

ON KANTIAN STUDIES AND KANT'S INFLUENCE IN BRAZIL

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Abstract: This paper shows the different perspectives of interpretation about the Kant's work in Brazil between 1809 and 2009.

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Keywords: Kant; Brazil; history.

THE BEGINNING: KANT IN BRAZIL DURING THE EMPIRE

When Napoleon invaded Portugal in 1807, the Prince Regent Dom João de Bragança did not think twice: immediately decided to move and transfer his royal family, the precious royal library and the whole court to Rio de Janeiro, in Brazil. They departed on November 29 1807 and would arrive in Brazil only in March 1808. That same year the Royal Library was installed in the Hospital of the Third Order of the Carmelites (Carmo) in Rio.¹ Curiously enough, one rare book on Kant was included in the catalogue: *Philosophie de Kant ou Principes Fondamentaux de la Philosophie Transcendantale* [Kant's Philosophy, or the Fundamental Principles of the Transcendental Philosophy] (1801) by Charles Villers. Might this a work, which arrived in Brazil as part of the Library of the future emperor, have been the first text to publicize the thought of the German philosopher in Brazil? We do not know; yet we certainly do not have information about any earlier references.

Historians, in any event, maintain that Francisco Bento Targini, Viscount of São Lourenço, also known as Francisco Vilela Barbosa Targini, Marquis of Paranaguá, was one of the first to transmit the ideas of Immanuel Kant, in addition to writing several books himself and translating Milton's *Paradise Lost* and Pope's *Essay on Man*.

This task was no mere leisure activity. It is worth noting that the Empire's censorship decree of July 27, 1801, had prohibited the circulation of Pope's *Essay on Man*, along with Swift's *Gulliver's Travels* and Sterne's *Sentimental Journey*, whose possession and reading all depended on the authorization of the censors. Freedom of the press in Brazil would only be

¹ However, the inauguration of the Royal Library, allowing scholars access only with an explicit request, did not occur until May 13, 1811.

authorized later by Dom Pedro I by a specific law of August 28, 1820. Thus, in a certain way, the translation of forbidden writings tells us of the qualities and weight of the translator. But at the same time it allows us to speculate that the thought of Kant (famous known as an enthusiastic admirer of the French Revolution and a strong defender of the freedom of press, religion, and thought), had begun to penetrate into Brazil as an example of rational thinking in harmony with a large part of the political, liberal ideology being debated. Still, for all of the effort Targini put into them, his attempts to print and spread Kantian ideas did not prosper. His influence on Kantian studies was just as short as his stay in Brazil, which only lasted until the return of Dom João and his family to Portugal in April 1821.

Also during the early years of the nineteenth century, another of the court's intellectuals, Martim Francisco, offered a course and wrote a book called *A filosofia transcendental de Kant* [Kant's Transcendental Philosophy]. The book, nonetheless, disappeared, and apparently its contents never received further commentary.

In the second and third decades of the nineteenth century, Kant's works continued to spread in Brazil. In this respect, a distinguished scholar notes that

when the São Paulo College of Law was created in 1827, Kant's doctrine was already known in some way, to the extent that a priest named Father Mimi, who offered the preparatory courses, usually exposed his students to the Kantian theory of space and time as *a priori* forms of sensibility.²

Although incipient, the presence of Kant in philosophical thought in São Paulo at the time even earned an explicit mention in the work of Wilhelm Gottlieb Tennemann's *Grundriss der Geschichte der Philosophie für den akademischen Unterricht* [Manual of the History of Philosophy for Academic Instruction], where he speaks of 'São Paulo Kantianism'.³ This manual dates from 1829, making it clear that Kantian influence already existed for some time, since a school of philosophy does not come into being overnight. In addition to this, the testimony lets us figure out that Kant's influence could have survived into the following decade. If it is true that a school needs a year to be consolidated, it is also correct that neither is it possible for it to be extinguished from one hour to the next. Thus, it is valid to say that it could have continued to exist during the whole of the following decade. The reference in Tennemann's manual can be understood as a demonstration of the endurance of São Paulo Kantianism, especially Feijo's.

² Tercio Sampaio Ferraz Jr., "A filosofia do direito no Brasil," [Philosophy of Right in Brazil] in: *Revista Brasileira de Filosofia*, v. 45, n. 197 (2000), p. 16.

³ As noted by Ferraz, *ibid.* See Wilhelm Gottlieb Tennemann, *Grundriss der Geschichte der Philosophie für den akademischen Unterricht* (Leipzig: J. A. Barth, 1829).

Another thinker influenced by Kant, the politician and later regent of Brazil Father Diogo Antônio Feijó (1784-1843)⁴, could be the source of São Paulo Kantianism. Because in his *Cadernos de Filosofia* [Philosophical Notebooks]⁵ written between 1818 and 1821, Feijó began to develop a *sui generis* and influential way of interpreting Kantianism. Distancing himself from scholasticism and combating the political conservatism of some sectors of the rural aristocracy, his appropriation of Kant developed along the lines of the new liberalism.⁶

From the 1830's onwards, in terms of writings and publications, the flame of Kantianism appears to have been practically extinguished; at least until it was relit by the Recife School in the final quarter of the nineteenth century. But we can also suppose that the influence of Kant's ideals had left the page for the streets and animated the political transformations from the end of the so-called First Empire through the Period of the Regency and up to the beginning of the so-called Second Empire. The very trajectory of Feijó, who assumed the Regency in 1835, appears to suggest something along these lines.

Ironically this first stage of Kantian thought in Brazil, with its ties to liberalism, is due to the authoritarian Napoleon. As we have seen, Kant's thought first arrived in Brazil around 1808, as everything indicates, with the library of the future emperor: It was then Napoleon's invasion of Portugal that prompted the transfer of the Royal Library to Rio de Janeiro. Although in the beginning the presence of Kantian thought was tenuous and reduced to a half dozen scattered references, it would wind up influencing Brazilian thinking in a marked way.

THE KANTIANISM OF TOBIAS BARRETO AND THE RECIFE SCHOOL OF THE LATE NINETEENTH CENTURY

Kant's thought began to reappear in Brazilian scholarship with the *Teoria transcendental do direito* [Transcendental Theory of Right] (1876) by João Theodoro Xavier and with texts by Tobias Barreto such as *Recordação de Kant* [Reminiscences of Kant] (1887) and other writings from the last years of his life. In *Deve a metafísica ser considerada morta?* [Is Metaphysics Dead?] (1875), for instance, Barreto wrote "All of philosophy up until the appearance of Kant, as Schopenhauer teaches, was nothing more than a sterile dream of falsehood and intellectual servitude, from which later days only freed itself thanks to the *Critique of Pure Reason*."

