

Women writers in brasiliana bibliographies

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ABSTRACT

This article summarizes part of the discussions developed in a doctoral research that falls within the field of historical-bibliographic studies, whose objects of analysis are bibliographies on Brasiliana themes. The purpose is to investigate the presence of women writers in these bibliographies in order to identify silences that bibliographic writing makes possible. In view of this, it is argued that researching the written memory from the Brasilianas provides an opportunity to bring to the scene women who have been erased from historiography and bibliographic memory, rescuing their stories and productions about Brazil. In its theoretical dimension, the work dialogues with multidisciplinary perspectives, which include studies on the Bibliography and Cultural History of Women. In methodological terms, this is a bibliographic-documentary analysis centered on identifying women writers. Because it is an ongoing research, the results consist of the presentation of selected bibliographies, the survey of data referring to the number of women writers and initial reflections on these quali-quantitative markers.

Keywords: bibliography; Brasiliana bibliography; women's cultural history; women writers.

INTRODUCTION

At the beginning of the 20th century, in a misogynistic England that failed to accept women in universities or the labor market, a context in which low education and submission to male domination encouraged, among other aspects, the cultural exclusion of women, Virginia Woolf delivered two lectures to the society of the arts, in 1928, in which she reflected on her search for women writers in libraries in England and on her outrage at the small number of texts authored by women. The lectures, published as an essay the following year, were named *A room of one's*

own. Stressing the social conditions that structured the exclusion of women from the circuit of written culture, Woolf noted, above all, that women's history needed to be rewritten, the reason why she raised the following question: "por que não acrescentar um suplemento à história? chamando-o, é claro, por algum nome discreto, de forma que as mulheres pudessem ali aparecer sem impropriedade?" (Woolf, 1985, p. 19)¹. As one can see, the English novelist's provocation emphasizes her keen analytical irony in the face of a system that insisted on diminishing women's positions, thoughts, lives, bodies and writing.

By evoking the lectures by Virginia Woolf, published almost one century ago, this paper, in the field of historical-bibliographical studies, is aimed at analyzing the presence of women writers in bibliographies based on Brasiliana themes, with a view to: (a) mapping bibliographies dedicated to the Brasiliana theme in ancient graphic documents²; (b) identifying and quantifying, in the selected bibliographies, women writers and works published by them; (c) identifying characteristics of bibliographic writing and the place assigned to women writers in selected bibliographies; (d) demonstrating how Brasiliana bibliographies operate and articulate the presence of women writers.

In addition to demarcating the relevance of historical-bibliographical studies for Library Science and Information Science, it is noted that research on Brasiliana women writers and bibliographies may be able to show silences that bibliographic writing makes possible, providing opportunities to bring into the spotlight women who have been erased from the historiography of the culture written in and referring to Brazil. In correlation, it is understood that this work may be able to encourage new investigations about the formation, safeguarding and dissemination of bibliographic collections of memory in the country.

In view of this, by addressing bibliographic writing from the discussion of the presence of women writers in Brasiliana bibliographies, this paper points to a political act committing to read bibliographies not only for what they address, “[...] mas [pelo] que falta e o que deveria estar [...]” (duarte, 2011, p. 241)³ expressed in their lines and in between. Therefore, the research developed is an attempt to reflect, among other aspects, on bibliographic writing as a possibility of historical reconstitution of female writing.

THEORETICAL-CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

For implementing the propositions outlined above, we sought to establish a theoretical-conceptual dialogue with authors who discuss both the Cultural History of Women and the foundations of Bibliography and the specificity of Brasiliana bibliographies. As will be made demonstrated, our study understands Bibliography as a discipline, but also as a tool capable of heralding the ways and strategies through which knowledge is constructed, organized and disseminated in each society, shedding light on the injunctions of forces responsible for giving visibility to certain works and authors, while others are erased and silenced. Dynamics and power relations which have been long reported by male and female historians who investigate the place attributed and occupied by women in the context of written culture (Algranti, 2004; Duby; Perrot, 1993, 1995; Perrot, 1988, 2007; Scott, 2011).

WOMEN AND WRITTEN CULTURE

In many of her writings, Michelle Perrot (1988, 2007) states that the history of women is crossed by millenary silences and oblivion. According to the author, women’s invisibility occurs, firstly, due to the social condition to which she was destined: the seclusion of the family space, far from public life.

In addition to this is the fact that the transition to the public space – from their parents’ home to a new home – imposed upon women the adoption of men’s surnames: “[...] os homens são indivíduos, pessoas, trazem sobrenomes que são transmitidos. Alguns são ‘grandes’, ‘grandes homens’. As mulheres não têm sobrenome, têm apenas um nome. Aparecem sem nitidez, na penumbra dos grupos obscuros” (Perrot, 2007, p. 17)⁴.

Correspondingly, “the silence of the sources” is another factor for the erasure of women in history. Either because they, due to a large set of socio-historical conditions, leave few records, since, in general, the attention that observers and chroniclers, mostly male, “[...] dispensam às mulheres é reduzida ou ditada por estereótipos” (Perrot, 2007, p. 17)⁵.

Therefore, this obscurity of women is embodied in the “[...] dissimetria sexual das fontes, variável e desigual segundo as épocas” (Perrot, 2007, p. 17)⁶ in which works produced by women are “[...] imaginadas, representadas, em vez de serem descritas ou contadas” (Perrot, 2007, p. 17)⁷. Not without reason, the Cultural History of Women only began to develop late, first:

[...] na Grã-Bretanha e nos Estados Unidos nos anos 1960 e na França uma década depois. Diferentes fatores imbricados – científicos, sociológicos, políticos – concorreram para a emergência do objeto “mulher”, nas ciências humanas em geral e na história em particular (Perrot, 2007, p. 19)⁸.

This advent triggered large production about women in various fields of knowledge. Thus, “[...] das mulheres, muito se fala. Sem parar, de maneira obsessiva. Para dizer o que elas são ou o que elas deveriam fazer”⁹. However, it is necessary to highlight that “these spoken-of-women” correspond, for the most part, to white, European, Anglo-Saxon and North American women. Hegemonic discourse that, paradoxically, elects the image of a universal female subject, silencing many other voices such as those of black, Latino, indigenous, aboriginal, etc. women. Not by chance, a large number of texts about women prioritize famous characters, promoting a univocal and linear narrative.

However, the history of women “[...] não requer somente uma narrativa linear, mas [sim] um relato mais complexo, que leve em conta, ao mesmo tempo, a posição variável das mulheres na história, o movimento feminista e a disciplina da história” (Scott, 2011, p. 67)¹⁰. Which means that, for Scott (2011), women’s history investigates the very way in which the term “history” was established and, therefore:

Questiona a prioridade relativa dada à “história do homem”, em oposição à “história da mulher”, expondo a hierarquia implícita em muitos relatos históricos. E, mais fundamentalmente, desafia tanto a competência de qualquer reivindicação da história de fazer um relato completo quanto à perfeição e à presença intrínseca do objeto da história – o Homem universal (Scott, 2011, p. 80)¹¹.

