From Cracóvia of Paris to Global Cracóvia in the Digital Age: a historical perspective[1]

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Abstract: In this article, we reflect on the ongoing changes of the new information and communication technologies from the places of digital memory and how they echo in research and writing in the History of Education. It is questioned to what extent digital and digitized information can be activated and filtered, taking into account the (im)materiality of the sources and to what extent the procedures in this field of the digital reverberate in the production of meaning in the historiographical operation. The theoretical-methodological assumptions of Cultural History and bibliographic and documentary research are used: in the first, the notion of representation, materiality and archive evil are mobilized as theoretical categories under discussion; in the second, data from the school book considered as object and source are crossed, with legal provisions and the local press. It is concluded that different representations, appropriations and practices are indicative of interactions and interconnections in the digital scenario; however, the challenge imposed in the school environment, in the academic environment and in historical research, both for students and readers, as well as for teachers and researchers in this Global Krakow, when talking about the digitized school book and/or the digital interactive book, is to combine technical competence with political and ethical competence, since the inseparability of the political and the ethical is rooted in overcoming the opposed forces and, the specificity of the pedagogical would be in convincing the non-antagonistic, given that the same development that has helped us materially, has profoundly affected our human values, pointing to an unprecedented crisis in the history of humanity, in education and in the history of education.
Keywords: ict(s); school book; (i)materiality of the source; history of education.

1 Introduction

The paradigmatic reshaping that scientific knowledge, and especially education, has undergone, is approaching a new dimensioning of the categories of space and time. Categories that, in the microelectronics paradigm, are fragmented through telecommunications, which produce, disseminate, and receive information transmitted by an increasingly broad collective informational network of knowledge. In this sense, if the sum of specializations guaranteed the livelihood and success of the individual in the Taylorist-Fordist paradigm, today, in the model of flexible accumulation, multilateral trade between countries, and with the use of new information and communication technologies that culminate in transnational mechanisms of all kinds and access to the escalating media presence of artificial intelligence; specializations

and qualifications combine in such a way that the group's capacity for innovation is something more than the sum of its parts.

In these terms, by advocating for more specialized and compartmentalized education, a drastic change in the form and content of knowledge arises, pointing towards a confluence of knowledge. This confluence, when materialized at the level of competencies acquired by individuals or groups of individuals in their actions and reactions in the world of work, means that the school, as a representative institution of education, and the university, as a space for teaching/research/extension, cease to be the exclusive loci of training. Daily life is being pedagogically shaped through computerization and free access to the internet and its resources; even though information and its rapid accumulation, as well as the tools of new technologies and their multiple uses, are a necessary but not sufficient condition for the formation of critical consciousness.

Telematics, as a combination of Information Technology and Telecommunications, with the invention of the transistor (replacing vacuum tubes) and with the emergence and implementation of integrated circuits, has configured a new technological spectrum "[...] whose internal boundaries are becoming blurred until they constitute practically a continuum, while its external perimeter continues to expand" (Bianchetti, 2001, p. 33). This spectrum impacts attitudinal requirements and stimulates the cognition of individuals, who, by producing more knowledge, tend towards innovation. This knowledge, while on the one hand dematerializing through the capacity for abstraction, on the other hand, by transforming into knowledge of knowledge, becomes symbolic and seemingly intangible, favoring the individual as the sole possessor of their labor power.

In turn, the rapid and constant changes in the global village have demanded mobility and synthesis within the dialectical process of transformation and adaptation. In this technotronic society, where the supposedly pragmatic, utilitarian, and ideology-free character of new technologies – learned as independent variables and prerequisites for belonging to a globalized world – should be the constant for some political and intellectual leaders, considering that the implosion in size and the explosion of complexity between information and communication is occurring at incalculable rates; the media has incorporated the organic intellectual into said

globalization, shortening the distance between innovation and obsolescence at a speed never before seen in the history of humanity.

Post-industrial society, regulated and interconnected in a turbo-capitalism, which, while turbocharging the turnover time of capital to break the local inertias of the market, such as the tariff war currently initiated by the Donald Trump administration at a planetary level due to protectionism that goes against economic multilateralism[2]; constantly forces people, groups and countries to overcome the new limits that must materialize (here and now), where "[...] fiction and reality sometimes become confused, sometimes exchange places" (Bianchetti, 2001, p. 40). Momentary events in which the distant becomes present, uniting locus and spatium in a materialization of the simultaneity between space and time, in a constant presentism that also metamorphoses the interferences of the market and geopolitics; although not in the same way nor in unison, even though crises of all kinds are a constant and the clamor that the means of communication have supplanted, for some, the modes of production as the driving force of the modern world, functions as prophecy and not as history, since these prognoses point to a suspicious rupture with the past of which we are heirs.

A memorialistic spectrum, which points to questions concerning "[...] being or what is in being (or in non-being) [...]" (Derrida, 1930, p. 75), considers inheritance not as something given, but as a task. That is, inheritance remains before us "[...] so undeniably that, even before wanting or refusing it, we are heirs, and bereaved heirs, like all heirs" (Derrida, 1994, p. 75).

That said, how should we view the ongoing changes in the effects of the digital format, especially in today's school books, on historical research in education? How can one understand a nineteenth century schoolbook, an (im)material source that no longer exists, while also using the materiality of digitized or non-digitized historical sources to interpret the subject? How the process of sifting through digital information, as well as the extent to which these outcomes of historical construction shape the production of meaning in historiographical practice, warrant critical examination? In what ways do challenges encountered within school settings, academic contexts, and

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[2] The United States government's measure to impose tariffs on all trading partners, announced on April 2, 2025, represented an attempt by the world's largest power to regain the position its industry once held, as well as to combat trade deficits in goods that totaled approximately US$1 trillion annually. See: https://agenciabrasil.ebc.com.br/economia/noticia/2025-04/entenda-guerra-de-tarifas-de-trump-e-consequencias-para-brasil. Accessed on: April 5, 2025

historical research affect students, readers, teachers, and researchers in Global Cracóvia during the Digital Age?

These questions serve as guiding threads for reflecting on new information and communication technologies in the digital age from a historical perspective, with the central objective being to write the History of Education. By examining the past through bibliographic and documentary research, searching for remnants that indicate possible media and communication systems in earlier periods of inflection, and using the theoretical and methodological assumptions of cultural history as support, we can understand the paths that led to technical innovations in writing methods, the trajectories that influenced ways of producing new meanings in acts of speech and reading, and the transformations that projected new behaviors and practices considering diverse professions, functions, and positions.