⁴ Priest, professor, politician. Deputy for São Paulo in the Constitutional Convention in Lisbon (1821); later Senator, Minister of Justice and Regent of the Empire. He had an extremely important role during the Liberal Revolution of 1842.

⁵ Diogo Antônio Feijó, *Cadernos de filosofia*. Ed. por Miguel Reale. 1st ed. São Paulo: Grijalbo, 1967.

⁶ Cf. Miguel Reale, "Feijó e o Kantismo (a propósito de uma crítica imatura)," *Revista da Faculdade de Direito*, São Paulo, n.L (1950), pp. 330-351.

Aside from the weight of this declaration, there is an interesting detail which these emblematic and loaded words of strength and universality hide. They were written the same year that Barreto, in the small interior city of Escada, edited a curious German language newspaper called *Deutcher Kämpfer*, of which—writes Luís W. Vita—Tobias Barreto was the only writer and, perhaps, the only reader.⁷ But, like thinking which manifests itself in little details such as a love of the German language and a consciousness of the importance of Kant, the episode of the newspaper revealed the character and work of an author who wound up setting a certain agenda for the future “Recife School.” Thus, A. Paim sees Barreto’s importance in that, in opposition to the positivist project of creating a social physics, in which human beings were the subject of determinist schemes, Barreto stressed human being as consciousness, reorienting the center of philosophical investigation toward the world of culture. In doing so, he drew his inspiration directly from Kant, following the example of some contemporary European thinkers, and also inspired the main orientation of the Recife School.⁸ So profound was his influence that in the first half of the twentieth century Brazilian studies on Kant did not just take the South-west Baden neo-Kantianism as their base, but also, above all else, they took the legacy of Tobias Barreto in his emphasis on German Idealism. This has already been amply documented by historians of Brazilian thought.⁹

BRAZILIAN NEO-KANTIANISM IN THE EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURY, THE RECIFE SCHOOL AND CULTURALISM

In the beginning of the twentieth century, many works that are about Kant or related to his thought appeared. First, there were those texts by Father Charles Sentroul, a professor at the University of Louvain in Belgium who taught for a certain period at the University of São Paulo, wrote, among other texts, *La philosophie religieuse de Kant* [Kant’s Religious Philosophy] and *L’objet de la métaphysique selon Kant et selon Aristote* [The Object of Metaphysics in Kant and Aristotle] (1905), both published in France. The latter was later translated into German (*Kant*

⁷ Luís W. Vita, *Panorama da filosofia no Brasil*, Porto Alegre: Editora Globo, 1969, p 88.

⁸ A. Paim, “A corrente culturalista,” in: Adolfo Crippa, (ed.) *As idéias filosóficas no Brasil. Século XX Parte I*, SP: Ed. Convívio, 1978, p. 11.

⁹ See Paim, op. cit. Cf. J. Cruz Costa, Cruz Costa, *História das Idéias no Brasil* [History of Ideas in Brazil]. However, a study by Newton Sucupira published in 1982 in *Revista Brasileira de Filosofia* (Rio de Janeiro, XXXII, pp. 135. 163), “Tobias Barreto e o kantismo,” also mentions the contributions of this translator, reader, and critic from Sergipe. Sucupira accuses the writer of forgetting the names of those he cites, and he proves this by transcribing large excerpts along with the translation made by Tobias Barreto; all of this weakens the supposed originality of the work. We, however, strangers to this copyright debate, must wonder to what degree the act of putting the name of the owner of an idea really would have in some way changed the originality of opinions and of the work of someone who, under the influence of German Idealism, edited a newspaper in German in the picturesque city of Escada.

und Aristoteles, 1911). In 1908, the second edition of Silvio Romero's *Ensaio de Filosofia do Direito* [Essay on the Philosophy of Right] was published with a part that corresponds to *Kant e a metafísica* [Kant and Metaphysics]. In 1909, Januário Lucas Gaffrée wrote, under the influence of the Marburg School, his *Teoria do conhecimento de Kant* [Kant's Theory of Knowledge], published in Rio de Janeiro.¹⁰ In 1912 Pedro Lessa, ex-chief of police and Judge of the Supreme Court, published a text against Kant (*O idealismo transcendental ou criticismo de Kant* [Transcendental Idealism, or Critique of Kant]) in his *Estudos de Filosofia do Direito* [Studies in the Philosophy of Right]. Although it is a text that is worth the trouble of reading, more as a curiosity within the history of Brazilian Kantianism, its contents are rather poor and its criticisms irrelevant.

In 1924, a Commemorative Conference for the Bicentennial of Kant's Birth was organized that resulted in the publication of a collection edited in Rio de Janeiro by the publishers Canton & Bayer. Amoroso Costa's *Kant e as ciências exatas* [Kant and the Exact Sciences], Abelardo Lobo's *Kant e o Direito* [Kant and Right], Nuno Pinheiro's *Kant*, and Pontes de Miranda's *Kant em face à cultura geral* [Kant with Regard to General Culture] are some of the papers found in this collection. The work offers a general overview of the relation between Kant's philosophy and the sciences and culture and is seriously achieved.

Already in the so-called *Recife School*, initially as a response against the Brazilian echos of continental spiritualism and positivism, authors such as Sílvio Romero, Clóvis Bevilacqua, Arthur Orlando and some other native thinkers forged a Brazilian kind of neo-Kantianism. They thought of philosophy as a theory of knowledge, but they also thought about the difference between nature and freedom, and consequently, they considered culture to be a free anthropologic dimension of the human universe and not merely a natural one. They sought to distance themselves from the explanatory model of the positivists, whose naturalist determinism defended a type of social engineering which conflicted with the ideas of the Recife School. Kantian philosophy furnished them with another perspective to think of human actions in society and of the products of culture.

The *culturalist current* succeeded the Recife School as its heir, and signified, for Kantian studies, a type of theoretical-institutional continuation that sought to recreate a historical-geographical identity. It is in this sense that, as A. Paim notes, the culturalist current considered itself the heir of Tobias Barreto, and took his meditations as a framework¹¹. In opposition to the positivist project of creating a social physics, in which human beings were the subject of

¹⁰ This book was recently reedited: Januário Lucas Gaffrée, *Teoria do conhecimento de Kant* [Kant's Theory of Knowledge] Prefácio de Valério Rohden. Porto Alegre, Editora da Pontifícia Universidade Católica de Rio Grande do Sul, Coleção de Pensadores Gaúchos, 2000.

