

From Organic to Functional and Symbolic: Body Building in Civility Course Books in Portugal (1856-1919)

José Viegas Brás

Universidade Lusófona de Humanidade e Tecnologias (Lisbon - Portugal)
Instituto de Educação
Av. Campo Grande, 376
1749-024 Lisboa - Portugal

Maria Neves Gonçalves

Universidade Lusófona de Humanidade e Tecnologias (Lisbon - Portugal)
Instituto de Educação
Av. Campo Grande, 376
1749-024 Lisboa - Portugal

José Maria Hernandez Dias

Universidade de Salamanca (Spain)
Facultad de Educación
Paseo Canalejas N°169,
37008, Salamanca.

Abstract

In this paper, we study the construction of the body through civility course books published in Portugal in the 2nd half of the 19th century and beginning of the 20th century. The civility course books were a mechanism of power-knowledge relationship disciplinary of the rising bourgeoisie which printed a certain process of subjectivity. From the body a new order was set up, which raised the organic to functional and symbolic-in line with the growing bourgeois class—and guided each individual to establish him/herself as moral subject, giving him/her distinction and prestige.

Keywords: body; historical, textbooks, citizenship, gender.

1. Introduction

From the organic to functional and symbolic point of view, we are set on to the problem of the unity of the real. In this existential category, the organic and the symbolic are massed under a complex form of power relationship, producing identities, in which man and body merge into one existence inserted in a particular social frame of history. In this power relationship the material binds to the immaterial, the sensible to the intelligible, the organs, muscles and joints with reason, ideas and emotions.

To make from a body a person, is to realize the human condition of its existence. In its relationship with the world, a symbolic system gives it a form, humanizes it. This means, that it is appropriating the values and meanings of the social use of the body. From the body, the human being becomes world. To understand this process of cultural connection it is necessary to emphasize the critical point that Borges (2011, p.7) rightly pointed out: "To think a man as a body, while a personal matter, conscious and free, means, on the one hand, the overcoming of common materialism that does not account for the uniqueness and dignity of human kind, and, secondly, to transcend the idealism of the *ego*, as consciousness closed in itself." \

Not an exterior without an interior or an exterior without an interior. Neither the naturalism of sciences nor the spirituality of the subject (Merleau-Ponty, 1999, p.88). It is in this process of constitutive transformation, open to the future and the others in an experienced temporality that we want to understand the transcendence that goes from organic to functional and symbolic.

The body is the place per excellence for the coinage of cultural meanings and symbols. As in Giddens (1996, p.22), "the body was always ornamented, cherished and sometimes mutilated or in need for the winning of high ideals (...) and has unequivocally become the focus of the administrative power."

According to Louro (2012, p.12), "The body is not (more) a given thing, but a fabrication. A fact and a fiction. The body is what people say about it and what people do with it. Far from being singular, the body is plural. The bodies are said to be different and done distinctively."

In a sense we can say with Almeida (2000, p.135) that "there is not a biological determinant nature and both societies and individuals exist in a history of contradictions and inequalities. The inequality of power comes to individuals, ultimately in their own bodies and in its use of them, in their pleasures and reproductive capacities." The body is constructed from different fields of experience that are determined according to various spaces, times, economic conditions, social and ethnic groups, influencing in a complex way the constitution of identity. Moreover, as Turner (1992, p.8) well points out, "the idea of the body as representation, and in particular the representation of the fundamental features of society, is not a recent development." The author has called our attention to works that "have studied the body as a narrative of social processes and social structures" and that "the body is socially constructed through discourses - medical, moral, artistic, commercial." To exist and be placed is fundamental to the identification process. The body does not escape the ontology of temporality, nor to the bodies of the others. The body builds up as our being in the world, revealing itself to the transcended (what I am) and trying to transcend itself (what I should be).

As Sartre (2001, p. 385-396) says, the body as *be-for-itself* and as *be-for-the other*, is two sides of the same coin. And all this should be conscientiously considered as a whole. The body is not out of the conscience, it is entirely psychological, forming itself in a multiplicity of relationships. The body represents the individualization of my commitment to the world. The opposite is true only for the corpse. Paraphrasing O'Neill (1985, p.11), we say that "No one has done more than Freud to explore the costs of inscribing upon our bodies. When he stood back to contemplate civilization and its discontents, Freud could not envisage the new bio prosthetics that would once again open the civilizational frontier, creating new powers and new dependencies in us." He even says that Freud observed that "Man has, as it were, become a kind of prosthetic god."

