The evolution of the historiography of psychology in Brazil is surveyed, to describe how the field has evolved from the seminal works of the pioneer, mostly self-taught, psychologists, to the now professional historians working from a variety of theoretical models and methods of inquiry. The first accounts of the history of psychology written by Brazilians and by foreigners are surveyed, as well as the recent works made by researchers linked to the Work Group on the History of Psychology of the Brazilian Association of Research and Graduate Education in Psychology and published in periodicals such as Memorandum and Mnemosine. The present historiography focuses mainly the relationship of psychological knowledge to specific social and cultural conditions, emphasizing themes such as women’s participation in the construction of the field, the development of psychology as a science and as a profession in education and health, and the development of psychology as an expression of Brazilian culture and of the experience of resistance of local communities to domination. To reveal this process of identity construction, a cultural historiography is an important tool, coupled with methodological pluralism.

Keywords: historiography, psychology, Brazil, research on history of psychology

One can observe today, in Brazil, a great interest in the study of the evolution and institutionalization of psychology as a scientific discipline and profession in the country. This interest may be due to the expansion of university programs for the training of psychologists and to the large number of psychologists now active in independent practice or in the public education and health systems. The profession was regulated in 1962 and by 1971 there were 4,248 professionals in Brazil. This number grew to 148,000 in 2001 and to 275,669 in 2009, according to the Brazilian Federal Council of Psychology. Another source of the interest in studies on the history of psychology comes from the fact that psychological concepts and theories are now part and parcel of Brazilian urban culture, a trend observed since the establishment of the field in Brazilian public education and mental health institutions at the beginning of the 20th century (Duarte, Russo, & Venâncio, 2005).
In this article, we survey the evolution of the historiography of psychology in Brazil, with the purpose of answering the question of how this field has evolved from the seminal works of our pioneer, mostly self-taught, psychologists, to the now professional historians who approach the history of psychology as a science and as a profession in Brazil from a variety of points of view, methods of inquiry, and theoretical models.

Our own experience and scholarship in studying the history of psychology and of being members of the Work Group on the History of Psychology of the Brazilian Association for Research and Graduate Studies in Psychology (ANPEPP) inspires and guides our tentative survey of the work already done on the issue. The Group is composed of professors and researchers from several Brazilian universities, interested in the evolution of psychology as a field of knowledge, a discipline, a science, and a profession.

Following the traditional historiography of psychology inaugurated by Boring (1957), we consider the development of the field in Brazil in two major periods: the prescientific (or philosophical) and the scientific, although we are aware that recent research shows more continuity between these periods than previously thought (Vidal, 2006; Gundlach, 2006). During the first period, the presence of psychological ideas must be searched for in the works of thinkers from different disciplines, such as philosophy or theology. During the modern period, one can speak of psychology with a more precise meaning as a science and as a profession.

In Brazil, the first period began in 1500 with the discovery, establishment, and colonization of Brazil by the Portuguese and continued until 1822, when the country was declared independent from Portugal. The second major period began with the foundation of the first medical and normal schools, during the 19th century, and can also be divided into phases. From 1822 till 1889 (the year of the demise of the empire and the beginning of the republican period), psychological theories were present in the work of philosophers, medical doctors, priests, and politicians, aimed at civilizing the country and building a growing consciousness and identity as an independent nation. From 1889 onward, with the establishment of the Republic and the search for the expansion of democratic institutions in education and public health, psychology became an autonomous field of knowledge that was taught as an independent discipline in normal schools. It was during this period that the first laboratories of psychology, in normal schools and psychiatric institutions, were founded (Campos, 2006).

Antunes (2004a) proposed a periodization for the development of the field in the 20th century that includes a phase of autonomization (1890–1930), in which scientific psychology became a specific field of knowledge; thereafter, with the phase of consolidation (1930–1962), the organization of psychology as a discipline and as a field of professional practice was definitively established, mainly through the practical work of psychologists dedicated to educational issues and to mental health care. Finally, from 1962 onward, the author identified a phase characterized by the legal recognition of the profession, associated with the expansion of university programs for the training of professional psychologists and researchers in the field. During the professionalization period, in which the Federal Council of Psychology was established (1972) and an ethics code for the profession elaborated, most psychologists became private clinicians, emphasizing the analysis of psychological issues from the individual perspective. This indi-
vidualistic approach was strongly criticized from the mid-1970s onward, considering the difficulties of psychologists in dealing with sociocultural and institutional issues in educational, mental health and work settings where their contribution was expected (Bock, 1999; Campos, 1996; among others).

These critical studies showed that psychology in Brazil has its own history, embedded in the institutional, cultural, and social context from which it derives its professional practices, theories, and research. In this article, we survey the first accounts of the development of psychology in Brazil, written in the first half of the 20th century, as well as the transformations operative in the field between the years 1960–1980, and compare these with the present scholarship on the history of psychology in our country. Doing so allows us to speak of a history of psychology in a full sense, that is to say that it is possible to trace original contributions of thinkers and empirical studies that must be understood not as mechanical applications of ideas developed elsewhere, but as answers to the local sociocultural dynamics, in dialogue with international perspectives.

It is our contention that contemporary historians of psychology in Brazil work with the purpose of understanding the process of knowledge production in its relationship to local social and institutional practices, especially because their own creative sensibilities have originated in these indigenous dynamics. A characteristic of the current historiography of Brazilian psychology is the effort to understand ideas, concepts, and practices as expressions of a logic derived from their specific sociocultural and intellectual context. This is an effort to avoid the risk of presentism, defined as the evaluation of the past from the standpoint of categories and intentionalities that characterize the present organization of the area, or the understanding of the past as a preparation for a more developed future (Wertheimer, 1980; Brozek & Guerra, 1996). On the contrary, the dominant trend is to study the past for its own sake, trying to understand ideas and their applications in relationship to their own time and place, searching for the logic that inspired men and women working for the development of concepts and technologies in their own time as proposed by Pickren and Rutherford (2010).

