



Revista História da Educação

ISSN: 1414-3518

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Associação Sul-Rio-Grandense de
Pesquisadores em História da Educação
Brasil

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Revista História da Educação, vol. 18, núm. 42, enero-abril, 2014, pp. 93-113

Associação Sul-Rio-Grandense de Pesquisadores em História da Educação
Rio Grande do Sul, Brasil

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APPROPRIATION OF PEDAGOGICAL KNOWLEDGE DURING TEACHING FORMATION: GUIDEBOOKS AND TESTS OF ESCOLA NORMAL IN SÃO PAULO (IN THE 1870's)

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Abstract

The present article assesses the guidebooks used and tests taken by the students of the Escola Normal in São Paulo during the 1870's. This means asking what themes, contents and references were taught in the early days of the teaching formation? And how was such knowledge read, interpreted, quoted, and ultimately, how was it appropriated? The guidebooks and tests assessed are perfect indications of what was taught and learned in a course that had yet to be consolidated. In short, those guidebooks and tests were products and producers of the institutionalization and formalization of knowledge in the early days of teachership. They tackled the topics supposed to be studied at Escola Normal, how they were developed and how the course references were selected and used as resources.

Keywords: pedagogical guidebooks, normal school, school culture.

APROPRIAÇÕES DOS SABERES PEDAGÓGICOS NO INÍCIO DA FORMAÇÃO: MANUAIS E PROVAS DA ESCOLA NORMAL DE SÃO PAULO (DÉCADA DE 1870)

Resumo

O artigo que aqui se apresenta examina manuais e provas feitas pelos estudantes da Escola Normal de São Paulo nos anos de 1870. Isso significa perguntar quais temas, conteúdos e referências eram ensinados no início da docência e como esses saberes eram lidos, interpretados, citados, enfim, de que modo eram apropriados. Os livros e exames analisados são indícios exemplares do que se ensinava e do que se aprendia num curso ainda em consolidação. Os livros e as provas em pauta foram, em suma, produtos e produtores de uma institucionalização e formalização dos saberes do início do magistério, revestindo-se dos temas previstos para estudo na Escola Normal, dos modos como foram desenvolvidos e da maneira como foram selecionadas e mobilizadas as referências do curso.

Palavras-chaves: manuais pedagógicos, escola normal, cultura escolar.

APROPIACIONES DE LOS SABERES PEDAGÓGICOS EN EL INICIO DE LA FORMACIÓN: MANUALES Y PRUEBAS DE LA ESCUELA NORMAL DE SÃO PAULO (DÉCADA DE 1870)

Resumen

El artículo que aquí se presenta examina manuales y pruebas hechas por los estudiantes de la Escuela Normal de São Paulo en los años de 1870. ¿Eso significa preguntar cuáles temas, contenidos y referencias eran enseñados en el inicio de la docencia? ¿Y cómo esos saberes eran leídos, interpretados, nombrados, o sea, de que modo eran apropiados? Los libros y exámenes analizados son indicios ejemplares de aquello que se enseñaba y de lo que se aprendía en un curso todavía en consolidación. Los libros y las pruebas en pauta fueron, en suma, productos y productores de una institucionalización y formalización de los saberes del inicio del magisterio, revistiéndose de los temas previstos para estudio en la Escuela Normal, de los modos como fueron desarrollados y de la manera como fueron seleccionadas y movilizadas las referencias del curso.

Palabras-clave: manuales pedagógicos, escuela normal, cultura escolar.

L'ACQUISITION DE SAVOIRS PÉDAGOGIQUES AU DÉBUT DE L'ÉDUCATION: LES MANUELS ET LES EXAMENS DE L'ÉCOLE NORMALE DE SÃO PAULO (DÉCENNIE 1870)

Résumé

L'article présenté ici examine les manuels et tests réalisés par les étudiants de l'École Normale de São Paulo dans les années 1870. Ils permettent de se demander quels thèmes, contenus et références ont été inculqués au début de l'enseignement et comment ces connaissances ont été lues, interprétées, citées, c'est-à-dire comment elles étaient assimilées. Les livres et les tests ici analysés peuvent être considérés comme des preuves exemplaires de ce qui a été enseigné et de ce qui était appris dans un cours encore en consolidation. En résumé, les livres et les examens en question ont été non seulement les produits mais également les producteurs de l'institutionnalisation et de la formalisation des connaissances depuis le début de l'enseignement, tout en représentant les sujets prévus pour l'enseignement à l'École Normale, la façon dont ils ont été élaborés et la manière dont les références du cours ont été sélectionnées et mobilisées.

Mots-clé: manuels d'enseignement, école normale, culture de l'enseignement.

The present article assesses the guidebooks used and tests taken by students of the Escola Normal in São Paulo in the 1870's. Those tests, dated from 1875, 1876 and 1877, along with the books, are perfect indications of what used to be taught and learned about teaching in a course that had yet to be consolidated. In Brazil, the teaching schools were established by the Additional Act from 1834, but lived an unstable existence during the entire second half of the 19th century and early 20th century. In the several provinces across the country, those schools were established and closed down according to political decisions and interests, and were somewhat successful as of the 1870's (Tanuri, 1979; Villela, 1990, 2002; Monarcha, 1999), the period of our interest. The guidebooks and tests in question, in other words, products and producers of the institutionalization and formalization of knowledge in the early days of teachership, tackled the topics supposed to be studied at the Escola Normal, how they were developed and how the course references were selected and used as resources.