In the given conceptual framework, we now introduce the problem of Civility Course Books. These are collective systems of representation that are part of the power system of society, seeking some kind of integration. They are presented as a speech, putting to circulation in society, ways of being, of feeling and of acting. In this sense, civility course books are nothing more than a power-knowledge of a historical reality that has strong implications upon the body and in the process of subjectivism, introducing from here a certain order in the whole society. The Civility Course Books are part of mechanisms of power that are inscribed in the disciplinary power in modernity. The body becomes a tempting *prey*. It becomes the target of the disciplinary power through external (surveillance) and internal (self-control) via. The intention with the civility course books is to print a certain idea of normality. According to Canguilhem (1966, p.182), the norm is what fixes the normal from a normative decision: " Sur le concept de norme, il faut, selon nous, la raison chercher dans l'essence du rapport normal-anormal. Il ne s'agit pas d'un rapport de contradiction et d'extériorité plus d'un rapport et d'inversion of polarité".

The intention with Civility Course Books, using a concept of Foucault (1984, p.54), is that each lead to a "treat yourself", in a guiding oneself moral exercise. In the "art of existence" advocated in the course books, the subject is encouraged to shape his/herself according to what Foucault calls a "culture of self." Identity is not a question of chance. It results from the type of relationship that is exerted on the body. This power produces ways of seeing, feeling, and being a Man. This is not an essentialist process. The identity is forged from the type of relationship in the smallest details. It is not under the command of biology that differences are determined.

The differences do not come from an essentialist order they are built up from the effects of power on subjectivity. This is a new power that reverses the logic of the exercise of violence on life. It is no longer to order to kill or let live typical of sovereign power. This is a new sovereignty that is based on its exercise in discipline, in what Foucault called political anatomy of the body. It is a passage (or a new relationship) of sovereign power to the bio-political power. In the book, *History of sexuality I The desire to know*, Foucault (1984) extends this notion of discipline, that is, it is not just to transform the individual by the various types of control (monitoring, evaluation, space-time control, etc.), but also by population control, through which he designated the bio-politics of the population.

This shift is important to understand the body as a cultural construct, closely related to the identity we want to build in a particular time. The civility course books are an important part of the power system of society. The differences that are intended to be expressed imprint a symbolic power that helps to structure new relationships in the double sense of the word - with oneself and with others. What we are, results from the interactions with the world in a particular historical moment. That is going to say what we should try to do and be. As Foucault (1996) says, each regime of truth we live in a particular historical moment encourages and redirects our thoughts and desires.

In it we think about ourselves, we realize our social role, and what is considered correct and incorrect. The body is at this intersection of cultural forces, indissolubly linked to the social imagery. As Breton (2006, p.34) said "The body is here the place and time in which the world becomes Man, immersed in his uniqueness of his personal history, a kind of social and cultural human from which the symbolic relationship with others and with the world is removed".

In this sense we can say that the body is not *a priori* given. It does not exist in a natural state and in a static way. It is provisional, mutable and changeable, capable of different interventions (Gollner, 2003, p. 28). That depends on each culture, its system of obligations. Therefore, it is necessary to relate the body with fields of experience. The body translates a synthesis of the body, past and present experiences and anticipates future experiences. As Breton (1992) refers, it is the interface between the social and the individual, between nature and culture, between physiological and symbolic. "From simple biological organization the body progressively becomes the reference material of the concept or of the image of itself" (Alferes, 1997, p. 66). It is as if it has come from a position of non-body, for the almost-body, until it reaches the body-person. At birth, the child is constituted by the infinite sum of anthropological provisions that only the immersion in the symbolic field, *ie*, the relationship with others, may allow its development. It takes a child a few years before its body is actually enrolled in different dimensions, in the web of meanings that surrounds its structure and its group of belonging (Breton, 2006, p.8). It is our condition essentially symbolic that is also the basis of the importance of education in our lives" (Savater, 1999, p.112).

This concept is opposed to the perspective of techno-sciences that considers the body as a mere structure of organs and functions that break down into pieces (deprived of symbolic value). But the body is much more than a set of muscles, bones, organs, reflexes and sensations, it is also the clothing and accessories that adorns it, the interventions that operate in it, the image that is produced by it, the machines that are engaged in it, the meanings that are incorporated in it, the silences that speak for it, the traces that are exhibited in it, the education of its gestures ... Anyway, it is a non limit of possibilities always reinvented and been discovered. They are not, therefore, biological similarities that define it, but fundamentally social and cultural meanings that are attributed to it (Goellner, 2003, p. 29).

