

# Trainee teachers and foundling girls: Social origins and life trajectories in the 19<sup>th</sup> century in Portugal and Brazil

MARIA JOÃO MOGARRO

mariamogarro@gmail.com

Polytechnics Institute of Portalegre, Portugal

SILVIA ALICIA MARTÍNEZ

silvia-martinez@hotmail.com

State University of Norte Fluminense, Brazil

## ABSTRACT:

In the second half of the 19th century, the debate on education in Portugal and Brazil encompassed a wide range of issues. Two specific areas of this debate interest us here: i) the need for properly qualified primary teachers in both countries, via the creation of teacher training institutes providing relatively intensive and specialized training in educational theory and practice; ii) the attention devoted to institutions providing protection to children and young people in risk groups (homes, orphanages, refuges) within the context of the social welfare policy of the period, based on notions of social regeneration and on the role of education in the progress and development of the respective country. This paper focuses on the intersection between these two areas, analysing the social origins of trainee teachers and the professional fortunes of girls from care homes in both countries. In terms of documentary sources, priority has been given to primary sources located in the Arquivo Nacional Torre do Tombo (Portugal) and the Arquivo Histórico do Liceu de Humanidades de Campos (Brazil).

## KEYWORDS:

Teacher training models, Boarding school, Gender, Comparative education.

## EDUCATING THE POOR AND HOMELESS IN 19<sup>th</sup> CENTURY PORTUGAL

The concern with destitute children has its roots in the early charity and social assistance institutions founded in Portugal, such as the *misericórdias*. However, it was the creation of one of Portugal's leading welfare institutions, Casa Pia, in the late 18th century that represented the first attempt to organize in a more systematic fashion institutional care for children and youths who were homeless and therefore at risk — since they had no family, parents or adults to care for and protect them.

Under the liberal regime of the 19th century significant steps were taken with regard to the social welfare of the poor, weak and homeless, with the creation (on the initiative of individuals or associations) of institutions (homes, refuges, schools) which gave a home and some elementary education, as well as vocational training, to poor and homeless children and youths. By the second half of the 19th century, there were 41 such institutions in and around Lisbon, and others dotted around the country. All had been created after 1834 with the exception of the refuges and Casa Pia (Costa, 1870, pp. 67-73).

Under the Republic, Alfredo Alves (1912, pp. 143-144) was to regret his earlier opposition to care homes, as he later stressed their fundamental role as places of refuge, protection and education over the course of decades. These homes mostly offered shelter to girls, and emphasized the importance of

domestic tasks and the development of needlework and embroidery skills among inmates. In general they encouraged girls to produce articles which could be sold and thus contribute to the upkeep of the homes and their occupants — a form of vocational training. Inmates were prepared for a future life in the world outside, and there was a preoccupation with their fortunes after leaving the home. In the case of girls, most were trained to be domestic helps, seamstresses or embroideresses, while those who showed some promise in their academic studies aspired to a future in education.

## THE FIRST PUPILS OF THE ESCOLA NORMAL OF CALVÁRIO, LISBON

Portugal's first Escola Normal (i.e. teacher training college) for girls opened in Calvário, Lisbon in 1866, in a building which offered good conditions of hygiene. It remained in this building until 1881, operating as a boarding school, with neither major problems nor major achievements (Nóvoa, 1987, p. 448). During this period 250 girls attended the school, with 141 obtaining qualifications as primary school teachers (Leite, 1892, p. 19).

The authors gained access to 225 applications for admission to the Escola Normal of Calvário, from a total of approximately 250 cited by Luiz Filipe Leite. Analysis of these documents reveals a marked predominance of young girls from homes, refuges and similar institutions applying for admission to the

school on state scholarships (Mogarro & Martínez, 2009a, 2009b). These figures lent weight to the words of Mariano Ghira, commissioner of studies for Lisbon district (Nóvoa, 2003, pp. 627-628), when he urgently called for the opening of a teacher training college to combat the shortcomings in girls' education, naming the institutions which preferably should produce these trainees.

In the refuges of Calvário and rua da Rosa, in the yellow fever orphanage of Ajuda, in the Casa Pia and other homes, we could recruit plenty people with the vocation and the desire to attend a teacher training course (Ghira, 1866, p. 266).