¹¹ A. Paim, "A corrente culturalista", in: Adolfo Crippa, (ed.) *As idéias filosóficas no Brasil. Século XX Parte I*, SP: Ed. Convívio, 1978, p.11.

determinist schemes, Barreto stressed human being as consciousness, reorienting the center of philosophical investigation toward the world of culture¹². In doing so, he drew his inspiration directly from Kant, following the example of some contemporary European thinkers¹³. Paim continues by claiming that Barreto anticipated German neo-Kantian movement by several decades.¹⁴

During the 1940's, Miguel Reale initiated the culturalist current with works in a neo-Kantian vein such as *Fundamentos do Direito* [Elements of Right] and *Teoria do Direito e do Estado* [Theory of Right and the State]. Several years later, after the foundation of the *Instituto Brasileiro de Filosofia* [Brazilian Institute of Philosophy] and of the *Revista Brasileira de Filosofia* [Brazilian Journal of Philosophy], Reale extended his criticism of the "formal" concept of culture and reformulated his reflections on right, culminating in such seminal texts as *Experiência e Cultura* [Experience and Culture] (1977) and *Verdade e Conjetura* [Truth and Conjecture] (1983), in which he used a systematic analysis partially inspired in Kant's work to address the fundamental problems of philosophy in dialogue with contemporary philosophers. His work appears to recreate an arc which goes from the neo-Kantianism of the Baden School, represented by Rickert and Windelband (in opposition to the Marburg School, represented by Cohen and Natorp) to the reflection about right and culture in a clearly phenomenological tenor.

Other culturalists engaged in Reale's project, such as Luis W. Vita, Djacir Menezes, Antônio Paim, Paulo Mercadante and Nelson Saldanha, also applied themselves to Kantian texts, producing important commentaries and reflections on diverse aspects of Brazil's intellectual history. In 1932, Djacir Menezes, today better known as a pioneer of Hegelianism in Brazil, wrote a doctoral thesis entitled *Kant e a idéia do direito* [Kant and the Idea of Right]; in 1982, Nelson Saldanha published *Kant e o criticismo* [Kant and Critique] in the *Revista Convivium* (Petropolis); and in 1997 practically an entire volume of the *Revista Brasileira de Filosofia* was devoted to Paim's work with Kant's texts. After culturalism, however, neo-Kantism took other paths, notably during the 1980's and 1990's.¹⁵

¹² A. Paim, "A corrente culturalista", p.11.

¹³ A. Paim, "A corrente culturalista", p.11.

¹⁴ A. Paim, "A corrente culturalista", p.11.

¹⁵ To give an idea of this, it suffices to recall that at the end of the 1980's, the Boletim da ANPOF (*Associação Nacional de Pós-Graduação em Filosofia*) already mentions the existence of a *Grupo Interinstitucional de Pesquisa sobre Kant*, implying that it was not new (Boletim da ANPOF, v. 7, n. 3, 1989, p. 31). The professors who would later found the *Sociedade Kant Brasileira* (Almeida, Barbosa, Rohden, Terra, Loparic, etc.) participated in this group. Aside from this, at the end of the 1990's, Kant scholars of different generations founded the *Grupo de Trabalho Kant* (GT-Kant), coordinated by Maria de Lourdes Borges, which ever since 2000 has been holding reunions every two years to present and discuss through the ANPOF studies on Kant.

REVIEWS OF EARLY KANT SCHOLARSHIP

During the course of the twentieth century there were several studies on Brazilian Kantianism. In 1910, Samuel de Oliveira published his work *Kantismo no Brasil* [Kantianism in Brazil] in the *Revista Americana* (Rio de Janeiro, II, pp. 284-291), which was basically a review of Januário Gaffrée's book. Clovis Beviláqua published an article entitled *Doutrina de Kant no Brasil* [Kant's Doctrine in Brazil] in the *Revista da Academia Brasileira* 31 [Journal of the Brazilian Academy]. In 1947, Miguel Reale published an article also entitled *A doutrina de Kant no Brasil* [Kant's Doctrine in Brazil] in the *Revista da Faculdade de Direito* [Journal of the Faculty of Law], São Paulo, XLII, pp. 51-96), which he later amplified and published as a book of the same name in 1949.¹⁶ In 1950, Reale published his book on *Feijó e o kantismo* [Feijó and Kantianism].¹⁷ Obviously, all these works refer back either to the nineteenth century (basically Feijó and Tobias Barreto) or to the Recife School (from the first half of the twentieth century).

In 1951 Gláucio Veiga wrote for the recently founded *Revista Brasileira de Filosofia* the text *Kant e o Brasil* [Kant and Brazil] (I, pp. 86-97). In 1974 Vamireh Chacon wrote and published *Presença do Kant no Brasil* [Kant's Presence in Brazil] in the *Revista Humboldt* of Munich (V. 29). In 1984, Rosa Mendonça de Brito defended a doctoral thesis entitled *A filosofia de Kant no Brasil* [Kant's Philosophy in Brazil] in the Universidade Gama Filho (Rio de Janeiro). The following year, Antonio Paim published in the *Revista Convivium* (V. 5) *O neokantismo no Brasil* [Neokantianism in Brazil]. In 1995 Ana Maria Moog Rodrigues presented the work *A problemática do kantismo em Cunha Seixas e Farias Brito e nos filósofos que os precederam em Portugal e no Brasil* [The Kantian Problematic in Cunha Seixas and Farias Brito and in earlier philosophy in Portugal and Brazil] in the Fifth Brazilian Philosophy Congress (V Congresso Brasileiro de Filosofia). In 2005 Daniel Omar Perez wrote *Dois séculos de leitura de Kant no Brasil* [Two Centuries of work on Kant in Brazil], which he published as an introduction to a collection of Brazilian texts about Kant.¹⁸ This work was deepened in a master's thesis directed by Perez at the Pontifical Catholic University of Paraná (PUC-PR) and defended in 2008 by Paulo Sergio de Faria whose title was *Kant no Brasil: apresentação e análise da história do pensamento kantiano no Brasil no século XIX* [Kant in Brazil: Presentation and Analysis of the History of Kantian Thought in Brazil in the Nineteenth Century].