If the body is to be seen as a socially constructed knowledge, a society in constant transition sets, each epoch, conditioning instruments imposed on individuals able to create models that reflect their own ideas of morality, kindness and politeness (Elias, 1990, p.62). Thus, the concept of civilization emerges, in Giddens (1996, p.13) it means discipline, which, in turn, implies the control of the deeper tensions. Also Foucault (1987, p.126) states that "the disciplines" are methods that allow meticulous control of the operations of the body, carrying the constant subjection of its forces and impose on them a relation of docility-utility. If disciplinary procedures existed for a long time (in monasteries, armies, workshops) it was, however, during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries that they became general formulas of domination. As Shillings (1993, p.164) refers "The civilized body possesses self-control manifest in "morals" or "rational thought" which interpose themselves between spontaneous and emotional impulses, on the one hand, and the skeletal muscles, on the other , and which allow for the deferral of satisfaction".

It is at this mental and ideological conjuncture that Civility Course Books emerge and are a product of cultural nature eminently didactic. They intend to teach, seeking a way of inculcation of a new way of living that give distinction (difference) not always achieved by birth. Thus, Civility Course Books correspond to intense social mobility, a growing process of industrialization and urbanization. They are a promotional tool of the rising bourgeoisie that convey a visual image and set the rules of *good manners*.

In this sense, the body is discovered in a new dynamics. It needs to be socialized with new modes of distinction because it is part of the society of *good manners*. The aim is not to confuse the body with mediocrity (the class of the poor and excluded), then the necessary actions of politeness.

Having Elias (1990) as a reference, we ask: what is imposed on individuals in order to create models that reflect their ideas of morality, kindness and politeness, in Portuguese society of the nineteenth and early twentieth century, through conditioning instruments (which the Civility Course Books are) ? Or, following Foucault (1997), we ask: What meticulous control of the operations of the body perform the subjection of its forces and impose on them a relation of docility-utility?

Considering these questions, we outlined the following objectives, in this brief study of Civility Course Books: (i) relate the Civility Course Books with the process of civilization of the body, (ii) identify the codes of civility of the body presented in Civility Course Books, (iii) understand the body from the psychic civilizing process, (iv) identify the concerns of civility that emerged in the construction of the body from Civility Course Books; (v) analyze how good manners of civility expressed in Civility Course Books are prescribed in the dichotomies whereby the body is socialized and (vi) discuss the ideal model of civilized body in Civility Course Books (mid nineteenth century and 1st Republic).

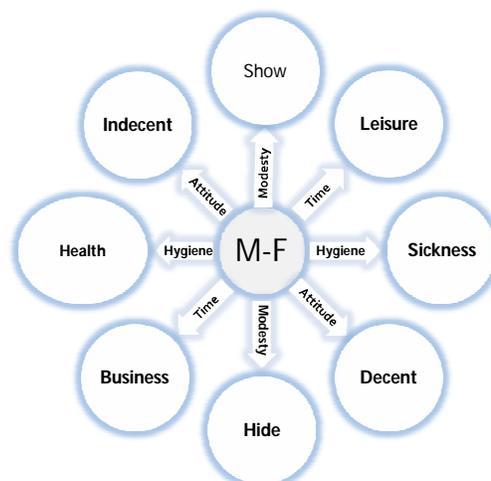
The approach to this problem assumed that the body is socialized in a sexual topology gaining social significance in this process. As Bourdieu (1998, p. 13) stated:

Dans un univers comme dans la société, l'ordre de la sexualité n'est pas constitué comme tel et où les différences sexuelles restent immergées dans l'ensemble des oppositions qui organisent tout le cosmos, les attributs, les actes sexuels sont surchargés de déterminations anthropologiques et cosmologiques (...) Arbitraire à l'état isolé, la division des choses et des activités (sexuelles ou autres) selon l'opposition entre le masculin et le féminin reçoit sa nécessité objective et subjective de son insertion dans un système d'opposition homologue, haut/bas, dessus/dessous; devant/derrière, droit/gauche, droit/courbe, sec/humide, dur/mou, clair/obscur, public/privé, etc.).

In the government of Men we have worked in a binary logic (or duality of cultural models). The gender difference cannot be explained by a process in nature. It is always a cultural construction. The biological identity and psychological identity are differences of a different nature. It is important to distinguish this reality. The emergence of the concept of gender marks the turning of a new approach, intending to emphasize the process of cultural construction, attributing what is right for one and the other (Naranjo, 2004, p.58). Each culture has constructed a symbolic alphabet around the male-female issue. As Agacinski (1999, p. 13) refers "Societies cultivate the difference between the sexes as if they were growing plants and flowers. With art, they vary the manner and style. Cultivating always means to make it grow and magnify, exaggerate, ornament through the artifice natural trait, as we make up a face or adorn a body covering it with clothes".