In view of this, Scott (2011) and Perrot (2007) understand that women’s history is (or should be) concerned with affirming the distinction of women’s culture, since it is “[...] um campo inevitavelmente político” (Scott, 2011, p. 98)¹². Epistemic marker also observed in most productions dedicated to reflecting upon the presence and importance of women in the context of written culture in Brazil.

WOMEN AND WRITTEN CULTURE IN BRAZIL

As stated previously, the historiography of women in Brazil does not differ from that produced in the Global North¹³. This certainly stems from the colonization processes, but also from the fact that the history of Brazilian women is narrated by mostly male voices and is almost always subjected to the scrutiny of institutions and knowledge devices managed by men. It is not surprising, therefore, that until the 19th century, texts by religious people, travelers and colonial rulers associated Brazilian women with the sin of the flesh and little or nothing was said about them as public person(s) or even as producers of “logical-rational” knowledge. Undoubtedly, this is directly related to the condition of the colonial woman who was, almost always:

[...] submetida no interior de uma família patriarcal, em que o poder de chefia está totalmente concentrado na figura do pai, o senhor de engenho, detentor de uma autoridade absoluta sobre a esposa e os filhos (Bauer, 2001, p. 121)¹⁴.

Conditions that remained practically unchanged even after the Royal Family arrived in Brazil. Although the arrival of the Portuguese kings lent an aura of sophistication to the new seat of the Court, it was the men who continued to write for and about women. To cite one example, Jean-Baptiste Debret together with the Count of Suzannet found an opportunity to publish about women’s education and their tasks within the family. Similarly, we can refer to many other texts by travelers who describe scenes and build specific points of view capable of managing the history and representation of women in Brazil, as is the case of the following works:

- *Voyage à la Cochinchine* (Barrow, 1807), with chapter *Les femmes à Rio de Janeiro*;
- *Les femmes et les moeurs du Brésil* (Expilly, 1863);
- *Voyage d'une femme* (Verdier, 1882);
- *Voyage et découvertes outre-mer au XIX^o siècle* (Mangrin, 1863), with chapter *Vengeance de femme; Les femmes de Parahiba*, de Taunay.

Added to these is the *Diccionario Biographico de Brasileiros celebres nas letras, artes, politica, filantropia, guerra, diplomacia, indústria, sciencias e caridade*, authored by Manuel Francisco Dias da Silva, which brings together 103 biographies of these “celebrated Brazilians”, from 1500 to 1871. Neglecting women’s names, this author reaffirms that the place of honor in the written culture of nineteenth-century Brazil was entirely occupied by men.

Later, in 1878, Joaquim Manoel de Macedo – professor at D. Pedro II school – published in Rio de Janeiro book *Mulheres celebres*, by Garnier, a piece that brings together the biography of European women and was designed to be a manual for teachers (Macedo, 1878). The author’s intention was, therefore, to produce biographical profiles adapted to the primary education of Royal Court girls who had the privilege of attending the institution. With this book, girls would be introduced to reading habits and find references to become “celebrated” women themselves. However, what stands out in Joaquim Manuel de Macedo’s work is its moralistic, exemplary and obsequious tone. One of many texts about women written from the perspective of masculine domination¹⁵.

The multitude of texts written by men is opposed, until the first decades of the 20th century, to the scarcity of works authored by women, especially texts about Brazil. This is why we should not neglect that the history of women and of women’s literature in the country have:

[...] uma fisionomia própria [...] decorrente da situação da mulher, das suas raízes históricas [...] a mulher vem tradicionalmente de uma servidão absoluta através do tempo e a mulher brasileira mais do que outras mulheres do mundo [...] quando as mulheres do mundo já se comunicavam, através, por exemplo, das cartas, as correspondências das mulheres de salões, a mulher brasileira estava fechada em casa, vivendo a vida das senhoras das fazendas, da senhora da casa-grande [...] viviam aprisionadas, não sabiam ler, não sabiam nem sequer escrever, não sabiam coisa nenhuma. Elas [...] viviam numa servidão mais terrível do que as mulheres dos outros países, inclusive da Europa [sic] (Telles, 1997, p. 57)¹⁶.

Diagnosis that can be complemented by the following observation: despite the presence of female writers in the country “desde o século XVIII, a produção das primeiras escritoras foi sistematicamente deixada de lado pela crítica e pelos historiadores, chegando em muitos casos a desaparecer, como se nunca tivesse um dia existido” (Duarte, 2020, p. 333)¹⁷. Complementing her argument, our interlocutor adds: until “[...] as últimas décadas do século XIX, a publicação de uma obra de autoria feminina costumava ser recebida com desconfiança, descaso ou, na melhor das hipóteses, com certa condescendência pelo público leitor masculino” (Duarte, 2020, p. 333)¹⁸. It is not without reason, therefore, that Marina Colasanti (1997) infers that women’s literature only began to be perceived here in the second half of the 19th century, imbued with a libertarian thought that women began to advocate. In this case:

Reunidas ao redor das revistas para mulheres, como O Jornal das Senhoras, O Sexo Feminino, Jornal das Damas, e A Mensageira, as escritoras visavam não apenas abrigar e desenvolver a mão-de-obra literária feminina, como lutar pela libertação dos escravos, por melhor educação e pelos direitos das mulheres [sic] (Colasanti, 1997, p. 38)¹⁹.

Even in the face of this, in the last decades of the 19th century and also in the early years of the 20th century:

[...] causava comoção uma mulher manifestar o desejo de fazer um curso superior. E a publicação de uma obra costumava ser recebida com desconfiança, descaso ou, na melhor das hipóteses, com condescendência. Afinal, era só uma mulher escrevendo.

Por isso, para realizar o desejo de publicar seus trabalhos, muitas usaram pseudônimos, o anonimato, ou se juntaram para criar jornais e revistas que muitas vezes atravessaram os limites de suas cidades, de seus estados, e se converteram em verdadeiras redes intercambiantes de informações e cultura (Duarte, 2011, p. 234-235)²⁰.

However, in his *História da Literatura Brasileira*, Silvio Romero only mentions seven women (Ângela do Amaral Rangel, Beatriz Francisca de Assis Brandão, Delfina da Cunha, Nísia Floresta, Narcisa Amália, Maria Firmina dos Reis and Jesuína Serra). Likewise, Sacramento Blake, in *Dicionário Bibliográfico Brasileiro*, mentioned “pouco mais de cinquenta escritoras, para trezentos anos de literatura” (Pereira, 1954, p. 19)²¹.

