attention à l'enfance, Educació i Història: *Revista d'Història de l'Educació*, n. 20 (2012)
HAMELINE, Daniel. *L'Éducation dans le miroir du temps*. (Lausanne: Société coopérative des Editions des Sentiers, 2002).

Texto complementar: VIDAL, Fernando, L'éducation nouvelle et l'esprit de Genève. *Equinoxe*, nr. 17, printemps, (1997).

Dia 30 – (Aula 5) – Teachers College (Rafaela)
Bibliografia:
LAWN, Martin & DEARY, Ian. The new model school of education: Thomson, Moray House and Teachers College, Columbia, *Paedagogica Historica*, 50:3, 301-319, 2014. DOI: 10.1080/00309230.2013.822900
WARDE, M. J. O International Institute do Teachers College, Columbia University, como epicentro da internacionalização do campo educacional. *Cadernos de História da Educação*, n. 1, v. 15, p. 190-221, jan./abr. 2016.
Texto complementar: CORREIA, Luis Grosso. The right kind of education for the right individual: comparative education studies according to the Educational Yearbook of the Teachers College (1924-1944). *History of Education* 40, no. 5 (2011): 577-598.

Maio:
Dia 07- (Aula 6) – New Education Fellowship: impressos (Vinicius)
Bibliografia:
MONÇÃO, Vinicius. Uso de software na pesquisa em história da educação: a revista *The New Era* sob a ótica da história digital, 2021, no prelo.
HAENGGELI-JENNI, Béatrice. *L'Éducation nouvelle entre science et militance: débats et combats à travers la revue Pour l'Ère Nouvelle* (1920-1940). Bern: Peter Lang, 2017, p. 1-18. Disponível em: https://library.oapen.org/bitstream/handle/20.500.12657/42369/9783034329064.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y

Dia 14 (Aula 7) – New Education Fellowship: congressos e seções (Vinicius)
Bibliografia:
BREHONY, Kevin J. A new education for a new era: the contribution of the conferences of the New Education Fellowship to the disciplinary field of education 1921–1938, Paedagogica Historica, 40:5-6, 733-755, 2006.
RABELO, Rafaela Silva; VIDAL, Diana Gonçalves. A seção brasileira da New Education Fellowship: (des)encontros e (des)conexões. Vidal, Diana Gonçalves; RABELO, Rafaela Silva (Orgs.). Movimento Internacional da Educação Nova. Belo Horizonte: Fino Traço, 2020, p. 25-47

Eixo 2: Circulação transnacional

Dia 21– (Aula 8) – Entre Brasil e Europa (Diana)
Bibliografia:
CAMPOS, Regina Helena de Freitas, Helena Antipoff: razão e sensibilidade na psicologia e na educação, *Estudos avançados [online*] 17, n. 49 (2003).
MIGNOT, Ana Chrystina, Eternizando travessia: memórias de formação em álbum de viagem, *Revista Brasileira de Pesquisa (Auto)biográfica* 2, n. 5 (2017).

Dia 28– (Aula 9) – Entre Brasil e EUA (Rafaela)
Bibliografia:
RABELO, R. S. The New Education Fellowship, the Progressive Education Association, and the US Department of State: South America as part of a complex entanglement. *Paedagogica Historica*, 2021. https://doi.org/10.1080/00309230.2021.1872660
ROCHA, A. C. S. M. *Experiências norte-americanas e projetos de educação no Distrito Federal e em São Paulo (1927-1935):* Anísio Teixeira, Noemi Silveira, Isaías Alves e Lourenço Filho. 251 f. Tese (Doutorado

em História das Ciências e da Saúde) – Casa de Oswaldo Cruz – Fiocruz, Rio de Janeiro, 2016. [capítulo 3]

Junho:
Dia 11 – (Aula 10) – O circuito sulamericano (Franciele)
Bibliografia:
BELTRAN, Rafael Ríos. Escuela Nueva y saber pedagógico en Colombia: apropiación, modernidad y métodos de enseñanza. Primera mitad del siglo XX. *Historia y Sociedad*, Medellín, Colombia, n. 24, p. 79-107, enero-junio 2012.
CUCUZZA, Héctor Rubén. Desembarco de la escuela nueva en Buenos Aires: heterogéneas naves atracan en puertos heterogéneos. *Revista Brasileira de Pesquisa (Auto)Biográfica*, Salvador, v. 02, n. 05, p. 310-329, maio/ago. 2017.

Dia 25 –– (Aula 11) – Disciplinas escolares: aritmética (Nara)
Bibliografia:
PINHEIRO, Nara. Viagens, parcerias e a circulação dos estudos de Washburne via congressos da New Education Fellowsip, 2021, no prelo.
ZILVERSMIT, Arthur. Progressive schools in the 1930s. ZILVERSMIT, Arthur. *Changing Schools: Progressive Education Theory and Practice, 1930 - 1960*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993, p. 37 – 63.

Julho:
Dia 02- (Aula 12) – Disciplinas escolares: música (Tamya)
Bibliografia:
GUTIERREZ, L.; SAVOYE, A. « Sauver les jeunes générations de la faillite éducative : le combat de Madeleine Guéritte » in RIONDET, X., HOFSTETTER, R., GO, H.-L. (dir.). *Les acteurs de l'Éducation nouvelle au XXè siècle. Itinéraires et connexions*, PUG, Grenoble, p. 29-43.
MOREIRA, Tamya. Modernizar a escola, modernizar a escuta: novas tecnologias nos debates pedagógicos das décadas de 1920, 1930 e 1940. *Opus*, v. 26 n. 2, p. 1-19, maio/ago. 2020. http://dx.doi.org/10.20504/opus2020b2604

3 - Participação como docente convidada no curso de extensão “História da Educação: temas, acervos e fontes de pesquisa”, em maio de 2021.



MINISTÉRIO DA EDUCAÇÃO
UNIVERSIDADE FEDERAL DO PARANÁ
PRÓ-REITORIA DE EXTENSÃO E CULTURA
COORDENADORIA DE EXTENSÃO

# CERTIFICADO

FRANCIELE FERREIRA FRANÇA participou como MINISTRANTE(a) no Curso de Extensão "História da Educação: temas, acervos e fontes de pesquisa" coordenado por NADIA GAIOFATTO GONÇALVES, cumprindo 2.0h de atividades no período de 08/05/2021 a 03/07/2021, promovido pelo(a) Setor de Educação da Universidade Federal do Paraná.

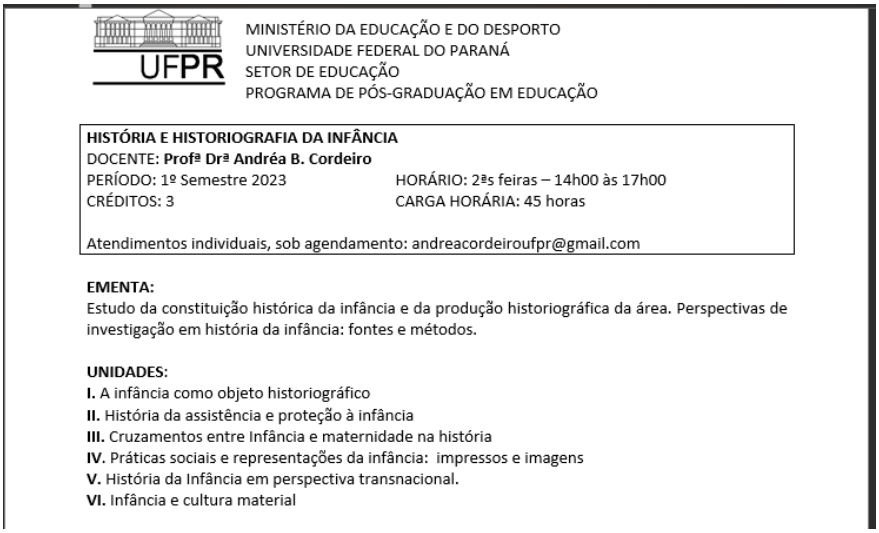
10 de agosto de 2021

Prof. Dr. Rodrigo Arantes Reis
Pró-Reitor de Extensão e Cultura

Profª. Drª. Mayara Elita Carneiro
Coordenadora de Extensão

UFPR PROEC Pró-reitoria de Extensão e Cultura siga UFPR

4 - Participação como professora convidada na disciplina História e Historiografia da Infância, em junho de 2023.



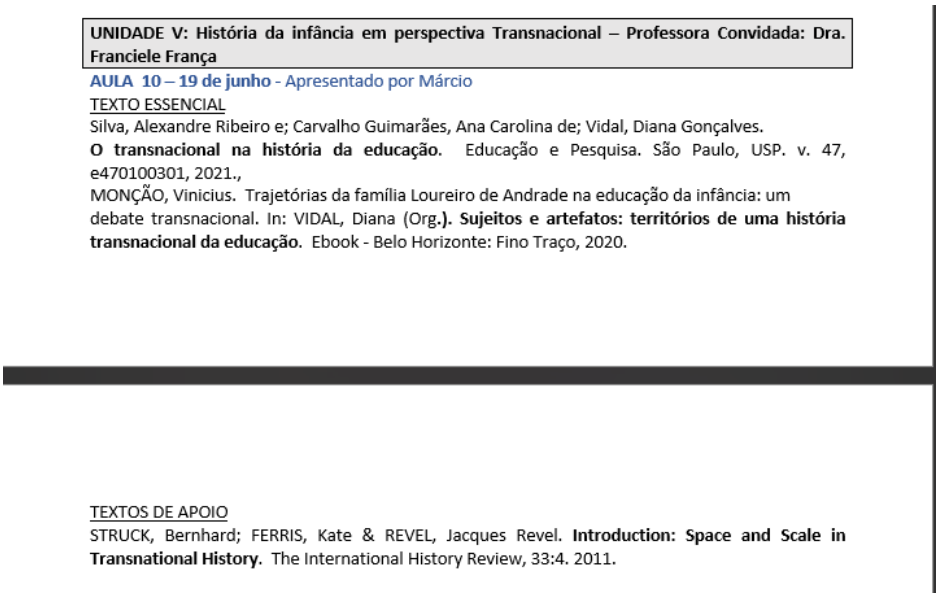
MINISTÉRIO DA EDUCAÇÃO E DO DESPORTO
UNIVERSIDADE FEDERAL DO PARANÁ
SETOR DE EDUCAÇÃO
PROGRAMA DE PÓS-GRADUAÇÃO EM EDUCAÇÃO

**HISTÓRIA E HISTORIOGRAFIA DA INFÂNCIA**
DOCENTE: **Profª Drª Andréa B. Cordeiro**
PERÍODO: 1º Semestre 2023 HORÁRIO: 2ªs feiras – 14h00 às 17h00
CRÉDITOS: 3 CARGA HORÁRIA: 45 horas

Atendimentos individuais, sob agendamento: andreacordeiroufpr@gmail.com

**EMENTA:**
Estudo da constituição histórica da infância e da produção historiográfica da área. Perspectivas de investigação em história da infância: fontes e métodos.

**UNIDADES:**
**I.** A infância como objeto historiográfico
**II.** História da assistência e proteção à infância
**III.** Cruzamentos entre Infância e maternidade na história
**IV.** Práticas sociais e representações da infância: impressos e imagens
**V.** História da Infância em perspectiva transnacional.
**VI.** Infância e cultura material



**UNIDADE V: História da infância em perspectiva Transnacional – Professora Convidada: Dra. Franciele França**

**AULA 10 – 19 de junho** - Apresentado por Márcio

TEXTO ESSENCIAL

Silva, Alexandre Ribeiro e; Carvalho Guimarães, Ana Carolina de; Vidal, Diana Gonçalves. **O transnacional na história da educação**. Educação e Pesquisa. São Paulo, USP. v. 47, e470100301, 2021.,

MONÇÃO, Vinicius. Trajetórias da família Loureiro de Andrade na educação da infância: um debate transnacional. In: VIDAL, Diana (Org.). **Sujeitos e artefatos: territórios de uma história transnacional da educação**. Ebook - Belo Horizonte: Fino Traço, 2020.

TEXTOS DE APOIO

STRUCK, Bernhard; FERRIS, Kate & REVEL, Jacques Revel. **Introduction: Space and Scale in Transnational History**. The International History Review, 33:4. 2011.

5. Participação na disciplina Seminário de Pesquisa Avançada em História e Historiografia da Educação II (Doutorado) / EE713 Pesquisa em História e Historiografia da Educação II (Mestrado), na Unidade II, no PPGE/UFPR.

## PLANO DE ENSINO

**Disciplina:** EPG715 Seminário de Pesquisa Avançada em História e Historiografia da Educação II (Doutorado) / EE713 Pesquisa em História e Historiografia da Educação II (Mestrado)
**Ano:** 2023 / 2º Sem.**Carga horária:** 45**Créditos:** 3

**Curso:** Doutorado (05 alunos) e Mestrado (XX alunos)

**Professoras Responsáveis:** Gizele de Souza, Dulce Osinski, Roberlayne Roballo

**Avaliação:** Participação no debate dos textos, apresentação de seminários e produção de textos.

**Horário: 3ª. feiras -** 14h00 às 17:00h.

**Metodologia:**

**14h00-15h30:** *Apresentação e Debate de Textos - Seminário*

* responsável pelo seminário – 30 minutos

* Comentários Professoras demais alunos – 30 minutos

* professora da disciplina – 30 minutos

**15h30-15h45:** *intervalo*

**15h45-17h00:** *pesquisador convidado e debate*

AVALIAÇÃO:

- PARTICIPAÇÃO EM SALA

- SEMINÁRIO

- APRECIAÇÃO CRÍTICA DA ORA ANALISADA

## SEQÜÊNCIA DE ATIVIDADES E DE LEITURAS

### Exposição do Programa

| **Apresentação do Programa e Sistemática de Trabalho** |
|---|

**21/08:** Apresentação do programa de estudos

- INTRODUÇÃO DA PESQUISA EM HISTÓRIA DA EDUCAÇÃO NO BRASIL

* Gizele de Souza (roteiro da pos-graduação em educação no Brasil)

* Rober (texto da Clarice Nunes e Marta Carvalho)

* Dulce (texto ....)

**I. História da Educação: constituição do campo e perspectivas:**

**29/08**

VEIGA, Cynthia Greive. História Política e História da Educação. IN: VEIGA, Cynthia Greive & FONSECA, Thais Nivia de Lima e (orgs). História e Historiografia da Educação no Brasil, Belo Horizonte: Autêntica, 2003, p.13-47.

FONSECA, Thais Nivia de Lima e. História da Educação e História Cultural. IN: VEIGA, Cynthia Greive & FONSECA, Thais Nivia de Lima e (orgs). História e Historiografia da Educação no Brasil. Belo Horizonte: Autêntica, 2003, p.49-75.

**II. Marcos Historiográficos da História da Educação no Brasil:**

**SEMINÁRIO A - 05/09 - GIZELE**

**PESQUISADOR/A CONVIDADO/A: Franciele França**

MOACYR, Primitivo. A instrução e o Império: subsídios para a História da Educação no Brasil, 1823-1853. 1º volume. São Paulo: Companhia Nacional, 1936, p. 7-8 (prefácio de Afranio Peixoto)

MOACYR, Primitivo. A instrução e o Império: subsídios para a História da Educação no Brasil, 1823-1853. 2º volume. São Paulo: Companhia Nacional, 1937, p. 7-614.

**Bibliografia de Apoio:**

VIDAL, Diana Gonçalves and FARIA FILHO, Luciano Mendes de. História da educação no Brasil: a constituição histórica do campo (1880-1970). *Rev. Bras. Hist.* [online]. 2003, vol.23, n.45, pp. 37-70. ISSN 0102-0188.

OLIVEIRA, Luiz Antonio de; MACHADO, Maria Cristina Gomes. O debate sobre educação no império na perspectiva de Moacyr - a partir dos projetos apresentados após a lei de 1854**.** Seminário de Pesquisa PPE, realizado na UEM, 27 e 28 de abril de 2010. [online].

**SEMINÁRIO B: 12/09 - DULCE**

**PESQUISADOR/A CONVIDADO/A: Iriana Vezzani**

ALMEIDA, José Ricardo Pires de. *Instrução Pública no Brasil (1500-1889)*. Tradução: Antonio

Chizzotti. São Paulo: EDUC, 1989.

**Bibliografia de Apoio:**

NUNES, C. A instrução pública e a primeira história sistematizada da educação brasileira. *Cadernos de Pesquisa*, n.93, p.51-9, 1995.

WARDE, M. J. Questões teóricas e de Método: a História da Educação nos marcos de uma disciplina. In: SAVIANI, D.; LOMBARDI, J.C.; SANFELICE,J.L. (org). *História e Historiografia da Educação: o debate teórico-metodológico atual.* Campinas: Autores Associados, 1998.

## SEMINÁRIO C: 19/09 - ROBER

### PESQUISADOR/A CONVIDADO/A: Elaine Falcade Maschio

BARBOSA, Rui. Reforma do ensino primário e várias instituições complementares da instrução pública. Obras completas. Vol. X, tomo I ao IV. Rio de Janeiro: Ministério da Educação e Saúde, 1947.

http://www2.senado.leg.br/bdsf/item/id/242356

**Bibliografia de Apoio:**

CARVALHO, Laerte Ramos de. As reformas pombalinas da instrução pública. Sâo Paulo: Saraiva/Edusp, 1978.

VIDAL, Diana Gonçalves and FARIA FILHO, Luciano Mendes de. História da educação no Brasil: a constituição histórica do campo (1880-1970). *Rev. Bras. Hist.* [online]. 2003, vol.23, n.45, pp. 37-70. ISSN 0102-0188.

