

Portuguese Orientalism

The Interplay of Power, Representation
and Dialogue in the Nineteenth and
Twentieth Centuries

Edited by

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Studies on the “Portuguese
Orient” (India [Goa, Daman
and Diu], Macau and Timor)
in the Colonial Context:
Political and Scientific
Programmes (1880s–1960s)

PATRÍCIA FERRAZ DE MATOS

The history of science is considered a speciality of academic research. This is due to George Sarton (1884–1956), a Belgian physicist who strove towards that end in the aftermath of World War I. According to Sarton, if more people understood the role of science, technology and medicine in human matters, this understanding could make wars disappear altogether. Sarton would actually guide Robert Merton (1910–2003) at Harvard University, who is credited for establishing the subject of sociology of science during the 1950s (Traweek 1993: 3). Sometimes, this kind of history tends to judge the past on the basis of the present, more than in the past’s own terms, but this procedure is still generally accepted by historians of science and technology. Therefore, the way science and technology are produced, and their producers, end up being studied as social phenomena. However, these studies can contribute to questioning the veracity and legitimacy of scientific and technological models. For example, *Structure of Scientific Revolutions* by Thomas Kuhn (1962) is a known marker of one of these trends, although his work is just a fraction of the debate that was then ensued on the history and philosophy of science. According to Kuhn, science is a kind of knowledge produced by

communities that are compromised by specific assumptions, equipment models, ways of speech and data analysis techniques. Nevertheless, similarly to the fact that there was not one single but rather several scientific revolutions, there is not one single science, one single technology or one single medicine, but rather plural practices (Traweek 1993: 9).

In this chapter I will present examples of plural practices on the stimuli given to the production of studies on the so-called Portuguese Orient, which includes territories in India (Goa, Daman and Diu), Macau and Timor, from the 1880s to the 1960s. In addition to analysing the processes of knowledge production and dissemination, it is interesting to see how some subjects are privileged, while others are marginalized (often not due to being unknown), because they are not useful or favourable to the subject intended to be studied, proved and verified, as I mention in another study (Matos 2018a). In this particular case, I will investigate the hypothesis of whether or not the studies on the “Portuguese Orient” were essentially motivated by the national, political and colonial context that was contemporary to the execution of these works. As Sheila Jasanoff mentioned:

Human societies fashion themselves through rites of memory, gilding and illuminating some pages of the past while consigning others to forgetfulness. Official memories reinforce dominant cultural narratives, asserting continuities where sceptics might see breaks or ruptures, contradictions or untruths; indeed, revolutions, scientific or otherwise, can be thought of as violent breaks with comfortable connections between past and present. (2012: 435)

In fact, while some stories are repeated, such as in the “rites of memory” referred to by Sheila Jasanoff, others are doomed to oblivion. The way repeated stories are structured and told, on the one hand, as well as the strategies for their dissemination, on the other, may merit analysis, considering that some aspects are frequently remembered, while others are completely ignored. This also happens in the production of knowledge on the Portuguese colonial empire and more specifically on the “Portuguese Orient”.

In this kind of analysis, it is necessary to consider the characteristics of universities and scientific societies, as well as the directives issued at an institutional level. It is also important to ascertain if the scientific practice was influenced or not by power and power relationships, namely at a political and economic level, taking into consideration the financing sources, or the research sponsors, and to analyse the way the outcomes were made public. Lastly, it is pertinent

to inquire into the personal interests and goals of each individual who produced certain knowledge, their personal and professional contacts, their (national and international) networks and their inclusion and exclusion strategies.¹ According to some science historians, scientific knowledge is produced in specific times and places, and, in order to understand them, it is useful to analyse their relationships with the political, economic, social and intellectual forces of their time (Shapin 1982; Shapin and Shaffer 1985).

In the context of an interpretive anthropology, which emerged in the late 1970s (Asad 1973; Clifford and Dhareshwar 1989), I will focus on a set of standardized interactions – both in the works produced for the scientific community and for a general public – and on identifying the strategies used by the scientific community and the national policy as regards the “Portuguese Orient”. I intend to reflect on the set of ideas that refer back to a geographical itinerary designated as “The Orient”, its inhabitants and other individuals that used to move around this area (Centlivres 1982). I will also consider political strategies, legal dispositions and representations produced on that set of ideas.

With the purpose of investigating which studies were carried out, I will specifically consider the works produced by Portuguese authors Fonseca Cardoso, António Mendes Correia, António de Almeida and Ruy Cinatti, by authors with connections to overseas institutions, namely the Goa Medical School (such as Alberto Germano da Silva Correia), and by foreign authors that revealed an interest in the “Portuguese Orient”. I will dedicate a particular focus on the work and intervention by Mendes Correia, considering his importance not only in the institutionalization of anthropology (at the University of Porto), but also in defining a colonial scientific programme (by means of anthropological missions), and also his action as a member of the National Assembly. In fact, he held important positions in the main government and private institutions related to the production of colonial science.

The chapter is divided into two parts. In the first part, I will deal with several incursions into the study of the “Portuguese Orient” since the end of the nineteenth century, as is the case of the proposal for the creation of the Portuguese Institute for the Orient and Overseas Territories (*Instituto Oriental e Ultramarino Português*, 1880) – a project which was inspired in similar institutions already existing in Europe – and the publication of research on India and Timor or on the presence in India since 1921 of a delegation of the Portuguese branch of the Institut international d’anthropologie de Paris. The second part deals with a set of political and scientific programmes that were

applied between the 1930s and the 1960s. From a legislative point of view, the territories in India, Macau and even Timor benefited from a distinct status, especially perceivable when compared to the African territories. This phase was marked by an institutional motivation regarding the development of studies on the overseas territories. In that sense, the Portuguese government sponsored an anthropological mission in Timor and other initiatives related to Portuguese India and to Macau. I will state examples of the colonial programme proposals drawn up in the 1930s and 1940s and of the focus set on the spaces in the “Portuguese Orient”, namely in congresses and similar events.

