



Teaching History of Education in Portugal and in Brazil: teacher training, education programs, subject manuals, and memories (19th to 21st centuries)¹

O ensino de História da Educação em Portugal e no Brasil: formação de professores, programas de ensino, manuais disciplinares e memórias (séculos XIX a XXI)

La enseñanza de la Historia de la Educación en Portugal y en Brasil: formación de profesores, programas de enseñanza, manuales disciplinares y memorias (siglos XIX al XXI)

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Abstract

This is a presentation of results of comparative research regarding the teaching of History of Education in Portugal and in Brazil in the period from the end of the 19th century to the beginning of the 21st century. For that purpose, we based our investigation on the ideas of Nóvoa (1994, 1996), Nunes (1996), Warde & Carvalho (2000), Vidal & Faria Filho (2003), Monarcha (2005), Mogarro (2006), Alves *et al.* (2007, 2015), Gatti Jr. (2009, 2014, 2021), and Pintassilgo (2012). In both countries, considerations were made of the reference bibliography on teacher training and on the teaching of History of Education, the path the teaching of History of Education has taken, the education programs used in teacher training, the subject manuals of History of Education in circulation, and teacher and student memories regarding the teaching of the History of Education. In the end, some reflections are presented on what draws Portugal and Brazil near each other and what separates them in regard to teacher training and to the teaching of History of Education in Portugal and in Brazil in the period referred to.

Keywords: History. Education. Teaching. History of Education. Brazil. Portugal

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Resumo

Trata-se da partilha de resultados de pesquisa comparada sobre o ensino de História da Educação em Portugal e no Brasil, no período compreendido entre o final do século XIX e o início do século XXI. Para tanto, partiu-se das ideias de Nóvoa (1994, 1996); Nunes (1996); Warde & Carvalho (2000); Vidal & Faria Filho (2003); Monarcha (2005); Mogarro (2006); Alves *et al* (2007, 2015); Gatti Jr. (2009, 2014, 2021); Pintassilgo (2012). Foram examinados, em ambos os países, a bibliografia de referência sobre formação de professores e sobre o ensino de História da Educação, o percurso do ensino de História da Educação, os programas de ensino utilizados na formação de professores, os manuais disciplinares de História da Educação em circulação e as memórias docentes e discentes em torno do ensino de História da Educação. Ao final, apresentam-se algumas reflexões sobre o que se aproxima e o que se distancia no que se refere à formação de professores e ao ensino de História da Educação em Portugal e no Brasil no período referido.

Palavras-chave: História. Educação. Ensino. História da Educação. Brasil. Portugal.

Resumen

Se trata de compartir los resultados de una investigación comparada sobre la enseñanza de la Historia de la Educación en Portugal y en Brasil, en el periodo comprendido entre el final del siglo XIX y el inicio del siglo XXI. Para ello, se parte de las ideas de Nóvoa (1994, 1996); Nunes (1996); Warde & Carvalho (2000); Vidal & Faria Filho (2003); Monarcha (2005); Mogarro (2006); Alves *et al* (2007, 2015); Gatti Jr. (2009, 2014, 2021); Pintassilgo (2012). Fueron examinados, en ambos países, la bibliografía de referencia sobre formación de profesores y sobre la enseñanza de la Historia de la Educación, el trayecto de la enseñanza de la Historia de la Educación, los programas de enseñanza utilizados en la formación de profesores, los manuales disciplinares de Historia de la Educación en circulación y las memorias de docentes y estudiantes en torno a la enseñanza de la Historia de la Educación. Al final, se presentan algunas reflexiones sobre lo que se aproxima y lo que se distancia en lo que se refiere a la formación de profesores y a la enseñanza de la Historia de la Educación en Portugal y en Brasil en el periodo referido.

Palabras clave: Historia. Educación. Enseñanza. Historia de la Educación. Brasil. Portugal.

Introduction

In the most common characterizations made of Modernity, some keywords generally appear, such as industrialization, urbanization, modernization, nationalization, and civilization. These words give names to broad processes with significant social consequences and outcomes over time. However, the term schooling is rarely mentioned, which, fortunately, has ceased to be the case as of initiatives taken in the field of History of Education, with incorporation in History in general and in the area of Human Sciences.

The perception of the importance of schooling processes and, consequently, of teacher training in constituting Modernity in the contemporary historical world is a valuable acquisition. This is notable above all when schooling is perceived in its necessary involvement with processes put into action in industry (particularly in training of producers), in municipalities, in the nation state, and in the formation of a national identity.

The present article is in this direction, with the aim of perceiving the multiple determinations that guide the pathways of teaching History of Education in teacher training in Portugal and in Brazil from the end of the 19th century to the beginning of the 21st century.

In terms of antecedents, it is noteworthy that in France in the second half of the 19th century, the concern of giving a specific form to teacher training, arising from the emergence of modern legislation in a republic, led to the establishment of a set of school subjects that were to collaborate in providing scientific support for educational activity in the school environment. One of these subjects was History of Education, which, stemming from Durkheim, would make a fundamental contribution to understanding what education has been from the past to the present, constituting a foundation for the major task of Pedagogy, which would be that of elaborating proposals of modernization and of ensuring the transformation of the individual into a citizen in the school environment². Educating the citizen of the republic, that is the task of the school, which shines through the texts of History of Education as a kind of civilizing mission. This mission revolves around discovery of the key to understanding the social system and the forms of administrating social relations through conditional transfer of popular sovereignty to the State, by universal suffrage, through limitations originating from division of powers in itself and from the legal system of checks and balances, considered at the time as the only improved system³.

For Antoine Prost, in France, in the period that extends from the end of the 19th century to the 1970s, a decisive turning point in history is clear – the family that centralized economic, educational, and welfare activities through production, instruction, and care for the sick and the elderly within the space of the family property itself or of the home-workshop loses these functions. This came about through the emergence of salaried labor and the departure of production from the domestic environment, which also led to the growing socialization of the educational and public welfare function⁴. Thus, the origin of the discipline History of Education has an important civic component, which is added to a turnabout in the area of intensification of public life, especially professional life, along with the process of grounding the pedagogical field on science, especially as of the emergence of other sciences in the teacher training curriculum, particularly Educational Biology, Educational Psychology, and Educational Sociology.

² WEISS, R. A concepção de educação de Durkheim como chave para a passagem entre positivo e normativo. In: MASSELLA, A.B. *et al* (Org.). *Durkheim: 150 Anos*. Belo Horizonte: Argvmentvm, 2009. p.169-189.

³ NÓVOA, A. Educação 2021: para uma história do futuro. In: CATANI, D.; GATTI JR., D. *O que a escola faz?* Elementos para a compreensão da vida escolar. Uberlândia/MG: Edefu, 2015, p.51-69.

⁴ PROST, A. Fronteiras e espaços do privado. In: PROST, A.; VINCENT, G. (Org.). *História da Vida Privada*, v.5. Da Primeira Guerra a nossos dias (v.5). São Paulo: Companhia das Letras. 1992. p.13-153.

In this sense, António Nóvoa states that the discipline History of Education arises in a context of belief in education, amid direct actions by republican nation states towards the nationalization of teaching, the institutionalization of teacher training, and scientific pedagogy. The author indicates that the way of teaching History of Education worldwide was marked by four movements in time. The first, in the 19th century, was a teaching in which philosophical reflection predominated, the ideas of great educators, as well as glorification of the past and the march towards progress through the establishment of a content that left true lessons for the present. This way of teaching was consistent with the goal of teacher training advocated by the national states at that time. In the second movement, in passing from the 19th to the 20th century, in which State systems were built, the content of the discipline includes the study of the genesis of educational institutions and, above all, recollection and legislative legitimacy. The third movement in world terms but, above all, in societies of reference for this case, France and the United States, was marked by reaction to the previous historiography and developed in the middle of the 20th century through intense criticism from historians and sociologists, giving the production intended for teaching a social perspective in the History of Education. Since the end of the 20th century, a fourth moment can be observed, in which there was diversification of teaching perspectives, the rediscovery of school themes/actors, as well as the resumption of intellectual/cultural history practices and the re-appreciation of comparative approaches⁵.

Considering this worldwide development, in this article, we will seek to recognize the route taken by Portugal and Brazil in teaching the History of Education through comparative analysis of some aspects that will be presented, namely, the reference bibliography on teacher training and on the teaching of History of Education; the route taken in teaching the History of Education; the educational programs used in teacher training; the subject manuals of History of Education in circulation; and teacher and student memories regarding the teaching of History of Education.

1. The Teaching of History of Education in Portugal

The History of Education is inseparably linked to teacher training since its genesis as a discipline in the transition from the 19th to the 20th century: first within the framework of the Qualification Program for Secondary Teaching, founded in 1901; then, within the scope of normal primary and higher education in the First Republic; later, as part of the Pedagogical Sciences and of the program at the National Institute of Physical Education; finally, in the teacher training programs created at Universities and Higher Education Schools since the beginning of the 1970s⁶.

This synthesis presented in the last decade of the 20th century could now be complemented, above all, by four other highlighted areas: the growth of research in this area, which brought us important collective projects, national and international, ensuring enrichment of the theoretical, conceptual, and thematic framework; the taking up of the subject in the framework of university degrees, master's degrees, and doctorates, which allowed a widening of perspectives, but also enrichment of its heritage in the context of its significance in the area of social and human sciences; the concern with visibility of the field of History of Education within meetings, publications, and organizations (associations, societies, ...), which makes it possible to understand the breadth of interested parties and of thematic interests in core areas or in areas that border on other research areas; and the usefulness of understanding the role of

⁵ NÓVOA, A. História da Educação: percursos de uma disciplina. *Análise Psicológica*. v.14, n.4, p.417-434, 1996.

⁶ NÓVOA, A.; BERRIO, J.R. (Org.). *A História da Educação em Espanha e Portugal*. Investigações e Actividades. Lisboa: SPCE e SEHE, 1993, p.11.

Education in international, national, municipal, or local dynamics over time for a consequent framework of decisions in the present time.

So as to grasp important aspects of the path taken in teaching History of Education in Portugal, we will address five aspects that are evidently intertwined, which include the following: the reference bibliography on research topics related to teacher training and to the teaching of History of Education; the milestones that mark changes in the paths of teacher training and of the teaching of History of Education; the main characteristics of teaching the History of Education subject over time; the subject manuals used; and teacher experiences and memories.

1.1. Reference bibliography regarding teacher training and the teaching of History of Education in Portugal

Two recent works allow us to have contact with significant systematizations of the teaching of History of Education in Portugal and the main lines of investigation. I refer to two collective works – *A História da Educação em Portugal. Balanço e Perspectivas*⁷ (The History of Education in Portugal: Assessment and Perspectives) of 2007 and *História da Educação. Fundamentos teóricos e metodologias de pesquisa: balanço da investigação portuguesa (2005-2014)*⁸ [*History of Education. Theoretical foundations and research methodologies: assessment of Portuguese investigation (2005-2014)*]. Conceived with the aim of analyzing the current situation of what has been the scope of research and teaching of the History of Education, they present not only the names of the main researchers who have written, investigated, or directed research theses and projects, but also identify the main works and projects that are now available for consultation. Two lines can be seen in them that supplement the visible picture at the end of the 20th century:

a) the line of the continuities where the area of History of Education necessarily intersects with its subject matter and thematic meaning in the framework of teacher training – creating emphases on certain subtopics, such as history of the curriculum, of school manuals, of school subjects, or of institutions;

b) the area of growth, consolidation, and diversification fundamentally built around academic theses or research projects that, in a more individual or collective way, enrich the conceptual and theoretical framework, choosing primary sources or research techniques and methodologies that add credibility to the scientific area and sow seeds for continuity.