For this approach, the understanding of the history of psychology as part of the larger history of science is important, above all by taking as reference the proposals of overcoming the internalism/externalism dichotomy (Hacking, 2001; Latour, 2001). For Hacking and Latour, the division of historical studies between internal and external histories, as proposed by Lakatos (1989) is not viable, since the activity of producing scientific knowledge implies a rereading of the living world from the standpoint of a set of concepts produced within the interaction of social and cultural practices, and within the dynamics of institutions that make possible that rereading. In other words, the development of a set of scientific concepts supposes the existence of a culture that promotes them, and of a language that welcomes and transmits them (Carroy, 1991). Latour’s contribution to this debate concentrates on the development of a methodology for the study of the construction of scientific concepts by means of laboratory practices and field studies, and from the establishment of institutions that promote the enduring existence of the concepts then built through the creation and recreation of empirical demonstrations of the described phenomena. In the case of the human sciences, it is important also to consider that the scientific description of empirical reality tends to reproduce itself to the extent that the very subjects of experience
tend to identify and to describe themselves with the help of concepts developed by researchers (Hacking, 2001). This is the case when psychological concepts invade and transform common sense perceptions in everyday language, as observed by Moscovici in the case of psychoanalysis, for instance (Moscovici, 1998), or by Gergen in the case of social psychology (Gergen, 1973).

Cimino (2006), working on a comparative history of the birth of scientific psychology in different countries, European and non-European, acknowledged that the differences between the histories of scientific psychology in each country are due to cultural, social, and institutional contexts that gave rise to different traditions of research. He pointed out that this approach may be useful even for recounting the history of psychology in the central European countries:

The possibility of understanding what took place in each country, of casting a panoramic and comparative glance, in the end proves to have a heuristic value for being better able to investigate what took place in one’s own country, since it leads one to wonder whether there too something similar or different occurred, and to discover twists and turns and other aspects never before highlighted (Cimino, 2006, p. 8).

Cimino also observed that the recent historiography of psychology shows the following trends: first, while being more attentive to the “prescientific” psychology of the past, minor discontinuities are perceived between it and present scientific developments; second, there is more emphasis on institutional development, and not, as in the traditional historiography, on issues of method and experimentation (Cimino, 2006, p. 30). Another interesting way of seeing the birth of psychology as a field of study and theorization of human issues is Gundlach’s statement that, instead of looking for a history of a science to tell the history of psychology, one should look for the institutionalization of a discipline. Science, then, would be defined as the pursuit, in theory and research, of knowledge about things and processes according to accepted scientific standards of the time. Discipline could be defined as a set of disciples around a teacher for the transmission of a body of (less canonized) theoretical and practical knowledge. The latter, the discipline of psychology, seems to have been independent in Europe since the late Middle Ages, and its meaning was the study of Aristotle’s *De Anima* (Gundlach, 2006).

If we consider, with Gundlach, the history of psychology as the history of a discipline, as well as of a science, one should search for the teaching of psychological ideas in educational settings, in addition to the findings of original research, and then the history of psychology in Brazil or in other countries outside Europe would be more legible. If we consider, with Cimino, the effect of institutional and sociocultural contexts on the birth and evolution of the field, the interesting thing would be to find out what are the similarities and differences in the development of psychology in Brazil, as related to other countries.

Inspired by these ideas, this article presents the evolution of the historiography of psychology in Brazil. We first survey the accounts of its development in the country authored by pioneer, mostly self-taught psychologists, during the 1940s and 1950s, and then turn to the recent historiography produced by scholars dedicated specifically to the study of the history of psychology. We will show the first works as sources of information, and the recent ones as possibilities for
deepening knowledge on different interpretations for this history. In any case, the history of psychology in Brazil is considered as an independent field of study.

The First Historiography of Psychology in Brazil

During the 1940s, the first works narrating the evolution of psychological studies in Brazil were produced. The most important papers then published were reedited in a book organized by historian Mitsuko Antunes (2004b). We consider that there are three papers that are central to the narrative, previously published in different scientific journals, covering different scholarly communities in a large country like Brazil.

The first is the seminal work entitled “Experimental psychology in Brazil” (Olinto, 1944/2004). Plinio Olinto (1886–1956) was a professor at the Medical School of Rio de Janeiro, where he graduated in 1910 with a thesis titled, *A contribution to the study of the association of ideas*. The second seminal work is the article, “Psychology in Brazil,” by Annita de Castilho Marcondes Cabral (1911–1991) (Cabral, 1950/2004). Cabral studied in the United States at the beginning of the 1940s with Kurt Koffka (at Smith College) and with Max Wertheimer (at the New School for Social Research), and was one of the first professors of Psychology at the University of São Paulo. The third paper, also titled, “Psychology in Brazil,” was written by Manoel Bergström Lourenço Filho (Lourenço Filho, 1955/2004). Lourenço Filho was knowledgeable about recent developments in psychology and education in the United States and Europe. A first observation concerning the three authors is that none of them was a historian, they were memorialists. Their view of psychology in Brazil was an optimistic one. They were themselves representative of Brazilian psychology of the time and their writing was attuned to their time and place.

Olinto described the origins and works of the first laboratories of psychology established in the country, eight in Rio de Janeiro, three in São Paulo, one in Belo Horizonte, Minas Gerais, and one in Recife, Pernambuco, in the first decades of the 20th century (Olinto, 1944/2004). All of these laboratories were linked to normal schools or to mental health hospitals, and, besides doing research, they were places where psychological examinations were performed and patterns for the psychological characteristics of Brazilian urban populations were established. This suggests that psychological studies and services were highly valued and sought out in larger urban areas at the same time that the universities were establishing their schools of philosophy and letters and the training of psychologists was begun. His point was that experimental psychology already existed in Brazil, since 1900, thanks to the efforts of a group of pioneers who had exposure to European laboratories, such as those established in Paris by Alfred Binet and George Dumas, and in Geneva by Théodore Flournoy. The image of European research being reproduced in Brazil was expressed in a metaphor used by Olinto to describe the work of Helena Antipoff (1892–1974), a student of Claparède who was hired to establish the Laboratory of Psychology at the Belo Horizonte Teachers College, as a “gardener” who plants the theories of her master.

Annita Cabral (1950/2004) offered a more contextualized historical perspective. The article began by “presenting Brazil for foreigners,” explaining the country’s characteristics such as size, language, political regime, geographical
features, economic history, and emphasizing the mixture of the three races that formed the Brazilian population, the white, the black, and the Indian: “although predominantly white, it presents all the ranges of pigmentation, from white albino to black retinto” (pp. 35–36). Cabral’s article is the only one authored by a woman in the Antunes volume. It is also the only article in the volume to note the numerous women working in normal schools, and the large number of women psychologists already working in the 1940s. Cabral also observed that, in spite of this high number, it is “interesting to notice that the average psychology handbooks existing in the country and written by Brazilians are of masculine authorship” (p. 59). This inverted pyramid pattern is corroborated by our current statistical data: women outnumber men working as psychologists, but publications and higher prestige positions are occupied by men. This indicates the continuity of gender/work relations within the profession over time (Jacó-Vilela & Barbosa, 2009).