In this sense we can say that we considered the body as the place where the divisions are constructed. We elected masculinity-femininity (gender) as the central category of our analysis. Around it we sought to know how the different dimensions (modesty, hygiene, time and posture) gain meaning in social relationships. The dimensions of analysis produce ways of seeing, according to a system of opposition (hygiene: health and disease; attitude: decent-indecent; modesty: show- hide; time: business-leisure) and produce ways of being man and woman. Gender identity is constructed around all mentioned dimensions. In Figure 1 we want to represent our scheme of analysis:

Figure 1 - Dimensions of analysis



2. Structuring research corpus

The structuring *corpus* of the research was composed by ten Civility Course Books published during the Constitutional Monarchy and 1st Republic. We chose to study course books of various authors and aimed at different audiences (general and academic).

Table No. 1 below explains the Civility Course Books under analysis:

Table 1: Civility Course Books (1856-1919)

TITLE	AUTHOR	PUBLISHING DATE	TARGET AUDIENCE
<i>Preceitos de Civilidade</i>	Pereira J. F.	1856	Primary education
<i>Manual Abreviado de Civilidade</i>	M.B.C	1862	General
<i>Compêndio de Civilidade ou Regras de Educação Civil, Moral e Religiosa</i> * *Approved by the Conselho Superior de Instrução Pública (p. 5)	Joaquim Lopes Carreira de Mello	1878	1st and 2nd grade school
<i>Novo manual de Civilidade Ou Regras necessárias para qualquer pessoa poder frequentar a boa sociedade</i>	B.N.	1883	General
<i>Civilidade</i>	António Maria Baptista	1886	General and schools
<i>Código de Civilidade e costumes de bom tom</i>	Not mentioned	1894	General
<i>Compêndio elementar de Civilidade</i>	J. M. B. Ferreira	1897.	General
<i>A Civilidade</i>	Redacção da Educação Nacional	1907	Schools
<i>Manual de Civilidade E etiqueta Regras indispensáveis para se frequentar a boa sociedade</i>	Beatriz Nazareth	1919	General and schools
<i>A Civilidade</i>	José Agostinho	Not mentioned (191-?)	General and schools

3. Review of the concept of civility in the course books under analysis

The concept of civility derives from etymon *civile* which means everyone who lived in the city as well as the conditions to live in a healthy friendliness.

Until the middle ages, what existed were *grossomodo* verbal rules that concerned the conduct, mutuality, respect and healthy coexistence. During the middle ages, the main standards of conduct came to people through small ballads and proverbs easy to memorize. Visser (1998, p.61) states: "The medieval books on manners - first in Latin and later in Italian, French, German and other vernacular languages - were simple melodies and rhymed verses, written to be easily memorized. "

The first Civility Course Book goes back to the sixteenth century, when Erasmus of Rotterdam (1466-1536) published in 1530 the work *De Civilitate Morum Pueriliam* (1530), considered the first work of its kind. It is with this author, that the concept of courtesy is semantically extended – from the behavior of the large feudal courts, the concept has lost its sense of limitation and went on referring to the behavior of bourgeois circles, putting the emphasis on the conduct and sociability of people in society and their body attitude. With the slow extinction of the noble warrior and the formation of a new aristocracy during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, "the concept of civility slowly rose to the rank of acceptable social behavior" (Braudel, 1992, pp.111-112). From the seventeenth century onwards, with the consolidation of absolute monarchy in France, the concept of courtesy fell into use. The concept of civility and civilization, with the slow bourgeois style of court, gained a space of notoriety, being the "nineteenth century considered, the golden era of Civility Course Books"(Guereña, 1997, p.51).

4. The knowledge-power of civility mark its presence in the school curriculum

The analysis of curricula planning for primary education, allows us to sketch an evolutionary line of Civility. In Pombal's school reforms, notably in 1772, it was determined that the royal schools should teach "the Catechism and the Rules of Civility in a brief compendium." The teaching of Civility in the time of the Marquis of Pombal, "consisted of a set of conventions that determined how Men should behave towards others, whether peers, superiors or subordinates" (Adão, 1997, p. 247).

