

# HISTORY OF HISTORIOGRAPHY ANALYTICAL AND SENTIMENTAL: PROPOSITIONS ABOUT HISTORICAL DISTANCE, NOSTALGIA AND VISIONS OF BRAZILIAN MODERNITY IN THE 19<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY<sup>1\*</sup>

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## ABSTRACT

The main purpose of this article is to discuss the emergence of the analytical category *Historical Distance* and the possibilities of modulation of time from different possibilities of time representation, based on problems of the History of Historiography. We cast our glances towards the end of the nineteenth century in Brazil highlighting literature and historiography as two fundamental genres for identity creation. We seek to understand the plurality of temporal projects for Brazilian modernity, as well as question the pure rationality in the writing of history. We identify the strong brand of sensitivities as aesthetic, ideological, formal and political motivations for representing the national time. We emphasize nostalgia as a significant element that shows a temporal tension that separates two visions about national time: the monarchical past and the republican past.

## KEYWORDS

History of Historiography – historical distance – nostalgia.

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# HISTÓRIA DA HISTORIOGRAFIA ANALÍTICA E SENTIMENTAL: PROPOSIÇÕES SOBRE DISTÂNCIA HISTÓRICA, NOSTALGIA E VISÕES DA MODERNIDADE BRASILEIRA NOS OITOCENTOS

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## RESUMO

O presente artigo tem como proposta central discutir, a partir de problemas da História da Historiografia, a emergência da categoria analítica *Distância Histórica* e as possibilidades de modulação do tempo a partir de diferentes possibilidades de representação do tempo. Lançamos nossos olhares para o final do século XIX brasileiro destacando literatura e historiografia como dois gêneros fundamentais para criação de identidades. Procuramos compreender a pluralidade de projetos temporais para a modernidade brasileira, bem como questionamos a racionalidade pura na escrita da história. Identificamos a forte marca das sensibilidades como motivações estética, ideológica, formal e política para a representação do tempo nacional. Destacamos a nostalgia como significativo elemento que evidencia uma tensão temporal que separa duas visões sobre o tempo nacional: o passado monárquico e o passado republicano.

## PALAVRAS-CHAVE

História da Historiografia – distância histórica – nostalgia.

## *Emotion and temporality: a historical exploration*

Not without some embarrassment the historians, still today, must to answer a trick question and probably not have an absolute satisfactory answer: what is History? – Immediately came to us the classic, didactic and elegant definition of Marc Bloch, that the french medievalist proposes the History like as a man's cience in time. The History is widely associated with the learning of past, but for Bloch's definition this is not radically possible. The History time is much more ample than the only past, because "*the very ideia of past, as such, can be a cience object is an absurd. How, without an prior decantation, we can made, of phenomena that haven't another common characteristics unless they weren't contemporary, matter of a national knowledge?*"<sup>4</sup> Bloch, with this proposal, invited the 20<sup>th</sup> historians to think the scientificity of discipline in a moment that seems clearly it's possibility. This clarity, in this way, no longer set, today, with much property in historians horizon. The History as a cience or as a representation, more than a productor of knowledge about man's action in time, is an answer to the discursive enviroment of it elaborately moment. The historian when exposing his problems and hypotheses carry himself of political, ideological and subjetives properties, that can go further than themes or sources, that is, that appear from sentimental motivations with time and that what is intended to tell. Astor Antonio Diehl identify that the simple cientific acitivitie in historiographic field, currently, no longer can give satisfactory answers to all problems put in schedule, since the History itself is extremaly fragile and inflated face of the need to surch resolutions to epistemological tasks intrinsic to it.<sup>5</sup> Differently that the historical time propper of modernity, when History was presented as a vector of orientation,

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4 BLOCH, Marc. **Apologia da história**, ou, o officio do historiador. Rio de Janeiro: Jorge Zahar Ed., 2001, p. 52.

5 DIEHL, Astor Antonio. Teoria Historiográfica: Diálogo entre Tradição e Inovação. **VARIA HISTORIA**, Belo Horizonte, vol. 22, n° 36: Jul/Dez 2006, p. 377.

the positive belief to become through the History seems be lack of effect.

The history is only a texture of past representations, because, methodologically speaking, the history isn't constituted how it does in formal science, where we have a general propositions body that express only discovered facts. The history would be much more the possibility to construct a kind of architecture of ideas of future that we had in past through the past intromissions.<sup>6</sup>

This "past intromissions" depend of innumerable factors that unfold from temporal modulations inside and outside of historiographic text. Their compositions establish themselves in memory games – memories and forgetfulness -, distance – absence and approximations -, and the dimension of time that intend to be narrated. The past, be it present or remote, is an element, even abstract, wich exert cognitive effects in present. The Histories lived and narrated they cohabit in spaces of experiences and reaffirm actions of men and women on duration. Besides that, delegates to historians the role of public agentes not in defense of historic justice promulgation, or, translators of the clash between memorie and forgetness, but from modulators, through narrative, of transformations, that the experience input to temporality. The historic representation is not limited to tradicional forms to speak of duration, as well the relationship of historians with it presentes itself in a much more complex way that the obsession of 20<sup>th</sup> century for its objectivation. Wheter in historiography ou literature, passing through everyday experiences of representation, we notice that the temporality projects itself over thin lines at all time. Between objectivitie and sensibility the relation between us and the time is intended for productions of presence, distancing and engagements that give the necessary liveliness to narrative.

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<sup>6</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 378.

To talk about time is not simply order it, even that's possible, in an ordinary chronology. This by itself not only represent of categoric form the possibilities of lecture the time on duration. Talk about it is recognize that although there are countless meta-historical relations of time, it not something fundamentally given. The first possible answer to this question fowards to comprehension of positioning of historian in relation to world and the history. Long time the History professional occupaded a place of distance, or better, of removal between them and the object represented assuming a posture of imparcial observer, wich creates artificialism. We notice that more and more we can evidence that there is a break of automatismo between past and presente, wich is importante to resignify the distance between the "envolved actor" and the "imparcial" observer. This problem comes up just right more and more common historians engage in open disputes for past representation. There are a search for the reapprochment of historian with history of himself, that must be articulated beyond operations scientifically conducted.<sup>7</sup>

In dealing with the emotional forces in historic thought, Jörn Rüsen reveal us a lot about this question. To the german historian, the thought as a procedure differs the feelings that follows during the production process os historiographic knowledge. The academic historians start from the premise that thoughts, concepts and ideas they are owners of cognitive nature and the emotions that follow them are additional or non-essential, not having a real function in write. However, this two dimensions of human are interconnected in a way that we not are completely aware.<sup>8</sup> The emotions, it follows, may not only to produce cognition, but have the capacity to show more things that the cognition itself is able. The emotions exceed the cognition by presenting alternative possibilities about mundane reality. The

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7 BEVERNAGE, Berber; LORENZ, Chris. Breaking up time – Negotiating the borders between present, past and future. An introduction. In: \_\_\_\_\_ (orgs.). **Breaking up time: negotiating the borders between present, past and futures.** Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 2013, p. 10.

8 RÜSEN, Jörn. Emocional Forces in Historical Thinking: Some Metahistorical Reflections and Case of Mourning. **Historien**, volume 8, 2008, p. 41-43.

emotions are not restricted to the logical dominance, which is not to say at all are something without rationality. To split emotions from rationality is to neglect the complex daily interweaves between these two spheres of human existence, and we not realized, or we pretend not to notice, that every rational system has an emotional base.<sup>9</sup> The emotions, obviously, can't be measured, but can be incorporated in sets of explanations of behavior and events. It urges us to look at the spectrum of human behavior. This means that it is possible to check manifestations and prevalences of different emotions in different local and epoch. These emotions can manifest physically, that associated with certain conduct, and from the point of view analytical the historian needs to be stay tuned to a deeper investigation of vocabulary and gestures of emotions in private.<sup>10</sup> One of forms of elucidate the emotions is, in Theodore Zeldin perspective, decomposing them in elements that configures them, and use this as a tool to an individual historical exploration, kind. What we extracted of this is an idea that this is an act of illumination and fusion between emotion and conscience as an inseparable unity of world and human. Rösen points the category here freely translated as "generations of sense" as a force moved for human beings that allow the interpretation of themselves and the world they live in, such as the relations build in there. The historiography, from the moment that it is understood as a scientific operation, shapes both elements cognitive and motive through the method.<sup>11</sup> In this sense always have a double and fundamental move of complement between cognition and emotion. None of these two spheres have full conditions to interpret historical events. One of manners of realize an "historical exploration" of emotions starting of your decomposition is casting eyes upon their temporal dimension. More than this, maybe it's better to think in association between

9 MATURANA, Humberto. **Emoções e linguagem na educação e na política**. Belo Horizonte: Ed. UFMG, 1998, p. 15.

10 ZELDIN, Theodore. História Pessoal e História das Emoções. **História: Questões & Debates**, Curitiba, 12(22-13): p. 39-40, jun-dez.-1991.