Annita Cabral used, as a narrative device, the presentation of outstanding personalities in the history of psychology in Brazil, their institutional positions in the University of São Paulo (USP) or in the Brazilian Academy of Psychologists, important institutions at the time, and foreign influences on their work. Using, 1930 as the beginning date, she substituted the history of the great names by the history of psychology teaching in institutions. In this vein, she affirmed that:

theoretical problems are treated predominantly in the sections of Philosophy of the faculties of Philosophy, Sciences, and Letters. But, as psychology is the only scientific discipline taught in a section primarily dedicated to philosophical studies, the result is that (. . .) psychology there taught is theoretical (Cabral, 1950/2004, p. 62).

Cabral also considered Brazil to be predominantly a consumer of knowledge produced outside its frontiers. The article concluded by pointing out the conditions necessary for psychology to become liberated from philosophy: the development of disciplinary associations, establishing their own journals, and psychology gaining legal recognition as a profession. This was the way along which, personally, she fought her battles. In this, she had the partnership of Lourenço Filho (1897–1970).

Lourenço Filho’s text (Lourenço Filho, 1955/1004), originally published in an encyclopedia covering the development of social sciences in Brazil, focused on how psychology constituted itself as a science and a profession in the country, from the end of the 19th century onward. The article was marked by a positive evaluation of the field and called for a more precise definition of psychology’s objectives and methods. He stated that, for the establishment of scientific psychology, two different processes were important: the integration of knowledge produced in related fields, such as biology and the social sciences, and the need for applications of psychology to help with growing pressures of adjustment problems in modern societies. He adopted, then, an approach that combined internalist and externalist views, and offered a periodization of the birth and expansion of psychological studies. During the colonial period (1500–1822), the contribution of religious congregations established in Brazil for the catechization of Indians and to educate the local population were emphasized. The 19th century was the period in which professors and students in the first medical schools,
interested in psychiatry, produced seminal scientific studies, reported in dissertations presented for graduation in Salvador and Rio de Janeiro. Between 1836 and 1931, 21 dissertations with psychological themes were presented in Rio, and 42 in Salvador. The beginning of the 20th century saw the rise of a mental hygiene movement in the country (Costa, 2007; Reis, 2000), and the establishment of the first laboratories of psychology in hospitals for the mentally ill and in normal schools. The results of these works were published in newly begun periodicals in the areas of psychopathology or education. In this way, the author established a history of psychology based on institutional supports, with the most important contributions coming from the fields of mental health, education, engineering, and administration (the latter two practically forgotten in other histories), and from the works of religious members of the Faculties of Philosophy and Humanities. He pointed out also the role of foreign psychologists in Brazil, including those who were only temporarily in the country as well as those who became permanent residents.

To explain the progressive character of Brazilian psychology in the first decades of the 20th century, Lourenço Filho stressed the work of physicians, the efforts of educators in the renewal of schools, and the role of administrators and engineers in the rationalization of work relations. For the period from the 1930s onward, he noted the decisive role of universities in creating an environment for the development of psychological studies and practices, and for the establishment of the profession of psychologist. He observed, however, that most investigations were performed outside the universities, in applications of psychology to work relations, to school organization, and to child and adolescent’s problems of adjustment. Another characteristic of Brazilian psychology emphasized by the author was its creativity, observed in the invention, development, or adaptation of instruments for the measurement of mental development and aptitudes, personality, human relations, and group dynamics.

As a source of information, Lourenço Filho also mentioned the panoramic view of contemporary Brazilian psychology provided by Otto Klineberg’s volume, *Modern Psychology* (Klineberg, 1953). Klineberg developed the volume in collaboration with a group of Brazilian specialists in schools and systems of psychology, physiological psychology, animal psychology, social psychology, psychopathology and medical psychology, differential psychology, and other areas.²

An important point made by Lourenço Filho was that, up to the 1930s, the most important sources of influence on Brazilian psychologists were European, mainly French. During the 1940s and 1950s, American influences became stronger on Brazilian intellectuals, and the same movement was observed in psychology. In the extensive bibliography included in the Klineberg volume, 70% of the authors were American or English; 10% German, 10% French, 7% Brazilian, and 3% were Spanish, Latin American, or Italian. The author asserted that psycho-

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¹ From 1931 onwards, dissertations were no longer required for graduation in Medical Schools in Brazil.

² Klineberg was a Canadian psychologist who studied with Franz Boas and taught social psychology at the University of São Paulo between 1945 and 1947, with a lasting influence on Brazilian studies in that area from a culturalist standpoint (Bomfim, 2003).
logical knowledge produced in Brazil had attained a high quality of scholarship and noted that several periodicals with a national distribution were already established. He cited 10 periodicals in the areas of psychology, education, mental hygiene, and psychiatry, all of them publishing research in psychology, and two national associations then in existence, the Brazilian Society of Psychology and the Brazilian Association of Psychotechnics, both affiliated with international partners. The author mentioned also, with pride, the international circulation of research in psychology produced in Brazil, among which were his own studies on a test for the evaluation of children’s maturity for learning to read and write and on the experimental study of habits.

In conclusion, it can be seen that in this early historiography, Annita Cabral emphasized foreign influences on the development of the field in Brazil, while Olinto and Lourenço Filho focused more on the local production and circulation of knowledge. In spite of their differences, the three authors responded to a project that was ongoing in the 1950s—the regulation of the profession of psychologist. Their texts helped psychology as an area of knowledge and professional practice gain recognition and legitimization by the state, which occurred in 1962 with Law 4.119 (Lei nº 4.119, de 28/08/1962).