First incursions (1880s–1920s)

In 1880, within the context of a “scientific colonialism” in action, motivated by the loss of Brazil (1822) and by a greater investment in Africa (Alexandre 2000), the Lisbon Geographic Society (*Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa*, SGL) proposed the creation of a colonial course, offered by the public powers, that would be led by a so-called Portuguese Institute for the Orient and Overseas Territories. The institute’s name reveals the interest in the territories that were being administered in the Orient and which were part of that global concept called the Portuguese overseas territories. The course would deal with subjects related to the history of colonialization and to colonial geography, colonial administration and customary law, the languages and ethnography of the colonial territories (Guimarães 1984).

Inspired by what he considered a need for a colonial scientific education, the then President of the Asiatic Section of the SGL, Guilherme de Vasconcellos Abreu, author of the first studies carried out in Portugal dealing with Sanskrit,² wrote the project report where he proposed the creation of the aforementioned institute. The author included contents taught in similar institutes in other European metropolises, such as the Dutch Colonial Institute in Delft (the Netherlands), the Indian Civil Service (British India) and the *École coloniale de Paris*, to reinforce the idea that, in the Netherlands, England and France, bachelors of law, for example, were required to attend the two-year course of the colonial school before being able to travel overseas (Abreu [n.d.]: 10). He also highlights that the distinctive element of the German universities’ faculties of philosophy was the fact that they taught oriental languages and literature. In light of international examples, the author defended that the colonial school designated as Institute for the Orient and Overseas Territories (*Instituto Oriental e Ultramarino*), to be created in Lisbon, should

have the following main goals: "1st: Knowledge of the Portuguese overseas territories from a historical and practical point of view; 2nd: To study and disclose the Orient from a historical point of view and within the scope of scientific speculation in any domain" (Abreu [n.d.]: 14).³ Regarding the Eastern territories, Abreu's plan included aspects which dealt with the study of languages, philosophy and religions in India and of languages in China (Cantonese and Mandarin) and in Timor (Tetum). However, the Colonial School would be founded only in 1906, associated with the SGL, and was converted to the Higher Colonial College (*Escola Superior Colonial*, ESC) only in 1926.

In 1897, in volume V, the *Revista de Sciencias Naturaes e Sociaes*⁴ published, among others, the text "O indígena de Satary" [The Native from Satary (Portuguese India)], by Fonseca Cardoso (1897). This work, and others he meanwhile initiated, motivated Mendes Correia (1888–1960), anthropologist and archaeologist with a degree in Medicine, to elevate Fonseca Cardoso to the category of founder of the "Portuguese colonial anthropology", by publishing some of his works from 1916 onwards.

However, Fonseca Cardoso (1865–1912), whose work was influenced by the German doctor and anthropologist Rudolf Virchow (1821–1902) and by the French doctor and anthropologist Paul Topinard (1830–1911), was already relatively well known, since in 1908 he coordinated the chapter on the "Portuguese Anthropology" in *Notas sobre Portugal* (Vasconcelos 1928: 16). That text, which included a map depicting skeletons in Portugal, was perhaps his last anthropological work. After his death in Timor in 1912, his family offered his estate to the Anthropology Institute of the University of Porto (IAUP) (Correia 1941: 17). This estate included notes on several anthropological (physical) observations recorded in Angola, Timor and Porto, which Mendes Correia later published by referring to Fonseca Cardoso, although the present chapter only refers to the publication on Timor (Correia 1916a).

In one of his first works, Fonseca Cardoso intended to study the "man from Minho" and to contribute to writing a charter of Portuguese height (similarly to the procedure applied in France and Germany),⁶ by using elements from military recruitment and inspection records. At that time, Fonseca Cardoso contacted the company Collin, in Paris, and, in September 1894, he received Topinard's "anthropometric box". In the breaks between his military service periods he collected records of statures and measurements for his skull collection. But this project ended in 1895 with his mobilization to Goa. Fonseca Cardoso's stay in India as an officer in the Ranee campaign led him to undertake several live observations, which he

published in 1897 in the aforementioned article “O indígena de Satary”. In India, he obtained six Hindu skulls from Sankhali and Kudene, which were afterwards donated to the Anthropological Museum of the Science Faculty of the University of Porto (*Faculdade de Ciências da Universidade do Porto*, FCUP) and were then studied by Mendes Correia in the text “Sobre alguns crânios da Índia Portuguesa” [On Some Skulls from Portuguese India] (1916–17).

When on duty as infantry second lieutenant, Fonseca Cardoso performed anthropological observations on 44 individuals in Sankhali, within the scope of a “pacification” campaign in 1895. His observations were supported by Topinard’s anthropometric box and by his previous experience, acquired with the study he carried out on the Portuguese people and their origins, together with Rocha Peixoto (1865–1909) and Ricardo Severo (1869–1940). The works in military anthropometry were not, however, ever established in the country and were only sporadic. Because he moved to India, Fonseca Cardoso found himself observing the populations in the Satary region. However, only in the twentieth century, with the publication of some of his works by Mendes Correia, would his studies gain some receptivity.

