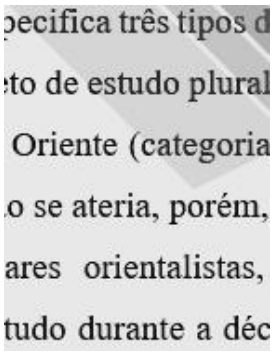
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Orientalism

The word ‘orientalism’ first appeared in a dictionary in Portugal in the fourth volume of *Grande Diccionario Portuguez; ou Thesouro da Lingua Portugueza*, published in 1873, as explained by the research of Manuela Delgado Leão Ramos (*António Feijó e Camilo Pessanha*, 2001, pp. 18-19). It is in no way a coincidence that this was the year of the first International Congress of Orientalists, held in Paris. Imported via the French, and more specifically, as Ramos suggests (*Idem*, p. 19), from the dictionary of Émile Littré (1873-1874, p. 859), it was then defined as the “body of knowledge, philosophical ideas and customs of Oriental peoples.//Science of orientalists, knowledge of Oriental languages”. In turn, the meaning of the term ‘orientalist’ was given as a “man versed in the knowledge” of those languages (Vieira, *Grande Diccionario*, 1873, p. 583). If orientalism is designated as a field of study whose diversified subject matter – the languages, customs, and ideas of the people of the Orient(s) – appears to raise it to the status of a science, it is no less relevant that the term is also associated with a specific gendered domain, the masculine, even if this reflects more widely prevailing attitudes of the period. Indeed, the male-dominated practice of orientalism would continue, largely unchallenged, in the discursive production concerning the East in Portugal until the end of the twentieth century.

This definition resonates with that given by the Sanskritist Guilherme de Vasconcelos Abreu in his address to the members of the Portuguese delegation to the first Congress of Orientalists, in which he discussed the constitution of an Association for the Promotion of Oriental and Glottological Studies in Portugal. Seeking to expand the reach of Oriental studies, including linguistic (or glottological) and ethnological sciences, this Association would, in accordance with article 3 of its Statutes, undersigned by A.A. Teixeira de Vasconcelos, Augusto Soromenho and Vasconcelos Abreu, welcome “any individual of either sex that wishes to be a member” (*Correspondência... com J. Possidónio da Silva*, 1874, vol. 7, doc. 986 bis). Disregarding both gender and professional distinctions – an uncommon approach for the time – the Association’s scientific openness mirrors its intention to bring together the largest possible number of names in order to give visibility to a budding orientalist community eager to participate in debates on a national level. It would appear, however, that these efforts did not achieve the desired result, as records of the Association’s activities only exist for the period between 1874 and 1875, and the organization did not leave behind any work worthy of mention. Vasconcelos Abreu further contends that “Orientalism is not an object of mere curiosity; it is not a matter for

entertainment and idleness. Orientalism is the sum of the linguistic, ethnological, and historical knowledge about the peoples of the East, both ancient and modern" (*Exposição*, 1874, pp. 8-9). Rejecting any semblance of dilettantism incompatible with a scientific stance, the Sanskritist specifies three types of knowledge, which, when combined, would offer a more comprehensive vision of an inherently plural object of study. According to this contention, the phenomena addressed by this field share the fact that they originate in or belong in some way to a single geographical region – the Orient (a category determined in function of the position of the European observer) – but are not necessarily tied to the past.

Vasconcelos Abreu and his orientalist peers, both national and international, were sympathetic towards positivist ideas, especially during the 1870s. They were interested not only in tracing the historical, ethnic and linguistic origins of the peoples of Europe, but also in understanding those of the 'oriental' populations over which European countries exercised sovereignty, a condition for the progress both of the colonies and, naturally, the European metropole, which would claim responsibility for leading this process of evolution for itself. As in Germanic countries, writers in Portugal, such as Teófilo, Antero and Oliveira Martins, would also invoke the thesis of a superior mythical origin – the Aryans – for the Portuguese people (Catroga, "A história começou a Oriente", 1999, pp. 218-222).

In 1898 Consiglieri Pedroso put forward another definition of orientalism that was also geared towards the study of the past, particularly of classical antiquity: "Orientalism, which is to say the awesome revelation of the old, extinct civilizations whose fame formerly echoed throughout the Asian world, could only be called into being by the likes of William Jones, Colebrooke, Rawlinson and so many other learned men, after the boldness of our mariners had made accessible those lands where the remains of the empires they brought to life lay" (*Influencia dos Descobrimentos*, 1898, p. 24). In addition to connecting orientalism to the study of history, Pedroso also highlights the issue of the empirical precedence that would be maintained as an argumentative subtext and unifying link between the various national discourses about the East from the end of the nineteenth century and throughout the twentieth: Portugal's pioneering role in gaining *in loco* knowledge of 'oriental' – particularly Asian – territories, as well as of their peoples and languages, through the country's maritime expansion, made possible by the journey of Vasco da Gama (1497-1498). This journey would serve as the theme of the so-called "Portuguese Orient", "which constructed itself over a period that runs from the first years of the sixteenth century until the first decades of the eighteenth century, a temporal cut-off marking the moment when one can consider that the process of establishing the Portuguese State in the Orient was stabilized" (Saldanha, "Do Oriente Português", 2004, p. 28). Fin-de-siècle discourses concerning the Orient returned tirelessly to this idea of direct contact, which, on the one hand, recalled a period of progress in the history of the nation that had intermediated the first cultural and commercial exchanges between Europe and Asia. On the other hand, this topic served to highlight a turning point in the history of European progress and modernity, and, consequently, in the construction of both an orientalist discourse and imaginary.