This perspective was shared by educationalist António da Costa (Costa, 1870, p. 209; Nóvoa, 2003, pp. 418-421). In its early days, Lisbon's Escola Normal for girls followed the orientations laid down by educational policy leaders: between 1866 and 1881, over half of the girls who applied for a place in the school had been in homes of some kind (118 from a total of 250).

While girls from homes are our immediate concern here, many other candidates cited poverty in their attempts to gain a scholarship. Many said their fathers had died and their mothers were unable to pay for their studies, while others were orphans, with many living in abject poverty. During these years only ten pupils were *porcionistas*, i.e. they paid for the education the school gave them. The vast majority of pupils came from the lowest strata of society, and in attending the Escola Normal they hoped to gain a qualification for working as teachers. This objective prevailed over another — the acquisition of a perfect “domestic education” which would make the pupils good mother and housewives.

There was a clear orientation towards channeling girls who had shown promise in their studies to teacher training college. In the latter institution they continued to live at the expense and under the protection of the state, which fed them and trained them for the exercise of a profession which had prestige and was much more respectable than others which potentially awaited them. For poor young people, and particularly the institutionalized ones living in homes, the Escola Normal was one of the few escape routes to social mobility.

The words written by one candidate in her application to the Escola Normal of Calvário go beyond the usual formalities and reveal an awareness of the special nature of this school:

Maria da Conceição Martins, who received her education in the Asylo de D. Maria Pia and has the qualifications necessary for admission to the Escola Normal do Calvário, implores that Your Majesty have the grace to consent [to her admission], *so that a girl who was educated by public charity may occupy an honourable position in society*. Lisbon, 24 August 1880 (ANTT. M. Reino — DGI Pública. Vol. 4221. 1880. *Our italics*).

The Escola Normal was therefore an attractive prospect for girls like this. It also represented a continuation of the protection given at a younger age and this aspect reinforced the sense of comfort associated with it: survival guaranteed by a state institution; the intern regime which isolated the girls from the outside world, in a reclusion which protected them from danger and immersed them in a small community which was strictly supervised, yet in which they could move comfortably, as it had many similarities with the life of confinement they knew from their children's homes; and vocational training, not only in its literary, scientific, educational and professional aspects but also in its moral dimensions, which entailed significant attention to attitudes and conduct.

#### CAREER PROSPECTS FOR GIRLS IN PORTUGAL: DOMESTIC EDUCATION AND TRAINING FOR THE TEACHING PROFESSION

The pupils of the Escola Normal were psychologically moulded by their social conditions and by the training they received during their course, which was divided between vocational instruction, moral and religious instruction, and domestic education.

Analysis of the applications to the school reveals much about the criteria for admission to the Escola Normal. In addition to the application presented by the girl or her guardian, also necessary was a certificate of good moral and civic conduct (from the

local authority) and of good religious conduct (issued by a priest, who also certified to the applicant's status as a practising Catholic). Qualifications were declared by the rector of the lyceum where the pupil had taken exams, and/or by the teachers who had taught her previous to the entrance examination for the Escola Normal; consequently declarations by teachers (from school and care home) are frequently found in the applications. Women who already were teachers had to present the respective certificate entitling them to work in the profession. Also essential was a medical certificate and a birth certificate.

Pupils were ordered by their classification in the entrance examination, with key characteristics in their profile including intelligence, interest, ability shown, application and previous experience as auxiliaries, teachers or monitors, functions they had often discharged in care homes.

The poverty of these pupils is attested not only by their status as foundlings, but also by the fact that many were orphans, their families "reduced to misery", with applicants finding themselves "in the necessity of working ceaselessly to acquire the means of subsistence" (ANTT. Vol. 4212.1867). The death of her father led one applicant, Maria da Glória Almada, to explain that she was "going to help [her] mother in the future in the care and education of the other 6 orphans left to her" (Vol. 4213.1869).

Despite the poverty of their backgrounds, however, many pupils overcame the obstacles to attain high levels of achievement. Carolina Adelaide Lacerda, from the refuge of Calvário, gave proof in her exam of "superiority over some teachers in the district" and exhibited "ability (...) and an extremely vigorous desire to learn" (Vol. 4213.1869). At the other end of the scale, some pupils showed themselves in the exams to be insufficiently prepared, but vocation prevailed and they were admitted anyway.