All of these cases deal with works that draw connections, classify periods, and present different criticisms of Kantian work in Brazil. What all of them attest to is a considerable amount of publication and increasing research on Kant, which allows us to see that his influence has

¹⁶ Miguel Reale, *A doutrina de Kant no Brasil*, São Paulo, ed. Revista dos Tribunais, 1949, 70pp.

¹⁷ *Revista da Faculdade de Direito*, São Paulo L (1950), pp. 330-351.

¹⁸ Daniel Pérez (Ed.) *Kant no Brasil*, São Paulo: Ed. Escuta, Coleção Filosofia no Brasil, 2005. The survey you are now reading is an expanded version of Perez's introduction by Bonaccini.

been constant. This influence is most notably marked in jurisprudence and political philosophy, in political reflections, especially about foreign policy, and to a lesser extent in sciences such as mathematics and physics.

KANT'S PRESENCE IN JOURNALS AND BOOKS IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

Production in the form of specialized journal articles as a result of university research in Philosophy appeared in Brazil in the second half of the twentieth century. During the 1950's, 1960's, and 1970's, the *Revista Brasileira de Filosofia* [Brazilian Journal of Philosophy] and *Convivium* [Journal Convivium] published many texts about Kant, both from culturalists and also from other authors (Ubiratam de Macedo, François Hubert Lepargeneur, Fritz Joachim Von Rintelen, Romano Galeffi, etc.). During the first thirty years of the publication of philosophy periodicals in Brazil (the 1950's, 1960's, and 1970's) the space occupied by research on Kant is not voluminous and was sustained the whole time with some effort. Kant was the subject of some articles, some dedicated solely to him, some to comparison with other philosophers, but was one subject among many and held apparently no special importance.

In the end of the forties, in the recently founded journal *Kriterion* from Belo Horizonte,¹⁹ N. Goetzé published *Tendências Filosóficas no tempo de Kant e o problema do conhecimento* [Philosophical Trends in the Age of Kant and the Problem of Knowledge] (II, 1948-49, pp. 55-62). In the 1950's, Romano Galeffi published *A propósito de alguns juízos sobre a filosofia de Kant* [Regarding some opinions about Kant's Philosophy] in the *Revista Brasileira de Filosofia* (II, 1952, pp. 107-118), and two more articles in the *Arquivos da Universidade da Bahia* [Archives of the University of Bahia], *Atualidade de Kant*, [Kant's Relevance] (II, 1953, pp. 41-48) and *Kant: personalidade e obra* [Kant: Man and Work] (IV, 1955, pp. 81-90). In 1954, Xisto Queiroz published in *Kriterion* the article *A posição da História no criticismo kantiano* [The Place of History in Kantian Critique] (VII, 32-37). In this number, professor Arthur Versiani Velloso published *A propósito do sesquicentenário de Kant* [Regarding the Kant Sesquicentennial] (VII, pp. 18-24). Also in this same journal, Leônidas Hegenberg published *Um prefácio a Kant* [A Preface to Kant] in 1960 (XIII, pp. 54-76).

In 1970, the *Revista Brasileira de Filosofia* issued a call for papers which invited scholars to publish texts about Kant for the bicentennial of the inaugural dissertation of 1770. But only two papers came in response, one by Sampaio Ferraz Jr., *O papel da dialética em Aristóteles*,

¹⁹ The journal *Kriterion*, founded in 1947, is the oldest philosophy journal in Brazil; it is earlier than the *Revista Brasileira de Filosofia* (1951) and than the *Síntese Política Económica e Social* (1959) which disappeared in 1968 and was refounded in 1974 with the name *Síntese-Nova Fase*. These three are the oldest philosophical journals in Brazil.

Kant, e Hegel [The Role of Dialectic in Aristotle, Kant, and Hegel] and the other by Ernildo Stein, *A finitude na revolução kantiana* [Finitude in the Kantian Revolution]. In 1973, Fritz Joachim Von Rintelen published in the journal *Concilium*, from Petrópolis (RJ), *O caminho de Kant e Hegel* [The Path of Kant and Hegel] (XII, pp. 195-215). In 1974 U. de Macedo published, also in *Concilium*, *O problema da Liberdade em Kant* [The Problem of Freedom in Kant] (XVII, pp. 395-414), and four years later Beatriz Culini published in the journal *Leopoldianum*, *Kant e a possibilidade da educação* [Kant and the Possibility of Education] (V. 5, pp. 29-44). Besides these works, the 1970's witnessed two articles about Kant that appeared in the *Revista Síntese—Nova Fase*, edited by the Belo Horizonte Jesuits, one by Viegas Andrade and the other by Herrero.²⁰

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The 1980's marked a turning point in Kantian studies—a true change that we can cite as a return to Kant. The substantial increase in the number of publications and the expansion of research about Kant are tendencies that emerged at this time and were accentuated in the following decades. Compared to prior periods, the 1980's saw the appearance of a torrent of works about Kant. Many dozens of articles and books appeared, stimulating even more interest among students. Many of the active writers at this time continue to be active and influential today. Here we must limit ourselves to mentioning just a handful of these texts.

In 1980, there appeared *Liberdade e a questão da objetividade (Considerações sobre o eixo científico entre Kant-Popper)* [Freedom and the Question of Objectivity (Comments on the Scientific Axis Between Kant and Popper)] by José Nicolau Heck in the *Revista Brasileira de Filosofia* (XXX, pp. 180-200), which compared Kant und Popper and canvassed the contemporary relevance of Kant's epistemology. In 1981, Valério Rohden published his celebrated book about Kant's philosophy, *Interesse da Razão e Liberdade* [Interest of Reason and Freedom], in which he explains the relationship between freedom and universality from the point of view of the practical interest of human reason and argues for the universality of freedom in ethics, right and history²¹. Rohden has also contributed to recent Kant studies through his series of careful translations, described below. That same year Calmon Carvalho published in the *Revista Brasileira de Filosofia* (XXXIII, pp. 22-42) *O argumento ontológico em Kant e a 1ª via da demonstração de Deus em Santo Tomás de Aquino* [The Ontological Argument in Kant and Saint Thomas Aquinas's First Way of Proving God]; Luis Ferracine published in *Convivium* (n.

²⁰ S. M. Viegas Andrade, "Sobre um Opúsculo de Kant," [On a short paper by Kant] v. 2, n. 4 (1975), pp. 103-110, and F. Xavier Herrero, "O Problema de Deus," [The Problem of God] v. 4, n. 11 (1977), pp. 29-43.