These works share summary tables of authors and titles of theses and projects and are now nearly all available in open access. This avoids continually starting over and ensures the continuity of interpretations on the same sources. They are different narratives that enrich epistemological density and are future lines of research that can be initiated, whether in reinforcing a national particularity or in an international comparative perspective.

In the work *Escolas de Formação de Professores em Portugal: História, Arquivo e Memória* (2012)⁹ [*Schools of Teacher Training in Portugal: History, Records and Memory* (2012)], resulting from a collective project that was well represented geographically, coordinated by Joaquim Pintassilgo, we can not only find an abundant bibliography spread throughout ten chapters of the book, but also perceive the regional particularities, both in regard to curriculum content as well as the quantitative meaning in the framework of adherence to the profession. The book

⁷ ALVES, L.A.; CORREIA, L.G.; FELGUEIRAS, M.; PINTASSILGO, J. *A História da Educação em Portugal: balanço e perspectivas*. Porto: Edições ASA, 2007.

⁸ ALVES, L.A.M.; PINTASSILGO, J. (Org.). *História da Educação. Fundamentos teóricos e metodologias de pesquisa: balanço da investigação portuguesa (2005-2014)*. Porto: Citcem/Histedup, 2015.

⁹ PINTASSILGO, J. (Org.). *Escolas de Formação de Professores em Portugal*. Lisboa: Edições Colibri, 2012. This work came after another that was also noteworthy in terms of information, PINTASSILGO, J.; MOGARRO, M.J.; HENRIQUES, R.P. *A Formação de Professores em Portugal*. Lisboa: Edições Colibri, 2010.

organized by António Nóvoa in 1991 – *Profissão Professor*¹⁰ (*Profession: Teacher*) – complements this perspective, particularly with the article “*O Passado e o Presente dos Professores*” (“The Past and the Present of Teachers”) (p. 9-32) or that of Maria Helena Cavaco “*Ofício do Professor: o Tempo e a Mudança*” (*Occupation of the Teacher: Time and Change*) (p.155-191).

Indispensable references in this process of systematization, dissemination, and supply of materials for study in this area were the aggregation tests (tests to acquire the title of university professor) carried out in Portugal and which had the History of Education as the center of discussion. This is the last moment in which public exams are taken in the academic career in Portugal, and the choice of this area immediately has meaning, in particular because it always represents the point of arrival of a scientific and academic path discussed among peers. I would highlight three moments that encompass the end of the Estado Novo period to the end of the 20th century and the beginning of the 21st century: Francisco Alberto Fortunato Queirós, in 1984; António Manuel Seixas Sampaio da Nóvoa, in 1994; and Luís Alberto Marques Alves, in 2007. Through these tests, it is possible to understand where the discipline fits into the curricula of the programs it is found in. It is also possible to see the different perspectives that the authors had of the History of Education, since what is expected of it is inseparable from the assumptions that are presented. And, naturally, a reference bibliography abounds in the different areas considered.

Fortunato Queirós was the first to take the aggregation tests for the subject of History of Education in Portugal at a time when it was not being taught at the School of Language Arts of the Universidade de Porto, but which was scheduled as a subject of option. Given the scope of the aim of the discipline, he proposed several options for its implementation so that it could be better treated. One of the options would be the creation of History of Education I and History of Education II. He shows a concern not to neglect the Portuguese reality and the History of Portuguese Education. The practical component is quite clear and shows the importance of a type of class in which the student, in addition to analyzing texts, should focus on themes, allowing the classes not to be lecture classes but rather classes with the participation of students. He referred to theoretical, practical, and technical-practical classes. Evaluation involved a final exam, but also the completion of assignments.

In 1994, it was António Nóvoa¹¹ that took the aggregation tests in History of Education. Placing it in the university degree in Educational Sciences at the School of Psychology and Educational Sciences of the Universidade de Lisboa, for him, the discipline only made sense by articulating it with two other disciplines - Comparative Education (2nd year) and Currents of Contemporary Pedagogy (3rd year). Thus, this subject was taught in the 1st year, focusing more on the Portuguese reality, more specifically on school institutions, on the evolution of the education system, and on educational agents. Comparative Education would be a more historical and sociological perspective to understand the great transformations at an international level in terms of the organization of education systems, school curricula, pedagogical practices, and educational scientific thinking. The Currents of Contemporary Pedagogy would be more a reflection on the educational ideas of the 19th and 20th centuries through the main authors and pedagogical movements and with a special attention to national and international trends. Thus, History of Education could not be seen by itself, but in the combination of the three disciplines. This fact is in line with Fortunato Queirós's ideas for development of the discipline ten years earlier.

¹⁰ NÓVOA, A. (Org.). *Profissão Professor*. Porto: Porto Editora, 1991.

¹¹ NÓVOA, A.M.S.S. *História da Educação* (Relatório da disciplina de História da Educação, apresentado no âmbito das provas para a obtenção da agregação). Lisboa: Faculdade de Psicologia e de Ciências da Educação da Universidade de Lisboa, 1994.

Luís Alberto Marques Alves contextualized the discipline in the university degree in History¹². As it was an optional subject, students could attend it in any year they wanted, but the recommendation would be for the 3rd year, after attending the mandatory areas. Thus, this shows the concern of making it possible for classes to be attended by a student of any year. He emphasizes that the discipline should highlight education as an object of knowledge, indicating the epistemological status of the History of Education. He did not forget its role in the initial training of teachers, even though it was in the context of History. He highlighted the approach of breaking with a diachronic account and presented a more synchronic view of educational phenomena, relating the discipline more to the Portuguese reality and comparing it with the international reality.

The reality at the School of Language Arts of the Universidade de Porto was that after the Pedagogical Sciences Program, the History of Education had almost always been linked to the university degree in History and as an option. In contrast, in Lisbon, History of Education had always been linked to teacher training in programs such as a university degree in Educational Sciences at the School of Psychology and Educational Sciences of the Universidade de Lisboa (1992), a degree in Dance, a degree in Sports Sciences, in the branch of Physical Education and School Sports, at the Faculdade Motricidade Humana de Lisboa (2003). It was divided into two disciplines (History of Education I and History of Education II) in 2004 and later became a Master's degree discipline¹³.

1.2. Temporal features related to teacher training and the teaching of History of Education in Portugal¹⁴

Up to the beginning of the 20th century, there was no teacher training process in Portugal, either for high school or secondary education in general. The training provided in Normal Schools (teacher training schools) only served to prepare primary teachers. Teachers were recruited through competitive public examinations, even without having any higher education diploma. In 1901 and 1902, investment was made in the training role of the Higher Education Program of Language Arts (in Lisbon), giving it a role in the preparation of teachers of Geography, Languages, Philosophy, and History. The program contents worked with Pedagogy of Secondary Education and History of Pedagogy, with an initiation test for exercising the profession in the presence of students, required for a high school in the capital. An exam, a lesson, and a dissertation completed the training needs for professional certification. The First Republic introduced the Higher Education Normal Schools at the Universities of Lisbon and Coimbra, attached to the Schools of Sciences and Language Arts, with the aim of promoting a high pedagogical culture and qualification for teaching in secondary schools, primary normal schools, higher education normal schools, and for admission to positions of teaching inspectors. One entered with a bachelor's degree from the respective Schools and the programs lasted two years, functioning as a graduate studies program where the first year was directed to pedagogical preparation and the second year to initiation into pedagogical practice. This process ended with a State Examination that included two points, of half an hour each: a lesson given to a high school class or group,

¹² ALVES, L.A.M. *História da Educação* (cadeira da licenciatura em história) (Relatório pedagógico-científico apresentado no âmbito das provas de agregação em História). Porto: Faculdade de Letras da Universidade do Porto, 2007.

¹³ CARVALHO, L.M. *História da Educação*. Relatório da Disciplina. Lisboa: Faculdade de Motricidade Humana, 2004.

¹⁴ Esta parte do artigo teve como base o trabalho desenvolvido em: ALVES, L.A.M.; MOREIRA, C.L.S. O Espaço Curricular da História da Educação na Faculdade de Letras do Porto (1961-2013). *Cadernos de História da Educação*, v.13, n.2, p.499-516, 2014.

followed by the respective pedagogical discussion, and the presentation of a dissertation on a content of didactics in secondary education.

Beginning in 1930, the Estado Novo government brought two different but complementary paths: a theoretical path, the university path, where one acquired the pedagogical culture obtained in the 3rd part of the Schools of Language Arts of the Universities; and another practical path, called pedagogical practice, carried out in a Normal High School or in pedagogical testing schools. Up to 1947, we will only have the Normal High Schools of Lisbon (Pedro Nunes) and Coimbra (Júlio Henriques until 1936 and, later, D. João III, on the occasion of the merger with José Falcão) and, from 1957 on, also D. Manuel in Porto. The third section included the disciplines of Pedagogy and Didactics, History of Education – school organization and administration, General Psychology, School Psychology and mental measurements, and one semester course – School Hygiene. The peak of this training continued to pass through the State Examination which, in essence, did not undergo substantial changes. In 1971, the Schools of Sciences began to integrate professional training into the university degree. After graduating with a bachelor's degree, students opted for two years of what was called the Educational Training Branch: in the first year, the pedagogical culture was ensured by ten semester-length disciplines and in the second, a pedagogical internship was carried out in a school while preparing a scientific monograph on the topic of the fundamental subject matter of the university degree. This type of training was later extended to other teaching degrees at the Universities of Minho and Aveiro and at the Schools of Language Arts (in 1988).

Two additional notes: from 1973 on, additional training in education science institutes began to be required and, in 1979, the Higher Schools of Education appeared, integrated in Polytechnic Institutes, aimed at training teachers to teach the first six years of schooling. These changes created the definitive separation between training for 1st and 2nd cycle basic education and 3rd cycle secondary education (10th to 12th years). After a brief experience from 1979 to 1985 with in-service professionalization, which involved two years of monitoring in a school context (after university degree), in-service training was created, with the same duration of two years, but linked to university training centers (CIFOP) and higher schools of education, thus attempting to ensure a theoretical component linked to Educational Sciences, along with a practical part monitored in the Schools by higher education supervisors. In 1988, initial training was definitively transferred to universities, with the Schools of Language Arts and Sciences providing pedagogical training for a year as a graduate studies program and supervising the professional internship that took place in a school, in parallel with a university pedagogical seminar, in the context in which studies were produced that articulated theoretical reflection and practical application in the classroom or at school. The Bolonha Process, which was adopted by Portuguese universities in 2007, introduced three substantial changes, with repercussions that are still unpredictable, given the proximity in time: a) the first came to reduce the university degrees to 3 years and to create master's degrees in teaching with a duration of 2 years, incorporating the mandatory components of General Educational Training, Specific Didactics, and Initiation to Professional Practice; b) the second, combined History and Geography in the same Master's degree with a natural reduction in the specific scientific component since in the university degree there had to be dual training; and c) the third, maintained the lack of definition about the entities that should and could provide training for the 3rd cycle, with two higher education entities (universities and polytechnics) claiming this purpose.