11 RÜSEN, Jörn. **Op. Cit.** p. 44.

emotions and temporality. Thereby, our investigative efforts opens a fan of possibilities, while require certain restrictions. We will seek to show in this article this association through the study of History of Historiography. This subdiscipline has occupied an importante space between historigraphic researches in Brazil. As it points Valdei Lopes de Araújo, beyond searche to demonstrate it potential of autonomy in methodological point of view, the discipline has another challenge, according to the author, of size the phenomena that are they own,<sup>12</sup> such as historicity, understood here as a “structure of human happening, or a temporalization of temporality”.<sup>13</sup>

The author part from the heideggerian propositions about the phenom of temporality and the relation of human being with time to think about an atuation of discipline that not end in self reflexiono of field or in a discretion of do historiographic. This look methodologic oriented to temporality is denominated *analitics of historicity*. The human beings are gifted of experiences that pass through all temporal spheres. We related with history and developed ours identity not as a simply beings inserted “in time”, but as beings that constitutes and are constituted by it. Seen this way, to propose an analytic historiography is to think in diferente ways of access the past and comprehend the possibles historicals experiences affected by the investigationsof forms of continuity and discontinuity. It’s not a look at the narratives of past and ordain them in time and space, but comprehend the transformations of time in historical time.<sup>14</sup> The relation between time and the emotions is fundamental to us insofar as they have a similar nature in composition of human being and have theyselves yours historicity. Our interest, therefore, is not just comprehend your historicity and yours tranformations in time, although this is inevitable, but it has to be demonstrated that the emotions

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12 ARAUJO, Valdei Lopes de. História da historiografia como analítica da historicidade. **História da Historiografia**, n. 12, agosto de 2013, p. 36.

13 **Ibidem**, p. 39.

14 **Ibidem**, p. 41.

can also to compose the time. This composition, however, does not matter just to experience, but, above all, to narrative. We will highlight, and more vertical manner in third and fourth part of this article, *missing* and *nostalgia* as types of emotions that have an intimate relationship with time and with history.

In many interpretations, the missing is directly linked to the idea of lost, of absence, of unwanted changes. It manifests starting from disappearance and detachment of something that has some affective tie. Durval Muniz understands that this is a process of subjective deterioration, of loss of some existential place and projects a building of some ideal place in time and space that precedes its decline.<sup>15</sup> Missing can be considered a universal experience, but we don't risk to affirm that is meta-historical, that involves duration, demarcation, conscience of time and distance materialized in feeling lack or sadness for the absence.<sup>16</sup>

However, although it doesn't be a new argument, we want to show that there are many dimensions of missing that carry positivity both in the experience and narrative. In this way, Roberto DaMatta helps us to think missing as a social and ideological construct, that mobilized as a category of thinking and action has in itself a performative capacity.<sup>17</sup> To the anthropologist, missing is not a category that can be explained through impositions and negotiations that crystallize in a language and collective memory as a species of empiric reflex of loss. It, in fact, is a category of human spirit that manifests structures of values and ideology.

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15 ALBUQUERQUE JR., Durval Muniz de. Pedagogias da saudade: a formação histórica de consciências e sensibilidades saudosistas. A vida e o trabalho do poeta e professor português António Corrêa d'Oliveira. **Revista História Hoje**, v.2, n.4, 2013, p. 161.

16 TRUZZI, Oswaldo; MATOS, Maria Izilda. Saudades: sensibilidades no epistolário de e/immigrantes portugueses (Portugal-Brasil 1890-1930). **Revista Brasileira de História**, vol. 35, n. 70, 2015, p. 265.

17 DAMATTA, Roberto. **Conta de Mentiroso**: sete ensaios de antropologia brasileira. Rio de Janeiro: Rocco, 1993, p. p. 19.



Reading, then, “miss” as a social category, we start to notice that it is the expression of social conception, we start to notice that is a expression of a specific social conception in time. However, more than being a way of establishing external grooves or discontinuities in infinite duration and continuous that involve us, as do the watch hands or sheets of a calendar, “miss” speaks about *time from inside*. From temporality as experience lived and reversible that crystallizing certain quality. Thus, for the miss, we can invoke and dialogue with pieces of time and, so doing, bring the special moments and desired back. Therefore missing also expresses as a duration that can be (re) lived and (re) experimented generously and positively. Thereby, the missing, shake to the perception of time as a intern experience, inside of a social hermeneutics marked out that pass from generation to generation.<sup>18</sup>

By assuming, therefore, the temporal dimension of missing as an object of analysis, will be necessary to define reading points that will clear our hypothesis about the use of emotion as a modulators of time and historiographic motivation. The miss in some moments will confuse with another category that we will mobilize throughout the text to deal this sensibility, that is, the already mentioned nostalgia. We don't understand the miss and nostalgia as being the same thing, but we start from idea the the nostalgia carries a narrative force that permit a greater decomposition of it structure, the miss show up as one of it dimensions. The literature that treats this two categories few times distinguish them. Not even is our intention here doing a distinguish between them, the same time that we will treat about things radically different. The History of Historiography as a analytics of historicity contributes, in particular, to understanding the narrative role that emotions have to represent the time, be in readings of past, be in projections of future. Put in evidence the emotional dimensions of historiographic making as well a instigating a

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<sup>18</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 22. (griffin of the author)

new relation between the historian and your object, launches new sensibilities and empathy to the reader. In this way, our text will go to two moments that structurally are distincts, but complete between them in attempt to demonstrate the relation between emotions and temporality.

We will mobilize the category *Historical Distance* as a methodologic tool to comprehend possible political movements, aesthetic, forms, ideologicals and sentimentals in time modulations. Seen this, we will displace our look to end of final of 19<sup>th</sup> and beginning of 20<sup>th</sup> century we will demonstrate as nostalgia, missing, utopia, and Romanticism contributed to dispute of projects os modernity to Brazil.

### *Historical Distance and the strata of time*

When we discuss the possible immunity of historian in relation to that describes in your study generally creates an illusion that has a total distance between the object and the searcher.<sup>19</sup> This distance can be observed in two moves. First is the temporal *removal*, of historian in your act os writing and the object represented; second is the approximation – affective and ideological – that makes that object studied feasible in your representation to the historian. It is, therefore, realize modulations to produce another effects of distance to include the reader in this temporal game. We can condense this proposition in a cathegory that always surrounds the historian, but that generates connotations and differents interestings, the cathegory of *Historical Distance*. At the first sight, this cathegory can seem empty of sense. This impression is due to the fact that we live together constantly with the idea of Historical Distance, either in undergraduate courses, in postgraduate programs, or even talking about history with those

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<sup>19</sup> About this subject see: NOVICK, Peter. **That Noble Dream**: The “Objectivity Question” and the American Historical Profession. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998.

that aren't professional, but carry certain interest or curiosity about the discipline. Distancing seems to be *a priori*. Which historian never heard that to comprehend a determined event or set of events is needed that pass a significative quantity of time between the end of event and beginning of narrative about it? It could be created there a safe distance that permits a reading and exempt analysis about the event in question. This propositions, then, it's carry of ambiguities. On one hand we can, safely, to affirm that how much further of a determined event, better are our conditions of analysis. It's is true from the point of view of historiography scientifically. By radically moving away we accumulate material vestiges, intangible, memories and interpretations. With repertoire size in our hands we believe have the minimal possibilities of writing history. However, on the other hand, to adopt it as a methodological true is to admit that History is a discipline that has a fundamental characteristic the study of past. The distancing not limit itself to the cronologic removal of the studied object, but it manifest in relation and form of reading that creates from it. To restringe the historian to the study of distante events veiledly forbids them, including, of comprehend with historiographics tools, social and political actual problems. The historical and historiographics<sup>20</sup> cultures