Unlike the limited receptivity of “O indígena de Satary”, Mendes Correia’s publications, based on Fonseca Cardoso’s notes, were well-received internationally. René Verneau, one of the most important figures in French anthropology of the time, sent him motivational words in the prestigious journal *L’Anthropologie*. And also his studies on Timor, published by Mendes Correia, were mentioned by the German anthropologist Rudolf Martin, the French anthropologist Joseph Deniker in 1917, and the Spanish jurist Quintiliano Saldaña in 1920 (Matos 2012: 227).

At the beginning of the twentieth century, other studies were produced on the “Portuguese Orient”. The title “Subsídios para o estudo etnológico de Timor” [Contributions to the ethnological study of Timor], by Major António Leite de Magalhães, was published by the journal of the Portuguese Society of Anthropology and Ethnology (*Sociedade Portuguesa de Antropologia e Etnologia*, SPAE), *Trabalhos de Antropologia e Etnologia* (Magalhães 1919). This publication resulted from a conference organized by SPAE on 2 June 1919, in which “the outcomes of his linguistic and ethnographic studies in the Portuguese part of the island” were presented (*Livro de Actas da SPAE I* 1918–24). In Nova Goa, the work “Contribuição para a cefalometria na Índia Portuguesa” [Contribution to Cephalometry in Portuguese India] (1921) was published as a result of Constâncio Mascarenhas’ Medicine graduation thesis; in the following years this

author would continue producing several works on India, mainly in the domain of physical anthropology.

In the institutional domain, mention can be given to the headquarters of the Portuguese branch of the Institut international d'anthropologie (created in Paris in 1890) at the University of Coimbra since 1921, by agreement among Portuguese anthropologists. This institute had a delegation in India, represented by researchers of the Goa Medical School.⁷ One of its main officials was Alberto Carlos Germano da Silva Correia (1888–1967), a military doctor, professor at the Nova Goa Medical–Surgical School and at the Military Hospital, born in Panjim of Goan parents, and who contributed to the study of Portuguese India with several works, as I will illustrate in the following sections.

Political and scientific programmes (1930s–1960s)

Among the whole set of the populations living in the overseas territories administered by the Portuguese, the natives from India, Macau and Cape Verde always enjoyed a special status and were always considered full citizens. For example, the indigenous status, incorporated in the 1930 Colonial Act and in the 1933 Constitution, was never applied to these people. The 1951 Constitution maintained the indigenous regime for the natives of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea, considering that they had not yet achieved “the level of culture and social development of the Europeans”, already attained by the natives of Cape Verde, Portuguese India and Macau (Santos 1955: 159). According to the Organic Law on the Portuguese Overseas, promulgated in 1953 and approved by decree-law in 1954, this status was no longer applied in São Tomé and Príncipe nor in Timor. Only in 1961 was the 1954 decree-law revoked, and the indigenous status was abolished for all populations in the Portuguese colonial empire. Therefore, in the whole “Portuguese Orient”, at least in an initial phase, a hierarchy existed which was expressed in the process of tardily (1954) granting citizenship to the Timorese and also in sending an anthropological mission (with several campaigns) from the 1950s onwards; these missions were initially aimed at the African territories that showed themselves to be more challenging towards the colonial rule, that is, Mozambique, Guinea and Angola.

In the 1930s and 1940s, during the full consolidation of the New State dictatorship (*Estado Novo*, 1933–74), a colonial programme was drawn up that boosted scientific research in the overseas territories. In this context, Mendes Correia's actions stood out because he

took a prominent role at the university (Director of the FCUP [1929–35] and Director of the ESC [1946–58]) and in key institutions regarding the production of knowledge (President of the SGL [1951–60] and Director of the Geographical Missions and Overseas Research Board [*Junta das Missões Geográficas e de Investigações do Ultramar*, JMGIU, 1954–8]). On a political level, he was a member of the National Assembly (1945–57), taking an active part in strategy definition. Mendes Correia's action allowed the organization of anthropological missions to territories in Africa and Timor (the only territory in the Orient included in the missions), for which some of IAUP's researchers were responsible.

With the creation of the anthropological missions, the systematic and organized study of the colonies was now sponsored by the state, as proposed by Francisco Vieira Machado, Minister for the Colonies (1936–44). The missions were held in Mozambique, Guinea, Angola and Timor, the latter being led by doctor and anthropologist António de Almeida (1900–84), with nine campaigns between 1953 and 1975.

At the National Congress on Colonial Anthropology (*Congresso Nacional de Antropologia Colonial*), which took place in Porto in 1934, Alberto Carlos Germano da Silva Correia was in charge of one of the three plenary meetings, which was entitled “As raças e os monumentos do Indústão” [The Races and Monuments of the Hindustan] (G. Correia 1934a). This congress was divided into three sections that might be broadly organized into three areas: biological anthropology, social and cultural anthropology, archaeology and other matters. Most of the works were related to the overseas territories in Africa. In any case, there were references to the Orient and some works were directly related to that geographical area. In the first section of the congress, Germano Correia presented the text “A necessidade do estudo antropológico das populações coloniais” [The Need for the Anthropological Study of Colonial Populations], where he defended that this study, in the case of Portuguese India, should be carried out at the laboratories of the Medical School (Goa), which he said was “the most long-standing among the ones founded by the colonial powers in their overseas territories” (G. Correia 1934b: 171). These studies would be aimed at the “Malabar populations” that resided in Goa, Daman and Diu, and descendants of the Portuguese in India and were focused mainly on anthropometric and haemo-serological analyses (G. Correia 1934b: 171, 182). On that geographical area, Germano Correia also presented “Os Maratas na Índia portuguesa” [The Marathi in Portuguese India] (G. Correia 1934c), which is an anthropometric study on 162 individuals, and the naturalistic doctor Júlio Guilherme Bethencourt Ferreira (1866–

1948) presented "Acerca da sistemática etnológica de algumas populações indús" [On the Ethnological Systematics of Some Hindu Populations] (Ferreira 1934), which is a racial study based on craniometric indices. In the second section of the congress, which included the works that may be associated with the scope of social and cultural anthropology, a study was presented named "Estudo etnológico da casta indo-portuguesa denominada chardó" [Study on the Indo-Portuguese Caste called the *Chardó*] by the Goan historian Panduronga Sacarama Sinai Pissurlencar (1894-1969), based on documents from the Historical Archive of India, in Goa, of which he was director (Pissurlencar 1934). With the exception of this last work, dedicated to the study of castes, the aforementioned works dealt with physical anthropology.