In this context, reflecting on the modes of communication, dissemination, and circulation of texts and news in other historical periods, addressing the economic constraints and the complexity of the implications for individual and collective formation related to historically constructed cultural formats, considering the prospect of the future based on historical knowledge, brings to the present the market's dominance over cultural products in digital format. Within this logic, as an exercise in reflection, the notion of archive fever defended by Derrida (2001) and the notions of materiality and representation from the perspective of Chartier (1990; 2003; 2010) were mobilized.

2 The Tree of Cracóvia

In the article "An Early Information Society: News and Media in 18th-Century Paris," Robert Darnton (2021)[3] examines the communication system in action in a specific place and time, questioning how Parisians learned about events and transmitted information about them in 1750. The dense network of communication and media that has been forgotten and which was named in the Old Regime by names (including some that have no equivalent translation today), such as *mauvais propor* (or internal gossip at Court); *bruit public* (rumor or general public opinion); pasquinade (handwritten informational pamphlets) and *pont-neuf* (libelle or scandal books), among

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other ways of circulating information; the aforementioned network indicates different professions, functions, and positions that originate from public rumors sustained by word of mouth and intrigues, from the corridors of the Palace of Versailles, in private salons, and in cafes and associations, to the streets, markets, parks, and homes, transmitted orally. These can be considered, in principle, as an intangible source for those conducting historical research.

Noises, intrigues, and scandals later disseminated in popular songs, in the corpus of libelle literature, in scandalous chronicles, and in poems that spread throughout Paris from 1770 to 1780 in a collective construction, which provides the framework for the public perception of events during the crisis (1787/1788), and the overthrow of the form of government in France. Thus, new objects emerge that can be appreciated based on the materiality of the written support by those who investigate from a historical perspective, given the production of different senses and meanings via records that generate different practices. In this logic, Darnton (2021) questions how to recognize what would or would not be news in 1750, at a time when newspapers with news about public and personal matters as we know them today did not exist, since absolutism did not allow it. On the other hand, he believes that every era has been an era of information, each with its own way of hunting and seeking it, according to the use of accessible and developing media. Therefore, these communication systems have always shaped events, such as, for example, the flow of murmurs, gossip, clashes, and discourses around the Tree of Cracóvia: the nerve center where informal speakers or gossips were denounced by spies, censored by government agents, and even detained in some cases by police – being on the street with your ears perked up was enough to be up to date on everything[4].

Nevertheless, even with the denunciation and censorship, the French appetite for information sifted through the immateriality of public noise, transforming it into copying operations as an innovative practice and, based on police files, gossip and strategies of groups thirsty for news. According to Darnton (2021), in Madame

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[4] According to Darnton (2021), it was a large, leafy chestnut tree located in the gardens of the Palais-Royal (in the heart of Paris) that probably acquired this name due to the heated discussions that took place around it during the War of the Polish Succession (1733-1735), and that attracted, like a true magnet, rumor-mongers or gossips who spread information about current events, knowing it from a spyed letter, an indiscreet servant, or a corridor comment as direct sources. The tree depicted in Charles-François Panard's comic opera of 1742 would crack its branches whenever someone under its shade told a lie or dubious stories, as a symbol of communication and censorship.

Doublet's weekly meetings in her salon "The Parish," for example, her servant would jot down the topics to be discussed and the latest gossip of the day to be aired, in two books that he placed at the entrance to the salon at each meeting. The notes in the reputable news book and the gossip book would be read and compared by the parishioners gathered, based on other details they might add, in addition to the respective verifications, revisions, and reproductions of the final manuscript that could guarantee the recording and safekeeping of the information and the respective transmission of the agreements, controversies, and impasses of each meeting via leaflet, to members of the group absent at the time and to others interested in communication and news.

Recording guidelines, readings and adding details, verification, revisions and reproduction, which constitute the "phases of the copying operation" as an inventive practice expressed in its materiality (Darnton, 2021, p. 13). Regular meetings of different groups of Parisians focused on conviviality, sociability, and choice, which in the case of Madame Doublet's salon "The Parish," generated up to 6 monthly leaflets, distributed to provincial subscribers, as a way to disseminate information and earn money. New objects, new functions, and new practices contributed to copyists multiplying their shops and editions, transforming copying operations into a small industry, long before Gutenberg and long before Xerox: "[...] news service that supplied subscribers with handwritten gazettes or Nouvelles à la main" (Darnton, 2021, 19).

The history of communication helps us understand how societies become aware of events and transmit information about them. In addition to the communication system and use of media in 18th-century Paris, the coffeehouses in Stuart England, the tea houses in republican China, and the markets of contemporary Morocco constitute other examples that can also be observed (Darnton 2021); however, these communication systems were only possible due to the sociability of coexistence established, the intimacy of family and home life, and individual isolation in an ongoing civilizing process that orbited between the public and the private – the three spheres of the West in which books and reading held a primary position (Castellanos, 2025).

In the specific case of eighteenth-century Paris, the "copying operation system" as an innovative tactic of the time and a source of research, which generated copying workshops, the respective copyists and the publication of pamphlets, and which points to the role of the editor as a profession around new writing supports, can

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be contrasted with historical memoirs and autobiographies, with diaries and account books (or Livre de raison), with post-mortem inventories and correspondence already used as sources by Madeleine Foisil (2009) in *A escritura do foro privado*; these can be compared with the testimonies of justice, the epistolary novel and the pornographic literature consulted by Jean Marie Goulemot (2009) in *Literary Practices or Publicity of the Private*, and they may even be confronted with the practice of charivari, which, with songs sustained orally and later recorded as popular poems in various versions, denounced adultery between both sexes, marital beatings, and marriage between widowers and widows with young celibates, according to Maurice Aymard (2009), in *Friendship and conviviality*.

In other words, new positions, professions, and functions within written culture were marked by three external factors linked to the broader political and cultural history, according to Ariès (2009) in *For a History of Private Life*, which he considers the main developments of the modern era: 1) the new role of the State and its justice system, which, since the 15th century, has been steadily imposing itself through different methods and means; 2) new forms of religion through reforms that establish an inner devotion as a new practice for the individual centered on self-examination; and 3) advances in literacy through literacy, thanks to which the individual is emancipated from the strong ties that bound them to a culture of speech and gesture. In this context, emphasizing the historical variations of psychic economy, which is not considered universal and immutable, leads to relating the processes of privatization with the transformations of personality structures, remodeled in the modern era from the increased tension between drives and controls, between emotions and censorship, when the focus is on the distribution of human activities between the permitted and the illicit, the shown and the hidden, the public and the intimate, via reading and via the support of writing, whether handwritten or not, according to the means of communication.