However, we have *Mulheres ilustres do Brasil*, published in 1899 and written by Inês Sabino (1835-1911). This book “[...] foi pioneiro no resgate de mulheres que tiveram atuação significativa na sociedade brasileira” (Duarte, 2011, p. 238)²², especially because it was a woman talking about female texts. It mentions 52 female writers, foreshadowing the “[...] tendência de uma crítica feminista interessada no estabelecimento de uma tradição literária escrita por mulheres” (Araújo, 2000, p. 14)²³, which contributes significantly to the history of Brazilian female writing and, also, to rewriting the cultural history of women in the country.

Correlated to this effort to map female writers in Brazil, in the 1980s, a group of researchers gathered to identify and rescue Brazilian female writers from the past. According to Duarte (2011), the biggest challenges of the project were due to the scarcity of information about these women and the works published by them due to the fragmentation of data that is observed in old collections in Brazil (organization, location, conservation, integrated systems, among others). Nevertheless, the result of the project was the publication of *Escritoras brasileiras do século XIX* (Muzart, 2000) in two volumes, a compilation that proves the existence of “[...] tantas mulheres atuantes e produtivas, apesar de serem hoje desconhecidas e estarem ausentes da história literária nacional” (Duarte, 2011, p. 241)²⁴.

Further, Duarte (2011, p. 237)²⁵ emphasizes that the project’s contributions can also be observed in two other complementary perspectives: i) in what concerns the “construção de uma história das mentalidades femininas e uma nova história das letras em nosso país”; and, ii) in promoting the rebirth of some female writers within the national literary scene, namely: Nísia Floresta (1810-1885), Emília Freitas (1855-1908), Maria Firmina dos Reis (1825-1917), Adélia Fonseca (1827-1920), Adelaide de Castro Guimarães (1854-1940), Violante de Bivar Velasco (1817-1875), Inês Sabino (1835-1911), just to name a few. Based on that, we can ratify that the historiography of female writers in Brazil reveals a long and systematic process of invisibility and many cases of erasure of the memory and works of female writers, a power device responsible for keeping them on the margins of the literary canon and the national written culture for so long. Aiming to question this situation, in the next sections we will address how bibliographic writing collaborated with masculine domination by not giving visibility to the work of female writers in Brazilian bibliographies.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

For Alfredo Serrai (2001), Bibliography is the mother of all disciplines that are aimed at organizing and structuring written communications, be it from the past or today. In this sense, the field of Bibliography includes sciences and techniques such as Paleography, Archivistics, Diplomatics, Documentation, Information Science, Bibliology, Library Science, Cataloging, Encyclopedistics, Literary and Biographical Erudition, among others. A broad understanding that gives Bibliography double meaning: i) it is a metadiscipline that encompasses all the disciplines listed above; ii) concerns a repertory activity linked to the production of lists of information about documents (Blum, 2007).

As a discipline, Bibliography points to specific ways and tools for understanding socially-constructed knowledge, from which it extracts substantial elements from other disciplines that are returned to these same disciplines after rigorous theoretical-methodological validations (Araujo; Araújo; Crippa, 2023). Still from a disciplinary point of view, the bibliographical tradition and the research agenda in Bibliography²⁶ have shown concern to remove it from the limits of practices that, to a certain extent, reduced the symbolic richness historically associated with it. (Araujo; Crippa; Saldanha, 2015).

With regard to its second meaning, eminently linked to Written Culture, Bibliography becomes of interest on account of sub-branches Repertory Bibliography and Material Bibliography. The former, dedicated to the production of lists of information about documents, concerns the study of practices and traces of *library culture*²⁷ situated in specific spaces and times. In this sense, it is possible to indicate that repertory bibliographies are indexical structures that play the role of mediating the documents that they address for the most diverse audiences without neglecting the uses and modes of appropriation of these same documents in the long trajectory of the book and writing history.

In turn, Material Bibliography is seen, according to Kirsop (2002) and Araújo and Reis (2016), as the material study of texts, aimed at conducting an archaeological analysis of the graphic documents. It is an old branch of the bibliographic field based on the French and German bibliophilic tradition, especially throughout the 19th century. In it, the materiality of texts influences both the understanding of the trajectory of the documents in different contexts, and the production of interpretative keys focused on revealing the possible meanings that readers attribute to text due to its materiality and documentary forms (Chartier, 1998; McKenzie, 2018).

It is not without reason that the analytical methods employed by Material Bibliography are constantly associated with the evidentiary paradigm of (Ginzburg, 2011). Regarding this statement, Crippa (2010) clarifies that:

o olhar de escolas históricas voltadas para uma pesquisa indiciária, como propõe Carlo Ginzburg, ou para os estudos de uma História Cultural, como no caso de Chartier, Darnton ou Burke, apresentam perspectivas renovadas em estudos históricos sobre as atividades bibliográficas e de catalogação, propondo abordagens inéditas de análise dos sistemas de produção, seleção, organização e mediação cultural de objetos já amplamente estudados: os livros, as coleções, os registros materiais que, em algum momento, se tornaram dignos de serem preservados e disseminados para a constituição da ciência moderna (Crippa, 2010, p. 15-16, grifo nosso)²⁸.

These renewed perspectives enunciated by the author also affect the joint activities of collecting the documentation and organizing the information attributed to it (Bálsamo, 1998), even if Bibliography maintains its basic foundation, which is: mapping and selecting useful texts for readers. In view of this, bibliographic writing is treated here as the omnidirectional and fundamental axis for understanding and discussing the choices and strategies that modulate the production of thematic repertoires. This will become more evident in the next section, which addresses the production of graphic documents dedicated to theme Americas and their subsequent development in Brasiliana bibliographies.

GRAPHIC DOCUMENTS ABOUT THE AMERICAS

As a result of the demands for the production and circulation of printed material in the 19th century, the English and North American Bibliophilia, as it occurred in other European countries, adopted their own practices and uses for the reconfiguration and affirmation of the collection of graphic documents with a view to maintaining its distinguishing character. This can be observed, for example, from the work of John Carter (1905-1975), *Taste and technique in book collecting*, in which cultural practices fostered by Bibliophilia in English-speaking countries at that specific historical moment are systematized and presented. (Carter, 1948).

In general, from the 19th century on, it is possible to identify three major practices linked to collecting in Europe and the United States, namely: i) the expansion of the production and supply of printed material (books, booklets, newspapers, almanacs, guides, among others) for the general public with the aim of constituting personal collections no longer aimed exclusively at wealthy bibliophiles; ii) the appropriation, adaptation and expansion of the documentary rarity criteria conveyed in eighteenth-century bibliographies; and iii) greater specialization of thematic and documentary typologies of Bibliographies of Rare Books in order to promote the Bibliophilia of the wealthy, the one traditionally forged in distinction. It was linked to these practices that the commercial production of Maggs Bros rose to particular prominence.