Another significant case is that of Carolina A. Lima, who was adopted by a female teacher from Rio Maior and who wished to enter the Escola Normal to pursue the same profession as her adoptive mother, who incidentally also helped out in class.

With no means of subsistence for the future, if her adoptive mother proves incapable of looking after her, she intends to follow the career that the latter pursued, and therefore wishes to enter the Escola

Normal of Lisbon with a state scholarship. Signed: Carolina d'Assumpção Lima. Rio Maior, 30 July 1880 (Vol. 3221.1880).

Within the narrow confines of the Escola Normal of Calvário we find two distinct visions of the world. One is informed by experience of the cloistered life of the care home and the constraints of poverty — a structured model which the institution itself followed. Another, minority view was held by pupils from different family backgrounds and whose previous education had been more flexible, bourgeois. The collision of these two different world views penalized those who subscribed to the latter — they were unable to adapt to life in the school and ended up leaving.

Catarina Rita and Maria Carlota (...) asked the government of His Majesty for permission to leave the school as they are unable to adapt to the internal regime it follows. Maria Carlota (...) said she had no cause for complaint about the way she was treated by the governor, teachers and pupils, and that she wished to leave because her health was failing and she missed her family; she complained only of the food, which she found very different to what she habitually had in her family's house and they were given little bread (...). The second pupil (...) Catarina (...) said she had no strength to study as much as was demanded of her.

Maria do Rosário (...) [when asked about] the reasons she was asking to leave (...) answered that she did not like the food; that she found the duty of sweeping the dormitory, which she was forced to do every three weeks, repugnant; and finally that it was annoying to spend such a long time in the classroom (Vol. 4215. 1873).

Homesickness, disdain for domestic work (and for the more manual side of domestic education which the discipline imposed on the poor), dislike of the food and a repugnance of tasks considered as lowly combined with a lack of interest in their studies. Thus was the bourgeois rejection of the educational model implemented by the Escola Normal of Calvário and designed to produce professionals of a certain profile.

## SHELTERING, MORALIZING, INSTRUCTING AND INSTILLING A LOVE OF WORK IN 19<sup>th</sup> CENTURY BRAZIL

In the early 19th century, destitute children — orphans, foundlings, offenders and the offspring of poor parents — were a serious problem in Brazilian society, and solutions were sought in the creation of “care homes and reformatories, institutions for the instillation of morality, where work was a major component of the educational mix” (Moraes, 2000, p. 73).

Social assistance at this time was confined to organizations of Catholic origin, such as Santa Casa da Misericórdia and institutions such as the Casas da Roda and Casas dos Expostos, which existed throughout the Brazilian provinces and whose foundling wheels received unwanted newborns. Other associations operated on private initiative.

In São Paulo, one of the leading institutions was the Seminário de Sant’Anna, an orphanage founded in 1824, which served as the model for ten other institutions created between 1840 and 1865 in different provincial capitals. After its closure in 1868, it was replaced by the Instituto de Educandos Artífices, which was destined primarily for the children of professional and volunteer soldiers who had fought in the war with Paraguay. For orphaned girls there was the Seminário da Glória, founded in 1825 and the only institution of its kind to be funded by the government of São Paulo Province, although a number of private refuges also offered shelter to orphaned and abandoned girls. The Seminário da Glória was a lay institution until 1870 when it was incorporated as a religious congregation, although it remained fully funded by the government. Most of the girls who lived there were the daughters of deceased soldiers and civil servants. In 1876 Brazil’s Escola Normal opened a section for girls in the lower level of the of the Seminário da Gloria, but this operated for only four years until it reopened in 1880 as a mixed-sex institution.

The refuge known as the Mendicidade da Corte was created in 1884, and another, the Asilo de Menores Desvalidos, in 1890, both in the city of Rio de Janeiro. In Rio de Janeiro province, the list of state-funded educational establishments for the year 1895 (ERJ, 1895) included the Collegio dos Salesianos,

located in Santa Rosa, Niterói, whose intake was primarily comprised of orphans and children in extreme states of indigence. In the same year of 1895 it had 200 boarders, of whom only 40 received state assistance. This institution comprised two divisions, one for students and the other for artists.

Another home for children in this same period was the Asylo Agrícola de Santa Isabel in Valença, created by the Associação Protectora da Infância Desamparada. Opened in 1886, this institution offered a home to 50 foundlings and included a primary education course.

