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Local Knowledge, Global Stage

Histories of Anthropology Annual, Volume 10

EDITED BY REGNA DARNELL AND
FREDERIC W. GLEACH

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CONTENTS

List of Illustrations	vii
Editors' Introduction	ix
1. Anthropologists and the Bible: The Marett Lecture, April 2012	1
ADAM KUPER	
2. Dead and Living Authorities in <i>The Legend of Perseus</i> : Animism and Christianity in the Evolutionist Archive	31
FREDERICO D. ROSA	
3. Anthropology in Portugal: The Case of the Portuguese Society of Anthropology and Ethnology (SPAÉ), 1918	53
PATRÍCIA FERRAZ DE MATOS	
4. A View from the West: The Institute of Social Science and the Amazon	99
PRISCILA FAULHABER	
5. Scientific Diplomacy and the Establishment of an Australian Chair of Anthropology, 1914–25	121
GEOFFREY GRAY	
6. The Saga of the L. H. Morgan Archive, or How an American Marxist Helped Make a Bourgeois Anthropologist the Cornerstone of Soviet Ethnography	149
SERGEI A. KAN AND DMITRY V. ARZYUTOV	

7. "I Wrote All My Notes in Shorthand": A First Glance into the Treasure Chest of Franz Boas's Shorthand Field Notes	221
RAINER HATOUM	
8. Genealogies of Knowledge in the Alberni Valley: Reflecting on Ethnographic Practice in the Archive of Dr. Susan Golla	273
DENISE NICOLE GREEN	
9. The File Hills Farm Colony Legacy	303
CHEYANNE DESNOMIE	
Contributors	335

ILLUSTRATIONS

1. SPAE's first logo	55
2. Leopoldina Paulo, 1944	62
3. Percentage of topics at the lectures organized by SPAE, 1918-44	71
4. SPAE's current logo	80
5. Boas's German Kurrent script	223
6. Boas's Latin script	223
7. Boas's pencil writing	224
8. First page of Boas's 1894 Fort Rupert notes	228
9. Blankets piled up in a big house	231
10. Boas and Hunt in Fort Rupert, 1894	234
11. Typical word list by Boas	239
12. Drawing of Charles Edenshaw with shorthand notes by Boas	245
13. Drawing of Charles Edenshaw with shorthand notes by Boas	248
14. Face painting with shorthand notes by Boas	250
15. Sketch with shorthand notes by Boas	257
16. Drawing of a mask (very likely by Albert Grünwedel)	258
17. Drawing of a mask (very likely by Albert Grünwedel)	259

Anthropology in Portugal

The Case of the Portuguese Society of Anthropology and Ethnology (SPAÉ), 1918

In recent years, several works have been published on the history of anthropology in specific national contexts (e.g., Stocking 1974, 1995; Kuklick 1991; Barth et al. 2005; Ranzmaier 2011) but little on the history of anthropology in Portugal—and the exceptions have largely been written from and for the Portuguese community (e.g., Areia and Rocha 1985; Branco 1986; Pereira 1986, 1998; Pina-Cabral 1991; Leal 2000, 2006; Roque 2001; Santos 2005; Sobral 2007; Matos 2013). Even then, with the exception of some authors such as Guimarães (1995), Pereira (1998), Roque (2001), Santos (2005), and my own work (Matos 2013), it has been uncommon for Portuguese anthropologists and historians to recognize the existence of a distinct school of anthropology connected to the city of Porto, originating with the Portuguese Society of Anthropology and Ethnology (SPAÉ, Sociedade Portuguesa de Antropologia e Etnologia) and its legacy. This chapter intends, therefore, to contribute to a more inclusive international history of anthropology, as suggested by Richard Handler (2000), who reminded us of the need to interpret past anthropological practices in relation to specific historical and cultural moments.

The SPAÉ was founded in the city of Porto on December 26, 1918, with its first general meeting, when its statute was approved. The author of the initiative was António Augusto Esteves Mendes Correia (1888–1960). Mendes Correia obtained his degree in medicine at the Porto Surgery Medical School in 1911 and developed both anthropological and political interests.¹ In the process of creating SPAÉ, Mendes Correia counted on the support of some elder figures, such as Luís Bastos de Freitas Viegas (1869–1928),² Aarão Ferreira de Lacerda (1863–1921),³

and Bento Carqueja (1860–1935).⁴ The society's logo (fig. 1) illustrates the initial division between anthropology (the study of mankind in its physical and biological dimensions) and ethnology (the study of mankind in its social and cultural dimensions). SPAE held its activities at the facilities of the Anthropology Institute of the University of Porto (IAUP); organized several scientific meetings; and regularly published the *Trabalhos de Antropologia e Etnologia* (TAE), which included a bibliographical chapter aimed at informing the reader on developments in anthropology in Portugal and abroad.

The creation of SPAE was also understood as a response from Porto, a city in the north of Portugal, to the failed attempt to create an anthropological society in Coimbra around the oldest university in the country.⁵ As with other such societies in Europe and the United States, SPAE gathered a small group of savants and experts who had shared interests with other members of their academic and social environments. Considering the creation dates of the anthropology societies in Europe—in Paris (1858), Berlin (1869), Vienna (1870), Italy (1871), and Sweden (1872)—SPAE (1918) was a late starter. Nevertheless, like other international societies (Ranzmaier 2011), it actually turned out to be a considerably dynamic institutional space from a scientific point of view, as well as a privileged environment for debate and the exchange of ideas. Joaquim Rodrigues dos Santos Júnior, former student and one of the main collaborators of the society's main founder, argued that SPAE was born due to the "resolute will" of Mendes Correia—a man who "was able to gather around him a company of superior men" like Aarão Ferreira de Lacerda (1863–1921), Luís Bastos de Freitas Viegas, and Bento Carqueja, who, along with him, "have built the Society's initial core" (Júnior 1969:38).

In order to obtain a better knowledge of SPAE's activities and operating methods,⁶ I analyzed its statute and the minutes pertaining to its members' meetings and the events it organized. The statute approved at the first general meeting of December 26, 1918, remained in effect until the middle of the 1980s, with some minor changes introduced in 1924.⁷ This statute was organized in twenty-four articles divided into six chapters: objectives, headquarters, and fiscal year; members; meetings; funding; administration; and general and provisional terms. According



Fig. 1. SPAE's first logo.

to article 1, chapter 1 of the 1918 statute, the objective of SPAE was "to promote and cultivate, in Portugal, the study of anthropological methods, zoological anthropology, ethnic anthropology, prehistoric anthropology and archaeology, experimental psychology, ethnography, and the scientific branches of its derivative or applied sciences, such as military, pedagogical, clinical, criminal, forensic anthropologies, etc." (*Estatutos da SPAE* 1918:3).

Article 1 also mentions that, in order to reach its aims, SPAE must

1. organize periodic and extraordinary scientific meetings;
 2. publish original works and studies on anthropology and anthropological sciences;
 3. organize and maintain a library with a reading cabinet;
 4. establish contacts with counterpart societies both in Portugal and abroad;
 5. intend to organize anthropological, archaeological, and ethnographic collections and to promote anthropological methods, mainly among doctors, professors, travelers, and colonial citizens;
 6. publicize as much as possible the advantages of anthropological methods in schools and as a contributing element for scientific police investigation;
 7. organize surveys and scientific missions with the means at its disposal, mainly in Portugal and in the colonies; and
 8. sponsor the intensification and extension of the teaching of anthropology and of anthropological sciences in Portugal.
- (*Estatutos da SPAE* 1918:3–4)

Based on these objectives, it is clear that anthropology was intended, as a science, to generate specialized knowledge in the country and abroad, acting within the practical scope of daily life, spreading knowledge, and issuing opinions on clinical, criminal, and forensic topics. In

order to enforce item 2 of article 1 of the statute, SPAE began to publish the *Trabalhos da Sociedade Portuguesa de Antropologia e Etnologia* (the title from volume 1 of 1918 to volume 10 of 1945, afterward called *Trabalhos de Antropologia e Etnologia* [TAE]), and for a long time this was the main means of presenting the society's activities. As a periodical publication, the TAE demonstrated the crucial role a journal can play in the institutionalization of a scientific discipline; it built on the former historical and natural tradition in anthropological studies, evidenced by the earlier journals *Revista de Ciências Naturais e Sociais* (1889–98) and *Portugália* (1899–1908), both published in Porto.

SPAE's headquarters were located in Porto, but the 1918 statute considered the possibility of organizing regional centers in Lisbon and Coimbra. It could include honorary, permanent, and corresponding members, the latter being "the authors of worthy anthropologic publications or individuals who in some way have provided services to anthropology and anthropological sciences" (*Estatutos da SPAE* 1918:6). Only honorary and permanent members were allowed a decision vote and to be part of managing bodies (1918:7).

When comparing this statute with the statute of the Coimbra Society of Anthropology, dated 1899, we realize that SPAE's statute is more extensive and detailed and also more ambitious. Furthermore, according to SPAE's statute, official residence in Porto was not a requirement for permanent members, unlike Coimbra's society. The 1918 statute was modified at the general meeting that took place on January 11, 1924. One noteworthy change was introduced in item 7 of article 1: the term "metropolis" replaced "country," and "overseas" replaced "colonies" (*Estatutos da SPAE* 1924:4).⁸

SPAE's objectives were vast and included multiple interests or areas of specialty. This diversity was also expressed in the variety of scientific and professional fields from which members originated. All this can be inferred from meeting minutes and annual reports. I will highlight the most relevant aspects.

THE FOUNDATION OF SPAE AND ITS FOUNDING MEMBERS

The minutes of SPAE's first meeting record that it took place in the office of the director of the Museum of Geology of FCUP, with Luís Bastos

de Freitas Viegas, Aarão Ferreira de Lacerda, José da Rocha Ferreira (engineer and paleontology assistant professor in FCUP), and Mendes Correia, "summoned by the latter to an inaugural meeting of the new Society of Anthropology and Ethnology." Freitas Viegas, "appointed by all present to take on the role of Chairman, . . . gave the floor to the summoner, who explained the objectives of the meeting, subsequently presenting the project for a series of studies for the new society, which was discussed and finally approved with the wording" that would then become SPAE's statute (*Livro de actas*, vol. 1).