In 1940, the Congresses of the Portuguese World (*Congressos do Mundo Português*) merged several congresses together. The second section of the Congress on the History of the Discoveries and of Colonization (*Congresso de História dos Descobrimentos e Colonização*), included in the said Congresses, was dedicated to the "Império do Oriente" [Empire in the Orient]. The sixteen works presented in this section were published in volume IV of the nineteen-volume collection of this great event. The aforementioned section gathered works on India, Macau, Japan, Indochina and Ethiopia by Portuguese authors, but also by scholars from other nationalities, which proves the international and diversified character of the event. Such is the case of: "Colaboradores hindus de Afonso de Albuquerque" [Hindu Collaborators of Afonso de Albuquerque] by Panduronga Pissurlencar; "A vida do Oriente Português no século XVI através dos 'Colóquios' de Garcia de Orta" [The life of the Portuguese Orient in the sixteenth century through Garcia de Orta's "Colloquies"] by António G. Matoso; "Survivances portugaises en Extrême Orient" [Portuguese Survivals in the Far East] by J. Brevié; "Macau, centro cosmopolita e porta de entrada da Europa na China" [Macau, Cosmopolitan Centre and Gateway to Europe in China] and "A introdução do cristianismo na China e o padroado do Oriente" [The Introduction of Christianity in China and the Patronage of the Orient], both by Jacinto José do Nascimento Moura; "Il contributo del Portogallo alla moderna evoluzione del Nippon" [Portugal's Contribution to the Modern Evolution of Nippon] by Leo Magnino; and "Casa da Índia" [House of India] by José F. Ferreira Martins (AA.VV. 1940).

Following the 1940 congresses, at the Congresses of Portuguese Modern and Contemporary History (*Congressos de História Moderna e Contemporânea de Portugal*), the text "Os acontecimentos de

Coloane, dependência de Macau, em 1910” [The Events of Coloane, Macau, in 1910] was presented by Colonel Eduardo Augusto de Azambuja Martins (1940), who was commander of the 1st Company of the Macau Police Corps and was part of the forces operating on Coloane Island from 1909 to 1911. At the Congress of History of the Portuguese Scientific Activity (*Congresso de História da Actividade Científica Portuguesa*), the doctor Indalêncio Froilano de Mello (1940) presented “A contribuição da Escola Médica de Goa à expansão da cultura nacional” [Goa Medical School’s Contribution to the Expansion of National Culture] and Germano Correia (1940a) presented “Antropologia na Índia Portuguesa” [Anthropology in Portuguese India]. At the Colonial Congress (*Congresso Colonial*), Germano Correia (1940b) presented “Os grupos antro-po-sanguíneos na Índia Portuguesa (contribuição para o estudo de antro-po-hematologia no Hindustão)” [Anthro-po-Blood Groups in Portuguese India (Contribution to the Study of Anthro-po-Haematology in Hindustan)], and the engineer Álvaro da Fontoura (1940) presented “O trabalho dos indígenas de Timor (sua importância, estado actual e evolução desejável)” [The Work of the Indigenous People of Timor (Its Importance, Current State and Desirable Evolution)]. However, in the case of Germano Correia, the studies that were presented regarded mainly the domain of physical anthropology.

In parallel to the aforementioned congresses, there were some exhibitions with the participation of representatives of the populations of the so-called Portuguese Orient, namely at the Porto Colonial Exhibition (*Exposição Colonial do Porto*, 1934) and at the Portuguese World Exhibition (*Exposição do Mundo Português*, 1940) in Lisbon. Both events were the outcome of an endeavour that intended to show not only the power that Portugal sought to exercise over the populations under its administration, but also the hierarchy among them, conveying the notion that the populations in the East were granted a higher social position as compared to African populations (Matos 2014). As to the representations of Macau, both exhibitions evidenced their global privileged status, mainly when compared to the African representations and even Timor’s (Matos 2020).

On 12 March 1941, when answering the question directed to the board of the FCUP by the Geographical Missions and Colonial Research Board (*Junta das Missões Geográficas e de Investigações Coloniais*, JMGIC) on which colonies needed a more urgent study in terms of anthropology, archaeology and ethnography, Mendes Correia stated that “all include complex and curious issues [...] even the smaller ones, such as Timor or Guinéa”; however, “from the perspective of its usefulness for the country” it would be advisable to focus

on Angola or Mozambique, since these offered "broader perspectives of demographic and economic development". Priority would be given to Mozambique in the first of six years and, in the second year, missions to Guinea and Angola would be organized. As for Timor, considered a "distant colony with several issues", he suggests the campaign be made on the fourth year and that it might be extended to the fifth year. The sixth year "would be dedicated to general coordination work, final publications and complementary research".⁸