The Rules of Civility were intended to prepare the student for their daily life and their personal contacts. Adão (1997) argues that the inclusion by Pombal, of this matter, is due to the French influence. According to this author, the *Real Mesa Censória* authorized on 3rd July 1777, the printing of a book by the French, Prévost, *Elementos de civilidade, e da decência, que se pratica entre a gente de bem*, whose lines of organization and structure presupposed observation of four conditions: "I. Each one should govern according to the age and the condition. II. Reflect on the quality of the person with whom we are dealing with. III. Observe time, and the place where we find ourselves. IV. Distinguish what is civil, and convenient, from what is not". Through the research by Adão, we have been quoting, Moniz Barreto, professor of history at the Royal College of Nobles (*Real Colégio dos Nobres*) and translator of several works, prepared between 1773 and 1777, a *Compêndio. Da civilidade. Em forma de diálogos. Para uso dos meninos das escolas de ler, escrever e contar*. The referred compendium, offered by the author to the president of *Real Mesa Censória*, Frei Manuel do Cenáculo, was never printed and there is no information that has been assessed by the *Mesa Censória*.

The integration of the Rules of Civility in the school contents, in our opinion, denotes the increasing need to design the model school as a place of training and socialization of students. Hence the growing importance throughout Europe of the Civility Course Books, which, according to Santos (1983, p. 14), "will express the intention to provide everybody with the knowledge of the code of 'learn to live.'" In this sense, Guereña alludes to the civility course book as "catéchisme de norms sociales qui complète à cet égard le catechism religieux" (1997, p. 58), considering that it is a privileged instrument in the socialization of young people and in the social diffusion and legitimacy of the dominant codes designed as universal values and norms.

The treaties of civility are important tools for the knowledge of certain social rules that remain in the educational system, after the Revolution of 1820. Let's see it briefly. The reform of Rodrigo da Fonseca Magalhães, on 7th September, 1835, had the subjects of Civility, Morals and Religion and Political Law as part of the curricula. In the reform of Passos Manuel, on 15th November 1836, the subjects of Civility, Morals, Christian Doctrine and Brief Concepts of History, Geography and the Constitution were included. In the reform of Costa Cabral, 20th November 1844, the subject Constitution disappears, remaining, however, Christian Doctrine and Civility. This reform remained in force until 1878, since the reform of 1870 by D. António da Costa only lasted a mere three months.

Considering the above, we can then say that Civility remained in the reforms of education from 1772 to 1878.

5. The concept of civility in Civility Course Books

An entry for the discursive inwardness of the course books under analysis, allowed us to immediately make a survey the meanings of the concept of civility. "Civility is the main and needed rules to live in society" (*Manual Abreviado de Civilidade*, 1862, pp.5-7). "Civility enables Men to live in a good society. A good society moralizes and instructs" (*Compêndio de Civilidade*, 1878, p.9). "Civility are necessary rules for anyone to be able to attend a good society" (*Novo Manual de Civilidade*, 1883, p.13). "Civility is the set of conventional formulas (...) a means of becoming pleasant in social interaction" (*Civilidade*, 1886, p.5). "Civility is the art of living (...) are the duties of coexistence that should be practiced by all who live in society" (*A Civilidade*, s / d, pp.5-7). "Civility is the moral (...) the precepts to learn to live develop the purest feelings of our soul" (*Civilidade e etiqueta*, 1919, p.4). For these reasons, we conclude that the same sense of the concept of civility, with minor nuances is respected.

6. The dimensions of analysis

6.1. Habit: decent-indecent

Understanding attitudes does not go through an analysis isolated from individuals, making an abstraction of society. Attitudes result from a system of interdependencies, intending thereby a certain figuration. The control of bodies undergoes a certain calling of each one to the image considered as decent. The balance of power is exercised on the constitution of the male-female body in its small details. Attitudes are not left at random. It is also an important cultural building to mark the differentiation of certain conducts. In attitudes there is also a sexual division. In the socialization of conduct "man should be polite, affable, kind, honest, modest, moderate and respectful of established norms, order and social hierarchy" (...). Attitudes of man must be serious and grave in his manner and gestures; the body, in any situation, should be kept in its natural position without mannered attitudes or be in continuous motion" (*Compêndio de Civilidade*, 1878, p. 15, 22, 34). If men must be serious and grave, "women should keep even more gravity because the world judges them with all severity" (*Compêndio de Civilidade*, 1878, p. 22).