The idea of appropriation is vital for this work, as a reading period between the class texts and written tests (Chartier, 1998) is considered as existent. In reading and writing texts, it is highly likely that teaching students did not limit themselves to simply reproducing what had been taught to them during the course. Like any other reader, they faced the determinations that somehow guided the interpretation of books, in this case, the guidebooks of the Escola Normal. As Chartier would say, “powers or the experts consistently want to establish a sense and the correct interpretation of texts, imposing limits to the reading of (or looking at) those texts. However, to receive also means to invent, shift and distort” (1998, p. 9). It is in this sense that those tests are regarded as the result of a series of elements. They depend on reading material proposed, the students' skills and their teachers' expectations. Those tests were prepared according to the rules that define the student's condition and craft (Perrenoud, 1995), after all, “it all leads to the belief that several years of practice in a defined type of organization bring along the formation of a set of schemes of actions, thoughts, evaluation, anticipation of what sociology calls a *habitus*” (Ibid., p. 32).

If the school counts on behavioral rules defined by the places occupied by its different characters, one should ask how the Escola Normal oriented the relationships with knowledge and reading. For learning how the teaching students appropriated the pedagogical knowledge, it is worth paying heed to the materials that are still available, objects, texts, documents used by those students and their teachers.

When addressing a challenge such as this one, Escolano (2011) points out the idea of school culture under a viewpoint that is particularly useful for our analysis¹. It is about understanding the history of the Escola Normal and a culture specific to it as a history about receptions, adjustments, refusals and resistances. That means that, apart from the rules imposed by the curriculum, program developments and laws that governed the daily life in classrooms, one has to take into account what the author calls school empirical culture (Ibid.), marked by an amalgam of official standards and informal practices. The assessment of the Escola Normal's guidebooks and tests precisely places itself in the

¹ The discussions about school culture are broad and particularly useful among the education historians, such as the collaborations of Chervel (1990) and Julia (1995).

interaction between what is taught and what is learned, by occupying a specific spot within the construction dynamics of the Escola Normal's culture.

With this goal in view, we articulated the results of distinct studies brought together according to the questions they pose. One of them aims at studying the pedagogical knowledge in course taught at the Escola Normal by late 19th century (Perez, 2012). We were able to investigate that knowledge by the final tests taken by students of that school during the years of 1875, 1876 and 1877, as well as some pedagogical guidebooks. Those books were the subject of another study conducted here; one that analyzed the titles published in Brazil (Silva, 2001) and in Portugal (Silva, 2005). The students from the Escola Normal made use of those guidebooks for studying the questions related to the teaching craft for the first time, and took the tests to show how much they had learned about those readings and that they were able to exercise the profession. Thus, we talk about material of diverse nature but that aimed at a common goal, or, to introduce the knowledge from which the teaching students conceived their profession.

By collaborating with a series of already-developed studies about how teaching schools work (Bauab, 1972; Monarcha, 1999; Tanuri, 1979; Villela, 1990, 2002;), we seek to learn how the teaching students studied, what they read, what the tests required from them for passing the course. We have already asked that question in the beginning: how the teaching students used the guidebooks as resources for answering the questions? By pointing to a teaching professional culture (Perrenoud, 1995) and, more specifically, the Escola Normal's own culture, we point out the fact that, in those courses, ways of teaching and learning were built, and how they operated can be compared to a type of architectural activity to which the programs, readings, activities and assessments were systematically related (Perrenoud, 2008).

It is a type of educational function or, as we could also name it, a teaching system in which all the aspects are interdependent, so the evaluation principle, for instance, depends on what is expected from the student, what is taught and how it is taught. According to this view, classes and tests depended on how studying time and hours were split. That systemic approach leads to the thought that, by studying the guidebooks and tests, we will be able to learn about the different aspects of the teaching students' lives, by taking into account their reading and writing materials, and, ultimately, course surviving strategy (Perrenoud, 1995), as well as how the teachers used to identify and classify their mistakes.

So that we are able to handle the complexity of what we here call architecture of what is to be taught and learned at the Escola Normal and the readings produced there, the next part of the article analyzes how education was structured, in the way it can be grasped by studying the pedagogic guidebooks used by the students. Next, we will question the appropriation of the knowledge taught to those students, which means to assess the tests they took, by pointing out how they were prepared, which contents were used as resources, what types of questions were asked and how they were conducted. In short, it is about thinking how the teaching knowledge was built.

The knowledge production and distribution to the teaching students in the pedagogical guidebooks

By re-reading or reading this guidebook, which much resembles those that I came to know back in my high school days, I asked myself the following: could literature be anything but a childhood memory to us? I mean: what continues, what persists, what is spoken about literature after the school days are over? (Barthes, 1988, p. 53)

Roland Barthes's words referred to a French literature history guidebook. Widely spread across the most diverse parts of the world, this type of printed material triggered thoughts on how a certain reality was allocated to reading. Thus, what was possible to recall about literature learned at school corresponded to a key question within the excerpt transcribed above and prompted the following question on the guidebooks for preparing teachers to be asked here: what did education comprise for the teachers? Important lessons could be extracted from Barthes' incursions, and one of them referred to the fact that the guidebooks have always turned a certain topic into an object of teaching. Thus, if back in the high school days, the main contents of subjects, such as literature, were grasped while organized in guidebooks, the same occurred in the Escola Normal, where the main contents related to the teaching craft grasped were systematized within the books written for that purpose.

The production of those texts occurred during the implementation of public education systems, which were mandatory, free of charge and organized by the State. Thus, the investments were not oriented toward the education of a single pupil, but rather, they were extended to the population and, therefore, the pedagogical guidebooks were linked to the school's expansion projects. Those titles have been used since the 19th century across the most diverse parts of the world: in Portugal, in Brazil (Silva, 2005) and in other countries, such as France (Roullet, 1998) and Spain (Fernández and Salvado, 1998; Pintado, 2000), where efforts for expanding school opportunities were made. Such printed material constituted the mandatory reading material, particularly among those people with no access to higher levels of education (Nóvoa, 1987) and those who limited their education to the scope of teaching schools or competitive admission preparation courses for entering the teaching career.

