

Manuais escolares jesuítas de filosofia autorizados pela Comissão Nacional do Livro Didático na década de 1940

*Aldemir Barbosa da SILVA*¹

Resumo

O artigo tem por objetivo apresentar os manuais escolares jesuítas de filosofia autorizados pela Comissão Nacional do Livro Didático na década de 1940. Nas primeiras décadas republicanas, a influência do positivismo, liberalismo e laicismo na organização sócio-política-cultural tem impacto sobre a (re)organização do currículo oficial do ensino secundário, provocando o distanciamento das humanidades. Mas articulações católicas no campo político-educacional e o predomínio de tais instituições tradicionais apontam seu *status quo* no governo e o poder editorial das letras católicas na formação da nação. A problematização das fontes e dos documentos na investigação permite adotar o método documental/bibliográfico. Nesse contexto, abordar aspectos do currículo oficial e a autorização dos manuais pelo governo possibilita evidenciar a presença nos manuais escolares jesuítas *Filosofia*, do Pe. José Castro Nery S.J., e *Noções de História da Filosofia*, do líder intelectual católico Pe. Leonel Franca S.J., na formação da nação.

Palavras-chave: Cultura católica. Filosofia. História da educação. Jesuítas. Manuais escolares.

¹ Doctor and master in Education. University of the State of Santa Catarina. Professor at the State Secretariat for Education of the State of Santa Catarina. <https://orcid.org/0000-0003-2030-221X>. E-mail: maquiavel.sc@hotmail.com.

Jesuit philosophy textbooks authorized by the National Textbook Commission in the 1940s

Aldemir Barbosa da SILVA

Abstract

The article aims to present the jesuit philosophy textbooks that were authorized by the National Textbook Commission in the 1940s. In the first republican decades, the influence of positivism, liberalism and laicism in the socio-political-cultural organization had an impact on the (re)organization of the official curriculum of secondary education, causing the distancing of the humanities. But the catholic articulations in the educational political field and the predominance of such traditional institutions point out their *status quo* in the government and the editorial power of catholic letters in the formation of the nation. The problematization of sources and documents in the investigation allows us to adopt the documentary/bibliographic method. In this context, approaching aspects of the official curriculum and the authorization of the textbooks by the government, made it possible to evidence the presence in the jesuit school textbooks *Philosophy*, by Fr. José Castro Nery S.J., and *Notions of the History of Philosophy*, by the catholic intellectual leader Fr. Leonel Franca S.J., in the formation of the nation.

Keywords: Catholic culture. Philosophy. History of education. Jesuits. Textbooks.

Manuales escolares jesuítas de filosofía autorizados por la Comisión Nacional de Libros de Texto en la década de 1940

Aldemir Barbosa da SILVA

Resumen

El artículo tiene como objetivo presentar los manuales escolares jesuitas de filosofía que fueron autorizados por la Comisión Nacional de Libros de Texto en la década de 1940. En las primeras décadas republicanas, la influencia del positivismo, el liberalismo y el laicismo en la organización socio-política-cultural incidió en la (re)organización del currículo oficial de la educación secundaria, provocando el distanciamiento de las humanidades. Pero las articulaciones católicas en el campo político-educativo y el predominio de tales instituciones tradicionales, apuntan a su statu quo en el gobierno y al poder editorial de las letras católicas en la formación de la nación. El cuestionamiento de fuentes y documentos en la investigación posibilita adoptar el método documental/bibliográfico. En este contexto, abordar aspectos del currículo oficial y la autorización de los manuales por parte del gobierno, permite destacar la presencia en los manuales escolares jesuitas de: Filosofía del p. José Castro Nery S. J., y Nociones de Historia de la Filosofía del líder intelectual católico Fr. Leonel Franca S.J., en la formación de la nación.

Palabras clave: Cultura católica. Filosofía. Historia de la Educación. Jesuitas. Manuales escolares.

Introduction

In the early republican educational legislation, the representation of political tendencies positivism, liberalism, and secularism influences the (re)organization of the official curriculum in secondary education by providing professional training within traditional institutions (Catholic, military, and secular), impacting the structure of humanities education during that period.

According to Chartier (2011, p. 17), in the political and legal sense, this representation means “to occupy someone’s place, to hold their authority.” Such power dynamics, emanating from the political trends of the time, enable interventions in the country’s structure, with significant impacts on the formation of the nation.

This scenario of instability for the Catholic tradition in education is crucial for the rise of Catholic intellectuals in the political-educational field (1920s) within Catholic organizations, associations, and leagues, extending into state apparatuses (education). In this context, the involvement of these intellectuals in the Brazilian Education Association (ABE)² strengthens the representation of educational trends both traditional and progressive by establishing an important forum for educational debates in the country.

By the late 1920s, the predominance of traditional Catholic institutions highlights a power relationship held by religious orders in education, creating a privileged space to engage teachers in Catholic advocacy organizations³ and to strengthen authorial influence in Catholic literature - pedagogical books, school manuals, magazines, newspapers, bulletins, and other publications.

The presence of Catholic literature in traditional institutions signals the representation of Catholic culture in the formation of the intellectual/governing elite and points to an intrinsic relationship between the Catholic Church and the State during the 1930s. Among its intentions were opposition to communism, support for nationalization projects, and the approval of religious amendments. According to Chartier (2011, p. 17), representation is the

image that brings to mind and memory the absent objects, presenting them to us as they are.” In this sense, representation allows us to perceive the “absent object”

² In the 1920s, it was the primary instance for articulating the so-called educational renewal movement in Brazil. Within it, a group of educators united in a single campaign for the “civic-educational cause,” who would later become antagonistic after the Revolution of 1930. In a context of expanding state apparatus and competition for political hegemony, the struggle for control of the school system became central for these group (CARVALHO, 2003, p. 89).