Supported by missionary work and the studies that its agents produced, which included grammars and vocabularies of native languages that sometimes featured considerations on local religions and customs, Portugal's maritime commercial enterprise in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was therefore seen to have contributed to the emergence of orientalism as a corpus of knowledge about the non-European. In this vein, Pedroso wonders continuously, "And, without the direct knowledge previously obtained in the lands to which Gama sailed, and throughout which spread those who continued his work, what would have become of comparative mythology, the science of religions and comparative Indo-European law, not to mention, more specifically, archaeology and Indian philology [...]?" (*Influencia dos Descobrimentos*, 1898, p. 25). The historian suggests, albeit implicitly, that Europe owes a kind of epistemological debt to Portugal for having opened the way for the European project and the development of European science.

Indeed, the accumulation of knowledge about the non-European served to sustain European colonial practices, at the same time as it made possible the emergence of flourishing centres of Oriental studies, such as London, Paris, Munich, or Florence. The notion of debt would be an undercurrent in all of Portugal's historiographical production and would mark out the country's role as a forerunner in the production of knowledge and discourse concerning the East, although much of the work in question (from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries) did not travel beyond linguistic barriers, seeing as most of the texts were "handwritten in Portuguese, and had a limited circulation of a few copies in the court in Lisbon and in the centres of Asia" (Barreto, "O orientalismo conquista Portugal", 1998, p. 279). The lack of knowledge of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Portuguese literature is, according to David Lopes ("Note historique", 1899, p. 69), due to a scarceness of translations, which prevented its dissemination. Portugal's lack of popularity as a centre for the production and dissemination of Oriental studies was therefore attributed to linguistic reasons, and this same explanation would be replicated in international contexts by historians such as Silva Rego (e.g., "Indological Studies", 1956, p. 223). Furthermore, not only the historical sources, but also the works produced about them by Portuguese orientalists from the mid-nineteenth century onwards would continue to suffer from their limited accessibility. Xavier Soares' 1936 translation of Goan linguist Sebastião Rodolfo Dalgado's *Influência do Vocabulário Português em Línguas Asiáticas* [*Portuguese Vocables in Asiatic Languages*] (1913) was justified with the fact that Indian orientalists did not understand Portuguese and, for this reason, were unaware of both the orientalist's name and his work (Soares, "Preface", 1936, pp. v-vii).

Pedroso proposes a return to the origins of a golden age in the history of his nation, which coincided with Portugal's presence in Asia. This return was all the more important as part of a kind of national soul-searching, as the country faced up to its scientific and cultural backwardness when compared to its European neighbours, serving as something of an exercise in rationalizing a national identity and history in crisis – or decline. Made popular in the nineteenth century, largely thanks to the works of Alexandre Herculano (e.g. *O Bobo*, 1843) and Antero de Quental (*Causas da Decadência dos Povos Peninsulares* [*Causes of the Decline of Peninsular Peoples*], 1871), the idea of decline would become a running theme in Portuguese orientalism, often being

justified as a result of either maritime expansion (Matos, "Oriente e Orientalismo", 2002, p. 212), or, in the specific case of Portugal's eastern empire, the actions of the Inquisition (Lopes Mendes, *O Oriente e a America*, 1892, p. 38). Blame for this decline would also be attributed to Portugal's defeat at the battle of Alcácer Quibir, which signalled the start of the nation's waning influence in Africa – a space that had historically served as a geographical intermediary with the East – and symbolized the country's downfall as a military power (Colaço, ms. *Alcacer-Kebir*, 1901 [1892]). At the end of the nineteenth century it was this notion of decline which contributed to the idea of a gap between the country's potential and its performance, or history, between what it had done in the past and what it was at the present moment. At the same time as Portugal was lamenting the loss of its imperial status among its European peers, seeking "only to preserve what remained of its old empire in the Orient" (Catroga, "A história começou a Oriente", 1999, p. 228), a number of commonplaces characterizing ancient 'oriental' civilizations were proliferating in European discourse, including the idea of decline, associated, as in the above citation from Pedroso, with the image of ruin or the remains of a faded glory. In this line of thinking, only the Portuguese explorers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries would have been able to witness that glory, which, in the nineteenth century, would be supplanted by European progress, along with the rise of the idea of the inferiority or difference of the non-European, non-Christian Other. To return to Lopes Mendes, "having, in ancient times, walked at the forefront of civilization, India has since let other nations take the lead," or "the natives of India [...] have not received the influx of European civilization" (*O Oriente e a America*, 1892, pp. 2, 17).