If the guidebooks were prepared for training a large and increasing number of teachers, we can regard them as products of the school made for the people. Apart from being products of this teaching model, they were also one of the producers of school operation modes, as they explained the elements that comprised the life in that institution, in other words, the teacher's attributions, the student's activities, how the classes were taught, organization of contents, teaching methods.

By asserting that the pedagogical guidebooks had teaching as their education goal, the intention was to refer to the relationship between those books and the preparation of teachers carried out within the democratization projects of the education opportunities. The guidebooks spread the knowledge about the teaching craft, by turning that knowledge into topics to be explained during classes at the Escola Normal. They demonstrated class rituals to be followed when they explained certain ideas and suggested procedures and activities teaching students should employ when exercising the teaching craft in the future. Thus, those texts defined the ideal rules for teaching or, in other words, established the

elementary school's rituals or specific rites. In addition to producing school culture elements (Chervel, 1990; Julia, 1995), the teaching students' books also were places of pedagogical culture (Escolano, 2002), as those elementary school guiding elements constituted the core of the concern over preparing the teaching profession itself, and, thus, a culture specific to teachers. One goal has always been notable in the pedagogical guidebooks: to train the future teachers by ensuring they had their first contact with pedagogical knowledge in an accessible and easy way.

The very first pedagogical guidebooks were published when the State started regulating admissions to the teaching career, either by means of competitive admission processes or teaching schools (Silva, 2005). And that was a remarkable trend, not only in the Brazilian case, but in countries such as France (Roulet, 2001) and Portugal (Silva, 2005) as well. During the 1870's, the period of our interest because it marks the consolidation of the teaching schools, one of the most used guidebooks in Brazil, particularly at the Escola Normal de São Paulo, was a translated version of *Pedagogy practical course for student teachers at primary teaching schools and acting institutors*, by Mr. Daligault, first published in France in 1851. Lourenço Filho found out that the work was first published in Brazil in 1865: "The very first work on systematic teaching procedures dates back to 1850, a translation of the *Practical Compendium on Pedagogy*, by Daligault, thanks to Joaquim Pires Machado Portela, who printed the first edition back then in Recife, and the second edition in Rio right after" (1941, p. 30).

The relationship between the pedagogical guidebooks and the teacher preparation course's guidelines let out a glimpse of an element that determined the contents of those books, or, the close dependence on the programs of the Pedagogical, Didactic, Methodological and Practical Teaching subjects. Thus, it was possible to add those books of the Escola Normal to the so-called edited curriculum (Escolano, 2002), by regarding those texts as the vulgate of certain subjects and ways by which these subjects developed in time (Chervel, 1990).

The authors of those books realized the non-unique and even minor quality of their texts. Those writers were knowledgeable about the great pedagogical literature and took on the apparently simple commitment of presenting it in a concise and accessible yet non-unique manner. By admitting their inferior position in relation to the so-called high Pedagogy², those writers ended up revealing their encyclopedic culture, and, ultimately, justifying their legitimacy for summarizing and teaching what was best in the bibliography on education, by intermediating the reading of the work of the great education thinkers by the teachers.

The pedagogical guidebooks occupied that intermediary spot within the education field. In other words, they were productions of educators who had introduced the great theorists and pedagogues to the teachers. Their texts explained the teaching issues concisely, leaving little room for describing the discussions among educators. In turn, the education magazines were able to occupy multiple positions (Catani, 1994) and, depending on their nature, journals were more open to debates and polemic issues (Rogan e Luckowski, 1990), thus bringing to light proximities or tensions regarding student

² Depaepe (2000; 2002) established the distinction between high and low pedagogy to delimitate the characteristics of a pragmatic type speech that is closer to the so-called low pedagogy and another modality with a more scientific quality and closer to the high pedagogy.

associations, the State and different knowledge areas. That did not occur with the pedagogical guidebooks. This does not mean that those books' position has been still, quite the opposite; their content depended on an intricate information network and was a result of options and historically situated readings.

By fulfilling their role as mediators of a re-contextualized grammar (Bernstein, 1986), the pedagogical guidebooks ended up presenting very specific aspects: they established themselves as mere overviews, works that showed no uniqueness at all, only a summary of someone else's ideas. Hence calling them reader's texts, as based on Bourdieu's considerations (1996) on the production of readings within certain periods of time. We could be prompted to apply the thief of words metaphor (Schneider, 1990), to call them minor works or as belonging to the Low Pedagogy group (Depaepe, 2000, 2002), as they responded to a very specific need, which was the development of professionalizing courses for future teachers, and, because of that, most of the time, they restricted their content to a type of recipe for how to exercise the teaching profession. Seldom were they mentioned in education magazines and almost never were they the object of reviews carried out by educators. They tended to be forgotten by those who made use of them at the Escola Normal, hence the difficulty in mapping that source. Moreover, those books were written with no concern over creating polemic issues in the education field. On the contrary, even when those issues were situated, a more expositive and objective tone was used, a tone that chose no sides.

We could, then, discuss what the guidebook's nature implied more accurately, as, instead of what used to be analyzed as just a minor compilation work, we were able to look at it as a work of selection and choice of the best of what had occurred in the education field. The guidebooks, somehow, detached themselves from the other printed materials that constituted the education press. Thus, the guidebooks indicated their minor condition and, to some extent, were excluded from the renowned bibliography on the field, because, in doing so, they were able to establish their specificities and conveyed some knowledge to the teachers in the initial phase of their preparation. In the course of almost one century after their publication, the handbooks oscillated between what Depaepe (2000, 2002) called *high and low pedagogy*, because its configurations were historically situated (Silva, 2005). That was a result of the books' own nature, which were transformed by the organization of the teaching education. So, the guidebooks' characteristics and the several initiatives from which they were produced were essential aspects for understanding those texts' historicity and how they added to the initial preparation of elementary teachers (Silva, 2005).