³ Association of Catholic Teachers (APCs), Brazilian Catholic Confederation of Education (CCBE), Brazilian Catholic Action (ACB), and others.

(thing, concept, or person), substituting it with an “image” capable of adequately representing it.

The Catholic representation in the educational policies established by the Ministry of Education and Public Health indicates alliances for the reinstatement of religious education as a school subject, the elevation of higher education institutions (colleges/universities), and the presence of Catholic members in state apparatuses⁴ – such as the National Education Council (CNE), the National Commission for Cinematographic Censorship (CNCC), the National Census Commission (CCN), the National Textbook Commission (CNLD), among other.

The state apparatuses directed towards education indicate a strategic position of the government, with the National Textbook Commission (CNLD), founded in 1938, responsible for overseeing political-ideological and technical-scientific issues, authorizing and universalizing the presence of school manuals - both national and foreign - among the country's traditional institutions.

According to Choppin (2002, p. 10), school manuals "essentially appear as powerful instruments in the identity formation of Modern States," and the historical study of such educational objects allows for the recognition of four essential functions: referential, instrumental, ideological and cultural, and documentary.

In this context, the ideological and cultural function, in alignment with the CNLD, delineates the government's representation concerning nation-building, with the oversight of specific printed materials (school manuals) serving as a primary instrument of power to control technical-scientific and political-ideological processes in favor of national supremacy.

The ideological and cultural function is the oldest of these roles. From the 19th century, with the establishment of nation-states and the development of key educational systems within this context, the textbook emerged as one of the essential vectors for language, culture, and the values of the ruling classes. As a privileged instrument for identity construction, it is often recognized, alongside currency and the national flag, as a symbol of national sovereignty, thus assuming an important political role (CHOPPIN, 2004, p. 553).

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⁴ Between 1930 and 1945, the process of authoritarian centralization [...] was anchored in the establishment of a bureaucratic apparatus that made its own contribution to the prevailing power system. This work of institutional construction led to the creation of ministries - such as Education and Public Health (1930), Labor, Industry and Commerce (1930), and Aeronautics (1941) - and a series of agencies directly linked to the Presidency of the Republic (MICELI, 2001, p. 199).

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Thus, the (re)positioning of Catholic literature in the early decades of the republican government marks a set of strategies by intellectuals, which are intensified by the maintenance of power between the Catholic Church and the State. According to Certeau (2008, p. 102), strategies are

therefore actions that, thanks to the postulate of a place of power (the ownership of one's own), elaborate theoretical places (totalizing systems and discourses) capable of articulating a set of physical locations where forces are distributed. They combine these three types of places and aim to dominate them over one another.

In this context, the apostolic action of Dom Sebastião Leme (Carta Pastoral, em 1916)⁵ highlights the engagement of Catholic intellectuals in the socio-political and cultural field. Their presence in Catholic literature reinforces the representation of traditional pedagogy, with the (re)positioning of Catholic authors of school manuals in the publishing field, necessitating the maintenance of the power dynamics of Catholic culture.

To that end, the documentary and bibliographic analysis developed in the article allows for the following structure: in the first part, it highlights aspects that demonstrate the school subject of philosophy in the educational legislation of secondary education; in the second part, it indicates the position of the textbook *Filosofia* by Father José Castro Nery S.J. among the first authorizations from the CNLD; and finally, in the third part, it showcases the presence of the textbook *Noções de História da Filosofia* by the ecclesiastical leader Father Leonel Franca S.J., in support of the Catholic restoration.

Philosophy in Republican Educational Legislation

In the trajectory of republican educational legislation, there is an influence from the trends of positivism, liberalism, and secularism, which indicate anticatholic articulations in Decree 119-A, dated January 7, 1890, that detaches the official religion *status quo* from the State. The impact of this

⁵ The Catholic Reaction, directed by the ecclesiastical leadership, began in 1916 with the publication of the pastoral letter by Dom Sebastião Leme, appointed metropolitan archbishop of Olinda and Recife. [...] The elite is called to reconvert to the principles of Catholicism under the slogan "sanitation of the sanitizers," with the mission of spreading these principles among the masses. The founding of the magazine *A Ordem* and the D. Vital Center by Jackson de Figueiredo herald's new times for the Church, which, through the mobilization of lay elements, seeks to assert itself as a significant social force (VELLOSO, 1978, p. 121).

restriction on Catholic educational apostolate signals the advances of secularism (curriculum) through the absence of school subjects such as philosophy and religious education.

This republican educational position is established in the Benjamin Constant Reform (Decree No. 981, dated 12/08/1890), which regulates primary and secondary education in opposition to the prevailing model of humanities education. As a consequence, a teaching model is instituted that impacts the structural reorganization of the official curriculum (notably the absence of philosophy—reducing essential knowledge, signaling a strategy to contain the influence of the neo-scholastic Renaissance⁶) within traditional institutions.

However, the Public Instruction Reform of the State of São Paulo (Law No. 88, dated 09/08/1892) indicates a repositioning of the school subject of philosophy in the curriculum of secondary and scientific courses, reflecting conflicts and disputes in the state and federal political-educational landscape during the early republican years.

Regarding the teaching of philosophy at any educational level, whether secondary or higher, no radical changes can be immediately observed with the establishment of the Republic. The subject remains in the Pedro II School, and no measures are taken at the university level that indicate a change in pedagogical orientation (MORAES FILHO, 1952, p. 11).

In the early decades of the 20th century, the Epitácio Pessoa Reform (Decree No. 3,890, dated 01/01/1901) intensified professional training in the mold of positivism (focusing on the dominant ideology) in secondary and higher education, while maintaining anticatholic orientations. During this legislation, the founding of the Faculty of São Bento in 1908 took place, considered the first Faculty of Philosophy in the country, integrated with the Catholic University of Louvain (Belgium), representing a Catholic strategy of the period.