Two external reports on psychology in Latin America confirmed the information provided by Cabral and Lourenço Filho. The first, written by J.G. Beebe-Center and Ross A. McFarland (1941), from Harvard University, surveyed the situation of psychology in Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Peru and other Latin American countries. The authors observed that psychology in Latin America was far less independent from other disciplines than in the United States. Journals then existing were mainly devoted to applied fields such as abnormal psychology, educational psychology, and criminology. This lack of independence was related to the influence of French intellectuals, especially French positivism. As positivism did not recognize a place for psychology among the sciences, its subject matter being either a part of physiology or of sociology, there was no space in the region for psychologists trained in the German tradition. As a result, the field was dominated by medical men and social scientists, or by intellectuals whose “training, interests and methods are definitely philosophical” (Beebe-Center & McFarland, 1941, p. 628). In regard to psychology in Brazil, Beebe-Center and McFarland stated that the decentralization of psychological research was particularly marked, in part because of French influence, and in part because of the late establishment of universities in the country (São Paulo in 1934, Rio de Janeiro in 1935). Before the 1930s, institutions of higher education were independent faculties dedicated to the training of professionals in the fields of law, medicine or engineering, or confessional institutions linked to religious congregations. For these reasons, they observed that:

In these small and specialized educational establishments psychology was heavily colored by the complexion of the institution, and assumed the status of an auxiliary method rather than of an independent discipline (Beebe-Center & McFarland, 1941, p. 634).

The authors showed a marked interest in sociopsychological studies of the Brazilian people. They spent a large part of their paper describing the work of Professor Arthur Ramos, the black psychiatrist who wrote extensively on the anthropology of the Afro-Brazilians. The article also addressed the development
of treatments for mental diseases in medical schools, in criminology, and the work on educational psychology done by specialists such as Lourenço Filho, in Rio de Janeiro; Helena Antipoff, in Belo Horizonte; Isaías Alves, in Bahia; and Noemy Silveira Rudolf, in São Paulo. The article also presented a list of seven periodicals published in Brazil, in psychology or related areas, and the names and titles of 37 psychologists working in Brazil at the time.

The second article, by Margaret Hall, from the Bureau of Child Study of the Chicago Board of Education and with the support of the U.S. Department of State and American embassies, was written when the author spent the year 1944–1945 in Latin America, visiting the 10 countries of the continent (Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Ecuador, Paraguay, Peru, Uruguay, and Venezuela), and interviewing people engaged in teaching and in the practice of psychology. Hall’s article, “The present status of psychology in South America” (1946) also recognized that psychology as an independent profession could hardly be said to exist in Brazil, since most of the contributions to the field come from other professional or academic fields, especially medicine, pedagogy, and philosophy. She noted, “People frequently enter psychological work or teaching after years of medical practice, university teaching in other fields, school administration or elementary or secondary school teaching” (Hall, 1946, p. 441).

As far as professional training was concerned, the author considered that “the city of São Paulo, Brazil, has probably the most extensive facilities for psychological study of any South American city” (p. 446), especially in psychiatry and educational psychology. She also commented on developments in applied psychology in the areas of mental hygiene, educational psychology, and industrial psychology in the South of Brazil (Porto Alegre), Rio de Janeiro, and São Paulo.

In short, these works presented a fairly complete picture of the situation of the field of psychology in Brazil both as a theoretical area of study and as an applied science, with a small but productive network of laboratories, university professors, educational and mental health professionals, and publications. This network prepared the way for the legal definition of the profession of psychologist in Brazil in the early 1960s and for the expansion of university programs for the training of psychologists and of institutions where their work was required in the second half of the 20th century.

Between 1960 and the beginning of the 1980s, few historiographic works were published in Brazil. Antunes (2004a) included a historiographic essay by Isaías Pessotti (Pessotti, 1975/2004) that reviewed the historiographic work already done by Lourenço Filho; and another essay written by Samuel Pfommm Netto, first published in 1981, in which the author reported the origins of works dealing with psychological issues in Brazil during the 19th century to Portuguese scholastic and philosophic traditions (Pfromm Netto, 1981/2004). Like Lourenço Filho, the author attributed the development of psychology in the country during the first half of the 20th century to the contribution of professionals working in the fields of mental health, education, engineering, and business administration. With the legal regulation of the profession in 1962, the author reported an expansion of works of applied psychology. After that, the expansion of university programs for the training of psychologists, of professional and scientific associations and the establishment of the Federal Council of Psychologists, in 1972, contributed to the organization of the profession and set the conditions for the rise of a growing interest in the area.
Current Historiography

As we noted, the study of the history of psychology in Brazil awakens today great interest and there are a good number of investigators in the area. This is the key factor that differentiates the present model from the previous one. We start here not from isolated investigators who, because of specific contingencies, principally their prestige in the field, are called upon to do a “history.” Instead, we work principally from the perspective of active researchers in the area, people that devote themselves to the work of historical scholarship and who understand that they are exercising the office of historian—with all the difficulties and ambiguities that this may bring for those whose primary degree is not history.

Thus, for example, certain personalities have been preserved, no longer because of the mythical perspective of great men and their deeds, but as the significance of their contribution is evaluated, in terms of theoretical production or of proposals for forms of activity within the ambit of their historical moment, or the institutional conditions that prevailed, and so forth. In this process, one sometimes discovers that important contributions have been forgotten and abandoned because of the colonial, subordinate bias, that considers “of better quality” what has come from outside. This is the case, without doubt, of the new interpretations of the works of Manoel Bomfim (Antunes, 1999), Lourenço Filho (Campos, Assis, & Lourenço, 2002), or Helena Antipoff (Campos, 2001).

Such narratives, accordingly, are rarely anachronic, internalist, linear, or continuous. They are customarily externalist or even, constructionist, and more disruptive and discontinuist than linear. These are contextualized historical narratives that affirm discontinuity, while often retaining elements of the past. One mark, however, is becoming very strong—a constructionist perspective that emphasizes language and discursivity (Massimi & Brozek, 1998; Massimi, 2005; Jacó-Vilela et al., 2007, among others).

The constitution of a disciplinary field is visible, in part, because of its institutional presence. The history of psychology in Brazil has achieved this status principally through the Work Group (WG) in the History of Psychology of the National Association of Research and Graduate Education in Psychology (ANPEPP). Constituted in 1996, in the VI Symposium of Research and Scientific Interchange of the ANPEPP, with the encouragement and participation of the historian of psychology, Josef Brozek3 (Campos, 1998), the WG has been enjoying the benefits of an ever growing group of researchers and is considered the interlocutor of the most diverse institutions when the subject is the history of psychology.