However, both reading and the book have undergone several revolutions that have marked new practices and approaches. The transition from scrolls to codex, the replacement of intensive reading in the early Christian era with extensive reading, and the practice of silent reading, initially reserved for copyists in monastic *scriptoria*, which supplants reading aloud in families, groups, and individually, constitute the three revolutions in reading, as identified by Chartier (1994). These changes, which occurred

over the long period of the codex, mark new attitudes and ways of interacting that go beyond the intensity of reading, the number of copies read and kept as possessions, as well as the reading spaces and times dedicated to reading. The replacement of the scroll or volume generated new approaches to reading, a new repertoire of habits due to changes in thought and behavior towards writing, even if it was not accompanied by a technical transformation in the reproduction of texts, ensured by handwritten copying.

The unrolling of the volume with both hands, as a reading position in front of the support, was replaced by leafing through the codex page by page with one hand, in which the reader, in searching for the text to read, using the respective index at the beginning of the copy or by jumping between titles and texts, as he read, is able to mark passages, make notes and scribbles in the margins of the writing when comparing the text read with the lived library and with the context in the act of reading (Goulemot, 2009). Movements, body postures, and gestures that are signs and can be organized into a language (Chartier, 2003); reading practices that persisted with the invention of printing, in which the replacement of manuscripts with type did not invalidate these practices, nor did it alter the fundamental structures of the book, composed of sheets and pages assembled into a single object, both before and after Gutenberg; although they are open to interpretation and allow for moral, psychological, and social recognition, there is no intimacy that does not reveal itself. Social and cultural representation of the norm via treaties of civility, for example, which is no less real than that preserved by observable behaviors behind a pedagogical purpose (Revel, 2009, 171).

With regard to print culture, the relationship established between writing supports, text categories, and forms of reading and their use is rooted in three fundamental innovations stemming from the long history of written culture: 1) the appearance of the codex between the 2nd and 4th centuries; 2) the appearance of the unitary book, before the invention of printing (14th and 15th centuries), in which works composed in the vernacular by the same author appeared within the same manuscript book (for example, Boccaccio, Petrarch); 3) and finally, printing, which remains the most advanced technique for book production. In other words, we remain heirs to this history both in the definition of the book as a material object and an intellectual and

aesthetic work, according to Kant (2004)[5]; and also in the perception of written culture based on the distinction of objects by their materiality, according to Rousseau (2017), who pointed out another dichotomy: that which distinguishes in every work the ideas it expresses and the form given to them by writing[6].

Nevertheless, the digital revolution, by breaking the link between text and object, between discourse and its own materiality, necessitates a radical revision of gestures, dispositions, behaviors, and skills in relation to writing. Reading on screen is discontinuous, segmented, more focused on the fragment than on the totality of the medium, since the limits and coherence of the corpus from which the texts were extracted are not immediately perceived. New ways of looking at the record and of attitudes towards the screen, new ways of reading and writing are being considered; "[…] transformations of behaviors and representations [that are] slow and diffuse, and often contradictory" (Revel, 1996, p. 106). In this case, the decontextualization of the fragments and the textual continuity in the digital environment, which does not differentiate the various discourses based on their own materiality, seem to contradict "[...] the traditional reading procedures that assume the immediate understanding of the work based on the form of publication, as well as its perception as identity, totality and coherence" (Chartier, 2010, p. 22).

However, while the digitization of pre-existing texts occurs alongside the creation of texts originally conceived in digital formats, such as interactive reading books and emerging written practices like blogs and social networks, it is important to consider the historical implications of digitally converting texts. Specifically, what are the consequences when texts are transformed into formats that differ from those in which they were originally presented to readers? I question, along with Chartier (2017), whether the great digital transformation of today may lead to a loss of references, an exacerbation of particularisms, a radical separation of identities, or, on the contrary, may attempt to impose the hegemony of a single cultural model or a dominant language that tends to destroy diversity.

Within this context, one may consider the Internet as a communication channel, alongside the diversity of competing platforms and their respective

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[5] In the doctrine of law – First part of the *Metaphysics of Morals* (written in 1797), he emphasizes that the author owns the discourse he addresses to the public; and that this discourse has the material form of writing, whether handwritten or printed.
[6] *Discourse on the Origin and Foundations of Inequality Among Men* (1753).

applications, such as the Global Krakow Tree and polyglot. In the digital age, official documentation and fragments of reality coexist alongside uncensored misinformation and both technological advances and setbacks? Could one examine digital sources in terms of their immaterial nature within the ongoing transformation of reading and writing practices for historical research? In this context, backups, emails, and cloud storage serve as repositories for individual and collective memory, alongside digital libraries and other memory sites. However, access to these resources often relies on private passwords, which may be denied or lost due to individual interests or protective measures. This situation blurs the boundaries between public and private domains, especially considering the diverse roles, professions[7], and their associated responsibilities?

And the book? In what ways can the digitized book be analyzed from a historical perspective, considering that aspects of its materiality are altered or lost during the transition from print to digital formats? Alternatively, how the analysis of the interactive digital book, conceptualized as verbal texts enhanced by multimodal and multisensory hotspots[8], requires consideration from diverse theoretical and methodological perspectives, particularly when addressing historical processes? What strategies can be employed to navigate mobile devices, digital platforms, social media, blogs, portals, and websites with reliable authorship, as well as interactive books, digital libraries, and applications, from a historical perspective to advance the study of the History of Education?

3 From the materiality of the school textbook to the immateriality of the digital book from the perspective of cultural history.

Exploring the printed or digital school textbook seems to be my best option as an exercise in reflection, since it constitutes one of my research objects. In this sense, I must insist that different approaches to the study of school textbooks coexist[9], beyond the two dichotomies in the ways of envisioning the book object suggested by Kant

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[7] For example, digital programmers, interaction designers, storytellers, and the various programming languages in use such as JATs, JavaScript, and PHP, among others.
[8] Access points.
[9] Ver Chartier (1994, 1999, 2002); Chartier e Hébrard (1998, 2007), Lajolo e Zilberman (1996b); Escolano Benito (1997); Mortatti (2000a; 200b); Choppin (2000; 2002; 2004); Tambara (2003); Bittencourt (2004; 2008); Panizzolo (2006); Frade e Maciel (2006); Corrêa (2006); Soares (2009), Castellanos (2010; 2017; 2022) entre outros.