Subsequently, the Rivadávia Corrêa Reform (Decree No. 8,659, dated 05/04/1911), the Organic Law of Higher and Fundamental Education, indicates that the Pedro II School should teach the subjects of the fundamental course with a focus on literary and scientific education. According to Moraes Filho (1952, p. 12), “surprisingly, the philosophy subject is not found in the curriculum of Pedro II, the official school.” However, in the Carlos Maximiliano Reform (Decree No. 11,530, dated 18/03/1915), which reorganized secondary and higher education, the teaching of philosophy was included as an optional course.

⁶ It is a Catholic school of thought that became quite influential in Brazil starting in the 1940s, with the arrival of several European thinkers in this vein to assist in the establishment of philosophy courses, primarily in Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo. Jackson de Figueiredo, Gustavo Corção, and Alceu de Amoroso Lima are notable representatives of this movement (JAPIASSU e MARCONDES, 1996, p. 107).

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The predominance of educational models influenced by positivism demonstrates the inclinations of the official curriculum in secondary education (professional as opposed to humanistic). However, the influence of Catholic intellectuals in the 1920s had an impact on the political-educational field, reflecting in the Rocha Vaz Reform (Decree-Law No. 16,782 – A, dated 01/13/1925), which, while reorganizing the legislation for primary, secondary, and higher education, includes among the changes to the official curriculum the reinstatement of philosophy as a mandatory subject.

Art. 48. The curriculum of the full secondary course comprises the following subjects: Portuguese, French, and Latin (mandatory); English or German (at the student's choice); Spanish and Italian (optional), subject to the provisions of the following paragraph; moral and civic education; geography; algebra; geometry and trigonometry; world and Brazilian history; physics; chemistry and natural history; philosophy and history of philosophy; literature in the Brazilian language and Latin languages; and sociology (BRASIL, 1925, p. 8541).

The teaching of philosophy returns to traditional institutions, and the theoretical and philosophical foundations begin to occupy privileged spaces for nation-building. In this context, the presence of philosophy teachers in secondary education breaks the previous absence of philosophical concepts and reestablishes the fundamental foundations: theory of knowledge, logic, ethics, epistemology, politics, metaphysics, and others.

In the 1930s, with the establishment of the Ministry of Education and Public Health, amidst the negotiations between the conservative Catholic faction and the government, reformer Francisco Campos (from Minas Gerais) took office as Prime Minister, instituting measures for higher⁷ and secondary education in the country.

At that time, the stance of educational policy allowed the Francisco Campos Reform (Decree-Law No. 19,890, dated 04/18/1931) to outline the organization of secondary education through sequential courses: fundamental and complementary⁸ – providing space for the school subject of the history of philosophy as a prerequisite for candidates enrolling in law course.

⁷ In 1931, among the restrictions for founding a university, there was a requirement for a minimum of three higher education units in the process, allowing for the combination of the Faculties of Law, Medicine, and Engineering, or the substitution of one of these with the Faculty of Education, Science, and Letters.

⁸ **Art. 4.** The complementary course, mandatory for candidates enrolling in certain higher education institutions, will be conducted over two years of intensive study, including individual exercises and practical work, and will comprise the following subjects: [...], History of Philosophy (BRASIL, 1931, p. 6945).

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During the tenures of Ministers Washington Pires (1932-1933) and Gustavo Capanema (1934-1945), a network of autarchies, councils, departments, and special commissions was created within the Ministry of Education and Health. In this context, the strategic position of the state apparatus—the National Textbook Commission (CNLD)⁹ allows for an intensified representation of the federal government regarding the textbooks that would be used in pre-primary, primary, normal, vocational, and secondary schools throughout the Republic. The Francisco Campos Reform stipulates that:

Starting January 1, 1940, textbooks that have not received prior authorization from the Ministry of Education, as provided by this law, may not be adopted in the education of pre-primary, primary, normal, vocational, and secondary schools throughout the Republic (BRASIL, 1938, p. 277).

Finally, the Gustavo Capanema Reform (Decree No. 4,244, dated 04/09/1942), the Organic Law of Secondary Education, is organized into two divisions: the junior high cycle, lasting four years, covering the areas of Languages, Sciences, and Arts; and the high school cycle, lasting three years, encompassing the areas of Languages, Arts, Sciences, and Philosophy.

Art. 4. The classical course and the scientific course, each lasting three years, aim to consolidate the education provided in the junior high cycle, as well as to develop and deepen it. In the classical course, there will be an emphasis on intellectual formation, in addition to a greater understanding of philosophy, with a strong focus on ancient literature; in the scientific course, this formation will be characterized by a greater study of sciences (BRASIL, 1942a, p. 5798).

In 1946, the Official Gazette published (Ordinance No. 19, dated 01/12/1946) the Philosophy Program for the scientific (2nd and 3rd grades) and classical (3rd grade) high school courses, which selected philosophical themes (introduction; concepts of psychology; concepts of logic; concepts of ethics; concepts of aesthetics; concepts of metaphysics; and concepts of the history of philosophy) among the grades of each course, along with methodological instructions. In this context, the consolidation of philosophy teaching occurs in the (re)structuring of secondary education.