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20 We comprehend the historiographic culture as a theoretic representation of past, of sócio-cultural characteristics, institutions and structure of thought. The historiographic culture is tantamount to say that is the intersection between the form that the past is used in a determined time and space, as well the research method and discursive construction that form the historic thought. It is the set of all forms of past representation, that is much more embracing that historiography pure and simply, once that the historiographic culture embrace different areas of human science, trendy problem. The historic knowledge is the add of numerous factores whose final objective is the comprehension of singularity of men in time, articulating the duration and what we can call of documentar proof. In the tip of it's pen, the historian analyse the memory traces, identity and culture of societies in view of it's specificities. Just as one can not have a unique vision about the past, the forms of register it are also varied. In our perspective, the political and intelectual dispute about past stand out in front to the question of theory about the past. The historiographic culture, then, in no case show itself static. To see more about historic and historiographic culture see: DIEHL, Astor Antônio. **A Cultura Historiográfica Brasileira**. Do IHGB aos anos 1930. Passo Fundo: Ediupf, 1998; DIEHL, Astor Antônio. **Cultura historiográfica**. Memória, identidade e representação. Bauru: EDUSC, 2002; PEREIRA, Mateus Henrique de Faria. Como (re)escrever a história do Brasil hoje. **História & Perspectivas**, Uberlândia (40): 151-175, jan.jun. 2009.

of 21<sup>st</sup> century, as well our culture of memory allow to us achieve other levels. Through the History of Historiography study we allow ourselves to think wich are, and if they really exist, this “others levels”. We believe be much more a relation synchronous than a diachronic. The supposed crisis of historic reason that haunt the susceptible historians has dominated the pessimistic vision in relation to the discipline. Authors like Hans Ulrich Gumbrecht, for example, instigate us to think about the im-possibilities of learn with History. To the literary critic, although the history arouse great curiosity, seduction and that sharpens the attention to greats narratives and monuments, we are in a moment that isn’t possible to learn with it. We are fascinated about the past, we want always live the past, but it has no condition of being a advisor pedagogic instrument to the presente. But in historiography as discipline, says Gumbrecht, still talk in possibilitie of learn with this past as a indispensable fator to legitimation of it own,<sup>21</sup> otherwise it wold not much more sense. But in daily this is not so evident. Other reading that we can do abou tour historic culture and that involves our relation with memory and forms of projection of future start from propositions of Andreas Huyssen. To this author, the societies of end of last century, with advancement of Technologies that permits the unrestricted storage of informations, as well the real growing and simbolic of the media develop a phenomenom of overvaluation of memory. Women and men has today a obsession for memory. With the development of supercomputers with vast storage memories, exorbitant expansion of internet, midiatic forms of complete file storage leads the human beings to search more and more eficiente means of memory.

Notwithstanding, this constantly impulse for memory bring very serious problems for the production of sense. We live in a midiatic society, where more and more we are bombarded by information.

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21 GUMBRECHT, Hans Ulrich. “Depois de ‘Depois de aprender com a história’. O que fazer com o passado agora?”. In: NICOLAZZI, Fernando; MOLLO, Helena Miranda; ARAUJO, Valdei Lopes de. **Aprender com a história?** O passado e o futuro de uma questão. Rio de Janeiro: Editora FGV, 2011, p. 26.

Events of high and low relevance constantly surround us through rádios, televisions, printed and internet. Photografic machines and News forms of archiving composse this miscellaneous of information. We feel obligated increasingly go along all informations, we are induced to remember everything and this require a great velocity. However, how much more “we remember”, more chances of “to forgets” everything. To Huyssen this configurate as an specie os memory pathology. A great sensation of amnesia is produced.

Wherever you look, the contemporary obsession for memory on public debates crashes with a intense public panic in front of forgetfulness, and, it could be perfectly to ask wich one comes first. It's the fear of forgetfulness that shoots the desire of remember or is, perhaps, the contrary. It's possible that the excess memory in this media-saturated culture creat such an overhead that the own system of memory stay in constantly danger of implosion, shooting, therefore, the fear of forgetting? Whatever is the answer to this questions, stay clear that old sociological approaches of coletive memory [...] are not adequate to ccount for actual dynamic of actual media and tmporality, memory, of living time and forgetfulness.<sup>22</sup>

Gumbrecht and Huyssen points two possibilities of reading of our historic culture. The first one features the mistrust of possibilities of learn effectively with history, to size it as a guiding vector to presente and to Project to a future open of possibilities. It not means that the future no longer “exist”, on contrary, it still manifest on the horizon. However, in Gumbrecht propositions this futureis catastrophic. We are on the edge of a colapse. The history still figure as a fascinating knowledge, but it effect is short duration. From this, the second comprehend that forms in the same society the fear of forgetfulness.

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22 HUYSSSEN, Andreas. Passados presentes: mídia, política, amnésia. In: **Seduzidos pela memória:** arquitetura, monumentos, mídia. Rio de Janeiro: Aeroplano, 2000, p. 19.

There is an incessant search to produce a culture of memory able to store everything, but fail to produce the contrary effect, the amnesia, further aggravating even more the scenario of disbelief about the historic knowledge. In front of this two last examples, we expanded our defense to reheat some debates about our relation with time, history and the past as object or not, as a historians or agentes in world. The discussion about Historical Distance catch your breath insofar as we think forms of writing History and not drown in traditional forms of doing it, even this is fundamentally hard and we comprehend that, in the last instance, here we can't absolutely run of it too. The 19<sup>th</sup> century, with romantic theories, classified by Mark Bevir as progressive, always emphasized an specie of original nature, significant and even spiritual of understood history as a progressive unity. According to the author, under the point of view of progressive historians, the historical narratives was build from continuity and progress based on theological principles and materials, with a Historical Distance rarely placed. Empiricists historians understood that the passing time as a time facilitator of a comprehensive and impartial perspective. Here it can be said that is a material distance of past.<sup>23</sup> This kind of reading of history imposed the need of a emotional distance so that there was an objetivite in historiographic do. The brazilian historiography in final of 19<sup>th</sup> century tented to follow for this path.

Tristão de Alencar Araripe defended and yours *Indication about national history*, of 1984, the way of write the history of Brazil and the historian duty. Wrapped in ethos of nineteenth century historian,<sup>24</sup> defended that the "brazilian writer" must first of all give the complete and thorough idea of people life. To the Brazilian Historic and Geographic Institute (BHGI) member the national history was a policy par excellence. When faced with history of legislation, of public management and it progress, among others, the historian should be

23 BEVIR, Mark. Porque a distância histórica não é um problema. **História da Historiografia**. Ouro Preto, n. 18, agosto de 2015, p. 13-15.

24 Cf.: TURIN, Rodrigo. Uma nobre, difícil e útil empresa: o *ethos* do historiador oitocentista. **História da Historiografia**, n. 2, pp. 12-28, março/2009.

meticulous and paint with perfection the true characteristics of nation history. To glorify the homeland and comprehend the social life was an act that demanded the maximum severity.<sup>25</sup> There isn't in this definition, space for sentimentalism. The mother love shows up more like a civic duty than as a sensitivity. The history in last degree has a dual utility that approximate of a reading more rational of national past, that is, the instruction and the justice.

In the perspective put for Bevir, the progressive historians believed in principles, matter and theological to comprehend the past in terms conditioned for the present. This would be broken when the historians, called for him of *modern*, denied this principles. To this modern historians, the overcoming of Historical Distance would be due to membership of rigorous methods, and for the use of theory of history. Such vision of History follows the historians during the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The theory and the method was considered the key for the historiographic do that reach the nearest of true or, at least, that open path to knowledge about time. Frank Ankersmit states that although this question is of fundamental issue to write of history it is, rarely, matter of reflexion of historians and even the philosophers of history, that else care of describe the temporal phenoms than think deeply the conditions of time formation.<sup>26</sup> The affirmation of Ankersmit does not seem inappropriate to us, mainly, when we observed the formation of young historians. Not rarely we face with students of History that know the time as an exclusive problem of Theory of History, and that ended rejecting a problematization deeper in its study.