OLIVEIRA, Luiz Antonio de; MACHADO, Maria Cristina Gomes. O debate sobre educação no império na perspectiva de Moacyr - a partir dos projetos apresentados após a lei de 1854**.** Seminário de Pesquisa PPE, realizado na UEM, 27 e 28 de abril de 2010. [online].

## SEMINÁRIO D: 26/09 - GIZELE

### PESQUISADOR/A CONVIDADO/A: Rochele Allagyer

AZEVEDO, Fernando. A transmissão da cultura. In: _____ . *A cultura brasileira: introdução ao estudo da cultura brasileira*.. 4. ed. Brasília: UNB, 1963**.** p.501-760.

http://www.usp.br/niephe/publicacoes/docs/PRODUCAO.PDF

Bibliografia de Apoio

CARVALHO, Marta Maria Chagas de. A configuração da historiografia educacional brasileira. In: FREITAS, Marcos Cezar de (org). *Historiografia Brasileira em Perspectiva*. Sâo Paulo: Contexto, 1998, p.329-353.

CARVALHO, Marta Maria Chagas de. O novo, o velho, o perigoso: relendo a cultura brasileira. *Cadernos de Pesquisa*, São Paulo, Fundação Carlos Chagas, n.71, p.23-35, nov. 1989.

BONTEMPI, Bruno. A presença visível e invisível de Durkheim na historiografia da educação brasileira. In: In: FARIA FILHO, Luciano Mendes de. (Org.). *Pensadores Sociais e História da Educação.* Belo Horizonte: Autêntica, 2005. p.47-61.

## SEMINÁRIO E: 03/10 gizele italia (ROBER)

### PESQUISADOR/A CONVIDADO/Andrea Cordeiro (dissertação)

PEIXOTO, Afrânio. Noções de História da Educação. Rio de Janeiro: Companhia Editora Nacional, 1933.

**Bibliografia de Apoio:**

ROBALLO, Roberlayne O.B. *A Escrita da História e a formação de professoras normalistas nos manuais de história da educação*. Dissertação de Mestrado. UFPR. Curitiba, 2007

ROCHA, H.H.P. *Recordação para professoras: a história da educação brasileira narrada por Afrânio Peixoto.* IN: GONDRA, J. *Dos arquivos à escrita da história: educação brasileira entre o império e a república no século XIX*. Bragança Paulista: USF, 2001.p.11-36.

## SEMINÁRIO F: 10/10 gizele italia (DULCE)

### PESQUISADOR/A CONVIDADO/A: Amanda de Lima Almeida

NAGLE, Jorge. *Educação e sociedade na primeira república.* São Paulo: EPU, 1974.

**Bibliografia de Apoio**

NAGLE, J. O entusiasmo pela educação e o otimismo pedagógico. In: _____ . *Educação e sociedade na primeira república.* São Paulo: EPU, 1974. p.131-165.

_____ . A trajetória da pesquisa em História da Educação no Brasil. In: MONARCA, C. *História da Educação Brasileira*: formação do campo. Ijuí: Uniluí, 1999.

## SEMINÁRIO G: 17/10 (Gizele)

### PESQUISADOR/A CONVIDADO/A: Mara Motin

CARVALHO, Marta Maria Chagas de. *Molde nacional e fôrma cívica: higiene, moral, e trabalho no projeto da Associação Brasileira de Educação (1924-1931).*Bragança Paulista: EDUSF, 1998.

**Bibliografia de Apoio**

BRANDÃO, Zaia.Introdução. In _____ . *A intelligentsia educacional um percurso com Paschoal Lemme*: por entre as memórias e as histórias da escola nova no Brasil. Bragança Paulista: EDUSF, 1999. p.07-24 .

BRANDÃO, Zaia. A construção e a desconstrução de uma memória: a escola Nova no Brasil. In _____ . *A intelligentsia educacional um percurso com Paschoal Lemme*: por entre as memórias e as histórias da escola nova no Brasil. Bragança Paulista: EDUSF, 1999. p.25-54.

GUIMARAES, Manoel Luiz Salgado. A Historiografia Brasileira do século XX: os anos 30. Revista do Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro, Rio de Janeiro, 1991, v. 152, n. 370, p. 275-288, 1991.

## SEMINÁRIO H: 24/10 Dulce

**PESQUISADOR/A CONVIDADO/A: Cristiane Zanin**

HORTA, José Silvério Baía. O hino, o sermão e a ordem do dia: a educação no Brasil (1930-1945). Rio de janeiro: Ed UFRJ, 1994.

**Bibliografia de Apoio**

GOMES, Angela Castro. O estado novo e os intelectuais da educação brasileira. In: FREITAS, Marcos Cezar de (org). *Memória intelectual da educação brasileira*. Bragança Paulista: EDUSF, 1999, p. 9-14.

CARVALHO, Marta Maria Chagas de. O território do consenso e a demarcação do perigo: política e memória do debate educacional dos anos 30. In: FREITAS, Marcos Cezar de (org). *Memória intelectual da educação brasileira*. Bragança Paulista: EDUSF, 1999, p.17-30.

NUNES, Clarice. O estado novo e o debate educacional nos anos trinta. In: FREITAS, Marcos Cezar de (org). *Memória intelectual da educação brasileira*. Bragança Paulista: EDUSF, 1999, p.33-46.

CAPELATO, Maria Helena. Estado Novo: novas histórias. In: FREITAS, M.C. de. *Historiografia brasileira em perspectiva*. Sâo Paulo: Contexto/USF, 1998, p.183-213.

## SEMINÁRIO I: 31/10 - Rober

**PESQUISADOR/A CONVIDADO/A: Daiana Honorato**

SOUZA, Rosa Fátima de. *Templos de civilização: a implantação da escola primária graduada no Estado de São Paulo, 1890-1910*. São Paulo: Ed. Unesp, 1998.

**Bibliografia de Apoio**

MONARCHA, Carlos. *Escola Normal da Praça: o lado noturno das luzes*. Campinas: Ed. Unicamp, 1999.

**07/11 – EVENTO 15 ANOS DO NEPIE - EVENTO II EPHE /25 ANOS DA LINHA (06,07 - 08,09 e 10/11)**

**III. Pesquisas contemporâneas em História da Educação: temas, abordagens e perspectivas**

**14/11 – INDICAR VARIOS ARTIGOS**

- Gondra/Alessandra Schweller (Rober)
- Ana Cristina Mignot (Gizele)
- Bruno (Dulce)
- Diana (Gizele)
- Kazumi/Katia Braghin/ sensibilidades (Dulce)
- Paraíba
- Juarez (memoriais)...
- Elisabet de Sá Figueredo
- Rachel Duarte Abdala. Fotografias escolares: práticas do olhar e representações sociais nos álbuns fotográficos da Escola Caetano de Campos (1895-1966). 2013
- Natalia Gil (Rober – estatística)
-

21/11 – INDICAR VARIOS ARTIGOS

**IV. História da Educação no Brasil: balanços e perspectivas:**

**28/11: Encerramento da Disciplina.**

INDICAR DOIS ARTIGOS RECENTES SOBRE BALANÇO DA HISTORIOGRAFIA

**Bibliografia de apoio:**

VIEIRA, Carlos Eduardo; GONDRA, José. Mapas da Produção em História da Educação. In: GONDRA, José. *Pesquisa em História da Educação no Brasil*. Rio de Janeiro: DP&A, 2005, p.7-13.

CATANI, Denice Bárbara & FARIA FILHO, Luciano Mendes de. Um lugar de produção e a produção de um lugar: história e historiografia da educação brasileira nos anos 1980 e de 1990 – a produção divulgada no GT História da Educação. In: GONDRA, José. *Pesquisa em História da Educação no Brasil*. Rio de Janeiro: DP&A, 2005, p.85-110.

CARVALHO, M. M. A História da Educação no Brasil. In: _____. *A escola e a república e outros ensaios.* Bragança Paulista: EDUSF, 2003. p. 281-312.

FARIA FILHO, L.M.; VIDAL, D. História da Educação no Brasil: a constituição histórica do campo (1880-1970). *Revista Brasileira de História*, São Paulo, v.23, n.45, p.37-70. 2003.

BARREIRA, Luis. *História e historiografia*: as escritas recentes da história da educação brasileira (1971-1988). Campinas, 1995. Tese (Doutorado em História da Educação) – UNICAMP.

BENCOSTA, M, A, L; BASTOS, M, H, C; CUNHA, M,T. *Uma cartografia da pesquisa em história da educação na Região Sul. Paraná, Santa Catarina e Rio Grande do Sul (1980-2000)*. IV Anped Sul – Seminário de Pesquisa da Região Sul, Florianópolis, nov. 2002.

LOPES, Eliane Marta Teixeira & GALVÃO, Ana Maria de Oliveira. *História da educação*. Rio de Janeiro: DP&A, 2001.

XAVIER**,** *Libânia Nacif Particularidades de um Campo Disciplinar em consolidação: balanço do I Congresso Brasileiro de História da Educação* (RJ/2000).

6. Participação como palestrante em Conferência Internacional de História e Historiografia de la Educación, em Março/2022.



6 – Produção de parecer – Educar em Revista



**[EDUCAR] Agradecimento pela Avaliação**

revistas_ojs@ufpr.br <revistas_ojs@ufpr.br>
Ter, 17/08/2021 11:33
Para: Franciele Ferreira França <fran.f.franca@outlook.com>

Prezada Franciele Ferreira França,

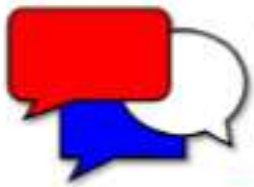
Agradeço por ter concluído a avaliação do artigo [redacted] submetido à Educar em Revista. Sua contribuição foi fundamental para a continuidade do trabalho sério e de qualidade realizado neste periódico.
Esta correspondência já se configura como declaração comprobatória de seu parecer. Qualquer alteração necessária, favor contatar.
Sua contribuição como autor, em outra oportunidade, também será bem-vinda. Muito obrigada!

Att.,

Profa. Dra. Gizele de Souza
Editora Chefe da Educar em Revista
Universidade Federal do Paraná - UFPR

Profa. Dra. Catarina Moro
Editora Adjunta da Educar em Revista
Universidade Federal do Paraná - UFPR

7. Produção de parecer – Debates em Educação




UNIVERSIDADE FEDERAL DE ALAGOAS

ISSN Eletrônico 2175-6600

Maceió/AL, 27 de junho de 2022.

**DECLARAÇÃO**

Declaramos para os devidos fins, que a Professora Doutora FRANCIELE FERREIRA FRANÇA, atuou como parecerista *ad hoc* da Revista Debates em Educação [RDE] no ano de 2022, vinculada ao Programa de Pós-Graduação em Educação da Universidade Federal de Alagoas (PPGE/UFAL).

Atenciosamente,

Inalda Maria dos Santos

**Inalda Maria dos Santos**

*Editora da Revista Debates em Educação*

8. Produção de parecer – Revista Brasileira de História da Educação



RBHE

Revista Brasileira de História da Educação

e-ISSN 2238-0094

# CERTIFICADO

*Concedemos este certificado a*

## FRANCIELE FERREIRA FRANÇA

pela participação como parecerista no processo de avaliação por pares da Revista Brasileira de História de Educação em dezembro de 2022.

**José Gonçalves Gondra**

*Editor-chefe da RBHE*

*23.12.2022*

9. Produção de parecer – Educar em Revista



**[EDUCAR] Agradecimento pela Avaliação**

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T
Para: Franciele Ferreira França <fran.f.franca@outlook.com>

Prezada Franciele Ferreira França,

Agradeço por ter concluído a avaliação do artigo [redacted] submetido à Educar em Revista. Sua contribuição foi fundamental para a continuidade do trabalho sério e de qualidade realizado neste periódico.
Esta correspondência já se configura como declaração comprobatória de seu parecer. Qualquer alteração necessária, favor contatar.
Sua contribuição como autor, em outra oportunidade, também será bem-vinda. Muito obrigada!

Att.,

Profa. Dra
Editora Chefe da Educar em Revista
Universidade Federal do Paraná - UFPR

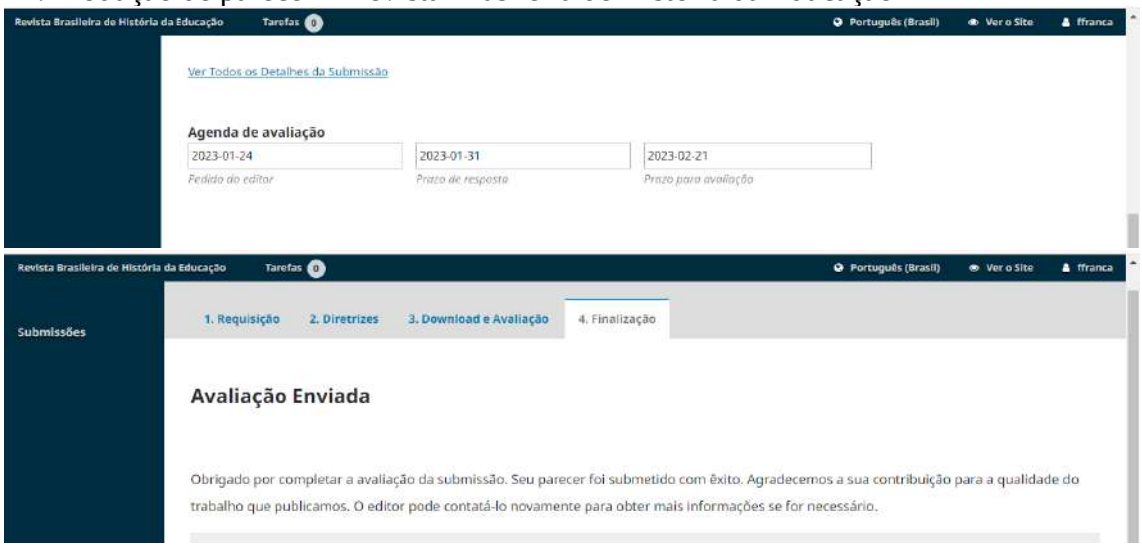
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Editora Adjunta da Educar em Revista
Universidade Federal do Paraná - UFPR

10. Produção de parecer – Revista Em Aberto






11. Produção de parecer – Revista Brasileira de História da Educação



12 – Avaliadora em banca de trabalho de conclusão de curso de Gecia Aline Garcia

UNIVERSIDADE FEDERAL DO PARANÁ
SETOR DE EDUCAÇÃO
COORDENAÇÃO DO CURSO DE PEDAGOGIA

***DECLARAÇÃO***

Declaro para os devidos fins que **Franciele Ferreira França** participou, na condição de Avaliadora da defesa do Trabalho de Conclusão de Curso de Pedagogia, intitulado **"Ao Correr da Pena': um estudo sobre a instalação material da escola primária paranaense (1854-1857)**, de autoria de Gecia Aline Garcia, no dia 10 de fevereiro de 2021, às 10h00 horas.

Por ser verdade, firmo o presente.

Curitiba, 10 de fevereiro de 2021.

Profa. Dra. Gizele de Souza
Profa. Setor de Educação – UFPR e Orientadora do TCC

13 – Avaliadora em banca de trabalho de conclusão de curso de Ana Luisa Manfredini Araújo

UNIVERSIDADE FEDERAL DO PARANÁ
SETOR DE EDUCAÇÃO
COORDENAÇÃO DO CURSO DE PEDAGOGIA

**DECLARAÇÃO**

Declaro para os devidos fins que **Franciele Ferreira França** participou, na condição de Avaliadora da defesa do Trabalho de Conclusão de Curso de Pedagogia, intitulado "**A luz que atravessou a fenda: uma reflexão iconológica das representações de infância e educação em fotografias de escolas japonesas de Londrina, na década de 30**", de autoria de Ana Luisa Manfredini Araújo, no dia 24 de fevereiro de 2021, às 17h00 horas.

Por ser verdade, firmo o presente.

Curitiba, 24 de fevereiro de 2021.

Profa. Dra. Gizele de Souza
Profa. Setor de Educação – UFPR e Orientadora do TCC

14 – Avaliadora em banca de trabalho de conclusão de curso de Lorena Oliveira Soares



Universidade de Brasília

SECRETARIA DE GRADUAÇÃO DA FE

**ATESTADO**

ATESTO, para os devidos fins, conforme consta nos assentamentos da Secretaria do Curso de Graduação em Pedagogia da Faculdade de Educação da Universidade de Brasília, que foi realizada a apresentação do Trabalho Final de Curso do(a) estudante **Lorena Oliveira Soares**, matrícula **170108422**, intitulado: "**O que fazer na grama: restrições do brincar no Distrito Federal (1960-1970)**", desenvolvido sob a orientação do(a) Prof.(a) Etienne Baldez Louzada Barbosa, defendido no dia 10/11/2021.

ATESTO, que a banca examinadora foi composta pelos seguintes membros:

Etienne Baldez Louzada Barbosa (orientadora) MTC/FE

Patrick Antunes Menezes MTC/FE - (membro interno)

Franciele Ferreira França USP/PPGE- **(membro externo)**

Juarez José Tuchinski dos Anjos (suplente) TEF/FE

Brasília, 21/02/2021.