Philosophy appears as the crowning element of the entire secondary course: it aims at the integration of knowledge and their synthesis. It is, thus, an eminently formative discipline, more than just a body of information. While it is true that it is not entirely possible to separate “formation” from “information,” each of these aspects in educational work depends on the other. The teacher should not forget that philosophy

⁹ The first ordinary session was postponed several times; however, it took place on 01/14/1941, led by the then-elected president and vice president, Euclides Roxo and Father Leonel Franca S.J., along with the members of the CNLD. They noted the numerous ongoing processes and the urgent need to simplify the evaluation process for school manuals and to hire more reviewers, as it would not be possible to conduct the evaluations in a timely manner, in accordance with Decree-Law No. 1,006, dated 12/30/1938. The first list of authorized manuals was published in 1942 (FILGUEIRAS, 2013).

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will emerge from all the knowledge acquired in the course, which will now be revisited in its deepest influences (BRASIL, 1946, p. 853).

From this structure of philosophical education in secondary schooling, a landscape of studies is presented that allows for the intersection of questions and philosophical systems among the "notions" of specific themes, focusing on a general understanding of the main philosophical problems in the process of intellectual, cultural, and moral formation.

In the trajectory of philosophy teaching during the early republican decades, state educational legislations indicate signs of a power relationship diverging from the national official curriculum, as the educational legislation in São Paulo did not interrupt the teaching of philosophy. Traditional institutions - Catholic, military, and secular - especially those managed by religious orders such as Jesuits, Benedictines, Franciscans, and others - continue to include the humanities in their curricula.

Finally, in the 1940s, the lists of manuals authorized by the CNLD, published in the Official Gazette of the Union (DOU)¹⁰, include nine specific titles in philosophy that indicate the predominance of Catholic authors (seven titles) and national publishers. Notably, the Jesuit authors are represented by two titles and one reedition, along with the translation of two titles by French Jesuits by the Benedictines. Thus, the authorized Jesuit manuals achieve significant representation in the nation's formation.

Manual *Philosophy* – Father José de Castro Nery S.J.

The first school textbook of philosophy authorized by the CNLD is authored by Father José de Castro Nery S.J. a professor of philosophy at the State Gymnasium of São Paulo and ecclesiastical assistant of the CDV/SP. This manual is organized by philosophical themes in accordance with the Philosophy Program at Pedro II Gymnasium and is titled: *Filosofia*, 3rd ed., São Paulo: Editora Nacional¹¹, 1934. The publication appears in Bulletin No. 138 of the DOU, with the following wording:

General Secretariat of Education and Culture. Bulletin No. 138. Proceedings of July 3, 1942. Book Commission. Books Examined from January to May

¹⁰ The authors included: Father José Castro Nery S.J.; Father Leonel Franca S.J.; Dom Ludgero Jasper O.S.B. (French translation - two manuals); and Brother Isidoro Dumont; Leonardo Van Acker; Henrique Geenen; Jonathas Serrano; José B. Ribeiro; and José da Silva (Portuguese edition).

¹¹ The Companhia Editora Nacional was responsible for the respective three editions (1931, 1932, and 1934) of this textbook, being regarded as the main representative of Catholic publications during that period.

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1942. Books evaluated – 31; Approved books – 23; Disputed books – 8. List of approved books (Author – Work – Publisher – Date). [...] Nery, P. I. de Castro – *Filosofia* – Editora Nacional – 1943. [...] Rio de Janeiro, July 5, 1942 – The commission (BRASIL, 1942b, p. 4658).

The position of the textbooks authorized by the CNLD highlights the pioneering nature of federal educational policies by enabling oversight of essential items ¹² that indicate political-ideological concerns (art. 20 – the use of the textbook cannot be authorized), followed by technical-scientific issues (art. 21 – the use of the textbook will also be denied). In this case, it allows for an intensified presence of the republican government regarding the textbooks adopted in pre-primary, primary, normal, vocational, and secondary schools.

In the early republican decades, the Jesuits held a privileged position in the administration of traditional secondary education institutions in the country, enabling the organization of a Catholic elite (intellectual/governing) with its extension into higher education, supported by a legion of teachers who operated in the socio-political and cultural field, as evidenced by the representation of such authors in educational publications.

In this context, the authorization of the school manual *Filosofia*, 3rd edition (1934)¹³, by Father Castro Nery S.J., indicates an intrinsic relationship between Catholic literature and nation-building. Before undergoing the procedures of the CNLD, it is subjected to the scrutiny of ecclesiastical censors, in accordance with Canon Law guidelines. On the verso of the first page of the manual, the inscriptions read: *Nihil Obstat* (nothing hinders) issued by Father Ernesto de Paula; and *Imprimi Potest* (it may be printed) stated by Monsignor Gastão L. Pinto V.G., indicating the authorization of the respective Catholic censors.

The representation of Father Castro Nery S.J. in the editorial field is demonstrated through the following works (philosophical, didactic, and apologetic): *O problema cético à entrada da gnoseologia Bergson* (1929); *O problema do conhecimento* (1932); *Programa de ação católica* (1933); *Evolução do pensamento antigo* (1936); and *Filosofia* (1931 and subsequent editions).

¹² The elimination criteria aimed to establish rules that reinforced the idea of unity—of the State and the Nation—defending national traditions, family, religion, and opposing class struggles. Such guidelines reveal the influence of the ideas advocated during that time, particularly by the armed forces and the Catholic Church, on the politics of school textbooks (FILGUEIRAS, 2011, p. 23).

¹³ The third edition of this summary is presented to students with two modifications: it has been significantly increased in volume and clearly altered in the phrasing of its content; the addition of information was due to the persistent requests of the editor and author, as well as friendly suggestions received from various parts of the country. However, there was no intention to destroy the intrinsic structure of the booklet or its intentionally elementary character. The simplification of the spelling of words aimed to comply with the government decree that mandated such changes for school books. It is evident that, in this regard, the technical difficulties were considerable and, most likely, always overcome. C. N. São Paulo, January 1933 (NERY, 1934, p. 7).