Founded by Uriah Maggs (1828-1913), Maggs emerged as a London bookshop that sold old and rare books, in 1853, dedicated to meeting the demands of 19th century Bibliophilia. After Uriah stepped down, his four sons continued the antiquarian trade in graphic documents, changing the name of the business to Maggs Bros (Maggs Bros, 2021). Still active today, the bookshop has already published more than 1,480 thematic bibliographies of rare documents (books, booklets, letters, maps, works of art on paper and other graphic documents – handwritten and printed), which demonstrate not only the ability to identify, collect and market rare objects, but also to master the technical writing of Bibliography of Rare Documents and its segmentation by major thematic areas of interest to the bibliophilic trade.

Among the Maggs Bros (2021) bibliographies, number 546, published in 1930 titled *Bibliotheca Brasiliensis*, was devoted to thematic prints and manuscripts about Brazil.

This publication, which comprises a series of productions of thematic bibliographies on regions explored by the Global North since the 15th century, set the antiquarian trade in the 19th and early 20th centuries in motion.

In terms of a more detailed approach, issue 546 presents, as a decorative element of its first and last folders, a woodcut of the caravel of Italian explorer and navigator Christopher Columbus (1451-1506) representing his arrival in the New World. It depicts one of the engravings that illustrated Columbus's letters, which began to circulate in handwritten and printed format at the end of the 15th century in many European countries. This is justified because:

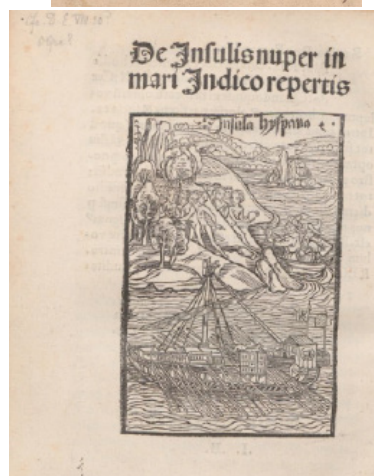
A descoberta de um novo mundo além mar fez, entre tantas coisas, correr muita pena sobre papel [...] estes textos destinavam-se a leitores europeus que os buscavam avidamente, desejosos de conhecer as maravilhas vistas e as aventuras vividas por seus conterrâneos em terras tão misteriosas (Abreu, 2006, p. 227)²⁹.

Figure 1 – *In laudem serenissimi Ferninandi Hispaniar regis*

a)



b)



c)

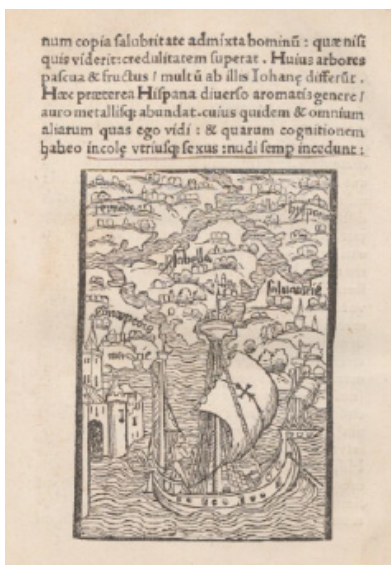
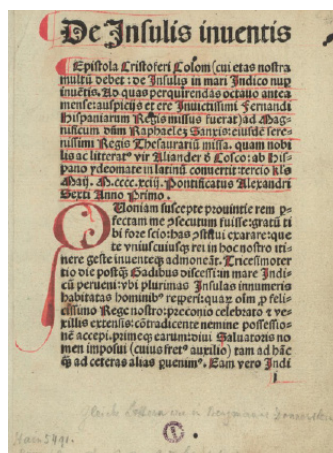


Figure 2 – Incunabulum of the first letter of Columbus, *De insulis inventis*



Fonte: Colombo, 1493.

d)



As mentioned earlier, Columbus's printed letters aroused the desire of large collectors for possession. Among the typographers who published them, German Johann Bergmann von Olpe (1455-1532) stands out, who had a typography piece in Basel (Switzerland). The engravings presented here, however, were not produced for the publication of Bergmann von Olpe, they already circulated in other editions, also appearing as illustrations in the first printed letter of Columbus (1493), *De insulis inventis* (Figures 2), also a product of Johann Bergmann von Olpe's typography.

e)



In its intentional connection between Columbus (Americana) and the Brasiliana theme, catalog 546 (*Bibliotheca Brasiliensis*) by Maggs Bros (2021) released the explorer's second letter presenting the bibliographic news followed by the conditioning elements (materiality, scarcity, provenance and speech) and the qualitative content of its rarity (with emphasis on the uniqueness of the document).

Included in a commemorative edition printed in 1494, Columbus's second letter describes two great feats that took place in 1492 and were attributed to the King of Spain, Ferdinand II of Aragon (1452-1516), namely: the reconquest of Granada (previously occupied by the Moors) and the arrival of Christopher Columbus in the New World.

a) Cover page
b)-e) Woodcuts
Source: Verardus, 1494.

The incunabulum consists of two parts. The first, *In laudem serenissimi Ferninandi Hispaniar regis* (Figure 1) (Verardus, 1494), can be characterized as a drama written by Carlo Verardi [Carolus Marcellinus Verardus] (1440-1500). The other is precisely Columbus's second letter, *De insulis nuper in mari indico repertis*, which was illustrated with a set of woodcuts (Figure 2) (Verardus, 1494).

This Figure 2 represents the cover page of said print material. It is an incunabulum and, from the composition of the page, it is clear that the typographic construction still adopted the *mise-en-page* of the manuscripts.

The print is composed of two bifolios with four woodcuts printed on the folios: 1v, 2v, 4r, 6v. These are the same illustrations that we mentioned earlier. It goes beyond the scope of this paper to identify which of the engravings are first, second or third prints, or even which are replicas or woodblock prints. However, we are interested in drawing attention to the presence of these illustrations in different publications as a way of demarcating the growing appreciation of texts (words and handwritten or printed images) about the New World.

Inscribed in this plane of interests, the second letter from Columbus mentioned above constitutes the second bibliographic news referenced by *Bibliotheca Brasiliensis* of Maggs Bros (2021). Indicating that, as in other historical moments, bibliographies continued to perform the function of organizing and disseminating information on documents of different natures produced in different contexts and with multivariate themes. This is also the case of the *Brasilianas Bibliographies*, the focus of the next section.

BRASILIANA BIBLIOGRAPHIES

The documents produced about the New World were in tune with the European imaginary about Brazil, which attracted the attention, fascination and desire of bibliophiles from a large part of the Global North, who found exploration and scientific research trips to be the generator of new collectibles. Trips that mostly:

[...] eram promovidas pelas grandes nações europeias e tinham como principais objetivos realizar trabalhos cartográficos, estudar fauna e flora, realizar observações astronômicas e meteorológicas, assim como calcular longitudes (Duarte, 2013, p. 284)³⁰.