²¹ São Paulo: Ática.

3, pp. 184-202) *O formalismo apriorístico de Kant* [Kant's Formalistic A Priorism]; and Francisco Xavier Herrero published his essay *Teoria e História in Kant* [Theory and History in Kant] in the *Revista Síntese—Nova Fase* (v. VIII, n. 22, pp. 17-33).

At this same time an important symposium about Kant was organized at the Universidade de Brasília, the papers from which were later published (1984) in a notable collection.²² Such important scholars as Andrés Raggio, Wolfgang Röd, Manfredo Oliveira, and Gérard Lebrun participated in this symposium. The questions debated comprehended a variety Kantian themes, such as the relationship between the Inaugural Dissertation and the first Critique (Lebrun) and Kant's constructivist theory of mathematics (Raggio), as well known critiques to Kant by Hegelians (Oliveira) and contemporary philosophy (Röd). In 1982, R. S. Maciel de Barros published in the *Revista Brasileira de Filosofia* an article about *O pensamento político de Kant* [Kant's Political Thought] (XXXII, pp. 190-213). In 1983, José N. Heck launched his book *Liberdade em Kant* [Freedom in Kant] from the publishing house Movimento in Porto Alegre. The same year, there appeared an article by Y. Brandão in the *Revista Brasileira de Filosofia* (XXXIII, 37-50) about *A coisa em si em Kant e suas atuais ressonâncias* [The Thing in Itself in Kant and its Influence Today], which unfortunately had no resonance, and João Paulo Monteiro published in the journal *Discurso* (São Paulo, n. 14, pp. 145-158) *Kant, leitor de Hume, ou o bastardo da imaginação* [Kant, Reader of Hume, or 'the Bastard of the Imagination'], a very interesting and influential paper which explained with brightness Kant's criticism of Hume and set aside many misunderstandings concerning the second analogy and Hume's account of causality. In this same volume, Ricardo Terra published his well known *A doutrina kantiana da propriedade* [The Kantian Doctrine of Property] and Rubens Rodrigues Torres Filho, a well-known translator and Fichte scholar, published the acclaimed *Respondendo à pergunta: quem é a Ilustração?* [A Reply to the Question: Who is Enlightenment?]. Also in this same year, the *Cadernos de História e Filosofia da Ciência da Universidade Estadual de Campinas* published several important articles about Kant in their fifth number: *Heurística kantiana* [Kantian Heuristics], by Z. Loparic (pp. 73-89); *O idealismo político kantiano* [Kantian Political Idealism] by Ricardo Terra (pp. 39-57); *Hegel e as duas primeiras antinomias de Kant* [Hegel and Kant's Second Antinomy] by Marcos Lutz Müller (pp. 59-72); and *Bergson e Kant* [Bergson and Kant] by Franklin Leopoldo e Silva (pp. 19-28). In 1984, G. Pinheiro Machado published in a São Paulo journal a study on *Filosofia brasileira do Direito, Kant e a Liberdade* [Brazilian Philosophy of Right, Kant and Freedom] (Veredas, n. 103-4, pp. 86-94). During that same year, Paulo Margutti published in *Kriterion* the article *As categorias de Kant e a lógica das pressuposições* [Kant's Categories and the Logic of Assumptions] (v. XXV, n. 73, pp. 91-102) and P. Rossi published *O fundamento do conceito filosófico de autonomia em Kant e suas*

²² *Kant*, edited by Manfredo Araújo de Oliveira et al. Brasília: UnB, 1984.

consequências históricas [The basis of the philosophical concept of Autonomy in Kant and its historical consequences] in *Concilium* (n. 2, pp. 6-14). In 1986, Professor Romano Galeffi published in Brasília his book *A filosofia de Immanuel Kant* [The Philosophy of Immanuel Kant]. That same year, Joaquim Salgado published *A idéia de justiça em Kant* [The Idea of Justice in Kant], a certainly influential book in the philosophy of right and law. Also in 1986, Ricardo Terra published two influential papers: *A constituição como idéia e destino histórico em Kant* [The Constitution as idea and historical destiny in Kant] and *Algumas questões sobre a filosofia da história em Kant* [Some Questions on Kant's Philosophy of History].²³ In 1987 Rubens Rodrigues Torres Filho published his famous *Dogmatismo e antidogmatismo: Kant na sala de aula* [Dogmatism and Anti-dogmatism: Kant in the Classroom] in the *Revista Tempo Brasileiro* (Rio de Janeiro, n. 91, pp. 11-27), in which he questions the dogmatism with which Kant sometimes was taught, in total opposition with his own doctrines. Ricardo Terra also published that year his study on *A distinção entre Direito e Ética na filosofia kantiana* [The Distinction Between Right and Ethics in Kant's Philosophy] (*Filosofia e Política*, v. 4, pp. 49-65), in which he responds to certain misunderstandings of the relation of right and virtue to morality by showing how both reflect morality through different applications of autonomy and different understandings of duty. That same year, Professor Júlio Cabrera published in the journal *Filosofia e Política* (Porto Alegre, n.4), a work about *A leitura schopenhaueriana da Segunda Crítica* [A Schopenhauerian Reading of the Second Critique] and Bento Itamar Borges published in the *Revista Educação e Filosofia* an article entitled *Os sentidos da Crítica* [The Meanings of Critique] (Uberlândia, n.2, pp. 61-79). In the journal *Síntese-Nova Fase* there appeared, still that very year, two works about Kant: *O impacto da Bíblia na Segunda Crítica* [The Impact of the Bible on the Second Critique], by Henry de Ternay (v.14, n.39, pp. 11-24), and *Educação como arte segundo Kant* [Education as Art in Kant] by Marcelo Perine (v. 14, n.40, pp. 9-32). In 1988 Henry de Ternay published *Kant e a Revolução francesa* [Kant and the French Revolution], in the journal *Síntese-Nova Fase* (v.16, n. 47, pp. 13-28), and Ana Maria Moog Rodrigues published *A idéia de Liberdade em Kant e o livre arbítrio na filosofia escolástica* [The idea of Freedom in Kant and Free Choice in Scholastic Philosophy] in the journal *Presença Filosófica* [Philosophical Presence] (Rio de Janeiro, n.13, pp. 128-137). That same year there appeared *Kant e Freud: metafísica e metapsicologia* [Kant and Freud: Metaphysics and Metapsychology], by R. Oliva in the journal *Educação e Filosofia* (II, n.4, pp. 99-107) and *A metafísica da Crítica da Razão Pura* [The Metaphysics of the Critique of Pure Reason], by Franklin Leopoldo e Silva in *Transformação* [Transformation] (São Paulo, n.11, pp.