The appropriation of knowledge in the tests of the Escola Normal

The first institutional teacher preparation initiatives were a result of the school's expansion, which occurred during the 19th century, not only in Brazil, but in Europe as well. With the Additional Act from 1834, the Brazilian teaching school system was first established in some provinces, as the reform had left it in charge of governing the public education and its establishments, except when it came to what concerned the higher education schools, which remained under the central government's control. Within this situation, the very first Escola Normal da Província de São Paulo was created, established in 1846 and closed down for the first time in 1867. As of the 1870's mostly, the

professional education of teachers done by an institutionalized education was postulated, and included reading books, studying teaching methods and practical exercises. In 1875, the school was reopened and by the end of that same year, the first tests of the Escola Normal de São Paulo were held, a practice that was repeated in the subsequent years.

As of that year, the exams for filling public elementary school teaching positions began to be held by the Escola Normal, under the same criteria and contents as those that the course's students had to take. This exam was to be taken by the candidates to the public teaching position, those who had not attended the Teaching Course, and it replaced the certificate of qualification received by the teaching students. Such exams were highly criticized by the teaching school supporters. They were known as being vague and out-of-place, and only thanks to the approval of the Rules and Regulations of the Escola Normal, in August 22nd 1887, were they abolished. Regarding the working public school teachers who did not have the teaching school certificate, they could enroll in that school and get it after completing the two-year course while receiving their pay. In 1876, Law n° 55 established the classes for women at a different time than those for men, and were taught by the same teachers. In 1878, the school had its doors closed again.

An important source of information on the pedagogical knowledge provided at the Escola Normal de São Paulo, by the late 19th century, was the final tests taken by the teaching students dated from 1875, 1876 and 1877 (Perez, 2012). That set of documents, which included 73 tests assessed, were dissertations on topics determined by examiners, teachers from the Escola Normal. They would prepare a list from which one single topic would be randomly selected on the day of the final test. Those tests were posted on an announcement made by the Inspeção Geral da Instrução Pública [Office of the Inspector-General of Public Education], recorded in the Minutes Book and held in the presence of authorities that also took part in the panel of examiners. Among the documentation gathered, we were able to identify the students attending the several days of tests in the year of 1875, information on date and place those tests were held, the attending people in charge, in this case, the inspector-general and principal of the Escola Normal and the two teachers from that school, reasons for absence of teachers and students, tests' starting and ending times, time when each evaluated student turned in the paper, test topic, etc.

Overall, those tests would have the selected topic specified on the header, followed by the student's dissertation on the proposed topic and, right bellow the text, came date and the candidate's full name. The correction made by the examiners contained the grading concept and signature of two examiners, teachers from the school, and at times, the date when the test had been corrected. The grading concepts for test evaluation varied among very good, good, poor and bad.

As mentioned before, a majority of teaching students would take those tests, but those who wanted a spot as a public elementary education teacher and had no teaching certificate would also take them. Those tests represent an important support material about the educational speeches present in the preparation of future teachers, either because they expressed the opinion of those in charge of carrying out those tests or because they brought indications about the contents taught, the evaluation topics proposed or even because they contained quotes made by the authors of pedagogical guidebooks mentioned by the students. Those tests also added to the understanding of how to build a professional identity and the preparation of teachers to the extent that they

brought expressed requirements for the proper attitude expected from a teacher, what was to be taught and how to do so (Perez, 2012).

By those tests, and supported by the requirements existing in the teacher preparation guidebook, it seems possible to objectively or subjectively identify some of the standards and goals that should rule the school they wanted to establish. Furthermore, the role the teacher was expected to play in this institution was identified, as well as some school practices and general contents understood as needed for preparing the future citizens (Perez, 2012).

When the Escola Normal de São Paulo was re-opened in 1875, *Practical pedagogy course*, by Mr. Daligault, was the base book used for teaching Pedagogy. Based on what we were able to infer from the tests from the Escola Normal, Daligault's (1874) book was the one used in the Pedagogy classes and his texts were the ones the students used as resource in their evaluation. Mentions to the author's name in several tests and a more attentive analysis of their contents allowed us to notice excerpts that were identical to those in the book in question transcribed by the students. Furthermore, the topics for the tests conducted in the years of 1875, 1876 and 1877 reproduced the themes that were approached in the work and, at times, the same titles found on the book's table of contents, as shown by Trevisan (2011). So, it would be possible to regard Daligault's *Practical pedagogy course*, as a kind of founder of the speeches that the teaching profession back then was based on, as his ideas circulated and were appropriated by the future teachers (Perez, 2012).

In the exams from the Escola Normal, Daligault's words were often transcribed, which did not mean they were simply reproduced or memorized, but it meant they were acknowledged by the future teachers as valuable for legitimizing the teaching profession. Ultimately, to learn about Daligault meant to dominate a type of knowledge that would grant you the license to teach. The transcriptions, paraphrases and mentions to Daligault's texts can be interpreted as a strategy used for obtaining the diploma. Actually, memorizing and transcribing the idea of the requested author in the tests as faithfully as possible was a common practice among the students. Not only at the Escola Normal but at the several different classes and teaching levels as well, what was learned was to write what the teacher wanted to be written, thus ensuring a passing grade, which, ultimately, is the requirement for being approved. Getting a good grade is one of the main attributions of the student craft (Perrenoud, 1995) and, as we saw, the teaching students, who, in turn, also were future teachers continued to employ that strategy in the Escola Normal.

Figure 1
Topics for the Pedagogy tests - 1875, 1876, 1877.