Once the statute was approved at the general meeting, Mendes Correia presented the new members of the society: José Leite de Vasconcelos (professor at FLUL and director of the Portuguese Museum of Ethnology), Vergílio Correia (curator of the National Ancient Art Museum and editor of the journal *Terra Portuguesa*), Eusébio Tamagnini (professor of anthropology at FCUC), Baltazar Osório (professor of anthropology at FCUL), Henrique de Vilhena (professor of anatomy at FMUL),⁹ Manuel Valadares (director of the Lisbon Central Archive for Criminal Identification and Statistics), Cláudio Basto (director of the journal *Lusa*, from Viana do Castelo), António Aurélio da Costa Ferreira (director of Casa Pia de Lisboa),¹⁰ Father António de Oliveira (superintendent of the Lisbon Correctional Schools), Joaquim Fontes (doctor and archaeologist from Lisbon), José Tomás Ribeiro Fortes (editor of the former journal *Portugália*), Abel de Lima Salazar (professor of histology at FMUP), Alfredo Mendonça da Costa Athayde (bachelor in natural history and science in Porto), José de Sousa Machado Fontes (bachelor in law and secretary of the Portuguese Society of Social Service of Porto), Eduardo de Sousa Soares (businessman from Porto),¹¹ José Álvares de Sousa Soares (doctor in Porto), Filinto Elísio Vieira da Costa (teacher of free education from Famalicão), António Ferreira Loureiro (bachelor in mathematics and philosophy and teacher at the Alexandre Herculano High School in Porto), Diogo Portocarrero (teacher at the same high school), João Grave (director of the City Museum of Porto), Joaquim Costa (bachelor in law and deputy director of that same museum), Francisco dos Santos Pereira de Vasconcelos (lawyer and former magistrate in Porto), António Correia da Costa e Almeida (lawyer in Ermesinde), Father Claudino Nazareth Brites (missionary

from Lubango, Angola), António Mesquita de Figueiredo (lawyer and archaeologist in Lisbon), the viscount of Guilhomil (lawyer in Porto), and António Leite de Magalhães (captain-major in Dembos, Angola) (Livro de actas, vol. 1).

All of these individuals, along with the founders named previously, were considered permanent members from the beginning, totaling around thirty founding members. Most of these members originated from an educated bourgeoisie, although we could also find some elements from Porto's social and financial elites. This list included two priests (António de Oliveira and Claudino Nazareth Brites), who in time would be joined by others: Manuel Alves da Cunha (vicar capitulary of the episcopate of Angola), António de Miranda Magalhães (former superior of the mission in Dembos, Angola), D. Florentino Lopez Cuevilhas, José Augusto Tavares, Eugénio Jalhay, Manuel de Sousa Maia, and Avelino de Jesus Costa.

Following a proposal by Mendes Correia, José Leite de Vasconcelos was elected honorary chairman. SPAE's board in 1919 was composed of the following elements: Freitas Viegas (chairman), Bento Carqueja (vice-chairman), Mendes Correia (secretary), José da Rocha Ferreira (treasurer), and Abel de Lima Salazar (member). Alfredo Athayde was the first general secretary, and Rui Correia de Serpa Pinto was the second member with librarian responsibilities; he also organized the society's library.¹² At the first meeting, Mendes Correia also proposed the creation of the sections of prehistoric archaeology and ethnography. The governing bodies of the former section included José Fortes (chairman), Joaquim Fontes (vice-chairman), Vergílio Correia, and António Mesquita de Figueiredo (members). Those of the latter section included Vergílio Correia (chairman), Cláudio Basto (vice-chairman), Father Claudino Nazareth Brites, Captain António Leite de Magalhães, and António Costa e Almeida (members).

The main founders were all connected to the city of Porto, but from the organization's inception there were also members from the north of Portugal (Vergílio Correia and Leite de Vasconcelos), as well as from other regions of the country (e.g., Sebastião Pessanha [1892–1975], ethnographer and art critic, and Orlando Ribeiro [1911–97], geographer, both from Lisbon).¹³ Based on the extensive list, we can infer SPAE's

nature not as a regional organization (Porto or North) but as a national one. It was also inclusive of experts from several different areas beyond anthropology (although the latter has played a dominant role), and some were true experts in more than one domain. The founding members included at least one engineer and two priests, as well as people working in Portuguese overseas territories. Some later became prominent in national scientific congresses of the 1920s, 1930s, and 1940s; in the creation of scientific societies such as the Portuguese Society of Eugenic Studies (founded in 1937); and in the organization of the grand exhibitions in which Portugal participated or that it organized (Matos 2014). However, as mentioned by Santos Júnior, the creation of SPAE was mainly due to Mendes Correia "with a double aim: to create it *'ab initio'* and to create it by supporting it, providing the conditions required for it to prosper" (1969:41).

Even with the range of interests represented, the majority of the founding members originated from the domain of the sciences. From the natural sciences (zoology, mineralogy, paleontology, agronomy) we find Aarão Ferreira de Lacerda (education in zoology and medicine), José da Rocha Ferreira (professor of paleontology), and Bento Carqueja (education in the physical and natural sciences). From medicine, we find Freitas Viegas and Abel de Lima Salazar. And some members had oriented their careers toward areas other than their fields of education. According to the report of SPAE's first year (published in the minutes from January 22, 1920), at the inaugural general meeting thirty-two members were elected, and "during that year, the managing board approved, under the statute, a further twenty-three permanent members, totaling fifty-five members, of which only two refused the election." This was considered "a flattering number for a society that, in Portugal, was dedicated to a specialized branch of science."

SPAE'S NEW MEMBERS, BOTH NATIONAL AND FROM ABROAD

After the founding members, other permanent members were added, including renowned figures connected to science and other areas. Among these stand out Sebastião Pessanha, proposed by Vergílio Cor-

reia e Mendes Correia on January 21, 1919; Joaquim Alberto Pires de Lima (professor of medicine and ethnographer), Francisco Nunes Guimarães Coimbra (professor of medicine), and Mário de Moraes Afonso (engineering and philosophical science student, both at UP), all proposed by Mendes Correia on January 21, 1919; António Simões Pina (doctor), proposed by Rocha Ferreira on January 21, 1919; Jaime Alberto de Castro Moraes (captain-lieutenant doctor from Lisbon), Armando de Almeida Prisco (assistant professor of mineralogy at FCUP), and José Marques de Ansiães Proença (doctor in Porto, elected on April 19, 1919); Tomaz Lobo (graduate in philosophy from Leça da Palmeira), Alberto Brochado (doctor from Porto), Mário de Vasconcelos e Sá (professor at the Instituto Superior do Comércio do Porto), and Manuel B. Barbosa Soeiro (assistant professor at FMUL), elected on May 12, 1919; João Diogo (director of the Anglo-Latin School, from Porto) and Francisco de Oliveira Santos (governor of Lunda, Angola), proposed by Mendes Correia and elected on November 3, 1919; Ricardo Severo (engineer), elected in 1920;¹⁴ Augusto de Oliveira, proposed by Mendes Correia in 1931;¹⁵ Carlos Teixeira (geologist),¹⁶ Maria Irene Leite da Costa (professor at both intermediate and university levels),¹⁷ and Amílcar de Magalhães Mateus (assistant professor of zoology and anthropology at FCUP),¹⁸ all Mendes Correia's former students at FCUP and elected in 1934; Leopoldina Ferreira Paulo (assistant professor of anthropology at FCUP), elected in 1935; and Orlando Ribeiro, elected in 1942.

I particularly sought to identify any women as permanent members during the period under consideration and found that SPAE has counted women among its members from its inception—a noteworthy fact, since they were not always present in counterpart societies. For example, at the Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte—where topics of debate included archaeological findings, ethnographic objects, or physiology and physical aspects—somatic characters were used as arguments to stop women from becoming members (Schouten 2001:159). The acceptance of Leopoldina Ferreira Paulo as SPAE's permanent member in 1935 is a noteworthy fact, however, not so much because she was a woman—since the society welcomed women from its beginning—but rather because she was Mendes Correia's assistant professor in the discipline of anthropol-

ogy at FCUP, as well as the first woman to obtain a doctorate degree at UP in 1944 (fig. 2).¹⁹

It is also important to describe the external relationships that SPAE sought to maintain, widening the debate and exchanging works internationally. This effort can be seen in the invitations to foreign figures to join the society as correspondent and honorary members and by the exchange offers with foreign journals. Among the names elected as correspondent members the following stand out: Eduardo Hernandez Pacheco (University of Madrid), Telesforo d'Aranzadi (University of Barcelona),²⁰ Arthur Keith (Royal College of Surgeons of Great Britain and Ireland), Vincenzo Giuffrida-Ruggeri (University of Naples), Henri Breuil (Paris Institute for Human Paleontology), and Aleš Hrdlička (National Museum, Washington DC),²¹ all proposed by Mendes Correia on December 26, 1918; René Verneau and Marcellin Boule (Natural History Museum in Paris), proposed by Aarão Ferreira de Lacerda on December 26, 1918; Eugenio Francours (Polish ethnographer in Madrid) on January 21, 1919; Eugenius Frankowski (assistant professor at the University of Crakow), proposed by Vergílio Correia on June 2, 1919; Yves Guyot (director of the Paris School of Anthropology), Georges Hervé (professor at this same school), Herman ten Kate (Dutch anthropologist and doctor, from Kobe),²² and professor Manuel Antón y Ferrándiz (director of the National Anthropology Museum in Madrid), proposed by Mendes Correia on June 2, 1919; Sergio Sergi (University of Rome), proposed on November 3, 1919; Fabio Frassetto (Bologna, Italy), Francisco de las Barras de Aragon (Madrid), Hugo Obermaier (Madrid), Mario Carrara (Turin, Italy), Nello Puccioni (Florence, Italy), Quintiliano Saldaña (Madrid), proposed on June 11, 1920;²³ Alfredo Niceforo (Paris), Otto Schläginhaufen (Zurich), elected in 1921; the count of Bégouen (French archaeologist and professor of prehistory at the University of Toulouse), elected in 1922; Rudolph Martin (anthropologist, born in Switzerland but studied and worked in Germany), J. P. Kleiweg de Zwaan (Dutch physical anthropologist), and Renato Kehl (Brazilian doctor),²⁴ accepted in 1923; Oliveira Viana (Brazilian lawyer and historian), elected in 1934; Hernan Lundborg (director of the Uppsala Institute for Racial Biology, Sweden), elected in 1936; Pedro Calmon (professor of law and member