Women should therefore be "restrained, modest, dress decently." And "girls should observe much modesty and simplicity in their hairstyle, shoes and dresses" (*Compêndio de Civilidade*, 1878, p. 22). "The attitude of a girl must be serious and honest, not to seek the man with the eyes (...); modesty is more a gift of nature than of an effect of education: it gives charm to beauty and an aspect to virtue" *Compêndio de Civilidade* (1878, p. 23). Yet, when it comes to attitude, detailed directions are given to eat, drink, spit, cough and sneeze. On the way of walking, consider the following advices:

"Do not walk on the streets in a hurry, as anyone who is running, nor even with sloppy wander, or with the mouth open, nor move the body as crazy. Do not walk on tiptoe, nor jump as if you are dancing, and do not bend the head or the body, nor walk with the hands pending". (*Compêndio de Civilidade*, 1856, pp. 2- 3).

6.2. Modesty: hide-show

If attitudes are something that should be maintained and enhanced, with modesty it is intended to inculcate a sense of shame over what is considered "good manners". So modesty is another recurrent category in the civility course books. Penetrating in this feeling we may understand people with the existing social order. This strategy of control of the bodies is extremely effective because it eliminates the repression of the other. There is no better "policing" than each one to have control of its own. This is probably the most subtle way of producing, using the language of Foucault (1987), docile and disciplined bodies. In relation to this process Duerr (2002, p.13) tells us that "although the social control of Man's "beastly" nature in relationship with each other, were discreet, since the sixteenth century, Europeans have increasingly begun to "suppress all beastly nature" they discovered in themselves. They would thus have introduced what the Scottish moral philosophers of the Enlightenment called the passage of *savage* to civil, from *society* or *from the rude to refined*".

As Elias refers (1989, p.126), clothing is the body of the body. The way you dress shows the state of your soul. The pattern of the relationship among people reveals the structure of the psyche of society. The principals and prohibitions are attached to an affective-emotional structure. What is shown and what is hidden shall reveal the sensitivity adapted to the affective-emotional pattern of good people. Guereña (1997, p. 491) notes in this regard: "Any daring attitude is, at this level, censored and postponed. In particular, nudity, the exposure of the body - potential source of disorder, of corruption." Thus, *ONovo Manual de Civilidade* (1883, p.91) recommends: "Honest ladies should never wear low-cut dresses (...). The clothing extremely short is an indicator, almost certain, of lack of modesty on the part of the person who wears it. "And the *Compêndio de Civilidade* (1878, p.13) advises: "When going to bed girls should not dismiss the recommendation of the nightshirt, or cambric shirt, and should not lie down without wearing it, and they should button it at the chest" because "decency demands that no one dresses or undresses in front of others (...) not to offend modesty and honesty. This recommendation is required of men as well as of women."

6. 3. Hygiene: health and disease

It is important to consider Vigarello (1985, p.67), when he called our attention that hygiene is not just a word that means health, or a range of knowledge. It also marks a change of status, "confers distinction. It does not belong to anyone. It is a sign of a not shared elegance." It was a knowledge that played a very important role in the planning of the social discipline that came to have great implications in body building. As Brás says (2008, p.113):

"Hygiene is a knowledge that is power because it has forced a certain restraint and domestication of affection marked by a multitude of micro penalties that are recorded in memory and transform all and every one throughout life. Hygiene, by introducing a pattern of behavior, assembled new mechanisms of social conditioning, required a new thought, required new calculations. And all these have a dual symbolic value – it became a symbol of polite society and simultaneously of a good person".

It is in this sense that the Civility Course Books also elect hygiene as one of the essential requirements of *good manners* in society. Let us review the standards dictated by the course books in this regard under study: "The cleanliness contributes greatly to preserve health and enhance beauty. There is undoubtedly the need for cleanliness and neatness of the body, in the dresses, the clothes, the houses (...) It is of great incivility a man present himself to people of respect without being shaved." (*Compêndio de Civilidade*, 1878, p. 13). "The cleanliness of the body is essential to health ... You should, when you get up, have a bath... Before meals you should wash your hands and then, after the meals, wash hands and mouth ... The teeth are cleaned in the morning and during the day, and as often as it is needed, especially after meals".(*Compêndioelementar de Civilidade*, 1897, p. 26)."

The cleansing of the body also protects the health of the body, gives health to the soul; better intelligence, more kindness, more dignified character "(A *Civilidade*, 1907, p. 12)." Cleanliness is the wealth of the poor" (*Civilidade*, 1886, p.49)."But this cleanliness and decency should be perfect and complete, not only for appearances, as so many false virtues are ..." (A *Civilidade*, 1907, p. 12).

6.4. Time: business-leisure

The history of labor (Lefranc, 1988) shows the opposition that existed between business and leisure. Initially work was for the lower social classes. Only the upper classes could take advantage of this.