Pontos para as provas de Pedagogia da Escola Normal de São Paulo		
1875	Pontos para os exames de Pedagogia do ano de 1875 formulado pelo professor da 1ª cadeira, Paulo Antonio do Valle.	1º. O que seja Pedagogia, qual sua matéria, e em quantas partes se divide o seu estudo
		2º. Educação e Instrução
		3º. Espécies de educação
		4º. Educação física
		5º. Educação intelectual
		6º. O professor e seus predicados
		7º. A escola e suas condições materiais
		8º. Mobília e utensílios da Escola
		9º. Métodos de ensino
		10º. Penas e recompensas na Escola
		11º. Meios disciplinares da Escola
		11º. Métodos de leitura *
1876	Pontos para os exames do primeiro ano da Escola Normal organizados pelo professor interino Melchhiades da Boa Morte Trigueiro.	1º. – Preliminares. Dignidade das funções do professor. Qualidades que se referem direta e indiretamente às suas funções
		2º. – Definição, objeto e divisão da pedagogia. Definição e divisão da educação. Distinção entre educação e instrução em acepção pedagógica.
		3º. – Educação física. Meios indiretos e diretos. Educação dos órgãos dos sentidos.
		4º. – Educação intelectual. Distinção entre educação intelectual e instrução propriamente dita.
		5º. – Educação Moral e religiosa.
		6º. – Métodos de ensino individual e simultâneo; seus inconvenientes e vantagens.
		7º. – Métodos de ensino mútuo e misto; suas vantagens e defeitos.
		8º. – Métodos de leitura.
		9º. – Métodos de escrita.
		10º. – Métodos de aritmética.
		11º. – Instrução moral e religiosa.
		12º. – Arranjo e direção da aula.
1877	Programa de pontos extraordinários aprovado pela congregação da Escola Normal, por Américo Ferreira de Abreu	1º. Ano - Pontos para prova escrita
		1º. Qualidades que se referem direta e indiretamente às funções do professor.
		2º. Distinção entre educação e instrução.
		Pontos para prova oral
		1º. Educação intelectual.
		2º. Educação moral e religiosa.
		3º. Métodos de ensino individual e simultâneo, suas vantagens e inconveniências.
4º. Método de ensino mútuo e misto, suas vantagens e defeitos.		
5º. Instrução Moral e religiosa.		

Source: Perez, 2012, p. 93.

Apart from the bibliography used, we can infer aspects that are important to the table of topics suggested for preparing those tests. By identifying those topics, we noticed that the common themes required during the first three years since the Escola Normal was re-opened were focused on three axes:

- 1) The different types of education: intellectual, physical, and moral and religious;
- 2) The teaching methods in general or specifically;
- 3) The qualities needed for exercising the profession, in other words, the representations of the ideal teacher (Perez, 2012).

If we want to understand how the pedagogical knowledge was built and appropriated at the Escola Normal, heed should be paid to the final tests. They are the evidence of what was considered to be essential for exercising the teaching profession in the late 19th century. Next, we will conduct a brief analysis on each one of those axes that articulated the contents of the tests and regulated the knowledge demanded from the future teachers.

The all-embracing education: creating educated and docile citizens

Based on the questions asked to the teaching students, the Pedagogy tests allowed us to take a glimpse at the concern over pointing out the purposes of education and the school. Those were the purposes that justified the investments in building national education systems since the mid-19th century across the most diverse parts of the world (Nóvoa; Schriewer, 2000). The teaching schools took on a decisive role in developing those projects, as they were in charge of spreading the knowledge on which the work of teachers was based. A similar movement was noticed in Brazil. As Leonor Tanuri (2000) pointed out, the creation of teacher preparation schools was also linked to the institutionalization of public education, inspired in the liberal ideas of secularization and expansion of the elementary education.

Among the topics that were to be learned by the teaching students for obtaining the elementary teacher diploma, education stood out. According to the topics and questions related to it, we can summarize some of the ideas developed at the Escola Normal. Within this context, the education provided by schooling brought the need for guidelines for organizing and practicing education. Preparing the future citizen should occur by means of a comprehensive education, as man is understood under that viewpoint. Thus, the teacher should be in charge of developing the different abilities that constitute a man, namely, the physical, moral and intellectual abilities. The teaching student, Marcellino Carvalho, for instance, in the test he took in 1875, presented three types of education as a result of the existing different human abilities.

That student described that it was up to the intellectual education to develop the person's intelligence, so that person would be able to receive the knowledge needed; it was up to the moral or religious education to "awaken all the religious feelings in the heart of men, in other words, the feelings of love for God and for other people" (Test by Marcellino Carvalho, 1875); now, it was up to the physical education to tackle the "development of a person's strength, thus making that person fit for facing the tasks of the laborious life." Another student, Manoel Villaça (1876), in his test, pointed out the importance of the physical education for needy kids in particular, "because those who are needy, so as to earn what they need for feeding themselves, will have to work. The

teacher, then, shall have to strive to succeed in conveying that education” (Test by Manoel Villaça, 1876).

Within the physical education context, the teacher should pay heed to the boys' attitude, so they would not take the wrong positioning, as stated in the tests. Those tests also highlighted that care should be taken regarding the integrity of the boys' muscle development and the order and discipline in class. As pointed out by the teaching student, Antonio Dias, in his test from 1876: “It matters much not just the physical development of the boy but the good order that must reign in class, that they (the students) have the proper attitude as well” (test by Antonio Dias, 1876). So much attention allocated to the care of the physical side led toward different aspects: about the need for educating the students' body, so the education task could be accomplished, by making them more obedient and docile (Foucault, 1987), and, as a result, about the convenience of exercising them and making them up to the “tasks of the laborious life” (test by Antonio Dias, 1876; and others), in other words, preparing them for working. We can also infer, based on the hints brought by the approaches taken, part of the medical speech spread, which intended to shape and sanitize the bodies, aimed at building a hygienic society with the help of the education organization (Gondra, 2000).