In 2014, there were substantial changes, through Decree-Law 79 of May 14, 2014, particularly with the separation of the Master's Degree in History Teaching from Geography Teaching, and becoming a single-discipline Master's degree. This reduction in university degrees since 2007 and then the separation from Geography in 2014 allowed some curricular space to be gained to include the History of Education in the options of the university degree,

since many of the students who wanted to follow the Master's in Teaching felt the need for understanding the main educational changes throughout the 20th century (above all).

We can therefore state that teacher training has always been an area where the History of Education helped towards a sense of professionalism and to allow understanding of its structural space within the framework of changes of a political nature.

1.3. Teaching programs of the History of Education subject in Portugal

Currently, the History of Education appears to us mainly inscribed in Universities and less in Higher Schools of Education. Marginalization is present not only in that case; History of Education is often disguised in Socio-Historical Analysis of Education, in the History and Philosophy of Education, or even in the Theory of Education or the Fundamentals of Education. Evidently, the analysis of teaching programs has to look at their content and bibliography above all and less at the designation of the discipline. With a focus on content, it is possible to reveal some ideas that mark the organizational structure of programs:

a) In general, the programmatic distribution follows a markedly chronological line, in most cases beginning with the “genesis of the school model” in the 16th-18th centuries and ending either at the end of the 20th century in the reform carried out by Minister Roberto Carneiro (1989)¹⁵ or at the beginning of the 21st century with the Bolonha Reform of 2007.

b) The sequence of content appears very near political changes – Pombal reforms, liberalism, republicanism, Estado Novo, and after the Revolution of the 25th of April of 1974 – and it is not possible to identify the discontinuities that education presents in the face of shades of a political nature. In this sense, transversal projects such as *Roteiros de Inovação Pedagógica*¹⁶ (Itineraries of Pedagogical Innovation) help to deconstruct the features of politics on education.

c) Programs after the Revolution of the 25th of April of this curricular unit abandoned the content prior to the 16th century, possibly maintained for disciplines more in a historical sense than educational sense. In the sphere of “Culture and Mentalities”, it is possible to identify some informational glimmers regarding Education, but without the sense of continuity or of articulation among the various disciplines. It is basically at the discretion of the teachers.

d) International aspects often arise in a comparative framework in different periods and in different themes; we can find features both of the Protestant Reformation in Education and statistical comparisons on illiteracy in the different countries in the passage from the 19th to the 20th century. Foreign authors are not forgotten and, in the 20th century, the role of international organs – OECD, UNESCO... – is frequently mentioned. Another relevant aspect concerns bibliographical incorporation of the minutes of various meetings sponsored by Portuguese investigators of History of Education, as in the case of the Iberian Meetings or the Luso-Brazilian Conferences.

These characteristics also refer us to the teachers of the discipline who, for the most part, come from the scientific area of History or Philosophy. In recent times, there has been a great effort to break with excessive temporal features and to think of education based on transversal themes, reinforcing its epistemological and conceptual framework and freeing it from markedly political connotations. In this effort, the work of Justino Magalhães is noteworthy, both in the work of investigation on Municipalism (the effects of municipal

¹⁵ Ver ALVES, L.A.M. *História da Educação: uma introdução*. Porto: Faculdade de Letras do Porto, 2012 (particularly p. 97-105); and furthermore TEODORO, A. *Reforma Educativa ou a Legitimação do Discurso sobre a Prioridade Educativa*. *Educação, Sociedade & Culturas*, n.4, p.49-70, 1995.

¹⁶ PINTASSILGO, J.; ALVES, L.A.M. (Org.). *Roteiros da Inovação Pedagógica*. Escolas e experiências de referência em Portugal no século XX. Lisboa: Instituto de Educação e Edições Colibri, 2019.

governments)¹⁷, and the syntheses presented in works such as *Da Cadeira ao Banco* or in the more recent *Na rota da educação*¹⁸.

1.4. Manuals of the History of Education discipline in Portugal

Manuals are training devices, with the intent of bringing master students disciplinary knowledge in an organized way, compiling all the knowledge considered fundamental for them to be able to become teachers; they are instruments to promote the consolidation of the school model and, convergently, objects of the school culture, strongly articulated with the production of the curriculum.¹⁹

This passage taken from a communication by Maria João Mogarro at the VI Luso-Brazilian Conference of History of Education, which took place in Uberlândia, MG, in 2006, clearly summarizes the predominant sense of the manuals used in disciplines of History of Education or similar subjects; I refer to areas such as Practical Pedagogy, educational legislation and administration, Pedagogy, methodology and legislation related to primary schools, General Pedagogy, pedagogy and methodology of primary education, or History of Popular Instruction in Portugal²⁰, and it refers exactly to this work presented and to its content. There we can highlight aspects that mark the space of production of manuals in History of Education and the meaning of the various publications that emerged.

An initial emphasis passes through indexation of the existence of these school manuals to the training of teachers, particularly for primary education, from the 1860s on, with the clear objective of providing male students (from 1862) and female students (from 1866²¹) a set of organized notes, useful for their preparation. Sílvio Pelico Filho, an author of reference, in the 1923 edition of his book *História da instrução popular em Portugal* (History of popular instruction in Portugal) clarifies this sense: “The material that constitutes the present book is formed by the series of lessons given by us to the students of the Normal School de Coimbra, in the subject of 'History of Popular Instruction in Portugal' of which we are teachers”.²²

A second comment is to mention that the structure of these manuals reflects the great change that occurred in Portugal in the area of teacher training in the second half of the 19th century, but also the regenerative belief in education in a country undergoing great change, whether through the need to integrate European economic and social development (processes of industrialization and training of producers) or through awareness of the enormous delay in terms of literacy and the will to create a school network (hereby discussing who would be responsible for this) that would incarnate a New Man, who would be different and more aware of his civic intervention.

¹⁷ MAGALHÃES, J. Municípios e Educação. *Sarmiento*. v.23, p.5-10, 2019; MAGALHÃES, J. Municípios e História da Educação. *Cadernos de História da Educação*, v.18, n.1, p.9-20, 2019.

¹⁸ MAGALHÃES, J. *Da Cadeira ao Banco*. Escola e Modernização (séculos XVIII-XX). Lisboa: Educa, 2010, as well as MAGALHÃES, J. *Na rota da Educação: epistemologia, teoria, história*. Uberlândia/MG: Edufu; Campinas/SP: Editora da Unicamp, 2022.

¹⁹ MOGARRO, M.J. História da Educação e formação de professores em Portugal (1862-1930). VI CONGRESSO LUSO-BRASILEIRO DE HISTÓRIA DA EDUCAÇÃO. Percursos e desafios da pesquisa e do ensino de História da Educação. *Anais*. Uberlândia/MG: Edufu, p.320-333, 2006.

²⁰ See the article cited of MOGARRO, M.J., particularly its Annex II (p. 331-3).

²¹ In Portugal, the first Primary Normal School arose in Lisbon for males in 1862 in Marvila, and for females in Calvário in 1866.

²² In the article cited of MOGARRO, M.J. (p. 325), citing p. 5-6 of the author's work.

Another reference belongs to those who paved the way for this experience of production of manuals around pedagogical ideas, legislation, or the evolution of popular instruction in Portugal. Amaral Cirne Júnior (1850-1882) who directed a high school of reference in Porto; José Maria Graça Afreixo (1842-1919) who, despite being trained in Law, had teaching duties at the Évora Normal School; José Augusto Coelho (1850-1925), teacher at the Normal Schools of Porto and Lisbon; António Leitão (1880-1949), who had a prominent role at the Normal School of Coimbra; or even Alberto Pimentel Filho (1875-1950), who, being a doctor, was a teacher at the Normal School of Lisbon, can be indicated as those who broke new ground in the meaning of manuals for teaching in the area of History of Education²³. This simple enumeration also helps to perceive the different starting points in professional terms of those who played a significant role in this scientific area throughout their lives. These brief references can be complemented by several studies that the scientific community already has of projects and works that have this as a central theme²⁴.

A comment should also be made on the fact that since 1858, with the creation of the Higher Education Program in Language Arts, there has been the offer of a short course in Psychology and Educational Sciences. It was taught by Manuel A. Ferreira-Deusdado, who sought to incorporate themes identical to those taught in Normal Schools²⁵. With the institutionalization of teacher training for this level of education in 1901, there was the opportunity to create the discipline of History of Pedagogy within the curriculum, which was the subject matter with content closest to the History of Education, emphasizing pedagogical ideas, and this discipline remained throughout the 1st Republic.

The Estado Novo period brought a smaller commitment to teacher training and, especially from the 1940s on, a greater commitment to the technical and didactic perspective, marginalizing the importance of the History of Education until the 1960s. Then, still centered on teacher training, the discipline had the opportunity to re-emerge in two complementary ways: in the training of secondary school teachers (high school and technical), above all in pedagogical training supported by university education (Pedagogical Sciences Program), and in Primary Teaching Schools (mainly after the syllabus was changed in 1960). From 1976-1977 on, the History of Education was reintroduced in teacher training programs in general, clearly losing here any manual-based or formatted meaning to be lectured, but favoring contents and methodologies that awakened more discussion and comparison.

1.5. Teacher memories in the teaching of History of Education in Portugal

In a significant way, works and projects in the area of History of Education have been incorporating oral testimonies as sources to preserve and to include in the scientific syntheses of the area. I would highlight two examples that, due to their diversity, help to see the different approaches. A research project was recently completed that resulted in several final products: a) a work

²³ CIRNE JR., F.A.A. *Resumo da História da Pedagogia*. Porto: Livraria Universal de Magalhães & Moniz Editores, 1881; AFFREIXO, J.M.G. *Apontamentos para a História da Pedagogia*. Lisboa: Livraria Ferreira, 1883; COELHO, J.A. *Noções de pedagogia elementar*, coordenadas em harmonia com o programa oficial, para uso dos alunos das escolas normais e de habilitação para o magistério primário. Lisboa: Livraria Moderna, 1903; LEITÃO, A. *Lições de pedagogia*. I. Psicologia e educação. Coimbra: Typographia França Amado, 1903; PIMENTEL FILHO, A. *Lições de Pedagogia Geral e de História da Educação*. 2.^a ed. (refundida e ampliada). Lisboa: Guimarães & Cia., 1919.

²⁴ Among others: CORREIA, A.C.L.; SILVA, V.B. *Manuais pedagógicos*. Portugal e Brasil (1930 a 1971). Produção e circulação internacional de saberes pedagógicos. Lisboa: Educa, 2002; PINTASSILGO, J. *Manuais de Pedagogia e inovação educativa no primeiro terço do século XX*. In: PINTASSILGO, J; FREITAS, M.C. MOGARRO, M.J.; CARVALHO, M.M.C.; (Org.). *História da escola em Portugal e no Brasil*: circulação e apropriação de modelos culturais. Lisboa: Colibri, 2006, p.175-200.