COORDENAÇÃO DE GRADUAÇÃO

Curso de Pedagogia

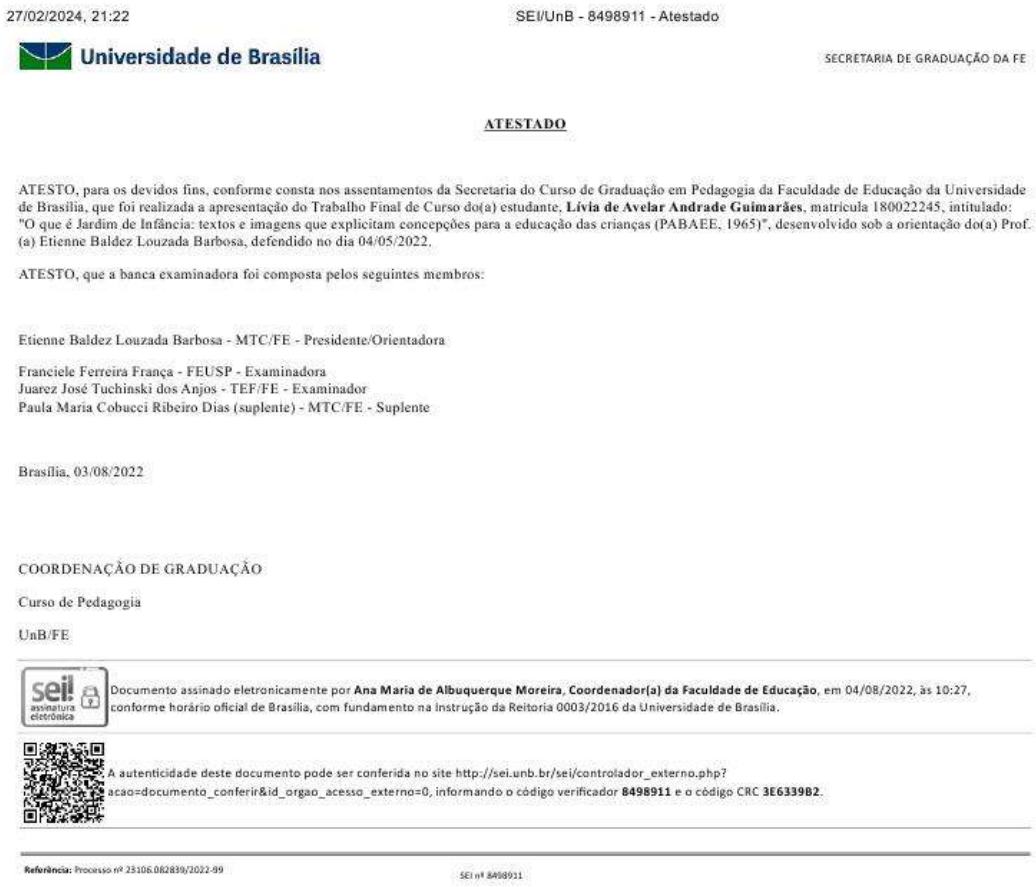
UnB/FE

Documento assinado eletronicamente por **Edileuza Fernandes da Silva**, **Coordenador(a) da Faculdade de Educação**, em 22/02/2022, às 08:26, conforme horário oficial de Brasília, com fundamento na Instrução da Reitoria 0003/2016 da Universidade de Brasília.

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**Referência:** Processo nº 23106.124319/2021-80 SEI nº 7772155

15 – Avaliadora em banca de trabalho de conclusão de curso de Lívia de Avelar Andrade Guimarães.



27/02/2024, 21:22 SEI/UnB - 8498911 - Atestado

Universidade de Brasília

SECRETARIA DE GRADUAÇÃO DA FE

**ATESTADO**

ATESTO, para os devidos fins, conforme consta nos assentamentos da Secretaria do Curso de Graduação em Pedagogia da Faculdade de Educação da Universidade de Brasília, que foi realizada a apresentação do Trabalho Final de Curso do(a) estudante, **Lívia de Avelar Andrade Guimarães**, matrícula 180022245, intitulado: "O que é Jardim de Infância: textos e imagens que explicitam concepções para a educação das crianças (PABAEE, 1965)", desenvolvido sob a orientação do(a) Prof. (a) Etienne Baldez Louzada Barbosa, defendido no dia 04/05/2022.

ATESTO, que a banca examinadora foi composta pelos seguintes membros:

Etienne Baldez Louzada Barbosa - MTC/FE - Presidente/Orientadora

Franciele Ferreira França - FEUSP - Examinadora
Juarez José Tuchinski dos Anjos - TEF/FE - Examinador
Paula Maria Cobucci Ribeiro Dias (suplente) - MTC/FE - Suplente

Brasília, 03/08/2022

COORDENAÇÃO DE GRADUAÇÃO

Curso de Pedagogia

UnB/FE

Documento assinado eletronicamente por **Ana Maria de Albuquerque Moreira, Coordenador(a) da Faculdade de Educação**, em 04/08/2022, às 10:27, conforme horário oficial de Brasília, com fundamento na Instrução da Reitoria 0003/2016 da Universidade de Brasília.

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**Referência:** Processo nº 23106.082839/2022-99 SEI nº 8498911

file:///C:/Users/franf/Desktop/Atestado_8498911.html 1/1

16 - Participação como palestrante no Evento Quinze anos do NEPIE- Núcleo de Estudos e Pesquisas em Infância e Educação Infantil -UFPR



MINISTÉRIO DA EDUCAÇÃO
UNIVERSIDADE FEDERAL DO PARANÁ
PRÓ-REITORIA DE EXTENSÃO E CULTURA
COORDENADORIA DE EXTENSÃO

# CERTIFICADO

FRANCIELE FRANÇA participou como MINISTRANTE no(a) Evento de Extensão "QUINZE ANOS DO NEPIE- NÚCLEO DE ESTUDOS E PESQUISAS EM INFÂNCIA E EDUCAÇÃO INFANTIL -UFPR" coordenado por ANDREA BEZERRA CORDEIRO, cumprindo 2h de atividades no período de 06/11/2023 a 06/11/2023, promovido pelo(a) Setor de Educação da Universidade Federal do Paraná.

05 de Fevereiro de 2024

Profª. Drª. Mayara Elita Braz Carneiro
Pró-Reitor(a) de Extensão e Cultura

Profª. Drª. Mabel Karina Arantes Alves
Coordenador(a) de Extensão

UFPR PROEC Pró-reitoria de Extensão e Cultura siga UFPR

Evento de Extensão

QUINZE ANOS DO NEPIE- NÚCLEO DE ESTUDOS E PESQUISAS EM INFÂNCIA E EDUCAÇÃO INFANTIL -UFPR
Coordenador(a): ANDREA BEZERRA CORDEIRO
Data de Início: 06/11/2023
Data de Finalização: 07/11/2023
Atividades do membro:
- MESA 2- PERCURSOS E TRAJETÓRIAS EM DIÁLOGO: HISTÓRIA DA INFÂNCIA E MATERIALIDADES: 2h

https://extensao.ufpr.br/public/autenticacao.jsf - Código para autenticação: 486D917C85E6D5

UFPR PROEC Pró-reitoria de Extensão e Cultura siga UFPR

## 22. APÊNDICE N: RELATÓRIO ANUAL DE ATIVIDADES DA BOLSISTA PD JONATAS ROQUE RIBEIRO

Relatório Individual – Pós-Doutorado

Jonatas Roque Ribeiro

**Forjando redes afro-atlânticas: experiências negras, racismo e a escola no circuito transnacional do pós-abolição**

Processo 2022/15052-5
Vigência: 1/8/2023 – 31/7/2025
Beneficiário: Prof. Dr. Jonatas Roque Ribeiro
Supervisora: Profa. Dra. Diana Gonçalves Vidal

**Resumo**

A presente pesquisa tem por objetivo estudar a construção de representações sociais e políticas sobre a escola, os modelos e os sistemas de ensino forjadas no circuito transnacional do pós-abolição por educadores negros no Brasil e nos EUA. O interesse centra-se na investigação das formas e dos caminhos – simétricos ou não – por meio dos quais se deram tais conexões e circulação de ideias, pensamentos e projetos. Assim, elege-se a trajetória do pensador negro brasileiro José Eutrópio (1886-1929) e os diálogos e contraposições estabelecidos por ele com educadores negros estadunidenses, especialmente com a obra e o pensamento de Carter Godwin Woodson (1875-1950), como fio condutor por meio do qual pretende-se estudar como ocorreu o processo de discussão pública sobre a questão racial, destacadamente sobre práticas de racialização e o racismo nas escolas e sobre o acesso a formas de escolarização formal das gentes negras a tais espaços no pós-abolição em âmbito transnacional. Defende-se a hipótese de que, para as gentes negras em diferentes partes do Atlântico, a escola – de modo concreto ou simbólico – foi vista como um canal de expressão das suas lutas em torno da igualdade e reconhecimento da humanidade e dignidade e, portanto, da sua condição de cidadania. Vinculada ao Eixo 2 do Projeto Temático “Saberes e práticas em fronteiras: por uma história transnacional da educação (1810-...)”, posto em andamento na Faculdade de Educação da Universidade de São Paulo, a presente proposta está interessada em refletir sobre os trânsitos internacionais, as hibridações e apropriações e os processos de circulação

transnacional de sujeitos, artefatos, modelos e saberes pedagógicos, bem como sobre as estratégias mobilizadas na construção dessas redes sociais. Para tanto, a proposta apresenta uma perspectiva de pesquisa também em sentido transnacional, a partir da realização de investigações em arquivos, acervos e bibliotecas e do estabelecimento de diálogos historiográficos no Brasil e nos Estados Unidos.

**Atividades desenvolvidas no período de 1/8/2023 a 30/6/2024**

As atividades da bolsa de pós-doutorado em curso têm se dado em duas frentes: pesquisa em arquivos, com o trabalho de localização, catalogação e análise dos documentos referentes às vidas de José de Eutrópio e de Carter Godwin Woodson, personagens biografadas no projeto de pesquisa; e o trabalho historiográfico com as fontes em diálogo com bibliografias específicas. Ainda, em relação ao trabalho com arquivos, é importante frisar que os acervos que guardam documentos referentes à trajetória do educador estadunidense Carter G. Woodson estão localizados nos Estados Unidos. Por isso, em fins de 2023, escrevi e submeti à Fapesp um projeto de estágio e pesquisa nesse país, com a intenção de consultar os acervos e a documentação sobre a vida e a obra de Carter G. Woodson, disponíveis no Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, uma das bibliotecas públicas da cidade de Nova York, e na The Library of Congress, em Washington DC. Todavia, os conjuntos documentais, que seriam objeto do estágio no exterior, foram gentilmente disponibilizados, em formato digital, pelas instituições responsáveis pela sua guarda, o que tornou prescindível o período de pesquisa nos EUA. Assim, com ciência da supervisora, solicitei o cancelamento desta bolsa, que foi aprovado pela Fapesp.

A suspenção da bolsa de estágio e pesquisa no exterior não significa, de modo algum, o descumprimento dos objetivos inicialmente estabelecidos no projeto de pesquisa de pós-doutorado, pelo contrário, a análise (ainda em andamento) das fontes consultadas, tanto nos arquivos brasileiros, quanto nos arquivos estadunidenses, tem complexificado e ampliado as finalidades da pesquisa. Nesse sentido, os seus resultados estão sendo divulgados por meio da participação em seminários, congressos e eventos científicos de relevância internacional nas áreas de História e de História da Educação. Além disso, outros resultados parciais estão divulgados no relatório de pesquisa dirigido à instituição financiadora e na publicação de artigos que deverão ser submetidos à avaliação em

periódicos (nacionais e internacionais) de impacto de acordo com o Qualis Capes. Seis (6) comunicações orais foram apresentadas em eventos científicos; quatro (4) propostas de comunicação oral foram aceitas em eventos futuros e três (3) propostas de comunicação oral aguardam avaliação para eventos futuros. Três (3) artigos científicos foram publicados e quatro (4) estão em processo de edição com previsão de publicação no segundo semestre de 2024, em prestigiados e reconhecidos periódicos científicos, como a *Afro-Ásia*, a *Revista Brasileira de História da Educação* e a *History of Education: Journal of the History of Education Society*.

**Plano de atividades futuras**

O cronograma de ações futuras deverá envolver, entre outras atividades: reuniões com a supervisora; participação nas atividades do Niephe; participação em seminários; congressos e eventos científicos; elaboração e publicação de artigos científicos; transcrição, análise e investigação dos conjuntos documentais; colaboração em disciplina na pós-graduação do IEB/USP; participação no Programa de Aperfeiçoamento de Ensino (PAE/USP); elaboração de proposta de projeto de ação de extensão; e realização do estágio de pesquisa no exterior, que deverá atender, mais adequadamente, ao momento atual da pesquisa, bem como aos seus encaminhamentos.

# 23. APÊNDICE O: RELATÓRIO ANUAL DE ATIVIDADES DA BOLSISTA PD RENATA BRIÃO DE CASTRO

**Relatório resumido**

Informações gerais

Bolsista: Renata Brião de Castro

Supervisora: Diana Gonçalves Vidal

Projeto: Os livros didáticos italianos e a circulação do fascismo nas cidades de São Paulo e de Buenos Aires - 1922 a 1943

Número do Processo: 2022/15183-2

Data de início: 01/09/2023.

Atividades desenvolvidas

As atividades iniciais da pesquisa de pós-doutorado dedicaram-se, primordialmente, na realização de investigações empíricas em diversos acervos históricos que preservam os livros didáticos italianos estudados no pós-doutorado. Esta etapa envolveu visitas *in loco* a bibliotecas, arquivos públicos, a saber: Biblioteca do Livro Didático da FEUSP, Centro de Memória Colégio Dante Alighieri, *Biblioteca do Istituto Italiano di Cultura di San Paolo, Biblioteca Nacional de Maestros, Buenos Aires, Biblioteca Nacional Mariano Morena, Buenos Aires* e *Biblioteca do Istituto Italiano di Cultura di Buenos Aires*. Durante essas visitas, foram digitalizados os livros didáticos na íntegra para posterior organização e análise. O objetivo foi coletar os livros que fornecessem uma base sólida para as análises subsequentes.

Após a coleta inicial, foi realizado uma organização e levantamento abrangente dos dados obtidos. Esta fase incluiu a catalogação sistemática dos materiais. Em seguida, teve início a análise do que foi possível coletar.

Um componente importante da pesquisa, até este momento, foi a identificação e o mapeamento de novos acervos que ainda não haviam sido explorados ou documentados amplamente. Este processo envolveu a realização de pesquisas em base de dados e catálogos de bibliotecas e outras instituições de preservação dos livros didáticos, tais como: *Servizio Bibliotecario Nazionale; Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze, Biblioteca di Storia*

*Moderna e Contemporanea di Roma, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Bibliothèque Sorbonne Nouvelle;* e o catálogo histórico de algumas editoras italianas que publicaram esses livros no período estudado, como, por exemplo, Mondadori; Libreria dello Stato; Bemporad; Laterza. Os novos acervos identificados foram importantes para potencializar os próximos passos da pesquisa.

As atividades realizadas até o momento proporcionaram uma base para o avanço da pesquisa sobre os livros didáticos italianos que o pós-doutoramento analisará, permitindo uma compreensão mais profunda e ampla dos manuais estudados. As próximas etapas incluirão a continuidade da análise dos dados, a elaboração de publicações científicas que disseminem os resultados e contribuam para o campo de estudos acerca da temática dos livros didáticos italianos e a circulação do fascismo por meio deles. Com estas atividades listadas acima foi possível chegar, até o momento, em um total de 211 títulos de livros didáticos italianos preservados nas mais diversas bibliotecas e instituições de guarda, os quais ainda não foram pesquisados por outros estudiosos da área.

No desenvolvimento da pesquisa, o estudo dos manuais didáticos possibilitou, até o momento, a produção acadêmica e participação em eventos listada abaixo.

Produção científica:

Participação como palestrante e/ou conferencista em eventos nacionais e internacionais

- CASTRO, Renata. Palestra: Os livros didáticos italianos em perspectiva transnacional. Mesa-redonda: Ideias e sujeitos viajantes: histórias transnacionais em educação. Data: 17/10/2023. Formato presencial.

- CASTRO, Renata. Palestra: Le Società Italiane di Mutuo Soccorso costituzioni, traiettorie e permanenza (1872-1938). Evento: Dall'Italia al Sud America. L'idea di “fraternité” e il mutuo soccorso fra gli emigranti in Argentina e Brasile. Università degli Studi di Siena. Data: 28 e 29 de novembro de 2023. Formato híbrido.

Participação em evento futuro com aceite confirmado

- XII Congresso Brasileiro de História da Educação (a ser realizado na data de 14 a 17 de agosto de 2024.) Autora: Renata Brião de Castro. Título: Os livros de leitura para as escolas italianas de São Paulo e de Buenos Aires durante os anos de 1929 a 1932" (natureza da participação – apresentação).

- 45 International Standing Conference for the History of Education (a ser realizado na data 18 a 22 de agosto de 2024.) Autora: Renata Brião de Castro. Título: Italian schools and schoolbooks in São Paulo and Buenos Aires during the 1920s and 1930s (natureza da participação – apresentação).

- XXII Coloquio de Historia de la Educación: transnacionalidad y transculturalidad en la historia de la educación durante la modernidad y la contemporaneidad (a ser realizado na data de 11 a 13 de setembro de 2024). Autora: Renata Brião de Castro. Título: Os livros didáticos italianos em São Paulo e Buenos Aires (Brasil e Argentina) durante as décadas de 1920 e 1930: circulação transnacional e cultura material escolar (natureza da participação – apresentação).

Artigos publicados, submetidos e em processo de submissão

- CASTRO, Renata. Os livros escolares italianos no Brasil: uma análise das publicações, Revista Cadernos de História da Educação.
- CASTRO, Renata. *"C'era una volta…":* O livro de leituras históricas para as escolas italianas no Brasil e na Argentina. Revista Perspectiva.
- CASTRO, Renata. *Il sole dell'Italia:* Il sole dell'Italia: l ivro escolar de literatura italiana para as escolas na América Latina. Acta scientiarum
- CASTRO, Renata. The school material culture in Italian textbooks". Revista History of Education and Children's Literature.
- Castro, Renata B.; Barausse, Alberto. O percurso profissional do Professor Umberto Ancarani nas escolas italianas no exterior e a figura dos mestres-agentes. Revista Brasileira de História da Educação.
- CASTRO, Renata. "Las escuelas italianas en São Paulo y en Buenos Aires: un análisis cuantitativo a partir de los anuarios de las escuelas italianas en el exterior y la circulación de los manuales didácticos." Revista Anuario de Historia de la Educación.