(2004) and Rousseau (2017). As an example, Mortatti (2010), when delving into the history of literacy, establishes relationships between the pedagogical field, the authors, and the production of reading manuals, stating that for their analysis, it is necessary to sift through sources that allow access to three levels of understanding: thematization, standardization, and concretization. Although its main focus is sustained at the last level (of concretization!), when analyzing the school textbook or reading book as a concrete object to be thought about, described, compared and criticized; the first two levels or states of reflection cannot be left out of the judgment, Since, in order to fully understand and conceive of the school textbook within the educational setting, it is essential to comprehend the process of norms that restricted it and the mosaic of proposed themes that determined and legitimized it. That is, "[...] forms of concretization of the norms and in accordance with thematizations whose formulation and implementation also participated" (Mortatti, 2010a, p. 337).

Figure 1: School books as object and source
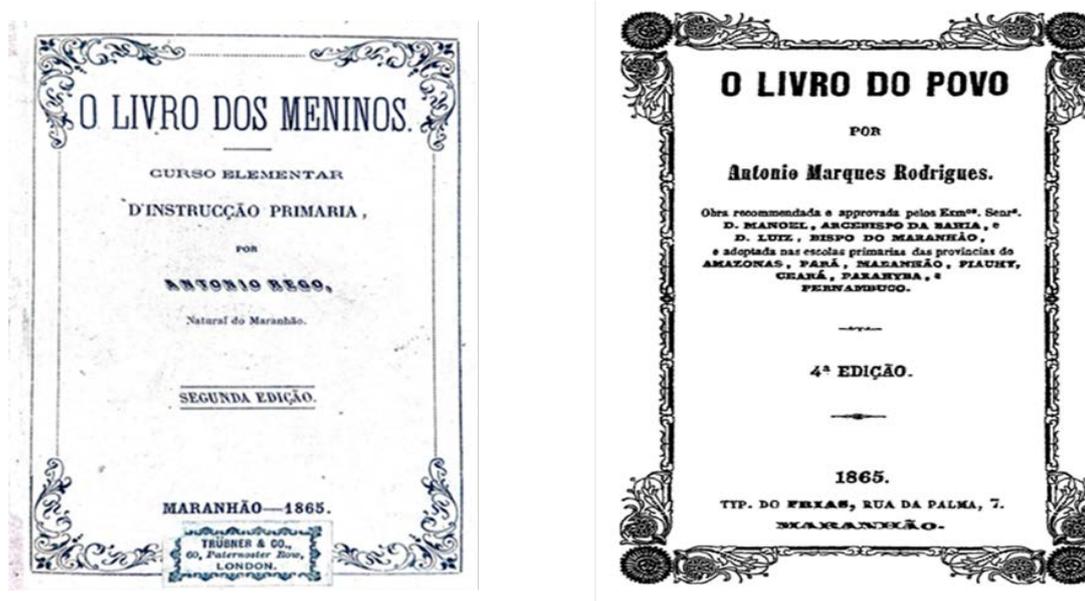
Choppin (2000), when referring to school textbooks, clarifies that these artifacts "[...] jointly or separately assume multiple functions [...], which can vary considerably according to the sociocultural environment, the era, the subjects, the levels of education, the methods and forms of use" (Choppin, 2000, p. 553); in other words, the referential, instrumental, ideological and cultural, and documentary functions present in the analyses are largely subject to the objectives proposed by the

researcher, the investigative focus of the work as a basis for inferences, as well as the actual conditions of access to the documentation, , which assist in historical research and in locating and identifying deteriorated or disappearing schoolbooks, specifically those used in the 19th century in places of memory.

Frade and Maciel (2006, p. 19) argue that in order to study the school textbook, a product of diverse materialities, "[...] the analysis depends on 'getting hands-on' with the books and being able to analyze them not only as sources, but also as material objects," since understanding the school textbook as a source and as an object is linked to the analysis of the instructions given to teachers and readers in the paratexts, and even to the understanding of the textual configurations and illustrations implicit in the lessons relating to a period. Paratexts are understood to be: the guidelines included in the warnings, dedications, introductions, usage guidelines, endnotes, postscripts, and back cover, positioning the book within the editorial framework (Frade; Maciel, 2006). And textual configuration analysis is understood to be what Morttati (2010b) defines as the...

> [...] constitutive aspects of a given text, which refer to: the thematic-content options [what?] and the formal structures [how?], designed by a given subject [who?], who presents himself as the author of a discourse produced from a given point of view and social place [from where?] and historical moment [when?], driven by certain needs [why?] and purposes [for what?], aiming at a certain effect on a certain type of reader [for whom?] and achieving a certain type of circulation, use and repercussion. (Morttati, 2000, p. 31, my emphasis)

The analysis of Mortatti's (2000b) textual configuration—which addresses questions such as what is written, how it is written, who writes, where and when writing occurs, and the purposes and intended audience—aligns with the concept of materiality as discussed by Chartier (1990), which conceives of it as one of the significant dimensions of a written cultural artifact, being "[...] necessary to vigorously recall that there is no text outside the medium that allows it to be read, that there is no understanding of a written work, whatever it may be, that does not depend on the forms through which it reaches its reader" (Chartier, 1990, pp. 126-127). Therefore, it is essential to consider the issue of materiality in documentary analysis, especially to understand the processes of appropriation, which Warde understands as a "social history of interpretations" (2007, p. 26). Therefore, when referring to the materiality of the object, for example, the materiality of the schoolbook in the literal sense of an instrument, even if it is digitized in the digital age, as a concrete material or thing, we

are "reifying the thing" in Durkheim's terms (2007) according to his sociological method with a positivist background, taking this category of analysis to its minimum expression. To operate on materiality in this strictly instrumental dimension is to deny the historicity of the object and the weight of meanings that underlies its conception, manufacture, circulation, and consumption within a specific culture and a given temporality.

Thinking about materiality in these terms limits us to questioning: 1) What historical and social factors contributed to the development of the schoolbook's current form and structure? 2) In what ways were the writing and compilation of texts organized by specific content or subject integrated into the development of the schoolbook as an educational artifact? 3) How the development of writing and text production evolved from clay tablets to parchment, from volume to codex, and ultimately to the manufactured artifact we now recognize and consume as a book? The key question arises about how to address these operations in contemporary digital literature books, particularly given their roles as media and interactive sources accessible through platforms, digital libraries, and applications. Is this issue becomes especially significant when examined from a historical perspective in the context of writing the History of Education, as this approach appears to contradict many existing analyses?

One way to circumvent this dilemma is to take into account, from the perspective of cultural history, the issues implicit in these established social configurations, the changes in psychic structures or in the different ways of thinking about the digital book device, printed or digitized (according to the conceptions and specifically implicit for its production), beyond the conceptual frameworks in vogue of each era that stimulate new mental tools or mental utensils, to use Febvre and Martin's terms (1992). Thus, if for Darnton (2021), every era has been an era of information, each in its own way of hunting and seeking it, according to the use of accessible and developing media, and that said communication systems have always shaped events; for Febvre and Martin (1992, p. 234).