²⁵ See the opening lesson of this short course in the 1891-1892 academic year, published in the *Revista de Educação e Ensino*, v.7, 1892, p.49-70.

organized by Ana Isabel Madeira, Helena Cabeleira, and Justino Magalhães entitled *Memórias Resgatadas, identidades (re)construídas: experiências de escolarização, património e dinâmicas educativas locais (Recovered Memories, (re)constructed identities: schooling experiences, heritage, and local educational dynamics)*. Lisboa: Edições Colibri / Instituto de Educação da Universidade de Lisboa, 2022²⁶; b) a site that seeks to outline the entire route of investigation and the various players, which can be accessed at <http://memorias.resgatadas.ie.ulisboa.pt/>; and c) a set of attachments that allow us to access the 81 interviews made²⁷, that can be accessed at <http://memorias.resgatadas.ie.ulisboa.pt/e1-memoria/>

Inspired by a project conceived from the present²⁸, the work defines an objective path: 1) recall the past without freezing it in place; 2) revive personal experiences about significant times in life without making them part of an individual history, but rather a collective memory; 3) give meaning to hidden or neglected sources without the focus of simple curiosity, but transforming them into supported sources of knowledge; 4) share with the community in general the results that reinforce the local identity and enrich the academic and scientific collective through the plurality of contributions it presents²⁹. This scientific package of the project makes it possible to highlight five pieces of evidence that go beyond the size of the 471 pages of the book: a) the importance of the site set up, not only for its aesthetic beauty, but above all for its consultation function; b) the epistemological framework enriched in four fundamental aspects – oral history, the history of [(im)material] culture, the history of education in its meaning for the present, and the history of individual and collective identities; c) the meaning of local history to reinforce these identities; d) the capacity of diversified and democratic communication (because it is accessible to different audiences) that the project has been bringing about along its path and that goes far beyond the work now published; and e) inter-institutional (university and polytechnic) and international collaboration for greater scientific soundness, but also to show that it is possible to cooperate regardless of space and academic or scientific affiliation.

It is exactly on one of the axes of this project/work/site – the Memory Axis – that one can better perceive the importance of this type of source for the study of the History of Education. The Memory Axis “with semi-structured oral interviews in four fields of issues: a) the time-space of the school, b) the course of schooling, c) the relationships between socialization models and school learning, and d) the transmission systems of extracurricular knowledge”, as stated on pages 18 and 19, portrays and materializes this part of the project and, in its 615 pages, allows us to verify the methodological rigor of oral history, as well as the informative richness of the testimonies and the indispensability of their incorporation in works on the present time in the History of Education.

Another example that marks the importance of diversified lived experiences, both because of the protagonists and of the time in which it appears, is the work of António Teodoro, published in 2002, with interviews of those responsible for policies in the field of education³⁰. As he states (p. 21):

²⁶ MADEIRA, A.I.; CABELEIRA, H.; MAGALHÃES, J. (Org.) *Memórias resgatadas, identidades (re)construídas: experiências de escolarização, património e dinâmicas educativas locais*. Lisboa: Edições Colibri; Instituto de Educação da Universidade de Lisboa, 2022. 471p.

²⁷ Among the total of the 81 individuals interviewed (33 men and 48 women), around 47 individuals (17 men and 30 women) attended universities, academies, or senior clubs in the region of the PIS and answered the Interview Guide (orally, in a written form, or virtually), or provided written testimony.

²⁸ This perspective had already been developed in the article “O tempo presente na História da Educação” by Luis Alberto Marques Alves, included in the work: ALVES, L.A.M.; PINTASSILGO, J. (Org.). *História da Educação*. Fundamentos Teóricos e Metodologias de Pesquisa: balanço da investigação portuguesa (2005-2014). Porto: Citcem/Histedup, 2015, p.25-56.

²⁹ Ideas presented in the Presentation of the MRIR Project on pages 9-43 in said work.

³⁰ Teodoro, A. *As Políticas de Educação em Discurso Directo (1955-1995)*. Lisboa: Instituto de Inovação Educacional, 2002.

The attainment of this collection of memories led to knowledge of a set of stories that greatly helped support the construction of core hypotheses for an understanding of the educational policies in this second half of the 20th century. [...] This immense and valuable documentary material represented by more than thirty interviews and testimonies of some of the most outstanding political protagonists in the field of education [...] complies with the purpose of making an important documentary source accessible to the educational community and to the group of researchers in this field of contemporary history, which may be useful for many other projects that continue to examine educational policies.

In either case, I would highlight three essential aspects: a) the incorporation of oral history as an “auxiliary science” of the History of Education, using rigorous research methodologies and techniques to increase the credibility of the final result of the investigations that have Education over time as a central theme; b) the diversity of the selected protagonists who can either be simple users of the education system or decision-makers who, at a certain point, played a central role in educational changes. In any of the examples we will find teachers who “enter” into the History of Education both through the way of the user and through the way of agent or decision-maker; and c) the institutional and scientific meaning of these approaches, which currently have the concern with becoming pieces of a heterogeneous and multifaceted puzzle, constituted by the scientific community of the human and social sciences, ensuring that the various steps are not cloistered, but rather constitute contributions to the cathedral of scientific knowledge.

2. The Teaching of History of Education in Brazil

To move toward an understanding of the course of teaching History of Education in Brazil, we will discuss five themes that are highly connected, namely, references in studies and research on the history of teacher training and on the teaching of History of Education; the path of teaching History of Education in teacher training; programs for teaching the subject History of Education in teacher training; subject manuals in circulation; and teacher and student memories.

2.1. References in studies and research on the history of teacher training and on the teaching of History of Education in Brazil

In the year 2000, in connection with the commemorations of the 500th anniversary of the discovery of Brazil by the Portuguese, the *Revista Brasileira de Educação* (RBE), linked to the Associação Nacional de Pós-Graduação e Pesquisa e Educação (Anped), published a special issue entitled *500 Anos de Educação Escolar* (500 Years of School Education), which was organized by Dermeval Saviani, Luiz Antônio Cunha, and Marta Maria Chagas de Carvalho³¹. It contained seven articles, addressing the themes of early childhood education, primary school, secondary education, teacher training, industrial-manufacturing education, schooling for young people and adults, and the university. These texts not only have a summary of the main events and historical processes that involved each of the educational modalities, but also have important bibliographical references for understanding the historical-educational themes analyzed.

³¹ Saviani, D.; Cunha, L.A.; Carvalho, M.M.C. 500 anos de educação escolar. *Revista Brasileira de Educação*, n.14 (Especial). 2000. 196p.

Therefore, in regard to teacher training, the article written by Leonor Maria Tanuri entitled *História da formação de professores* (History of teacher training) aims to present a “synthesis of the evolution of normal education from the perspective of action of the State and of the educational policies developed by it”³² through discussion of the first initiatives, of expansion and consolidation, and of de-characterization of the model. It is an important text because, in addition to presenting the rough historical path of teacher education in Brazil, especially with analysis of the initial comings and goings, it reveals interesting proposals that did not find continuity and, above all, it takes a position on the present, on the difficulties of innovation in teacher training after approval of the Law of Guidelines and Foundations of National Education (*Lei de Diretrizes e Bases da Educação Nacional*) in 1996³³. It is also interesting to note the set of references used by the author to write her article, which ranges from pioneering studies and research in the field of the history of teacher training to the most recent research³⁴. Finally, Denice Barbara Catani, in the study entitled *Estudos de História da Profissão Docente* (Studies on the History of the Teaching Profession), published in 2000, made an important analysis of historical-educational studies and research on the constitution of the teaching profession in Brazil³⁵.

Looking at the studies that examined the educational institutions dedicated to teacher training in Brazil over time, the normal schools, we can highlight the work entitled *As Escolas Normais no Brasil: do Império à República* (Normal Schools in Brazil: from the Empire to the Republic), published in 2008, under the combined organization of José Carlos Souza Araujo, Anamaria Gonçalves Bueno de Freitas, and Antônio de Pádua Carvalho Lopes, which brings together 22 chapters addressing the emergence and consolidation of different normal schools in different Brazilian states and cities over time. It is a work that shows the existence of a significant group of researchers dedicated to the theme of the history of teacher training in different Brazilian states and cities; the survey and treatment of sources, through access to and creation of documents for historical-educational research; and the existence of basic studies and research that make more in-depth and rigorous analyses of normal education in Brazil possible³⁶.

The Pedagogy Program was created in 1939 and was initially intended for the training of teachers in normal schools. Since the 1960s, it has expanded its purposes, with the inclusion of the training of primary teachers. There are also works that allow us to examine its path, and we can highlight the following: *Curso de Pedagogia no Brasil* (The Pedagogy Program in Brazil), by Carmem Silvia Bissoli da Silva, published in 1999³⁷ and *A Pedagogia no Brasil* (Pedagogy in Brazil), by Dermeval Saviani, published in 2008³⁸. The former concerns itself with the main regulations of the Pedagogy Program from the time of its creation in 1939, as well as the question of the identity of the program. In the latter, the author begins with a historical perspective, discussing the initiatives and institutions that precede the creation of the Pedagogy Program in Brazil and, at the end, proceeds to an analysis of current propositions.

³² Tanuri, L.M. História da formação de professores. *Revista Brasileira de Educação*. n.14 (Especial). p.61-88. 2000.

³³ BRASIL. Lei 9.394, de 20 de dezembro de 1996. *Estabelece as diretrizes e bases da educação nacional*.

³⁴ Among the pioneers in the history of teacher training, we can cite MASCARO, C.C. *O ensino normal no estado de São Paulo: subsídios para o estudo de sua reforma*. São Paulo: Faculdade de Filosofia, Ciências e Letras da Universidade de São Paulo. 1956; BAUAB, M.A.R. *O Ensino Normal na Província de São Paulo: 1846-1889. Tese*. (Doutorado em Filosofia). Faculdade de Filosofia Ciências e Letras de São José do Rio Preto. 1972. Among recent studies at the time, we can cite CATANI, D.B. *et al* (Org.). *Docência, memória e gênero: estudos sobre formação*. São Paulo: Escrituras Editora, 1997; LELIS, I.A.O.M. *Magistério primário: tempos e espaços de formação*. In: CANDAU, V.M. (Org). *Magistério: construção cotidiana*. Petrópolis/RJ: Vozes, 1997, p.126-149.

³⁵ CATANI, D.B. *Estudos de História da Profissão Docente*. In: LOPES, E.M.T; FARIA FILHO, L.M.; VEIGA, C.G. *500 Anos de Educação no Brasil*. Belo Horizonte/MG: Autêntica, 2000, p.585-599.

³⁶ ARAUJO, J.C.S.; FREITAS, A.G.B; LOPES, A.P.C. (Org.). *As escolas normais no Brasil: do Império à República*. Campinas/SP: Editora Alínea, 2008. 370p.

³⁷ SILVA, C.S.B. *Curso de Pedagogia no Brasil: história e identidade*. Campinas/SP: Autores Associados, 1999, 105p.

³⁸ SAVIANI, D. *A Pedagogia no Brasil: história e teoria*. Campinas/SP: Autores Associados, 2008, 259p.