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Additionally, he contributed articles such as *Estudo sobre a psicologia forense no Brasil* (1931); *Possessão, histeria e êxtase* (1933); and *A evolução do pensamento antigo, sua fisionomia e suas conclusões* (1935) in the principal periodical of Catholic intellectualism, the magazine *A Ordem/RJ*.

Among the periodicals from the 1930s that reference the school manual by the Jesuit author are: *O Jornal/RJ* – "Aos Colégios," Section on New School Books (1931) and "Seção Literatura Philosophica"¹⁴ (literary criticism, mentioning the manual), by Leopoldo Aires (1936); *A Ordem/RJ* – Section on Editions of 1931; *Correio da Manhã/RJ* – "Novidades Literárias," Section on School Books (1932); *O Estado/SC* – "Bibliotheca Pedagógica Brasileira," Section on Other Books, Secondary (1933); among others.

In the editorial field, the consumption of school manuals intensifies the production, circulation, and use of printed materials, making it strategic for publishers to update their lists (scientific or literary works, school manuals, pedagogical books, and others) among periodicals. In this context, the Companhia Editora Nacional, following the editorial trends of the time, features the Jesuit philosophy manual in its lists:

Conego Castro Nery. *Manual de Filosofia*. 2nd edition – The author is a professor of philosophy at the State Gymnasium of Campinas. This volume contains the entire curriculum of the Pedro II College for the teaching of philosophy. The book is well received in all colleges and is frequently recommended by the subject's teachers (CORREIO DA MANHÃ, 1932, p. 5).

This Jesuit school manual serves as a strategic Catholic instrument by genuinely presenting philosophical knowledge, providing precise information on studies within the essential content for the school subject of philosophy. In the methodological and epistemological structure of the chapters (with no space for notes or exercises), the placement of the 156 footnotes indicates a wealth of concepts that solidify the arguments presented in the chapters, referencing classic works as well as articles and writings by Catholic intellectuals¹⁵.

From the features of the materiality on the first pages, the manual includes editorial information (author, title, publisher, edition, year), such as: the ecclesiastical censors; the preface of the 1st and

¹⁴ Mention should be made of the importance of the books and compendiums by Jesuit masters Castro Nery and Leonel Franca in secondary and higher education. These authors are recognized for their erudition in the production of the philosophical thought of Saint Thomas Aquinas and contribute significantly to the philosophical literature of the country (AIRES, 1936).

¹⁵ Notably, the Catholic thinker Jacques Maritain, ecclesiastical leader Father Leonel Franca S.J., the leader of Catholic intellectualism Tristão de Ataíde (Alceu Amoroso Lima), among others, are highlighted.

3rd editions (1930 and 1933); an analytical index (specifics of the chapters); the philosophy program of the Pedro II Gymnasium (40 points); advice for the philosophy student (ten articles); abbreviations (e.g., "vg" for *verbi gratia*; "ie" for *id est*); a brief text on the concept of being; and ontology (five points).

In the central structure, the author's methodological rigor positions seven specific chapters (themes): Philosophy of Sensitive Being or Aesthetics (Book I); Philosophy of Intelligent Being or Logic (Book II); Philosophy of Voluntary Being or Ethics (Book III); Philosophy of Spiritual Being or Psychology (Book IV); Philosophy of Material Being or Rational Cosmology (Book V); Philosophy of Necessary Being or Rational Theology (Book VI); and Philosophy of Being as Being or Ontology (Book VII).

In Book IV (the longest section of the manual), several pages are dedicated to psychology in Brazil, mentioning both Catholic and lay representatives in various fields of psychology (general, characterology, primitive, pathological, psychiatric, Freudian, transcendental, animal, applied, and educational). In the case of pedagogical psychology, it highlights:

Lourenço Filho, Jônatas Serrano, Noemí Silveira, Sampaio Dória, Afrânio Peixoto, L. Magalhães, Raul Briquet, H. Radecka, H. Antipoff, Plínio Olinto, Anísio Teixeira, Caneiro Junior, Tristão de Ataíde, Leonardo Van Acker, Alexandre Correa, Leonel Franca, S. J., E. Beckheuser, Helder Câmara, Dom X. de Matos, O. S. B., Pedro Anísio (NERY, 1934, p. 127).

And after the essential epilogue (a brief text) titled *As ciências metafísicas*, there is a section that includes: a philosophy scheme; a dictionary (27 pages); a bibliography - composed of works (107), dictionaries (three), and journals (11); an alphabetical index; and a nominal index. Among the mentions of the manual in the São Paulo periodicals, it highlights:

Philosophia (Summary and Dictionary) is, I declare as the author, a summary of the "philosophical program for the use of those in a hurry on the eve of an exam, or a compendium of the more extensive lectures of the class." It is divided into seven parts and comprises 235 pages, bringing together Brazilian lessons on Aesthetics, Logic, Ethics, Psychology, Rational Cosmology, Rational Theology, Ontology, and more, along with an epilogue on the sciences of metaphysics and finally the Dictionary of Philosophical Terms (A GAZETA, 1932, p. 2).

The press's stance on school manuals allows for a brief synthesis of the printed work, providing indications of the intentional information from the author/publisher that facilitate the intensification of the production, circulation, and use of such texts by exposing the philosophical themes that constitute secondary education, serving as a reference for the country's traditional institutions.

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The school manual *Filosofia*, by Father José de Castro Nery S.J., was developed in the 1930s, with its editorial trajectory extending into the 1940s after receiving authorization from the CNLD. This fact indicates a strategic power relationship for Catholic literature, aligned with the methodological and epistemological rigor in the evaluation process, followed by corrections and updates to the philosophical knowledge by the author.

Manual *Noções de História da Filosofia* – Father Leonel Franca S.J.