Even adopting a posture that the sensibility take accent in scientific production, both through the theory and in the method, the Historic Distance starting from this terms not lose the control as a time modulator. The time is not given, it is constituted from engagements

25 ARARIPE, Tristão de Alencar. Indicações sobre a história nacional. *Revista do IHGB*, t. 57, p.259-290, 1894.

26 ANKERSMIT, Frank. "Tiempo". In: MUDROVICIC, María Inés; RABOTNIKOF, Nora (Coords.). **En busca del pasado perdido**: Temporalidad, historia y memoria. México: Siglo XXI Editores/ Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 2013., p. 29.

and detachments. Remember and forgetting, to approach and the put away of a certain object has a rhetorical and formal force, but also politic. To position our reader and to position ourselves in front of historic narrative that drive us to ideological places that say a lot about us and about our text. Mark Salber Phillips defend the positivity of term and the use of Historical Distance. As proposed by Bevir, Phillips points that usually the category is trailer to objetivite, assuming the function of temporality, clear of vision that comes with the passage of time. Regardless of, this objetivite is only the starting point, since each historical narrative assume a diferent temporal weight and the task of positioning the audience in relation to the past.<sup>27</sup>

Phillips argue that the Historical Distance is the search for intelligibility and comprehension of History. It narrative confers, in many moments, plasticity to the historical time, definable by the form in each this plasticity are constituted throughout the narrative. It is the exercise of detachment and historic conscience. The author worth of the analogy thinking by Eric Hobsbawn when it compares with modern history and the maturity of nation with adult life:

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<sup>27</sup> PHILLIPS, Mark Salber. Relocating Inwardness: Historical Distance and the Transition from Enlightenment to Romantic Historiographt. **PMLA**. Vol. 118, n. 3, Special Topic: Imagining History (May, 2003), p. 438.



[...] this process is identified with adulthood: we grow up and learn to see things in perspective, albeit with some nostalgia for the lost vividness of childhood. By analogy, awareness of historical distance is figured as the maturity of nations: a stage of consciousness far removed from the simplicity of earlier ages, which expressed their view of history in the bright colors of chronicles and romantic legends. In modernity, however, we have become so attuned to discriminations of historical time that it becomes possible to be playful about time-consciousness in ways that would have been unthinkable earlier. As moderns, we note Shakespeare's anachronisms with indulgence, never worrying that an inventive staging of Julius Caesar set in gangland Chicago might look like a slip. Equally, we find pleasure in scenes of ancient saints walking the streets of medieval Bruges or Siena, attracted by a display of faith that seems all the more sincere for being innocent of time's passing.<sup>28</sup>

Think modernity, identity constructions and forge national history can be closely linked to the movement and project itself to our look both for the past and for the future at the same time. The distance to be created in this double direction shapes character of narrative leaving numerous brands, expected or not. We hit again on the keys of dispute about writes of time and history of nation. On the clash about what and how to speak about past and the national present, the distance construction, that goes far from documental comprovation and cunning scientific researches, had a primordial force based on emotional factors, formals, ideologicals and estetics. Constituted of continuities and ruptures, synchrony and diachrony, orientation and anacronism.

The brazilian historiography in constant process of transformation has on the final of 19<sup>th</sup> century, above all in the initial years of

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28 PHILLIPS, Mark Salber. Rethinking Historical Distance: From Doctrine to Heuristic. **History and Theory**, Theme Issue 50 (December 2011), p.12.

the First Republic, a new moment of disput for production of a common past for the nation. Angela de Castro Gomes remind us that the process of construction of identity are inconclusive and permanent. They manifest starting from simbolic dimensions that involves invention, divulgation, imposition and accession of a group of ideas, values, belief and ideology.<sup>29</sup> The identities comes as organizers of social world in front a time ordered by an idea of guiding modernity. Regardless of, it definition not present itself so simple. When we mobilize the cathegory Historical Distance and to highlight the temporal modulation force and it multiples directions, specially in the clipping studied for us, the political and intelectual dispute by the construction of brazilian national identity not permit to us categorize the homogenizer elemento of this supposed social world in the end of 19<sup>th</sup> century.

This naturally is due to the fact that the identities, mainly from national groups, not follow only one and clear plan. The instauration contexto of republican regime is marked, as it consolidate period in firstyears of 20<sup>th</sup> century, by diverse readings of past and future of Brazil. Joaquim Nabuco, in a conference<sup>30</sup> realized in 1908 in the *Spanish Club* of Yale University, in the United States, make a speech of exaltation of country, an fanfare exercise of that marked in national past the impulse to moral and idealist development of country. There is a romanesque and systematic effort in defense of existence, since colonial days, of a nationality spirit. Even though the independence had be efetivaded only in 1822, the brazilian essence it was already noticeable centurys before. In a posterior moment in our article we show that is an argument that follow the brazilians intellectuals since the foundation of Romantism as brazilian cultural main matrix in first half of 19<sup>th</sup> century. Afonso Celso, in *Porque me ufano do meu*

29 GOMES, Angela de Castro. **A República, a História e o IHGB**. Belo Horizonte: Argumentum, 2009, p. 29.

30 NABUCO, Joaquim. O Espírito de nacionalidade na História do Brasil. In: **Discursos e Confe-rências nos Estados Unidos**. Rio de Janeiro: Editor Benjamin Aguila, s/d.

país,<sup>31</sup> of 1901, also points to a Reading which tends to show the Brazil as the country of future. This work carries at its core a project of national pedagogy based on patriotismo, civilismo and in moral. Afonso Celso search a intimistic approximation with geographic characteristics that forms and stand out in relation of the rest of the world. There is as many examples that permit to us to think the paths covered to formation of national identity in that moment of strong political transition. José Veríssimo, in a different way, also stood out certain pedagogy as fundamental means for the development of national spirit. In a short article, considered for us as a seminal, in the first Garnier Brazilian Almanac number, Veríssimo relegates to the reading the paper of cultural and civilization establishment of society. The development of a culture of reading was to him the pillar of a modern society.

It would not be uninteresting, neither useless to know, if is right, as it seems, the tell what you read, I will tell you who you are. It would even be a subsidiary study of a future history of our culture and civilization, that could be an history of our culture and civilization, that could be a history of our literature, taken by this expression in its more ample sense, followed of history of our society.<sup>32</sup>

To know the Brazil, had the conditions of search the moral and social unity, at least of point of view of intellectuals of outstanding period, it was also attached to the habit of reading, of identify the cultural elements from the fundamental works of great names of the letters. The *Almanac Garnier*, for example, points Eliana Dutra, had a importante role to define the literary canon and historiogra-

31 CELSO, Afonso. **Porque me ufano do meu país**. 4ª Edição. Rio de Janeiro: H Garnier Editor-Livreiro, s/d.

32 VERÍSSIMO, José. O que liam nossos maiores. **Almanaque Brasileiro Garnier**. Rio de Janeiro, 1903. p. 161.

phic in the beginning of republican regime. Authors like Silvio Romero and your *Brazilian literature history*, Oliveira Lima and the *Brazil diplomatic History*, Manoel Bonfim with *Latin America*, Felisbello Freire with *Brazil's territorial History*, Graça Aranha with *Canaã*, between others were presented like important interpreters of national reality and had strong potentiality like definers of identity that they represent.<sup>33</sup>

We usually comprehend that the modern History read the time and its transformations to project it to the future and that under the teologic gaze and narrative have cadence and orientation. Our proposal is to think the Historic Distance as a category that can, in certain circumstances, reinforce or deny this positioning. The Mark Salber quote seems to do more sense here. The Historic Distance added to the modern vision of History permit that we understand some temporal choices. Not always the anachronism, for example, show up like a fundamental mistake, but like an effect that can be used to the text to help the argument, either to break or continue a specific history moment.

It is in this sense that we have returned our investigative efforts to think the modulation of time in a moment of strong social and political transformations that they influenced in a significant manner in order of national time in Brazil. The passage of 19<sup>th</sup> to 20<sup>th</sup> century is interesting in this sense not only by radical change of regime, but by ratification, and not inauguration, of a plural time that also puts in dispute the modernity to be followed. In the next topics we will mobilize some authors to demonstrate not only possible projects to the nation, but also the form of mobilization of time to this authors. The nostalgic element will be highlighted, in different ways, as a way of production of presence and distance. Already cited moments of transformations, reads of past, next and remote, give the tonic of

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<sup>33</sup> About the *Almanaque Brasileiro Garnier*: DUTRA, Eliana de Freitas. **Rebeldes literários da república**: história e identidade nacional no *Almanaque Brasileiro Garnier* (1903-1914). Belo Horizonte: Editora UFMG, 2005.

dispute about which history to tell. The Romanticism, as mean of interpretation of Brazil was still in force, even though in latently form, between a part of brazilian intellectuals.