In this scenario, organizing information about the New World in bibliographic materials became common practice among collectors, rulers and scholars. As a consequence, the American theme was introduced in the great bibliographic repertoires, even though they did not constitute, at first, exclusive bibliographies on the Americas. In view of that, since the 15th century, one can identify bibliographies that list graphic documents about the Americas, in general, and Brazil in particular. We cite as an example the work of French bookseller Guillaume-François DeBure (1732-1782) – *Bibliographie instructive ou Traité de la connoissance des livre rares et singuliers* (1763-1768) –, in which, among its 7 volumes and supplement, rare documents about Brazil appear: a) in Volume 2: in class V (*History*), section VI, part II (*Modern History*), in *History of America or the West Indies*; and b) in Volume 5: in class *History*, section II (*Geography*), part II (*Travels and Reports*), part VIII (*Great Voyages*), in part III (*History*).

This *Bibliographie instructive* makes no direct reference to Brazil, but alludes to the country in themes (from general to specific). Today one can see that many books listed in the repertoire contain reports about Brazil, but which were not, at that time, mentioned by Debure (1763-1768).

Correspondingly, in the 19th century, Brunet (1860, 1865) included in his monumental bibliographic repertoire, *Manuel du libraire et de l'amateur de livre*, several graphic documents related to Brazil with specific sections on the country and the theme, but within and/or associated with other matters. For example, we can cite the case of class *Histoire*:

- *Histoire*, subdivision *Voyages*, subsection *Voyages en Asia, en Afrique et en Amérique*, in which Brazil is depicted in art *Voyages en Afrique et en Amérique*.

- *Histoire*, subdivision *Voyages*, subsection *Amérique méridionale ou centrale*, which contains bibliographic news of documents that have in common travel reports from the same geographical region. In this subsection, there is a specific division for “i. Brésil; Guyane” (Brunet, 1860, v. 6, p. 1118).

The matter raised here concerns the indexing of Brasiliana books in Bibliophile bibliographies, a recurrent practice in the 18th and 19th centuries, however, without the production of a specific bibliography about Brazil. This particular production will still take place in the 19th century, driven by new incursions of the bibliophilic culture interested in ensuring its place of distinction, demanding the production of increasingly specialized bibliographies. As an example, we highlight the following American-themed works that also list prints and manuscripts about Brazil:

- *A bibliographical and historical essay on the Dutch Books*, Georg Michael Asher (1827-1905);
- *Bibliografia degli scritti italiani i stampati in Italia, sopra Cristoforo Colombo*, Giuseppe Fumagalli (1863-1939);
- *Bibliophile américain*, Charles Chadenat, (1859-1938);
- *Bibliotheca americana*, Charles Leclerc (1843-1889);
- *Bibliotheca americana*, Henry Harsisse (1829-1910);
- *Bibliotheca americana*, John Russel Smith (1810-1894);
- *Bibliotheca americana*, Joseph Sabin (1821-1881);
- *Bibliotheca lusitana*, Barbosa Machado (1682-1772);
- *Diccionario bibliographico portuguez*, Innocencio Francisco da Silva (1810-1876);
- *Manuel du libraire et de l'amateur de livres*, Jacques-Charles Brunet (1780-1867);
- *Trésor de livres rares et précieux*, Johann Georg Theodor Graesse (1814-1885).

In the 19th century, notably in Europe and North America, in addition to the growth of graphic publications, we observed a theoretical-methodological improvement in the production of bibliographies, with emphasis on specialized bibliographies such as national ones (Reyes Gomez, 2010). In this context, the production of specific bibliographies of rare books expands its scope beyond Bibliophilia, since it also meets the demands of Library Science and Documentation. Conjectures that allow us to highlight two relevant contexts in order to think about the emergence of Brasiliana Bibliographies in the 19th century, namely: i) factors associated with European imperialism with the exploration of countries outside Europe from which occupation and exploration were associated with the production (by artists, scientists, military, writers) of travel reports, inventories of fauna, flora, customs materialized in editions destined to collectors and rulers; and ii) factors associated with bibliography, which becomes increasingly specialized due to the production of national bibliographies.

What interests us here, according to *Dicionário Houaiss da Língua Portuguesa*, the word Brasiliana appeared for the first time in a dictionary of the Portuguese language in 1863. Houaiss defined “brasiliana” as a “[...] coleção de estudos, livros, publicações, filmes, músicas, material visual etc. sobre o Brasil” (Houaiss; Villar; Franco, 2004, p. 508)³¹. The word is formed by the combination of the word “Brasil” and suffix “ana”. In the Portuguese language, this suffix characterizes some groups characterized by nouns “[...] designativos de danças, coleções, coisas típicas dos referentes de nomes próprios (que potencializam milhares de nomes próprios antroponímicos ou toponímicos)” such as: americana, brasiliana, camiliana, camoniana, franciscana, mexicana, pernambucana etc. (Houaiss; Villar; Franco, 2004, p. 198)³².

From the foregoing, we consider that “Brasiliana” is the name given to a set of objects that, due to their material and discursive characteristics related to Brazil, are or may constitute or indicate that they belong to a “collection” consecrated or related to this theme.

Among the typological possibilities of and for the formation of these collections, there are fine arts items, archaeological artifacts, sculptures, paintings and a universe of graphic documents.

In view of the influence of bibliographies in the definition of rarity and in the formation of rare bibliographic collections (Araújo; Reis; Silveira, 2018), it is necessary to highlight the heritage of bibliophilia in the formation of collections of rare *Brasiliana*-themed books. This is why we allude to Rubens Borba de Moraes, both as a result of his role as a bibliographer and for his contributions to the establishment of concepts related to the field of Bibliophilia, Bibliography and Library Science in Brazil. That said, Moraes (2005, p. 176)³³ argues that, in a broad sense, *Brasiliana* refers to “[...] todos os livros que tratam do Brasil”. However, he proposes a restrictive division to think about bibliographic collections about Brazil. Thus, the bibliophile classified books printed outside Brazil as “*Brasilianas*” and books printed in Brazilian lands after authorization for the establishment of printing houses in the colony as “*Brasilienses*”. Thus, Rubens Borba de Moraes indicates that:

Ao primeiro grupo pertencem os livros sobre o Brasil, impressos entre 1504 (data do primeiro livro sobre o Brasil) e 1900. Pertencem igualmente à *Brasiliana*, os livros escritos por brasileiros durante o período colonial (das primeiras manifestações literárias até 1808 [...]).

Ao segundo grupo pertencem os livros impressos no Brasil, de 1808 até nossos dias (Moraes, 2005, p. 176)³⁴.