Fig. 2. Leopoldina Paulo, 1944. The first woman to obtain a doctoral degree in the University of Porto. *UPorto Alumni, Revista dos Antigos Alunos da Universidade do Porto*, 2nd ser., 1 (June 2007). Used with permission of the University of Porto.

of the Brazilian Academy of Letters, over which he presided in 1945),²⁵ Angyone Costa (professor of archaeology at the Historical Museum of Rio de Janeiro), and Alvaro de Las Casas (Galician, author of ethnographic works), elected in 1937. Among SPAE's honorary members we could also find other names, such as Giuseppe Sergi (Italian anthropologist), Émile Cartailhac,²⁶ and Salomon Reinach (both archaeologists), proposed on December 8, 1919. The cooperation of foreign specialists at the TAE is another noteworthy fact. For example, Vincenzo Giuffrida-Ruggeri (Italian physical anthropologist) collaborated with the TAE on an unpublished work in 1920, and Pedro Bosch-Gimpera (Catalan archaeologist and also an SPAE member) published an article in one of the two parts of TAE published in 1928.²⁷

SPAE's meetings also provided space to recognize figures who deserved tribute after their death. Among these the following stand out: Joseph Deniker (anthropologist), Ferreira Deusdado, and Felismino Ribeiro Gomes (who had devoted themselves to anthropological works in Portugal) on December 26, 1918;²⁸ Léon Paul Choffat (geologist) on July 7, 1919; José Fortes (archaeologist) in 1920; Aarão Ferreira de Lacerda (permanent member and SPAE's vice-chairman), Émile Cartailhac (SPAE's honorary member), and Giuffrida-Ruggeri (SPAE's correspondent member) in 1921; Freitas Viegas (SPAE's president since its foundation) in 1928; Salomon Reinach and Georges Hervé (SPAE's honorary and correspondent member, respectively) in 1932; Rui Correia de Serpa Pinto (SPAE's librarian) in 1933, to whom the society also paid tribute in 1934; Bento Carqueja in 1935; Ricardo Severo (honorary member living in São Paulo, Brazil) in 1940; and Aleš Hrdlička in 1943.

THE SPAE AND THE RECOGNITION OF ANTHROPOLOGY AT THE UNIVERSITY LEVEL

On January 21, 1919, Mendes Correia proposed that the "suitableness of introducing the discipline of anthropology within the scope of medical preparatory studies" should be presented to the country's medical schools. According to a letter sent to SPAE, the Medical School, despite its "heavily overloaded staff," applauded the integration of anthropology in the curriculum or the creation of a special improvement course on that science aimed at doctors (minutes from May 12, 1919). On Jan-

uary 22, 1920, in a written document, wishes were expressed toward a rapid integration, since "it is not understandable that a doctor ignores man's natural history, in many of its aspects." According to the 1920 activities report, SPAE's managing board also proposed "a motion aiming at the development of the teaching of anthropology and prehistory at the university level."

At the same time, according to the minutes from December 27, 1920, SPAE's board also requested of the government "the separation of anthropology within the scope of the faculties of science, as a section or an autonomous group, considering its close relationships with the most diversified scientific branches, and not only with botany and zoology, to which it was associated within the same biological science group." This request also defended "the need to create institutes for anthropology, to develop the teaching of related sciences and applications, and to include general anthropology in the context of medical studies." This demand was partially satisfied by a decree dated from February 1920 that "divided the group of biological science of the faculties of sciences in three subgroups: one for botany, the other for zoology, and the third for anthropology; the latter included the discipline of general anthropology, but also allowing the creation of six-monthly or quarterly courses in criminal anthropology, ethnography, and prehistoric archaeology." Anthropology was not included in medical studies, but the effort was "valuable," according to foreign journals, in "honorably discussing the Portuguese decree"; it was considered, at least, as an official recognition of the importance and individual character of the discipline as a science. This was formalized by the Portuguese-Spanish Congress, where the natural science section was subdivided into two subsections, one for botany and zoology, the other for geology and anthropology, placing the latter on "an equal standing with other scientific branches" (minutes dated December 27, 1920). Furthermore, the congress recognized "the prominent role undertaken by geologists in the development and advancements of anthropology, mainly in the area of human palaeontology and prehistory" (minutes dated December 27, 1920).

By comparison, we may also mention the case of the Anthropologi-

cal Society in Vienna (founded in 1870), where geologists played an important role in the affirmation of anthropology as a scientific discipline. However, in the Austrian case the predominance of geologists over doctors led to a greater focus on prehistory and less on physical anthropology (Ranzmaier 2011:18). In the case of SPAE, a balance between the two areas prevailed (as seen in figure 3) but, as shown in the institutionalization of anthropology at UP, with a closer relationship between science and medicine and less attention to aspects of the humanities.

As we will see, social and cultural anthropological studies were initially conducted by amateurs, missionaries, military personnel, and individuals holding offices in the colonial administrations both within Portugal and in the colonies. This might relate more to the fact that people working to define anthropology as an academic discipline were trained in the areas of science or medicine, as is the case with Mendes Correia, and less due to any possible rivalry between science and the humanities. In the case of the University of Vienna, for example, it was hard to integrate anthropology as a discipline in the Faculty of Philosophy, which was attempted around 1889, since that faculty had traditionally drawn rigid boundaries between science and the humanities. The relationship between these two domains became increasingly competitive, and physical anthropology arose mainly attached to natural science, while ethnology was attached to historical-philosophical science; in the opinion of Irene Ranzmaier, this was not beneficial to the institutionalization of either area (2011:12). In the early 1920s the ideal anthropology professor at the University of Vienna had to be able to cover both physical anthropology and ethnology (Ranzmaier 2011:15).

NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL PARTNERSHIPS AND EXCHANGES

On January 21, 1919, Mendes Correia invited SPAE to cooperate in the organization of the International Institute of Anthropology, conceived by the Paris School of Anthropology, members of which had sent to the latter and to António Aurélio da Costa Ferreira a letter on the subject. SPAE joined the initiative, since it had the potential to provide

interesting anthropological research in the context of the European war (1914–18). According to the minutes dated June 2, 1919, the Paris School of Anthropology thanked SPAE for joining the initiative and proposed the organization of a preparatory congress for that purpose in 1920. According to that year's report, SPAE's managing board provided for the representation and collaboration of the society in the organizing meeting of the International Institute of Anthropology, which, as proposed by the Paris School of Anthropology and by the Society for the Teaching of Anthropological Sciences, was held in Paris in September 1920. Intended SPAE representatives were Baltasar Osório, Aurélio da Costa Ferreira, and Mendes Correia, but only the latter was able to travel and bear testimony to "the praises" SPAE "received in the anthropological community and to the cordiality and opinion of unanimity that prevailed in the meeting" (*Livro de actas*, vol. 1).

Portugal and SPAE were represented in the board of the new International Institute of Anthropology by Eusébio Tamagnini and Barros e Cunha,²⁹ both connected to the University of Coimbra, Aurélio da Costa Ferreira, and Mendes Correia, constituting the first Portuguese delegation. In the Paris meeting were also present Salomon Reinach (an honorary member of SPAE) and Henri Breuil, René Verneau, and Georges Hervé (all correspondent members of SPAE). On that occasion, Mendes Correia drew Hervé's attention to the fact that Spain was not represented in the congress nor in the new institute, but Hervé answered by informing Mendes Correia that the International Institute had delegated to him the "mission of organising the Spanish Committee"; Mendes Correia then invited the Spanish comembers, Francisco de las Barras de Aragón (Madrid), Telesforo Aranzadi (University of Barcelona),³⁰ and Hernandez Pacheco (University of Madrid), to join the institute. Mendes Correia also represented the SPAE at the meeting to create a Portuguese section of the International Institute of Anthropology in 1922; at the time he was its vice-chairman, and he was elected secretary to that section. He also represented SPAE at the meeting of the International Institute of Anthropology in 1927, at which SPAE members Barros e Cunha and Henrique Miranda were also present.

SPAE's 1929 report mentions the International Congress of Anthropology to be held in 1930—which was to be the XV International Congress on Anthropology and Prehistoric Archaeology—and the fact that the society's chairman (Mendes Correia) and the vice-chairman (Hernâni Monteiro) had traveled to Coimbra seeking to arrange to hold the congress both there and in Porto. It was confirmed that the opening sessions and the sessions of the first four days would be held in Coimbra, with the last two days in Porto for "plenary conferences, visits, and the closing session." However, later on "an organising committee [was created], not consulting with Porto's elements," of which "only one was part of the committee"; this fact gave rise to protests in Porto "against such an ill-natured and discourteous act, as per the letter sent" to the comembers. The resolution of this situation led to two independent committees, "one for Porto and another for Coimbra, absolutely indifferent," with Alberto Rocha from Coimbra acting as intermediary in the process (*Livro de actas*, vol. 2). This and other episodes occurring during the time both schools existed contemporaneously point to the fact that UC's and UP's representatives did not maintain the most amicable and productive relationships for scientific work.