After that, the analysis moves to the theoretical perspective, through the treatment of the relations between Pedagogy and theories of education, the academic spaces, the impact on schools, the science(s) of education, and the pedagogical field. It ends with a pedagogical glossary, in which it lists the meaning of a series of entries related to Pedagogy.

In the perspective opened by the history of educational printed matter, which was disseminated through the contact of Brazilian researchers with this investigative theme in their entries in France³⁹, specifically in reference to teacher training, we have the important doctoral dissertation of Denice Barbara Catani entitled *Educadores à meia-luz: um estudo sobre a revista de ensino da Associação Beneficente do Professorado Público de São Paulo (1902-1918)* [Educators in half-light: a study on the teachers' journal of the Public Teacher's Charitable Association of São Paulo (1902-1918)], defended in 1989 in the sphere of the Graduate Studies Program in Education of the School of Education of the Universidade de São Paulo⁴⁰.

In addition, a series of studies and research efforts on institutions dedicated to teacher training gained recognition, and we can highlight some of these works through the influence they obtained. In 1996, Paolo Nosella and Ester Buffa published the book *Schola Mater. A Antiga Escola Normal de São Carlos (1911-1933)*, [Schola Mater. The Old Normal School of São Carlos (1911-1933)], with the use of determined categories of analysis, namely, school space, teachers, students, and knowledge⁴¹. Carlos Monarcha, in 1999, published the work *Escola Normal da Praça: o lado noturno das luzes* (Normal School of the Square: the night side of the lights), on the Normal School of São Paulo, with establishment of relations between the inspector general's office, urban reform, positivism, the Republic, the normal school atmosphere, and the rationalization process in progress⁴². With the spread of this theme of research over time and through theoretical and methodological inputs of different orders, different works were published, which achieved different impacts on production in the area of History of Education⁴³.

On another front, we can mention studies and research that address the processes of becoming a teacher, grounded in life histories and stories, as can be seen in the book *Ser e fazer-se professora no Piauí no século XX. A História de vida de Nevinha Santos* (Being and becoming a teacher in Piauí in the 20th century. The life story of Nevinha Santos), published in 2015, written by Jane Bezerra de Sousa⁴⁴.

In a transitional area of studies and research on teacher training, we can mention studies on pedagogical manuals, with important examples that can be found in the master's thesis and doctoral dissertation defended by Vivian Batista da Silva: *História de leituras para professores: um estudo da produção e circulação de saberes especializados nos manuais pedagógicos brasileiros (1930-*

³⁹ See in this respect CATANI, D.B.; BASTOS, M.H.C. (Org.). *Educação em Revista*. A imprensa periódica e a História da Educação. São Paulo: Escrituras, 1997, 187p. In this collection, not only Brazilian authors appeared but also authors from Portugal, António Nóvoa, and from France, Pierre Caspard and Pénélope Caspard, which indicates the process of internationalization of research in History of Education in progress at that time.

⁴⁰ The dissertation mentioned was published in book form: CATANI, D.B. *Educadores à meia-luz*. Bragança Paulista/SP: Editora da Universidade São Francisco, 2002.

⁴¹ NOSELLA, P.; BUFFA, E. *Schola Mater*. A Antiga Escola Normal de São Carlos (1911-1933). São Carlos/SP: Editora da UFSCar, 1996, 120p.

⁴² MONARCHA, C. *Escola Normal da Praça: o lado noturno das luzes*. Campinas/SP: Editora da Unicamp, 1999, 387p.

⁴³ In this direction, we can highlight the following works through their variety: GOUVEA, M.C.S.; ROSA, W.M. *A Escola Normal em Minas Gerais*. In: FARIA FILHO, L.M.; PEIXOTO, A.C. *Lições de Minas*. 70 anos da Secretaria de Educação. Belo Horizonte: Secretaria de Educação, 2000, p.18-31; VIDAL, D.G. *O exercício disciplinado do olhar: livros, leituras e práticas de formação docente do Instituto de Educação do Distrito Federal (1932-1937)*. Bragança Paulista/SP: Editora da Universidade São Francisco, 2001, 343p; SILVA, E.F.S.P. *Escola Normal de Cuiabá*. História da Formação de Professores em Mato Grosso (1910-1916). Cuiabá: Central de Texto: EdUFMT, 2006; FARIA FILHO, L.M.; SOUZA, J.V.A.; FONSECA, N.M.L. (Org.). *Formação Docente na UFMG: história e memória*. Belo Horizonte: Mazza Edições, 2016, 232p.

⁴⁴ SOUSA, J.B. *Ser e fazer-se professora no Piauí no século XX*. A História de vida de Nevinha Santos. Uberlândia/MG: Edufu, 2015, 194p.

1971) [History of readings for teachers: a study on the production and circulation of specialized knowledge in Brazilian pedagogical manuals (1930-1971)], of 2001; and *Saberes em viagem nos manuais pedagógicos: construções da escola em Portugal e no Brasil (1870-1970)* [Knowledge in transit in pedagogical manuals: constructions of the school in Portugal and Brazil (1870-1970)], of 2006⁴⁵, respectively, in which an advance was made in the direction of recognizing the knowledge that was expected to be disseminated in the processes of teacher training.

Finally, the doctoral dissertation *O percurso institucional da disciplina História da Educação em Minas Gerais e o seu ensino na Escola Normal Oficial de Uberaba (1928 a 1970)* [The institutional path of the discipline History of Education in Minas Gerais and its teaching at the Official Normal School of Uberaba (1928 to 1970)], defended in 2012, by Rosângela Maria Castro Guimarães, made an analysis that combined the history of teacher training in a Normal School with examination of the preparation program and the course of the discipline History of Education⁴⁶. The recovery of the history of normal courses and of the teaching of History of Education proceeded internationally, nationally, and in Minas Gerais and, specifically, in the city of Uberaba, with an examination, based on Chervel⁴⁷, of the ideal purposes, through an extensive bibliography and the legislation, programs, and subject manuals, as well as examination of the pedagogical reality by carrying out interviews with teachers and students of the discipline over time and examination of a student notebook that was found⁴⁸.

The theme of the teaching of History of Education has been addressed since the mid-1980s. In this respect, the book *Perspectivas Históricas da Educação* (Historical Perspectives of Education) by Eliane Marta Teixeira Lopes, published in 1986, covers the paths of the constitution of the discipline History of Education in the scope of the investigation, but also the reasons and manners of its study⁴⁹ in examination of aspects of the teaching of the discipline. Mirian Jorge Warde and Marta Maria Chagas de Carvalho published the article *Política e Cultura na produção da História da Educação no Brasil* (Politics and Culture in the production of History of Education in Brazil) in 2000, in which they also address important aspects of the teaching of History of Education⁵⁰. In *História da Educação no Brasil: a constituição histórica do campo (1880-1970)* [History of Education in Brazil: historical constitution of the field (1880-1970)], published in 2003, Diana Gonçalves Vidal and Luciano Mendes Faria Filho carried out an analysis in which they indicated the aspects that presided over teaching and research in History of Education, which included that which came out of the Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro, of the Normal School, and of the academic environment⁵¹. In the wake of these writings, through additions, Décio Gatti Jr. published the chapter entitled *Percurso histórico e desafios da disciplina História da Educação no Brasil* (Historical path and challenges of the discipline History of Education in Brazil), in which he indicated the main aspects of the course of teaching the discipline in teacher training processes, and also highlighted the challenges posed, above all, in the face of the contradiction

⁴⁵ The dissertation was published in book form: GUIMARÃES, R.M.C. *O Ensino de História da Educação na Escola Normal. Entre o prescrito e a realidade escolar* (Uberaba, Minas Gerais, 1928-1970). Uberlândia/MG: Edufu. 2016. 273p.

⁴⁶ A tese ganhou publicação em forma de livro: GUIMARÃES, R.M.C. *O Ensino de História da Educação na Escola Normal. Entre o prescrito e a realidade escolar* (Uberaba, Minas Gerais, 1928-1970). Uberlândia/MG: Edufu. 2016. 273p.

⁴⁷ CHERVEL, A. *História das disciplinas escolares. Teoria e Educação*, n.2, p.177-229, 1990.

⁴⁸ It is noteworthy that upon finding a notebook of a student of the Normal School, it was possible to see signs, confirmed in testimonies, regarding the existence of a great distance between what was prescribed for the teaching of History of Education and that which took place in the classroom.

⁴⁹ LOPES, E.M.T. *Perspectivas Históricas da Educação*. São Paulo: Editora Ática, 1986, 80p.

⁵⁰ WARDE, M.J.; CARVALHO, M.M.C. *Política e cultura na produção da História da Educação no Brasil. Contemporaneidade e Educação*, v.5, n.7, p. 9-33, 2000.

⁵¹ VIDAL, D.G.; FARIA FILHO, L.M. *História da Educação no Brasil: a constituição histórica do campo (1880-1970)*. *Revista Brasileira de História*. v.23, n.45, p.37-70, 2003.

between the usefulness of the scientific production and the decrease in the presence and number of hours in the curricula of teacher training courses at that historical moment⁵².

The expansion of interest in the theme of the teaching of History of Education can be confirmed in several publications that included Brazilian and foreign researchers, for example, in the collection published in 2009, under the title *O Ensino de História da Educação em Perspectiva Internacional* (The Teaching of History of Education in an International Perspective), organized by Décio Gatti Jr., Carlos Monarcha, and Maria Helena Camara Bastos. It brought together the results of investigations and reflections around the subject of teaching the discipline, written by Brazilian researchers, but also authors from Argentina, Spain, the United States, and Portugal⁵³. Said works express a plurality of thematic entries in examination of the teaching of History of Education.

In this respect, a relevant theme is related to the subject manuals of History of Education, with a pioneering study published in 1996 by Clarice Nunes, under the title *Ensino e historiografia da Educação: problematização de uma hipótese*⁵⁴ (Teaching and historiography of Education: problematization of a hypothesis), which began with research regarding books of History of Education published in Brazil and sought to construct hypotheses that allowed the construction of an interpretation of the meanings they assumed and the conceptions they bore⁵⁵.

Another front of investigations regards studies and research on the teaching of History of Education guided by examination of the route taken by the discipline within teaching institutions dedicated to teacher training. There are various examples, with the most distant in time being the thesis entitled *A História da disciplina História da Educação no Curso de Pedagogia da Pontifícia Universidade Católica de São Paulo (1946-1976)* [The history of the discipline History of Education in the Pedagogy Program of the Pontifícia Universidade Católica de São Paulo (1946-

⁵² GATTI JR., D. Percurso histórico e desafios da disciplina História da Educação no Brasil, In: Gatti Jr., D.; PINTASSILGO, J. *Percurso e desafios da pesquisa e do ensino de História da Educação*. Uberlândia/MG: Edufu. 2007, p.99-139.

⁵³ This publication is GATTI JR., D.; MONARCHA, C.; BASTOS, M.H.C (Org.). *O Ensino de História da Educação em Perspectiva Internacional*. Uberlândia/MG: Edufu, 2009, 248p. But there were other important publications, such as GONDRA, J.; SILVA, J.C.S (Org.). *História da Educação na América Latina: ensinar e escrever*. Rio de Janeiro: Eduerj, 2011, 283p., that contains twelve chapters by Brazilian and foreign authors; CARVALHO, M.M.C.; GATTI JR., D. (Org.) *O Ensino de História da Educação*, Vitória: Edufes, 2011, 405p., which also gathers twelve chapters, with predominance of Brazilian authors and one from Portugal. And finally, the work of one author: RODRIGUES, J.R.G. *Pedagogia e ensino de História da Educação*. Brasília/DF: Liber Livro, 2012, 176p.