For girls there existed the Asylo de Santa Leopoldina in Icaraí, Niterói, which in 1895 had 125 residents. Operated by nine sisters of charity, this home implemented an educational programme divided across three levels: elementary, intermediate and higher. It also featured two needlework classes: the first was attended by 70 girls, who learned to sewing, embroidery, knitting, crochet and flower arranging. The second was attended by 50 girls who learned to mark linen, sew, embroider, crochet and make lace. The inclusion of academic disciplines such as “lessons from things” and calligraphy in the higher level suggests that the girls who followed this course would have found career outlets in teaching, either public or private.

Another institution from the same period, the Escola Domestica de N. S. do Amparo in Petrópolis, was a school for girls founded by Father João Francisco de Siqueira Andrade. This school had the express purpose — as its statutes declared — of educating and instructing destitute children. In addition to initiating girls into the skills required for domestic service, it also trained them for a career as private teachers.

In the year of 1895 there were 97 pupils, 37 of whom had been admitted on order of the government. The subjects included in the educational programme were sacred history and Christian doctrine, Portuguese grammar, calligraphy, reading, elementary arithmetic, rules of civility, home economics, singing, line drawing, sewing, cooking, confectionery, washing and pressing, and baking (ERJ, 1895, p. 24).

Finally, one of the institutions registered in 1895 was the Asylo de Santa Izabel in Rio de Janeiro,

whose intake comprised 75 boarders, 80 day pupils, 150 non-paying day pupils and 75 orphans. The school director was the “virtuosa” sister Fagaldi, and her pupils learned how to wash clothes, sew and other “feminine” skills.

Given the characteristics of these institutions and the social context of Brazil at this time, it’s fairly evident that their primary remit was to keep their pupils “on the straight and narrow”. By educating the populace, improvements could be obtained in levels of civility and crime rates. “This discourse clearly expresses one of the 19th-century mantras cited in defence of school and schooling: opening schools closes prisons” (Villela, 2003, p. 104).

Lifting the populace out of their ignorance and raising its intellectual and moral standards was an objective which required schools, and capable teachers.

#### FROM CARE HOME TO A PROFESSION IN TEACHING, FROM THE FAMILY TO THE ESCOLA NORMAL IN THE STATE OF RIO DE JANEIRO IN THE LATE 19<sup>th</sup> CENTURY

In Brazil, the creation of schools for training teachers arose in connection with the institutionalization of public education, i.e. the implementation of the liberal ideals of extending primary education to all levels of the population. A law passed on 15/10/1827 ordered the creation of teacher training colleges in all towns, cities and densely-populated places in the Empire. However, the first Brazilian teacher training schools did not open until after the reforms of 1834, on the initiative of the provincial governments.

The first Escola Normal to be created was in Niterói (Rio de Janeiro), in 1835. Its curriculum comprised the four “operations and proportions”; Portuguese; reading and writing by the Lancastrian method; elements of geography; and principles of Christian morality. This school had a difficult infancy: it closed in 1849 (Villela, 1992), re-opening only to close again, until eventually it found its feet in the republican period. Similar fortunes awaited the teacher training colleges created in the various provinces over the subsequent decades — they would open and close on repeated occasions before finally

establishing themselves after 1870, when democratic ideas, including primary education for all and freedom of education, began to prevail (Tanuri, 2000). Many of these institutions were precarious in nature and operated on meagre budgets, often alongside regular schools, adding only pedagogy to their curriculum, which prevented them from functioning well and from offering proper training to future teachers.

According to Tanuri (2000), in 1867 there were only four teacher training institutions in the whole of Brazil. By 1883, this number had risen to 22. And after the proclamation of the Republic in 1889, Brazil’s teacher training colleges increased further in number, for the training of primary teachers in dedicated institutions reflected a widely-cherished desire.

It was in 1894, during the new era of republicanism, that the Escola Normal of Campos in Rio de Janeiro province was created by Law no. 164, during the presidency of José Thomaz Porciúncula. After opening in March 1895, this school trained future primary school teachers in the north of Rio de Janeiro state (ERJ) for almost sixty years, during which time hundreds of teachers trained there.