²³ The first was published in L. R. Salinas Fortes e M. Meira do Nascimento (eds.) *A constituinte em debate*, São Paulo, Seaf/Sofia ed., 1986, pp. 337-347. The second appeared as one of the studies that accompanied their edition of I. Kant. *Idéia de uma história universal do ponto de vista cosmopolita* (ed. Por Ricardo Ribeiro Terra), São Paulo, Brasiliense, 1986, pp. 43-74.

1-11). The Campinas journal *Manuscrito* (v. XI, n.2) published at least two important articles on Kant in 1988: *Kant e o ceticismo* [Kant and Scepticism] by Zeljko Loparic (pp. 67-83) and *Ceticismo versus condições de verdade* [Scepticism versus Truth Conditions] by Valério Rohden (pp. 85-94), in which both defend analytically different interpretations of Kant's transcendental project, both very influential. Also during that year Professor Denis Lerrer Rosenfield published in Porto Alegre his well known book *Do mal. Para Introduzir em Filosofia o conceito de Mal em Kant, Schelling e Hegel* [On Evil. Toward a Philosophical Introduction of the Concept of Evil in Kant, Schelling, and Hegel] by L&PM publishers. In 1989 his student Marco Zingano published in São Paulo *Razão e História em Kant* [Reason and History in Kant], an acclaimed book (originated in his master's dissertation in the Universidade Federal do Rio Grande do Sul) in which he wondered "How to think about History within the boundaries of reason alone?" and proposed to interpret how Kant's philosophy, by departing from the concepts of free action and free will, could be exposed without attributing to history any kind of eschatology. That same year Vera Bueno published her article *Três formulações heideggerianas sobre a Crítica da Razão Pura* [Three Heideggerian Formulas about the Critique of Pure Reason] in the Pontifícia Universidade Católica do Rio de Janeiro's journal (*O que nos faz pensar?*, 1989, pp. 81-92); Darlei Dall'Agnoll published *Problemas da filosofia kantiana* [Problems of Kantian Philosophy] in *Chronos* (Caxias do Sul, RS, v. 23, n.2, pp. 192-201); and Ricardo Terra published *Kant: entusiasmo e revolução* [Kant: Enthusiasm and Revolution] in the Universidade de São Paulo's Journal (São Paulo, n.1, pp. 37-43).

A curious fact is that in *Revista Veritas* (a publication for traditional, important philosophical studies of the Pontifical Catholic University of Rio Grande do Sul) did not appear any publication about Kant until 1991, when Ricardo Timm de Souza's *Pequena crítica da Crítica da razão prática* [Minor Criticisms of the Critique of Practical Reason] was published.

Despite this last detail, we can affirm that the increase in publications indicates a considerable change in the course of philosophical research in comparison with the previous decades when one group and a handful of scholars dealt with Kant. The samples seen above are part of a list of publications which embrace a whole range of possible studies about Kant²⁴.

²⁴ Another alternative to come to know the Brazilian production about Kant comes from bibliographical repertoires. Today there exist several which refer to the production in Portuguese language, including works from both Brazil and Portugal. The most recent and useful are Orlando B. Linhares' and Andréa L. Bucchile Faggion's *Produção Brasileira e Portuguesa sobre Kant* [Brazilian and Portuguese Work on Kant] in: Sociedade Kant Brasileira. Seção Campinas/CLE: UNICAMP, Campinas, 2005. 46p; Juan Bonaccini's and Carlos Leone's *Bibliografia kantiana em português* [Kant's Bibliography in Portuguese] Metacrítica, Lisboa, v. 2, n. 3, 2003, pp. 1-39; Irene Borges Duarte's *Bibliographie: Kant auf Portugiesisch* [Bibliography: Kant in Portuguese], Kant-Studien, Berlin/New York, 1993, pp. 243-254; Bernardino Fernandes' *Livros de e sobre Kant em português* [Books on Kant in Portuguese], Revista Portuguesa de Filosofia, UCP/FF, Braga, v. XLIV, n. 4 1988, pp. 559-566, and Bernardino Fernandes' *Artigos de revista sobre Kant* [Journal Articles on Kant], Revista Portuguesa de Filosofia, UCP/FF, Braga, v. XLIV, n. 4 1988, pp. 567-598.

KANT, GRADUATE STUDIES, AND THE BRAZILIAN KANT SOCIETY

In general terms, there was little work published on Kant the 1970's. However, it is precisely during this period that the academic work of teaching, research, and mentoring on Kant began to be systematized in Brazil. In fact, the 1970's saw, gradually, the birth of the academic circles and research groups on Kant that consolidated during the 1980's and 1990's and that still are bearing fruit today. Intellectuals linked to some of these groups founded the Sociedade Kant Brasileira [Brazilian Kant Society] in the 1980's and paved the way for the Tenth International Kant Congress in 2005 in Sao Paulo and to the present state of affairs.

It is worth noting that although various colleges were in existence throughout the 19th century, the first universities were founded in Brazil only in the first half of the 20th century: philosophy professors were usually trained abroad. From the fifties on, however, new professional and financial possibilities for research were created. And from the seventies on, they began to consolidate. Federal agencies and public and private state foundations had thus an enormous influence on the academic structure of Brazilian universities. They were beneficial not only to university research in general but to Kant studies in particular.

As the 1970's gave way to the 1980's, graduate programs in Philosophy were created in Brazil. Leading funding institutions such as the German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD), the Brazilian Federal Agency for Support and Evaluation of Graduate Education (CAPES), the National Council for Scientific and Technological Development (CNPq), and the Foundation for the Support of Research in the State of São Paulo (Fapesp), among others, strengthened research groups and permitted interaction with foreign universities. supported the education of many Brazilian doctoral students in Brazil and also allowed them to study abroad in France, Germany, and other countries.