⁵⁴ NUNES, C. Ensino e Historiografia da Educação: problematização de uma hipótese. *Revista Brasileira de Educação*, n.1, p.67-79, 1996.

⁵⁵ In regard to texts on the teaching of History of Education guided by analysis of subject manuals, we can cite WARDE, M.J. Lorenzo Luzuriaga entre nós. In: SOUSA, C.P. CATANI, D.B. (Org.). *Práticas educativas, culturas escolares, profissão docente*. São Paulo: Escrituras Editora, 1998, p. 71-82; ROCHA, H.H.P. *Recordações para professoras: a História da Educação brasileira narrada por Afrânio Peixoto*. In: GONDRA, J. (Org.). *Dos arquivos à escrita da História: a educação brasileira entre o Império e a República*. Bragança Paulista: Edusf, 2001, p.11-36; BASTOS, M.H.C. Uma biografia dos manuais de História da Educação adotados no Brasil (1860-1950). VI Congresso Luso-Brasileiro de História da Educação. *Anais*. Uberlândia/MG: Edufu. 2006, p.334-349; ROBALLO, R.O.B. Manuais de História da Educação. Da coleção Atualidades Pedagógicas (1933-1977): *Verba Volant, Scripta Manent. Tese* (Doutorado). Programa de Pós-Graduação em Educação da Universidade Federal do Paraná. 2012. 373p.; OLIVEIRA, S.M. A presença católica na formação de professores no Brasil: os manuais das Madres Peeters e Cooman (1935-1971). *Tese* (Doutorado). Programa de Pós-Graduação em Educação da Universidade Federal de Uberlândia, 2017, 230p.; ROBALLO, R.O.B. Para além das fronteiras de seus países de origem: o itinerário dos manuais de História da Educação publicados para subsidiar a formação de professores no Brasil. *Revista História da Educação*, v.25, p.1-34, 2021; GATTI JR, D. Visões antagônicas sobre o ideário da Liga Internacional pela Educação Nova em dois manuais de História da Educação publicados no Brasil na década de 1930. *Sarmiento (Vigo)*, v.25, p.185-208, 2021.

1976)] by Adriana Teixeira Reis, of 1998⁵⁶. Since then, many other studies on this theme have been published in the form of theses, dissertations, articles, and book chapters⁵⁷.

A final work-front on the teaching of the History of Education that should be highlighted could be seen as related to the memories of teachers connected with the teaching and research in History of Education, which includes interviews published in different periodicals of the area⁵⁸, but also some works, such as that organized by Carlos Monarcha under the title *História da Educação Brasileira: formação do campo* (Brazilian History of Education: establishment of the field), with the first edition published in 1999 and the second edition (revised and expanded) published in 2015, which gathers ten testimonies of researchers in the area of History of Education⁵⁹; the series *História(s) da História da Educação* (Story(ies) of the History of Education), of 2011, coordinated by Sônia Camara, José Gonçalves Gondra, Adir da Luz Almeida, and Jorge Antonio Rangel, which gathers testimonies of historians of education from Portugal and from Brazil in four DVDs⁶⁰; and the work *Trajetórias na formação do campo da História da Educação brasileira* (Trajectories in establishment of the field of Brazilian History of Education), published in 2013, which was organized by Décio Gatti Jr. and Carlos Monarcha, gathering nine testimonies from Brazilian researchers in the area of History of Education⁶¹.

2.2. The path of teaching History of Education in teacher training in Brazil⁶²

In the first half of the 19th century, attempts were made toward the implementation of the Normal School in Brazil, with schools frequently being created and terminated, which continued until 1870, when there was greater stability, and then extended until 1971. The first normal school was created in 1835 in the province of Rio de Janeiro, and its activities ended in 1849.

Before the eve of the Republic, there was a movement in the direction of appreciation of the Normal School arising from a belief in education, which was accompanied by the feminization of the national teaching profession. In 1879, with the Leôncio de Carvalho Reform, the normal

⁵⁶ REIS, A.T. A História da disciplina História da Educação no Curso de Pedagogia da Pontifícia Universidade Católica de São Paulo (1946-1976). *Dissertação* (Mestrado). Programa de Pós-Graduação em Educação (História e Filosofia da Educação) da Pontifícia Universidade Católica de São Paulo, 1998, 131p.

⁵⁷ As an example, we can cite the dissertation of Bruno Bontempi Jr., of 2001, which came out in book form in 2015, namely, BONTEMPI JR., B. *Laerte Ramos de Carvalho e a constituição da História e Filosofia da Educação como disciplina acadêmica*. Uberlândia/MG: Edufu, 2015, 301p. In addition, the dissertation of Rosângela Maria Castro Guimarães, of 2012, which came out in book form in 2016, namely, GUIMARÃES, R.M.C. *O Ensino de História da Educação na Escola Normal*. Entre o prescrito e a realidade escolar (Uberaba, Minas Gerais, 1928-1970). Uberlândia/MG: Edufu. 2016. 273p. But, there are others, namely, BORGES, B.G. A disciplina História da Educação na Universidade Federal de Uberlândia/MG (1960-2000). *Dissertação* (Mestrado). Programa de Pós-Graduação em Educação da Universidade Federal de Uberlândia, 2013, 152p.; LIMA, G.G. A disciplina História da Educação na formação de normalistas do Colégio Nossa Senhora do Patrocínio em Minas Gerais (1947-1971). *Tese* (Doutorado). Programa de Pós-Graduação em Educação da Universidade Federal de Uberlândia, 2013, 251p.; FAVARO, M.R.G. História da Educação nas universidades estaduais do Paraná: historiografia, institucionalização, saberes e agentes (1962-1998). *Tese* (Doutorado). Programa de Pós-Graduação em Educação da Universidade do Estado do Rio de Janeiro, 2015, 393p.; SOARES, E.A.L. O Ensino de História da Educação nas Faculdades Integradas Santo Tomás de Aquino - Fista (Uberaba, Minas Gerais, 1951-1980). *Tese* (Doutorado) Programa de Pós-Graduação em Educação da Universidade Federal de Uberlândia, 2022, 310p. Furthermore, there are a series of articles published that could not be mentioned here.

⁵⁸ Especially in some Brazilian periodicals of the area of History of Education: *Revista História da Educação*, *Revista Brasileira de História da Educação*, and *Cadernos de História da Educação*.

⁵⁹ MONARCHA, C. (Org.) *História da Educação: formação do campo*. 2ª ed. (rev. e amp.). Ijuí: Editora Unijuí, 2005, 352p.

⁶⁰ CAMARA, S.; GONDRA, J.G.; ALMEIDA, A.L.; RANGEL, J.A. (Coord.). *História(s) da História da Educação* (v.1). DVD-ROM. Rio de Janeiro: UERJ, 2011.

⁶¹ MONARCHA, C.; GATTI JR., D. (Org.) *Trajetórias na formação do campo da história da educação brasileira*. Uberlândia/MG: Edufu, 2013, 242p.

⁶² This part of the study is mainly based on TANURI, L.M. História da formação de professores. *Revista Brasileira de Educação*. n.14 (Especial), p.61-88, 2000.

school curriculum became more complex, and although it included the subjects Universal History and History and Geography of Brazil, it did not yet bring History of Education as a curricular component. Further on, we find that “Dr. Carlos Maximiano Pimenta de Laet, in an opinion on normal schools at the Rio de Janeiro Education Convention (1883-84), recommends Pedagogy and general methodology: history of pedagogy, as a discipline in the teacher training curriculum”⁶³.

In the First Republic, the political classes of the Southeast region of Brazil rose to power, ending a process that had begun at the end of the 17th century, with the economic decline of the Northeast sugarcane industry. As a result, in the educational field, innovations led the State to assume an important role in directing teaching processes at all levels, through rational, planned, and scientific action in teacher training, with the dissemination of school groups and stronger efforts throughout the first half of the 20th century.

In the 1920s, there was significant innovation in the organization of the Normal School, through its division into two cycles (propaedeutic, of three years; professional, of two years). In the professional cycle, the Brazilian New School movement became present, with emphasis on a more technical training of teachers, and History of Education emerged as a discipline representing the professional cycle, namely: 1) existing disciplines: Pedagogy, Psychology, and Didactics; 2) new disciplines: History of Education, Sociology, Biology and Hygiene, Drawing and Crafts.

In this context, the teaching of History of Education was introduced in Brazil in teacher training processes, even before the creation of a research structure in education and, particularly, before the combination of effective research efforts in History of Education.

In 1932, through the initiative of Anísio Teixeira, the Normal School of the Distrito Federal was transformed into an Institute of Education, with four schools (Teachers' School, Secondary School, Primary School, and Kindergarten). At the Teachers' School, Philosophy and History of Education appeared alongside Educational Biology, Educational Psychology, and Educational Sociology as part of the disciplines of the first year of the program. In 1935, the Teachers' School would be incorporated into the newly-created Universidade do Distrito Federal (UDF), and the School of Education, through its cultural licenses, would give university students the possibility of obtaining their professional teacher licenses. This movement, however, was not successful in the Distrito Federal, due to extinction of the UDF, motivated by political-ideological disputes present in the Estado Novo government.

A similar movement occurred in São Paulo with the creation of the Universidade de São Paulo (USP) in 1934; its School of Teachers incorporated the Caetano de Campos Education Institute with the aim of providing pedagogical training to students at the School of Philosophy, Science, and Language Arts (FFCL). In 1938, disassociation occurred, and the old institute was named the Education Section of the FFCL, with the following curriculum: 1st Section - Education: Psychology; Pedagogy; Teaching Practice; History of Education; 2nd Section - Biology Applied to Education: Child Physiology and Hygiene; Child Growth Study; School Hygiene; 3rd Section - Sociology: Fundamentals of Sociology; Educational Sociology; Social Investigations in our midst.

The creation of the Pedagogy Course in 1939 at the National School of Philosophy of the Universidade do Brasil in the Distrito Federal inaugurated a new training model, maintaining the subject History of Education. In the first three years of the program, the foundations of education were studied in the training of educational technicians (bachelor degree) and in the fourth year, through didactic studies, teachers of normal courses (qualified graduates) were trained. This model of the Pedagogy course was brought by the Catholic

⁶³ BASTOS, M.H.C.; BUSNELLO, F.B.; LEMOS, E.A. A Disciplina ‘História da Educação’ no Curso de Pedagogia da Pontifícia Universidade Católica do Rio Grande do Sul (1942-2002). *Revista História da Educação*. v.10, n.19, 2006, p.184.

Church from Leuven, Belgium, with the aim of combating the secularist and rational scientific models of the education reformers⁶⁴.