> To each civilization, its own mental tools; even more so, to each era of the same civilization, to each advance (whether in techniques or sciences) that characterized it – a renewed set of tools, a little more developed for certain uses, a little less for others [...] Tools are valuable according to the civilization that knew how to forge them; they are valuable according to the era that uses them; they are not valuable for eternity, nor for humanity: not even for the limited course of an internal evolution of a civilization.

Thus, thinking about the materiality of the book literally as a simple instrument, or about the immateriality of the interactive digital book, for example, since it does not have its own support – even if the computer, tablet or cell phone fulfills this purpose, for example; but in a different way – denies the production of meanings that emerges in the subjects who incorporate it into their practices, beyond the ways of reading or conceiving the world, which depend on the four categories defended by Chartier (2003) in his sociological conception of reading from the perspective of French cultural history: reading is conceived as "appropriation," "representation," "deviation," and/or "resistance." In other words, in Chartier's (2003) sociology of texts, in Forms and Meaning. Written Culture: Between Distinction and Appropriation, the forms of textual materialities that affect the process of meaning construction are emphasized, understanding "the reasons and effects of these materialities" (Chartier, 2003, p. 35) for the reader and the textual configuration of the register for the investigator.

But from this perspective, if history is mediated by technology, and if each society thinks historically with its own instruments (De Certeau, 2006); then, the treatment given to human subjectivity, in this case to the intentionality, typology, and cross-reference contained in newspaper articles as sources in use, for example, in my studies, when I delve into the circuit of the school textbook and its place in the process of production, dissemination, and sale, made it necessary to consider these aspects as a product of culture; however, understanding the various senses and meanings expressed by different men situated in different times and spaces is crucial, given that, if it is "[...] risky to project cultures onto cultures when there is contemporaneity between them, [it is much] more dangerous [...] to project 'our' categories onto remote cultures" (Freitas, 1999, p. 19).

The cultural history of the social as a point of discussion and the respective cross-referencing of sources of diverse nature as an operation of history that allows the analysis of changes in structures and possible conjunctures in the long and medium term, as well as events in the short term, helped me to identify the notes in newspapers that addressed school and non-school books, approved and recommended in education, this helped me not only to question the reports used by government agents in Maranhão and to compare them with the content of correspondence between the different actors involved in the printed material circuit, both in books and in education, but also to broaden my sources, to identify the contexts in which the texts were written

in the documentation, and the positions occupied by the sender and recipient at the time of their creation and receipt, the clash of opinions, the opposing positions, and the constraints imposed, whether by the power structures that controlled compliance with the rules required for the production, dissemination, sale, and use of the works, or by the strategies regulated in the process of approval, adoption, replacement, or veto of the school textbook.

Thus, it is possible to perceive the narrative constructed around the school textbook, considering the intentionalities of the discursive practices that depend on positions, professions, and their respective functions. In our view, judgment on these procedures could only be operationalized by combining the three inseparable axes of cultural history, taken here as a theoretical-methodological presupposition, based on the arguments that Clarice Nunes and Marta Carvalho discuss in *Historiography of Education and Sources* (1993).

Figure 2: The three inseparable axes of Cultural History
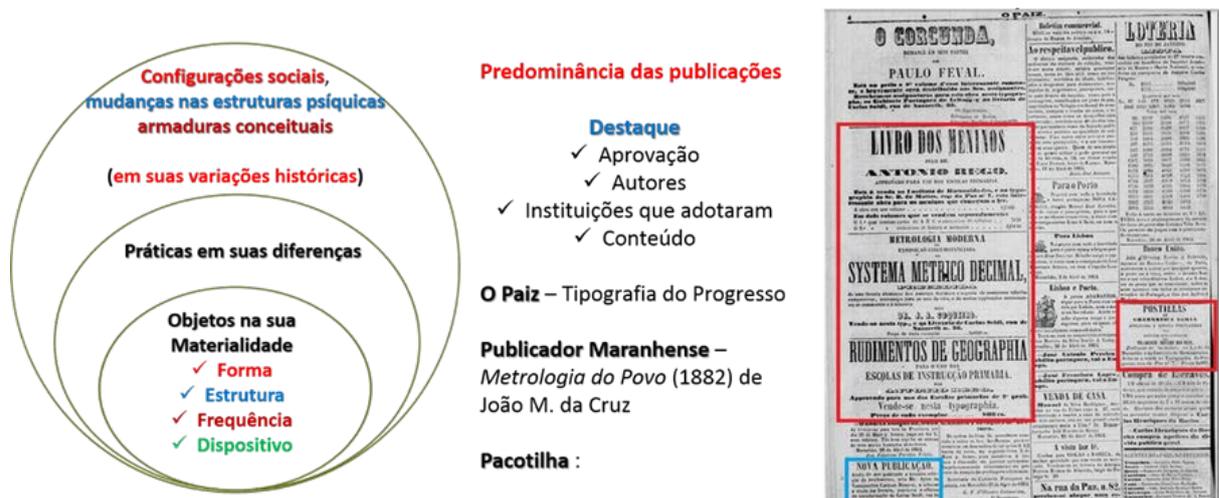
Source: Diagram created by the author

In *the history of the object in its materiality* (as the first axis of analysis), it is essential to examine the form in which the records appear in the documentation to understand the purposes for which the books were used, as well as the structure of the messages to identify points of contact according to the nature of the school artifacts, in addition to the frequency with which writings appear that point to the movement of school textbooks, considering their circulation, adoption and/or veto, as well as the device in use, in this case, the newspaper itself as a material support that enables forms of dissemination/notes, or by examining the school textbooks

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themselves, located as both object and source, which prevents the materiality of the support from "becoming inalienable from the spirit of the representations to which its uses gave rise, "[...] in spaces of sociability or in particular places (Chartier, 1995, p. 96), insofar as school textbooks are essential sources for unveiling some of the 'silences' of the school's internal history; internal keys that can elucidate the 'grammar' that orders the life of the educational institution according to Escolano Benito (1997).