In 1930 several people associated with SPAE participated in the Portugal Section of the XV International Congress on Anthropology and Prehistoric Archaeology, held in France, where presentations were mainly in physical anthropology.³¹ Some of the subjects debated were heredity of blood groups (Mendes Correia 1931b), craniology of Angola (Mendes Correia and Athayde 1930), anthropological study of Portuguese Guinea (Lima and Mascarenhas 1930; Mendes Correia and Athayde 1931), angles at the base of the skull in native inhabitants of Portuguese colonies (Pina 1931), and "race" differentiation through blood (Ferreira 1932). In 1934, under SPAE's initiative, the First National Congress on Colonial Anthropology was held in Porto, where "about eighty scientific communications were presented, all related to colonial matters." Perhaps because this meeting was so successful, the organizing committee of the Congresses on the Portuguese World, to which Mendes Correia belonged, and the Portuguese World Exhibition, both in Lisbon in 1940, sought from the beginning to surpass the 1934 congress and the Portuguese Colonial Exhibition, both held in Porto (Matos

2013). Several members of SPAE from Porto participated in the congress, presenting communications at the 1940 congresses: the First National Congress and the CNCP (which was integrated with the Congresses on the Portuguese World), which took place in July and September, respectively. Some of SPAE's members also presented communications at the IV Congress of the Portuguese Society for the Advancement of Science and at the XVII Congress of the Spanish Society for the Advancement of Science, held in Porto in 1942.

Another way for SPAE to disseminate the work of its members, to set themes for debate, and to get to know what other societies were doing was through the exchange of scientific periodicals. According to 1919's report (January 22, 1920), the managing board had received "friendly answers and promises for work exchange relationships" from several scientific institutions, including ACL, SGL, the Paris School of Anthropology, the Smithsonian Institution (Washington DC), the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland (London), the Società Romana di Antropologie (Rome), and the Società Italiana de Antropologia e Etnologia (Florence). SPAE also received "motivational words" from scientific journals such as the *Revue Anthropologique*, *Lusa*, and *Terra Portuguesa*. Although still in an initial phase in 1919, the library started to grow with national publications, such as the *Arquivo de Anatomia e Antropologia* (FMUL) and the journal *Contribuições para o Estudo da Antropologia Portuguesa* by IAUC.

After 1919 the *Revue Anthropologique* (by the Paris School of Anthropology and the International Institute of Anthropology), the *Rivista di Antropologia* (Roman Society for Anthropology), the journal of the Smithsonian Institution, the journal of the Società Italiana di Antropologia e Etnologia, and publications by the Bureau of American Ethnology (Washington DC) were added to the library. From 1921 onward SPAE received publications by the Société Royale de Archéologie de Bruxelles and the Institut Archéologique Liégeois (Belgium) and the journal *Ethnos* (Mexico).³² In 1922 SPAE began to receive the journal *Man* (London) and *Mitteilungen der anthropologischen Gesellschaft* (Vienna). From 1925 SPAE also exchanged the following publications: *Société Archéologique, Historique et Géographique du Département de Constantine* (Algeria), *Bulletin de Institut des Recherches Biologiques de l'Université de Perm* (Rus-

sia), *L'Universo* (Military Geographic Institute of Florence), *Lud* (publication by the Polish Ethnological Society in Warsaw), *Investigación y Progreso* (Madrid), *Anthropos: Revue Internationale d'Ethnologie et de Linguistique* (Austria), *Journal Russe d'Anthropologie*, *La Tradizione* (Palermo, Italy), *Boletim do Museu Nacional do Rio de Janeiro* (Brazil), and *Acta Archaeologica* (Copenhagen). According to the 1920s report, several other scientific journals maintained "friendly" contacts with SPAE, such as the Italian journals *Archivio di Antropologia Criminale, Psichiatria e Medicina Legale* (Turin) and *Archivio per l'Antropologia e l'Etnologia* (Florence). Besides the journals referred to above, from 1919 onward SPAE was offered original publications from Telesforo d'Aranzadi (Barcelona), Sergio Sergi (Rome), Giuffrida-Ruggeri, Joseph de Barandiaran (specialist in prehistory and ethnologic studies in the Basque country, Spain), Enrique de Eguren (Faculty of Science of the University of Oviedo, Spain), and some permanent members (*Livro de actas*, vol. 1). The 1928 report mentions that, thanks to Rui de Serpa Pinto, the library was completely cataloged, missing numbers of national and foreign journals had been ordered, and new exchanges had begun. In 1929 the number of exchanges almost doubled, to 100, and in 1930 they reached 125. Members considered the library one of the most important for anthropological sciences.

PUBLICATION IN TAE AND SUBJECTS PRESENTED AT SPAE'S LECTURES

Some of the works presented at SPAE's lectures were later published through the journal *TAE* under the initiative of the society's managing board. These generally reflected the topics of interest and study dear to the society and were consistent with others produced at the time, both European and American (Stocking 1968, 1988). The *TAE* also published other works that had not been previously presented at SPAE's sessions and had a bibliographical review section describing new publications both national and international. The articles published by SPAE (through the *TAE*) began with posthumous notes by Artur Augusto da Fonseca Cardoso (1919), "Em terras do Moxico: Apontamentos de etnografia angolense" (In Moxico territory: Notes on an Angolan ethnography),³³ which included the "portrait of the

unfortunate anthropologist” and “biographical and tribute words,”³⁴ as well as numerous illustration plates, some of which were offered by Henrique de Vilhena (FMUL). This article was followed by others, such as “Subsídios para o estudo etnológico de Timor” (Subsidies for the ethnological study of Timor) by Major António Leite de Magalhães (1919). On average, one to two volumes of the journal were published every year. The minutes mention several times the material difficulties of this publication series, with high costs not allowing its speedy printing. The 1926 report highlights that this journal was “unique among its kind” in the country, but (maybe because it lay “so distant from the Terreiro do Paço”),³⁵ it was “not considered worthy of a benevolent glance from the high ranks of government.” Nevertheless, João Camoesas, minister for public education, twice offered an amount to fund the publication expenses of the TAE (in 1923 and in 1925). Furthermore, Artur Ricardo Jorge,³⁶ when reviewing the budget for 1926, had “doubled the provisions allowed”; as a result, during that year “2,400 escudos were available for its publications,” which would allow TAE to “print an instalment every four months.” SPAE’s financial situation was better in 1927 thanks to the subsidy that was then allocated to it by the government, but by 1928 the 2,400 escudos subsidy and the membership fee of the members were once more insufficient, largely due to the increase in printing costs. In 1929 the National Education Board allocated a subsidy of 1,500 escudos, making it once more possible to print two installments every year. In 1935 three were published, and in the following years the publication of two per year was made possible. However, in 1940, for example, SPAE’s financial situation did not allow for the publication of any installment.

SPAE organized, on average, three scientific sessions a year, and each session might include more than one lecture. For example, it organized five in 1923,³⁷ four in 1924,³⁸ three in 1925,³⁹ seven in 1935 (the highest number until then), and five in 1936. Mendes Correia always presented at least one lecture a year in these sessions, and the remaining lecturers varied. These presentations were “very well attended,” according to SPAE’s reports, by outsiders with no connection to the society and by members. Anthropology in a generic sense was the topic of several lectures. For example, on June 2, 1919, Freitas Viegas made an “inau-

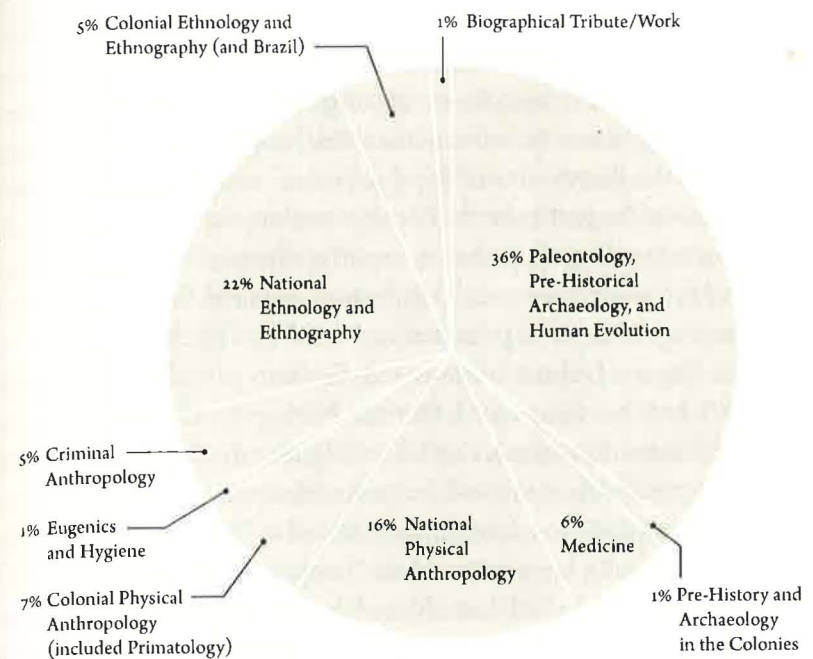


Fig. 3. Percentage of topics at the lectures organized by SPAE, 1918–44, classified by the author.

gural speech” on the aim and progresses in anthropology. However, other more specific topics were also presented. The diversity in topics would be related to the broad and inclusive vision of anthropology by Mendes Correia and to the way his collaborators were encouraged to address diversified research topics. Through a systematic review of the 165 lectures presented from 1918 to 1944, we can conclude that 23 percent address topics in the scope of physical anthropology and 27 percent in ethnology and ethnography (fig. 3).⁴⁰

The most common lectures were related to paleontology, prehistoric archaeology, and human evolution. The collection of archaeological material within Portugal was easier to fund than archaeological research that involved traveling to distant places or ethnographic/ethnological research. Furthermore, there were no researchers specifically qualified to do the latter, what today would be social or cultural anthropology. On January 22, 1920, Mendes Correia presented a lecture titled “A paleontologia e a origem do homem” (Paleontology and the

origin of man), which he accompanied with light projections and the presentation of models and archaeological finds.⁴¹ According to the minutes, "after mentioning the morphological, physiological, embryological, etc. arguments in favour of the animal origin of man," the author "described the discoveries of fossil primates" carried out until then and addressed "in particular the *Maptomorphus*, the *Propliopithecus*, the *Pliopithecus*, the *Dryopithecus*, the *Sivapithecus*, the *Pithecantropus*, and the quaternary man." His lecture included the presentation of "genealogical trees of primates and man" by Dutch paleoanthropologist Eugène Dubois (1858–1940), German paleoanthropologist Gustav Schwalbe (1844–1916), German zoologist and paleontologist Max Schlosser (1854–1932), English geologist and paleontologist Guy Ellock Pilgrim (1875–1943), and Scottish anthropologist and anatomist Arthur Keith (1866–1955), which he assessed as "very conjectural and premature." Finally, he mentioned the "neopoligeny (in particular the pananthropoid thesis by Kloatich) and the neomonogeny (Giuffrida-Ruggeri), preferring the latter." He concluded by saying that "paleontology was not yet able to provide the human genealogical tree, but it has faith in it, first because it has provided many extinct primate species; second because it has provided some generalized forms of primates; . . . third because it has revealed the existence, in geological times, of simians that were more anthropomorphized than the current ones and of men more simian than today."