In 1919, Sebastião Dalgado would follow the lead of his predecessors and define orientalism as a field of knowledge bringing together various subfields and geographies, but refrained from restricting it to specific temporal criteria or linguistic concerns. He described the field as the "[r]ange of studies concerning the East and the Far East. Such studies encompass Sanskritology, Sinology, Iranology and those studies with respect to Malaysia, Indochina, Japan and Arabia. *Orientalism* is also understood to mean 'a hyperbolic or symbolic locution in the style of the orientals'" (*Glossário Luso-Asiático*, 1919, p. 124). The remark made by the 'oriental' orientalist about the hyperbolic and symbolic, almost carnivalesque, use of the term by Europeans to refer to "the style of the orientals" is significant. If, on the one hand, it signals a tacitly assimilated notion of difference between the 'oriental' and the non-'oriental', on the other it distinguishes between two different levels of understanding of orientalism. The first is that of an academic, disciplinary field, the second functions on a discursive level, which is to say, as a way of thinking about, describing and representing people from the Orient. Such "a style of thought" would serve decades later to support Edward Said's argument that orientalism is "based upon an ontological and epistemological distinction made between 'the Orient' and (most of the time) 'the Occident'" (*Orientalism*, 2003, p. 2). In nineteenth-century Portuguese criticism, this difference also works on the level of identity, in so much as the Orient often serves as an expedient of self-knowledge, or as an instrument of self-criticism. Wenceslau de Moraes offers a clear literary example of this. In works such as *Relance da Alma Japonesa* [*Glimpse of the Japanese Soul*] (1926) and *Cartas do Japão* [*Letters from Japan*]

(1902-1913), the Portuguese exile presents a feminine configuration of Japan as a kind of celebration of this Orient, in which he recognizes a civilizational model offering the possibility of rehabilitation and regeneration, not only for Portugal but for the entire white race. Although he criticizes the inertia of Portugal's colonial policies, particularly with respect to Macau, the author repeatedly denounces the whole colonial enterprise and even argues in favour of its abolition. The writer is particularly worried about its potentially harmful effect on human morality and positions himself against violence – military, administrative, or otherwise – in colonial spaces. Instead he proposes a kind of intervention directed towards commerce and the exploitation of colonial products through the centralizing actions of the metropole.

In this way, the definitions of orientalism presented here suggest the disciplinarization of a field of study (Rabault-Feuerhahn, "'La science la robe au vent'", 2012) – Oriental studies – that was trying to organize itself and develop at the end of the nineteenth century. This disciplinarization accompanied the rise of a specific discourse and imaginary concerning the 'oriental' Other, and left little doubt about the profile of those with the capacity and legitimacy to study and talk about this figure: either Europeans who had *specialized* in the subject (*Idem*, p. 2) or lived in the Orient for a long period of time, or 'orientals' educated and/or settled in the West.

Outside of Portugal, especially in England, France, Germany, Italy and even Spain, Oriental studies prospered thanks to a range of initiatives that supported the professionalization of those engaged in this kind of study. The creation of spaces of intellectual sociability and scientific debate, such as the International Congresses of Orientalists, is one symptom of these efforts. These congresses were organized fairly regularly over a period of 100 years, from 1873 to 1973, totalling 29 official editions (not including the 1891 event held in London, since designated as a statutory congress, or the ill-fated Lisbon edition, which was scheduled for 1892 but ultimately did not take place) and were attended by Portuguese orientalists, albeit sporadically and in small numbers. Nonetheless, these meetings provided opportunities to establish and consolidate contact and collaboration networks through which Portuguese orientalists were able to keep pace with advances being made in the field outside of Portugal, with some even managing to export their own scientific research. Francisco Maria Esteves Pereira is one such case, who had a number of his studies featured in French- and German- language periodicals. Following the London Congress of Orientalists of 1892, which put an end to a schism which had split the international orientalist community since at least 1889, these meetings would be increasingly dominated by qualified, or so-called professional orientalists with an established academic and/or scientific career. Speaking of the congresses, Filipa Vicente points out that "they place the 'oriental' denomination above the geographical specificity which distinguished them, thus contributing to consolidate the profession of 'orientalist,' which carried as heterogeneous a meaning as the very 'Orient' being studied" (*Outros Orientalismos*, 2009, pp. 75-76). One of the most obvious driving forces behind this professionalization was the establishment of specialized schools, university chairs and curricula throughout Europe from the end of the eighteenth century. Paris' École Nationale (or *Spéciale*) des Langues Orientales Vivantes (founded in 1795) is one example of this movement, as are the German universities of Berlin and Munich which, from the

1830s onwards, amassed an attractively sizeable academic staff specialized in Oriental studies. Guilherme de Vasconcelos Abreu and David Lopes offer examples of two distinct scientific careers which benefitted from this movement towards orientalist specialization.