## 24. APÊNDICE P: RELATÓRIO ANUAL DE ATIVIDADES DO BOLSISTA DE DOUTORADO ALEXANDRE RIBEIRO E SILVA

Relatório Alexandre Ribeiro e Silva (Processo Fapesp n. 2020/11928-8)

1. PARTICIPAÇÃO EM EVENTO CIENTÍFICO

### 2.1 Realizados

**IX Congresso Nacional de Educação (CONEDU)**. João Pessoa-PB, 12 a 14 de outubro de 2023 (presencial).

Alexandre Ribeiro e Silva. Apresentação de comunicação: "Intérpretes" da educação nacional no Brasil Império: apontamentos sobre um projeto de reforma da instrução pública no Município da Corte em 1847.

### 2.4 Participação em evento futuro com aceite confirmado (separar por evento)

**- III Congresso Internacional de Ciências Sociais e Humanas** (a ser realizado pela Universidade de Salamanca no período de 26 a 28 de junho de 2024).

Alexandre Ribeiro e Silva. Produção de conhecimento, centralização e descentralização na instrução pública do Brasil Império: explorando os Estudos Administrativos de Francisco Octaviano (1851). (apresentação)

**- XI Congresso Brasileiro de História da Educação** (a ser realizado pela Universidade Federal do Rio Grande do Norte no período de 14 a 17 de agosto de 2014)

Alexandre Ribeiro e Silva. Da difusão do modelo à circulação do fracasso: críticas ao ensino mútuo na Inglaterra, França e Brasil na década de 1830. (apresentação)

**- 45º International Standing Conference for the History of Education** (a ser realizada pela Universidade Federal do Rio Grande do Norte no período de 18 a 21 de agosto de 2024)

Alexandre Ribeiro e Silva. Algumas considerações sobre a diversidade regional na historiografia da educação brasileira relativa ao período imperial (1822-1889). (apresentação)

## 3 LISTA DE PUBLICAÇÕES

### 3.5 Capítulos de livro já publicados (quando e-book incluir endereço online)

SILVA, Alexandre R. e. Imprensa, política e educação no Maranhão Imperial: Sotero dos Reis e a polêmica n'A Revista sobre reformas da instrução pública. *In*: MATOS, Marcos Fábio

Belo; ARAÚJO, Roni César Andrade de; PINHEIRO, Roseane Arcanjo (Orgs.). *Imprensa no Maranhão*: 200 anos de história. São Luís: EDUFMA, 2023. v. 2. p. 99-125.

**3.6 Capítulo de livro <u>com previsão de publicação</u>**

SILVA, Alexandre R. e. Victor Cousin e a instrução pública no século XIX: traços da circulação anglófona de uma obra. *In*: POLACHINI, Bruna S.; SILVA, Carolina M.; MACEDO, Renata G. (orgs.). *Saberes em circulação*: histórias transnacionais da educação. (previsão de publicação no segundo semestre de 2024).

SILVA, Alexandre R. e. Do relato de viagem à viagem do relato: Victor Cousin entre cartas, livros, traduções e debates políticos. *In*: BOTO, Carlota (org.). *Biblioteca, livros e leituras sob clivagem transnacional*. (previsão de publicação em 2025).

**3.8 Outras publicações**

SILVA, Alexandre R. e. "Intérpretes" da educação nacional no Brasil Império: apontamentos sobre um projeto de reforma da instrução pública no Município da Corte em 1847. In: CONGRESSO NACIONAL DE EDUCAÇÃO, 9., 2023, João Pessoa. **Anais** [...]. João Pessoa: Realize, 2023. p. 1-11.

## 25. APÊNDICE Q: RELATÓRIO ANUAL DE ATIVIDADES DA BOLSISTA DE MESTRADO TIZIANA FERREIRO

**Relatório Parcial por Eixo Temático**

**Período: jul/2023-jun/2024**

Eixo 1 - Tiziana Ferrero

**Atividades desenvolvidas pelo eixo (conjunta e/ou individualmente)**

1. RESUMO DOS PRINCIPAIS RESULTADOS OBTIDOS PELO EIXO E PRÓXIMAS AÇÕES PREVISTAS (plano de atividades)**.**

Nos onze meses passados, procurei avançar na pesquisa de acordo com o projeto e divulguei os resultados obtidos por meio de comunicações em congressos nacionais e internacionais e artigos publicados. Também participei de cursos e me reuni regularmente com grupos de pesquisa (GEFHIPE e NIEPHE).

Para o primeiro semestre de 2024, comecei a produzir dois artigos. Pretendo ainda finalizar o texto "Qual o lugar da mulher nos livros didáticos? Uma análise da figura feminina nas cartilhas do Estado de São Paulo (1890-1902)", escrito em parceria com o prof. Matheus Pazos, e submetê-lo em alguma revista na área de História da Educação. Planejo também dar seguimento à tradução do artigo "El manual escolar y la cultura profesional de los docentes", de autoria de Agustín Escolano Benito e publicado na revista *Tendencias Pedagógicas,* em 2009. Acredito que a tradução desse texto trará contribuições para estudos em uma área relevante e já bem consolidada na história da educação brasileira - aquela que lida com livros didáticos como um artefato da cultura escolar. Além disso, foi elaborado o capítulo "Símbolo da cultura escolar: algumas considerações sobre o 'Primeiro Livro de Leitura', de Felisberto de Carvalho (1911)", que será publicado com os demais colegas do Eixo 1 do Projeto Temático FAPESP *Saberes e práticas em fronteiras: por uma história transnacional da educação (1810-...)* ainda neste ano.

No primeiro semestre irei participar das reuniões anuais do Projeto Temático, ao qual este projeto é vinculado. Nelas serão expostas as realizações dos quatro eixos do projeto e debatido o planejamento para o ano seguinte. A reunião está organizada toda remotamente e será realizada com a seguinte dinâmica:

a) Dia 27/5 das 9 às 12h - Reuniões internas por eixo, em sala meeting, com a presença de um observador/a externo/a para apresentação das pesquisas em andamento.
b) Dia 27/5 das 14 às 17h - Mesa redonda por streaming com a participação dos coordenadores/as de eixo para relato dos relatos/discussões efetuados durante a manhã.
c) Dia 28/5 das 9h às 12h - Reunião interna, com todos os membros, para discussão de encaminhamentos futuros.
d) Dia 28/5 das 14 às 17h - Mesa redonda por streaming com a participação dos observadores/as para comentários sobre as apresentações e sobre o projeto com um todo.

Para o segundo semestre de 2024, planejo me inscrever como monitora do Programa de Aperfeiçoamento de Ensino (PAE) na disciplina de Didática II, do curso de Pedagogia. A partir de uma perspectiva histórica, a referida disciplina versará sobre ensino, práticas pedagógicas, profissão docente e outros temas concernentes ao cotidiano escolar. A atuação em uma turma de futuros educadores, bem como a possibilidade de refletir sobre a natureza da escola com uma professora que é grande referência no tema (profa. Rita Gallego) são alguns dos motivos do meu interesse em atuar como monitora.

Em relação aos eventos científicos, pretendo apresentar uma comunicação oral no X Congresso Nacional de Educação, que acontecerá em Fortaleza (Ceará) no período de 19 a 23 de setembro de 2024. O tema geral do evento é “Contrastes, diversidade, inclusão: a educação no próximo decênio”, ao qual me propus a refletir sobre os livros didáticos do passado e a sua relação com os livros didáticos do presente.

Em setembro e outubro de 2024 irei organizar dois eventos na Faculdade de Educação da USP com os colegas do GEFHIPE: um sobre a celebração aos 90 anos da USP e outro sobre a comemoração dos 100 anos da ABE. Nesses eventos irei participar como mediadora de mesa-redonda.

## 2. PARTICIPAÇÃO EM EVENTO CIENTÍFICO

**2.1 Realizados**.

1) **16th World Conference on Education Sciences** - The United Nations 17 Sustainable Development Goals. Barcelona, Universitat de Barcelona, Espanha, 1 a 3 de fevereiro de 2024.
   Comunicação oral apresentada: *Education and civilization: an analysis of textbooks used in Brazilian primary schools*

2) **XI Seminário Nacional - Centro de Memória-UNICAMP** - Memória e patrimônio acadêmico-científico. Campinas, São Paulo. 5 a 7 de dezembro de 2023.
   Comunicação oral apresentada: *O livro didático como patrimônio da história da educação: o caso do Banco de Dados LIVRES (FE-USP).*

3) **Semana da Educação**. A escola da ponte pra cá: intersetorialidade em diálogo. Faculdade de Educação da Universidade de São Paulo, São Paulo. 17 e 18 de outubro de 2023.
   Minicurso ministrado com a colega Millena Miranda Franco: *Além das fronteiras nacionais: desvendando a internacionalização, através de experiências feuspianas*.

4) **44th International Standing Conference for the History of Education** (ISCHE) - Histories of Education and Reform: Traditions, Tensions and Transitions. Budapeste, Hungria. 18 a 21 de julho de 2023.
   Comunicação oral apresentada: *The Brazilian school textbooks in the First Brazilian Republic.*

**2.2 Participação como palestrante e/ou conferencista em eventos nacionais e internacionais**

- Autor/a. Palestra/ conferência/ mesa. Título. Evento. Data. Formato.

2.3 **Organização de evento e/ou participação comissão científica.**

Participante. Natureza da participação. Evento. Local. Data.

**2.4 Participação em evento futuro com aceite confirmado** (separar por evento)

2.5 **Previsão de participação em evento científico** – aguardando avaliação.

**X Congresso Nacional de Educação** - "Contrastes, diversidade, inclusão: a educação no próximo decênio". Fortaleza (Ceará). Entre 19 a 23 de setembro de 2024.

## 3 LISTA DE PUBLICAÇÕES

### 3.1 Artigos já publicados (incluir endereço online do artigo)

O artigo "Educar para o progresso da nação: recortes de livros didáticos de português do ensino primário e secundário brasileiro (1930-1971)" foi escrito com a professora Carlota Boto e com a colega Júlia Giardino, mestranda na FEUSP. O artigo propõe-se a verificar a finalidade do ensino de Português no ensino primário e secundário entre a Era Vargas e a Lei de Diretrizes e Bases da Educação (Lei no 5.692/1971).

- BOTO, Carlota; GIARDINO, Júlia Souza Santos; FERRERO, Tiziana. Educar para o progresso da nação: recortes de livros didáticos de português do ensino primário e secundário brasileiro (1930-1971). *Revista Teias, [S. l.]*, v. 25, n. 76, p. 267–279, 2024. DOI: 10.12957/teias.2024.73217. Disponível em: https://www.e-publicacoes.uerj.br/revistateias/article/view/73217. Acesso em: 14 mar. 2024.

O artigo "O letramento das crianças pela história dos livros de leitura" produzido com a professora Carlota versou sobre os indícios de práticas escolares entre as últimas décadas do século XIX e meados do século XX. A abordagem historiográfica dentro do campo da História das Disciplinas Escolares e os estudos de Magda Soares auxiliaram na análise das fontes.

- BOTO, Carlota; FERRERO, Tiziana. O letramento das crianças pela história dos livros de leitura. *Revista Brasileira de Alfabetização*, n. 19, p. 1-16, 30 jun. 2023. https://doi.org/10.47249/rba2023693. Disponível em: https://revistaabalf.com.br/index.html/index.php/rabalf/article/view/693. Acesso em: 14 mar. 2024.

### 3.6 Capítulo de livro com previsão de publicação

Neste período eu escrevi o capítulo "Símbolo da cultura escolar: algumas considerações sobre o 'Primeiro Livro de Leitura', de Felisberto de Carvalho (1911)", que fará

parte de um livro organizado pela profa. Carlota Boto. O capítulo pretende identificar elementos que possibilitem compreender o que era transmitido à infância durante o período republicano, a partir da análise de um impresso que teve expressiva circulação, foi amplamente usado nas escolas públicas de várias regiões do Brasil e fez parte da memória escolar de muitas gerações: o "Primeiro Livro de Leitura", de Felisberto de Carvalho, publicado em 1892 pela Livraria Alves & Cia.

## 4 LISTA DE TRABALHOS SUBMETIDOS (aguardando avaliação) OU EM PREPARAÇÃO.

### 4.1 Artigos submetidos, aguardando avaliação

### 4.2 Artigos em elaboração

Um dos artigos escritos neste período, ainda não submetido, trata de como a figura feminina é apresentada em cartilhas paulistas nos primeiros anos da Primeira República. O texto está em fase de finalização e será submetido a uma revista de História da Educação em breve. Neste artigo, são usados referenciais teóricos da História da Educação e Filosofia da Educação.

- FERRERO, Tiziana; PAZOS, Matheus. Qual o lugar da mulher nos livros didáticos? Uma análise da figura feminina nas cartilhas do Estado de São Paulo (1890-1902). Artigo em preparação.

## 5 BOLSAS E ORIENTAÇÕES

### 5.7 Bolsas Fapesp concluídas

Mestrado: Tiziana Ferrero. Orientação: Dra. Carlota Boto. Projeto: **A representação da infância nos livros de leitura da escola primária paulista (1893-1930).** Processo: 22/01135-6. Início: 1 de maio de 2023.

## 26. APÊNDICE R: RELATÓRIO ANUAL DE ATIVIDADES DA BOLSISTA DE TREINAMENTO TÉCNICO ARIADNE LOPES ECAR

# Relatório Individual Sintético

Coordenadora do projeto de pesquisa:
Dra. Diana Vidal

Pesquisadora TT5:
Dra. Ariadne Lopes Ecar

Maio de 2024

**Relatório Individual Sintético**

1. **Nome do bolsista**: Ariadne Lopes Ecar

2. **Informação sobre o nível e período de usufruto da Bolsa**: Bolsa de Treinamento Técnico 5. Período: 01/12/2023 a 30/11/2024.

3. **Descrição das atividades do bolsista no projeto de pesquisa**: A proposta de trabalho técnico integra as atividades do Projeto Temático da FAPESP “Saberes e práticas em fronteiras: por uma história transnacional da educação (1810-...)” (Processo 2018/26699-4) em seus quatro Eixos temáticos: 1) arquivos digitais e bibliotecas: história do livro e da leitura; 2) sujeitos e artefatos: movimentos e vestígios; 3) inovação e tradição: fugas e contrapontos; 4) material didático para o ensino público e formação docente. O objetivo principal é inventariar documentos, livros e artefatos preservados no Acervo Histórico da Escola Caetano de Campos (AHECC) que fazem parte do Núcleo de Memória e Acervo Histórico (NUMAH) do Centro de Referência em Educação Mario Covas (CREMC). Objetivo geral: Inventariar os documentos, livros e artefatos do Acervo Histórico da Escola Caetano de Campos; Objetivos específicos: - Escanear os documentos textuais inventariados; -Elaborar instrumentos de pesquisa dos acervos textuais, museológicos e bibliotecários, em complemento ao material já existente; -Organizar uma exposição integrando o AHECC e o Projeto Temático “Saberes e práticas em fronteiras: por uma história transnacional da educação (1810-...)”; -Elaborar um livro memorial que abordará a importância do AHECC e seu acondicionamento do NUMAH. - Disponibilizar o acervo para consulta ao público em geral. O AHECC possui uma imensa variedade de documentos textuais, bibliográficos e tridimensionais da Escola Caetano de Campos, instituição referência em formação de professores do Estado de São Paulo. A seguir, estão registradas as propostas e as ações da pesquisa:

- **Proposta**: Fazer o escaneamento dos documentos inventariados para facilitar o trabalho de busca e disponibilização ao público, além de auxiliar as pesquisas dos eixos 2 e 3. **Ação**: Estava prevista a concessão de scaner pelo CRE Mario Covas, contudo, até o momento, o aparelho ainda não foi adquirido. É importante ressaltar que na proposta inicial da bolsa foi pontuado que “a

direção do CREMC irá se responsabilizar por fornecer o material de trabalho e equipamentos para facilitar a execução das atividades".

- **Proposta**: Fazer o levantamento dos livros das bibliotecas Pedagógica e Paulo Bourroul, complementares ao acervo disponível na FEUSP e objeto de análise do eixo 1. **Ação**: A bolsista realizou o levantamento e os dados foram inseridos na pasta do Drive Google: https://docs.google.com/spreadsheets/d/1MmikiSgItJw_zCCZcJUjqP6IHBGV93YW/edit?usp=drive_link&ouid=112798026340339852382&rtpof=true&sd=true.
- **Proposta**: organização de uma exposição sobre a história da escola em São Paulo, em benefício dos eixos 2 e 4. **Ação**: o levantamento do material bibliográfico já foi realizado e consta na pasta do Drive Google: https://drive.google.com/drive/folders/1bAiAx51NhvkiXa76ndzdQ7ukPz9FUrWS?usp=sharing.
- **Proposta**: elaborar um livro que conte a história do NUMAH e sua importante tarefa de acondicionar o AHECC. **Ação**: o levantamento do material bibliográfico já foi realizado e consta na pasta do Drive Google: https://drive.google.com/drive/folders/1hhgPr4DoQHJH4vWyEdloMNBaDtxvSPO3?usp=sharing.

4. **Informar e justificar caso tenham ocorrido mudanças e, eventualmente, os ajustes realizados nas atividades de pesquisa do bolsista, em relação ao Plano de Atividades** (v. item 8, a seguir).