After this communication Mendes Correia presented others, including on archaeological topics. In fact, although he was the mentor of a school of anthropology, in the beginning of his career he wrote numerous texts on archaeology, and, for a long time, he wrote mainly on this topic, occasionally addressing other subjects. The themes of the lectures presented at SPAE by Mendes Correia until the 1940s illustrate this: among about twenty-seven lectures from 1919 to 1940, nineteen are related to paleontology, prehistoric archaeology, and human evolution.⁴² The remaining eight are distributed between criminal anthropology,⁴³ physical anthropology,⁴⁴ and anthropology and history,⁴⁵ or they were intended to act as a biographical tribute,⁴⁶ some of them having been partially or fully published, although some publication titles differ slightly from the conference titles.

Another area included in SPAE's lectures was medicine, mainly with rather unknown subjects or ones that were considered aberrant. For example, the presentation "Fístula auricular congénita" (Congenital atrial fistula) by José Maria de Oliveira, on "a very curious and scarcely studied anomaly" (June 11, 1920), supported with "numerous personal observations, with photos and light projections," was published by the society in full (Oliveira 1921). Physical anthropology was also submitted to debate. For example, in the national context, Joaquim A. Pires de Lima presented a communication titled "Um caso de braquidactilia hereditária" (A case of hereditary brachydactyly) (June 13, 1922), and, from a colonial context, Hernâni Monteiro presented "Mutilações dentárias da região do Humbe" (Dental mutilations in the Humbe region) (June 13, 1922). In ethnology and ethnography in the national context, one might mention the communication by Joaquim Pires de Lima titled "O dente santo de Aboim de Nóbrega e a Lenda de S. Frutuoso Abade" (The holy tooth of Aboim de Nóbrega and the legend of Saint Frutuoso Abade) (May 6, 1921), and also the lectures presented by Armando Leça,⁴⁷ who was called a "distinguished folklorist" in the 1936 annual report, such as "O cancioneiro na vida portuguesa" (Anthology of music in Portuguese living) (1936), "Nótulas sobre o cancioneiro português" (Short notes on the anthology of Portuguese music) (1938), and "O canto e a dança no cancioneiro português" (Singing and dancing in the anthology of Portuguese music) (1939).

There was great interest in the Portuguese colonial contexts from the beginning, as illustrated by the lectures and publications in the *TAE*, and similar cases of examining physical or biological aspects in ethnology and ethnography can be noted among these. This focus on more physical or biological aspects was not the single prevailing tendency or inclination in the majority of the works by Mendes Correia and other figures connected to the society; it was a common one, but it cannot be seen as a general tendency. For example, Major António Leite de Magalhães presented a lecture titled "Estudo etnológico de Timor" (Ethnological study on Timor), in which he described the "results of his studies on linguistics and ethnography in the Portuguese part of the island" (June 2, 1919). Colonel Alexandre José Sarsfield devoted his lecture to the subject "African Ethnography" (January 14, 1922).

These lectures could be more or less detailed and promote debate, as is the case with the presentation by Second Lieutenant David José Gonçalves Magno (1877–1957) on the Dembos region in Angola (July 25, 1919), in which he provided a summary of the “history of Congo and its invasions, demonstrating the existing ethnic affinities between the current *dembos* and the peoples of that ancient Empire.”⁴⁸ He referenced the works performed there by the colonial officials Major Leite de Magalhães and the Reverend António de Miranda Magalhães, concluding with the “*luango* or the *mubire*, the *mahungo*, the *quibaxe* and many other populations, mainly from *Caculo Cahenda*, describing their material and intellectual life, their clothing, diet, and arts, as well as their family organization, . . . birth, marriage, death, divinities, cults, sorceries, the ‘oaths’ ceremony, their social organization, their classes and their castes, their political organization, property, and judiciary practices” (Livro de actas, vol. 1). Following David Magno’s explanation, Major Leite de Magalhães “praised the lecture” and discussed “some of its topics based on data he personally collected in the Dembos region”; there was therefore room for the exchange of experiences, which allowed enriching the knowledge on the colonies at the time. In that same session (July 25, 1919), Mendes Correia presented a lecture by missionary António de Miranda Magalhães “on the *luango* from the Dembos region, to which he added his own results on some of the skulls of the *dembado* of Zambí-Aluquem,” which were sent to him by the aforementioned priest, referred to in the minutes as an “untiring researcher.”⁴⁹ Therefore, to the rather ethnographical knowledge collected by the missionary on a group, Mendes Correia added his analysis of some skulls belonging to members of that same group with a *modus operandi* quite characteristic of a professor at FCUP for whom the study of a human group should include both its physical analysis and its sociocultural aspects.

Although the interest in the colonial field had emerged as early as 1919, as noted previously, it is mainly from the 1930s onward—and resulting from the works within the scope of the anthropological missions, promoted by Mendes Correia himself—that in SPAE’s lectures more communications begin to emerge on the “anthropology of the colonies” in physical, biological, and sociocultural terms. Some

of these were later published in the *TAE* or in other journals and are indexed in the miscellaneous collections I consulted referring to the Porto School of Anthropology.⁵⁰ In fact, SPAE’s production contributed greatly to the publications by IAUP and FCUP and to the growth of a great part of the estate that today is identified with the Porto School of Anthropology.

Also relevant here is the journal *Contribuições para o Estudo da Antropologia Portuguesa* by IAUC (Anthropological Museum and Laboratory), published for the first time in 1914. Despite this journal having counted on subsidies allocated by the National Education Board and IAC, some of the works, due to the lack of funds, were published as offprints of the *Revista da Universidade de Coimbra* and of the *Revista da Faculdade de Ciências da Universidade de Coimbra*. The last example of this is the eighth installment of the sixth volume (1959). When the journal *Contribuições para o Estudo da Antropologia Portuguesa* appeared, it aimed at publishing original works in installments and to be exchanged with similar publications on a national and international level, such as the *TAE*. In the period from 1914 to 1981, ten volumes of the journal *Contribuições para o Estudo da Antropologia Portuguesa* were published, with a varying number of instalments each. In 1981 the journal printed a volume collecting the tables of contents for this series. The contents divided the articles into three topics: physical anthropology (seventy-nine entries), cultural anthropology (seven), and archaeology (one); that is, among the eighty-seven works published by the Coimbra School of Anthropology, physical anthropology accounted for 91 percent and cultural anthropology 8 percent of the content; archaeology (in contrast to the Porto School of Anthropology) assumed here a merely residual value (1 percent). Within the scope of the works presented at SPAE, the difference between the number of works belonging to physical anthropology was smaller than the number belonging to ethnology and ethnography.

Some of the articles in Coimbra’s journal can be classified as archaeological, like the ones I classified as archaeological from the SPAE lectures, some of them published in the *TAE* journal. One remarkable aspect of the tables of contents of that journal is not only the smaller number of works in ethnology and ethnography compared to physical anthropol-

ogy but also the fact that none of the ethnological and ethnographical works addressed the Portuguese population (such as in thirty-six works published by SPAE in the period under analysis).⁵¹ They focus instead on populations from the Portuguese colonies, mainly Angola, like the work in archaeology (Martins 1976).⁵² The lectures presented at the National Congress of Colonial Anthropology in 1934 also confirm Coimbra's interest in the colonial context.⁵³

From this analysis of SPAE-related activities, we can conclude that individuals with an education in medicine, whether they practiced or not, wrote most frequently on physical anthropological subjects, while priests wrote on social and cultural anthropological subjects (terminology, vocabulary, and sociocultural practices). Research with a more social and cultural nature (linguistics, rituals, cultural practices, clothing, and diet) also was carried out mainly by people in the colonial administration or by missionaries (as I suggested previously [Matos 2013], although SPAE's materials strengthen that argument). When the titles of articles mention an "anthropological study," they often mean a study in physical anthropology; when they mention an "ethnological study," they mean topics that we would today include in social and cultural anthropology, although some are more purely ethnographic than ethnological. On the other hand, anyone who writes on prehistoric archaeology might also write on colonial physical anthropology (as is the case of the doctor, professor, and naturalist Júlio Guilherme Bettencourt Ferreira or of Santos Júnior, doctor and professor at FCUP); this means that the case of Mendes Correia, who, over time, devoted himself to several topics, is by no means unique. But some connected to SPAE, like Rui de Serpa Pinto, wrote mainly on archaeology.

FROM SPAE'S FOUNDATION TO TODAY

SPAE was the starting point of a great amount of work that would be carried out later on and served as a model for ways that ideas and individuals (Portuguese and foreign) could be joined and new structures created. It gathered together people connected to the Porto School of Anthropology and others and developed themes for discussion and means to exchange works from the impetus created by Mendes Correia. Among the people connected to SPAE we find specialists from sev-

eral areas educated in medicine, science, and the humanities but also members of the military, priests, and people connected to industry. Some of the members and collaborators were amateurs in the domain of anthropology but possessed a university education in other areas and were professionally active in other domains—the humanities, science, or medicine. It was not a large organization, compared to its foreign counterparts, but that must be considered in the context of Portugal—a small country with correspondingly smaller societies. Nevertheless, if we consider the internationalization effort—namely, the inclusion of honorary and correspondent members outside the country—in that smaller context, it is a proportionate or even greater effort than, for example, societies in Great Britain and the United States.