Vasconcelos Abreu sought to write a monumental history of the Portuguese presence in Asia, a project which he claimed to contribute to with fragments that he published throughout his career, devoted both to the teaching of Sanskrit and to the comparative study of religions, mythographies and literary traditions from a philological perspective. Having achieved a bachelor's degree in maths at the University of Coimbra, Vasconcelos Abreu went on to study naval engineering at Lisbon's Naval School, before undertaking studies in Oriental philology, specializing in Sanskrit, from May 1875 to July 1877. These studies were carried out at Paris' École Pratique des Hautes Études and the University of Munich, in Germany, from which he departed with a letter of recommendation from Martin Haug. To this end, the orientalist received a grant from the Portuguese Ministry of Foreign Affairs to engage in studies which would allow him to gain "knowledge of the social and moral state of the indigenous peoples of the colonies" (Abreu, *Investigações*, 1878, p. 5, n. 2), knowledge which would be essential for the development of more effective direct administration policies and colonial practices. Vasconcelos Abreu argued in favour of the need to educate in order to better manage and maintain a country's colonies, and had a particular interest in Portuguese India, which could perhaps be rehabilitated as the jewel in Portugal's imperial crown in a similar fashion to its British counterpart – although Africa would ultimately represent the country's last hope for national redemption (Catroga, "A história começou a Oriente", pp. 227-230). He therefore supported the creation of an educational institution in service of the Portuguese state: an Oriental and Overseas Institute, which would promote a colonial scientific education. He presented this project in the *Boletim da Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa* [*Newsletter of the Lisbon Geographical Society*] in 1890, taking inspiration from existing colonial schools in England, France, the Netherlands and Germany, that is, European powers that had already consolidated their empires. It was Portugal's Colonial School, created in 1906 under the auspices of the Lisbon Geographical Society, which would ultimately fulfil this role. The School housed an Institute of African and Oriental Languages, which, until 1974, taught Arabic, Sanskrit, Konkani, Tetum and Chinese, revealing a utilitarian vision of education, specifically oriented towards "agents of overseas administration" (Thomaz, "Estudos árabo-islâmicos e orientais", 2012, p. 15).

As for David Lopes, he undertook his higher education at institutions which sought to give pedagogical solutions to the colonial interests of their governments. A self-professed disciple of Alexandre Herculano, the first Portuguese Arabist taught as professor of Arabic at the Faculty of Letters of the University of Lisbon from 1914 to 1937, taking up the post after an interregnum of almost 45 years following the abolition of the chair, then held by Augusto Soromenho, at the secondary college Liceu de Lisboa in 1869. Lopes initiated his higher education in Paris, where, between 1889 and 1892, he simultaneously attended the École des Langues Orientales Vivantes and the École Pratique des Hautes Études. Upon his return to Lisbon, he entered the

Curso Superior de Letras in the category of ordinary student and completed it in 1895. At the Curso he was a student of Vasconcelos Abreu, Consiglieri Pedroso, Adolfo Coelho, Teófilo Braga, Augusto de Sousa Lobo, and Jaime Constantino de Freitas Moniz.

In short, in the nineteenth century, scholars of Oriental studies were responsible for fostering and maintaining a transnational network of both indirect and direct exchanges, the former being based on intense epistolary activity, while the latter relied, for the most part, on participation in scientific conferences, as well as on study trips and field studies. All of these exchanges helped to solidify a more continuous and fertile framework of knowledge production about Asia and the Orient in general. The scientific societies and associations – both public and private – which, from the last quarter of the eighteenth century, were founded throughout Europe in line with the scientific and political orientations of various national governments, played a fundamental role, not only in supporting the activities of orientalists, but also in stimulating specialized education. In Portugal there are two paradigmatic examples of this kind of institution: the Royal Academy of Sciences of Lisbon, founded in the spirit of the Enlightenment in 1779, and the Curso Superior de Letras, which this academy helped to create in 1859, becoming its primary patron. Founded in 1875 by a group of figures from the Portuguese cultural and intellectual scene under the initiative of Luciano Cordeiro, and boasting the support of the government thank to the mediation of Andrade Corvo, the Lisbon Geographical Society was led with a more obviously politicized agenda and focused, above all, on the Portuguese presence in Africa. As mentioned above, in 1906 it sponsored the creation of the Colonial School, which would later change its name to the Escola Superior Colonial [Higher Colonial School] in 1926, and then again to the Institute of Social and Political Sciences in 1974. The society was organized into two working committees, one African, the other Asian, each corresponding to the geographical spaces of Portugal's territorial possessions, and it was through this organization and the initiatives that it promoted, including the financing of expeditions in Portuguese Africa and India, and the subsidizing of scientific exchange, that the government aimed to strengthen the Portuguese colonial apparatus. Both institutions developed their own systems of communication with wider society and their own ways of circulating the knowledge that they produced, mainly through specialized publications – scientific journals and serials (such as *Monumentos Inéditos para a História das Conquistas dos Portugueses em África, Ásia e América* [*Unpublished Records to the Portuguese Conquests in Africa, Asia and America*] promoted by the Academy of Sciences between 1858 and 1935) – and bibliographical exchanges with institutions beyond the nation's borders.

Even so, Portugal was far from enjoying the same conditions as the great European centres of Orientalist studies. If in 1874, Vasconcelos Abreu's enthusiasm led him to call the hosts of Portugal towards progress, by 1892 this enthusiasm had wilted and been replaced by dejection, with the Sanskritist lamenting that a scientific milieu capable of fomenting the development of Oriental studies "still has not formed among us" (*Passos dos Lusíadas*, 1892, p. III). The lacking work conditions, the inadequacy of bibliographical and museological collections, and the scarcity of financial subsidies that determined the country's delay in relation to its European

neighbours were constantly referenced in Portuguese discourse about the nation's place in the European map of Oriental studies.