### *Miss as a historiographic component*

On the threshold of decade of 1890, Joaquim Nabuco published one of yours more knowed essay and that always arouses reader curiosity in relation to sentimental aspects of this literary critic. *Massangana* is a invitation to some traits of intimacy of Nabuco. The essay, thats also incorporated the book *Minha Formação*, from 1900, relates yours eight years of life, when he lived in the mill Massagana, in Pernambuco, to the care of godmother Ana Rosa Falcão de Carvalho. Absolutelly descriptive, the narrative is replete of ornaments that they drive the reader a estetic experience that produces a certain empathy by establishing, in this way, a kind of romantic imagination in front of narrated past. The remember of times in that mill is a clear and nostalgic self-insertion in a memorable and positive past, considered by Nabuco as a fundamental fase of your intimate formation, politic and moral. This was possible by harmonious relation with the place that was created. There is a strong prestige mark of this memorial narrative. Regardless of, the unfolding of pages produces a sensation of tangibility of those past that although seems very distant get closer of the reader through a light narrative, a little dense, but that permits one reconstruction imagery of that earth, “one of more vast and picturesque of Cape zone”.<sup>34</sup>

Effort of remembrance, this, of a man of old age, although not old, that in a momento f absolute and indisputable maturity leaves briefly the transformations of adult life to an temporal jump assign your boyhood and, consequently, at first experimentations of world

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34 NABUCO, Joaquim. **Minha Formação**. Rio de Janeiro: Nova Fronteira, 2015, p. 166.

the mark of your identity. This choice of Nabuco call us a lot of attention by the type of distance that build the narrative. Once, the text is carry of a intimate reading of your formation, it present to us as a proud story of a time that nature, religion, family and solidarity walked together.

In games of approximations and departures of that narrated past permit that's reader has differents sensations throughout the text. The earth, the local landscape is evocated in a exercise of bring Massangana nearest. The description of nature is composed through images that seems at the same time contemplative, has a moral value through the man's action.<sup>35</sup> The next citation is long, but elucidative in this sense:

In the center of small canton of slaves rise up to the lord's residence, looking at the mill's building and taking behind, in a ripple of terrain, the chapel under Saint Mark's invocation. To the pasture sloap, isolated trees sheltered under it's impenetrable umbel groups of sleepy cattle. In the flat land extende the sugarcane cut through the winding mal of old ingá carried of moss and vines, that shaded side by side the small Ipojuca river. It was for this water almost dormant under large

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35 Strong and striking feature of search for brazilian national identity, the construction of narrative where the role of nature gets its highlight in Joaquim Nabuco, matter that we will discuss more deeply throughout this thesis. It's not illegal to say that the Arcadism and a literature pre national the element "nature" shows as a central to characterize the brazilian particularisms. In Romanticism was a trace *sine qua non* to awakening the sensitivity of genius. Evoke nature and look at it, and describe it continue as a brand still in Realism, Naturalism and in Modernists movement. Nabuco, here, seem be in a frase that Nicolau Sevcenko would classify as passage of the romantic moment that, on the one hand, the nature wins a decorative *status*, represented by deep descriptions ornated and of intimate and direct experimentation of José de Alencar, for example; on the other hand, the nature wins a utility forum, pragmatic, indirect, having Vicente de Carvalho as a representative of this form of reading. While the first glimpses and contemplates the nature, the second project it economic potential. Still, the panorama that is built on both visions are of ufanismo and belonging. The nature is part of construction of brazilian being and not could be ignored by Nabuco. About the question of decorative nature *versus* utilitarian nature see: SEVCENKO, Nicolau. **Literatura como missão**: tensões sociais e criação cultural na Primeira República. São Paulo: Brasiliense, 1999, p. 237-248.

sand banks that would board the sugar to Recife; it fed near the house a large nursery, prowling by alligators, that the black were hunting, and named by it fisheries. More further the mangroves started that arrived to Nazaré's coast. During the day, by great heat, slept a nap, breathing the aroma, spreading out for all over, of big tacks that cooks the honey. The decline of the sun was gorgeous, big pieces integers would transform in a gold dust; the mouth of the night; hour of boninas and bacaraus, was pleasant and balsamic, after the silence of starry skies, majestic and deep. From all this impressions none will be die in me.<sup>36</sup>

There is in the stretch highlighted an order and harmony between man and earth. The look facing the river Ipojuca, to the shadow of trees used like shadow to the cattle rest not far from canavial awake the sensibility of the author and give liveliness to that landscape. The romantic memory sharpes the senses through the honey and flowers scent, as well through the night sing of the powerful bacarau. Here certainly is not a proustian *magdalena*, because the memory of childhood ain't comes from direct experience of this elements. At the same time there is a certain rationality in integration of those tamed nature. It's from that canavial that extract raw meterial of sugar that will be sent to Recife, the river is the place of fishermen's work, the cattle isn't mere composition of a bucolic scenario.

The effect of proximity is what awakes this sensorial memory. Thus, in a contrary moviment, to return physically to the local of childhood, not gives the experience to the past, but confirm the passage of time and is reminded of the irreversibility of past. Returning to the same chapel of Saint Mark, at 20 years old, the commotion of Joaquim Nabuco in relation to the old pernambucano mill is clearly other. We give the word to Nabuco again:

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36 NABUCO, Joaquim. **Op. Cit.**, p. 166-167.

I turned to visit 12 years later the little chapel of Saint Mark where my godmother, mrs Ana Rosa Falcão de Carvalho, lie on the wall next to the altar, and through little abandoned sacristy I penetrated into the clausure were was buried the slaves... Crosses, that maybe no longer exist, above bunch of stone hidden by nettles, was almost everything that remained from opulent *factory*, as was called the slavery framework... Under, in the plain, shinning as green spots of big reeds, but the power plant now smoked and whistled with a acute vapor, announcing a new life. The almanjarra dissapeared in the past. The free work has taked the place in big part of slavery work. The mill presented on the "harbor" side the aspect of a cologne: from the old house there will be no trace.<sup>37</sup>

The nostalgic elemento pervades through this story. The miss of childhood where lived with the slaves of godmother and the discovery of religiosity it showed a time when it felt marked by ingenuity and hope. This mark no longer seems so stronger to talk about it. There was an temporal isolation, like if Nabuco felt exiled in time. The constant crossings of Atlantic catalyzed the sensation of this emotion historic nostalgic. From this, the appeal to nostalgia in your vision about history can't be interpretaded following the propositions of 19<sup>th</sup> century being like a species of uncontrolled of reason, a excessive use of imagination that arrested the men to the past in your manifest desire of go back to home.<sup>38</sup> Nabuco did not intend the return from that past in Massangana, but announced the recognition of your irreversibility and the difference in relation to the presente. There was deposited the potencialities of future. The nostalgia did not show in the work of Nabuco as something circumscribed at your biography. It seems to

37 *Ibidem*, p. 174-175 – griffin and reticences of the author.

38 FELIPPE, Eduardo Ferraz. Renovar votos com o futuro: nostalgia e escrita da história. **História da Historiografia**. Ouro Preto, n. 25, dezembro de 2017, p. 125.



us so clear that this emotion is always present as an strong element of reading of world, to the author. Nabuco in one of your series of conferences about *Os Lusíadas* and Camões highlighted the miss as a emotion also linked to love, and also as an expression that differentiated the portuguese language from others.<sup>39</sup> This emotional concept is not only diluted in romantic images of past, but also is defined direct way by the author, like is possible to see in this stretch of 1909:

But how to translate a sentimento that in none language, unless ours, crystallized in one word? We considered and we proclaim this vocable the most beautiful that exists in any language, the pearl of human language. It express the sad memories of life, but also it imperishable hopes. The tombs brings recorded as subscription: *miss*. The message of lovers between them is miss. Miss is the message of the absents to homeland and to friends. *Miss*, as you see, is the ivy of heart, stuck at it's ruins and growing in own loneliness. To translate the sense, you would need, in english, of four words: *remembrance*, *love*, *grief* and *longing*. Omitting one of them, it would not translate the complete sentimento. However, the miss is not but a new form, polished by the tears, of the word *soledade*, loneliness.<sup>40</sup>

As a human condition, the nostalgia is an element that follow the transformations of modernity. It is part of a basic repertoire of experiences.<sup>41</sup> As a strong concept, either by tradition or by a time that no longer exist or never existed,<sup>42</sup> it has the ability to modulate in-

39 NABUCO, Joaquim. *Os Lusíadas* como a epopeia do amor. In: **Discursos e conferências nos Estados Unidos**. Rio de Janeiro: Editor Benjamin Aguila, s/d, p. 79-106.

40 NABUCO, Joaquim. *apud*: DAMATTA, Roberto. *Op. Cit.*, p. 28. – griffins of original.

41 FREIXO, André de Lemos; ABREU, Marcelo Santos de; MATA, Sérgio da. A nostalgia como problema metahistórico: uma introdução. **História da Historiografia**. Ouro Preto, n. 23, abril de 2017, p. 139.