João Leal noted that "despite a dominant preference for physical anthropology and archaeology" SPAE did not cease to promote ethnographical research (2000:35). However, I believe it achieved more than that by stimulating all areas related to anthropology, according to the comprehensive and inclusive vision with which Mendes Correia viewed the discipline, as seen in figure 3. The precedence of works in physical anthropology and archaeology may reflect the regular contributions of Mendes Correia and others educated in medicine and the natural sciences. That is to say, although the lectures presented at SPAE point to different and diversified interests, not all were published, or they were published in other places, which may have led to the lack of recognition of the society's existence and publications. The diversity of studies is also evidence of the fact that, during this period, pioneering methods and new research areas were being developed—science disciplines were more diverse and inclusive than exclusive. The conditions that led to the creation of the Porto School of Anthropology were intrinsically connected to the creation of SPAE through its statute and its activities in presenting lectures and publishing works that interested all members and in electing foreign correspondent members. The institution constituted a central core that grew in parallel to the Porto School of Anthropology.

SPAE and IAUP are institutionally distinct organs but were mixed up for a long time—perhaps because both were led by Mendes Correia. However, from the middle 1950s to 1985, this society's activity depended

mainly on Santos Júnior, one of the closest collaborators of Mendes Correia who performed works in archaeology and ethnography in Trás-os-Montes e Alto-Douro (a region in the north of Portugal) and also in archaeology in Angola and Mozambique until he retired in 1971.⁵⁴ When SPAE's first chairman, Freitas Viegas, died in 1928, Mendes Correia took on the position, with Hernâni Monteiro, an anatomy professor, as vice-chairman.⁵⁵ When Mendes Correia went to Lisbon, Hernâni Monteiro took on the role of chairman and Santos Júnior, an anthropology professor, became vice-chairman. Hernâni Monteiro was later followed by Santos Júnior as chairman, and Abel Sampaio Tavares, an anatomy professor, became vice-chairman. A pattern is clear of alternating between anatomy professors and anthropology professors as chairmen of this institution due to the close relationships existing between the Department of Anthropology of FCUP and the Department of Anatomy of FMUP. When Santos Júnior resigned, a new group of candidates was elected in 1985. Vítor Oliveira Jorge became chairman of the board, an office he maintains to this day.

The SPAE's physical location, maintaining files partially gathered in dozens of boxes, has changed places on several occasions. When SPAE was created in 1918, its headquarters were in Santa Catarina's Street, no. 207, in Porto. Mendes Correia's father, António Maria Esteves Mendes Correia, offered his clinical practice in that same street, and the offer was accepted at the second meeting of the society on January 21, 1919 (Livro de actas, vol. 1). Shortly thereafter, the society began to meet in FCUP's building at Praça dos Leões (or Praça Rodrigues Teixeira), where nowadays we can find the Rectory of UP (probably as early as 1920, since SPAE's annual report for that year included an acknowledgment to FCUP for lending its facilities to hold the meetings). After the revolution on April 25, 1974, SPAE stayed at Praça dos Leões. Subsequently, its files, packed in boxes shipped by the Rectory of UP, were transferred to the former building of CICAP, but the society's headquarters were maintained in the same facilities. Once more, however, by order of UP's rector, the files were returned to Praça dos Leões. As far as I know, the last time this collection of files changed places was in May 2010, when the boxes were shipped to a storeroom assigned by the Rectory that is located in the building of the School

of Journalism, in the proximity of the Faculty of Law, which I visited in June 2010. Meanwhile, it was agreed with the Rectory of UP that the publications up to 1930 would from then on be maintained in the Biblioteca do Fundo Antigo of UP in the building that houses the Rectory nowadays. There is yet no inventory of the contents of the files. However, SPAE's managing board and its current chairman, Vítor Oliveira Jorge, have made every effort to preserve these materials and to supervise all removals, and they have tried to guarantee the continuity of the society with dignity by pursuing its activities and publishing the *TAE*.

Regarding continuity of activities, I would highlight the fact that in 1985 SPAE began a new phase with a new managing board, reorganizing the former statute, admitting new members, and organizing scientific sessions. In 1987 it received the status of Legal Entity of Public Utility, as published in the Portuguese official journal *Diário da República*, no. 89, second series, dated April 16, 1987. The following year, it organized a conference on social anthropology and, together with the Porto Group of Archaeological Studies, organized the Colóquio de Arqueologia do Noroeste Peninsular (Conference on Archaeology of the Peninsula's Northwest). Afterward, the resulting reflections were published in the *TAE*. Under the same imprimatur, in volumes 30, 31, and 32 (from 1990, 1991, and 1992), articles were published that offered a posthumous tribute to the significant Portuguese ethnographer Ernesto Veiga de Oliveira. In 1992 SPAE organized a round table under the title "Existe uma cultura portuguesa?" (Is there a Portuguese culture?) and in 1993 organized the 1st Congress on Peninsular Archaeology. On the occasion of this congress, SPAE created a specific logo to promote this event and after that adopted it on some occasions as an alternative logo also used inside the *TAE*, although the official logo remains the original one (fig. 4). Besides promoting activities and organizing conferences, it still published the *TAE* journal—without interruption since 1919—with works from all areas of the social sciences (anthropology, archaeology, cognitive sciences, education sciences, information and communication sciences, law, economy, philosophy, history, linguistics, patrimony, psychology, and sociology), revealing an open-minded attitude toward the publication of "essays on general issues that are of



Fig. 4. SPAE's current logo.

interest towards understanding the contemporaneous world."⁵⁶ It is one of the oldest journals in Portugal maintaining an exchange relationship with counterparts all over the world. SPAE's documentary record is of great value, above all due to the journal exchanges, although it also includes books. It possesses, for example, journals from the Smithsonian Institution, starting with no. 1, and is the only entity in Portugal that possesses such a set of journals. The several *TAE* volumes gather, therefore, many articles that offer a true goldmine of information on the history of science produced in the country.

CONCLUSION

The stories of anthropology can be told in various ways based on the narratives of individuals, institutions, ideas, and traditions. Very often, however, they are more focused on individuals rather than on ideas, and this leads to omitting significant phenomena. My aim here was to contextualize the foundation and the development of a scientific society, its objectives, and the individuals who were tied to it and who together generated the necessary conditions for intellectual production and an increase in the knowledge of and interest in a discipline that was trying to achieve academic recognition. The Porto School of Anthropology is partly a result of work developed by the SPAE and continues the tradition of the core inherited from the Carlos Ribeiro Society, to which belonged Ricardo Severo, Rocha Peixoto, José Fortes, Fonseca Cardoso, and other prominent figures.⁵⁷ This means that, in a way, Mendes Correia and his collaborators continued the work of

the generation of the *Portugália* journal. This is illustrated by the fact that, for example, the first study published in the *TAE* was a posthumous memoir on Fonseca Cardoso. When Mendes Correia began his anthropology classes at FCUP in 1912, Rocha Peixoto and Fonseca Cardoso were already deceased, and Ricardo Severo had migrated to Brazil, but José Fortes still visited on occasion the Department of Anthropology, bringing his motivation and counsel.

The creation process of the Porto School of Anthropology, in parallel to SPAE's, is similar to that in other circles or scientific societies. These examples and others at an international level allow us to see that, from a small network of intellectuals (many of them connected to organizations such as the Geological Commission or to medium and higher education institutions) or people interested in the so-called emerging sciences, led by charismatic figures, an institutionalized debate was set in motion—of ideas, subjects, methods, and new ways to do research.⁵⁸ There are several reports mentioning each one of these schools,⁵⁹ including the choice of the topics or areas to be studied. The stories connected to the institutionalization of anthropology as a science—the introduction of the discipline in university curricula and its professionalization—were also important. Therefore, Mendes Correia is a central figure in the understanding of the strategies of the path taken by anthropology in Portugal and the way some different areas of knowledge were interconnected. The Porto School of Anthropology would be impacted by much diversified influences; its collaborators exhibited different educations and interests, and this happened at a time when anthropology was still scarcely institutionalized in Portugal. On the other hand, and because the limits of the discipline were permeable, some of the works by the collaborators of the school showed there was an interdisciplinary dialogue and the sharing of information. Sometimes the approaches may not have been the best ones, but in that context its practitioners were still learning, gathering knowledge, and defining new paths.

In Porto we encounter a kind of naturalist and physical anthropology that was dominant in France, Germany, Italy, and Spain and that also existed (and still exists) in Great Britain and the United States, combined with an anthropology that promotes sociocultural studies

not only in Portugal but also in the then-Portuguese colonies. The Porto School of Anthropology has promoted exchanges with institutions originating from several European countries such as France, Italy, Belgium, the United Kingdom, Austria, Poland, Spain, and Denmark; from American countries such as the United States, Brazil, and Mexico; from Eurasian countries such as Russia; and from North African countries such as Algeria. The exchanged journals are dedicated to publishing works with a biological but also sociocultural content, including linguistics studies and studies on religion. However, a certain anachronism regarding theory and method was observed in the works produced, a reality that actually lasted throughout a large part of the twentieth century. Besides, the anthropological studies produced in Portugal were marginal on an international level, where the French, British, and North American contexts were dominant. Nevertheless, for example, German anthropology, which strongly influenced its North American counterpart and also the study of cultures inspired by Romanticism, has motivated some of the works that made their way through SPAE and the Porto school. National traditions are very distinct, even among close countries—even between Iberian neighbors Portugal and Spain.