Since the eighteenth century, Europe's magpie-like spirit had been attracted by 'oriental' motifs, but by the end of the nineteenth century, thanks to the aforementioned scientific societies and associations, other structures stimulating the study of and creation of knowledge about the non-European were being established, some of which were organized formally, while others served a more symbolic patriotic purpose and occupied a more concentrated period of time. Examples of the former include colonial museums (such as the Lisbon Colonial Museum, which first opened in 1870, before moving to the installations of the Geographical Society in 1892) and private 'oriental' collections (such as that exhibited by the Viscount of S. Januário in his house on Rua do Alecrim in Lisbon in 1878. On this occasion, various pieces from the collection were auctioned off, some of them ending up in the repository at the Lisbon Colonial Museum [Cardoso, "Conde São Januário", 2012-2013, p. 39]). Commemorations are an example of the latter. The organization of exhibitions and the celebration of centenaries served as mechanisms for the materialization and recollection of Portugal's colonial past. These events revisited the historical and literary heroes of the country's maritime expansion (namely Vasco da Gama, D. Manuel, Nuno Álvares Pereira, Prince Henry the Navigator, Camões, Afonso de Albuquerque, and Fernão Mendes Pinto), who were transformed into symbols of the Portuguese national identity, as well as the historical episodes which moulded this identity (such as the conquest of Ceuta, the battle of Alcácer Quibir or the journey of Vasco da Gama). Orientalism in Portugal therefore rested not only on the commemorative actions of a cult of the past, which articulated an apology of the Portuguese imperial project, but also on the mythification of national history.

In this way, from the second half of the nineteenth century and into the first half of the twentieth, one can detect an almost fetishized obsession among Portuguese orientalists with the history of Portugal's presence in the Orient, an obsession which can clearly be seen in the Portuguese contributions to a number of sessions of the International Congresses of Orientalists. It is worth noting, however, that, as pointed out by David Lopes, "[the] sixteenth century [...] in Portugal, was the period of greatest political and literary activity" (*Chronica dos Reis de Bisnaga*, 1897, p. LII). It was the Portuguese who had written the history of and documented this political and commercial adventure, such as João de Barros, Diogo do Couto and Garcia da Orta, that Lopes considered to be "the real predecessors of modern orientalists, researchers and concatenators. Often they drank from the source; others resorted to interpreters; there is a thirst for knowledge in them which is all the more admirable because the elements at their disposal were so few" (*Idem*, p. LII). Along with these names – authors of chronicles and treatises demonstrating that which today, in light of Said's theses on modern orientalism (*Orientalism*, 1978), can be construed as proto-orientalism – there are also those involved in missionary activity. This activity produced a number of discourses of significant documentary value, from letters reporting on the progress of the mission to linguistic tools intended to support intercultural understanding and the success not only of conversion efforts, but also of the commercial project. Still other missionaries wrote

itineraries or reports of journeys over both land and sea, as well as accounts of Portuguese embassies to the Orient.

Overlapping with the field of operations of the Society of Jesus and with key moments in the history of Portugal's maritime expansion, the main geographical and thematic focuses addressed by Portuguese orientalists include Portuguese India (sometimes compared with the former jewel in Portugal's imperial crown, Brazil, notably in the works of António Lopes Mendes), North Africa, Macau and, less commonly, Jewish and Hebrew culture (as in the works of Joshua E. Levy, Mendes dos Remédios, Joseph Benoliel, and Samuel Schwarz), China (see the lexicographical works of Father Joaquim Afonso Gonçalves) and Japan. Timor also gained a certain visibility in the 1950s, after the Japanese occupation of the island was broken and the collapse of the Portuguese colonial project was beginning to look like a foregone conclusion. However, the linguistic interests of Portuguese orientalists reached beyond the borders of these spaces of influence and actually neglected languages which were essential to the construction of the Portuguese empire in the East, namely Chinese and Japanese. Portuguese orientalists studied Ethio-Semitic philologies which, in addition to Sanskrit and Arabic, included Hebrew and Gəʿəz, a preference that reflected Europe's nineteenth-century interests. On occasion, other Oriental languages, such as Malay or Tamil, were also discussed in the context of comparative philology. Nonetheless, it was perhaps the interest shown in the languages of Portuguese India, particularly Konkani (a living language) and the overseas Creoles, which determined the specificity of the Oriental philology practised in Portugal. Although, on the one hand, the languages that the Portuguese had come into contact with were studied, on the other, many orientalists preferred to focus on the Portuguese language itself, studying its circulation, its interactions with Oriental languages and the Creoles that resulted from these exchanges, a predilection which, once again, amounted to studying the history of Portugal's expansion and influence in Asia. This attempt to recover the memory of Portuguese in Oriental languages, and vice-versa, underlines the continued relevance of the observation made by Nebrija in his *Arte de grammatica de lengua castellana* (Salamanca, 1492), that language was the loyal companion of empire (and faith).

As already discussed, the Portuguese historiography practised from the end of the nineteenth century was attuned with efforts to situate the roots of Portuguese orientalism in the sixteenth century, which Sousa Viterbo described as "unquestionably, a vast and valuable oriental museum" (*O Orientalismo em Portugal no século XVI*, 1893, p. 3). From the end of the nineteenth century up until the 1950s and 60s, it was this "museum" which, like a reliquary of mainly textual sources, would be catalogued, revisited and analysed by orientalists who, in this way, contributed to the kind of organization of sources required to establish any field as a respectable discipline.