The criteria, definitions and excerpts presented by Moraes were formulated taking into account the bibliophilic practice, which makes explicit its affiliation to the Theory and the *axioms* of Rarity³⁵. This is why, when collecting and listing documents about Brazil, this author defined that the main milestone of the selection process consists of listing books and documents that are sought after “[...] pelos colecionadores. Se um livro não é procurado pelos bibliófilos, nada vale como objeto de coleção” (Moraes, 2005, p. 183)³⁶. It is not, therefore, innocently that he transposes this same logic to the definition of the concept of *Brasiliana*:

A única restrição que se faz nessa massa considerável de papel impresso e de papel ilustrado (sem falar em manuscritos) é que não se considera *Brasiliana* o que não é procurado por bibliófilos. A mesma distinção é feita em bibliofilia para assuntos semelhantes, tais como *Americana*, *Orientalia*, *Judaica*, etc. (Moraes, 2005, p. 176)³⁷.

Moraes (2005) therefore takes advantage of the heritage of bibliophilia to support the construction of term *Brasiliana*. However, with no disregard to the legacy of the bibliophilic culture, the *Brasiliana* collections greatly extrapolated this universe as a result of the action of cultural, educational and research institutions that, based on different objectives, safeguard *Brasiliana* collections. With that, regardless of the established focus (thematic and/or temporal, for example), a *Brasiliana* collection can manifest itself as (a) a collection of physical graphic objects (a library or an editorial collection); (b) a digital collection (from existing physical collections or formed by born-digital images); (c) a library with no walls, like the *Brasiliana* bibliographies; among so many other graphic manifestations.

Given the above, the investigation of bibliographies on *Brasiliana* themes constituted the first step in data collection, followed by the identification of women writers in these repertoires. Actions carried out according to the methodological procedures described below.

METHODOLOGICAL PROCEDURES

The bibliographic and documentary research conducted focused on identifying authorial productions by women in six (6) bibliographies on *Brasiliana* themes, which were identified from the bibliographical survey on the subject. After identifying the bibliographies, the following criteria for selecting writers were adopted: (a) texts written by women; and (b) texts that have gone through editorial processes. For these reasons, autograph documents or even handwritten texts were not selected. As for translations, women translators were included – including women translators of texts written by men. Texts by women translated by men were also included, since the original texts were authored by women.

PRELIMINARY RESULTS

From the survey of reference bibliographies on the Brasiliana theme³⁸, the identification of women writers was based on the following works: *Annaes da imprensa nacional do Rio de Janeiro de 1808 a 1822* (Cabral, 1881);

- *Bibliografia brasileira do período colonial* (Moraes, 1969);
- *Bibliografia da Imprensa Régia do Rio de Janeiro* (Camargo; Moraes, 1993);
- *Bibliographia brasiliana* (Moraes, 2010);
- *Bibliographie brésilienne* (Garraux, 1898);
- *Bibliotheca brasiliense* (Rodrigues, 1907).

The initial results of the research, described in Table 1, present the data survey carried out in the six (6) bibliographies listed above and indicate the total numbers of the survey conducted. In this table, the data referring to the time frame, bibliographic news of female authorship and women writers were segmented by bibliography. For data presentation, the six bibliographies were organized in alphabetical order by their respective authors' names.

Table 1 – Identification of female writers in Brasiliana Bibliographies

n°	Author of the bibliography/year of publication	TITLE	Time frame	Bibliographic news	Bibliographic news by female authors	Women writers
1	CABRAL, 1881	Annaes da Imprensa Nacional	1808-1822	1250	4	4
2	CAMARGO; MORAES, 1993	Bibliografia da Imprensa Régia do Rio de Janeiro	1808-1822	644	3	2
3	GARRAUX, 1898	Bibliographie brésilienne	1500-1898	1561	11	10
4	MORAES, 1969	Bibliografia brasileira do período colonial	1601-1822	765	9	3
5	MORAES, 2010	Bibliographia brasiliana	1504-1925	3349	48	27
6	RODRIGUES, 1907	Bibliotheca brasiliense	1492-1822	2646	6	5
			Total	10215	81	51

Source: The authors, 2023.

The time frame related to each bibliography corresponds to the initial and final dates indicated by the author(s). The introductory text of the Moraes (2010) bibliography indicates that the final date of coverage is the year 1900, however, we identified a text by a female author dated 1925, for this reason the indication of the time frame attributed to that Bibliography in Table 1 does not correspond to the dating indicated by the author.

Moving forward in the analysis of the already collected data, it was possible to see that some women and texts are repeated in the consulted bibliographies. Thus, out of 81 bibliographic news, 18 items were subtracted (because they are texts cited in more than one bibliography), thus, the final sum was 63 bibliographic news. The same procedure was performed with the number of women writers, as shown in Table 2:

Table 2 – Women and texts in the selected Brasiliana Bibliographies

Category	Total 1	Repetitions in bibliographies	Total 2
bibliographic news	81	18	63
women writers	51	16	35

Source: The authors, 2023.

Table 3 presents both the number of female writers per century and the number of editions in the period, in addition to the places of publication and nationality of each author.

Table 3 – Female writers, editions, place of publication, nationality

century	authors	editions	period	Place of Publication	Author's nationality
18th	6	12	1727-1793	Leipzig, London, Portugal Lisbon, Paris, Portugal	Brazil, France, England, Portugal
19th	28	50	1805-1897	Amsterdam, Anvers, Berlin, Boston, Evreux (France), La Flèche (France), Lisbon, London, New York, Paris, Prague, Rio de Janeiro (Brazil), Tours (France), Vienna	Germany, Austria, Belgium, Brazil, France, Netherlands, Portugal
20th	1	1	1925	Paris	France
Total	35	63			

Source: The authors, 2023.

The identification of female writers was hampered by several factors associated with bibliographic writing, such as the spelling of the writers' names, the omission of the writers' names and the very difference in the spelling of the names in each bibliography. The definition of the number of female authors was possible after detailed checking and data tabulation to exclude duplicates or counting errors.

With regard to bibliographic writing, it is possible to note that, in addition to the varieties in the spelling of the names of the writers, the composition of the entries (bibliographic news and literary news) is different between the bibliographies, however, for most of the writers, there were no literary news. A relevant counterpoint to this fact, which, to a certain extent, marks the dimension of erasure that this paper aims to highlight, refers to the finding that, to a large extent, the women writers who have literary news are those who publish with their husbands. Still on how the bibliographies articulate the information referring to the female writers, all six (6) works analyzed evoke the theory of rarity and this discourse reverberates in the quotations and notes prepared for each female writer. We proceed with this discussion in the following considerations.

FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

From the collected data, it was possible to note that texts about Brazil authored by women only started to appear in the public arena in the 19th century, and were published in Europe, exclusively. The greatest concentration of women writers and editions takes place in the 19th century, possibly as a result of the imperialist journeys to the Global North, the new modes of industrial book production, the greater presence of women in society and advance in their formal education. Furthermore, it should be noted that the presence of Brazilian women writers was recorded only in the 18th and 19th centuries. As a whole, the data collected can help us answer the following questions: who are these women? Which factors contributed for them to be reported in the researched Brasiliana bibliographies?