Furthermore, when comparing the scientific societies created in Portugal in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries to other societies on an international level, it is imperative to consider the scale of comparison we are referring to, as well as the way that the science produced within the country at the time was somewhat peripheral to the larger world. Some authors who have written on the history of science in Portugal describe the country's situation as peripheral or, better said, as semiperipheral. According to João Arriscado Nunes and Maria Eduarda Gonçalves, "the term 'semiperiphery' is used to characterize Portugal's or Portuguese science's position in a *world* system organized in central, peripheral, and semiperipheral regions," while "the term 'periphery' is used to designate Portugal's position towards the *European* science-producing centers" (2001:14). In fact, science production depends not exclusively on the actors involved but on its conditions for production, which in Portugal, during most of the twentieth century, were associated with the restrictions connected to Catholicism, to the

existence of an authoritarian political regime (1933–74), and to very low literacy levels, which did not promote innovation and technological development. Only recently, after the events on April 25, 1974, when the anthropology degree was integrated in universities, and therefore when anthropology was definitely institutionalized and professionalized, has the approach within the anthropologist community become more endogenous.

NOTES

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| ACL | Academia das Ciências de Lisboa / Lisbon Academy of Sciences |
| CICAP | Centro de Instrução de Condutores Auto do Porto / Porto Vehicle Driver Teaching Centre |
| CNCP | Congresso Nacional de Ciências da População / National Congress for Population Sciences |
| ESC | Escola Superior Colonial / Higher Colonial College |
| FCUC | Faculdade de Ciências da Universidade de Coimbra / Faculty of Sciences of the University of Coimbra |
| FCUL | Faculdade de Ciências da Universidade de Lisboa / Faculty of Sciences of the University of Lisbon |
| FCUP | Faculdade de Ciências da Universidade do Porto / Faculty of Sciences of the University of Porto |
| FLUL | Faculdade de Letras da Universidade de Lisboa / Faculty of Humanities of the University of Lisbon |
| FLUP | Faculdade de Letras da Universidade do Porto / Faculty of Humanities of the University of Porto |
| FMUL | Faculdade de Medicina da Universidade de Lisboa / Faculty of Medicine of the University of Lisbon |
| FMUP | Faculdade de Medicina da Universidade do Porto / Faculty of Medicine of the University of Porto |
| IAC | Instituto para a Alta Cultura / Institute for High Culture |
| IAUC | Instituto de Antropologia da Universidade de Coimbra / Anthropology Institute of the University of Coimbra |
| IAUP | Instituto de Antropologia da Universidade do Porto / Anthropology Institute of the University of Porto |
| ISEU | Instituto Superior de Estudos Ultramarinos / Higher Institute of Overseas Studies |
| JMGIC | Junta das Missões Geográficas e de Investigações Colóni- |

	ais / Committee for Geographical Missions and Colonial Research
JMGIU	Junta das Missões Geográficas e de Investigações do Ultramar / Committee for Geographical Missions and Overseas Research
SGL	Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa / Geographic Society of Lisbon
SPAE	Sociedade Portuguesa de Antropologia e Etnologia / Portuguese Society of Anthropology and Ethnology
TAE	<i>Trabalhos de Antropologia e Etnologia / Works on Anthropology and Ethnology</i>
UC	Universidade de Coimbra / University of Coimbra
UL	Universidade de Lisboa / University of Lisbon
UP	Universidade do Porto / University of Porto

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1. Mendes Correia taught at the Faculty of Science and at the Faculty of Humanities of the University of Porto, where he gathered a group of colleagues; he was mayor of Porto (1936–42) and a member of the National Assembly (1945–57); he presided over the Council of Geographical and Colonial Investigation Missions—named Council of Geographical and Overseas Investigation Missions as of 1951 (1946–59); and he took on the presidency of the Lisbon Geographical Society (1951–60).
2. Doctor and anthropologist, director of the Anthropometric Station of Porto (Posto Antropométrico do Porto), and anatomy professor at FMUP.
3. Zoologist and doctor. He taught zoology at FCUP and was the father of Aarão Soeiro Moreira de Lacerda (1890–1947), who was a professor at FLUP.
4. After completing his studies in physical and natural sciences, Carqueja was appointed professor of agriculture and of physical and natural sciences at the Polytechnic Academy; he served as director of the newspaper *Comércio do Porto* and professor of political economy at UP and as director of *Portugália* (scientific journal existing from 1899 to 1908). He offered SPAE the estate of the Carlos Ribeiro Society (a scientific society created in Porto in 1888) and of *Portugália*, thus enabling the collections to be completed. At SPAE's general meeting on December 28, 1927, it was decided that the estate would be transferred to IAUP. The Carlos Ribeiro Society aimed at “studying natural sciences,” promoting “pub-

lic lectures” and periodical and occasional publications, and organizing museums and exhibitions (Mendes Correia 1941a:9); it was divided into four sections (geology and paleontology, zoology and botany, anthropology, and ethnography), and from its inception it encouraged interest in the study of natural and social facts.

5. In 1898 the Society of Anthropology was created (the first scientific society in the area of anthropology founded in Portugal) by Bernardino Machado (1851–1944), who also created the discipline of anthropology, human paleontology, and prehistoric archaeology at the UC in 1885, thus beginning the official studies of anthropology in Portugal. However, the society soon lapsed, as Bernardino Machado, its first and only chairman, was increasingly involved in the Republican Party in the early 1900s.
6. There is also an entry on SPAE in the well-known *Enciclopédia Luso-Brasileira*.
7. SPAE's current statute was published in the Portuguese official bulletin *Diário da República*, no. 89, second series, dated April 16, 1987.
8. This is a surprising change in terminology for the time, since the change of the term “colonies” to “overseas” (which designated the territories under Portuguese colonial administration) was only incorporated in the Portuguese Constitution in 1951. The expression “overseas” was considered more appropriate by the Estado Novo dictatorial regime, since it expressed the existence of Portuguese territories spread all over the world, as if they were on equal terms with the metropolis, depriving them of the colonial component, which possessed a distinguishing and hierarchizing character.
9. However, in SPAE's meeting on March 14, 1919, Henrique de Vilhena had a letter read on his behalf in which he thanked the society for his election as a member but declined to be part of it (*Livro de actas*, vol. 1).
10. Costa Ferreira (1879–1922) obtained his degrees at the Faculties of Philosophy (1899) and Medicine (1905) of the UC. Following several short stays in Paris, he took up residence in Lisbon in 1907. He took the office of minister for development (1912–13), and in 1914 he created the first Medical-Pedagogical Institute, aimed at teaching the mentally disabled.
11. The Sousa Soares family owned a considerable fortune. However, in this case, as in others, based on the analyzed materials, we cannot know if or to what extent some of SPAE's members supported the society or some of its research projects.
12. Rui Correia de Serpa Pinto (1907–33), with studies in engineering, was assistant professor of geology at FCUP and one of the most promis-

ing archaeologists of his time; he was considered the “natural heir” of Mendes Correia.

13. Sebastião Pessanha was the director of the City Museum of Sintra, chairman of the board of the Sintra Institute, and delegate in the sixth section (Art and Archaeology) of the National Education Council.
14. Ricardo Severo (1869–1940) was one of the founding members of the Carlos Ribeiro Society in 1887. He completed a degree in public works engineering in 1890 and a degree in mining engineering in 1891, both at Academia Politécnica do Porto. SPAE’s report dated from 1920 mentions him as the “only survivor of the editing committee of the high-quality journal *Portugália*.”
15. General inspector of the child protection services of the Ministry of Justice, he was involved in the organization of the International Congress on Child Protection in Lisbon.
16. Carlos Teixeira (1910–82) was one of the most influential Portuguese geologists in the twentieth century. He was a student of Mendes Correia at FCUP in the disciplines of geology, physical geography, paleontology, and anthropology; he was primarily interested in topics of physical anthropology, archaeology, and ethnology and, later, stood out as a geologist and palaeobotanist. In 1934 he published a work in the *TAE* on popular medicine and superstitions in Vieira do Minho (Teixeira 1934); he also published in the area of archaeology (Teixeira 1935c, 1936b), on physical anthropology (Teixeira 1935a, 1935b, 1936c), and on factors connected to human reproduction, where he concluded that “man is subject to a period of greater reproductive activity, confirmed not only by birth statistics, but also by sexual criminology statistics, suicide statistics, etc.” (Teixeira 1936a:14). In 1940 he participated in the Congress on Portuguese Pre- and Protohistory (Athayde and Teixeira 1940) and in the CNCP (Teixeira 1940), integrated in the Congresses on the Portuguese World; he made the academic praise speech for Mendes Correia at ACL (Teixeira 1964), highlighting the notability of IAUP.
17. Maria Irene Leite da Costa (1911–96) obtained a degree in natural history science and in pharmacy at UP in 1934; that same year, she was distinguished in the discipline of anthropology. She worked with Mendes Correia in the studies on the natives from Portuguese colonies who participated in the Colonial Exhibition that took place in Porto in 1934. She received education in psychology and childhood pedagogy at the University of Geneva. She taught and performed research works with psychological and pedagogical tests. In the 1950s and the 1960s she was

a member of the National Assembly, where she intervened in health and childhood support matters.

18. He was one of Mendes Correia’s close collaborators and accompanied him to Guinea (1945–46) to prepare the anthropological mission there that took place under the scope of JMGIC, dependent on the Ministry of the Colonies.
19. Only with the creation of a university in 1911 did women gain access to teaching positions in higher education, but always at lower levels, such as assistant professor, and with temporary appointments, not reaching any doctoral dissertation. By comparison, note the case of the UC, which in 1911 invited Carolina Michaélis de Vasconcelos to teach, but also the absence of women in the first FLUP. Perhaps for that reason, when Leopoldina Ferreira Paulo scheduled her doctoral exams (for November 23, 1944, with the dissertation “Alguns caracteres morfológicos da mão dos portugueses”), it made the front pages of some morning papers in Porto: “At the University of Porto, a woman is going to obtain her doctoral degree in science, something unheard-of in our city’s academic life” (*Jornal de Notícias*, November 21, 1944); “For the first time in the history of the University of Porto, a woman is subjected to doctoral exams in the Faculty of Science” (*O Comércio do Porto*, November 23, 1944). More recently, the journal *UPortoAlumni, Revista dos Antigos Alunos da Universidade do Porto*, dated June 2007, published in its inside cover a photo of Leopoldina Paulo, dated November 1944, with her insignias.
20. When he suggested the filiation of brown-skinned (*morenos*) dolicooids in the Cro-Magnon, Mendes Correia (1919:128–129) quoted the work of Aranzadi (*De Antropologia de España*, 1915), who considered the idea debatable.
21. Born in 1869 in Czechoslovakia (now the Czech Republic), studied medicine in the United States, worked as a physical anthropologist in Paris, was the first curator of physical anthropology at the United States’ National Museum, and founded the *American Journal of Physical Anthropology* in 1918.
22. The reference to Kobe (Japan) comes from SPAE’s minute book. That is where he practiced medicine for several years before returning to Amsterdam in 1919.
23. The new correspondent members elected on this date were nominated by “foreign savants.”
24. On October 24, 1932, he presented a conference at SPAE about eugenic politics that was published in the *TAE* (Kehl 1933).