Today, in the digital age, we can identify access to information, the frequency with which a topic is discussed, and the content of the discussion, which points to different types of readers and their respective literacy levels according to the structure, style, and content of the writing in publications, among other factors; however, these enriching new elements are not written to be studied by future historians, nor are they preserved as documents for research in places of memory —not for now. Therefore, inquiring about the form of the records, the structure of the messages, the frequency with which they appear, and the device itself in use – whether through the location of advertisements, complaints, requests, and propaganda on the support or screen, or through the manner and content of transmission in the press and/or on the platform, or through the analysis of the work itself – these traces indicate continuities, intermittencies, and silences that lead to the unveiling not only of re-editions but also of disappearances of subjects and titles, works and authors. Elements that lead the reader to an interpretation of the represented object. As Pesavento (2012, p. 42) aptly points out, a group of mediators who have "[...] the symbolic power to say and make believe about the world, have control over social life [...]"; a group that will impose its way of seeing the world, its way of establishing classifications and divisions, of proposing values and norms that guide taste and perception, that define limits and authorize behaviors and social roles.

And it is precisely here that we could point out some contrasts: 1) the differences in the distribution of internet cables and the disputes over access between the northern and southern hemispheres (See Figure 3); 2) the circulation of ideas via platforms between central and peripheral countries as economic development dictates goals, intervenes in policies, and decides what to do and how through selective bargaining as a currency; 3) the limitations to information due to the language barrier and lack of mastery; 4) the very limitations of access to leading journals, which, even with an article published by the Revista Paedagogia in the field of education, do not

count towards the researcher's impact factor according to Google Scholar, because they are in the private domain even for those who produce them[10].

Figura 3: Distribuição de cabos de internet entre os hemisférios norte e sul
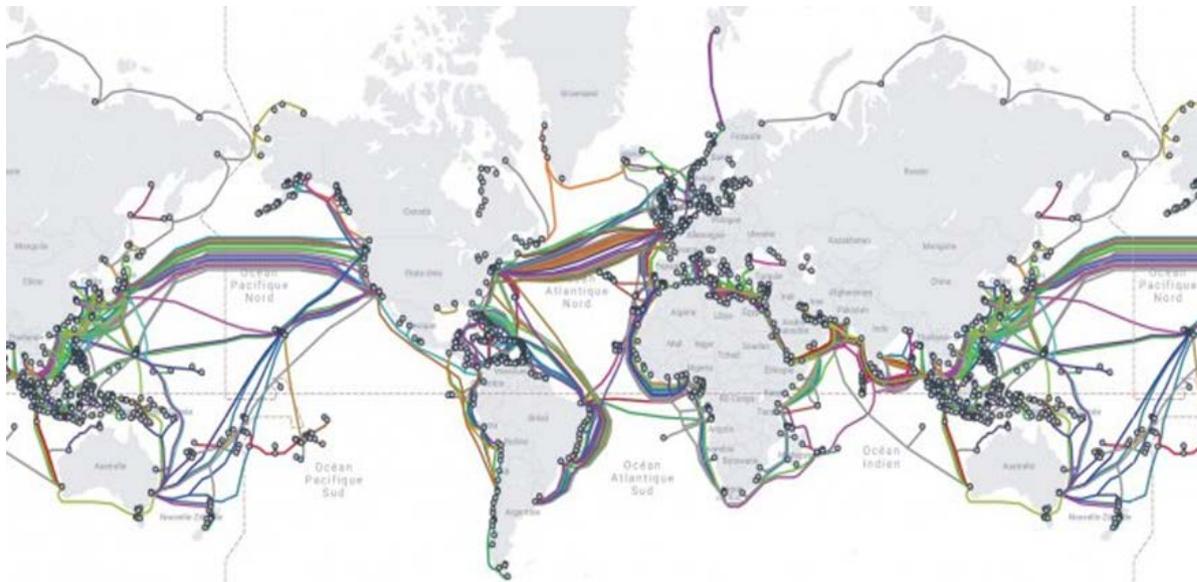
Source: https://www.submarinecablemap.com/. Accessed: Jan/2025

On the other hand, the fact that I could not locate *Livro dos meus meninos* (2nd ed./1865), by the Maranhão author Antônio Rêgo, in any collection or library in Brazil or in France and Portugal (nations with greater exchange and circulation of ideas with the Maranhão Province), and which I consider to be the first Maranhão work on literacy or initial reading instruction in the Empire, contradicts Bittencourt (2008), who points to *O Livro do Povo* (1st ed./1861), by Antônio Marques Rodrigues; and that both copies are located in the British Library in London. In this logic, interpreting the difference between silences and omissions, explaining the selection criteria, scrutinizing the intentions that guide decisions about what to keep or what to destroy and their respective classifications; as well as interpreting the lacunar, the symptomatic and the discontinuous caused by the "archive disease," is necessary (Derrida, 2001).

In other words, the power of representation from the 19th century to the present day lies in credibility and social acceptance. It wasn't enough, and still isn't enough, to simply announce it! It was necessary to place the book in a prominent position. It was essential to bring in elements beyond the work itself that would convince the reader and frequently remind them of the existence of the represented

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10   See Castellanos (2022) in Childhood of the artificer apprentices in Maranhão Empire (1841-1899) in. Paedagogica Historica, v. 6, p. 1-17.

object, through consecutive repetitions of messages in 19th-century newspapers, and now in the media. This suggests that all representation of school textbooks in newspapers yesterday may have been based on the commercial relationship between the printing press and the newspaper. Promotional messages indicated their use in schools, highlighting the author's intellect, the content covered, and the benefits for teaching. Here, the school textbook relates to a fundamental concept: the pedagogical practices carried out to organize, enhance, and interpret the intentions of an educational project in question, according to Castellanos (2022).

Within the study of diverse practices, considered as the second axis in the analysis of cultural history, the Bourdieurian question addresses the issue of order: how do various subjects engage with a common object imposed upon them? In this case, inquiring about the uses of the school textbook, even if imposed through legal devices as an artifact of the school's material culture, leads us to the unique practices of school principals, teachers, students, and families; the school textbook, which has as its backdrop the power relations considered here, according to De Certeau's polemological model (1994, p. 3): Strategies of imposition by those who hold the power to create the norms, constituting a "calculation (or manipulation) of power relations"; and the tactics of appropriation by those who try to circumvent such impositions in a creative invention that alters the prescriptions and marks the differentiation of practices in the use of the artifact.

Therefore, these inventive approaches highlight the inequalities of such practices, and this is precisely what cultural history focuses on: analyzing the representations of practices and the practices of representation embedded in structures and possible conjunctures within a demarcated space and time, constantly confronting the social dynamics and probable ruptures that orbit around the object in question (See Figure 4). In this case, the focus is on the school textbook, the institutions through which it passes, and the ways in which the subject or groups of subjects interact with this artifact of the school's material culture. Unveiling these relationships means understanding the inequalities projected in the tension between strategies and tactics.