The school manual *Noções de História da Filosofia*, authored by Father Leonel Franca S.J., was first published in 1918, serving as an instrument in opposition to the advances of anticatholic philosophical trends (materialism, positivism, existentialism, and others). Within the structure of the printed work, there is an appendix discussing the opportunity and importance of the scholastic revival in the 19th century, which was regarded by critics of the time as a work of masterful erudition by the Jesuit author, aimed at traditional institutions (secondary and higher education).

A História da Philosophia do padre Leonel Franca S. J., é uma obra de mérito, elaborada com escrupuloso e accurado estudo dos systemas philosophicos de sabor vário, que desde os começos das cultura clássica greco-romana até os nossos dias têm buscado a explicação do universo e as razões de ser (se as há), da vida e do destino humana. [...] A crítica do agnóstico é sempre difícil para os espiritualistas da feição do padre Franca; mas a este livro dão realce os propostos de imparcialidade e o cuidado de exatidão no exame das doutrinas. É admirável a serenidade do crítico. [...] Um livro considerado de grande proveito e certamente, digno de estima (RIBEIRO, 1919, p. 5).

In this case, the literary critique in the periodical *O Imparcial/RJ* highlights the representation of the manual in Brazilian philosophical literature, as well as the relationship between the author and critic in organizing the history of philosophy. It further praises the position supporting the movement of the scholastic revival in the 19th century, aiming to position such concepts within the academic landscape by presenting an extensive (still under construction) list of philosophy departments, thinkers, works, and periodicals from Italy, France, Germany, Belgium, England, Spain, and Portugal that lean toward this philosophical trend.

The discussions on spiritualist philosophy in the 19th century compose a subtitle of the chapter "Modern Philosophy," configured by the themes of eclecticism, traditionalism, ontologism, and neo-scholastic philosophy. The Jesuit author indicates the signs of the Catholic Reaction, initiated by the

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encyclical *Aeterni Patris* (1879) by Pope Pius XII, advocating for the restoration of Christian philosophy in accordance with the doctrine of Saint Thomas Aquinas.

Thus, the projection in the manual highlights the central productions surrounding Christian philosophy, as well as the inclinations of anticatholic philosophical trends and the repercussions of this encyclical (1879) in the formation of a legion of authors (in philosophy, psychology, law, theology, medicine, sociology, and others) through the repositioning of Catholic literature in favor of the great masters of scholasticism.

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In the trajectory of the manual, there are fundamental changes in the structure with the 2nd edition in 1921, showcasing the author's pioneering work in the chapter *A Filosofia do Brasil*, which can be considered a masterful production due to its exposition of the philosophical currents in the country (spiritualist, positivist, and materialist) and the epistemological rigor in the sections covering thinkers, schools, principles, doctrines, critiques, works, compendiums, and more. Following this, the subsection titled *Pampsiquismo Panteísta* presents a structure that explores themes such as philosophy and science, metaphysics, the purpose of the world, and morality, highlighting the relationship between philosophy, morality, and religion, and subsequently, the Jesuit author's critiques of the inclinations of the thinker. Such (re)organization of the school manual reflects in the literary criticism of the period.

In 1921, we are presented with the second edition, revised and elaborated, of the important work by Father Leonel Franca S.J. [...] What the author has produced in the field of philosophy has been thoroughly explored, through a most fortunate inspiration, in a dedicated chapter of over 100 pages, thereby filling a significant and heartfelt gap. For this reason, we must bestow upon this work of the esteemed Jesuit the flattering qualification of being unique and, therefore, incomparable. The method and division of the work excel in clarity, such that it need not fear comparison with the best foreign compendiums. For the benefit of Brazilian science (FIEME, 1922, p. 283).

During this period, there is significant repercussion in literary criticism from the Rio de Janeiro periodicals *Jornal do Brasil*, *O Imparcial*, *Vozes de Petrópolis*, *O Dia*, *A Ordem*, *Gazeta de Notícias*, among others, highlighting the philosophical erudition of the author (the organization of such

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philosophical currents in the country) as a strategic indication of Catholic literature's influence over the power of the printed word in favor of philosophical trends that align with Catholic philosophy.

However, the last alteration of the manual, in its 6th edition in 1940, in addition to bibliographic indications, revisions, and recent publications, introduces a new chapter: *Filosofia Contemporânea*, organized around the philosophical trends of pragmatism, idealism, phenomenology, and neo-scholasticism. Throughout the editions of the manual, the author seeks to update the discussions surrounding these philosophical trends, earning recognition from literary critic.

Among the great and illustrious minds we have in contemporary times, it is essential to include the Reverend Father Leonel Franca whenever an honest assessment of our cultural resources is made. [...] This book is one of the primary works that contribute to the enrichment of our literature. The fact that it has reached its 9th edition is, in itself, indicative of its validity and the impact it has on our audience (NEVES, 1943, p. 6).

The strategic position of this school manual in the editorial field highlights essential updates for the teaching of philosophy, as well as fostering discussions around the philosophical trends of the period and positioning the movement that underpins the theoretical foundations of neo-scholastic philosophy.

In the subsection *Filosofia Neoescolástica*, it points to the representation of major university centers and the thinkers who articulate a network of sociability through the restructuring of neo-scholastic literature, which includes the establishment of magnificent collections, critical editions, detailed monographs, periodicals, and manuals that comprise the didactic domain of thought through historical restoration (reconstruction and doctrinal orientation)¹⁶.