Outras ações decorrentes do trabalho de pesquisa:

- Pedido do AHECC para organizar a exposição "Caetanistas negros: outros que honram a galeria dos pretos do Brasil". A pesquisadora participou da organização, curadoria, expografia e montagem da exposição, que foi inaugurada no dia 27 de maio de 2024, no prédio da EFAPE – Rua João Ramalho, n. 1.546 – Perdizes (https://efape.educacao.sp.gov.br/nova-exposicao-2/). O material levantado está disponível no Drive Google: https://drive.google.com/drive/folders/1NuzBt355_G14OC2l3AYHUQUe3zNPNQoZ?usp=sharing. Em decorrência da exposição, será elaborado um ebook, sob a organização da pesquisadora, que ficará disponível ao público no site da EFAPE.

- Pedido do AHECC para organização e catalogação das fotografias do acervo e dos prontuários de professores da Escola Caetano de Campos. A pesquisadora se inscreveu no curso “Introdução à Conservação e Preservação de Fotografias”, que ocorrerá no Museu de Arte Sacra, em junho de 2024 (https://museuartesacra.org.br/introducao-a-conservacao-e-preservacao-de-fotografias-2/), para realizar a solicitação de forma cuidadosa e técnica.
- Pedido do AHECC para organização e catalogação dos documentos relativos ao Instituto de Educação de São Paulo, em andamento.

O AHECC tem uma grande demanda de trabalho de pesquisa. A pesquisadora assumiu as atividades descritas neste tópico, sem prejuízo do programa inicial apresentado à FAPESP.

5. **Avaliação do impacto das atividades do bolsista sobre o andamento do projeto**:

- Sobre o levantamento dos livros das bibliotecas Pedagógica e Paulo Bourroul, complementares ao acervo disponível na FEUSP e objeto de análise do eixo 1: Na Caixa 1 – Biblioteca Paulo Bourroul – Administração, foram encontrados documentos que tratam da biblioteca Paulo Bourroul, quando a instituição Escola Caetano de Campos estava prestes a ser retirada do prédio que fica Praça da República para ir para a Aclimação. No Processo CEBN n. 01099 193, há um pedido para que a bibliotecária Yolanda possa entrar em contato com Maurillo S. Botelho Filho, diretor do saneamento (Departamento Regional de Saúde da Grande São Paulo) para explicar o que estava ocorrendo na biblioteca. Pelo relato havia 1.800 livros “e anteriores” (?), que ao serem manuseados esfarelavam e soltavam pó. Muitos funcionários já haviam sido afastados ou estavam em constantes licenças médicas. Os funcionários que voltavam das licenças, logo começavam a ter os mesmos sintomas. Recomendava celeridade na resolução do problema, os alunos estavam privados de frequentarem a biblioteca, pois não havia ninguém para atendê-los. No ofício do dia 06/1/1972 ao diretor da escola, G. D. Leoni concluiu o Relatório de visita às salas da biblioteca. O autor relata ter manuseado livros, conversando com funcionários. E se informado acerca das doenças provocadas por “falta de adequado tratamento”. Concluiu que: Os livros estavam impregnados de elementos nocivos que poderiam provocar doenças

aos funcionários (micoses, enjoo, assaduras, corrosão na pele dos dedos) que não sairiam com a limpeza de pó; esses elementos nocivos poderiam contagiar também os alunos consulentes ou frequentadores da biblioteca. A mudança do térreo para o terceiro andar (sala arejada) não teve efeito algum. Os funcionários afastados quando voltavam ao serviço continuavam a ter os mesmo sintomas; sugeriu entrar em contato com a Diretoria da Faculdade São Bento (PUC, Perdizes) para pedir direcionamento acerca do procedimento de higienização e conservação dos livros; apontou a necessidade de um convênio com o Arquivo do Estado “para a recuperação dos livros raros que estão infelizmente em condições assaz precárias”; trocar os livros velhos por novos e fazer um pedido ao MEC e ao INL; por ser fim do ano letivo, restringir o uso da biblioteca pelos alunos. No ofício São Paulo, 28/01/1974, papel timbrado do Instituto de Educação Caetano de Campos sem número, consta que a transferência do “antigo acervo” da BPB do IECC foi realizada para o Arquivo do Estado em 28/12/1973, em concordância ao despacho do Governador do Estado 9n. 01099/73 CFBN. “Nos livros de tombo da Biblioteca Paulo Bourroul foram assinalados todos os volumes que foram encaminhados ao Arquivo do Estado”; “O Arquivo do Estado incumbiu-se de fazer a relação datilografada dos volumes, partindo dos livros de tombo assinados”. Nesta ata estimava-se que o acervo tinha por volta de 8 mil volumes, o número não era exato porque a listagem ainda não havia sido terminada. As conclusões parciais apontam que os livros que estavam em melhores condições materiais foram encaminhados para a biblioteca da Faculdade de Educação da Universidade de São Paulo, enquanto os que precisavam de higienização e conservação foram para o Arquivo do Estado e, posteriormente, para o AHECC para acondicionamento e disponibilização ao público.

- Sobre a organização de uma exposição sobre a história da escola em São Paulo, em benefício dos eixos 2 e 4. A partir dos documentos levantados, será possível estabelecer uma relação expográfica entre a Escola Caetano de Campos, pelos 130 anos de inauguração do prédio instalado na Praça da República; Caetano de Campos, pelos 170 anos de nascimento do diretor que deu nome à escola; o Instituto de Educação e o Departamento de Educação e a comemoração dos 90 anos da Universidade de São Paulo.

6. **Juntar o histórico escolar atualizado do bolsista**:

7. **Se for o caso, especificar**:

a) **O cronograma da próxima etapa do trabalho do bolsista no projeto**:

As seguintes ações estão previstas para os próximos 6 meses:

- Elaborar um artigo sobre a Biblioteca Paulo Bourroul, como objeto do eixo 1;
- Organizar a exposição sobre a Escola Caetano de Campos, como objeto dos eixos 2 e 4;
- Organizar o ebook com a história do NUMAH;
- Organizar e catalogar as fotografias e dos prontuários de professores da Escola Caetano de Campos acondicionados no AHECC;
- Organizar e catalogar os documentos relativos ao Instituto de Educação de São Paulo.

b) Outras observações consideradas relevantes para a análise das atividades do bolsista por parte da FAPESP.

8. **Apreciação do desempenho do bolsista**:

## 27. APÊNDICE S: RELATÓRIO ANUAL DE ATIVIDADES DA BOLSISTA DE INICIAÇÃO CIENTÍFICA ANA LAURA SABINO

Universidade de São Paulo
Faculdade de Educação

Mídias sociais e divulgação científica: estreitando os laços entre a escola básica a universidade pública

Processo: 2023/05151-9
Bolsas Concedidas como Itens Orçamentários em Auxílios / BCO - Iniciação Científica - Fluxo Contínuo

Beneficiário: Ana Laura Sabino dos Santos
Responsável: Diana Gonçalves Vidal
Período de Vigência: 01/06/2023 a 31/05/2024
Período Coberto pelo Relatório: 01/06/2023 a 31/05/2024

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Resumo

A proposta tem como objetivo a divulgação científica do Projeto Temático, utilizando-se de mídias sociais. A principal atividade do bolsista está relacionada à tradução para formatos das mídias sociais como Instagram e Twitter dos conteúdos produzidos pelas investigações dos pesquisadores principais e associados, tornando-os mais acessíveis a alunos e docentes dos Ensinos Fundamental e Médio. Ao associar esta iniciativa aos demais esforços realizados pelo Eixo 4, como produção de vídeos, estaremos dando resposta a um dos maiores desafios do Projeto Temático, que é o estreitamento de laços entre a universidade pública e a escola básica. O trabalho do bolsista será efetuado em colaboração ao do Jornalista Científico, cota de bolsa que estamos, no momento também, submetendo à análise. Os materiais elaborados pelo bolsista deverão circular em vários canais, não estando restritos à webpage https://sites.usp.br/educacaoemfronteiras/. Será, portanto, atividade do bolsista, criar enlaces, procurando ampliar a disseminação das postagens. Estamos cientes da relevância em gerar engajamentos que estes formatos suscitam. Ou seja, dentro das atribuições do bolsista está a busca ativa por grupos e publicações semelhantes de maneira a gestar um ambiente de intercâmbios, bem como avaliar os modos de interação do público com as postagens para identificar a melhor abordagem. Para tanto, uma incursão bibliográfica também está prevista, com o intuito de municiar o bolsista com estratégias mobilizadas por outros grupos para a divulgação científica em mídias sociais, além de suscitar uma reflexão sobre a internet, as mídias sociais, a comunicação em redes e a promoção inclusão/exclusão científica por meios digitais.

**Realizações no período**

O projeto de iniciação científica com o tema “Mídias sociais e divulgação científica: estreitando os laços entre a escola básica a universidade pública” teve início em junho de 2023 com principais objetivos de divulgar cientificamente realizações do projeto SABERES E PRÁTICAS EM FRONTEIRAS: por uma história transnacional da educação (1810-...) (processo nr. 2018/26699-4) e refletir sobre o ambiente digital e suas possibilidades e limites no que concerne à divulgação e à inclusão científica.

Para tanto, as atividades foram organizadas em torno de dois núcleos. O primeiro, de natureza mais teórica, envolveu a leitura da bibliografia de apoio. O segundo, mais prático, consistiu na atualização do site do projeto e em postagens e mídias sociais. Durante todo o período, foram feitas reuniões de orientação que serviram para discussão de solução de problemas e definição de passos a serem seguidos dentro do projeto. São estas questões que passamos a detalhar.

1. **Refletindo sobre a cibercultura e sobre o exercício com mídias digitais**

Em sua obra "Cibercultura", Pierre Lévy examina as transformações sociais, culturais e cognitivas causadas pelo avanço das tecnologias digitais e da internet. No contexto da divulgação científica atual, Lévy destaca como a cibercultura facilita a disseminação do conhecimento científico de maneira mais ampla e acessível.

Através das plataformas digitais, como o instagram e os sites de divulgação, a informação científica pode ser compartilhada e discutida globalmente em tempo real, promovendo uma interação e valorização coletiva, permitindo que pesquisadores, estudantes e o público geral contribuam para o desenvolvimento e a democratização do conhecimento (Silva, 2006).

A partir dessas preocupações e antes de iniciar as postagens e atualizações semanais, dedicamo-nos a nos familiarizar com o site que seria reformulado. Da mesma maneira, estudamos possibilidades de formato para criação de um instagram próprio da página que comunicasse sobre o projeto com uma linguagem formal, mas, acessível à população escolar. Sabendo disso, começamos o processo de criação pensando em uma identidade visual que preservasse as ideias originais do projeto e que ao mesmo tempo conversasse com as novas formas de comunicação.

**2. Site**

2.1. Logo

O logo original do projeto, criado pela Diana Vidal, é inspirado gangorras rosas, montadas pela equipe do arquiteto Ronald Rael e da designer Virginia San Fratello, em 30 de julho de 2019, em um trecho do muro que separa os Estados Unidos da América do México, na fronteira entre El Paso (EUA) e Ciudad Juaréz (México).




Figura 1 - Logo original com aprimoramento digital

Porém, a resolução do logo precisava de uma reformatação para comportar o upload nas redes sociais. Por esse motivo, fizemos um trabalho de aprimoramento digital no photoshop para que pudéssemos usar no instagram e no site oficial como um 'botão inicial' que otimiza as informações principais do projeto, como: eixos, pesquisadoras principais, resumo e a própria inspiração da criação do logo.

2.2. Página inicial do projeto no Site

Após o aprimoramento digital do logo, realizamos um estudo geral do design do site antigo e percebemos que a sua apresentação não condizia mais com os novos formatos de sites atuais, visto que apresentava as informações de forma estática e desatualizadas, por isso, começamos um longo trabalho de atualização que teve como objetivo tornar a porta de entrada para leitura mais atrativa para o visualizador.




Figura 2 - Modelo de site antigo

Ao longo do período de realização do projeto o site passou por 2 atualizações de design da aba inicial. A primeira utilizava apenas o modelo '*Landing page'* como principal, em que todas as informações iam surgindo à medida que o leitor arrastava o cursor para baixo. Já a segunda atualização também utilizou o modelo *'Landing page'*, porém com algumas atualizações estéticas que suprimiram os textos longos para facilitar a visualização do leitor.




Figura 3 - Modelo atual de layout da página inicial do site

Na imagem acima conseguimos ver o botão com o logo “Educação em Fronteiras” que permite que o leitor volte para tela inicial, onde ele encontrará as principais informações do projeto. A imagem de fundo acompanha o movimento que o leitor fizer no smartphone, tablet ou computador em que estiver acessando o site. Nessa imagem também podemos ver o menu de navegação com as principais abas de navegação que também passaram por atualizações, incluindo novas publicações de livros, artigos, relatórios anuais e nomes de novos pesquisadores de diversos níveis (iniciação científica, mestrado, doutorado e pós-doutorado).

Como forma de motivar o leitor a conhecer mais sobre as principais pesquisadoras[542] , foi adicionado à página inicial um mural, contando com fotos de perfil e informações de currículo que antes estavam disponíveis no menu antigo.




Figura 4 - Novo layout de apresentação das pesquisadoras principais

2. Instagram

Como forma de ampliar a divulgação científica do projeto, criamos um instagram profissional (@educacaoemfronteiras) para aproximar os leitores da produção acadêmica dos pesquisadores dos quatro eixos temáticos.

Por isso, ao longo do ano realizamos postagens no formato de publicação (*´posts´*) e semanalmente nos stories, onde eram compartilhadas novidades, além divulgar o próprio site e o canal do youtube "Vozes da Escola Pública".

[542] Diana Vidal (pesquisadora responsável); Carlota Boto (coordenadora); Circe Bittencourt (coordenadora; e Vivian Batista (coordenadora).




Figura 5 - Exemplo de stories publicado

Também foram feitos posts intitulados “Conheça”, para as pesquisadoras principais e o pesquisador Vinicius Monção no Instagram, que levaram muitos acessos ao perfil e “cliques” ao acesso na biografia para o site.




Figura 6 - Imagem feita para postagem da série 'Conheça', edição do pesquisador Vinicius Monção.

Texto postado: Conheça Vinicius Monção. **Carreira/ Formação:** Pedagogo, mestre e doutor em Educação com ênfase em História da Educação pela UFRJ. Atualmente é professor da Faculdade de Educação da Universidade Federal Fluminense (FEUFF), no setor de História da Educação. **Linha de pesquisa:** No projeto temático, está vinculado ao eixo 2" Sujeitos e artefatos: movimentos e vestígios". Na FEUFF desenvolve pesquisas e atividades de extensão relacionada com a História Digital da Educação, onde é líder do Laboratório de História Digital, Pública e Social da Educação (LabH4)

(no instagram: @labh4_) **Curiosidades:** nos tempos livres é colagista (no instagram: @o_colagista), trompetista e autor/ilustrador de livros infantis.

Como resultado desses posts, conseguimos impressões mensais e acessos ao site. Abaixo temos um gráfico feito pelo próprio instagram que mostra a quantidade de acessos totais aos conteúdos nos últimos dois meses. Percebe-se que as interações feitas pelos seguidores alcançam uma grande proporção, mas também há uma quantidade significativa de interação de não seguidores. Por mais que o instagram não tenha alcançado um grande número de seguidores, o número de visualizações e acessos aos links da biografia e as publicações foi alto em todos os meses em que compuseram o projeto.




Figura 7 - Impressões do Instagram nos últimos meses do projeto

Diante de todas essas observações, percebemos que o modelo que mais engajaram eram os  de posts rápidos na modalidade “stories” do instagram que desaparecem em 24h. Todas as vezes que havia posts rápidos, havia mais curtidas e interação. Para incrementar curtidas e comentários, às vezes postamos em nosso instagram pessoal, reverberando a informação. O gráfico abaixo demonstra a quantidade de contas alcançadas em maio. Diferentemente do gráfico de impressões, essa imagem mostra os acessos às publicações. Muitos “não seguidores” deixaram impressões (curtidas e salvamentos).




Figura 8 - Contas alcançadas no mês de maio de 2024

É interessante ressaltar que mesmo que esse projeto tenha acabado, recentemente foram aprovadas mais duas bolsas de iniciação científica da FAPESP da chamada ´Comunicar Ciência´, assim dizendo, o instagram e o site serão repassados para outras pessoas poderem continuar divulgando e reformulando o site e o instagram.

A partir de todas as realizações, pretende-se ainda a apresentação do projeto no SIICUSP, a fim de informar a comunidade do que foi feito e das dificuldades que surgiram na execução.

**3. Dificuldades do projeto**

Durante a execução, diversas dificuldades surgiram, afetando significativamente tanto o andamento das atividades quanto a consecução dos objetivos estabelecidos. A partir dos desafios ao longo do ano, os objetivos e a forma de trabalho foram sendo modificados. A periodicidade prevista de publicações era semanal, porém, começamos a alternar entre posts rápidos, posts formais no instagram e atualizações e dinamização da página oficial. Inicialmente, acreditamos que também contaríamos com o apoio de um Jornalista Científico. No entanto, não foi possível implementar a bolsa JC2, porque o candidato desistiu e, a despeito de várias tentativas, não foi identificada um/uma pesquisador/a que atendesse os critérios da FAPESP e aceitasse o valor da bolsa. Temos a notícia de que, finalmente, a bolsa entra em implementação, mas tal ocorre após a finalização do projeto IC.