Later on institutions such as the Universidade de São Paulo (University of São Paulo), the Universidade de Campinas (University of Campinas), the Universidade Federal de Minas Gerais (Federal University of Minas Gerais), the Pontifícia Universidade Católica do Rio de Janeiro (Pontifical Catholic University of Rio de Janeiro), the Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro (Federal University of Rio de Janeiro), and the Universidade Federal do Rio Grande do Sul (Federal University of Rio Grande do Sul) consolidated a model of teaching and research in Philosophy, particularly in Kant studies, which later spread to the whole country. In this sense, a large step forward was also taken by the foundation of the Sociedade Kant Brasileira [Brazilian Kant Society] made possible by the work of Zeljko Loparic, Valério Rohden, Ricardo Ribeiro Terra, Guido A. de Almeida, Balthazar Barbosa Filho, José Nicolau Heck and Christian Hamm,

among others.²⁵ The Society, in turn, was strengthened by its local affiliates in Rio de Janeiro, Campinas, and Porto Alegre, where various colloquia were organized and the diffusion of Kantian studies was institutionalized.

Besides the work of Miguel Reale and the culturalists in the specific areas of Right, Philosophy of Law, and Culture, the notable work and teaching of Gérard Lebrun of the Universidade de Campinas and the Universidade de São Paulo, starting in the 1970's, inspired various articles, theses, and dissertations. Although his famous book *Kant et la fin de la métaphysique* [Kant and the End of Metaphysics], published in Paris in 1970, was only published in a Portuguese translation in 1993, the seed planted by Lebrun marked an epoch and set down roots in Brasil. Thus it was that in the two following decades studies of Kant were expanded at the Universidade de São Paulo thanks to the undertaking and initiative of Professors José Arthur Gianotti, Ricardo Ribeiro Terra, Franklin Leopoldo de Silva, and Luis Henrique Lopes dos Santos, as well as at the Universidade de Campinas by the tireless work of Professor Zeljko Loparic, the first president of the Sociedade Kant Brasileira, and Professor Lutz Müller and other Kant and Hegel scholars. In general we can say that a "French" style of interpretation developed at the Universidade de São Paulo, while a more "German" or even "American" style developed at the Universidade de Campinas. The former pursued interpretations of Kant stressing history, judgment, and practical philosophy, as exemplified in Terra's essays. The latter is known for semantic interpretations of Kant advocated by Loparic, although his book *A semântica transcendental de Kant* [Kant's Transcendental Semantics] was published only in 2000. Something analogous occurred in other universities. In Rio Grande do Sul, initially, the teaching, research, and mentoring of Professors Ernildo Stein and Denis Rosenfield stood out, but later on two strictly Kantian groups emerged under the leadership of Professors Valério Rohden and Balthazar Barbosa Filho and became well-known. Both were decisive for the development of Kantian studies in Brazil from the 1970's onward; for their rigorous analyses, discussions, and translations of Kant, as well as for the students they inspired. Both for combining different ways of philosophical analysis and focusing on history of ideas: Rohden inspired by the traditional German way, Barboza by a rare combination of french structuralism and british analytical philosophy.

In Minas Gerais, in frank dialogue with the Jesuit Hegel circle of Belo Horizonte under the leadership of Father Lima Vaz, Professor José Henrique dos Santos helped to create of a new generation of scholars through teaching, research, and mentoring on Kant and German Idealism in the Universidade Federal das Minas Gerais. Rodrigo Duarte and Virgínia de A. Figueiredo joined with him in the 1990's and have so far worked hard on Aesthetics and Kantian Aesthetics

²⁵ Cf. the Founding Charter with a list of the founding members and the Statute of the Sociedade Kant Brasileira can be found online on the Campinas affiliates website:

as well. Another scholar who had an important role in Belo Horizonte and who was among the first to publish relevant work on Kant's theory of religion and history in the 1970's and 1980's was Professor Francisco Xavier Herrero.

In Rio the role played by the group founded in the late 1970's around Professors Guido Antônio de Almeida and Raúl F. Landim at the Pontifical Catholic University of Rio de Janeiro was of fundamental importance. This group migrated in the 1980's to the Federal University of Rio de Janeiro and founded the *Seminário de Filosofia da Linguagem* [Seminar on Philosophy of Language]; and the 1990's they help to found the journal *Analytica* and participated in the foundation of the Kant Society and its journal, *Studia kantiana* [Kantian Studies], as well as in the organization of large colloquia on Kant in Rio de Janeiro, Campinas, and Porto Alegre with the groups associated with Zeljko Loparic, Ricardo Terra, and Valério Rohden.

Together with Loparic's, Terra's and Rohden's work and mentoring on Kant, Almeida's work and mentoring on Kant's Transcendental Deduction and Kant's conception of Freedom has been outstanding and influential, as well as Landim's well known mentoring and work on Kant's and Descartes' philosophy of mind. As a whole their group tends to apply analytical methodology to assess Kant interpretations and well as Kant's own arguments, as well as to approach German and English speaking scholarship.

In the Universidade Federal da Paraíba (and later on in the Universidade Federal de Pernambuco), the work of Professor Roberto Markenson distinguished itself, and he mentored a whole generation of students in the 1980's and 1990's. The focus is mostly dominated by French traditional history of philosophy. In contrast, we find the German way of analysing and working texts in Philosophy in Professor Manfredo de Oliveira, which supervised and mentored several scholars on Kant and German Idealism at the Universidade Federal do Ceará and went on to publish and organize a series of works on themes related to Kantian philosophy. Also, Jesús Vázquez, Inácio Strieder and Fernando Raúl de Assis created, mentored and guided considerable work about or related with Kant at the Universidade Federal de Pernambuco. The predominant way of focusing is the above mentioned German way of doing history of philosophy, despite of Vázquez French higher education.

All of these examples reveal the institutionalization of Kant studies in Brazil. Similar consolidation of work on Kant took place and is taking place all over the country, in Kant studies and in other branches of philosophical enterprise.

THE 1990'S AND BEYOND

Starting in the 1990's philosophy in Brazil decentralized. Not only did graduate courses (masters and doctorate) multiply throughout the country, but so too did highly qualified professional groups. As a result, we find today in this new context many Kant scholars and groups of scholars in various universities outside of the Rio de Janeiro, Campinas, São Paulo, and Belo Horizonte axis.

In the 1990's philosophy journals also multiplied. In Kantian studies, two of them mentioned above deserve to be singled out: *Analytica* and the journal of the Kant Society *Studia Kantiana*.