In the didactic domain, we no longer count the texts and manuals of uneven quality that facilitate an initial introduction to scholastic thought. In Latin, one may recall the courses of Cornoldi S.J., Schiffini S.J., Van Der AA, Lahousee S.J., Urraburu S.J., De Maria S.J., Remer S.J., De Mandato S.J., Donat S.J., Boyer S.J., Zigliara

¹⁶ In the doctrinal orientation followed, not all neo-scholastics understand the restoration of medieval thought in the same way. There exists a common heritage of theses that form the essential core of all Thomism. To reject these would be to position oneself outside the thought of St. Thomas. However, on the periphery of these fundamental theses, nervously synthesized by Sertillanges in *Les grandes thèses de la philosophie thomiste*, there are others considered essential by some, yet criticized by others as accessory, debatable, or unacceptable. Divergences multiply around these. Disregarding less significant individual differences, three characterized directions can be distinguished. The most conservative advocates call for a literal restoration of what they perceive as the integral, coherent, and indivisible Thomistic thought. [...] The group of progressives believes that contact with the achievements of experimental science may inspire useful renewals or impose a revision of old positions. [...] There is also a faction of neo-Thomists who, in light of modern philosophy, feel they should adopt a less polemical and more understanding attitude (FRANCA, 1944, p. 325-326).

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O.P., Lepidi O.P., Gredt O.S.B., Reinstadler, Willems, Maquart, the *Cursus Lacensis Maior* by T. Pesche S.J., The Meyer S.J., and the *Cursus ad usum scholarum* by C. Frick S.J., H. Haan S.J., Boedder S.J., and Cathrein S.J. In French, the most notable work is the extensive *Cours de philosophie*, 12 volumes, from Louvain, written by Mercier, Nys, De Wulff, and the *Traité élémentaire*, a summary of the former in 2 volumes. Additionally, there are the texts of Lahr S.J., Sortais S.J., Castelein S.J., Farges Barbedette, Foulquié, and Maritain (only just begun). In German, one can refer to Strockl, Gutberlet, Lehmen S.J., Hagemann, and Grimisch O.S.B. In English, there is the *Stonyhurst Series Philosophical* by John Rickaby, Joseph Rickaby S.J., Klarke S.J., Maher S.J., Joyce S.J., and Walker S.J. In Italian, Rosignoli; in Spanish, Mendive S.J.; and in Portuguese, Sinibaldi.

(FRANCA, 1944, p. 323).

In this context, the respective manuals form a list of didactic productions (19th and 20th centuries) through the lens of scholastic and neo-scholastic philosophy, in the following languages: Latin (a strict domain of Jesuit authors, with rare exceptions among Dominicans, Benedictines, and Augustinians); French (predominantly lay authors, followed by Jesuits); German (a symmetry among lay authors, Jesuits, and Benedictines); English (the supremacy of Jesuit authors); and finally, Italian, Spanish, and Portuguese (from both lay and Jesuit authors).

The strategic position of school philosophy manuals (from ecclesiastical authors) highlights the advances of Catholic literature in the editorial (didactic) field, guided by the encyclical *Aeterni Patris* (1879). Among the philosophy manuals authorized by the CNLD, there is a predominance of Jesuit authors, responsible for four editions (including two French translations) and one reissue. In this regard, these manuals traverse traditional institutions in the formation of a Catholic elite (intellectual/leadership).

The indications of the restoration project in Father Leonel Franca S.J.'s manual signal the philosophical influence of the neo-Thomist trend through the structuring of the subtitles: *Filosofia Neoescolástica* (in the chapters on Modern and Contemporary Philosophy); *Encíclica Aeterni Patris* (1879) – a brief mention; *Corrente Espiritualista* (Philosophy in Brazil); *Renascença Escolástica do Século XVI* (Medieval Philosophy); and the appendix.

In the manual (10th edition, 1944), the additions to the bibliography (printed in each chapter), as well as the footnotes (numbered from 1 to 430) referencing other sources within the text, highlight the author's methodological rigor, while preserving the publications in their original languages. These signs demonstrate a relevant aspect of the *Ratio Studiorum*¹⁷ emphasizing the importance of works in

¹⁷ *Ratio Studiorum* é o nome abreviado de *Ratio Atque Institutio Studiorum Societatis Iesu*, o plano educacional que a Companhia de Jesus pôs à frente dos seus colégios nas mais variadas partes do globo (da Europa à Ásia, do Japão ao Brasil) (MIRANDA, 2010).

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their original language, thus preventing erroneous translations and tendencies toward philosophical sects.

The presence of the intellectual Father Leonel Franca S.J. in the restoration project allows for active engagement in the editorial field with numerous publications in periodicals (from the 1920s to the 1940s). This is a result of the author's and lecturer's efforts among institutions and Catholic organizations, participating in events that strengthen ecclesiastical and governmental alliances. Among his authored productions are apostolic works, school manuals, translations, prefaces, and others, establishing him as a faithful representative of Catholic literature.

In the trajectory of the Jesuit ecclesiastical leader (censor) within the main Catholic institutions and organizations¹⁸ he was a member of state apparatuses¹⁹, which highlights the intrinsic power relationship of the Jesuit priest in the socio-political and cultural field. In this sense, the formation of a network of sociability allows for the intensification of his role in the apostolic field (militancy) in the formation and organization of the engagement of intellectuals (both ecclesiastical and lay) in support of restoration projects.

In the 1940s, the authored works of Father Leonel Franca S.J., such as the reissues of the manual *Noções de História da Filosofia*, signal his influence on Catholic literature and the fundamental articulations in the educational field of the country, indicating the advancement of the Catholic Church in higher education.

Regarding the school manual of the Jesuit priest (vice-president of the CNLD), it follows the legal procedures established by Decree-Law No. 1.006/38, adhering to the guidelines directed at authors/members of the state apparatus, which mandate the formation of a Special Commission by the National Education Council (CNE). In this case, the process for obtaining opinions and authorization for this specific educational object occurs through

Opinion No. 320 – Secondary Education Commission. Commission for the Examination of Textbooks. Requested the C.N.E to indicate a committee of teachers

¹⁸ Centro Dom Vital (CDV), Associação dos Professores Católicos (APCs), Sociedade Jurídica Santo Ivo (SJSI), Ação Universitária Católica (AUC), Liga Eleitoral Católica (LEC), Ação Católica Brasileira (ACB) e outros.