O principal desafio enfrentado ao longo do período foi engajar os pesquisadores em relação à disseminação de seus projetos científicos no instagram e no site. Ao longo do ano surgiram muitas ideias de postagens que poderiam cada vez mais estreitar esses laços da produção acadêmica com o público geral, porém, o retorno dos pesquisadores era muito baixo, o que dificultou a dinamização das postagens, apesar da insistência com que foram contactados por mim ou por minha orientadora

Outra dificuldade foram os “projetos inacabados”. Alguns pesquisadores dos eixos tinham interesse em publicar no site/instagram, porém, não respondiam aos contatos feitos para que pudéssemos dar continuidade a elaboração. Um bom exemplo foi a divulgação que fizemos sobre o canal “Vozes da Escola Pública” que contaria com o apoio de um material didático disponível para baixar, chamado "Para Saber Mais", associado ao projeto de "Gênero e Sexualidade na EUSP".

Esse material teve um design pensado para o ensino fundamental e médio, com filmes, séries, vídeos e textos selecionados pelas professoras Rita Gallego e Paula Vicentini. Foram feitas várias reuniões com as pesquisadoras, mas interferiram no processo questões de infraestrutura e acadêmicas. No que concerne às primeiras, durante o período foi feita a pintura na sala das professoras e providenciada a troca de computadores, o que retardou o início do trabalho. No que tange à segunda, destacamos os compromissos com as atividades acadêmicas às quais as docentes estavam engajadas na participação de eventos e pesquisa de campo.




Figura 9 - Material elaborado 'Para Saber Mais'

É importante mencionar também que uma das maiores dificuldades foi em relação a “bugs” recorrentes do site. Foram necessárias gestões junto à STI-USP para solução de problemas. Esses “bugs” atrasaram o andamento e a edição do site visto que a STI precisou constantemente ser acionada para a solução de problemas, o que envolvia envio de emails e retornos. Além disso, percebemos incompatibilidade entre algumas plataformas e navegadores com o Wordpress, complicando a nossa atuação. Por fim, cabe relatar que o instagram sofreu uma tentativa de exclusão por um hacker que acessou a conta pessoal da pesquisadora e do projeto.

## 4. Considerações finais

A despeito das dificuldades enfrentadas, consideramos que a participação como bolsista IC nos proporcionou ganhos formativos. Primeiramente, destacamos a maior familiaridade com textos sobre mídias digitais e cibercultura. Ainda que não tenham sido mencionadas neste relatório, as discussões e leituras fomentaram uma compreensão mais alargada sobre a temática, permitindo uma visão crítica sobre o ambiente digital e os efeitos sociais das mídias.

Em segundo lugar, fomos desafiadas a lidar com situações-problema e encontrar soluções, de modo a superar os obstáculos enfrentados. Isso mobilizou nossa iniciativa e criatividade, dando oportunidade para ampliar os horizontes profissionais, em particular no que concerne ao conhecimento sobre plataformas digitais, programas e soluções de TI.

Em terceiro lugar, conhecemos mais profundamente as pesquisas realizadas pelo Projeto Temático e os pesquisadores e pesquisadoras nele envolvidos, o que fortaleceu minha formação acadêmica pelo contato com diferentes temas e problemáticas de cunho histórico em educação.

Finalmente, fico feliz em saber que a concessão de duas bolsas IC de Jornalismo Científico/ Comunicar Ciência e a implementação da bolsa JC2 darão continuidade aos investimentos feitos neste um ano de trabalho, não apenas pela manutenção da atualização do site, como também por assumirem a conta no Instagram.

## 5. Referências bibliográficas

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## 28. APÊNDICE T: RELATÓRIO PARCIAL DE ATIVIDADES DA BOLSISTA DE INICIAÇÃO CIENTÍFICA ISABELA RIBEIRO ESPINDOLA

### RELATÓRIO PARCIAL DE PESQUISA

**Bolsista**: Isabela Ribeiro Espindola

**Título do projeto:** *O Departamento de Ajudas Audiovisuais do CREFAL: produção de materiais educativos inovadores para a educação fundamental na América Latina (1951 – 1960)*
**Processo Fapesp: 2023/08805-0**

**Relatório de Atividades - 1/04 a 25/06**

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Atividades realizadas:

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**VERA**, Eugenia Roldán; FUCHS, Eckhardt. O transnacional na história da educação. Educação e Pesquisa [online]. 2021, v. 47 [Acessado 15 de Abril de 2024], e470100301trad. Disponível em: <https://doi.org/10.1590/S1517-97022021470100301trad>. Epub 17 Mar 2021. ISSN 1678-4634. https://doi.org/10.1590/S1517-97022021470100301trad.

Participação no grupo de pesquisa nos dias: 11/04/24, 25/04/24, 09/05/24, 30/05/24, 20/06/24.

Consulta às fontes documentais: realizei a descrição e tradução de 28 documentos:

[AHD/RPM/DRPM/1951/Junio] - Carta do Chefe de ¨La Rama de Producción¨ para o Diretor do Crefal – 08/06/1951, Pátzcuaro, Michoacán, México, (Rama de Produção de Material Educacional).

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[AHD/RPM/DRPM/1951/Septiembre] Pasta que contém o plano definitivo da Rama de Produção de Materiais e se inicia com um bilhete do Laguerre ao Ortiz.

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[AHD/RPM/DRPM/1951/Noviembre] Documento intitulado ¨La Rama de Production del Crefal¨, abaixo do título está escrito ¨La Integración de Ayudas Educativas¨.

[AHD/RPM/DRPM/1951/Diciembre] Documento intitulado ¨RAMA DE PRODUCCION, GRUPO A, ACTIVIDADES (DE ABRIL A NOVIEMBRE)¨,

[AHD/RPM/SA/DSA/1951/Diciembre] Carta de Hagen Hasselbalch para Ross MacLean sobre produção de fotografias.

[53/40 - 470/C-5/E-1] Documento intitulado ¨OBSERVACIONES¨.

[1955/100/C-B/E-11 - Administración]

[43-451/157/C-10/E-1 Sección: Apoyo técnico Serie: Training in Audio…] O documento é um relatório intitulado ¨Training in Audio-Visual Production. Report on the Short Course conducted at CREFAL from 3 June to 30 August 1957¨.

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[60/421/C-13/E-3] Documento intitulado ¨Relación de las diavistas existentes en el Departamento Audiovisual¨.

[60/421/C-13/E-3] Documento intitulado ¨Plan Tentativo para un Cursillo Especial sobre Ayudas Audiovisuales¨.

[55/40-455/C-8/E-2/ Programa del Departamento de Cine] Documento intitulado ¨The use of teaching audio-visual aids¨. O documento está em inglês ao invés de espanhol como a maioria.

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[56/800/C-19/E-11/Cuestiones audiovisuales] Documento intitulado ¨PROGRAMME OF OBSERVATION AT CREFAL FOR STUDY GROUP OF THE AMERICAN ASSOCIATION FOR THE UNITED NATIONS, INC, ILLINOIS AND GREATER CHICAGO DIVISIONS¨.

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## 29. APÊNDICE U: RELATÓRIO PARCIAL DE ATIVIDADES DA BOLSISTA DE INICIAÇÃO CIENTÍFICA RUTELAINE MARICIO PINHEIRO



# Produção e circulação de saberes sobre recursos audiovisuais na educação (1962 – 1982)

## Relatório Científico Parcial

**Rutelaine Mauricio Pinheiro**
**Orientanda**

**Prof. DR. Rosa Fátima de Souza Chaloba**
**Orientadora**

**Processo n.:** 2023/09952-6

**Período de vig.:** 01/10/2023 a 30/09/2024

**Período do Rel. Científico:** 01/10/2023 a 10/03/2024

Araraquara
Março de 2024

**1-Resumo**

Este projeto de pesquisa de iniciação científica objetiva reconstituir aspectos da produção e circulação de conhecimentos sobre uso de recursos audiovisuais na educação, no período de 1962 - 1982. A investigação pretende, também, identificar e analisar autores e estratégias editoriais dos livros delimitados para o estudo (editoras, capa e contracapa, tradutores, apoios institucionais, prefácios); realizar um levantamento dos recursos audiovisuais abordados nos livros objeto de análise e identificar e caracterizar as referências bibliográficas citadas nos livros delimitados para o estudo com vistas a mapear dados sobre circulação de saberes sobre o tema. O projeto fundamenta-se na abordagem identificada como Nova História Cultural dialogando com os estudos sobre cultura material escolar e história dos saberes pedagógicos. As fontes de pesquisa compreendem o conjunto de 29 livros sobre recursos audiovisuais na educação publicados no Brasil, no período delimitado para o estudo, encontrados na Rede de Bibliotecas da Universidade Estadual Paulista - Unesp

**2- Realizações no período**

No período a que se refere este relatório, foram realizadas as seguintes atividades de pesquisa:

a)Revisão bibliográfica para aprofundamento teórico metodológico da pesquisa.

b)Reunião e consulta a parte do corpus documental da pesquisa, isto é, 12 livros do conjunto de 29 selecionados para a análise.

c)Identificação dos aspectos materiais dos livros selecionados: capa, contracapa, autoria, editoras, ano e local de publicação, dimensões e apoios institucionais.

d)Leitura dos prefácios e apresentações dos livros.

e)Identificação das referências bibliográficas citadas e arroladas nos livros.

f)Participação nas reuniões do grupo de pesquisa GEPCIE – Grupo de Estudos e Pesquisas sobre Cultura e Instituições Educacionais.

**2.1- Revisão bibliográfica**

Em relação à revisão bibliográfica, foram lidos textos referentes à metodologia da pesquisa histórica. O primeiro texto lido foi o estudo intitulado *"O transnacional na história da educação"*, e Eugenia Roldán Vera e Eckhardt Fuchs[1]. O objetivo do texto é "historicizar e

[1] Eugenia Roldán Vera é uma pesquisadora do Departamento de Investigaciones Educativas del Cinvestav, México e Eckhardt Fuchs, Diretor do Georg Eckert Institute for International Textbook Research e professor de

problematizar as próprias categorias que usamos em nossas pesquisas em uma história da educação que se entende além da nação como unidade de análise". (Vera, Fuchs, 2021, p.3) Dessa maneira, o estudo procurou identificar os princípios do que é conhecido como "história transnacional da educação" na convergência de debates e conceitos sobre a educação internacional e o estudo transnacional nas ciências históricas. Em seguida, argumenta as perspectivas dos estudos transnacionais recentes na história da educação, analisando áreas de estudo e abordagens teóricas e metodológicas. No final do século XX o termo "transnacional" descobriu o caminho para a pesquisa histórica, na condição dos debates da história mundial nos EUA. A motivação para adotar o termo foi o desejo de pôr em destaque a história tradicional acadêmica nos procedimentos relacionados ao Estado-Nação. No entanto, o conceito de transnacional tem uma história mais curta se comparado com o termo internacional, mas também passou por deslocamentos significativos.

A história global e a história transnacional regularmente são usadas como sinônimos, embora conduzam-se para a territorialidade. A história global questiona o domínio supranacional, de governança e soberania universal, desterritorializa as Nações e muda o espaço, logo formam unidades de análises regionais fora dos limites do Estado-Nação. A história transnacional, além de se referir a histórias, na qual atravessa fronteiras e acredita em atores estatais e não estatais, também presume a existência e estuda o desenvolvimento da nação como um fenômeno global, no entanto em contextos de relações de tradução, entrelaçamentos e dependências.

Nas últimas décadas ocorreu um crescimento significativo em estudos de história da educação com base em aspectos transnacionais, com isso concepções e categorias críticas têm sido propostas de forma variada e também nem todos os autores utilizam explicitamente o termo para relatar o que fazem. Citando Rebecca Rogers, os autores lembram que, o termo transnacional em pesquisa histórica educacional deve ser tomado como, uma perspectiva ou uma postura.

O segundo texto a lido foi *"A Tecnologia Educacional na Investigação Histórica da Cultura Material Escolar",* de Rosa Fátima de Souza e Rosilene Batista Oliveira, o texto tem como objetivo questionar a relevância e o lugar da tecnologia educacional na investigação histórica da cultura material escolar. O texto encontra-se dividido em três partes: inicialmente trata do conceito da tecnologia educacional, apresentando as várias definições que ele foi

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História da Educação / Educação Comparada na Technical University Braunschweig (Alemanha). CF. https://doi.org/10.1590/S1517-97022021470100301trad.

adquirindo ao longo do século XX, em especial nos Estados Unidos. Na segunda parte, as autoras discutem a trajetória do movimento da tecnologia educacional no Brasil e por último as considerações sobre as aproximações e o diálogo necessário entre a tecnologia educacional e a cultura material escolar.

De acordo com as autoras, a origem do termo tecnologia, refere -se a duas palavras de origem Grega téchne e logos, onde a palavra téchne era entendida como uma aplicação de várias regras para se chegar a um produto final, na maioria das vezes material, isto é, uma transformação da realidade natural para uma artificial, no entanto considerada inferior ao raciocínio e conhecimento humano, e a palavra logos entendida como raciocínio, complementando o termo, portanto a tecnologia seria um saber fazer com raciocínio, pois "a tecnologia configura-se como um corpo de conhecimentos que, além de usar o método científico, cria e/ou transforma processos materiais". (Souza e Oliveira, 2018, p. 369). A tecnologia educacional se desenvolveu no Brasil, pautado no movimento de cientificidade, inovação e eficiência, também marcado pelo conceito de desenvolvimento nacional. No final da década de 1950 e início da década de 1960, foram criadas estratégias para o avanço industrial e econômico no Brasil, nesse sentido a educação, tem uma atenção especial, deveria ser diligente e eficiente para tornar o processo de aprendizagem mais eficaz, por isso a "Introdução e utilização dos recursos audiovisuais no ensino foram vistas como estratégias para alcançar uma educação de qualidade, atingindo o maior número de pessoas, em rápido espaço de tempo e com o menor custo sobre os recursos humanos e materiais." (Souza e Oliveira, 2018, p. 378).

Souza e Oliveira (2018) analisam a dualidade de sentidos do termo tecnologia educacional: o primeiro se refere a um conhecimento plausível aliado a um saber fazer possibilitando a criação, produção e inovação de objetos e materiais para o uso escolar; o segundo se refere a aplicação das teorias e métodos nas adversidades educacionais com realce ou não aos produtos e materiais. No primeiro sentido refere-se às transformações dos objetos ao longo do tempo, no entanto é necessário compreender a tecnologia na educação como uma conexão estabelecida entre os objetos, suas funções, usos escolares e entre as relações sociais e culturais. O segundo sentido refere-se aos métodos, técnicas, teorias e processos aplicados na educação, não se referindo somente aos objetos e máquinas educacionais, mas relacionado aos saberes que envolvem a fabricação e utilização desses objetos na educação, possibilitando a investigação para saber a maneira em que a escola e o professor se apropria desses objetos, a relação entre professor e aluno e a utilização desses objetos como saberes e práticas para a construção histórica a partir de sua utilização. Contudo, o objetivo de estudar estes saberes é para melhor compreensão da existência de determinada cultura material escolar na história da

educação brasileira e suas transformações, mas consciente acerca do que mais pode ser feito no estudo da tecnologia e da tecnologia educacional para contribuição e ampliação da materialidade escolar.

O terceiro texto lido foi a tese de Vivian Batista da Silva, "*Saberes em Viagens nos Manuais Pedagógicos: construções da escola em Portugal e no Brasil (1870 -1970)"*. O objeto de análise desta tese foram os livros utilizados pelos normalistas, a partir da década de 1870, até o século seguinte, quando foi notado um conjunto de técnicas editoriais que formaram outros modelos de escritos e estimularam a leitura. Alunos da Escola Normal utilizavam os manuais para estudar as questões relacionadas ao oficio de ensinar. Dessa maneira, a tese buscou questionar até que ponto os livros dos normalistas contribuíram para a consolidação do modelo de escola conhecido em vários países e buscou salientar dois aspectos relacionados. O primeiro, buscou analisar como o material foi criado em projetos de formação de professores para trabalharem em escolas marcadas por suas formas específicas de trabalho. O segundo, investigou os manuais escolares como campos de produção e circulação dos saberes que influenciaram o modelo de ensino. Dessa forma, a história dos manuais evidenciou a difusão da escola e dos saberes pedagógicos.

Segundo Silva (2005), os autores dos manuais apresentaram escritos de pedagogos, filósofos, sociólogos e outros cientistas para delinear as funções dos professores, dos alunos e dos métodos de ensino a serem utilizados, explicando e resumindo diversas ideias. Os manuais intercederam a compreensão da concepção educacional, por isso a importância dos livros terem um certo tom didático ou professoral. Desse modo, a troca de saberes ocorreu quando os manuais associavam saberes pedagógicos com outras áreas, ou seja, na relação com o outro. Portanto, esse movimento caracterizou a escrita dos manuais e estabeleceu o modelo escolar, o papel do professor, do aluno e modos de ensino aprendizagem. E também fortaleceu o uso de referências para elaboração dos saberes pedagógicos.

A autora menciona que os saberes podem ser comparados com fios de uma corda discursiva, por causa da comunicação existente entre os países, mas o entrelaçamento da corda só foi possível por causa dos fios já existentes. No entanto, este entrelaçamento atribuiu novas configurações, o que possibilitou o crescimento mundial da escola de forma homogênea. Diante desses aspectos, as redes de comunicação alcançaram escalas nacionais, internacionais e mundiais, por isso foi necessário pensar os aspectos do desenvolvimento da escola desde o século XIX. Dessa maneira, os professores se relacionaram com outras ideias e experiências, o que possibilitou integrar conhecimentos mundialmente compartilhados. Os Manuais

pedagógicos foram um dos meios usados nesse processo, mas também as revistas de ensino, os jornais e outros tipos de impressos relacionados com a educação.