The relevance of the WG can be judged by the interest that the Federal Council of Psychology has in having WG members as consultants on its Memory of Psychology Project, created in 1998. Through this project, three collections have been published—Classics of Psychology in Brazil, Pioneers of Brazilian Psychology, and Histories of Psychology in Brazil—as well as several biographical videos made (see the list of publications and videos in the Appendix). The principal result of this joint effort was the Biographical Dictionary of Psychology

3 Josef Brozek (1913–2004), one of the principal names in the modern historiography of psychology, stands out principally because of his efforts to stimulate production in historiography of different countries.
in Brazil – Pioneers, published in 2001, with general coordination by Regina Helena de Freitas Campos (Campos, 2001a). The Dictionary contains entries on 200 personalities. Following on from this work, we are concluding 4 years of investigations on institutions, understood here both as establishments, associations, and public, private, and nongovernmental organizations, related to research, training, and services providers. The Historical Dictionary of PSY Institutions in Brazil (Jacó-Vilela, in press) is scheduled for publication in 2010 and has 265 entries, of which 189 are written by women and the other 75 by men, a statistic that, without doubt, points to the growing feminization of the psychology field.

The kernel of the work of this group is the focus on the local character of theoretical and practical contributions to the development of the field of psychology in Brazil. We try to understand how the process of constitution and circulation of knowledge and practice in Brazilian psychology appropriates concepts, tools, or methods that originated elsewhere, or were created within the country. The richness of the field stems from the debates between different views of psychological issues, as they encounter other ways of thinking and other ways of life, that may generate, in consequence, a new understanding of the issues. The present historiography aims at revealing how much the production of psychological knowledge becomes local, that is, related to particular conditions that are specific to our country.

The group is presently coordinated by Professor William Barbosa Gomes, from the Federal University of Rio Grande do Sul, and its participants are researchers and professors linked to several graduate programs in psychology in higher learning institutions, such as the University of São Paulo, Federal and State Universities of Rio de Janeiro, Federal University of Minas Gerais, University of Brasília, and Catholic University of São Paulo, among others. The network of researchers in this area was initiated in 1983, when Professor Maria do Carmo Guedes established the Nucleus for the History of Psychology at the Catholic University of São Paulo, linked to the Graduate Programs in Social Psychology, Educational Psychology, and Experimental Psychology. Since then, her graduate and undergraduate students have developed several research projects covering the evolution of psychology in the country in the areas of education, work, clinical, and social psychology (Antunes, 1999; Taverna, 2004; and Azevedo, 2004; among others). Some of these projects were sponsored by the Aniela and Tadeusz Ginsberg Foundation, under the direction of Professor Guedes. The Nucleus is presently working on collecting and analyzing primary sources for the history of psychology in Brazil in periodicals, publications of scientific and

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4 The Biographical Dictionary of Brazilian Psychologists – Pioneers is available also in a virtual ed. that can be accessed at http://www.bvs-psi.org.br/. A version in English will soon be available at the same site.


6 The Aniela and Tadeusz Ginsberg Foundation (FATG) was established in 1988 with the purpose of organizing the archives and taking care of the legacy of professor Aniela Ginsberg, from the Catholic University of São Paulo. Prof Ginsberg (1902–1986) was a Polish psychologist, graduated from the University of Warsaw, who migrated to Brazil in 1936 and became a professor of Social Psychology at the São Paulo School of Sociology and Political Science, and later at the Catholic University of São Paulo. She was a pioneer in the area of applied psychology in Brazil and a productive researcher in the area of transcultural psychology.
professional associations, and archives. The results of this work are expected to be
the organization and digitalization of its collections on “psychology in São
Paulo,” “behavior analysis in Brazil,” and “social psychology in Latin America”
(CNPq, 2010).

Other important centers for research on the history of psychology in Brazil
were created during the 1980s and in the following years, such as:

Center for Research and Documentation Helena Antipoff (CDPHA). This
research center was established in 1980 with the purpose of preserving the
archives and the works of Professor Helena Antipoff, a Russian educator who
migrated to Brazil in 1929 to teach psychology at the Belo Horizonte Teachers
College. She had been trained in Paris in the Binet-Simon Laboratory, and in
Geneva at the Rousseau Institute, under the guidance of Édouard Claparède. After
a stay in the Soviet Union, between 1917 and 1924, a period in which she became
acquainted with the directions of Soviet psychology, she developed a well-known
body of work in Brazil in the areas of educational psychology and special
education. A group of researchers now work on her legacy at the Federal
University of Minas Gerais, under the leadership of Professor Regina Helena F.
Campos (Campos, 2001, 2010). More information about the Center is available at
http://www.fae.ufmg.br/biblio/cdpha/.

UFMG Archives on the History of Brazilian Psychology. Located at the
Federal University of Minas Gerais Central Library, in Belo Horizonte (MG),
these archives include unpublished manuscripts pertaining to CDPHA and other
collections donated by Professor Josef Brozek, psychiatrist Helio Alkimin, and
psychologists Daniel and Ottília Antipoff, and a personal collection of publica-
tions in the history of psychology gathered by Professor Campos (Campos, 2010).
The Archives are linked to the graduate programs in Education and in Psychology
at the Federal University of Minas Gerais.

Research group on the history of psychology and the human sciences—
history and memory. The group is led by Professors Marina Massimi (Uni-
versity of São Paulo) and Miguel Mahfoud (Federal University of Minas Gerais).
Created in 1997, the group develops research on the history of psychological
knowledge in the axis of Portuguese-Brazilian culture, and on the relationship
between memory, culture, and subjectivity. Their purpose is to provide evidence
of the role history and memory (social and cultural) play in the constitution of a
constructive subjectivity. An important contribution of the group was the trans-
lation to Portuguese of the book Historiography of Modern Psychology, written
by Professor Josef Brozek (Massimi & Brozek, 1998). Other works on the history
of psychology in Brazil, especially in colonial times, have been published in the
periodical Memorandum, edited by Massimi and Mahfoud, and in other period-
icals edited in Brazil (Massimi, 2006; Pimenta & Massimi, 2007; Assis, 2009).

Program of Studies and Research in the History of Psychology—Clio-
Psyché, of the Institute of Psychology of the State University of Rio de
Janeiro. Coordinated by Professor Ana Maria Jacó-Vilela, program activities
can be known through the site www.cliopsyche.uerj.br. The name of the program
links the two characters that in ancient Greece protected history and the mind—
Clio and Psyché. This research group develops teaching activities at the graduate
and undergraduate levels and promotes biannual meetings that gather Brazilian
and international researchers on the history of psychology. In addition to research
activities, education and extension, the program has a vast collection\footnote{The Clio-Psyché collection includes 154 books as sources for the history of psychology in Brazil; complete collections of the periodicals Boletim da Academia Paulista de Psicologia (UFRJ), Arquivos Brasileiros de Psicologia de Psicólogos (UFRJ), and Radice; theses and dissertations on the history of psychological knowledge in Brazil; DVDs about personalities and institutions in psychology in Brazil.} available to researchers and has organized various books, the last of which celebrates 45 years of Psychology at the State University of Rio de Janeiro (Jacó-Vilela, 2009). The main themes of research presently developed by the group concern women’s participation in the constitution of the field of scientific psychology in Brazil, the history of children and of the black movement in Brazil (Jacó-Vilela & others, 2007; Jacó-Vilela & Barbosa, 2009; Jacó-Vilela, 2009).