42 BOYM, Svetlana. Mal-estar na nostalgia. **História da Historiografia**. Ouro Preto. n.23, abril de 2017, p. 153.

dividual memories and coletives.<sup>43</sup> The nostalgia was for a long time understood as a symptom or cause of holes between significant and meanings, a disease that has passed the physic stage to social and that transform itself in a conservative analysis, a abdication of memory, a useless desire for a world or a way of life of wich someone is irrevocably separetad.<sup>44</sup>

The nostalgia neologism, created by Johanes Hofer in your thesis of medicine *Dissertatio medica de nostalgia*, published in 1688, unite two greeks roots: *nostos* (return to house) and *algia* (wish). This desire of go back to house throughout the history through for several uses and meanings, of disease with big physical impact in human being to a anti history political use. The Hofer thesis, and here very reduced, fall into the hypothesis of swiss soldiers that served in foreign lands suffered from an melancolic illness attributed to miss of homeland. A disease of memory that brings to the body the aversion to the foreign mores, susceptibility to isolation, remarkable sense of injustice, frustations, and a series of other symptoms.<sup>45</sup> A disease that supposedly that afflicted only swiss soldiers also can be identify in others contexts, include not european. Already in 19<sup>th</sup> century, Joaquim Manuel de Macedo presentes your thesis of medicine titled *Considerations about the nostalgia*, of 1844. In your essay, that seems more to apresent the historic and the main symptoms of disease than to propose more complex treatments, Macedo ponders that nostalgia was not common among brazilians since the young nation did not have soldiers in external *fronts*. So, the colective symptoms was more rare. However, among africans black people the diagnostics was more visible, mainly in those that have yours recente arrivals to country.<sup>46</sup>

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43 SCANLAN, Sean. Introduction: Nostalgia. **Iowa Journal of Cultural Studies** 5 (2004), p. 3-4.

44 STAROBINSKI, Jean. The idea of nostalgia. **Diogenes** 54, Summer 1966, p. 101.

45 DIEGO, Feliberto Fuentenebro de; OTS, Carmen Valiente. Nostalgia: a conceptual history. **History of Psychiatry**. Vol. 25(4), 2014, p. 405.

46 MACEDO, Joaquim Manuel de. **Considerações Sobre a Nostalgia**; estabelecimento do texto: Ronald Polito; posfácio e notas: Myriam Bahia Lopes e Ronald Polito. Campinas: Editora Unicamp, 2004, p. 51.

The Macedo thesis reveal another reading to nostalgia that was directly connected to Romanticism: the philosophic phenomenon of nostalgia. This turn, that although did not move away completely of medical precepts presented in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, already pointed to a redetermination of relation between nostalgia and the history. Among scholars of the concept in question, was Jean Jacques Rousseau that open way to a new form to think the nostalgia, even not using the term, when include in your *Music Dictionary*, of 1767, the study about the *ranz des vaches*. This musical genre, according to Rousseau, loved by the swiss, was prohibited of being executed to troopes under penalty of deaths. It awakened strong emotion that brings tears to eyes of the soldiers, desire of desertion or even death. As Rousseau observes, this effects are null to strangers and would be futile the attempt of localized the energy accent to discover the causes that produced such effects. The hypothesis that the philosopher lift up is that the ranz des vaches do not causes effects in “other”, because such properties were not from music itself, but a signal memorial that awakened emotions from those that was closely linked to homeland, the Switzerland in this case.<sup>47</sup>

To Niels Feurhahn, Rousseau besides denationalizing it denature the nostalgia. In this perspective, it becomes another psychological disorder rather than physical. To her, according the illuminist philosopher, should not be attributed a natural characteristic, but understood as a characterstic of enculturation. The nostalgic is far from homeland and is tormented by your memory with certain mental faculty that stores images, and that the same time is sent to the past, but does not represent it as such.<sup>48</sup> Over the 17<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries the notion of nostalgia through for significatives transformations. To be

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47 ROUSSEAU, Jean Jacques. **A Complete Dictionary of Music**, trans. William Waring. 2nd edn. Dublin: Luke White, 1779, p. 266-267.

48 FEUERHAHN, Niels. **Nostalgia and the Displacement of Identity: A Time-Based Analysis of the Unheimlichkeit of Nostalgia** (PhD Thesis). Guelph: University of Guelph, 2015, p. 9-10.

more and more associated to emotions, to an era of sensibility, the concept approached of romantic vision of the world.<sup>49</sup>

Transformations and uses of concept of nostalgia, the one that call us attention, and falls to the contemporary disputes about your definition, its the nostalgia as a problem of political and historic order. Marcos Piason Natali comprehend the nostalgia as a movement that sometimes show itself as anti-historic, going in the opposite direction to modernity. He understands that it was in promise of future and it comprehension of irreversibility of time that the nostalgia can be seen as harmful to welfare od individuals and coletivities. It would be, therefore, as a consolidation of historiography as dominant genre of representation of past that the nostalgia can be censored due to it inaccuracies.<sup>50</sup> This negative vision about nostalgia has it necessary points of divergence. In a apparently catastrophyc future the study of nostalgia and it capacity of modulation of time seem to us urgent. We understood that it structure is complex and attends dimensions that range from brain disease and dispear about losts pasts to elevation of conceptual of positive emotion and happiness.<sup>51</sup>

In this way, our investigations search to establish a relation with the nostalgia that evidence it political and aesthetic characteristics as a emotional prerrogative to represent and modulate the time. The concept worked by Svetlana Boyn is importante to us in this sense. The nostalgia, more than a expression of miss, sets up like a key to comprehend the time and space,<sup>52</sup> being able to evidence and provoke distances. As act of sensibility we can wait certain contradictions. One of is that even endowing the idea of nostalgia as a symptom of modernity, it also exalts certain breakdowns of closed conceptions of

49 DIEGO, Feliberto Fuentenebro de; OTS, Carmen Valiente. **Op. Cit.**, p. 408.

50 NATALI, Marcos Piason. **A política da nostalgia**: Um estudo das formas do passado. São Paulo: Nankin, 2006, p. 68.

51 SEDIKIDES, Constantine; WILDSCHUT, Tim; BADEN, Denise. "Nostalgia: Conceptual Issues and Existential Functions". In: GREENBERG, Jeff; KOOLE, Sander; PYSZCZYNSKI, Tom (eds.). **Handbook of Experimental Existential Psychology**. New York: Guilford, 2004, p. 200–214.

52 BOYM, Svetlana. **Op. Cit.**, p. 154.

time. Getting back together simultaneously to the future and to the past, the nostalgia is the wish for a different time, not necessarily the miss of a place, like the etymology of word supposes. That makes it complex to the extent that we can understand not only as a sentimental support to something put in the past and that cannot have more access, but also as a artifice that can generate sensations of presence through of possibilities of having been.

The danger of nostalgia is that it tends to confuse the true home with those imagined. In extreme cases it can create a ghost land home, in name of wich someone is ready to die or kill. The nostalgia unreflective can generate monsters. Yet, the feeling itself, the pain of displacement and temporal irreversibility, is at the heart of modern condition. Complaining a homeland pure and clean, the politics of nostalgia commonly produces a “glocal” hibrid of capitalismo and religious fundamentalism or of corporative state and eurasian patriotism. The mix of nostalgia and politic can be explosive.<sup>53</sup>

Boym features two basic types of nostalgia: the restorative and the reflexive. According with the author, the restorative nostalgia do not notice as nostalgia, but the truth and tradition. Search, almost melancholy, the return to an original that the same time is distance and is recoverable. The reflexive nostalgia, on the other hand, puts in doubt the absolute tuth giving space to belonging and human miss, not straying of contradictions of modernity. It seems fundamental to us about reflexive nostalgia and is strong worry with the historic time, with the irrevocability of past and the human finitude.<sup>54</sup> Although be possible the overlap, in key moments, of this two types of nostalgia, our work interest, mainly, with the reflexive, therefore, we unders-

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<sup>53</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 155.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 159-161.

tand that starting it mobility, and here we project ourselves towards to final of brazilian end of 19<sup>th</sup> century, the past can be redetermined.