Another evidence of the civilizing project intended during the period being studied can be identified in the widespread idea of intellectual education and education per se. The distinction between them was the topic in 5 out of the 73 tests assessed. The student, Pedro Amaral (1875), presented that distinction in a quite elucidating manner. In his own words, “education lies in moral, and schooling suggests other more elevated principles, broader ideas, methodic rules that are used for illustrating reason, embellishing understanding, perfecting the heart and smoothing the habits” (test by Pedro Amaral, 1875). Within other excerpts of those tests, the intention of inculcating the teacher with the task of school education seems to be clear, while leaving that teacher in charge of the preparation of citizens in its completeness, in other words, those who must serve the Country, be faithful to religion and become working sons.

Within this context, rationalization and control of school processes and practices were the result of the intention of making the school part of an education project aimed at having control and a certain social structure. Thus, the teaching students, in their tests, pointed out the idea that, in having the teacher as its main agent, the school education takes on a relevant role in shaping habits and practices intended to be passed onto the population. Quite possibly, that was taught in classes and pedagogical guidebooks. As hinted by the tests, no questioning, speculations or doubts about those purposes emerged. We have every reason to believe that the students were strongly guided by the teacher, and the unanimity in answers leads us to ask here whether this was just another strategy used by the teaching students toward obtaining a passing grade rather than a mere reproduction of what was taught in class (Perrenoud, 1995).

The teaching methods and school organization

Another notable source for the studies at the Escola Normal in the late 19th century corresponded to the teaching methods³. The reading of topics and questions posed to the students highlights that, after taking care of the need for extending education to the population, the teaching methods followed as the major issue in preparing a teacher. The teaching student, Olympia Mendonça, in a test she took in 1877, defined method as “the means used by teachers so the students progress more easily”, and that method was split in two parts: “General method is the one that presides the very school organization; private method is the one that is applied to the teaching of each subject” (test by Olympia Mendonça, 1877). That idea was also introduced in Daligault's guidebook (1874), which, undoubtedly, became the source used by her and other teaching students who took the same test.

So to understand the answers in those tests, it is worth to return to the guidebooks' content used in the schools. During the period studied here, the pedagogical guidebooks usually presented four different ways for organizing the school, allowing it to operate well and ensuring the success in teaching the students: individual, simultaneous, mutual and mixed. As it was explained in the guidebooks and how it became part of the tests held at the Escola Normal, the first method presented the advantage of allowing a direct teacher-student contact, as the teacher would be teaching one student at a time. However, the inconvenience would lie in the difficulty in teaching a great number of students - an existing need brought by the expansion of the school -, thus, the teaching student, Henriqueta Faro, in her test taken in 1877, pointed out: “If we adopted that method in a school, much time would take us to fulfill our duty” (test by Henriqueta Faro, 1877). As an alternative to this teaching mode, the simultaneous method emerges, regarded as one of the most advantageous methods, and, as an inconvenience, it had its application to a limited number of students, up to 50. In this method, the students were grouped according to the level of knowledge so the same activity could be performed simultaneously.

The mutual teaching method was introduced as an option for minimizing the inconveniences created by the increase in number of students to be served. In the simultaneous teaching method, the teacher would treat each class in the same fashion students in the individual method would be treated, in other words, the teacher would teach each class by making use of the same tasks for all the students. In the mutual teaching method, teachers had monitors in the more advanced classes, who, in turn, were prepared by the teachers for performing the teaching activities in less advanced classes, while the teacher was solely in charge of a general monitoring. In this case, the only ones receiving direct education from the teacher were the monitors, so they could be prepared to teach classes to less advanced students.

The mixed teaching method, which presented an alternative to the inconveniences of the methods above, was the one that would split the students in classes in the same way the simultaneous and mutual teaching methods did, but the monitors or inspectors would be in charge of the discipline, and the teacher would be in charge of the overall education. This method was very similar to the simultaneous one; however, instead of having the other students unsupervised, while the teacher would be working with one class, those

³ Some of the assessed guidebooks use the mode term for designating this type of school organization (how students were grouped to be taught). For more detailed information refer to Perez (2012).

students would be under the supervision of monitors, who would be in charge of keeping the discipline. Those were the methods described in the tests and guidebooks of the Escola Normal, particularly Daligault's.

The methodologies described in the pedagogical guidebooks back then and retaken by the teaching students in their tests characterized typical ways of working in the modern school (Gallego, 2008). Ultimately, they were about learning to organize the “learning process on a large scale according to a bureaucratic logic, with programs, schedules, age groups, methods and standardized criteria” (Perrenoud, 1995, p. 83). The teaching students would learn how to teach within an organization in which they were already participating as students. They should master the rules to teach a *habitus* they already knew and lived: “At school, one unknowingly learns to live within an organization built by learning the role of the student” (Ibid., p. 83). In turn, at the Escola Normal, they learned to teach how to live within that organization and the students projected their future work as teachers. While being topics required for the tests, the pedagogical methods marked the directions taken by the work in the elementary schools.

Carlota Boto (1997), in analyzing the Portuguese context, demonstrates that the institutionalization of the simultaneous teaching method, by the organization of classes, arrangement of furniture, teacher and students, and, particularly, by the use of watchful disciples or monitors, that is, by the school's internal organization, would add to “a through discipline fabrication process, by continuous coercion and vigilance practices” (p. 106). Thus, another aspect present in the manner in which education was conducted in the late 19th century is highlighted: it was responsible not only by the successful teaching activity in the sense of educating the population, but, mainly, in the sense of establishing “an usefulness-docility interaction relationship, by distributing the individuals within the space in a preferential basis and seeking to attribute a new relationship with time to them.” They looked for standardization, as “schooling would become an actual requirement from the population the moment that ideal of standardization would actually be attained” (Ibid., p. 106). To some extent, to standardize the school practices meant to discipline the new citizens and to civilize the social practices within the molds intended, as we can find in the Brazilian context as well.