At the same time, a similar institution, the Escola Normal of Barra Mansa, was founded in the south of the state. This did not last long, and closed in 1900. The Escola Normal of Niterói went through some changes at the time of the creation of the school in Campos, with both institutions providing official, public training to future teachers in Rio de Janeiro province for many decades to come. It’s worth pointing out that attending classes was not obligatory in those early years, and trainee teachers were free to sit the exams as they pleased.

The analysis of 28 applications from trainees who passed their admission exams in 1898 reveals that most were girls aged between 14 and 15. Most applications were made by the father, with just two made by the mother, one by a sister and two by a grandmother, one of which was in the handwriting of the latter’s son, Viveiros de Vasconcellos, later a teacher at the Liceu de Humanidades of Campos, who claimed that his mother was unable to complete the application for her niece’s admission to the institution as she was illiterate.

In those years admission to the institutions of Rio de Janeiro state was free, and therefore, since

we have no figures on the number of candidates requesting exemption from fees, we are unable to gauge the socio-economic status of the aspiring trainees. Some applicants were teachers and others practised a liberal profession, and some entitled themselves Doctor.

The data suggests (as do the family backgrounds of some of the teachers trained at the school, such as Antonia Ribeiro de Castro Lopes, a trainee from an elite agrarian family who applied to sit an exam for the subjects covered in the first and second years on 21 November 1898 [*see* the note on Antonia Lopes in Mignot & Martínez, 2002], as well as the analysis by Pessanha [1997]) that many trainees at the Escola Normal of Campos came from impoverished rural landowning families who had moved to the cities to take up posts in the state bureaucracy, families of liberal professionals or of employees in private administration; others were the daughters of farmhands who had escaped manual labour — symbolically associated with slavery — and headed to the city where they found work in banks, offices and state agencies.

As for the orphaned girls who were educated in charity institutions, most in the period under review found subsequent employment as teachers without having to pass through the Escola Normal, as was the case of the Escola Domestica de N. S. do Amparo, in Petrópolis, RJ, mentioned above.

In Rio de Janeiro province in the late 19th century, direct entry to the teaching profession was possible thanks to the ambiguity of the legislation. Paradoxically, the same law which created the Escola Normal of Campos and the Escola Normal of Barra Mansa also allowed “investiture in the teaching function independently of attendance of the Escola Normal”, which in 1895 led the director of the Escola Normal of Niterói to complain to his superiors, in an attempt to explain the drastic reduction in the amount of students in his school, that the legislation ended up “replacing learning, generally reputed to be indispensable, by sporadic examinations of ability” (ERJ, 1895, p. 13). The Director of Public Education, citing and agreeing with the appraisal of the director, warned that the legislation ran the risk of “accepting the false principle that there is no need to attend an Escola Normal to train as a teacher, and that the logical graduation of the

studies pursued there can be relinquished” (ERJ, 1895, p. 13).

In conclusion, the teaching profession in the context under analysis was a desirable career for women of a certain social status — i.e. poor women with no family, who wished to make their way in society and avoid falling into a life of degradation (Pessanha, 1997).

For a significant number of 19th-century Escola Normal trainees, attendance of a teacher training college represented a possible model for the education of the female sex and its introduction to the world of general learning necessary for training and distinction in traditional society.

## FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

The two countries examined, Portugal and Brazil, applied different processes for teacher training and entry into the teaching profession in the second half of the 19th century.

In Portugal, the students of the first training college for girls mainly came from disadvantaged social backgrounds, and many had previously lived in homes, orphanages and refuges. Teachers were expected to master the *knowledge* specific to their profession, including the *tasks* seen as specific to women. This system operated within a strong moral, religious and ethical framework which conditioned admission to the Escola Normal and was to be observed within the school. Trainee teachers in the Escola Normal had to prove their aptitude in each of these dimensions, as part of a training process informed by the *total project* of the school — i.e. the socialization of its students according to severely disciplinary parameters (Foucault, 1996). The fact that they were interns made trainees completely dependent upon the institution (Goffman, 1968), and since the internship system was itself a transposition of the model implemented by many refuges, it was “suited” to the profile of the young women who had previously lived and studied in similar environments.

In Brazil, a certain heterogeneity existed with regard both to the training model implemented by the Escola Normal and the student intake. As graduates of the Escola Normal slowly became a majority, teaching work was no longer the primordial objective of the

students: teacher training allowed them to continue with the studies that would make them better “mothers” and “wives”, in giving them access to knowledge previously restricted to men, despite the fact that many Escola Normal courses provided a rather watered-down version of general culture.