This revisiting of sources, which can be seen to take place from the second half of the nineteenth century onwards, was undertaken not only by philologists, but also by historians. Although these efforts served as an ideological exercise in recovering Portugal's faded glory, they also worked as an exercise that reflected upon the cause of a failed imperial project. Catalogues of manuscripts available in the kingdom's various public

libraries were published (see, for example, Cunha Rivara's *Catalogo*, 1850-1871), a kind of archival work which would come back into fashion between the 1940s and 70s. Unedited or forgotten documentary sources were recovered, and reprinted, edited or translated, as in the case of the Count of Ficalho's 1892 edition of Garcia da Orta's two-volume *Colóquios dos Simples e Drogas da Índia* [*Conversations on the Simples, Drugs and Medicinal Substances of India*]. Scholars also studied episodes where Portugal's national history crossed over with that of the East and the great figures involved in this history of interactions – from those who wrote about it (chroniclers), poeticized it (Camões, Fernão Mendes Pinto) or alluded to it on stage (Gil Vicente), to those who played an active role in it (the heroes of the kingdom's maritime expansion, such as the Portuguese navigators and their royal patrons). This exercise in both preserving and redressing historical memory, whether written (as in the case of documentary sources) or material (a project carried out through collections and exhibitions, and also numismatic and epigraphical studies) constituted a redefinition of the national identity, as well as the simultaneous revindication of Portugal's rightful place within orientalism.

Many of the publications that make up Portugal's orientalist discursive production were printed as part of commemorative events which moulded the fin-de-siècle national mythology through the glorification of historical heroes. Such events included the tricentenary of the death of Camões (1880), the famous narrator of Portugal's exploits in the Orient, the fourth centenary of the discovery of the sea route to India (1898) and the fifth centenary of the conquest of Ceuta by Afonso de Albuquerque (1915). Beneath this act of reviving and naming these figures from Portugal's historical past, there lies not only an attempt to humanize this past, but also a dichotomy that runs through all Portuguese discourse about the East, that of the country's pioneering actions in gaining knowledge about the geographical space, and in establishing commercial, linguistic and cultural contacts within it – actions which appear to be incompatible with the lag in studies about this same Orient in Portugal and the nation's lacking visibility in European scientific circles in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

The critical apparatus applied to sources that were revisited or edited for the first time frequently served as a rhetorical space for the discussion of the non-Christian, non-European Other, and also for the rewriting of history. See, for example, the case of Esteves Pereira, in whose work one can detect a historiography which, based on the principles of classical philology, defends the historical truth of the written word, which is to say, of sources.

An active member of the Royal Academy of Sciences, the Lisbon Geographical Society and the Société Asiatique, this veteran of Ethiopian studies in Portugal (Cohen, "Les études éthiopiennes", 1922, p. 137) distinguished himself in an exceptional manner for his international reputation that he gained without being linked to any kind of academic institution, a situation which goes some way to explain the fact that he left no pupils behind. He graduated with distinction in engineering from the Tancos Military School and constructed his career as a military engineer in Portugal, having made few documented journeys outside of the country. Although a train ticket confirms his attendance at the 11th International Congress of Orientalists in Paris in

1897, there are doubts as to whether he was actually present at the congress' fourteenth edition in Algiers in 1905, the first of the events to take place outside of Europe, despite his work appearing in the meeting's proceedings. He wrote a vast philology-oriented oeuvre, dedicating himself principally to the dissemination of ecclesiastical literature and chronicles, as well as to researching the history of Christianity, particularly in East Africa and, more specifically, Ethiopia, a country whose orthodox church, one of the oldest in the world and resulting from a number of syncretisms, constitutes a singular case study in the context of Africa. A specialist in Gəʿəz who also studied Sanskrit and even Old Persian later in life, Pereira worked in the spheres of critical-literary studies, editing and translation in order to introduce the public to previously unpublished manuscripts, which he always appropriately contextualized and annotated (thus revealing his archaeological and historical meticulousness) so as to give readers a better understanding of the Christian roots of European culture. As part of this exercise in contextualization, Pereira's self-imposed rigour, particularly apparent in his translational performance, also implicates a range of discursive choices, which, functioning as marks of erudition attributing scientific weight to his studies (even though he was a man of science), at times make them illegible to anyone other than a specialist (see, for example, his decision to maintain honorific titles, units of measurement and dates in their original form, in Gəʿəz, with no attempt at clarification or conversion into the European system). He drew on a solid network of contacts to obtain both handwritten and photographic copies of the material that he was studying, editing or translating, which were sent to him in the post. It was through these intermediaries, sometimes named in the paratexts of his works, that he was able to access the Oriental collection of the British Museum and the Ethiopian collection of the National Library of France. He also edited texts on the history of Portuguese expansion, practising a historiography in service to truth, or to the restitution of this truth, a tradition with which his friend David Lopes had also aligned himself, and to which historians such as Cunha Rivara and Luciano Cordeiro had already been demonstrating their allegiance.

In contrast to great seventeenth-century figures like Duarte Barbosa, Tomé Pires, Fernão Lopes de Castanheda, Diogo do Couto and Gaspar Correia, who all lived for varying periods of time in Asia in service to the Portuguese state, but similarly to João de Barros, the big names of nineteenth-century Portuguese historiography often wrote about Asia from an external vantage point, which is to say from Portugal. Few followed in the footsteps of Cunha Rivara, a Portuguese intellectual who became an orientalist in Goa (Machado, "A experiência indiana", 2009, p. 25). Nineteenth-century historians benefitted both from the legacies left by their predecessors and from a more specialized education in 'oriental' matters, harvesting knowledge in or from the great European centres of Oriental studies, and/or taking advantage of exchanges outside of Portugal for training, study, or research. Nonetheless, discourse about the 'Portuguese Orient' was not exclusively produced in the metropole.