Despite this dichotomy dimmed by the valuation of work, which, at first was made by Christianity, and later by the physiocrats, we have been witnessing a certain democratization of leisure. However, it continues to be an opportunity for a kind of consumption of distinction. Freed from what was considered the tyranny of work, the time of non work also follows a moral training. The amusements have rules in a society of *good manners*. "No one presents him/herself to dance without gloves. The gentleman should show fear to touch the dresses or the body of the lady with whom he dances! (*Compêndio de Civilidade*, 1878, p. 13). And women in dance, in balls, should "be very careful in all postures, not crossing the knees and taking great care that the dress covers their feet" (*Compêndio de Civilidade*, 1878, p. 13)

The defense of games, as beneficial to the mind and body, is recurrent in Civility Course Books. "During the outing do not avoid hills (...) because the exercise of climbing is very useful to the heart, liver and kidneys, when practiced sensibly" (A *Civilidade*, 1907, p. 26).

The *Compêndio de Civilidade* (1878, p. 54) warns: "The game can serve as a recreation and instruction and can also degenerate into a terrible addiction" and advises "that the one who is playing should not be whistling, singing, grumbling, making noises while playing", being "uncivil to wet the fingers to pick cards".

Even in the games section, they are distinguished those who fortify the body (the bar, the ball, running, swimming, hunting and fishing, rules of horseback riding and shooting) and those who give development to the spirit (chess, billiards, checkers, backgammon, and games related to calculation).

Games are targeted at boys and not to girls: "Games that are suitable for boys are those which can give them strength, agility and development of the body through exercise or of the spirit, because they will get used to thinking" (*Compêndio de Civilidade*, 1878, p. 57). Along with games, outings are also advised: "It is excellent that you do gymnastic exercises, possible in your bedroom, and if time permits, that you do a long walk through healthy and wooded places, being this a great exercise especially at sunrise." (A *Civilidade*, 1907, p. 12).

7. Conclusions

The Civility course books should be seen as part of a sophisticated apparatus that was part of the struggle between the *old order* (Old Regime) and the *new order* (Liberalism), helping to produce useful social bodies. It is part of a set of power relationships that guided each individual to establish his/herself as a moral subject, having as matrix the social renewal of the rising bourgeoisie. About the *physis* it was verified the existence of a broad technical work to bring about a humanizing transformation claimed by the dominant social values. The *physis* takes us to an understanding of the humanization of the body, and culture is the key category for policies that led men and women to conceptualize sex (psychological sex) and transform themselves in the context of specific social relationships to this historical context, particularly through the games of power that we systematized.

The power and knowledge of Hygiene led the body to become the key tool in the fight against abuses, assuming a central role in the complexity of the restrictions that were intended to develop (Crespo, 1990, p.498). The perfection of life is not limited to matters of hygiene, but it certainly had a great importance. The centrality of the body (and of sexuality) is the place of control *par excellence* (Foucault, 1984, 1987, 1994). Health and disease became a political and economic problem. Hygiene is part of the spirit of the building of the *new order*. Hygiene taught people to think differently about themselves and becomes a benchmark of civility. Alongside with cleaning, beauty, cleanliness and health promotion, physical activity also appears as an element of civility.

Another vehicle of the structuring power of Civility Course Books refers to posture. In this line of concern a good posture comes as a language that the bourgeoisie will invent and making an echo of it, it will reinvent itself. Posture becomes a target of concern where decency and indecency are going to be built. It is a body language that you need to know to decipher the body in the cultural context in which it appears. In the experience of temporality, leisure is separated from business.

The value of work dominated the mentality of the rising bourgeoisie. Business and leisure were perfectly separated. However, the time for leisure begins to be valued and it also becomes a means of consumption for the prestige of the rising bourgeoisie. The coexistence begins to be possible. The body not only gains importance as a productive force but also as a mark of distinction in the forms of recreation.

In the domain of transformation of intimacy, respectability is built with a sense of modesty. To show and hide different parts of the body contained a certain sense of beauty, which expressed an ethic in the way of living. The modesty of the body expresses the proper order to be built. Modesty is a knowledge that allows you to evaluate and place each one in a hierarchy of social distinction. It is a rule that is exerted upon the behaviors of men and women.