25. At the former library of the Department of Zoology and Anthropology at FCUP, I found several books presented by Calmon to the library or to Mendes Correia, with signed dedications.
26. Director of the Musée Saint-Raymond and professor at the University of Toulouse, Cartailhac invited Portuguese researchers to his museum and put himself at the disposal of SPAE's comembers who wished to visit the archaeological stations in the south of France. According to the 1921 report, he was very well acquainted with Portugal, where he had worked in preparing his work *Les âges préhistoriques de l'Espagne et du Portugal* (Paris: Reinwald, 1886).
27. Bosch-Gimpera identified four relatively homogeneous cultural areas in the Iberian Peninsula, one of which corresponded to the Portuguese megalithic culture. He directed the archaeological school in Barcelona, with German influence.
28. On this date, Mendes Correia also proposed a vote of condolences and of protest for the assassination of Sidónio Pais, president of the Portuguese Republic (Livro de actas, vol. 1).
29. The physical anthropologist João Gualberto de Barros e Cunha (1865–1950) drafted the curriculum of the Colonial Ethnography Course at the UC in 1912–13.
30. Telesforo Aranzadi refused this invitation.
31. IV Session of the International Institute of Anthropology, Portugal, September 21–30, 1930, session on Portugal, third section.
32. *Ethnos: Revista dedicada al estudio y mejoramiento de la población indígena de México* (although the journal's title varied) was published from 1920 to 1925.
33. Interest in the publication was expressed by Mendes Correia on April 19, 1919. After the publication, SPAE received feedback from people who might have better knowledge of the field (1920 report). António Maria de Freitas (from Lisbon) listed corrections to the *bailundo* vocabulary, and F. de Oliveira Santos (governor of Lunda) presented corrections to *quico* words, recognizing, however, that the differences might have resulted from the fact that the terms had been collected in different regions.
34. Fonseca Cardoso (1865–1912) was considered “unfortunate” because he suffered an untimely death caused by malaria when he was performing military functions in Timor (a territory then under Portuguese colonial administration). During the time he was there, and in parallel to his military functions, he developed anthropological observations with a physical focus among the local populations. His work was influenced by

- authors such as Rudolf Virchow and Paul Topinard, both doctors and physical anthropologists. It was Mendes Correia who elevated Fonseca Cardoso to the category of founder of “Portuguese colonial anthropology” and published some of his works after his death. However, Fonseca Cardoso already was a renowned anthropologist, since in 1908 he had directed the chapter “Portuguese Anthropology” in the *Notas sobre Portugal*, 1:58–72 (Vasconcelos 1928:16). This text, which included a map on Portuguese skeletons—brachycephalus and dolichocephalus—was his last anthropological work.
35. Terreiro do Paço is the square in Lisbon where the Portuguese government's ministries are located.
36. Artur Ricardo Jorge (1886–1975) was a doctor, a naturalist, and a politician, holding the office of minister for public education in 1926. He was son to the famous hygienist Ricardo de Almeida Jorge (1858–1939), who taught medicine and introduced into Portugal new public health concepts.
37. The lecturers were as follows: Bettencourt Ferreira (doctor, professor, and naturalist); Joaquim Rodrigues Santos Júnior; Pedro Victorino (doctor, historian, archaeologist, ethnographer, military, and art critic); Amândio Joaquim Tavares (doctor and investigator in the area of physical anthropology and anatomy); Constâncio de Mascarenhas (doctor's degree at FMUP in 1924 with the dissertation “As Castas da Índia: Esboço de estudo antro-po-social”); Carlos de Passos (author of works on archaeology and art); and Joaquim Fontes.
38. Lecturers: Mendes Correia; Georges-Louis Dubreuil-Chambardel (French doctor and SPAE member); Bettencourt Ferreira; Irene Cândida de Melo Pestana (went to FCUP and worked on anthropological observations in schools); Alberto de Sousa (studied arterial anomalies); Ferreira Soares (studied anatomical and medical terminology); and Alfredo Athayde.
39. In 1925 lectures were presented by Mendes Correia, Artur de Magalhães Basto (historian), and Jaime Magalhães Lima (writer).
40. The main sources for generating figure 3 were the following: Livros de Actas da SPAE (vol. 1 from 1918 to 1924 and vol. 2 from 1925 to 1944) and Mendes Correia (1941a).
41. Light projections were projected and enlarged onto a wall or other surface, a precursor to projected slides, which also preceded cinematographical projection.
42. “A paleontologia e a origem do homem” in 1920; “Einstein e a evolução orgânica” (Mendes Correia 1923) in 1922; “A idade do ferro em Portu-

- gal" in 1924; "O suposto homem terciário do Vale das Lages" (Mendes Correia 1927b, 1926c, 1928) and "Os achados de Alvão" (Mendes Correia 1926b) in 1926; "A arte pré-histórica em Trás-os-Montes" (Mendes Correia 1929) in 1928; "Crânios da necrópole pré-romana de Alcácer do Sal" (Mendes Correia 1926a) in 1931; "As origens da cidade do Porto" (Mendes Correia 1932, 1935b) in 1932; "Impressões e insculpturas de pés humanos pré-históricos," "O problema de Moron em Estrabão" (Mendes Correia 1934b), "Os Belitanos de Artemidoro," "O problema ligure em Portugal" (Mendes Correia 1934c), and "Sepulturas pré-históricas de Alpiarça" (Mendes Correia 1935d) in 1934; "Estela antropomorfa do Monte do Rebolido, Entre-os-Rios" in 1935; "Duas novas estações pré-históricas portuguesas (Gandra e Paúl de Magos)" and "Novos elementos sobre o homem dos sambaquis do Brasil" (Mendes Correia 1946) in 1936; "A estação eneolítica de Vila Nova de S. Pedro (Cartaxo)" in 1937; "Novas estações líticas em Muge" (Mendes Correia 1940) and "Novas pinturas do dólmen de Baltar" (Mendes Correia 1930) in 1938.
43. "Antropologia criminal integral" (Mendes Correia 1925a) in 1925; "Fórmulas e perfis individuais em Antropologia Criminal" (Mendes Correia 1935c) in 1933; "Novas directrizes de antropologia criminal" (Mendes Correia 1931a, 1936a, 1936b, 1937a) in 1936.
44. "A identificação no Brasil e o desmemoriado de Collegno" in 1934; "A etnogenia brasileira" (Mendes Correia 1935a) in 1935; "Conceitos genéticos de constituição e raça" (Mendes Correia 1941b) in 1940.
45. "Montaigne e a Antropologia" (Mendes Correia 1934a) in 1933. Michel de Montaigne (1533–72) was a pioneer in the notion of cultural relativism, stating that each person considers as barbarian all that is not common in his or her own land.
46. "Homenagem à memória de Dr. Rui de Serpa Pinto" (Mendes Correia et al. 1934) in 1934.
47. Armando Leça is the pseudonym of the composer, folklorist, and ethnomusicologist Armando Lopes (1883–1977). He studied at the School of Music of the National Conservatorium and taught piano and composition.
48. In fact, the author attributed here the name of a region to a human group, but this issue was clarified in the discussion after his presentation.
49. Description presented at SPAE's annual general meeting on January 22, 1920.
50. Miscellaneous collections are hardback volumes composed of articles written by individuals connected to the Porto School of Anthropology and by other people (Portuguese and foreign) with whom works were

exchanged. The set is composed of sixty-six volumes, with approximately twenty to fifty texts each.

51. The list of the tables of contents of the *TAE* journal can be consulted in Figueiras (1981).
52. The majority of the works about Angola, published in the 1970s, were by Manuel Laranjeira Rodrigues de Areia, retired full professor of anthropology at UC.
53. *Trabalhos do I Congresso Nacional de Antropologia Colonial*, vols. 1 and 2, 1934.
54. Mendes Correia left Porto (and SPAE) due to his more extensive connections at the time to Lisbon, where he was a member of the National Assembly (1945–57); director of ESC (1946–58, ISEU after 1954); chairman of JMGIC (1946–59, JMGIU after 1951); and chairman of SGL (1951–60). However, Mendes Correia never completely cut his bonds with Porto until his death (1960), and he would be buried there.
55. Mendes Correia abandoned the position of secretary and became vice-chairman of SPAE from January 14, 1922, with Freitas Viegas remaining as chairman and Alfredo Athayde becoming the secretary.
56. <http://spae.no.sapo.pt/serve.htm>, accessed July 2014. SPAE has a blog, which is regularly updated, available at <http://sociedadeportuguesaantropologia.blogspot.com/>, accessed July 2014.
57. For more information on the Porto School of Anthropology, see Mendes Correia (1937b), Mendes Correia (1941a), and Guimarães (1995).
58. The Geological Commission was created in 1848 by the Royal Academy of Science. Only in 1918 would the Portuguese Geological Services be created; it was integrated in 1993 into the current Geological and Mining Institute.
59. School Nina Rodrigues in Brazil was contemporaneous to the Porto school. This school allows us to understand the concerns of its members (doctors and social scientists), its theoretical guidelines, and its relationships with the Brazilian society and state (Corrêa 1982; Corrêa, Willems, and Pierson 1987).

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