### *What History write? The latency of Romanticism as a interpretation of nation*

As already stressed, one of central problems o four research is the reflexion about stays of Romanticism as aesthetic and experience of world. Our hypothesis rest on the idea that although the history of literature and historiography have traditionally insisted on the idea that this movement had over in the beginning of the 1880 decade with the advents of Naturalism and Realism, effectively this does not occur. We understand that have Strong motivations to this type of etapismo be build. As well as the buried of Arcadism by romantics there are exaggerations and anacronisms, they are rhetoric and politically builded. This build causes distances that modulate the time and re-allocates the positioning of authors and readers through representations of past. The nostalgia is one of forces that estimulate breaks on time and emergence of such distances. Apparently the scientist contexto would impede that romantic manifestation can happen, both in historiography and in literature. Ideas based in social darwinismo, positivism, spencerianism, experimental naturalism, etc, imposes a historiography that would drift away of monarchical centralism fundamented in traditions, to the cult of manufactured heroes of the past and the imperial *status quo*,<sup>55</sup> giving place to to the sociologicals analysis deeper and from scientificist character,<sup>56</sup> as well a literature

55 VENTURA, Roberto. **Estilo Tropical**: história cultural e polêmicas literárias no Brasil. São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 1991.

56 MOLLO, Helena Miranda. “História Geral do Brasil: entre o espaço e o tempo”. In: COSTA, Wilma Peres; OLIVEIRA, Cecília Helena de Salles (org.). **De um Império a outro**: formação do Brasil, séculos XVIII e XIX. São Paulo: Hucitec: Fapesp, 2007, pp. 99-118.

that was more and more realistic, less idealistic and that try disqualify the romanticism through satire, like is deeply noticeable in romances like *A mortalha de Alzira*, of Aluísio Azevedo,<sup>57</sup> and that not always had the desire effect. We comprehend that the discursive environment of the final of nineteen still find itself open to sentimental experiences, as we briefly observed with Joaquim Nabuco, the same time that denied this possibility. Were a moment of strong saturation. With the analitic exercise we call this sentimental effort, even that is not the desire connotation, of Post-Romantism<sup>58</sup> or yet Neoromantism.<sup>59</sup> So we can, then, clarify our choice we appropriate of concept of *Spätzeit*, widely developed by Walter Moser.<sup>60</sup>

This concept is pertinent to study of reconfigurations of aesthetic (post)romantic of final of nineteen century. Its a key of reading that permit the comprehension of the theoric caos current in the last decade of the nineteen and first of twenties. To Moser, the *Spätzeit* configures from a moment that a experience socio-political shows in crisis. All systems have its moment of rise and optimization, and its duration is not possible of measure with precision. This experience starting from a determined point tends to lose energy and comes in a period of decline. A system not hold by itself, can be even egemonic, but not only. In front of that, the society in wich this experiences they cohabit they get the sensation of saturation, many times generate by na accumulation of ideas and speeches. From this moment, the possibilities of create something completely original come to be questioned, a sentiment of melancholy and nostalgia, leading to appreciation of past and marginalization of contemporary production. Despite of, in the perspective of Moser, this secondarily not configurate as so-

57 AZEVEDO, Aluísio. **A mortalha de Alzira**. Rio de Janeiro: Fauchon & Cia, 1894.

58 HELENA, Lucia. **A Solidão Tropical**: O Brasil de Alencar e da Modernidade. Porto Alegre: EDIPUCRS, 2006, p. 38.

59 LÖWY, Michel; SAYRE, Robert. **Revolta e Melancolia**: o romantismo na contracorrente da modernidade. São Paulo: Boitempo, 2015, p. 37.

60 MOSER, Walter. *Spätzeit*. In: MIRANDA, Wander Melo (org.). **Narrativas da Modernidade**. Belo Horizonte: Autêntica, 1999.

something necessarily negative. It becomes the possibility of discursive transformation of future, an specie of preparation to transformations that should readjust systems of ideas to come. In this sense, we understand that this possibility of positive transformation of *Spätzeit* tends, at the same time, produce sensation of nostalgia, as previously mentioned, and a opposite sensation, the utopia. Nostalgia and utopia are key-concept to comprehend the Romanticism in it emotional dimensions. Elias Thomé Saliba also comprehend that it is a scenario that the utopia manifest as a sentimental horizon and advisor. To the author, the romantic utopian formatting they confused with the efforts in understand and become intelligible the real world and the source industrial society that it was organized through the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centurys.<sup>61</sup> The romantic utopian presented itself *pari passu* to the modern concept of history to reject a immobile time native from temporal experience linked to eternal return to launch to progressive transformations of history. The utopia born as a literary genre and political speech.<sup>62</sup> While the nostalgia is the wish for return to home, the utopia is the no place. The utopias haven't a defined place, are pieces of the imaginary centered on the word and aspire the existence.<sup>63</sup> In it original sense, the utopias are associated to the question of ideology. Make up a set of ideas and beliefs that give sense and guide behaviors. The utopias are the imaginary creation of a society in that the realizations of men and women are marked by values of equality, justice and common welfare.<sup>64</sup> The shattering of this values in a society whose practices (or lack thereof) are moved by expansion

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61 SALIBA, Elias Thomé. **As utopias românticas**. São Paulo: Estação Liberdade, 2003, p; 58.

62 CHAUI, Marilena. Notas sobre a utopia. **Ciência e Cultura**, São Paulo, vol. 60, n. spe. 1, julho 2008, p. 7.

63 SANTOS, Luciana Alves dos. A utopia da linguagem em *A Caverna*, de José Saramago. **FronteiraZ**, n. 4, 2009, p. 1.

64 BASTAZIN, Vera. Utopia como ato escritural. **FronteiraZ**, n. 4, 2009, p. 2.



of capitalismo, by consumption and original fetish tends to produce an incessante search by the idealized past.<sup>65</sup>

At the same time that stablish as a componentes of modernity, the romantic utopias also marked a form of evasion.<sup>66</sup> This evasion modulates the national time starting from literature stablishing mythical brands of temporality. The indianism, for example, as an instrument difiners of brazilian national identity in the 19<sup>th</sup> century supports the utopic place wehere is projected in the past idealized the people germs. In the search for the ballast in the pre cabralino past, the indianismo try to stablish an ideal temporal image about the foundational. As aesthetic and formal appliance, components to be stablish distance, reading about the past that converge in ideal fields to strengthen a project. We can observed it in the 1836 text, *Discourse on the history of Brazilian literature*, from Gonçalves de Magalhães were the literary stablish the first definitions about brazilian romantic literature. In this ocasion, Magalhães comprehend the necessity not only of to definy what was national literature, but to stablish a chronology for it. In a young country like Brazil, that still had a great path to go through in the process of consolidation of new State and for the establishment of shaping nuances nuances of the nation disfellowsipped of Portugal couldn't to atribute the beginning of literature for that same moment. It is established in the arguments of the poet two different temporal relations that reaffirmed the place of national literature. In first place, Magalhães atribute to 18<sup>th</sup> century as initial momento to literature in Brazil. Still, this literature did not characterize as substantially of national character, presenting themselves much more under foreign inspiration than a local color. In second place he signals that already had signals of a proto-literature among

65 IOKOI, Zilda Márcia Gricoli. As utopias românticas. "As utopias românticas". In: JINKINGS, Ivana; PESCHANSKI, João Alexandre (orgs.). **As utopias de Michael Löwy**: reflexões sobre um marxismo insubordinado. São Paulo: Boitempo, 2007, p. 107-108.

66 SERRA, Tânia Rabelo Costa. Utopia e hegemonia no indianismo. **CERRADOS**, Brasília, n.6, p. 113-118, 1999.

indigenous, expressed by its musicality and myths.<sup>67</sup> Once again we can see the Historic Distance being operated, in one hand, by immediate removal to the arcades of 18<sup>th</sup> century, that although developed a literature in Brazilian solo, it wasn't of national character. In other hand, there is an ideological approximation with the indigenous when it attributes to a faraway past, the "Brazilian middle ages", the seeds of our literature. Decades later, Urbano Duarte published in *Brazilian Magazine* a brief manifest about the Naturalism that confirm and deny some points about what could be the Brazilian literary *topoi*. The temporal element once again has its place guaranteed when the critic establishes to the history an important role in its development. This does not differ from that proposed by Magalhães in your *Speech* when Duarte marks the staging place of work of art. Each one is a fruit from determined time. To Duarte: "*The historic influences have relation with the general progress of ideas, develop, correct, perfect and complete the literature, put it according to the time*".<sup>68</sup> Besides that, the nature is reaffirmed as a place inalienable of inspiration. The climate, however, is not contemplative, but exerts forces that should go beyond of idealism. Even the nature showing up as source of human passions it has a commitment with the truth.