**Group of Historiographic and Phenomenological Studies in Psychology.** This group is led by William Barbosa Gomes, at the Federal University of Rio Grande do Sul. Created in 1986, the group is organized along two axes: 1) studies in the history and epistemology of psychology; and 2) studies on qualitative and quantitative methods of research in psychology from the standpoint of phenomenology and semiotics. One of the important products of research done by the group is the organization of the Virtual Museum of Psychology, where documents on the history of psychology in the state of Rio Grande do Sul are displayed. The Museum can be accessed on http://www6.ufrgs.br/museupsi/. The second axis of research explores advances in methods of inquiry in the human sciences and the importance of phenomenology as an instrument for research in cognitive sciences, mainly for the studies on internal speech and the dialogical self, exploring the history of the concept of self and of humanistic psychology (Souza & Gomes, 2005; Gomes, 2004; Gomes, Hollanda, & Gauer, 2004a).

**Research group on the history of psychology in the Medical School of Bahia.** Under the leadership of Professor Nádia Rocha, a group of students of the Ruy Barbosa Faculty, in Salvador, Bahia, this group is working on an inventory of the collection of theses written by medical students during the 19th century on psychological issues and kept in the archives of the Medical School in Bahia. Research done by Rocha explores their connections with social needs of the times and the birth of a mental hygiene movement in the country (Rocha, 2002, 2002a; Rocha & Moraes, 2003).

Other important products of the work done by the ANPEPP Work Group are the publications of a series of collected works on the history of psychology in general and on the history of psychology in Brazil (Campos & Víeira, 2008; Jacó-Vilela, Ferreira, & Portugal, 2007; Massimi, 2004a; Guedes & Campos, 1999). Relevant publications on these themes can be also found in the periodical edited by the São Paulo Academy of Psychology (Boletim da Academia Paulista de Psicologia); in Mnemosine, edited at the Institute of Psychology at the State University of Rio de Janeiro; in Memorandum: Memória e História em Psicologia, a joint publication of USP and UFMG created in 2001 by Marina Massimi and Miguel Mahfoud. A section on the history of psychology—Seção Clio-Psyché—has been established in the official periodical of the State University of Rio de Janeiro Institute of Psychology, Estudos e Pesquisas em Psicologia (see www.revispsi.uerj.br). A timeline reporting the development of psychology in
Brazil was organized by the São Paulo Regional Council of Psychology and is available at http://www.crpsp.org.br/linha/.

All these initiatives show that the academic exchange and scientific collaboration between members of the ANPEPP work group are producing impressive results, in number as well as in quality. There is a great effort to organize the field of the history of psychology, and to provide reports on primary sources to be explored by researchers and students. The third volume of the Helena Antipoff collection edited by the CDPHA in 2009 brings a set of papers reporting the organization of museums and archives in the history of psychology, in Brazil and elsewhere (Lourenço, Guedes, & Campos, 2009).

There is also an effort among members of the group to explore new subjects and methods, as well as to improve spaces for communication and scientific diffusion of research results. The interinstitutional network of researchers in the history of psychology gathered around the group’s works meets every year in the scientific conferences promoted by the Center for Research and Documentation Helena Antipoff, the Clio-Psyché, or the Brazilian Society of Psychology.

Going beyond ANPEPP’s work group in the history of psychology, there is today a rich historiography on different themes being produced. Specifically on the history of childhood, we have the history of aid to the poor, abandoned, underprivileged child; the history of the appropriation of the child by the state and the judicial system; the history of the distinction between the types of child, the normal or disadvantaged, the one simply “needing support” and the child that can, in the end, be “dangerous” (Rizzini, 2008; Rizzini & Pilotti, 2009; Arantes & Silva, 1991, Arantes, 1998, 1999). This is not a historiography developed by dilettantism, for the demonstration of learning. Its task, before all else, is to understand a current problem—the “street child,” the child at risk who lives in public spaces of the large Brazilian towns and cities, to be able to better propose solutions for this social problem, as well as for the improvement of our ways of seeing the relationship between psychology and society. Historians of Brazilian psychology are also studying psychological ideas in the colonial period, the 19th century, and the contemporary period, conveying a large number of experiences and representations in the areas of education, health, family life, and social life.

A growing literature is focusing on new interpretations of the history of psychological concepts and theories (Engelmann, 2002; Castro, Andrade, & Muller, 2006; Oliveira & Pires, 2007; Vasconcellos & Vasconcellos, 2007; Araújo, 2009); on the history of social psychology in Brazil, an area that experienced an important expansion in the contemporary period with original contributions stemming from the critical perspective held by Professor Silvia Lane and her group at the Catholic University of São Paulo and by the Brazilian Association of Social Psychology (Bomfim, 2003, 2006; Ferreira, 2006; Bock, Ferreira, Gonçalves, & Furtado, 2007; Guedes, 2007); the history of the teaching of psychology in Brazil (Bomfim, 2004; Gauer & Gomes, 2002); and, the history of behavior analysis in Brazil (Miranda & Cirino, 2010; Lopes, Miranda, Nascimento, & Cirino, 2008). In the last few years, new areas in the country and historical periods are being covered, and a renewed and more complete picture of the historical development of psychology in Brazil, as well as of its relationship to Brazilian society and culture is now possible. This research is helping to
discover new methods and ways of understanding our own history, as will be seen in the next section.

The Originality of the Brazilian Contribution Seen in the Light of the History of Culture

Ignácio Martin-Baró (1998) affirmed a little before his death that the most urgent task of a Latin American psychology effectively involved with the process of sociocultural transformation is the recovery of historical memory, of the everyday experience of people and communities not reduced by the dominant ideologies, and of the peculiar potential of its peoples. He wrote that such processes would stimulate people to learn by the lived-through experience and to find the roots of their identity in order to both interpret present reality and to discern alternative possibilities concerning their futures. In fact, in approaching the process of constitution of the history of psychology and psychological knowledge in Brazil from this perspective, it is possible to recognize features of specific and original modes of thinking and deal with the psychological processes, inherent to this cultural and social universe and profoundly rooted in the popular tradition. We understand tradition here in the sense suggested by Arendt (2006) and McIntyre (2001).