Bibliography

- Adão, A. (1997). *Estado absoluto e ensino das primeiras letras. As escolas régias (1772-1794)*. Lisboa: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian / Serviço de Educação.
- Agacinski, S. (1999). *Política dos sexos*. Oeiras: Celta Editora.
- Alferes, V. (1997). *Encenações e comportamentos sexuais*. Porto: Edições Afrontamento.
- Almeida, M. (2000). *Senhores de si*. (2ª ed.). Lisboa: Edição Fim de Século.
- Borges, A. (2001). *Corpo e transcendência*. Coimbra: Edições Almedina.
- Bourdieu, P. (1998). Conferência do prémio Goffman: A dominação masculina revisitada. In Lins, D. (Org.). *A dominação revisitada*. (pp.11-27). São Paulo: Papirus Editora
- Brás, J. V (1997). Corpo, sociedade e escola: sensibilidade educativa. In *A criança, a escola e a Educação Física* (pp. 49-58). Oeiras: Câmara Municipal de Oeiras.
- Brás, J. V. (2006). *A fabricação curricular da Educação Física. História de uma disciplina desde o Antigo Regime até à I República*. Dissertação de Doutoramento. Lisboa: Universidade de Lisboa/ Faculdade de Psicologia e de Ciências da Educação.
- Brás, J. V. (2008). A higiene e o governo das almas: o despertar de uma nova relação (2008). *Revista Lusófona de Educação*, 12, 113-138.
- Brás, J.V & Gonçalves, M.N (2009c). O aperfeiçoamento técnico do corpo no imaginário da I República. A Ginástica da Educação Cívica. A Educação Cívica da Ginástica. *Entretextos1* [Available at <http://www.ceief.ulusofona.pt/images/stories/artigos/entretextos%201final.pdf> consulted on 28th December 2009].
- Braudel, F. (1992). *História e ciências sociais*. Lisboa: Editorial Presença.
- Breton, D. Le (2006). *Anthropologie du corps et modernité*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France.
- Canguilhem, G. (1966). *Le normal et le pathologique*. Paris : Presses Universitaires de France
- Crespo, J. (1990). *A história do corpo*. Lisboa: DIFEL.
- Duerr, H. (2002). *A nudez e o pudor*. Lisboa: Editorial Notícias.
- Elias, N. (1990). *O processo civilizacional* (1º vol). Lisboa: Publicações Dom Quixote.
- Elias, N. (1992). A Génesse do desporto: um problema sociológico. In Elias, N. (Org.). *A busca da excitação*. (pp.187-220). Lisboa: DIFEL.
- Foucault, M. (1984). *História da sexualidade I. A vontade de saber*. Lisboa: Relógio D'Água Editores.
- Foucault, M. (1987). *Vigiar e punir*. Petrópolis: Editora Vozes.
- Foucault, M. (1994). *História da sexualidade II. O cuidado de si*. Lisboa: Relógio D'Água Editores
- Foucault, M (1996). *Microfísica do poder* (12ª ed). Rio de Janeiro: Edições Graal
- Gellner, E. (1993). *Nações e nacionalismo*. Lisboa: Gradiva.
- Giddens, A. (1996). *Transformações da intimidade*. Oeiras: Celta Editora.
- Gonçalves, M. N. L. (2004). O despertar da cidadania no Portugal de Oitocentos. *Revista Lusófona de Educação*, 3, 89-107.
- Guereña, J. L. (1997). La transmission des codes sociaux dans l'espace scolaire en Espagne au XIXème siècle. *Romantisme*, 96, 51-58.
- Laranjeira, A. (2004). Não és homem não és nada: masculinidade e comportamento de risco. In Amâncio, L. (Org.). *Aprender a ser homem*. (pp.51-73). Lisboa: Livros Horizonte.
- Lefranc, G. (1988). *História do trabalho e dos trabalhadores*. Odivelas: Europress.
- Louro, G. (2012). Prefácio. In Couto E. et al (Org.). *O triunfo do corpo*. (pp.11-13). Petrópolis: Editora Vozes.
- Merleau-Ponty, M. (1999). *Fenomenologia da percepção*. São Paulo: Martins Fontes.
- O' Neill, J. (1985). *Five bodies*. USA: Cornell University Press
- Santos, M. L. L. dos (1983). *Para uma sociologia da cultura burguesa em Portugal no séc. XIX*. Lisboa: Editorial Presença.
- Sartre, J.P. (2001). *O ser e o nada*. Petrópolis: Editora Vozes.
- Savater, F. (1997). *O valor de educar*. Lisboa: Editorial Presença.
- Shillings, C. (1993). *The body and social theory*. London: Sage Publications.
- Turner, B. (1992). *Regulating bodies*. London: Routledge.
- Vigarelo, G. (1985). *O limpo e o sujo*. Lisboa: Editorial Fragmentos.
- Visser, M. (1998). *O ritual do jantar: as origens, evolução, excentricidades e significados das boas maneiras à mesa*. Rio de Janeiro: Campus.