The final of Brazilian 19<sup>th</sup> century provided training of a bigger scenario to disputes about the reconfigurations of modernity. Hope and mistrust cohabit in an discursive environment that saturated with possibilities. The Republic as a new fact opens possibilities that forced the reconfigurations of time. The Brazilian intellectuality, at least in some sectors in spotlight, as in Brazilian Historic and Geographic Institute, search to comprehend or produce an answer to the place of Brazil between the civilized nations. The fall of the monarchy and the absence of its patron and protector, added an external political envi-

67 GONÇALVES DE MAGALHÃES, Domingos José. Discurso sobre a história da literatura do Brasil. Rio de Janeiro: Casa Fundação Rui Barbosa, 1994., p. 16-17; 264-269.

68 DUARTE, Urbano. O Naturalismo. **Revista Brasileira**. Rio de Janeiro: N. MIDOSI, Editor, 1880, p. 25.

roment imposes serious doubts about the nation history. Not only in institutional scope, but also in narrative model.

Even more the generation of intellectuals that act against traditional forms of tell the brazilian past search to fix your critic space. The relation between history and it representation questioned the collection and organizations. The history, in Silvio Romero's vision, José Veríssimo, Capistrano de Abreu, Euclides da Cunha, among others, should move away from a romantic language that aimed much more the constitutions of adornments, than interested in evidence of a critical mode the truth nation mark. In Silvio's Romero vision put itself in two stories from Brazil at stake. The first one, the romantic tradition, was rhetoric and empty. The second one, still to be done, deep and authentic.<sup>69</sup>

Capistrano de Abreu, still in 1878, to advertise the *Necrology of Francisco de Adolfo de Varnhagen, Viscount of Porto Seguro*, outline what it would be the brazilian historian role in a near future. Although the investigative spirit of Varnhagen was highlighted as a characteristic of some, and what made he the historian of the motherland, lacked the density that the recent social science provided. This was the mark of revival of historic studies. Capistrano understood that those was the time to train a new tipe of historian, that was capable of to illuminate the national historian starting from the scientificists theories that transform the humanista thought in the last quarter of nineteenth. Was the opportunity of take off the history of obscurantism, of rough empiricism and search the authenticity of the past. Varnhagen, the brazilian historian of the 19<sup>th</sup> century did not do it.

It's a pity that the ignore or disdained the body of doctrines creatives that in the last years were constituted in cience under the name of sociology. Without this luminous beam, it can't see the way why is made the social life. Without it the relations that link the successive moment

69 TURIN, Rodrigo. **Tessituras do Tempo**: Discurso etnográfico e historicidade no Brasil oitocentista. Rio de Janeiro: Ed. Uerj, 2013, p. 192-193.

of life of a people can't to draw in it spirit so as to clarify the different faces and factors reciprocally. It could to dig documents, demonstrate them the authenticity, solving puzzles, unravel mysteries, nothing to do to your successors on the ground of facts: comprehend, though, such facts in it origins, in it connection with broader and radical facts that they come; generalize the actions and formulate the theories; represent it with consequences and demonstration of two or three basic laws, couldn't even get it..<sup>70</sup>

In speech to BGHI in 1983, Olegário Herculano de Aquino e Castro speak about the mission of institute in it 54 years of it existence. Reinforce your place, remember that the fundamentals starting from of auspices of Auxiliary Society of National Industry was to produce a history essentially useful, severe and true of the nation. It's not about the science of dates or chronological deductions. The then presidente of BGHI rejected the idea of the history be fatalista and catalogo of actions of individuals that few or no influence on directions of fact.<sup>71</sup> Curious to notice that the different of Capistrano, that years before to defend an more analytical history starting from Comte, Spencer and Darwin, Aquino and Castro modulate your conception of history starting from Robertson, Guizot, Macaulay, among others. The problem of Historical Distance shows here in it more common form. Although, naturally, there's a clear understanding of philosophical history procedure in reading of time, Olegário Herculano, and the historian is perfectly gifted of conditions to realization, even with a passion bias, of impartial analysis and objectives of history, the observation of present events not seem be a object capable to contemporary historians, and as a direct heirs of a political generation still harness to the recent deposed regime not have the intention or,

70 ABREU, João Capistrano de. "Necrológio de Francisco Adolfo de Varnhagen, Visconde de Porto Seguro". In: **Ensaio e estudos: crítica e história**. 1ª série. Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira/INL, 1975, p. 90.

71 CASTRO, Olegário Herculano de Aquino e. Discurso. **Revista do IHGB**. Tomo LV, Parte II. 1893, p. 428.

at least, the necessary distance.<sup>72</sup> We can suppose that is admitted the force of sentimental dimensions of human in the look for a duration, however, for some this can ofuscate certain visions and adictions that only the adequate temporal distance can overcome. An significative element contributes to this historical present distance was a barrier to intellectuals heirs of the Empire. The figure of “*august head of the State*”, that before brightened the anniversary parties of BGHI wasn't possible at that time. It become an empty temporal discomfort.<sup>73</sup> The unoccupied chair of Emperor was sense as a echo, a generated void by Republic.<sup>74</sup> An unoccupied chair was a distance. This sentiment express by Joaquim Norberto Souza e Silva, pointed to a future of uncertainties, but that not would drop, for the then presidente of BGHI in 1889, the traditions of intellectuals that over there passed and, mainly, by the deposed emperor.

The politics have it intransigente necessities, not we that, Vestals of this temple of History, we collaborate to posterity in this *pacifica scientiæ occupatio*; and for a gratitude one of most beautiful caracteres of humanity, will live in our tradition until the last of us would have gone to the grave, in that already sleep our most different partners, without wanted to put the order in any way the order of new things stablished and to wich we bow, certain that the government of people by people will be a reality to the land in wich God granted by symbol the cross of it redemption, and to who we beg, that the republic be as free as you have been the empire of Peter II.<sup>75</sup>

The multiple forms of reading of national past and it representations that emerge in a political enviroment extremely conflic-

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72 **Ibidem**, p. 430-431.

73 **Ibidem**, p. 433.

74 About the subject see more in: SOUSA, Francisco Gouvea de. Revolta e proclamação como molduras da história: escrita da história e olhares para a República entre os sócios do IHGB. **História da Historiografia**. Ouro Preto, n.18. p. 213-230, Agosto de 2015.

75 SILVA, Joaquim Norberto Souza e. Discurso. **Revista do IHGB**. Tomo LII, Parte II, 1889, p. 534.

ting is a powerful mark of modernity. More than a look for duration as projection and process, the modernity configures as choice. As we saw earlier, not have only a path to go, the only possibility to reach the modernity. The different social and philosophical theory that boiled in the final of 19<sup>th</sup> century open a broad fan to brazilian intellectuality to promulgate the dispute about temporal path of nation. This fan produce different effects which were both positive and negative, generating that what that Angela Alonso called “theoric chaos”.<sup>76</sup>

The empty chair of the emperor, in the BGHI, in a context that project itself a modernization at all cost for the insertion of Brazil in the roll of civilized nations isn't a simple miss of Joaquim Nabuco about the past. It is the anticipation of a announced nostalgia, characterizing itself, then, as a mechanism of defense in a transformation time. The representations of national past, the conceptions of time and modernity they widened, they intended and cohabited in a environment that permits withdraw from latency visions of world that they thought were overcome. The Romanticism, even though still consider an artificial style, maintaining the emperor and apolitical *status quo* configured as a aesthetic horizon to the dispute about which national history should be tell. The History of Historiography has provided a rereading of the relation between human and time. On escaping from the stigma of a discipline merely descriptive, opens various possibilities to interpretations of temporality. We search to demonstrate what the historiographic do is attached to factors that tangential spheres of experience and produce severe implications in relation between object and narrative. To assume the work of analytical of historicity, the History of Historiography not only expose clearly the phenomena that are own, that make it possible to cast glances to the historiographic narrative.

From this possibilities we highlight the intersection with the History of Emotions when placing in evidence the nostalgia and its dimen-

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76 ALONSO, Angela. Crítica e Contestação: O movimento reformista da geração 1870. **RBCS** Vol. 15 no 44 outubro/2000, p. 35.

sions as a driving force to a type of representation of past linked to both in empiric method and sensibility, and we pointed out that they are not necessarily excluded elements. Identify this in the studies about the passage of 19<sup>th</sup> to 20<sup>th</sup> century in the brazilian historiography that permit to us realize how much still have a strong heritage in ours historic and historiographic contemporary cultures. We propose that when we recover the category of Historic Distance and comprehend the politics relation, aesthetic, ideologics, formals and sentimentals that compose we can resignify the pair sensibility/objectivity, usually read as dichotomic, and bring closer the emotional dimensions of history.

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