Learning to be a teacher

To carry out the project for a civilized society through education, the teacher figure is vital. But what was the intended teacher profile in the late 19th century? Overall, the guidebooks from the 1870's and the early 1880's brought a section oriented to describing the qualities needed for exercising the teaching profession (Silva, 2005; Perez, 2012). The teacher image they expected to create could be directly or indirectly identified both in the guidebooks and in the teaching students' tests. This material contained the topics studied back then, and was based on certain references and created remarkable teaching representations as of the 19th century. These representations, which were produced by pedagogical speeches of prescriptive, moral, disciplinary nature contained in the textbooks, constituted a disciplinary code that standardized knowledge and practices by interiorizing a professional *habitus*, one that expresses continuities and regularities (Bastos, 2011).

Within the document collection gathered for this study, we were able to identify countless references to the teacher's role, responsibilities when exercising the teaching functions, and characteristics that should be present. The assessment of the tests held by the Escola Normal emphasized how comfortable the students felt when writing about this topic. It is worth remembering that those tests were dissertations and the teacher, or those responsible for the test, selected the topics. We found a set of eight tests titled *The teacher and its attributes*. The known tests about that topic were held in 1875 and directly approached the issue on the qualities needed for exercising the teaching profession.

On those qualities, Mr. Daligault provided a comprehensive and extensive list, which concerned the values and attitudes the future teacher should have, some of them were associated with submission and obedience, while others were associated with religiosity and retreat. Other six tests were guided by the topic regarding the importance of the teacher in relation to the other civil servants. Those tests presented a speech about the teacher's responsibility for the future of the nation, as they used to assert. Thus, the teaching students highlighted the arguments about valuing the teaching profession, by emphasizing how noble it was and its responsibilities regarding the Country's progress and success. However, that speech was not solely linked to the goals of preparing citizens, but also articulated about the religious basis of the teaching profession.

The speeches recorded in the tests held by the Escola Normal reinforced a speech that is present in the education literature back then in its entirety (Silva, 2005). One way or another, we can notice in the specific legislation, books, guidebooks or magazines from back then, how strong the religious speech was, when building the model teacher in the late 19th century in Brazil. The idea that the teaching profession came quite close to priesthood was highlighted in the tests of the teaching students, and, so as to illustrate the type of argumentation developed by those students, an excerpt from a test written in 1875 by José Salgado is transcribed bellow:

The elementary teaching activity is the true priesthood. The priest watches over the spiritual interest by guiding his flock of sheep on the path of truth, in the same way a good shepherd would, while preventing them from straying and falling into the abyss of wrongness, impiety and disbelief every step of the way. The teacher, in turn, is in charge of guiding childhood's first steps, by carefully educating the students, while correcting, reproaching their wrongdoing, and exhorting them with good advice, so they, one day, will be or become good men; gives them the first moral principles and teaches them to distinguish good from evil. (Test written by José Salgado in the year of 1875)

By assessing the tests, the expectation that the teacher would be some kind of priest becomes clear. In their writings, the teaching students acknowledged that, "like a good shepherd" (test by José Salgado, 1875), the teacher should watch over the students, correct their wrongdoings and give them examples. Thus, the teacher was responsible for teaching the contents and, above all, for teaching moral values. The tests at the Escola Normal recorded quite suggestive assertions about the teacher's articulation of the civil, moral and religious responsibilities. Those aspects were present in texts written by the teaching students as an amalgam. According to them, to the teacher also was given the task of offering valorous citizens to the society, and they would carry out the nation's structuration project and progress. Teachership, calling and citizenship, they all emerged

as sides of the same coin. A short excerpt of the test taken by the teaching student, Cesário Adrien, in 1875, allows us to notice that type of assertion:

Elementary education, of all the occupations of men, is the most noble and sacred second only to priesthood [...]. It is the most sacred of all occupations because, by being free of mundane ambitions, petty concerns, it solely deals with giving virtuous citizens to the society and saints to the heavens, thus completing the work of God, as M. Daligault so well put it. (Test by Cesário Adrien taken in 1875)

We found the same answers in several tests, or, at least, writings with similar meanings. By transcribing them, one can notice the configuration of a paradigm: to represent the teacher as a priest and teachership as a calling and salvation of the society had an undeniably strong influence on the writings done by the teaching students. We notice, by the message present in different tests, that the teacher was regarded as an instrument for civilizing purposes and of progress for the nation. The teaching students seemed to have learned well the good master's lesson. It is worth to return to excerpts of tests found once again. In one of them, written by Manoel dos Reys in 1875, the teacher's great responsibility was stated. If the teacher was to fail in his mission,

a germ of corruption and death would be created. [...] So, one can state: the teacher who is worthy of being so called gives honorable and industrious children to the families; useful and educated citizens to the State; believers to the church, and saints to the heavens. (Test written by Manoel dos Reys, in the year of 1875)

Apart from the magnitude given to teachership, the students at the Escola Normal also highlighted a kind of humbleness, which marked the teaching craft's representations as well. The excerpts aforementioned point out to how much the teaching students emphasized the selfless attitude that the teacher should have when exercising his profession, as how they were made present in Daligault's writings in his pedagogical guidebook. We can summarize the representations in the tests by regarding the elementary education as a sacred occupation back then, as it was free of mundane callings and the so called petty concerns.

By the excerpts, one notices the moralizing purpose of the classes taught at the Escola Normal and of the student-oriented speech. The students were taught to value a behavior standard associated with religion, self-restraint, obedience to and fear of God. In a test taken in 1875, Cesário Adrien wrote: “teachers are to correct the bad habits by which their students might be affected and to inspire the love for the social virtues, and they will not be able to fulfill that duty if they do not possess those virtues themselves” (test by Cesário Adrien, 1875). The teaching students often mentioned a civilizing project based on rules of social conduct. They almost unanimously admitted that the teacher should be the one giving that example. According to the student José Ferreira, in the test he took in 1875, the teacher is the example of the relationship one must have with the school and the State. According to his words, teachers have “mandatory duties to fulfill; when corresponding with authorities, they must never make use of written or spoken words that show nothing but decorum, submission, respect and acquiescence” (test by José Ferreira, 1875).