O crescimento mundial da escola e dos saberes pedagógicos incluíram simultaneamente as nações, os grupos e indivíduos, o que possibilitou um movimento totalizante, relacionado com o crescimento do capitalismo nos séculos XV-XVIII, a elaboração dos Estados-nação, o primórdio das sociedades industriais e a modernidade. Desse modo, no final do século XX permaneceu um conjunto de fenômenos sociais, políticos e educacionais que excede as nações, sobre uma cultura escolar histórica e socialmente construída. Desse modo, o padrão escolar e os manuais para professores, colaboraram e refletiram de forma mútua. Portanto, o intuito da tese foi ressaltar os manuais escolares como um instrumento de construção da escola.

Ainda em relação à revisão bibliográfica, foi lido o artigo intitulado *"Manuais de Pedagogia, materialidade do impresso e circulação de modelos pedagógicos no Brasil",* de Marta Maria Chagas de Carvalho. A autora menciona que seu estudo é inspirado no campo conceitual de Michel de Certeau e Roger Chartier entendendo que o estudo do impresso deve levar em conta as estratégias editoriais (Carvalho, 2007, p.122). Nessa perspectiva, o artigo considera como objeto de análise livros destinados à formação docente e uso de professores, que formam o corpus dos saberes essenciais para a prática docente. Por isso, a autora apresenta "modalidades de organização do campo dos saberes pedagógicos materializadas em suportes determinados" (Carvalho, 2007, p.122), isto é, livros considerados manuais escolares, que adaptaram os conteúdos para adequação.

O objetivo do artigo é "fornecer novas chances de compreensão para a história cultural da escola e dos saberes pedagógicos no Brasil". (Carvalho, 2007, p.123). Trata-se de uma pesquisa sobre a história cultural dos livros e dos manuais pedagógicos no Brasil, centrando-se em questões da produção dos mesmos, circulação e apropriação de modelos escolares. A autora considerou o uso dos impressos feitos para formação docente problematizando os modos como os saberes da pedagogia se alinharam com os principais impressos para a formação pedagógica. Baseando-se em três modelos de análise de livros e revistas determinado para o uso dos educadores como: "a caixa de utensílios, o livro de aconselhamento e o tratado de pedagogia"(Carvalho., 2007, p.123) . Foram utilizados como métodos de descrição e comparação entre modelos escolares. Desse modo, o estudo inicia com a "relação entre pedagogia entendida como arte de ensinar e o modelo que propõe o impresso como caixa de utensílios, contrastando-o com o modelo de tratado de pedagogia, que compreendia os saberes tidos como necessários à prática docente." (Carvalho, 2007, p.123)

Para Marta Carvalho (2007) considerar a materialidade dos escritos é pensar nos dispositivos textuais e tipográficos, um processo que Chartier nomeia de “sentido das formas, analisando a configuração material do impresso como forma produtora de sentido” (Carvalho, 2007, p.8). Por isso, a necessidade de levar em conta os instrumentos textuais e tipográficos de modelização de leitura registrados na organização material do impresso, em conformidade com Chartier para quem “não existe texto fora do suporte que o dá a ler e que não há compreensão de um escrito, qualquer que ele seja, que não dependa das formas através das quais ele chega a seu leitor” (Carvalho,2007, p.120).

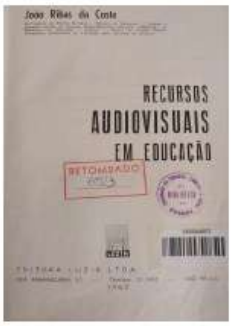
**2.2- Análise da produção e circulação de saberes sobre os recursos audiovisuais**

Para este projeto de pesquisa foram apontados como fontes documentais a consulta e análise de 29 livros tratando do tema recursos audiovisuais publicados no Brasil, no período de 1962 a 1982, encontrados na rede de bibliotecas da Unesp. Nem todos os livros foram encontrados na unidade de Araraquara sendo necessário solicitar o empréstimo em outros campi da universidade, nas bibliotecas da Unesp de Franca, Bauru e Presidente Prudente, e obtidos por meio do sistema de malote. No período a que se refere este relatório, foram analisados 12 livros, procurando seguir a ordem cronológica, conforme a disponibilidade nas bibliotecas. Nesse sentido, segue abaixo uma tabela dos livros analisados no período e em seguida uma breve descrição da análise de cada manual.

QUADRO I: LIVROS ANALISADOS

| Título | Autor | Editora | Ano |
|---|---|---|---|
| Recursos audiovisuais em educação | Costa, João Ribas da, 1908. | São Paulo: Luzir | 1962 |
| Recursos audiovisuais na escola | Wittich, Walter A Walter Arno 1910.<br>Schuller, Charles F Charles Francis | Rio de Janeiro: USAID | 1964 |
| As técnicas audiovisuais no ensino | Dieuzeide, Henri. | Lisboa: Europa-América | 1965 |
| O Processo de criação no cinema: pesquisa de linguagem e estrutura audiovisuais | Lawson, John Howard, 1894. | Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira | 1967 |
| Técnicas audiovisuais de educação | Parra, Nélio, 1932.<br>Parra, Ivone Corrêa da Costa. | São Paulo: Instituto Brasileiro de Estudos Sociais | 1969 |
| Técnicas modernas para o ensino da língua inglesa no curso secundário: instrução programada, recursos audiovisuais, máquinas de ensinar | Centro de Cultura Anglo Americana. | Rio de Janeiro: W. Lima | 197-? |
| Técnicas audiovisuais de educação | Parra, Nélio, 1932.<br>Parra, Ivone Correa da Costa. | São Paulo: Edibell | 1970 |
| Guia de audiovisuais para professores | Faria, Letícia Maria S.Silva, Maria H. B. F.Giampa, Bruno. Monteiro, Marília Abrunhosa. CBPE. | Rio de Janeiro: CBPE | 1970 |
| Como rotular material visual | Guimarin, Spencer.<br>Gally, Nury. Rosenzweig, Denise de. | México: AID | 1971 |
| Técnicas audiovisuais de educação | Parra, Nélio, 1932.<br>Parra, Ivone Correa da Costa. | São Paulo: Edibell | 1972 |
| Recursos audiovisuais nas escolas do município de Franca - ensino de 1º grau: pesquisa | Ariga, Marie. | Franca: FFCL, Departamento de Educação | 1974 |
| Técnicas audiovisuais de educação | Parra, Nélio, 1932. Parra, Ivone Correa da Costa. | São Paulo: Pioneira | 1975 |

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**Título:** Recursos Audiovisuais em Educação
**Autor:** João Ribas da Costa
**Ano:** 1962
**Editora:** Luzir LTDA
**Medidas:** 15,4 x 24
**Fonte:** Biblioteca Unesp FCLAR - Araraquara. 2023

O autor responsável pelo livro é João Ribas da Costa, um inspetor do Ensino Normal Técnico de Educação, criador e primeiro diretor do Sistema Rádio Educativo Nacional (Sirena), do Ministério da Educação e Cultura e diretor do Centro Técnico Pedagógico Audiovisual da Fundação João Baptista do Amaral. O prefácio do livro foi escrito pelo professor Dr. Heli Menegale, ex-Diretor Geral do Departamento Nacional de Educação e Secretário da Educação e Cultura do Distrito Federal. Menegale ressalta que ele foi pioneiro no emprego do rádio para aprendizagem da população carente, no interior do país, e foi através desse desenvolvimento que Costa explorou com mais detalhes os domínios dos recursos didáticos audiovisuais. Em 1949, o autor também se preocupou em despertar o interesse dos educadores brasileiros para a utilização do rádio na educação. O seu trabalho em "Educação Fundamental pelo Rádio" foi considerado a melhor obra em relação ao processo de solucionar o problema do analfabetismo no Brasil, razão pela qual foi convocado pelo Ministério da Educação e Cultura para organizar a educação popular pelo rádio, fundando a partir daí o Sistema Rádio-educativo Nacional, SIRENA. Costa transformou em ensinamento, o resultado de suas pesquisas e observações, com o intuito de melhorar os processos didáticos da escola brasileira e tratando dos fundamentos psicopedagógicos e a aplicação dos inúmeros recursos audiovisuais a serviço da educação.

Em linhas gerais, o livro foi produzido com o propósito de descrever alguns recursos audiovisuais e orientar o seu uso e aplicação, ou seja, produzido para professores para a melhoria dos processos didáticos da escola brasileira, também vale ressaltar que Costa acreditava que os recursos audiovisuais eram meios de objetivação. Portanto, o livro destina-se a influenciar o cotidiano da escola brasileira, focado na aprendizagem da população empobrecida.

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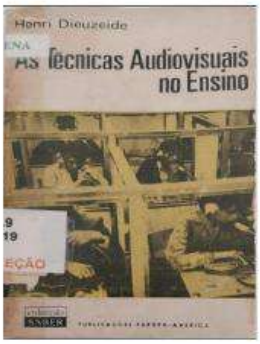



**Título:** Recursos Audiovisuais na Escola
**Autor:** Walter Arno Wittich e Charles Francis Schuller
**Ano:** 1964
**Editora:** Fundo de Cultura S.A.
**Medidas:** 17 x 23,5
**Fonte:**Biblioteca Unesp FCLAR - Araraquara. 2023

O livro foi produzido por autores estadunidenses Walter Arno Wittich (professor de educação e pesquisa da Universidade de Wisconsin) e Charles Francis Schuller (diretor do Centro Audiovisual e professor de educação da Universidade de Michigan). A versão original intitulada *"Audiovisual Materials: Their nature and use"* foi publicada pela editora *Harper and Brothers*, em Nova Iorque, no ano de 1962. No entanto, esta versão foi traduzida e publicada no Brasil, em 1964, numa ação conjunta do Centro de Publicações Técnicas da Aliança Missão Norte - Americana da Cooperação Econômica e Técnica no Brasil (USAID) em favor da Aliança para o Progresso. A tradução foi feita por Gastão Roberto Coaracy assistente da Divisão de Meios de Comunicação - Missão Norte Americana de Cooperação Técnica no Brasil e por Joanna Elazari Coaracy, formada em Pedagogia pela Faculdade de Filosofia, Ciências e Letras - Universidade de São Paulo. A introdução deste livro foi escrita em novembro de 1961, por John Guy Fowlkes, que informa tratar-se da revisão da obra original publicada em 1953 e reeditada em 1957. O livro segundo Fowlkes apresenta uma combinação de princípios pedagógicos práticos pelos quais os professores podem tornar-se eficientes na aplicabilidade de recursos audiovisuais. Entretanto, esta versão inclui adicionalmente o estudo da aprendizagem humana e também descrições e sugestões ao emprego de recursos audiovisuais.

O prefácio do manual foi escrito pelos próprios autores, Wittich e Schuller, que esclarecem terem buscado responder às seguintes questões:" O conteúdo atende às necessidades dos professores em seu trabalho cotidiano? Seria conveniente dar mais ênfase ou expandir certos aspectos do conteúdo? Dentre os novos recursos e técnicas audiovisuais aplicados à educação, quais os que devem ser acrescentados como forma de melhorar a qualidade do ensino em sala de aula?" (Wittich e Schuller, p. 10). Contudo, o objetivo central deste livro é descrever os recursos audiovisuais de ensino, sugerir planos e métodos para o uso mais eficiente dessas técnicas no trabalho diário em sala de aula. E também dar ênfase à responsabilidade e oportunidade que tem o professor de instruir, a partir da variedade de

técnicas audiovisuais e verbais, e aquelas utilizadas em conjunto que possibilitam uma aprendizagem mais elevada.




**Título:** As Técnicas Audiovisuais no Ensino
**Autor:** Henri Dieuzeide
**Ano:**1965
**Editora:** Tipografia Henrique Torres
**Medida:** Medidas: 11,5 x 18,2
**Fonte:** Biblioteca Unesp Campus Presidente Prudente - 2023

Este manual foi elaborado por Henri Dieuzeide, fundador e administrou o serviço escolar de rádio e televisão de 1952 a 1967, Inspetor Geral da Educação Nacional, Diretor do Departamento de Métodos e Técnicas Educacionais da UNESCO (1967-1984) e Membro do Círculo Condorcet. O manual não possui prefácio, no entanto apresenta uma breve introdução elaborada por André Gide[2], de início o autor discorre sobre a origem da expressão "material audiovisual", em seguida menciona as obras de Piéron, a primeira e a segunda edição de "*Vocabulaire de la Psychologie"*. Para Gide as técnicas audiovisuais, podem facilitar a observação geral e auxiliar o conhecimento formado no mundo, mas para isso não é necessário reduzir a função pedagógica a um simples papel de comodidade, sem ignorar as transformações que o uso dos audiovisuais poderia gerar no indivíduo como na coletividade. Contudo, para o autor, o recurso audiovisual transforma o clima pedagógico e as formas da atividade escolar, surgindo no aluno novas formas de adesão pessoal. Portanto, as mensagens audiovisuais são: "um conjunto de processos de difusão mecanizada de mensagens dinâmicas, despertando naqueles a quem se

[2] André Gide foi o fundador da Editora Gallimard e da revista Nouvelle Revue Française e agraciado com o prêmio Nobel de Literatura de 1947. CF.https://pt.wikipedia.org/wiki/Andr%C3%A9_Gide. Acesso em: 05 mar. 2024.

dirigem uma vasta gama de reações psicológicas novas, as quais devem ser seguidas de efeitos positivos , por pequena que seja a intervenção do educador" ( Dieuzeide, 1965, p. 16)

**Título**: O Processo de Criação no Cinema
**Autor:** John Howard Lawson
**Ano:** 1967
**Editora:** Civilização Brasileira S.A.
**Medida:** : 13,7 x 21
**Fonte:** Biblioteca Unesp Campus Presidente Prudente - 2024

Este livro foi escrito por John Howard Lawson, consta que ele participou da organização da Associação dos Escritores Cinematográficos, primeiro sindicato argumentista, onde ele foi eleito o primeiro presidente em 1933. Fez parte do grupo *"Dez de Hollywood"* em 1947.

A tradução do livro para o portugues foi feita por Anna Maria Capovilla a partir do título original em inglês: *"The Creative Process"*. O desenho da capa foi produzido por Marius Lauritzen Bern e o prefácio do manual foi escrito por Jay Leyda[3]. Segundo o autor, nesta obra Lawson, ampliou o seu trabalho anterior sobre a dramaturgia e argumento cinematográfico, analisando a arte do cinema em sua totalidade. Neste sentido, o autor menciona que Lawson, através de suas pesquisas sobre a cinematografia, também buscou esclarecer as seguintes questões: "O que reage à produção cinematográfica? Como a produção cinematográfica domina o seu público? Portanto, a produção cinematográfica norte-americana aceitou um estudo mais aprofundado sobre seu passado e presente. Por fim, o autor argumenta que é natural que o futuro de Hollywood dependa tanto de uma análise, quanto de uma transformação social. Desse modo, o estudo coloca em evidência ambas as questões. [4]




[3] Jay Leyda foi um cineasta de vanguarda e historiador, famoso por seu trabalho no cinema americano, soviético e chines. CF. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jay_Leyda

[4] Inicialmente, este livro foi selecionado para análise na investigação, mas ao consultá-lo identifiquei que o conteúdo não refere-se ao uso dos audiovisuais na educação. Para o relatório final este livro será excluído da análise.

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**Título:** Técnicas Modernas para o Ensino da Língua Inglesa no Curso Secundário.
**Autor:** Waldyr Lima
**Ano:**1974
**Editora:** Centro de Cultura Anglo Americana.
**Medida:** Medidas: 13,7 x 20
**Fonte:** Biblioteca Unesp Campus Presidente Prudente - 2023

O criador do manual foi Waldyr Lima, diretor do Centro de Cultura Anglo Americana. Nesta obra o autor apresenta as suas experiências no Departamento de Pesquisas e Planejamento de Aprendizagem, dirigido por: Elisabeth Victoria Feijó e Terry Roberts, pois ambos estudiosos dos problemas brasileiros do ensino de língua inglesa no curso secundário.

O livro, encaminhado para o Diretor da instituição, gratuitamente, visava orientar o professor responsável pelo ensino de língua inglesa, com o intuito de que a obra contribuísse para o aperfeiçoamento do ensino de língua. A obra foi formulada na forma de instrução programada e também apresenta sugestões úteis para impulsionar um novo ritmo de aprendizagem dos educandos e ajudando a utilizar técnicas modernas de ensino. Consta na contra capa editora Centro de Cultura Anglo Americana oferecia gratuitamente empréstimos de slides, filmes e fitas gravadas a todos os colégios de nível secundário do Brasil, no entanto cabia aos estabelecimentos de ensino a responsabilidade ficava responsável pelas despesas do transporte.




**Título:** Guia de Audiovisuais para Professores
**Autor:** Seção de Audiovisuais do Centro Brasileiro de Pesquisas Educacionais - INEP - MEC
**Ano:** 1970
**Editora:** Centro Brasileiro de Pesquisas Educacionais - INEP - MEC
**Medida:** 16 x 23
**Fonte:** Fonte: Biblioteca Unesp FCLAR - Araraquara. 2023

Este guia consiste em uma publicação do Centro Brasileiro de Pesquisas Educacionais a partir da tradução de material produzido nos Estados Unidos. O texto em inglês intitulado *"Audio-visual Handbook for Teachers"* foi publicado originalmente em 1954, pelo *"Department of Education"* do Estado de New Jersey ( Trenton - USA). Participaram da elaboração da obra Harold W. Benda - coordenadora assistente de audiovisual do estado, Caryl C. Dunavan - supervisor de material didático e escolas públicas e Emma Fantone - diretora de serviço de recursos audiovisuais, na instituição de ensino *"Montclair State Teachers College"*. Com a participação do Audio-Visual Advisory Council e ilustrações feitas por Evan M. Malestky.