There were other voices too, those of 'oriental' orientalists who lived outside of Portugal but focused on the nation in their studies. Some worked in isolation, unable to break into the national orientalist community, perhaps because they did not publish their work in Portuguese, because their studies mostly circulated among

other academic traditions, or, possibly most importantly, because they were critical of Portugal's sixteenth- and seventeenth-century interventions in Asia, denouncing the country's use of violence in its imposition of an exogenous religion. Gerson da Cunha, who was Goan-born but lived between Bombay and England, is, as shown by the studies of Filipa Lowndes Vicente (e.g., "Orientalismos periféricos?", 2010), the most obvious example of this kind of figure, having always written in English and transited between British India and the orientalist milieux of Italy and England. As revealed by the research carried out as part of the ongoing project *Texts and Contexts of Portuguese Orientalism* at the University of Lisbon, there are a number of other more recent but equally marginal cases. Some can be compared to Gerson da Cunha, such as his successor George Mark Moraes, who was born on Salsette but settled in Bombay. Others, even those who published prolifically or lived in the metropole, were sidelined by the historical moment at which they were writing, being overshadowed by the dominance of contemporary historians who were more closely aligned with the developments of the prevailing political regime. Such is the case of José Maria Braga, who grew up in the Macau-Hong Kong region and consolidated his career as an independent researcher, with no formal link to the academy or to scientific institutions of the Portuguese metropole.

A natural child of Hong Kong, but an adoptive son and descendent of Macau, Braga emigrated to New York in the late 1960s, before settling in Australia (first Canberra, then Sydney) and finally returning to the United States (San Francisco). He produced a vast and eclectic oeuvre concerning the history of the Portuguese in Asia as well as missionary activities in the region. His work was, in fact, very much in the same vein as that undertaken by Cunha Rivara in the 1850s and 1880s, although the latter circumscribed himself to the Portuguese presence in India and concentrated his research on the archives of Goa. As pointed out by Isaú Santos ("José Maria Braga", 2014), Braga carried out important archival work, mainly in Portugal (in the National Library of Ajuda, for example, where he inventoried the existing handwritten sources by the Portuguese *Padroado* of the Orient, particularly those concerning Macau, China and Japan) but also in Italy and Japan. Taking Macau as his principal case study, he worked alongside the likes of British historian Charles Boxer, Father Manuel Teixeira from Macau and Father António da Silva Rego, with whom he corresponded. Santos further highlights the fact that the works of Boxer and Braga complement each other in their "study of Luso-Chinese relations – since the start of Jesuit missionary activities in Asia – and also in their [...] knowledge of the position of the Macau/Hong Kong axis in the circuit of information and misinformation established during the Second World War" (*Idem*, p. 299). Indeed, given his geographical localization, Braga served as a privileged point of connection/mediation between Portugal and the Portuguese community in Hong Kong. On the occasion of the first Congress of Portuguese Communities in the World, for instance, which took place in Lisbon in December 1964, he was contacted by Silva Rego, acting on behalf of the Lisbon Geographical Society, who asked him whether he could recommend representatives of the Portuguese community in Hong Kong to participate in the event.

The textual efforts to revisit the history and memory of the Portuguese presence in the East did not, however, neglect the need to create infrastructures to support the development of Oriental studies in Portugal, with frequent calls being made to (re)organize and catalogue documentary collections from the end of the nineteenth century onwards. It would be only a half-century later, in the 1950s, that figures like Silva Rego would step forward, in his case with the project for the Filmoteca Ultramarina Portuguesa [Portuguese Overseas Film Library]. Established on 28th January 1952 and integrated into the recently founded Centro de Estudos Históricos Ultramarinos [Centre for Historical Overseas Studies] in 1955, this institution's objective was to give material continuity to the history of the Portuguese presence in Asia by bringing together microfilm versions of documents relating to Portugal's expansion scattered across various archives around the world. The idea was, in essence, to create a documentary space for the conservation of the memory of the empire.

Revisiting the history of Portugal's influence in the Orient through the heroes and famous episodes of this past ultimately functioned as a kind of genealogy, which also traced the development of a particular corpus of knowledge: Oriental studies – or orientalism. In the discourse presented by Portuguese orientalists from the end of the nineteenth century up until the 1920s, this genealogy is, in reality, the genealogy of the absence of these studies in Portugal, despite the fact that, in light of the present state of the art, this period is, to this day, that during which Oriental studies and orientalism most flourished in Portugal. This act of revisiting the past also manifests itself in fin-de-siècle Portuguese literature. Advances made in transportation and an increase in opportunities to travel to the Orient – bringing people and places closer together – as well as the no less significant opening of Japan to the West in 1854, led to a rise in the transit of journalists, officials of the Portuguese state (including sailors, diplomats and consuls), intellectuals and curious amateurs, who would go on to relate their travel experiences, at times reproducing the subjects of the most academic discourses, and often evoking ethnocentric narratives based on suspicion or on observations about the backwardness or difference of the Other typified as exotic.