Among so many good intentions and embellishment for the profession, we identified a single excerpt, in a single test among the 73 we assessed, that was willing to reflect on the qualities a teacher must possess⁴, by describing aspects that were not part of Daligault's guidebook. The teaching student even pointed out some disadvantages in exercising the teaching profession. Thus, the student contradicted what the guidebook preached, as we were able to observe in the excerpt below:

It is the most ungrateful of all the occupations, as the man that is fully dedicated to it lives as if he is isolated from the society, where he would find fun, pleasures and joys had he a different occupation; because the man who dedicates himself to it, after a lifetime of hardships, as he, almost always, lacks financial resources, sees old age as nothing but the continuation of those hardships and, perhaps, even poverty. (Test by Cesário Adrien, 1875)

We could not fail to transcribe the excerpt above, as it has escaped the logic of the appropriation of pedagogical knowledge in the tests at the Escola Normal. Differently from the resonances that confirmed the representations of the teacher as a priest of the State, Cesário Adrien's words, although in an isolated manner, triggered some questioning. Perhaps other teaching students were in agreement with those observations, despite not recording them in their tests. From the quote above, one can infer the education professionals' living situation back then. Cesário Adrien's test hinted that, despite the persevering characterization of the profession as something to dedicate a lifetime to and, so, to be deprived of attending some social gatherings and events, those professionals enjoyed no guarantee of financial resources that would allow them to live a dignified life. Perhaps, that explains the need for imprinting selflessness on the future teachers' spirits, as one of the qualities they should possess.

According to José Salgado, another teaching student who took a test in 1875, “selflessness is about teachers feeling happy about their wage and seeking their reward in the students' progress and care about them only” (test by José Salgado, 1875). We can once more establish here a correspondence with priesthood, since, in both cases, intense and exclusive dedication by the nobleness of the action was expected, and reward for which should not be expected within the material level but essentially within the spiritual level.

More within resonances than questionings, the tests at the Escola Normal showed how readings were oriented. The pedagogical knowledge was appropriated in the sense of producing ideal behaviors, so the future teachers would become exemplary citizens, obedient to the State and religious principles. The teaching students showed they had learned those lessons well. In their tests, they described their mission as dutiful people committed to the progress of the nation. And more: subliminally, they took on the success of the governmental political project, not only the school education activity specifically. To do well in a test meant to stress that idea. To succeed at the Escola Normal and be granted the elementary teacher diploma was to invest in that knowledge, which was shown

⁴ As we mentioned, those qualities are presented in Mr. Daligault's pedagogical guidebook. The same qualities were listed in the tests titled *The teacher and its qualities*. Love for retreating is among the qualities required from the future teacher, and the excerpt we present next seemed to dialogue with that quality, aside from pinpointing the difficulties that teachers might have had because of the low wage paid to the category (Perez, 2012).

in the tests. This was required from the students and it is worth remembering that that was the knowledge required from the students for obtaining passing grades. Those were specific appropriations of pedagogical knowledge, but we can ask ourselves about other appropriations that Cesário Adrien's (1875) questioning showed were likely to have occurred, although they were little or not at all recorded in the tests.

Final considerations

In our article, we insisted on the idea according to which the period between reading the pedagogical guidebooks and the written tests at the Escola Normal was one of the possible periods used for appropriating the pedagogical knowledge. We talked about the early days of the elementary teacher preparation, when the courses were first established in the country. Although some Brazilian titles as well as Portuguese ones had already been published in the 1870's, the translation of Daligault's (1874) *Pedagogy practical course* became the main study reference for the teaching students. It was mentioned in other guidebooks' pages back then and was also mentioned in the answers given by the teaching students in their tests. Like any other guidebook, Daligault's text took on education as its goal, and, at a moment when Pedagogy was being built as a science of education (Nóvoa, 1987), it favored the school's purposes, teaching methods and the teacher's role. Those topics were systemized in texts that were accessible and clearly divided, which aimed at making its comprehension easier and preventing questionings from its reader's part.

The guidebooks were written for people who, as a general rule, had completed the four years of elementary school and would prepare for the teaching profession by attending teaching schools or studying for competitive admission processes for entering the career. The books showed nothing new, quite the opposite; their intent was to gather the education literature main ideas, by intermediating the reading teachers did of works produced by great authors in the field. By examining the contents of the guidebooks from back then, we noticed that those texts oriented the interpretations toward a kind of a teaching recipe and sought to produce a pedagogical culture. Those books were the first and perhaps the only contact elementary teachers had with pedagogical knowledge.

As guidebook readers, the teaching students, in the tests they took, made use of survival strategies (Perrenoud, 1995) they already were familiar with since the days they used to seat in elementary school. In the tests, they would paraphrase and even reproduce excerpts of the references found in Daligault's (1874) guidebook. Thus, they were quite skilled in memorizing all that had been taught during the Teaching Course. The satisfactory grades they received with this strategy showed that what the teachers expected from their students was exactly that "from year to year, the student learns to be evaluated, grasps on what the teacher bases the appreciation" (Perrenoud, 1995, p. 138). The large number of recurrences of transcriptions or paraphrases from Daligault's (1874) text or from concepts present in virtually all the tests leads us to think that this was the competence agreed upon, implicitly or explicitly, between teachers and students at the Escola Normal.

From this standpoint, to read meant to memorize the basic ideas about what was wanted for the school, education and teachership. This kind of schooled reading came close to the practices that traditionally characterized the elementary school, in the same

way the guidebooks and the tests surrounded a remarkable modality of appropriation of the pedagogical knowledge among the teaching students. As we saw, it was a practice that was allowed in the course, one that saved more room for reproductions and memorizations and, thus, added to making the knowledge contained in those guidebooks the only possible alternative for thinking of education, school and teachership.

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Received in July 9, 2013.

Accepted in October 14, 2013.