The developments driven by these matters, still in the development process, will be presented in future research results. At this time, and resuming Virginia Woolf's provocations, we indicate that the efforts to answer these questions intend to "[...] acrescentar um suplemento à história [...]" (Woolf, 1985, p. 19)³⁹ of women writers from the Brasiliana bibliographies through research on the historical-bibliographical conditions and the social, political and cultural factors that made it possible to quote each of these women in the studied bibliographies, further questioning why many of these women were/are silenced from the national bibliographic memory?

As observed, the theoretical formulations, the historical markers and the results presented in this research reinforce an important finding: the small number of female writers listed in the analyzed bibliographies prove that women were placed on the margins of literate culture domains, being widely overlooked in terms of bibliographic writing. However, the verticalization of the research (stage still in progress), by addressing the aspects that made it possible for the female writers identified here to escape this process of erasure, will certainly help us to reposition the history of these women in the landscape of national written memory and, also, endorse the need to discuss the criteria for the formation, safeguarding and dissemination of Brasiliana collections existing in the country. With that, perhaps we will be able to do justice to the history of women, ensuring that they "[...] ali permanecer sem impropriedade [...]" as Virginia Woolf advocated (1985, p. 19)⁴⁰.

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ENDNOTES

- 1 Translation: “why should they not add a supplement to history, calling it, of course, by some inconspicuous name so that women might figure there without impropriety?” (Woolf, 1985, p. 19, editorial translation).
- 2 This research considers old graphic documents those published over 100 years ago.
- 3 Translation: “[...] but [for] what is missing and what should be [...]” (Duarte, 2011, p. 241, editorial translation).
- 4 Translation: “[...] men are individuals, people, they bring about surnames that are transmitted. Some are ‘great’, ‘great men’. Women have no surname, they only have a name. They appear with no clarity, in the shadow of obscure groups” (Perrot, 2007, p. 17, editorial translation).
- 5 Translation: “[...] give to women is reduced or dictated by stereotypes” (Perrot, 2007, p. 17, editorial translation).
- 6 Translation: “[...] sexual dissymmetry of the sources, variable and unequal according to the times” (Perrot, 2007, p. 17, editorial translation).
- 7 Translation: “[. . .] imagined, represented, instead of being described or told” (Perrot, 2007, p. 17, editorial translation).
- 8 Translation: [...] in Britain and the United States in the 1960s, and in France a decade later. Different overlapping factors – scientific, sociological, political – contributed to the emergence of the object “woman”, in the human sciences in general and in history in particular (Perrot, 2007, p. 19, editorial translation).
- 9 Translation: “[...] about women, much is said. Non-stop, obsessively. To say what they are or what they should do” (Perrot, 2007, p. 22, editorial translation).
- 10 Translation: “[...] does not require only a linear narrative, but [indeed] a more complex account, which considers, at the same time, the changing position of women in history, the feminist movement and subject history” (Scott, 2011, p. 67, editorial translation).
- 11 Translation: “Questions the relative priority given to “man’s history” as opposed to “woman’s history”, exposing the hierarchy implicit in many historical accounts. And, more fundamentally, it challenges both the competence of any history’s claim to give a complete account and the perfection and intrinsic presence of the object of history – the universal Man” (Scott, 2011, p. 80, editorial translation).
- 12 Translation: “[...] an inevitably political field” (Scott, 2011, p. 98, editorial translation).
- 13 The expression “Global North” is used throughout the article with reference to Santos (2022).
- 14 Translation: “[...] submitted to a patriarchal family, in which the power of leadership is fully concentrated in the figure of the father, the plantation owner, holder of absolute authority over his wife and children” (Bauer, 2001, p. 121, editorial translation).
- 15 Reference to the work of Pierre Bourdieu “Masculine domination”, for whom the privileges of men in relation to women foster relationships of domination and resulting injustices “[...] daquilo que eu chamo de violência simbólica, violência suave, insensível, invisível a suas próprias vítimas, que se exerce essencialmente pelas vias puramente simbólicas da comunicação e do conhecimento, ou, mais precisamente, do desconhecimento, do reconhecimento ou, em última instância, do sentimento. Essa relação social extraordinariamente ordinária oferece também uma ocasião única de apreender a lógica da dominação, exercida em nome de um princípio simbólico conhecido e reconhecido tanto pelo dominante quanto pelo dominado, de uma língua (ou uma maneira de falar), de um estilo de vida (ou uma maneira de pensar, de falar ou de agir)” (Bourdieu, 2012, p. 7-8). Translation: “[...] of what I call symbolic violence, soft, insensitive violence, invisible to its own victims, which is exercised essentially through the purely symbolic means of communication and knowledge, or, more precisely, through ignorance, acknowledgment or, ultimately, feeling. This extraordinarily ordinary social relationship also offers a unique opportunity to grasp the logic of domination, exercised in the name of a symbolic principle known and recognized by both the dominant and the dominated, a language (or a way of speaking), a way of life (or a way of thinking, speaking or acting)” (Bourdieu, 2012, p. 7-8, editorial translation).
- 16 Translation: “[...] a unique physiognomy [...] resulting from the situation women are in, from their historical roots [...] women traditionally come from absolute servitude through time and Brazilian women more than other women throughout the world [...] when women throughout the world already communicated, through, for example, letters, the correspondence of the women in salons, Brazilian women were confined at home, living the life of the ladies of the farms, of the ladies of the great house [...] they were imprisoned, they didn't know how to read, they didn't even know how to write, they didn't know anything. They [...] lived in more terrible servitude than women in other countries, including Europe [sic]” (Telles, 1997, p. 57, editorial translation).