In 1943 Mendes Correia published the book *Raças do Império*, where he presented a "parading crowd" that, in his opinion, is connected to Portugal. This work, structured in chapters, with a contextualization both of physical anthropology and cultural anthropology, included the islands of Madeira and Azores, Cape Verde, Guinea, Angola and Congo, Mozambique and the "Portuguese Orient". According to the book, the "Portuguese Orient" (see Figure 1 overleaf) is a whole (52 pages – nine per cent) that includes the territory of India (dealt with in section "No país dos Rajás" [In the Country of Rajas] in 25 pages – four per cent), Macau (in section "Na Cidade do Santo Nome de Deus" [In the City of God's Holy Name], five pages – one per cent) and Timor (in section "Nas paragens da Oceânia" [At the Oceania Stops], 21 pages – four per cent) (Correia 1943). The explanation for the fact that the Portuguese Orient only occupies a percentage of nine per cent of the total of the book, and therefore is both inferior to both Angola and Mozambique, must be related to the fact that these last colonies were considered to have greater economic power; they were also settlement colonies and a major investment occurred in them, especially from the end of nineteenth century.

Also in the chapter on the "Portuguese Orient", Mendes Correia referred to the pioneering study by Fonseca Cardoso on the "native of Satary" and to the contemporaneous works by Germano Correia, with an emphasis on the descendants of the Portuguese in India. As to Macau, he regretted that the studies were scarce and that so few of Macau and Timor's inhabitants had answered his questionnaire (directed to the settlers); he considered also that "Timorese" was a geographical expression, since politically, socially and ethnologically it included distinct groups (Correia 1943: 579–80, 585).

Mendes Correia actually showed a wider interest in Timor. In fact, although Correia (1916b) and other authors had previously published about the territory,⁹ the first large monograph published in Portugal to focus on this country was authored by him, under the title *Timor Português: contribuições para o seu estudo antropológico* [Portuguese Timor: Contributions to Its Anthropological Study] (Correia 1944a).

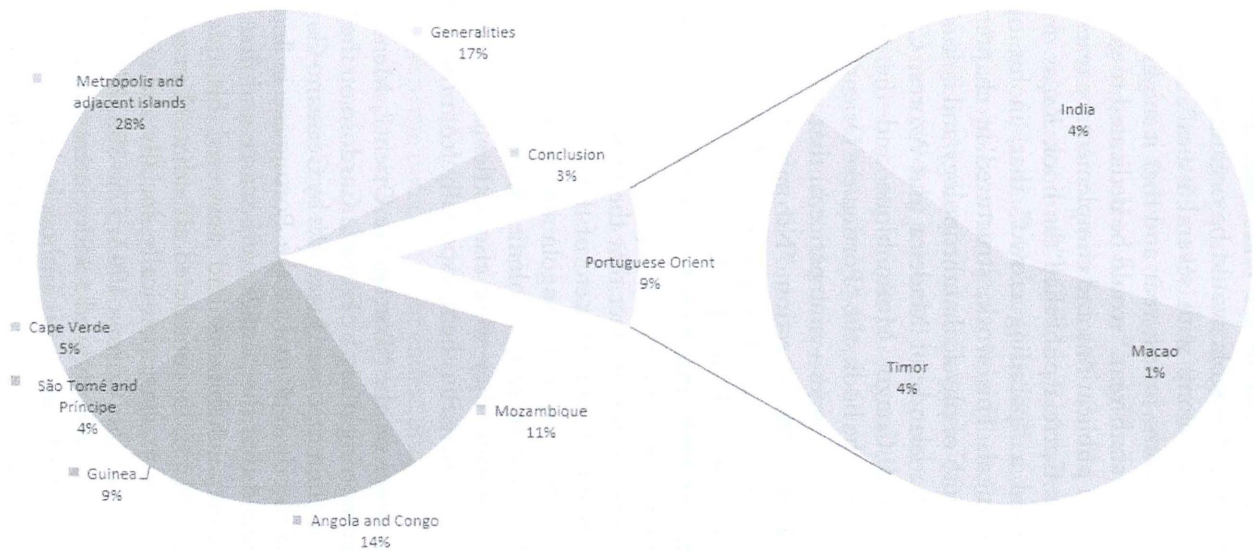


Figure 1 Proportion of the sections in *Raças do Império* (Correia 1943) that highlight the “Portuguese Orient”.

It is a lengthy text (235 pages), which pioneers the works by António de Almeida (1974) and by agronomist Ruy Cinatti (1974). According to the author, one of Timor's features was not only its diversity in terms of human groups (where it is possible to distinguish Malayan, Melanesian or Papua "traits", and also others not easily identifiable), but also in terms of the linguistic variety, since there were many languages belonging to the Austronesian family and other non-Austronesian languages. Mendes Correia knew the works by authors who had visited the island, such as the English naturalist Alfred Russel Wallace (who established a relationship between physical and behavioural differences [Wallace (1869) 1962]), the Scottish biologist Henry Forbes and the Dutch doctor and anthropologist Herman ten Kate, with whom he exchanged correspondence (Correia 1932). The book includes the description and measurement of the Timorese who took part in the Porto (1934) and Lisbon (1940) exhibitions and hundreds of photographs of Timorese from several regions, commissioned by Colonel Álvaro da Fontoura, Governor of Timor from 1937 to 1940. Both this material and the publications were financed by JMGIC, which clarifies the institutional support given to Mendes Correia's work.

Timor Português (Correia 1944a) was well received at national and international level. Arthur Keith, for example, congratulated the author for his work on the region he designated as "insuland" in a letter sent on 6 February 1945, praising the use of photographs belonging to the Fontoura collection; according to Keith "if you cannot diagnose a man's race from his photograph, you will never succeed by callipers or mathematics".¹⁰ Despite this emphasis on the racial issue, the book also deals with cultural anthropological aspects. Moreover, Mendes Correia also published "Los Timorenses y la posición sistemática de los Indonesios" [The Timorese and the Systematic Position of the Indonesians] (1944b) and "Sobre um problema de biologia humana em Timor português" [On a Problem of Human Biology in Portuguese Timor] (1945).