The positivistic epistemology of the 19th century in force in Brazil, in the process of transition between traditional psychological knowledge and the new science of mind and/or of behavior, was responsible for a break (unwarranted) between such knowledge and the new psychology, the consequences of which were the loss of memory and the forgetting of history as a process of knowledge construction. Nevertheless, today, from a retrospective viewpoint and with the methodological and conceptual instruments supplied by cultural historiography, we can redeem such psychological knowledge and its possibilities of dialogue with contemporary psychology. At the nucleus of cultural history is the world vision of a determined sociocultural subject. The concept of “world vision” (Goldman, 1955, cited by Chartier, 1990, p. 49) “permits to bring together, without reducing one to the other, the meaning of an ideological system described by itself, on one hand, and on the other, the sociopolitical conditions, that make a certain group or class, at a given historical moment, share, more or less consciously or not, this ideological system.”

Historiography prepared under this perspective allows us to deal with the relationships between psychology and culture by the historical path, taking into account the peculiarities of the constitution of Brazilian society and the complexity of its geographical space. This society, with its stratified and complex character, fits the profile of those that Dosse (Dosse, 2004, p. 142) defines as “modern societies,” that is, composed of a set of “strata, imbued with singular knowledge to be recuperated, always open to creativity and new forms of up-dating,” so that in the same complex space the “overlapping of plural pluralities” can be recognized. In such contexts, these authors suggest the importance of utilizing the notion of historical temporality created by Hartog (2003), that of régimes of historicity, which indicate the plurality of ways human communities live their relation to time (Dosse, 2004). This introduces the notion of a nonlinear and nonhomogeneous temporality that “can be appropriated in its phenomenological
In a way analogous to the methods utilized by geographers, it falls to the historian to differentiate the scales of analysis of temporality without reducing them, while taking into account that several communities may be living through different régimes of historicity even while sharing the same geographical space. If we take the fabric of Brazilian society from this perspective, both in the past and in the present, we can see that in it coexist distinct cultural subjects living different régimes of historicity, building diverse world visions and possessing diverse modes of psychological experience that can be learned in a diachronic and synchronic way. In consequence, contrary to the positivist limitation already mentioned, the existence and development of scientific psychology, in this context, does not exclude the presence and effectiveness of other psychological knowledge.

In considering this coexistence of different sociocultural universes in the same geographical space, one should take into account the peculiar mode that Brazilian culture has of assimilating differences. According to Suassuna (2003), there are “two Brazils.” One is the Brazil of the people: “the Brazil of the Singers, of the Cowboys, of the Peasants and of the Fishermen, of the tellers of stories that only succeed in thinking around concrete events” and whose predominant mode of cultural transmission and elaboration is oral. There also exists the Brazil of the “urban and cosmopolitan bourgeois, modern Brazil, the Brazil of the academy, of the intellectual elite that transmits its culture by the written word and by the availability of access to and management of the means of cultural transmission” (Suassuna, 2003, pp. 23–24). Nevertheless, the originality of Brazilian culture is in the capacity of the duality to be recomposed into a harmony understood in the baroque fashion, as a composition of contraries. This, according to Suassuna, would be the great lesson of the traditional Brazilian way, from the colonial and mestizo Baroque up to the present day, that is, a receptivity to the dissonances that is “a popular characteristic, Brazilian and baroque, of the harmonious union of antinomic terms,” which is the root of the profound unity among all Brazilian works of art and literature, even in their apparent diversity. As a consequence of the predominance of this baroque world view within Brazilian culture, according to Suassuna, the authentic Brazilian intellectual becomes capable of “giving ears to all the voices.” This means that he is capable of interpreting the different points of view present in Brazilian society (Suassuna, 2005, p. 26).

Thus, if we understand with McIntyre (2001) that in every culture there is the presence of different traditions whose rationality is founded on belonging to specific communities, when we look at the Brazilian cultural universe, the fact has to be stressed that it is composed in its historical stratification of very diverse traditions: Indians, Jesuits, Portuguese and Luso–Brazilian, Brazilians with different levels of education and social conditions, African slaves, immigrants, and travelers. And all these traditions have found ways of living together, have created dialogues, and engaged in cultural appropriations (Chartier, 1990), thus implying internal transformations for each one of them.

Approaching the history of psychological knowledge in Brazilian culture from this perspective, we can affirm that this history has for its object the multiple aspects of this culture’s vision of the world, with the understanding that the definition of the psychological may vary according to the specific sociocultural universes being investigated. In Brazil, there are different cultural subjects that are
the protagonists of the history of psychological knowledge in several historical periods. In the present and recent past these different types of psychological knowledge have coexisted and continue to coexist with concepts, methods and practices of scientific psychology active in the country. This situation demands the adoption of a methodological pluralism. That is, it demands the use of a historiography drawn from the history of science as well as from the field of cultural history. Thus, as it is the case in the historiography of science, so also in the field of cultural history the diversity of cultural objects demands methodological pluralism.

As De Certeau pointed out (2000), such histories must consider two levels of historical conditions that are not reducible the one to the other. One is the level of the thinkable (what it is possible to think and write in a particular space and time) and the other is the level of the practices that express this knowledge. Each of these two dimensions follows their own logical schemes and possesses different rhythms of growth, or régimes of temporality. These two levels, traditionally dealt with by two distinct types of historiography, one internalist centered in the history of ideas, and the other externalist centered in social history, are redirected by De Certeau into a unitary horizon, even if through ways traversed by distinct methods, one ideological and literary, the other sociological.

Using such a pluralistic method may make it possible, in a particular case, to analyze the articulation between practices and ideas and learn the relationships and interferences between systems of distinct meanings (e.g., economic, religious, political) without eliminating any of the critical factors of history. In addition, the historical objects, or events, can only be approached through their vestiges, that is, the sources, that in their turn are characterized by the diversity of a material nature, of gender, and of contents.