- 17 Translation: “since the 18th century, the works of the first female writers was systematically overlooked by critics and historians, in many cases they disappeared, as if they had never existed” (Duarte, 2020, p. 333, editorial translation).
- 18 Translation: “[...] the last decades of the 19th century, the publication of a piece of work authored by a woman was met with distrust, indifference or, at best, with condescension by male readers” (Duarte, 2020, p. 333, editorial translation).
- 19 Translation: “Gathered around magazines for women, such as *O Jornal das Senhoras*, *O Sexo Feminino*, *Jornal das Damas*, and *A Mensageira*, female writers aimed not only to shelter and develop the female literary workforce, but also to fight for the liberation of slaves, for better education and for women’s rights [sic]” (Colasanti, 1997, p. 38)
- 20 Translation: [...] it caused commotion when a woman expressed her wish to attend higher education. And the publication of a piece of work was often met with distrust, indifference or, at best, condescension. After all, it was just a woman writing. Therefore, to fulfill the wish to publish their work, many used pseudonyms, anonymity, or joined together to create newspapers and magazines that often crossed the boundaries of their cities, their states, and became true interchange networks of information and culture (Duarte, 2011, p. 234-235, editorial translation).
- 21 Translation: “a little over fifty female writers, in three hundred years of literature” (Pereira, 1954, p. 19, editorial translation).
- 22 Translation: “[...] was a pioneer in rescuing women who played a significant role in Brazilian society” (Duarte, 2011, p. 238, editorial translation).
- 23 Translation: “[...] tendency of a feminist critique interested in establishing a literary tradition written by women” (Araújo, 2000, p. 14, editorial translation).
- 24 Translation: “[...] so many active and productive women, despite being unknown today and absent from national literary history.” (Duarte, 2011, p. 241, editorial translation).
- 25 Translation: “construction of a history of female mentalities and a new history of literature in our country” (Duarte, 2011, p. 237, editorial translation).
- 26 Mention of studies mobilized and developed from International Seminar *A Arte da Bibliografia*, created by researchers André Vieira de Freitas Araujo (UFPR), Giulia Crippa (University of Bologna) and Gustavo Silva Saldanha (IBICT-UNIRIO) in 2014. Taking the historical and contemporary issues of Bibliography as the basis for discussions, the meetings, interdisciplinary in their essence, have the purpose of addressing books, graphic documents, information and bibliographic culture from new scientific and technological approaches. All editions of the forum resulted in the publication of scientific dossiers in Information Science journals and can be accessed online.
- 27 The *libraria* culture comprises the entire universe of book production and uses in its most diverse material, technical, conceptual and cultural manifestations. Directly opposed to archival documents, the *librario* comprises an expanded concept of book, not restricted exclusively to the codex or the text, but also encompassing, above all, the graphic arts. According to Araújo (2014, p. 208), *libraria* “é uma expressão latina que significa ‘relativo aos livros’, ‘de livros’, ‘próprio dos livros’, ‘que se relaciona com o livro’. Compreende tudo o que é relativo aos livros, o que trata sobre livro, o que é o livro”. It comprises everything related to books, what the book is about, what the book is.”. It is also related to the place where books are produced (taller *librario*) and to the practices and techniques that materialize it, and also to the place where books are kept – the physical library (Araújo, 2017). Translation: “is a Latin expression that means “related to books”, “of books”, “proper to books”, “that relates to books” (Araujo, 2014, p. 208, editorial translation).
- 28 Translation: “[...] the look of historical schools focused on evidence research, as proposed by Carlo Ginzburg, or on studies of Cultural History, as in the case of Chartier, Darnton or Burke, bring about renewed perspectives in historical studies on bibliographical activities and of cataloging, proposing unprecedented approaches to the analysis of production systems, selection, organization and cultural mediation of objects already widely studied: books, collections, material records that, at some point, became worthy of preservation and dissemination for the constitution of modern science” (Crippa, 2010, p. 15-16, editorial translation).
- 29 Translation: The discovery of a new world beyond the sea caused, among many things, a lot of pen on paper [...] these texts were intended for European readers who avidly expected them, wishing to know the wonders seen and the adventures experienced by their fellow countrymen in such mysterious lands (Abreu, 2006, p. 227, editorial translation).
- 30 Translation: [...] Were promoted by the great European nations and their main objectives were to carry out cartographic work, study fauna and flora, perform astronomical and meteorological observations, as well as calculate longitudes (Duarte, 2013, p. 284, editorial translation).
- 31 Translation: “[...] collection of studies, books, publications, films, music, visual material, etc. about Brazil” (Houaiss; Villar; Franco, 2004, p. 508, editorial translation).

- 32 Translation: “[...] designating dances, collections, things that are typical of the proper names (which potentialize thousands of anthroponymic or toponymic proper names)” (Houaiss; Villar; Franco, 2004, p. 198, editorial translation).
- 33 Translation: “[...] all books that address Brazil” (Moraes, 2005, p. 176, editorial translation).
- 34 Translation: “Books about Brazil, printed between 1504 (date of the first book on Brazil) and 1900 belong to the first group. Books written by Brazilians during the colonial period (from the first literary manifestations until 1808 also belong to ‘Brasiliana’ [...]). Books printed in Brazil, from 1808 to the present day belong to the second group (Moraes, 2005, p. 176, editorial translation).
- 35 As pointed out by Araújo and Silveira (2018), the axioms of rarity were established by Johannis Vogt (1695-1764), a German polymath and bookseller who published, in 1732, work *Catalogvs histórico-criticvs librarvm rariorvm* in which he presents – in addition to the books to be sold – a section called *Axiomata histórico-critica de raritate librorvm*, a paratext in which the fundamentals compiled by him to define rare book are presented, which were structured in general axioms and specific axioms. That said, the diffusion and acceptance of the axioms of rarity in the context of librario collecting in the 18th century “fez com que, gradativamente, o conceito de livro raro passasse a ser demarcado simbólica, social e economicamente por meio de um sistema que determinava a raridade a partir de: a) níveis; b) elementos condicionantes (materialidade, escassez, proveniência, discurso); c) qualitativos; e d) da Teoria da Raridade (um livro só é raro se for procurado por um bibliófilo)” (Araújo; Silveira, 2018, p. 83). Translation: “caused the concept of rare book to be gradually demarcated symbolically, socially and economically through a system that determined rarity based on: a) levels; b) conditioning elements (materiality, scarcity, origin, discourse); c) qualitative elements; and d) the Theory of Rarity (a book is only rare if it is sought after by a bibliophile)” (Araújo; Silveira, 2018, p. 83, editorial translation).
- 36 Translation: “[...] by collectors. If a book is not sought after by bibliophiles, it has no value as a collector’s item” (Moraes, 2005, p. 183, editorial translation).
- 37 Translation: “The only restriction placed on this considerable mass of printed and illustrated paper (not to mention manuscripts) is that what is not sought after by bibliophiles is not considered Brasiliana. The same distinction is made in bibliophilia for similar subjects, such as Americana, Orientalia, Judaica, etc.” (Moraes, 2005, p. 176, editorial translation).
- 38 In order for this survey to be conducted, the following criteria were taken into account: i) selecting bibliographies specialized in Brasiliana themes included in documents, manuscripts or printed, produced abroad or in Brazil; ii) not selecting bibliographies that address very vertical themes, that is, centered on a single theme such as bibliographies dedicated exclusively to referencing literary texts; iii) not selecting bibliographies that involve topics related to Brazil, but that are inserted in a broader theme, for example, the *Bibliotheca americana*, by Joseph Sabin –, given that, despite being a bibliography that references texts about Brazil, encompasses documents from all of the Americas; e, iv) Inventories and catalogues, handwritten or printed, that meet the above criteria may be selected for research.
- 39 Translation: “[...] add a supplement to the history [...]” (Woolf, 1985, p. 19, editorial translation).
- 40 Translation: “[...] might figure there without impropriety [...]” (Woolf, 1985, p. 19, editorial translation).