A edição brasileira foi publicada pela Seção de Audiovisuais do Centro Brasileiro de Pesquisas Educacionais - INEP - MEC. Tradução, adaptação e ampliação realizadas pela equipe integrada composta por Leticia Maria Santos de Faria - Coordenadora. Os diagramadores foram Maria Helena Burnett Furtado da Silva, Bruno Giampa, Marilia Abrunhosa Monteiro e Jader de Medeiros Britto e Renato Viena responsável pelo desenho da capa. O manual apresenta dois prefácios, um na versão brasileira e outro da edição original da obra. O da versão brasileira foi escrito por Letícia M. S. de Faria - chefe da seção de audiovisuais C.B.P.E - INEP- MEC. A autora menciona os motivos principais que levaram a adaptar este trabalho: "a composição eminentemente prática, a linguagem sucinta, estendendo-se ao objetivo e normas de utilização dos meios audiovisuais e sugestões para melhor articulação do pessoal em suas diferentes funções, visando ao emprego mais eficiente dos meios audiovisuais" (Faria, 1970, p.5). O prefácio da versão original foi elaborado por J. M. Raubinger - comissário de educação. O autor aponta que a distribuição do manual visava oferecer aos professores do Estado de New Jersey, práticas bem aceitas para o uso dos recursos audiovisuais. O material foi produzido como um guia para o professor, o administrador e o coordenador. No entanto, também possui sugestões para aperfeiçoar o programa didático da escola, com intuito de proporcionar situações mais dinâmicas de aprendizagem para os alunos.

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**Título:** Como Rotular Material Visual
**Autor:** Spencer Guimarin
**Ano:** 1971
**Editora:** Pax-México, Librería Carlos Césarman, S. A., e o Centro Regional de Assistência Técnica (RTAC), Agência para o Desarrollo (desenvolvimento) International (AID), Departamento dos EUA.
**Medida:** 13,8 x 21
**Fonte:** Biblioteca Unesp - Franca. 2024

O presente trabalho foi escrito por Spencer Guimarin, um especialista em materiais didáticos do Escritório de Instrução Visual da Universidade do Texas. Projetado e ilustrado por alunas da *"Escuela Moderna Americana"*, no México, D F. Nury Gally, Ana Maria Garcia Kobeh e Denise de Rosenzweig. O Manual está vinculado ao Centro Regional de Assistência Técnica, Agência de Desenvolvimento Internacional (México/Buenos Aires). O título da obra em inglês é *"Lettering Techniques"* e foi publicado em 1965 pelo Gabinete de Instrução Visual, Divisão de Extensão da Universidade do Texas, dirigido por Ernesto F. Tieman.

Consta na contracapa que a primeira edição em espanhol foi publicada em julho de 1971 e a tradução foi feita por Gregorio Martinez Valdés, especialista em informação, CIMMYT, México. Um professor do ramo de extensão agrícola, colégio de Postgraduados, Chapingo, México. Esta publicação é uma tradução feita do livreto *"Lettering Techniques"*, publicada originalmente em inglês pelo *"Visual Instruction Bureau"*, na Universidade do Texas. A presente edição foi preparada em conjunto pela editora Pax-México, Librería Carlos Césarman, S. A., e o centro regional de assistência técnica (RTAC), Agência para o Desarrollo (desenvolvimento) International (AID), Departamento dos EUA. Consta ainda que este centro consistia em uma organização dedicada a produção de versões em espanhol do filme e material impresso dos programas de cooperação da Aliança para o progresso. O prefácio do livro foi escrito por Ernest F. Tiermann que afirma ser o manual um modelo simples, pois apresenta apenas ideias simples e comprovadas. Nesse sentido, destinava-se aos professores oferecendo ideias de exibição, exemplos de estilo e tipos de letras mecânicas e novas habilidades de estêncil (arte gráfica), além de letras em spray. E Spencer Guimarin, afirma que: "O objetivo

deste livreto é familiarizá-lo com as técnicas de *lettering* já disponíveis e utilizáveis, e fazê-lo com um mínimo de verbalismo e um máximo de ilustrações." (Guimarin, 1971, p. 7).[5]



**Título:** Pesquisa: Recursos audiovisuais nas escolas do município de Franca - ensino de 1º grau.
**Autor:** Maria Ariga
**Ano:** 1974
**Editora:** [6]
**Medida:** 31,2 x 21,5
**Fonte:** Biblioteca Unesp - Franca. 2024

O livro é fruto de uma pesquisa realizada pela professora Maria Ariga, professora assistente, do Departamento de Educação da Unesp. A tese foi orientada pela Professora Doutora Nelly de Camargo, professora colaboradora (Titular da Escola de Comunicações e Artes da USP) pelo consultor estatístico Professor Nagib Lima Peres (Departamento de Estatística e Instituto de Matemática e Estatística da USP). O manual não apresenta prefácio, mas possui uma introdução, e nela a autora ressalta que "existem inúmeras variáveis que interferem na adequação dos audiovisuais na sala de aula: conhecimentos de sua adequação, dificuldade de seu manejo e sua utilização, fundamentação psicológica da sua utilização e disponibilidade material" (Ariga, 1974, p. 9). Por isso, o estudo analisa as seguintes questões: "Os professores conhecem material audiovisual? (tipos de materiais utilizados), os professores conhecem a aplicação de material de projeção? (uso de diapositivos, filmes, diafilmes e transparências), os professores quando tem material sabem usá-los convenientemente? (Ariga, 1974, p. 10), entre outras questões. Por isso foi elaborado dois questionários, um para professores e outro para diretores, para que pudessem revelar os dados necessários e importantes para o estudo das questões acima. Ariga também menciona outro motivo que impulsionou o estudo, "a preocupação prioritária do governo, tanto federal como estadual, na implantação da Reforma Educacional contida na Lei n°5.692/71, notadamente no

[5] Quando realizei a consulta no Athena - catálogo de biblioteca da Unesp, pareceu-me que este título estava em português , porém ao consultar o livro identifiquei que o mesmo foi publicado no México, em espanhol. Embora a presença deste livro na biblioteca da Unesp de Franca indicie a circulação sobre recursos audiovisuais, o livro não atende ao critério para investigação, ou seja, ter sido publicado no Brasil. Para o relatório final este livro não será considerado para a análise.

[6] Este material compreende um relatório de pesquisa de Marie Ariga apresentado ao Departamento de Educação da Faculdade de Filosofia, Ciências e Letras de Franca (Instituto Isolado do Ensino Superior do Estado de São Paulo). Trata-se de um material bastante interessante que poderá trazer subsídios para esta pesquisa, porém não atende ao critério da seleção das fontes, isto é, a publicação em formato de livro.

ensino de 1°Grau, quanto a quantidade e a qualidade, procurando atender a todas as crianças de 7 a 14 anos" (Ariga, 1974, p.14)

Sobre o livro a ser tratado na sequência deste relatório intitulado Técnicas Audiovisuais de Educação, foram consultadas as quatro edições encontradas nas bibliotecas da Unesp.



**Título:** Técnicas Audiovisuais de Educação
**Autor:** Nélio Parra e Ivone Correa da Costa Parra
**Ano:**1969
**Editora:** Edibell LTDA (São Paulo)
**Medida:** Medida: 20,8x 28,6
**Edição:** Primeira
**Fonte:** Fonte: Biblioteca Unesp - Bauru. 2024

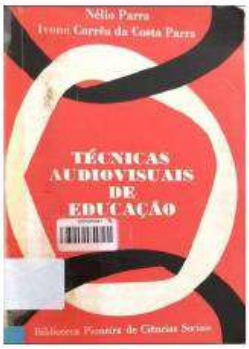



**Título:** Técnicas Audiovisuais de Educação
**Autor:** Nélio Parra e Ivone Correa da Costa Parra
**Ano:** 1970
**Editora:** Edibell LTDA (São Paulo)
**Medida:** 15,7 x 22,6
**Edição:** Segunda
**Fonte:** Fonte: Biblioteca Unesp FCLAR - Araraquara. 2023

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**Título:** Técnicas Audiovisuais de Educação
**Autor:** Nélio Parra e Ivone Correa da Costa Parra
**Ano:**1972
**Editora:** Edibell LTDA (São Paulo)
**Medida:** 16 x 23,2
**Edição:** Terceira
**Fonte:** Fonte: Biblioteca Unesp -Bauru. 2024




**Autor:** Nélio Parra e Ivone Correa da Costa Parra
**Ano:** 1975
**Editora:** Gráfica Editora Bisordi Ltda (São Paulo)
**Medida:** Medida: 15,7 x 22,7
**Edição:** Quarta, revista e ampliada
**Fonte:** Biblioteca Unesp FCLAR - Araraquara. 2024
**Capa:** Elaborada por Elno Schmidt e executada por Jairo Porfirio.

O livro *"Técnicas Audiovisuais de Educação"* foi elaborado por Nélio Parra e Ivone Correa da Costa Parra e Nélio Parra[7]. O prefácio das quatro edições consultadas é o mesmo escrito por Nélio Parra. Nele o autor argumenta que as instituições escolares brasileiras possuem um elevado índice de tradicionalismo, isto é, que pouco se modificou com o passar do tempo, impedindo de agregar novas mudanças. Por isso, Parra menciona que a educação brasileira precisa adotar novas ferramentas, porém sem desprezar e abandonar as ferramentas tradicionais. Portanto, os meios de comunicação podem ser os colaboradores, pois sua utilização adequada pode provocar mudanças culturais e também pode ajudar a solucionar problemas específicos que ocorrem em sala de aula. Nessa perspectiva, o autor menciona que

[7] Nélio Parra foi um dos primeiros docentes a tratarem do tema dos recursos audiovisuais na Faculdade de Educação da Universidade de São Paulo (FEUSP), onde trabalhou no EDM – Departamento de Metodologia do Ensino e Educação Comparada, como Auxiliar de Ensino. Foi também representante dos auxiliares de ensino na Congregação da FEUSP e exerceu a função de chefe do EDM. CF: https://www4.fe.usp.br/memoria-do-corpo-docente-nelio-parra#:~:text=N%C3%A9lio%20Parra%20integrou%20o%20corpo,Comparada%2C%20como%20Auxiliar%20de%20Ensino.Acesso em: 05 mar. 2024.

"foi visando dar ao professor de hoje, que enfrenta problemas de hoje, um conhecimento, mesmo que superficial, das técnicas modernas de comunicação audiovisual que nos atrevemos a escrever este modesto trabalho". (Parra, 1969, p. 10)

**2.3 Síntese da análise preliminar dos dados.**

Após o levantamento, sistematização e análise dos dados foi possível observar que, dos 12 livros consultados, quatro deles são traduções de obras primeiramente publicadas no exterior, com maior incidência de publicações nos Estados Unidos: Recursos Audiovisuais na Escola, de Walter Wittich e Charles Schuler (1964), o Processo de Criação no Cinema de John Lawson e o Guia de Audiovisuais de Professores, publicado pelo CBPE/INEP/MEC.

O livro de Wittich e Schuler (1964) foi traduzido com o auxílio do Centro de Publicações Técnicas da Aliança missão Norte Americana de Cooperação Econômica e Técnica no Brasil (USAID) no âmbito do acordo de cooperação da Aliança para o Progresso indicando a participação dos Estados Unidos na difusão de saberes sobre recursos audiovisuais na educação.

Em relação às editoras nota-se a diversidade envolvendo diversas empresas privadas Fundo de Cultura, Civilização Brasileira Edibell, além do Ministério da Educação através do Centro Brasileiro de Pesquisas Educacionais.

A análise preliminar dos prefácios e apresentações permitem assinalar que a maior parte dos manuais foram feitos para orientar o educador, pois os dispositivos audiovisuais são apontados como facilitadores e transformadores da aprendizagem, isto é, podem elevar a capacidade dos alunos. Os manuais são apresentados como dispositivos capazes de aperfeiçoar as instituições escolares, a didática da escola e procuram proporcionar situações dinâmicas para os educandos. Os manuais também se apresentam como obras simples e modestas, para facilitar a compreensão dos professores.

Outro aspecto analisado nos livros foram as referências bibliográficas citadas. Encontramos um grande número de referências de autores nacionais e internacionais. No quadro abaixo, são apresentadas as referências com maior número de incidência considerando os doze livros consultados até o momento.

QUADRO II: AUTORES MAIS CITADOS NOS LIVROS ANALISADOS

| AUTORES | OBRAS | EDITORA | NÚMERO CITAÇÕES |
|---|---|---|---|
| BROWN | 1-Instruction Materials and Methods (1959)<br>2- Audio-Visual Instruction (1959) | 1- Mc-Graw-Hill Book<br>2- Mc-Graw-Hill Book | 9 |
| CHARLES TRAVIS SCHULLER | 1- Audio-Visual Materials (1953 e 1957)<br>2- The School Administrador and his Audio-Visual Program (1954)<br>3- Recursos Audiovisuais na Escola (1964) | 1- Harper and Brothers<br>2- Department of Audio-Visual Instruction<br>3- Fundo de Cultura | 12 |
| DUARTE BANDEIRA | 1- A Projeção Fixa no Ensino (1961) | 1- Irmãos Pongetti | 6 |
| EDGAR DALE | 1- Audiovisual Methods in Teaching (1957, 1954, 1959 e 1969)<br>2- Display for Learning (1952) | 1- The Dryden Press<br>2- The Dryden Press | 17 |
| JAMES KINDER | 1- Audiovisual Materials and Techniques (1950, 1959)<br>2- The Audiovisual Reader (1954)<br>3- Using Audio-Visual Materials in Education (1965) | 1- American Book<br>2- American Book<br>3- American Book Company | 13 |
| MILLER | 1- Graphic Communication and the Crisis in Education (1957)<br>2- World Maps and Globes ( 1944)<br>3- This is Photography (1950 e 1959) | 1- Nea - Audiovisual Instruction Department<br>2- Essential Books<br>3- Garden City Books | 9 |
| NÉLIO PARRA | 1- Ensine Melhor com Modelos (1967)<br>2- A Dinâmica dos Recursos Audiovisuais (1968)<br>3- Comunicação Cinematográfica (1968)<br>4- Técnicas Audiovisuais de Educação (1970)<br>5- Metodologia dos Recursos Audiovisuais (1973) | 1- Livro Técnico<br>2- Senac-Sadec<br>3- Associação de Brasileira de Educação<br>4- Edibel Ltda<br>5- Saraiva | 14 |
| SANDS, LESTER B. | 1- Audiovisual Procedures in Teaching. (1956)<br>2- The Overhead Projector: A new approach to slide projection (1957) | 1- The Ronald Press Co.<br>2- Grade Teacher | 7 |
| TIEMANN ERNEST F. | 1- Better Bulletin Board Display (s.d)<br>2- Education Displays and Exhibits<br>( 1958 e 1959) | 1- University of Texas<br>2- University of Texas | 12 |
| WALTER ARNO WITTICH | 1- Audio-Visual Materials (1953 e 1957)<br>2- Audiovisual Paths for Learning (1946)<br>3- Teaching machines: Practical and Probable (1960)<br>4- Audiovisual Paths to Learning<br>5- Recursos Audiovisuais na Escola (1964) | 1- Harper and Brothers<br>2- Harper and Brothers<br>3- Nation's Schools<br>4- Harper and Brothers<br>5- Fundo de Cultura | 9 |

As referências com maior número de citações são as do autor Edgar Dale com os livros *Audiovisual Methods in Teaching* e *Display for Learning* publicadas na década de 1950, provavelmente, as obras mais antigas dessa segunda metade do século XX, produzidos nesse

início da difusão do movimento da Tecnologia Educacional e da ênfase no uso dos recursos audiovisuais na educação.

Outras obras bastantes citadas são os livros de James Kinder: *Audiovisual Materials and Techniques (1950)*, *The Audiovisual Reader (1954)* e *Using Audio-Visual Materials in Education (1965)*. Ressaltam-se, ainda, as obras de Charles Travis Schuller (*Audio-Visual Materials e The School Administrador and his Audio-Visual Program*), Tiemann Ernest *(Better Bulletin Board Display e Education Displays and Exhibits)* e Walter Arno Wittich (*Audio-Visual Materials, Audiovisual Paths for Learning, Teaching machines: Practical and Probable, Audiovisual Paths to Learning)*.

Na esfera nacional, sobressaem os textos produzidos por Nélio Parra (*Ensine Melhor com Modelos, A Dinâmica dos Recursos Audiovisuais, Comunicação Cinematográfica, Técnicas Audiovisuais de Educação e Metodologia dos Recursos Audiovisuais*). Essa expressiva incidência de referências a Nélio Parra atesta a importância de educador e intelectual na produção e circulação de saberes, sobre recursos audiovisuais na educação do Brasil.

**3- Plano de atividades para o próximo período**

Nos próximos seis meses daremos continuidade a investigação realizando leituras de revisão bibliográfica e consultando os dezessetes livros restantes, selecionados para o estudo. Além dos dados preliminarmente analisados, faremos o levantamento acerca dos recursos audiovisuais abordados nos livros. As atividades a serem realizadas constam no quadro abaixo:

QUADRO III - PLANO DE ATIVIDADES PARA O PRÓXIMO PERÍODO.

| Atividades | Mar/Abr | Mai/Jun | Jul/Ago |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Consulta às fontes documentais | X | | |
| 2. Revisão bibliográfica | X | X | |
| 3.Identificar os autores e as estratégias editoriais dos livros selecionados para o estudo | | | |
| 4.Realizar o levantamento dos recursos audiovisuais abordados nos livros | | | |
| 5.Leitura dos prefácios | X | | |
| 6.Identificação das referências bibliográficas | X | | |
| 7.Organização e sistematização dos dados coletados | X | X | |
| 8. Análise dos dados | X | X | X |
| 9.Participação nas reuniões do grupo de pesquisa | X | X | X |
| 10.Elaboração de resumos para participação em eventos científicos | | X | |
| 11.Elaboração de relatórios | | | X |
| 12. Elaboração de texto para publicação dos resultados da pesquisa | | | X |

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