Within the scope of the Capanema Reform, carried out between 1942 and 1946, there was a standardization effort at different levels of education, which involved Normal School Education, with the discipline History and Philosophy of Education maintained in the curriculum, specifically, in the primary teacher training course, which was divided into three annual series, with the following subjects: First series (1. Portuguese, 2. Mathematics, 3. Physics and Chemistry, 4. Human Anatomy and Physiology, 5. Music and Singing, 6. Drawing and Applied Arts, 7. Physical Education, Recreation, and Games); Second series (1. Educational Biology, 2. Educational Psychology, 3. Hygiene and Health Education, 4. Methodology of Primary Education, 5. Drawing and Applied Arts, 6. Music and Singing, 7. Physical Education, Recreation, and Games). Third series (1. Educational Psychology, 2. Educational Sociology, 3. History and Philosophy of Education, 4. Hygiene and Childcare, 5. Methodology of Primary Education, 6. Drawing and Applied Arts, 7. Music and Singing, 8. Teaching Practice, 9. Physical Education, Recreation, and Games)⁶⁵.

Without major changes in the framework of teacher training until the 1960s, the process of dissemination of education through a State developmental approach is noteworthy, especially through the initiatives of Anísio Teixeira at the head of the National Institute of Pedagogical Studies (INEP) as of 1952, the creation of the Brazilian Center for Educational Research (CBPE) in 1955, and in the following years, the creation of five Regional Centers for Educational Research (Minas Gerais, Rio Grande do Sul, São Paulo, Pernambuco, and Salvador), places in which academic research in Education and History of Education began.

In the 1960s, the enactment of the *Lei de Diretrizes e Bases da Educação Nacional* (Law of Guidelines and Foundations of National Education), in 1961, brought few changes to the Normal School. Over the course of the decade, the Federal Education Council introduced changes in the Pedagogy program through opinions 251/62 and 252/69, which indicated and determined that the program could train primary teachers, as well as technicians and teachers of the Normal School, as long as the specific teaching methodologies and practices that had long been present in the Normal School curricula were introduced into the school curricula. In 1962, the History of Brazilian Education was introduced into the curricula of the Pedagogy Program.

In addition, given the introduction of a technician perspective, associated with the theory of human capital, as of 1969, during the military dictatorship, the Pedagogy program has been called on to qualify professionals in supervisory services. Among other consequences, this has relegated the History of Education and even didactics to secondary importance in the curriculum, with “the six to eight semesters previously dedicated to the History of Education being reduced to two or, at most, three semesters.”⁶⁶

In the 1970s, Law 5692/71 introduced mandatory professionalization for teaching in secondary education, with the transformation of normal schools for high school level into Specific Qualification for the Teaching Profession (Habilitação Específica para o Magistério - HEM), the extinction of normal schools for junior high level, and the disappearance of education institutes⁶⁷. Thus, the training of specialists and teachers for the teaching profession program began to be carried out exclusively in Pedagogy courses.

⁶⁴ WARDE, M.J. Questões Teóricas e de Método: a História da Educação nos marcos de uma História das Disciplinas. In: SAVIANI, D.; LOMBARDI, J.C.; SANFELICE, J.L. (Org.) *História e História da Educação: o debate teórico metodológico atual*. Campinas/SP: Autores Associados, HISTEDBR, 1998, p.94.

⁶⁵ BRASIL, Decreto-Lei 8.530, de 02 de janeiro de 1946. *Lei Orgânica do Ensino Normal*.

⁶⁶ SAVIANI, D. Reflexões sobre o Ensino e a Pesquisa em História da Educação. In: GATTI JR., D.; INÁCIO FILHO, G. (Org.) *História da Educação em Perspectiva: ensino, pesquisa, produção e novas investigações* Campinas/SP: Autores Associados; Uberlândia/MG: Edufu, 2005, p.20.

⁶⁷ BRASIL. Lei 5.692, de 11 de agosto de 1971. *Fixa Diretrizes e Bases para o ensino de 1º e 2º graus, e dá outras providências*.

The History of Education was included in the HEM curriculum, in the core of special training, and in the general designation of foundations of education, namely, the Common Core of General Training, including Communication and Expression, Social Studies, and Sciences; and Special Training, including Foundations of Education (biological, psychological, sociological, historical, and philosophical aspects of education), the Structure and Operation of Primary School Teaching, Didactics, and Teaching Practice.

The Teaching Training Center (Cefam), an institution that increased the sophistication of teacher training through agreements established between the central government and state governments, had up to 199 units in the 1980s, with a curriculum that maintained the History of Education, but which sought to modernize teacher training, offering full-time studies, scholarships, and greater integration of theory and practice. However, with the approval of a new Law of Guidelines and Foundations of National Education, in 1996⁶⁸, teacher training was shifted to higher education normal programs, with maintenance of the prerogatives of the Pedagogy program, which generated important institutional and ideological disputes that resulted, on the one hand, in the abandonment of the Cefam experience, yet, on the other hand, in the short duration of the initiatives linked to the higher education normal programs, with predominance of the Pedagogy program, which, at present, is one of the programs with the highest number of students enrolled in Brazil.

Another relevant aspect for the field of teaching the History of Education in Brazil concerns the graduate study programs in education, created since the 1960s, in which the History of Education found a place both in the very designation of the programs, in the most common combination, History and Philosophy of Education, and in the curricular framework for training in these programs. In this respect, research in Education originated in the initiatives of the CBPE and the CRPE in the 1950s, and gained more robust institutional expression within the environment of universities since the mid-1960s, which continues until the present time.

2.3. Programs for teaching History of Education in teacher training in Brazil⁶⁹

In the 1830s, in the midst of the first initiatives to establish the Normal School in Brazil, the curricula were simple, nearly always close to what was taught in primary school teaching. It was only in the process of institutionalization of the primary school and, consequently, of the Normal School, from the 1870s on that concerns arose in having a more comprehensive curriculum, which became prominent in at least three moments: in the reforms of the Normal School in the 1920s, in the creation of the Pedagogy Program in 1939, and in the Capanema Reform of Normal Education in 1946. The robustness of the curriculum for teacher training programs continued, albeit with some constraint during the Military Dictatorship (1964-1985). But in the period of redemocratization, which started in the mid-1980s and is still in progress, processes resumed that consolidated the sophistication of curricula linked to teacher training, notably in Pedagogy programs.

In regard to the History of Education, it was autonomous in the proposals of the 1920s, with an encyclopedic curriculum⁷⁰, often near that of the foreign subject manuals, notably

⁶⁸ BRASIL. Lei 9.394, de 20 de dezembro de 1996. *Estabelece as diretrizes e bases da educação nacional*.

⁶⁹ This part of the study is mainly based on BORGES, B.G.; GATTI JR, D. O ensino de História da Educação na formação de professores no Brasil atual. *Revista Histedbr On-line*, v.10, n.40, p.24-48, 2010; BORGES, B.G.; GATTI JR., D. Os repertórios da disciplina História da Educação: nobres objetivos, extensos conteúdos e a bibliografia dos manuais. *Revista Histedbr On-line*, v.14, n.58, p.257-275, 2014.

⁷⁰ In this respect, check the program of History of Education of Minas Gerais, in 1928, as presented in GUIMARÃES, R.M.C. *O Ensino de História da Educação na Escola Normal*. Entre o prescrito e a realidade escolar (Uberaba, Minas Gerais, 1928-1970). Uberlândia/MG: Edufu. 2016. 273p.

French manuals. In 1932, in the sphere of the Teachers' School in the Distrito Federal, it had the designation Philosophy and History of Education, which was not seen in the creation of the Pedagogy program in 1939, when it was designated History of Education. In 1946, in the sphere of the Capanema Reform of Normal Education, it was History and Philosophy of Education. Since the 1960s, however, History of Education has been more common, and, in general, remains so until now.

In the 2000s, analysis of more than one hundred programs of the discipline showed the predominance of the simple designation History of Education (62%), followed by substitute designations (20%), such as, Historical Foundations of Education, History of Childhood Education, etc. Finally, composite designations (18%) were also present, such as History of Brazilian Education, History of General Education and Education in Brazil, etc.

The teaching programs of the subject in many cases are near that presented in the History of Education manuals that are adopted, with little presence, at least in the 2000s, of a more recent bibliography, with an absence of more recent articles, book chapters, and books published in the area. That signaled, at least in programmatic terms, a distancing from research acquisitions in relation to the teaching of History of Education. In general, the predominant contents refer to school education, notably, to the processes of implementation of school systems, with the maintenance of periodization arising from the field of History: Ancient, Medieval, Modern, and Contemporary, with divisions by era or by centuries. Sometimes there is a spatial division, for example, Education in Greece, Education in Brazil. To a lesser extent, thematic organization appears, for example, Women's Education, Jesuit Education, New School, etc. In terms of teaching methodology, lecture classes predominate, with scheduled readings, seminars, and debates. There is little occurrence of field research and technical visits through the use of slide projection resources.

As for the class hours of the discipline, which were already extensive in the past, in the 2000s, in semester courses, the offer of 60 hours predominated (67%) and, in year-long courses, the offer of 90 hours predominated (37%). In both cases, it is far from the 240h found in many programs of the subject in the 1970s and 1980s.

2.4. Subject manuals in History of Education in circulation in Brazil⁷¹

As a result of investigations in the main Brazilian university libraries carried out by a group of researchers involved in different studies throughout the 2000s, approximately 70 History of Education manuals were found in circulation in Brazil between 1843 and 1960. These works have foreign authors, predominantly from the United States and France, but also from Germany, Spain, Argentina, Italy, England, Mexico, Portugal, and Honduras.

With regard to the General History of Education manuals with foreign authors, translated and published in Brazil, in 2009, the list included 12 manuals, published from 1939 to 2010 – from the work of Paul Monroe, *História da Educação* (History of Education), to the work organized by Clermont Gauthier and Maurice Tardif, *História da Pedagogia* (History of Pedagogy). These works are present in most of the most important Brazilian university libraries, with frequent use for many years in normal schools, in Pedagogy programs, and in the graduate studies programs in Education, as shown in the table below.

⁷¹ Though with a few updates, this part of the text is mainly based on GATTI JR., D. Investigar o Ensino de História da Educação no Brasil: categorias de análise, bibliografia, manuais didáticos e programas de ensino (Séculos XIX e XX). In: GATTI JR., D.; MONARCHA, C.; BASTOS, M.H.C (Org). *O Ensino de História da Educação em Perspectiva Internacional*. Uberlândia/MG: Edufu. 2009. p.95-130.

Table 1. Manuals of History of Education with foreign authors, translated to Portuguese and in circulation in Brazil (1939-2010).