We give here an example to facilitate understanding of our thesis. Throughout the 16th to 18th centuries, we found (Massimi, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005) the importance of the contribution of the Jesuits in Brazilian culture in general and in the history of psychological knowledge in particular. The psychological processes were held to be parts of “experience” understood as a form of knowledge acquired after the act (modum operandi) and the precedent (and/or consecutive) thinking (modum cogitandi) with the involvement of all the powers of the soul, which leads to the true and the good. According to the definition of the Jesuit philosopher Manoel de Góis, “that which can be experienced [quid potest ab aliquo experiri] by someone and attain the nature of end in relation to someone, can be for that someone good and convenient” (Manuel de Góis, 1593, p. 19). The understanding of this conceptual position assumed by the Jesuits as regards the cognitive, pedagogical, ethical and psychological value of experience explains the fact that, in the activities of the Society of Jesus in Brazil during the colonial period, the universe of social practices was conceived as transmitter of a specific universe of the thinkable. In this way, the psychological ideas were transmitted and learned through the participation in social practices, such as preaching, the theater, and festivities. Accordingly, the range and divulging of such knowledge can be fully understood to the extent that we analyze also the reports of these practices. In these the Jesuits make use of cultural requirements belonging to the knowledge of modern age, such as word, image, and sound. In preaching, for example, the action of the rhetorically ordered word in the psychic dynamism of the listeners
delights, moves and teaches, that is, it mobilizes the senses, the affects, understanding and will (Massimi, 2005). The use and preparation of the images also follow the precepts of rhetoric, being conceived as the proper requirements to amplify the power of the word. In this case, the psychic powers involved are the internal senses, as follows: common sense that unifies sense information; fantasy (or imagination) that unifies information in a space-temporal frame; memory that stores and orders information, the vis estimativa (= ratio particularis) that synthesizes sense information from the senses and from memory and proportions a first exercise of the intellect of nonsense elements (recognition of the universal in the sensible). Sense-imaginative activity is directed to the most important end (Massimi, 2009). Sound and music (Mahfoud & Massimi, 2007) are also powerful means of communication whose common purpose is “delectare, docere, et movere” (Massimi, 2008). The consciousness of the ordering power of music is a topos present in the Modern Age, its harmony being considered a combination of the parts realized by the composition of the elements — this composition being virtually susceptible of infinite realizations. The effect that sounds promote in the person, in his or her soul-body dimension, above all in the affective and sensorial spheres, were known at the time and utilized by the Jesuits in their activities in Brazil.

Accordingly, historical investigations about psychological knowledge reveal the existence in Brazilian culture, written as well as oral, of a consistent presence of elements that, originating in various traditions, especially the West, were here assimilated and reinterpreted in a peculiar and original way. This is an ample and promising field for future research. This path may even lead to a valorization of historical memory, to a rediscovery of consistent roots, to a renewed consciousness of the value of the rich and multifaceted cultural property handed down and transmitted to younger generations (containing also psychological resources of a conceptual nature, but also practical, therapeutic, and preventive) and to regaining the consciousness of one’s own cultural, social and, (why not?), political identity. Thus, historiography can supply significant instruments for that work of “de-ideologization” of everyday experience recommended by Ignáció Martin Baró.

**Final Considerations**

We have tried to show that if science develops as a function of determined conditions—sociocultural, political, economic and so forth, then the same applies to its historiography. Historiography of psychology in Brazil evolved from the pioneer reports linking the field with the process of modernization of the country, in the first half of the 20th century, to a more sophisticated view. The present historiography is a work done by university groups, mainly educated in psychology, associated in a network of researchers linked to the Brazilian Association of Research and Graduate Studies in Psychology and to the Federal Council of Psychology. Their work emphasizes the discovery and organization of primary sources, and the interpretation of the work of psychologists as part of the history of Brazilian culture. This way of seeing the development of psychology—both philosophical and scientific—is considered an important tool for the understanding of this culture.
In conclusion, it can be said that the history of psychology is an area in expansion, in which there is still much to research. We need not only to reconstruct the trajectories of the participants in the building of the field, but also understand better how theoretical production in psychology has been incorporated, debated and transformed inside the institutions where the work of psychologists has been required. In other words, it is important to understand how the concepts and procedures proposed by psychology, especially by scientific psychology, have become part of contemporary culture, especially from the first decades of the 20th century on. Understanding better these relations can contribute toward illuminating contemporary options regarding the organization of the field of psychology, because, as Tyack (1974) would say, the manner in which we understand the past models profoundly the manner in which we make choices in the present.

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(Appendix follows)
## Appendix

Collections Edited by the Brazilian Federal Council of Psychology in Association With the Work Group on History of Psychology of the Brazilian Association of Research and Graduate Studies in Psychology (ANPEPP)

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<tr>
<td>Republication of works considered</td>
<td>Helena Antípoff (1892–1974)</td>
<td>Casa do Psicólogo, São Paulo</td>
<td>Collected papers written between 1927 and 1974, educational psychology</td>
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<td>classics in the development of</td>
<td>Lourenço Filho (1897–1970)</td>
<td>State University of Rio de Janeiro, 2002</td>
<td>Theories of education, especially educational psychology, original publ. 1930.</td>
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<td>Brazilian psychology</td>
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<td>A. Engelmann, P. Olinto, A. Cabral,</td>
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<td>Historiographic essays written between 1944 and 2004 by pioneers in the field of psychology in Brazil.</td>
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<td>Pioneers of Brazilian</td>
<td>A. P. Barreto</td>
<td>Imago Editions, Rio de Janeiro</td>
<td>Biographies of authors considered important in the development of several areas within the field of psychology in the 20th century (educational, social, cognitive, clinical, psychometrics, etc.), originally trained as educators, doctors, philosophers or social scientists.</td>
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(Appendix continues)
## Biographical videos

Biographies of pioneers in the field of psychology in Brazil in videographic format.

## Classics available virtually at the Biblioteca Virtual em Saúde (Virtual Library on Health Sciences)

Dicionário Biográfico da Psicologia no Brasil (Biographical Dictionary of Psychology in Brazil), in Portuguese and (in the near future) in English; E-books reproducing works published in the 19th and early 20th century.

## Histories of psychology in Brazil


Works reporting the development of specific areas within the field of psychology, resulting from masters’ thesis and doctoral dissertations made in several Brazilian universities.
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<td>D. B. Carvalho. <em>A cidade e a alma reinventadas – a história da psicologia como sinal e vetor da modernização urbana.</em> (The city and the soul reinvented – psychology as a sign and a vector of urban modernization), <em>in press.</em></td>
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