¹⁹ Ao longo dos anos 30, o Padre Franca ocupou uma série de cargos e funções no âmbito estatal. Desde 1931, foi membro do Conselho Nacional de Educação, nomeado por Getúlio Vargas, função que ocupou durante 17 anos. A partir de janeiro de 1937, pertenceu ao Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística (IBGE), sendo sucessivamente reeleito para representar o campo da religião e também como consultor técnico do Conselho Nacional da Estatística, ligado àquele órgão. Em 1938, foi nomeado para a Comissão censitária Nacional e, em 1939, tomou posse como membro da Comissão Nacional do Livro didático. Após a redemocratização, em 1946, foi empossado no Itamaraty, no posto de Delegado do Governo no Instituto Brasileiro de Educação, Ciência e Cultura, órgão nacional articulado à Unesco (FÁVERO; BRITTO, 1999, p. 341).

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responsible for examining textbooks authored by members of the Textbook Commission, the Secondary Education Commission proposes the appointment of the following professors [...] Philosophy and History of Philosophy: 1. Álvaro Borges Vieira Pinto, Professor of History of Philosophy at the National Faculty of Philosophy. 2. Guilherme de Azevedo Ribeiro, Professor of History of Philosophy at the Catholic Faculty of Philosophy 3. Murilo Teixeira Leite Penido, Professor of Psychology at the Catholic Faculty of Philosophy (BRASIL, 1946, p. 2449).

Thus, the authorization of the manual *Noções de História da Filosofia* by Father Leonel Franca S.J. signals to literary critics the author's masterful role in the philosophical literature of the country, particularly in organizing the history of philosophy (representing philosophical thought in the nation). Beyond the author's intentions, the position of this manual in the formation of the nation marks a latent opposition to anti-Catholic authors.

National Commission for Textbooks. For the information of interested parties, the following is published, the partial list No. 3 of textbooks judged as authorized for use by this Commission. These, like those in other lists to be published, will be the ones that can be adopted [...]. In the upcoming school year of 1948, in accordance with Decree-Law No. 8,460, dated December 26, 1945. Secondary Education. Philosophy. [...] Leonel Franca (Father) *Noções de História da Filosofia*; 8th edition; 1,050. record; 1,182.42. process. – Leonel Franca (Father) *Noções de História da Filosofia*; 10th edition; 1,080. record; 85,754.44. process (BRASIL, 1947, p. 14998).

In this context, the 8th and 10th editions (1942 and 1944) highlight a long trajectory of the manual as a tool of Catholic literature in the restoration project, as they hold significant positions in philosophical literature and traditional institutions. In addition to the intentions of the Jesuit author, the methodological and epistemological rigor regarding philosophical literature signals the (re)organization of these philosophical knowledges around the formation of the nation.

Final considerations

In the early republican decades, the predominance of traditional Catholic institutions provided a privileged space for school manuals produced by religious orders. However, the (re)organization of the official curriculum through educational reforms signaled the advancements of secularism in education, resulting in the removal of school subjects such as philosophy and religious instruction. Nevertheless, the network of sociability among Catholic intellectuals in the 1920s facilitated the return of philosophy to the curriculum as part of the Catholic restoration project led by lay authors and members of religious orders (Jesuits, Carmelites, Dominicans, Capuchins, and others).

These disputes in the political-educational landscape demonstrated significant advancements in the 1930s, particularly the restoration of the intrinsic power relationship between the Catholic Church

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and the State, reinforcing their alliance in pursuit of common goals. The Catholic intellectual/leadership elite in the country was strongly represented, making it strategic for the government to align with their demands and strengthen its support network.

By the late 1930s, the establishment of the National Commission for Textbooks (CNLD) marked the government's strategic position in overseeing and authorizing such educational materials, addressing both political-ideological and technical-scientific issues in support of nationalization projects, especially in opposition to communist influences in the country.

School manuals were privileged objects in the formation of the nation, becoming focal points of intense competition in the publishing field regarding their production, circulation, and use reflecting the specific characteristics identified with the authors' intentions. In this context, traditional institutions (Catholic, military, and secular) facilitated the use of these authorized manuals, thereby maintaining the status quo of these Catholic educational materials in most of these institutions.

Of the nine philosophy textbooks authorized by the CNLD in the 1940s, five works were by ecclesiastical authors (Jesuits, Benedictines, and Marists), two were by Catholic lay authors, and two were by secular authors. Notably, in addition to the two Jesuit authors under investigation, the two works by the Benedictines were translations of Jesuit works from French, resulting in a total of four Jesuit philosophy textbooks.

One intrinsic characteristic of Jesuit manuals is their adherence to the *Ratio Studiorum*, particularly in the fields of philosophy and theology. Specifically, the editions by Father José de Castro Nery (1934/3rd ed.) and Father Leonel Franca (1942/8th ed. and 1944/10th ed.) represent Jesuit educational philosophy, with traditional institutions maintaining the predominance of these manuals in opposition to the political and educational principles of secularism.

These Jesuit philosophy textbooks signal the representation of this religious order in the publishing field, with the presence of these ecclesiastical intellectuals in strategic sectors of society. This positioning allowed for the intensification of discussions surrounding the philosophical aspects of the scholastic renaissance or (neo)scholasticism, particularly through the lens of the philosophy and theology of Saint Thomas Aquinas and the French thinker Jacques Maritain, among others, as part of the Catholic restoration project.

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