The inter-war and immediate post-war period was marked by the end of what Hespanha called the "republican mythology" that returned to the great figures of the history of Portuguese expansion ("O Orientalismo em Portugal", 1999, p. 30), as well as by the simultaneous rise of the right with the establishment of the *Estado Novo*. This period loosely corresponds to a phase of stagnation for both national historiographical production and Oriental studies in Portugal, but was also conducive to the cultivation of discourses concerning the country's power over the colonial Other, whether 'oriental' or African. By aligning with the ideals, interests and agenda of the regime of the *Estado Novo*, Portuguese historiography isolated itself from other traditions produced outside of the country and became a prisoner to discourses which glorified the patria and revendicated its colonial status, while also replicating racial theories posited by the likes of Ernest Renan and Gobineau, which were singularly prejudiced against foreigners. The theory of Lusotropicalism appropriated by the *Estado Novo* in order to reinforce its own ideology in the 1950s and 60s represented nothing less than a return to an orientalist discourse, in Said's definition of the term, a fact underlined by the theory's reaffirmation

and systematization in a conference at the Vasco da Gama Institute in Goa in 1951. Events glorifying the patria also became more showy and assumed a more educational role. The Portuguese World Exhibition in 1940, held in celebration of the double centenary of the foundation of Portugal and the restoration of its independence, and the commemorations of the fifth centenary of the death of Prince Henry the Navigator in 1960 offer two examples of this trend. *História de Portugal* [*The History of Portugal*], published in seven volumes between 1928 and 1954 and edited by Damião Peres, was presented as a monumental achievement commemorating the eighth centenary of the foundation of the nation, while *História da Expansão Portuguesa no Mundo* [*The History of Portuguese Global Expansion*] was a more measured affair, published in three volumes between 1937 and 1940, under the supervision of António Barão, Hernâni Cidade and Manuel Múrias. Nonetheless, its title still evokes an ecumenical project and Portugal's role in the making of world history. The last volume of this work was also published to coincide with the commemorations of the centenary of the foundation and restoration of Portugal. The country's maritime expansion was a recurrent theme and rhetorical tool in Portuguese historiography, serving as the base for symbolic narratives about the history of Portugal that are, at their root, narratives of identity through which the nation sought to preserve, instrumentalize and update a collective historical memory.

The 1960s marked the end of Portugal's influence in its overseas territories. First, in 1961, the Portuguese State of India was dismantled, one year after Portuguese daily newspaper *O Século* had dedicated a supplement to the colony on 9th December 1960, adorning the front cover with the words "the unity, the greatness and the prestige of Portugal." This was, no doubt, a last gesture of denial in the face of a conclusion already foreseen by almost everybody, a final appeal to an imperial myth which had served to defend the regime and justify its overseas endeavours. Next came the decolonization processes of Portugal's possessions in Africa, before the country's long colonial cycle finally drew to a definitive end with the transfer of sovereignty over Macau to the Chinese government in December 1999.

In overview, from 1873 to 1973, that is, shortly before the Portuguese Carnation Revolution and right when the last International Congress of Orientalists was held, just like the first, in Paris, as though in celebration of a centennial cycle that was drawing to a close, the Portuguese discourses on the Orient were interconnected by a range of different affinities. Taking the many 'oriental' spaces marked by Portugal's influence as their object of study, among those affinities the most constant, without a shadow of a doubt, is the practice of a historiography committed to the construction of a national identity and the project of an imperial past, which reveals a disjunction between history (the past) and progress, or the specialization of knowledge. One could therefore outline a discontinuous Portuguese orientalism taking place in two distinct phases: the first occurred in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and was characterized by the idealization of empire, while the second began at the end of the nineteenth century and was grounded in the awareness of Portugal's pioneering actions having opened the way for the European modernity from which the country had since been unfairly excluded. In this way, orientalism in Portugal has survived in a latent state up to the present day,

anchored in a relation of ideological interdependence between national identity and history. Epistemologically interdisciplinary, assimilating contributions from other, more consolidated disciplinary fields (such as philology, history, comparative religion, anthropology, and archaeology) and gathering a range of geo-culturally specific subdisciplines around itself (Chinese studies, Japanese studies, Sanskrit studies, etc.), orientalism has benefitted from the efforts of its agents with a view to creating an interpretive community, despite the fact that this milieu has been discontinuous and, on occasion, subjugated by the interests of personal, political, and scientific agendas.

The remark made by Luís Filipe Thomaz in 1996 that "although it is the European country with the longest experience of contact with the peoples of the East, Portugal is, as far as we know, the country in which Oriental studies are the least developed" ("Estudos árabo-islâmicos", 2012, p. 13), is the same as that made by the fin-de-siècle orientalist intellectuals at the dawn of the twentieth century. Thwarting the endeavours of these orientalists, not even a century would be enough to reverse the position of Portugal. Recent projects such as the *Dicionário dos Orientalistas de Língua Portuguesa* [Dictionary of Portuguese-language Orientalists] and *Texts and Contexts of Portuguese Orientalism: International Congresses of Orientalists (1873-1973)* (PTDC/CPC-CMP/0398/2014), already mentioned here, have recovered and given visibility to those figures, both individuals and groups who worked to insert Portugal in the networks of international orientalist debate, simultaneously revendicating the country's pioneering role in mediating the relations between Europe and Asia in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

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