1st ed. Brazil	Author	Title	Publisher
1939	Monroe	História da Educação (History of Education)	Companhia Editora Nacional
1951	Riboulet	História da Pedagogia (History of Pedagogy)	Editôra Coleção F.T.D.
1954	Gal	História da Educação (History of Education)	Martins Fontes
1955	Luzuriaga	História da Educação e da Pedagogia (History of Education and of Pedagogy)	Companhia Editora Nacional
1957	Hubert	História da Pedagogia (History of Pedagogy)	Companhia Editora Nacional
1962	Eby	História da Educação Moderna: teoria, organização e práticas educacionais (séc. XVI – séc. XX) [History of Modern Education: theory, organization, and educational practices (16th-20th century)]	Editora Globo
1963	Ponce	Educação e luta de classes (Education and class struggle)	Cortez Editora
1970	Larroyo	História Geral da Pedagogia (General History of Pedagogy)	Editora Mestre Jou
1974	Debesse & Mialaret	Tratado das Ciências Pedagógicas 2: história da pedagogia (Treatise on Pedagogical Sciences 2: history of pedagogy)	Companhia Editora Nacional
1989	Manacorda	História da Educação: da Antiguidade aos nossos dias (History of Education: from Antiquity to our time)	Cortez Editora
1999	Cambi	História da Pedagogia (History of Pedagogy)	Editora UNESP
2010	Gauthier & Tardif	A pedagogia. Teorias e práticas da Antiguidade aos nossos dias (Pedagogy. Theories and practices from Antiquity to our time)	Editora Vozes

Source: LIMA, G.G.; GATTI JR, D. Educação, sociedade e democracia: John Dewey nos manuais de História da Educação e/ou Pedagogia (Brasil, Século XX). *Revista História da Educação*, v.23, p.1-43, 2019.

It is noteworthy that a recent work that examined appropriations of Rousseau's ideas by the authors of these General History of Education manuals showed that only a small number of these authors/works were successful in establishing relations between Rousseau's political and pedagogical ideas. Instead, there was a predominance of analyses that favored an understanding of Rousseau's thought as a precursor of future developments in the psychology of human development, with an emphasis on the child psyche. In addition, in one of the works, the

strongly ideologized analytical reduction in the socialist perspective overly obscured the author's ideas, which was also perceived in works originating from Catholicism⁷².

In this respect, the battles among liberal, Catholic, and socialist positions were more evident in the History of Education manuals published in Brazil from the 1930s to the 1970s, which was repeated in the General History of Education and History of Brazilian Education manuals, with Brazilian authors, published from 1914 to 2007, with at least 38 titles published – from the text by René Barreto, *História da Pedagogia* (History of Pedagogy), to the work by Cynthia Greive Veiga, *História da Educação* (History of Education). In the analysis of these manuals, especially those published in the 1930s, the battle between liberals and Catholics is noticeable. The former were in pursuit of social regeneration, through educational reform, and the latter in pursuit of maintaining social relevance by defending the centrality of the Catholic Church in social life and in offering education. This struggle was expressed, for example, in the Catholic Church maintaining normal schools alongside the official initiatives, but also in the publication of subject manuals with a focus on these different audiences. In both cases, different projects in formation of nationality were at stake, through the training of teachers to work in primary schools⁷³.

At least until the 2000s, the use of these History of Education manuals was still frequent, especially in Pedagogy courses, which became the predominant place for the training of teachers to work in Early Childhood Education and in the first grades of Elementary School. However, one can also perceive initiatives towards a broadening of sources for university studies of the discipline, with the incorporation of articles and book chapters that communicate results of research in the field of History of Education. However, these initiatives most likely were of limited extent, given the profusion of offerings of the subject in Pedagogy courses, often in the distance-learning modality anchored in programmed instruction through the reading of texts acquired from commercial publishers or even written by the teachers/professors of the discipline themselves, normally based on the subject manuals available.

2.5. Teacher and student memories concerning History of Education in Brazil

Scrutinizing the pedagogical reality of the teaching of History of Education is not an easy task, because, though the teaching purposes may be well placed in the programs, in the teaching plans, and in the subject manuals, they only give indications of the teaching intentions. The sources that provide access to what really happened in the classrooms are usually not preserved, such as student notebooks and assessments. For that reason, oral sources become prominent, obviously, when nearness in time allows.

In that respect, from 1999 to 2005, Carlos Monarcha individually and, in 2013, in collaboration with Décio Gatti Jr., made an effort to publish testimonies of teachers and researchers in the area of History of Education, above all of those who have contributed to formation of the field in Brazil, which included Carlos Roberto Jamil Cury, Clarice Nunes, Dermeval Saviani, Eliane Marta Teixeira Lopes, Ester Buffa, Jorge Nagle, José Silvério Baia Horta, Leonor Maria Tanuri, Maria Helena Camara Bastos, Maria Juraci Maia Cavalcanti, Maria Luísa Santos Ribeiro, Marta Maria Chagas de Carvalho, Marta Maria de Araújo, Mirian Jorge Warde, Paolo Nosella, Paulo Guiraldelli Jr., Raquel P. Chainho

⁷² GATTI JR, D. As ideias de Rousseau nos manuais de História da Educação com autores estrangeiros publicados no Brasil (1939-2010). *Cadernos de História da Educação*, v.13, n.2, p.475-498, 2014.

⁷³ In this respect, see GATTI JR, D. Visões antagônicas sobre o ideário da Liga Internacional pela Educação Nova em dois manuais de História da Educação publicados no Brasil na década de 1930. *Sarmiento* (Vigo), v.25, p.185-208, 2021.

Gandini, Roque Spencer Maciel de Barros, and Zaia Brandão⁷⁴. It is far from being a set of testimonies that encompasses all the important figures in the formation of the field and that, above all, reaches the most recent researchers in the field; yet, these testimonies allow us to understand the development of the teaching of History of Education as well as the development of the academic area itself.

Another set of studies also exemplifies the efforts made concerning the memory of teachers, but also of students, in relation to the teaching of History of Education. These studies showed how far the classes were from the official program and even showed the difficulties of teachers, especially those trained in Philosophy, to move away from a History of Education guided by the History of Pedagogical Ideals. Issues related to the circumstances of the time period also appear and, at times, shape the students' memories about the themes dealt with in the classroom, more focused on the issues that concerned students, in a complex world that was experiencing a time of profound cultural changes⁷⁵.

Undoubtedly, the examination of the relationship between teaching purposes and their pedagogical reality is not dependent on this collection of testimonies of teachers and students, nor on the luck of finding student notebooks and evaluations, in moving toward a more complete analysis of the historical route of the subject History of Education.

It is noteworthy that in the 2000s, in more than one hundred Pedagogy programs offered at universities, the profile of teachers in the discipline included, first of all, graduates in Pedagogy (45%) and, after that, in History (30%) and in Philosophy (11%). Moreover, in the teacher profile, graduate studies in Education predominated in a significant way (69%), above all in relation to the second position, in History (18.3%), which marks an important aspect with regard to teachers' memory.

Final considerations

Knowing involves thinking, mobilizing categories and concepts to organize things, to create mental structures that help order them, to give them meaning. It involves collecting and dealing with information, making use of observation, description, and verification protocols to better understand what constitutes the environment in which one acts. It involves communication between different subjects of knowledge, and the accumulation of organized bodies of ideas, interpretations, techniques, and procedures, which we call studies, disciplines, sciences. It requires the humility of intuiting the immensity of what one does not know [...].⁷⁶

When looking at the History of Education now in Portugal and Brazil and revealing it as an epistemological field, it is possible to identify all the requirements identified by Augusto Santos Silva to be incorporated into the universe of science: there is structured thinking based on sources; there is the mobilization of reference literature in various areas; there is a consistent

⁷⁴ In this respect, see MONARCHA, C. (Org.). *História da Educação: formação do campo*. 2ª. ed. (revista e ampliada). Ijuí: Editora Unijuí, 2005, 352p.; MONARCHA, C.; GATTI JR., D. (Org.) *Trajetórias na formação do campo da História da Educação brasileira*. Uberlândia/MG: Edufu, 2013, 242p.

⁷⁵ As examples, we can cite GUIMARÃES, R.M.C. O percurso institucional da disciplina História da Educação em Minas Gerais e o seu ensino na Escola Normal Oficial de Uberaba (1928 a 1970). *Tese* (Doutorado). Programa de Pós-Graduação em Educação da Universidade Federal de Uberlândia. 2012. 302p.; BORGES, B.G. A disciplina História da Educação na Universidade Federal de Uberlândia/MG (1960-2000). *Dissertação* (Mestrado). Programa de Pós-Graduação em Educação da Universidade Federal de Uberlândia, 2013, 152p.; SOARES, E.A.L. O Ensino de História da Educação nas Faculdades Integradas Santo Tomás de Aquino - Fista (Uberaba, Minas Gerais, 1951-1980). *Tese* (Doutorado) Programa de Pós-Graduação em Educação da Universidade Federal de Uberlândia, 2022, 310p.

⁷⁶ SILVA, Augusto Santos (2022). *Se numa noite de inverno uma estudante (ou talvez uma ode à liberdade na ciência)*. Porto: Faculdade de Letras do Porto, p. 6-7. <https://ler.letras.up.pt/uploads/ficheiros/19616.pdf>

recalling of information, but also the production of materials for the rich hermeneutic interpretation, in strict and rigorous compliance with epistemological protocols; there is communication by different means (physical and virtual) and to different audiences; there is a clear enrichment of different scientific areas; and there is the humility to recognize that paths have been opened that others can now follow.

Specifically in regard to the teaching of the subject History of Education in Portugal and Brazil, the bibliography of reference, both in terms of teacher training in general and the teaching of the subject in particular, is abundant, with the first productions coming out in the middle of the 20th century and consistent growth over the following decades, to the point where it can be said that there was an important consolidation of knowledge that enables the elaboration of consistent syntheses, clearly open to the possibilities of the emergence of new interpretations.

That way, studies and research on teacher training include themes related to examination of the following aspects: reflections and proposals made; the laws passed and replaced; the training institutions created, replaced, and transformed over time; the initial curricula of a simpler nature and increasing complexity that evolved over time; and the teachers' and students' memories that have been collected and documented.

As for the teaching of History of Education, a more recent theme, its richness was perceived, above all, in the role it played in the formation of teacher training processes at different educational levels and institutions, with the presence of clashes around conceptions of the world present in a more intense way in the first half of the 20th century. These differences could be observed both in the varied configuration of the institutions that promote teaching and in the specific manuals of the area of History of Education. Beyond that period, the richness of research in the History of Education led to recognition of its potential within the sphere of Human Sciences, above all, through the perception of schooling as a phenomenon that structures Modernity. However, this was not immediately reflected in the field of teaching History of Education. These reflections are more clearly seen as of the end of the 20th century and the beginning of the 21st century, whether in the History of Education manuals themselves, or in the production and dissemination of new knowledge that is gradually reaching the sphere of teacher training.

In institutional terms, the path of teaching History of Education in Portugal and Brazil found similarities in content and some parallelism in the phase of prominence of the Normal School. Yet, after that, the institutional paths became diverse, even if, from the perspective of the content that was disseminated, one sees more similarities than differences. This can be seen in recent acquisitions of research results in the area. As for subject manuals, the profusion of translations of foreign manuals in Brazil in the first half of the 20th century, with their broad influence and use, is a specific situation, along with the late requirement of the teaching of the History of Brazilian Education in the 1960s. Subsequently, there was a significant editorial effort in offering titles that reached the 21st Century.

With regard to teachers' and students' memories, whether involving the topic of teacher training or mainly the topic of the teaching of History of Education, efforts of recollection and production of documents accessible to research are present in both countries, with different strategies of dissemination. But these strategies make it possible to move towards a more comprehensive view of these research themes that are so important for understanding the paths taken and yet to be taken in the difficult task of the professionalization of teaching.

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