The differences between the Oriental and African spaces were still pointed out, even after World War II. For example, in the text he wrote for the conference on Brazilian Studies that took place in 1950 in Washington, Mendes Correia (1951)¹¹ established distinctions between the overseas territories and stated that the Portuguese had found in the Orient "relatively advanced and ostentatious cultures that could be barely compared to the ones in the larger potentates in Black Africa, which are backward and rude" (Correia 1954a: 234), that is, assigning Portuguese Orient inhabitants a higher social and cultural status than the inhabitants of the African continent.

In 1953, Mendes Correia visited Timor for a month and described his journey (Correia 1955). With this incursion he was able to observe some of the aspects in the field on which he had previously worked at a distance. He took that opportunity to ascertain the conditions for establishing a “local study centre” and to promote his works.¹² The research centre in Timor was then created in 1953; its research domains gathered physical anthropology, pre-history and the collection of varied elements – number of children, ethnical mutilations, languages, feeding and other cultural practices. Mendes Correia’s previous archaeological interest was extended to the lithic industries in Timor, within the scope of the scientific mission sent to that territory (Correia, Almeida, and França 1954; Matos 2012: 132). From 1953 onwards, a team of anthropologists, coordinated by António de Almeida, developed a new study on site and worked with Mendes Correia and Ruy Cinatti, among others.

Concerning the research made on Timor (mainly by Mendes Correia and António de Almeida), I agree with Maria Johanna Schouten who stated that it lacked “an appreciation of the traditional cultures” and “a true and sincere deployment of a civilizing mission”; besides, “the action of the Portuguese during most of the period of contact with Timor was characterized by indifference, bloody military campaigns and economic exploitation” and often the colonial officers’ vision affirmed that “most important is to teach them how to work” (2001: 167).

Proposals to the National Assembly

The colonial issues were part of Mendes Correia’s concerns as a member of the National Assembly in the fourth, fifth and sixth legislative periods of the New State, from 1945 to 1957.¹³ The overseas territories were seen as a part of Portugal and good relationships with them were fostered, as well as ideas regarding the “universalism of the Portuguese culture”. For example, on 27 April 1951 he referred to the “national and spiritual significance” of the message sent by the Archbishop of Calcutta, Monsignor Périer, to the Patriarch of the Indian Territories, D. José da Costa Nunes, including the motion approved at the Conference of Catholic Bishops of the Hindustan Peninsula, in which homage was paid to the spiritual and missionary action of the Portuguese priests in India. He also highlighted the success of a festival organized by the Choral and Folklore Society of the Bombay Goans, founded in 1941, and evoked their hard work. According to Mendes Correia, “the vice-rector of the University of

Bombay, Mr. Wadia, wrote that the folk melodies and chants he heard reminded him of different national origins and that they promote a unification of cultures in the sense of a 'common universal culture'. For Mendes Correia, "the universalism of the Portuguese culture is expressed" in

the Konkani songs and dances shown by that praiseworthy group, which, while preserving in the female clothing many elements of the traditional Indian woman, such as the sari, exhibits mainly in the male clothing and in the musical instruments the clearest traits of Portuguese influence. Similarly to Macau, this action is peacefully translated in the establishment of prolific bonds of affection, psychology and culture between the West and the East. No exclusivism, no oppression, no exploitation. Only a noble solidarity, a warm friendliness, the common wish towards human progress [...]. (session on 27 April 1951)

Concerning the Portuguese India, the focus of Mendes Correia was therefore set on solidarity and on the path towards the "unification of cultures".¹⁴ However, this speech turns out to be a little disconcerting as tensions would already be taking place, notably in the case of Macau, with the People's Republic of China on the border. Thus, the somewhat exaggerated use of specific expressions, such as "affection", "no oppression", "no exploitation" and "warm friendliness" by Mendes Correia must also be understood as a strategy that seeks to legitimize the Portuguese presence in the overseas territories at a time when colonial rule was under threat.

Timor was also one of his concerns as a member of the National Assembly. In the inaugural session of the 4th legislative period (1945–49), Mendes Correia paid homage to "Timor's indigenous kinglet, D. Aleixo da Costa,¹⁵ who [...] died heroically" when fighting for the Portuguese sovereignty and mentioned the orientation of the Portuguese colonial policy in the sense of a "universalist understanding [...] as written by a Brazilian author".¹⁶ In the session on 10 December 1952 Mendes Correia suggested investing in Timor's agriculture and offering agricultural teaching to the Timorese students who left missionary schools due to their age.

According to him, both Timor and Macau were part of the "troubled oriental world", as he mentioned in the session on 23 March 1954, where he highlighted "certain aspects of life" in the provinces of Timor¹⁷ (where he stayed for a month) and of Macau (where he stayed for two weeks), from which he had returned in October 1953. As to Timor he said that: he had visited "good government buildings";

he observed “excellent and dedicated endeavours in favour of public care and health systems”; and he was astounded by the “apostolate and educational missionary works”, as well as “certain successful aspects of economic management by the natives themselves, whether in agriculture or fishing”. From his stay in Macau he highlighted: the visits he made with the Bishop of Macau, at that time the apostolic administrator of the diocese, D. João de Deus Ramalho; the “numerous and important care and education institutions”; its “care and elementary instruction organization”; and the various missions which operated there. For Macau he suggested the foundation of an institute for the study of problems related to fishing. He was also pleased with the recent creation of the Timor Study Centre (*Centro de Estudos de Timor*) and with the existence of a Cultural Circle (*Círculo Cultural*) and of a Musical Culture Circle (*Círculo de Cultura Musical*) in Macau. In the end, he wished that “with facilities, material and adequate collaborations, new scientific missions may be put in place in Timor and Macau”, that is, 1954 was a time to reinforce Portugal’s presence in those territories, and this could be achieved with the production of scientific knowledge on them.