Figure 4: Different positions and practices regarding two Reading Books

Nº/	O LIVRO DO POVO	Nº/	LIVRO DOS MENINOS
131/ 1864	**Distribution.** **The Inspector of Public Instruction** offered the presidency to distribute **one thousand copies of his People's Book** to public schools.	34/ 1864	A curious and very useful little work – **The Book of Boys** – composed by Dr. Antônio Rego, and commissioned by Dr. Pedro Nunes Leal for use by the students of his important Institute of Humanities. **We therefore recommend The Book of Boys to all parents and founders.**
67/ 1864	**The book perfectly matches its title**, "[...] in it nothing against the doctrine of the Holy Church, and good morals, [...] **we congratulate its worthy Author** for his endeavor, [...] **such a useful work**."	37/ 1864	[...] a beautiful book, a delightful and useful offering to the youth of the country, has just been published. **This exquisite and unquestionably useful work is intended for the primary education course** (1864, p. 37)
67/ 1864	Finding it **very well suited to the use of our schools**, [...] **appropriate for the moral education of our youth**, [...] besides being outlined with remarkable wisdom and erudition [...]		[...] **two concise gospels of social and domestic instruction, two small bibles of children's science**, [...] intended to form and nourish their hearts in the wholesome and **divine precepts of religion and humanity** (O País, 1864)
70/ 1864	**Announcement of the 3rd ed**: This work is worthy of being read by all fathers and mothers in the family		To engage in education is to undertake a great work, [...] **it is to leave a precious legacy for posterity** [...] so that they may continue **the great mission of man**, a life of perfectibility, progress (O Paíz, 1864).

Source: Prepared by the author using data gathered from the newspaper *Publicador Maranhense* (2025).

Finally, the third axis of analysis, which incorporates the two previous ones, is necessary to scrutinize three crucial aspects: 1) the social/cultural formations or configurations established in a balance of tensions between authors, typesetters, and editors of newspapers in the production and circulation of school textbooks with respect to legislators and their norms, and even in relation to the consumers themselves to whom advertisements, reviews, and news were directed; 2) changes in psychic structures or in ways of thinking about school textbooks that reflect different conceptions/approaches, according to the proposed content, in order to explore the modifications and innovations based on teaching programs and legal provisions in a given period; and finally, 3) the conceptual frameworks established at the time that indicate what would or would not be permissible for the works, in order to discuss the various perceptions regarding the production, forms, and organization of textbooks, according to criteria and methods of approval, analyzed here in their historical variations.

In this sense, it is possible to perceive the conceptual frameworks that guided the characteristics a book should have, the concepts, values, and ideals that were advocated at the time of printing to be considered suitable for teaching, among them: 1) morality, closely linked to issues pertinent to the moral economy of teaching, relating to the classification of students and the requirement to rework the ethical criteria for

organizing the various environments; 2) the style of language, referring to the registers that should always be within the reach of the children's intelligence, maintaining objectivity and simplicity to facilitate the understanding of the proposed content and exercises; 3) the method to be employed, as another fundamental element, should be clear, correct, practical and instructive, since its usefulness depended on this; 4) in addition to the quality of printing and approval, indication and use.

4 The physical and/or digital textbook for the History of Education in Global Cracóvia

If I consider the surroundings, structures, and circumstances in a continuous confrontation with social dynamics and possible ruptures, analyzing the typologies of writings and media, the nature of the books in question and their purposes, their uses in the act of reading, the formation of reading skills inside and outside school and non-school spaces of different subjects, and the singularities in the ways of doing and being (according to documents of different natures), whether original printed versions, digitized versions, or digital versions, I can infer that although I agree that school culture is "[…] a set of norms that define knowledge to be taught and behaviors to be instilled, and a set of practices that allow the transmission of this knowledge and the incorporation of these behaviors" (Julia, 2001, p. 10); on the other hand, this culture that absorbs and imposes is not the same for everyone and with everyone!

This ultimately depends on what the protagonists do, specifically in educational settings, insofar as school culture is also a "[…] set of cognitive and symbolic contents that, selected, organized, 'normalized', 'routinized', under the effect of didactic imperatives, usually constitute the object of a deliberate transmission in the context of schools" (Forquin, 1993, p. 167). In other words, just as culture has shaped us and continues to shape us as a unique species to this day, it shapes us as separate individuals, constituting in this "double shaping" the aspect we have in common, "[...] neither an immutable subcultural being, nor a consensus of established cultural crossing" (Geertz, 1989, p. 46); a subterfuge that allows the decline of the uniformizing perspective of man that was held and the rise of a new way of understanding culture when one tries to understand that, "[...] what man is, may be so involved with where he is, who he is and what he believes, that it is inseparable from them" (Geertz, 1989, p. 47).

Given these circumstances, it remains to be seen whether the printed textbook, which has been mandatory in schools throughout the 20th and early 21st centuries, will be replaced by interactive digital textbooks featuring multimodal and multisensory elements, or whether both formats will continue to coexist. As technology rapidly evolves and digital content increasingly incorporates multisensory elements, such as those found in modern children's e-books, should we consider whether historical research methods need to adapt when digital textbooks become mandatory in elementary and secondary education. Is it necessary to consider whether, from a historical perspective, additional strategies for immersion in this new research object should be implemented if mandated by legal provisions in basic education, particularly regarding the adoption and use of interactive textbooks in Global Cracóvia during the Digital Age?

Be that as it may, at this peak of reflection, taking into account the historicity of the schoolbook as an artifact of the material culture of the 19th-century school, as well as the current textbook, which is not digital (although it can be digitized), also means giving it its own status when attempting to capture various aspects in its materiality, among them: 1) the educational reforms to which it was exposed, depending on the approval, adoption, and veto procedures; 2) the pedagogical concepts to which it was linked; 3) the relationship with the different types of schools to which it was assigned, which may reveal teaching and training projects for specific groups of subjects; 4) relating it to the expansion of school spaces that is reflected in the number of shipments in the records. On the other hand, it allows us to understand the teaching practices it imposed, depending on its organization and content, the circulation of educational models expressed in different productions and editions, and the relationship established between the materials, the school industry, and the school as a market (Vidal; Silva, 2011).

In turn, one can glimpse not only the individual and collective experiences of constructing subjectivities, perceptual schemes and tastes, taking into account the historicity of the school textbook, but also corporealities, memories and affections, school organization, and the social and cultural purposes of the school, in addition to the discursive positions between students and teachers, the relationship between supports and methods, and the conformation of school spaces and times as material aspects of the school universe, where didactic strategies, imposed ideologies and the

"[...] intrusion of industry into the school universe, not only as a supplier [...]; but also as a producer of new needs driving the school market" (Vidal; Silva, 2011, p. 23) coexist.