As we said before, between the end of the 1980's and into the new century there were many national and international Congresses in Brazil. Perhaps most important were the large Brazilian Kant Congresses in Rio de Janeiro in 1989, 1997, 2001, 2003 by the Brazilian Kant Society. Other conferences were dedicated to specific subjects such as the congress on *Beauty, the Sublime, and Kant* in Belo Horizonte, or allow smaller groups of scholars with similar interests to meet, such as the annual Campinas Colloquia on Kant at the Universidade de Campinas, primarily but not exclusively from a semantic approach.

It should also be noted that the translation of Kant's three *Critiques* by Valério Rohden, as well as several events and books he organized with the support of the Goethe-Institut, made possible the greater diffusion of Kant's ideas, both among specialists and among the larger public. Previous translations into Portuguese had been published in Portugal, and some of them were really good; but Rohden's translations offered by the first time a consistent vocabulary across Kant's works.

In the late 1990s the Kantforschungsstelle of the University of Mainz requested as complete a collection of Brazilian work on Kant as possible. Professor Juan Bonaccini created an extensive bibliography of Portuguese language work on Kant and, in addition, ensured that the Kantforschungsstelle had copies of much of the work for its archives. Orlando Linhares and Andrea B. Faggion have later expanded and improved the previous work. This collection allows for the work of Brazilian scholars to be accessible to Kant scholars around the world. Something similar is being done at the Federal University of Santa Catarina by a group of Kantian Scholars (M. Borges, A. Pinzani, D. Dall'agnol, D. Volpato Dutra) with the recent foundation of the Florianopolis Kant Research Center, where Kant's original writings, as well works and collections on Kant have been gathered for helping and promoting Kantian research in Brazil.

The organization of congresses and colloquia on Kant mentioned above; the interaction with other Kant scholars from the Americas and Europe; the publications of many members of the Brazilian Kant Society in journals and books from Germany, the United States, France,

Mexico, Argentina, England, Italy, and elsewhere; the constant presence of several Brazilian scholars in international congresses on Kant; Professor Rohden's constant dialogue with the Kant Gesellschaft; the inclusion of a large part of the recent Brazilian work on Kant in the archives of the Kantsforschungsstelle; all built on the past and culminated not only in Brazil hosting the Tenth International Kant Congress in 2005 in São Paulo, but also in achieving outstanding scholarship in Kant's world studies today.

THE NEW KANTIAN

Finally, it is worth mention that during the 1990's the following generation authors (the "new Kantians") began to publish. Some are Kant scholars, while others work in contemporary philosophy in dialogue with Kant. We cannot mention all of them, so that we mention just a few we already know as having good and influential work, or as having work we considered relevant.

Joãosinho Beckenkamp (from the University of Pelotas, Rio Grande do Sul) have works on practical philosophy and the symbolization of ideas. Also in the South, in the city of Porto Alegre, Gerson Louzado works on logic and theoretical philosophy, Adriano Naves de Brito works on the philosophy of language and practical philosophy, and Nythamar de Oliveira has been making valuable contributions in discussing Kantian ethics and political philosophy. His work relates to that of the Florianópolis group. Maria de Lourdes Borges has emphasized successfully the role of emotions and psychology in Kant's. Delamar Dutra has been coming closer to some Kantian problems in his research on morals, law and politics. Darlei Dall'Agnoll has been working on Kantian ethics and metaethics. Alessandro Pinzani works in political philosophy in general and Kant's in particular. Marco Franciotti (also from Florianópolis) has published good work on epistemology and Kant and skepticism.

Pedro Rego, works on aesthetic judgments and developed a very interesting interpretation of the third critique. Julio Esteves, also in Rio, works on practical philosophy, but has accomplished a big deal of relevant work on many themes in analytical and critical philosophy. At the Pontifical Catholic University, Vera Bueno and Edgard José Jorge Filho have also produced relevant work on Kant, however they pertaining to an intermediate previous generation, as Christian Hamm in the Federal University of Santa Maria, which has produced good work on Kant's Aesthetics and practical philosophy.

At Federal University of Parana, in Curitiba, we find Vinícius Figueiredo, who not only translated some of Kant's texts but also worked on Kant's pre-critical philosophy and the problem of freedom. At the Londrina State University, Aguinaldo Pavão has worked on Kant's practical philosophy, especially on imputation, and his colleague Aylton Barbieri Durão works in

Kant's philosophy of right and political philosophy, as well as Andréa Faggion, which adopted Loparic's semantic interpretation and made good progress in Groundwork and Transcendental Deduction interpretation. Others who take the semantic approach are Daniel Omar Perez from Curitiba, Orlando Bruno Linhares from São Paulo, and Marcos de Oliveira from Bahia.

In the city of Marília, at the Unesp we can single out the work of Ubirajara Rancan de Azevedo Marques on Kant and biology and the history of Kant's reception. In the Federal University of Minas Gerais, there is a very important group on Kant's aesthetics directed by Professors Duarte and Figueiredo and including Verlaine Freitas and Imaculada Kangassu. We can also point out the work of Alcino Bonella on ethics and political philosophy and Jairo Dias Carvalho on aesthetics in Minas Gerais. In Salvador, Bahia, Daniel Tourinho Peres produced relevant work on political philosophy and history. In the Federal University of Sergipe, Edmilson Menezes has interesting work on Kant's philosophy of history.

The new Kantians are constantly writing more essays, books, and articles; they have been organizing colloquia, seminars, and symposia; they have been advisors for undergraduate, masters, and doctoral studies; they have been participating in national and international congresses; and they have published in various countries. These new Kantians are the ones who more and more are guiding the new debates on Kantian themes and directing the course of research in Brazil.²⁶

The discussion above does not do justice to the extensive work now being done on Kant in Brazil. The sketch made here is intended only to present a representative part of what is being done currently. Recent work on Kant is much too extensive for any one review to encompass.

A more thorough history of the whole of Kantianism in Brazil would need to indicate the currents in Kantian scholarship starting from their structure and the arguments. It should also research the records and documents and events that have marked the course of research—not only in congresses, colloquia, and symposia, but also in dissertation and thesis defenses which from the 1980's onwards have been creating the latest generation of Brazilian philosophers. Perhaps this paper will set a framework for Brazilian Kant scholarship and will contribute to the writing of a new page in this history²⁷.

²⁶ All of the researches in Brazil have their curriculum on the platform Lattes do Cnpq (Conselho Nacional de Desenvolvimento Científico e Tecnológico), it is possible to do searches by name at and see the work of each of them.

²⁷ Rewritten out of a previous English version by William Levine and revised by Frederick Rauscher and both authors.

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