The research proposals of the Timor Study Centre, integrated in the Overseas Scientific Research Board (*Junta de Investigações Científicas do Ultramar*) in 1952,¹⁸ and inaugurated in 1953, focused mainly on physical anthropology and prehistory, although they included data on diet, number of children, cultural practices and linguistic data (Almeida 1954), that is, elements that might be included today in the context of social and cultural anthropology. In the context of parliamentary debates, I found references to this centre until 1964.¹⁹ In turn, the Macau Cultural Circle was founded in 1950 by the Macanese Pedro José Lobo (1892–1965) to promote artistic and literary culture, especially the Portuguese, and published the *Mosaico* magazine between 1950 and 1957. The end of the activity of this centre may be related to the death of its founder (1965), or the beginning of the Portuguese colonial war in 1961, or to the annexation to India of territories administrated by the Portuguese (Goa, Daman and Diu) that same year. Pedro José Lobo also sponsored the creation of the Musical Culture Circle in 1952, which he presided over until his death (Han 2018: 173). Thus, although created with enthusiasm, the projects enunciated by Mendes Correia would have a relatively short duration.

The importance of mastering the native languages was another aspect stressed by Mendes Correia, not only in his writings, but also in the sessions of the National Assembly. According to him, to know and speak the “language of the natives” was fundamental to understanding them, to assess their feelings and disseminate the stories of

Christianity in the languages of the Indians in Brazil, of the "African blacks" and many oriental populations (Correia 1956:²⁰ 228).

At the session of 12 March 1947, when mentioning his hope that the ESC might be converted into a Faculty of Colonial Studies (and later on become a colonial university), he praised the recent (1946) creation of the Institute for African and Oriental Languages, an organism that accompanied the traditions of "past missionaries and explorers who studied diligently the indigenous languages in order to establish a more intimate and beneficial contact with the souls of the populations". This institute, created with his support, taught the disciplines of Sanskrit, Arabic, Konkani (Goa), Kimbundu (Angola), Ronga (Mozambique) and Tetum (Timor), among others. According to Mendes Correia, the linguistic studies also had a psychological (in the sense that they allowed knowledge of the natives' mental horizon) and scientific interest. The study of languages, besides allowing the use of means such as experimental phonetics, recordings, playback and analysis of sounds and phonemes, also allowed an objective, comparative and categorizing assessment.

Conclusion

At the beginning of the chapter, I referred to Thomas Kuhn (1962), who argues that science is a type of knowledge produced by communities committed to specific assumptions, equipment, discourses and data analysis techniques. In fact, scientific knowledge is not only produced by individual scientists, and by purely scientific criteria, but by communities that often organize and strengthen themselves through strategies of power to create knowledge but also to reinforce their positions in society. Although the contact with the so-called Portuguese Orient has existed since the fifteenth century, I argue in this text that it was above all the conditions created in the country in late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries that led to the encouragement of more systematic studies. This was also due to the independence of Brazil (which was seen as the loss of the great Portuguese colony) in the early nineteenth century and to the need for Portugal to know better the other territories still existing in its empire, namely in Africa and the East. It was this "paradigm", to use Kuhn's expression, that gave rise to a different way of acting. Thus, scientists who are part of different paradigms also produce different works. This is also the reason why during the Portuguese colonial period, anthropological work was often produced in the field of physical anthropology and prehistory, commonly supported by physical and human evolution

aspects that frequently sought to demonstrate the high position of the Portuguese – Europeans – on an evolutionary scale of humanity and not so much work in the field of social and cultural anthropology, which might seek to understand and relativize the existence of other social and cultural practices, equally valid and interesting for that same humanity. The works produced thus revealed judgments influenced or even determined by historical, social or ideological factors. In any case, and despite some limitations (theoretical and methodological), advances in studies on the “Portuguese Orient” generally contributed to scientific progress, as Kuhn would put it, and to the affirmation of Portugal as a colonial power (Matos 2018a).

Interest in the systematic development of studies on the “Portuguese Orient” actually began in the late nineteenth century, but mainly following personal and private initiatives. From the 1930s onwards, a greater government investment at that level was observed. In both cases, these studies allowed the initial hypothesis to be supported: that, in some moments, science was involved with politics regarding the production of scientific knowledge and that the research performed was strategically intended most of the time. I therefore conclude that in the 1930s and 1940s a considerable amount of works were published that illustrate the interest in the Orient by several authors, but also a set of theoretical agendas at the service of an affirmation of the colonial power.

In the context under analysis it is interesting to conclude that there are very few female scientists and that the work of those who existed is almost invisible. Although women were included in the teams of some anthropological missions to the colonies of the time,²¹ the works, articles and books were signed and the mission campaigns were led mainly by male figures. Among the men, the role of Mendes Correia stood out since, besides his prominent role in the university, he was a member of the National Assembly, where he was able to expose his ideas and also appeal to the creation of structures that allowed a greater knowledge on the overseas territories and, more specifically, on the spaces in the Orient, thus furthering a consolidation of the Portuguese presence in those locations.