Finally, the study of school textbooks or textbooks, whether printed or digital, is based on "[…] material culture as a significant element in understanding social appropriation and school life" (Souza, 2011, p. 15). Material culture is understood as "[…] the set of material artifacts in circulation and use in schools, mediated by the pedagogical relationship that is intrinsically human, revealing the social dimension" (Peres; Souza, 2011, p. 56) and not simply a reflection of social relations (Veiga, 2011). Even though limitations can be overcome when discussing the school textbook as material culture of the school or the future digital and interactive textbook, by cross-referencing data from various sources for its analysis, it is important to emphasize that if "[…] material culture is rooted in the very school form of socialization" (Souza, 2007, p. 174); then it will not be possible to think of the school or the artifacts used in it beyond the knowledge constructed and the practices carried out, nor to imagine it "[…] detached from its material dimension" (Peres; Souza, 2011), insofar as "[…] whoever reflects on school learning cannot totally abstract it from the 'material' conditions of its realization" (Chartier, A. 2007, p. 45) via representations, although criticisms of the historiographical use of the notion of representation persist (Chartier, 2019).

The first, of an epistemological nature, considers that by overemphasizing collective and individual representations, we distance ourselves from historical reality, since they distort or conceal reality; the second, of a methodological nature, considers that emphasizing the concept of representation and defining it as a fundamental historical object inevitably leads to the forgetting of concrete behaviors and the distancing from the study of the real world. Hence, a practice that supposedly renounces the cross-referencing of documentary sources, and the document is reduced to its discursive dimension (Chartier, 2019).

But there lies the misconception! For Chartier (2029, p. 24):

> [...] all historical analysis must articulate the representations of practices and the practices of representation. Any documentary source mobilized for any type of history never has an immediate and transparent relationship with the practices it designates. The representations of practices always have particular reasons, codes, purposes, and recipients. Identifying them is a mandatory condition for understanding the situations or practices that are the objects of representation. The struggles of representations and classifications are class struggles that closely link the incorporation of the social structure

within individuals in the form of mental representations, with the exercise of domination, whatever it may be, thanks to symbolic violence, which assumes that whoever suffers it contributes to its effectiveness because they recognize as "natural" inequalities that are socially and historically constructed.

Therefore, the revolutions in written culture, reading, and communication, culminating in the digital revolution that modified the supports of writing, the techniques of its reproduction and dissemination, and the ways of reading simultaneously (never before seen in the history of humanity), forced digital natives, who were born and raised with the technological omnipresence of the digital, as well as digital immigrants, who preceded the dissemination and penetration into their habitat and routine, to coexist intensely in a confluence of knowledge, resources, rites, and behaviors in constant movement, exchanges, and resignifications of information, genres of writing, and interactive books available on platforms, digital libraries, and applications, despite the coldness of digital practices.

Simultaneity forces us to revise the gestures and notions we associate with writing, since the fragments of text on the screen do not constitute pages; they are singular and ephemeral compositions that impose new perceptions and the transformation of fundamental categories of human existence, such as the notion of public/private, the notion of unlimited friendship, the notion of identity and intimacy, the notion of truth, verisimilitude, and fake news. Hybrid practices of the digital reader combine paper and screen, linearity and hypertextuality, although the representation of their practice orbits between a passive and distracted reader and/or a superficial and hyperactive reader, who needs a dual literacy based on active methodologies, digital technologies, and multimodal reading practices stemming from a cultural and pedagogical revolution that guides their development as a digital reader, to consolidate proactive and conscious attitudes.

5 Conclusion

Finally, we based our analysis on data from the "Continuous National Household Sample Survey" in 2021, according to which 90% (68.9 million) of Brazilian households used the World Wide Web as a means of communication, entertainment, and information (IBGE, 2022). However, as virtual interactions gain space and become more popular, they attract the attention of the market. This is how, starting in the 2000s, companies like LinkedIn, Orkut, Facebook, YouTube, and Twitter began to have very

high revenues. According to Rocha and Martin (2021), in the first quarter of 2021, Facebook reported revenues of over 25 billion dollars, considering only the revenue generated by the company's advertising area.

These platforms have become more prominent due to the databases developed with user information and the sale of samples of potential consumers to marketing companies, "[…] with the purpose of interfering with and organizing the consumption and practices of their clients" (Silveira, 2018, p. 35). Through algorithmic systems, they began to analyze, process, and sell private information obtained from virtual networks. This is the "new oil" of capitalism, shifted from the industrial base to a system that sustains itself on the production of immaterial goods; a new configuration in which human experience becomes the raw material for commercial practices based on extraction, prediction, and sale in a surveillance capitalism (Zuboff, 2020).

In these terms, "[...] the digital world is much more than a new technique for composing, transmitting, and appropriating writing" (Chartier, 2017, p. 21). The all-digital world is a seductive temptation, and it is essential to also make its dangers known, since all relationships with writing, whatever they may be, are shaped by impatient, credulous, and manipulated readings, as frequently appears on social media. Consequently, the challenge that arises today in the school environment, considering the Global Krakow in the digital age, in which we all assume the role of internet users, whether as students and readers, or as teachers and researchers, is to combine technical competence with political and ethical competence, since the same development that has materially helped us has profoundly affected our human values. In this sense, destabilizing certainties and destroying verbal and mental automatisms would be the path to take, making problematic what seems evident in the cuts enunciated as natural (Foucault, 2017); therefore, questioning the historical and social division of boundaries, classifications, objects, their divisions and respective practices is essential (Chartier, 2012), when analyzing the physical or digitized school textbook of the 19th century, for example, when venturing into the textbook or the interactive digital book today, but also when deciding which digital information to take into account to support our analyses and which methodological procedure to opt for in research and writing in the History of Education, insofar as "[...] we are born determined and have a small chance of becoming free" as Bourdieu said (2012, p. 31); "[...] we are born into

the unthinkable and have a very reduced chance of becoming subjects (Bourdieu, 2012, p. 31)".

Therefore, I believe that the inseparability and specificities of education, politics, and ethics will always be present in school and research relationships when considering the formation of critical consciousness, since the inseparability of the political and the ethical lies in overcoming the antagonistic, and the specificity of the pedagogical lies in convincing the non-antagonistic (Castellanos, Castro 2024), for the benefit of the school, the university, and educational research from a historical perspective. Finally, by appropriating the instruments of thought and the objects of thought that we scrutinize, "[...] we can become, to some extent, the subject of our thoughts; no one is born the subject of their thoughts; but one becomes the subject of them, among other things, in order to appropriate knowledge" (Bourdieu, 2012, p. 32)

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