In the Brazilian case, the most gifted students from refuges were sent not to teacher training college but instead directly into primary teaching, public or private, itself a way of exercising a worthy profession,

ascending socially and avoiding the dangers which their own backgrounds posed by claiming an independent and prestigious position in society.

In both countries, the Escola Normal represented a continuation of social control over its intake, strengthening a sound moral orientation and the attitudes and conducts considered to be correct, as well as inculcating a sense of purpose and the knowledge specific to the profession.



## SOURCES AND BIBLIOGRAPHICAL REFERENCES

- ALVES, A. A. (1912-13). Asilos femininos I e II. *In Anais da Academia de Estudos Livres*, 4-5, pp. 7-8.
- ANTT — Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo (1865-1882). Ministério do Reino. Direcção Geral de Instrução Pública. *Escolas Normais. Calvário e Marvila*. Maços 4211 a 4223.
- COSTA, A. (1870). *Instrucção nacional*. Lisboa: Imprensa Nacional.
- ERJ — Relatórios do Governo do Estado (1895). Relatório do Diretor de Instrução Pública Alberto de Oliveira, ao Secretário dos Negócios do Interior e Justiça.
- FOUCAULT, M. (1996). *Tecnologías del yo*. Barcelona: Paidós.
- GHIRA, M. (1866). *Relatório sobre a visita de inspecção extraordinária às escolas do districto de Lisboa feita no anno lectivo de 1863-1864 e estatística das mesmas escolas no anno de 1864-1865*. Lisboa: Typographia da Gazeta de Portugal.
- GOFFMAN, E. (1968). *Asiles. Études sur la condition sociale des malades mentaux et autres reclus*. Paris: Éditions de Minuit.
- LEITE, L. F. (1892). *Do ensino normal em Portugal*. Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade.
- MIGNOT, A. C. V. & MARTÍNEZ, S. A. (2002). Antonia Ribeiro de Castro Lopes. *In* M. L. FÁVERO & J. BRITTO, *Dicionário de Educadores no Brasil*. Rio de Janeiro: Editora UFRJ/ MEC-Inep-Comped, pp. 89-96.
- MOGARRO, M. J. & MARTÍNEZ, S. A. (2009a). Unprotected girls and teacher training in Portugal in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. *Paedagogica Historica, International Journal of the History of Education*, 45, 1 & 2, pp. 117-128.
- MOGARRO, M. J. & MARTÍNEZ, S. A. (2009b). Os primeiros estudantes do Ensino Normal: Origens sociais e formação de professores na segunda metade do século XIX em Portugal. *In* J. PINTAS-SILGO & L. SERRAZINA (orgs.), *A Escola Normal de Lisboa e a Formação de Professores: Arquivo, História e Memória*. Lisboa, Colibri / Centro de Investigação em Educação / Escola Superior de Educação de Lisboa, pp. 61-78.
- MORAES, C. S. V (2000). A normatização da pobreza: crianças abandonadas e crianças infratoras. *Revista Brasileira de Educação*, 15 (nov-dez), pp. 70-96.
- NÓVOA, A. (1987). *Le Temps des Professeurs — Analyse socio-historique de la profession enseignante au Portugal (XVIIIe-XXe siècle)*. Lisboa: INIC.
- NÓVOA, A. (dir.) (2003). *Dicionário de Educadores Portugueses*. Porto: Asa.
- PESSANHA, E. (1997). *Ascensão e queda do professor*. 2<sup>a</sup>ed. São Paulo: Cortez.
- TANURI, L. (2000). História da Formação de Professores. *Revista Brasileira de Educação*, 14 (mai/jun/jul/ago), pp. 61-88.
- VILLELA, H. (1992). A primeira Escola Normal do Brasil. *In* C. NUNES (org.), *O passado sempre presente*. São Paulo: Cortez, pp. 17-42.
- VILLELA, H. (2003). O mestre-escola e a professora. *In* E. LOPES; L. FARIA FILHO & C. VEIGA (orgs.), *500 anos de Brasil*. 3<sup>a</sup> ed. Belo Horizonte: Autêntica, pp. 95-134.

Translated by Mark Ayton