This knowledge would be made possible by encouraging the learning of native languages, but also the identification of the inhabitants of those territories, considering the methods used by Portuguese scientists. Among these, the wide use of anthropometric practices, for example, was due to a European current that favoured the measurement of individuals, seeking to assess the corresponding racial types. This phenotypic identification aimed at advancing the distinction between individuals and its categorization on a racial scale. However,

despite the studies made in the scope of physical anthropology being predominant, this context brought out the creation, for example, of anthropological missions that allowed the collection of other elements, such as images (films and photographs) or objects. Part of this material was later deposited in the Tropical Scientific Research Institute (*Instituto de Investigação Científica Tropical*) and is nowadays under the care of the University of Lisbon, allowing other researchers and scholars to analyse the way the knowledge on the “Portuguese Orient” was produced. There are therefore elements that should still be handled with care and caution as to the way they were collected, by whom, with what purpose, where they should be held and who should preserve them, or who should have the power to dispose over them. Lastly, it might be said that, despite the – in a way – peripheral situation of the science produced in Portugal (Matos 2018b), the studies carried out on the “Portuguese Orient” had some international repercussions. The motives for this phenomenon and its repercussions will be analysed in a separate article.

Notes

- 1 On the inclusion and exclusion strategies between two scientific societies (the Royal Anthropological Institute and the Portuguese Society of Anthropology and Ethnology [Sociedade Portuguesa de Antropologia e Etnologia, SPAE]) concerning the production and circulation of scientific knowledge, see Matos (2018b). On the history of SPAE, see: Patrícia Ferraz de Matos. 2016. “Anthropology in Portugal: The Case of the Portuguese Society of Anthropology and Ethnology (SPAE), 1918.” In *Local Knowledge: Global Stage, Histories of Anthropology Annual*, vol. 10, edited by Regna Darnell and Frederic W. Gleach, 53–97. Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press.
- 2 See for example: Guilherme de Vasconcellos Abreu. 1879. *Princípios Elementares da Grammatica da Lingua Sãoskrita*. Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional.
- 3 Unless otherwise noted, all translations are mine.
- 4 The journal, created in 1888, belonged to the Sociedade Carlos Ribeiro and was conceived in 1887 by Fonseca Cardoso, Rocha Peixoto and Ricardo Severo, among others. Between the late nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century, this journal, as well as *Portugália* (1899–1908) that followed it, and the SGL were the only Portuguese organizations included in the network of scientific institutions that exchanged correspondence with the Société d’anthropologie de Paris (Roque 2001: 250). In 1889, Ricardo Severo travelled to Paris to represent the Sociedade Carlos Ribeiro at the tenth session of the *Congrès d’anthropologie* and made contacts with several men of science with whom he stressed his interest in developing anthropological studies in

- Portugal. In turn, Fonseca Cardoso was one of the sixteen Portuguese to benefit from the status of subscriber to the *Congrès* and received the proceedings of its sessions at home, even if he did not attend them (Roque 2001: 250).
- 5 Province in the north of Portugal.
 - 6 On the subject of physical anthropology and anthropometry in the beginning of the twentieth century, see: Nuno Luís Madureira. 2003. “A estatística do corpo: antropologia física e antropometria na alvorada do século XX.” *Etnográfica* VII (2): 283–303.
 - 7 On the Goa Medical School and the works of those who were involved in it, see: Cristiana Bastos. 2002. “Um centro subalterno? A Escola Médica de Goa e o império.” In *Trânsitos Coloniais: diálogos críticos luso-brasileiros*, edited by Cristiana Bastos, Miguel Vale de Almeida, and Bela Feldman-Bianco, 133–49. Lisbon: Imprensa de Ciências Sociais.
 - 8 *Processo n.º 306 de António Augusto Esteves Mendes Correia*, first volume, Tropical Scientific Research Institute (IICT), doc. no. 1.
 - 9 This article includes an analysis of the anatomical and anthropometric features of the Timorese who were observed.
 - 10 *Processo n.º 306 de António Augusto Esteves Mendes Correia*, first volume, IICT, doc. no. 99.
 - 11 Article published in *Antropologia e História* (Correia 1954a: 227–63) and quoted herein.
 - 12 Letter by Mendes Correia (President of JMGIU), dated 16 July 1953, sent to the President of the Executive Board of JMGIU. *Processo n.º 306 de António Augusto Esteves Mendes Correia*, second volume, IICT, doc. no. 225.
 - 13 See <http://debates.parlamento.pt> (accessed in September 2010).
 - 14 On a later date, Mendes Correia wrote specifically about India (1954b).
 - 15 Here he is referring to the Suco chief, Francisco da Costa Aleixo, who took part in the Portuguese World Exhibition in 1940 (see Galvão 1940; Matos 2013).
 - 16 He might be referring to Gilberto Freyre and the ideas he defended in *Casa Grande e Senzala* ([1933] 1957).
 - 17 When visiting Timor he met Ruy Cinatti, who showed him some locations.
 - 18 See <https://dre.pt/web/guest/pesquisa//search/412604/details/maximized?perPage=50&q=Lei+n.%C2%BA%2010%2F97> (accessed in January 2020).
 - 19 See <http://debates.parlamento.pt/catalogo/r2/acc/01/08/03/082/1964-11-17/1047> (accessed in January 2020).
 - 20 Text produced within the scope of his lectures on the National Radio, in the series *A Ciência ao Serviço da Humanidade* [Science at the Service of Humanity] on 16, 23 and 30 October, and 13 November 1954.
 - 21 The study programme proposed to JMGIU by Mendes Correia in 1943 mentions names of women taking part in those missions. This is the case of Emília Duarte de Oliveira de Magalhães Mateus, with a degree in

Historic and Natural Sciences, and of Irene Garcia, with a degree in Biological Sciences (Matos 2012: 236).

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