

The identity of crime: contributions from medicine and physical anthropology in Portugal (1880–1940)¹

A identidade do crime: contribuições da medicina e da antropologia física em Portugal (1880–1940)

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Abstract

The aim of this article is to contribute to understanding how people who were considered criminals were identified between the end of the nineteenth century and the end of the 1930s (the heyday of eugenics theories) in Portugal. It begins by presenting some examples of theorization and practices associated with the so-called “criminal anthropology”. The examples presented refer to the Porto School of Medicine and Surgery, the University of Porto, hospitals and scientific societies, such as the Carlos Ribeiro Society and the Portuguese Society of Anthropology and Ethnology. Authors connected to other institutions and hospitals in Coimbra and Lisbon were also analysed. In the process of identifying people, anthropometric posts played an important role, as did “criminal anthropology” courses at universities and the publications that appeared. All these examples ended up contributing to disseminating proposals for recognition, but also forms of control and surveillance. The article analyses the work carried out by doctors and legal doctors. Among the various examples given, the work which António Mendes Correia (1888–1960) produced on the subject stands out, taking into account his theoretical and methodological, but also moral and ethical conceptions and his interest in psychiatry in the 1910s and 1920s, which would later lead him to the field of anthropology. At the end of the article, an explanation is sought of how intellectual elites, when trying to identify and understand deviant behaviour, also ended up producing and reproducing prejudices.

Keywords: crime; eugenics; physical anthropology; medicine; Portugal.

Resumo

Este artigo pretende trazer um contributo sobre o entendimento de como era feita a identificação das pessoas consideradas criminosas, entre os finais

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do século XIX e o final dos anos 30 do século XX (período auge das teorias eugénicas) em Portugal. Começa por apresentar alguns exemplos de teorização e práticas associadas à então chamada “antropologia criminal”. Os exemplos apresentados reportam-se à Escola Médico-Cirúrgica do Porto, à Universidade do Porto, a hospitais e a sociedades científicas, como a Sociedade Carlos Ribeiro e a Sociedade Portuguesa de Antropologia e Etnologia. Foram também analisados autores ligados a outras instituições e hospitais, em Coimbra e em Lisboa. No processo de identificação de pessoas, os postos antropométricos tiveram um papel importante, assim como os cursos de “antropologia criminal” nas universidades e as publicações que foram surgindo. Todos estes exemplos acabaram por contribuir para disseminar propostas de reconhecimento, mas também formas de controle e vigilância. O artigo analisa o trabalho realizado por médicos e médicos legistas. Entre os vários exemplos dados, é destacado o trabalho de António Mendes Correia (1888–1960), produzido sobre o tema, tendo em conta as suas concepções teóricas e metodológicas, mas também morais e éticas e o seu interesse pela psiquiatria nos anos 10 e 20 do século XX, que haveria de o conduzir mais tarde para os domínios da antropologia. No final, procura-se explicitar como as elites intelectuais, ao tentarem identificar e compreender comportamentos desviantes, acabaram também por produzir e reproduzir preconceitos.

Palavras-chave: crime; eugenia; antropologia física; medicina; Portugal.

Introduction

Between the late nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth century, some experts conceived anthropology as a science with practical applications. Such applications were considered to exist, for example, within what was defined as “criminal anthropology”. From the second half of the nineteenth century, we can find images, representing individuals from the lower social classes, individuals considered criminals, the mentally ill and women, as well as works on groups considered different or which had deviant behaviour. Often, it was the elites, or the most knowledgeable individuals, who appropriated the power to classify and compare human groups. However, those classifying were often following models of development and retardation – present, for example, in the reports of universal and colonial expositions²

² On the phenomenon of world fairs and exhibitions, and its importance to the history of anthropology, see: Matos, Patrícia Ferraz de; BirkAlan-Gedik, Hande; BARRERA-González, Andrés; Vail, Pegi (eds). *World Fairs. Special Issue of Anthropological Journal of European Cultures*, 2022, vol. 31, no. 2, pp. 1–132.

– denouncing the prejudices of those who elaborated them³. In this context, the so-called primitive peoples, for example and above all Africans, were compared with less intellectually gifted groups.

Darwinist thinking, and the foundations of social hierarchy and eugenics⁴ relied heavily on anthropometric measurements. From that point until Cesare Lombroso (1835–1909) and his disciples considered the mentally ill and criminals as comparable to the so-called primitive peoples was a short step. In this context, it was mainly physicians and specialists in physical anthropology, but also in other scientific or disciplinary areas, who had the task of classifying and weaving considerations about humanity, and in their works we can find remnants of Darwinian thought.

The intention of this article is to make a precise analysis of some of these works on “criminal anthropology”. The examples that will be presented were linked to institutions such as the Porto School of Medicine and Surgery, the University of Porto, hospitals and scientific societies, such as the Carlos Ribeiro Society and the Portuguese Society of Anthropology and Ethnology, all of these in the city of Porto, but also other institutions that played a fundamental role in this process in Coimbra and Lisbon. The authors analysed will be mainly doctors, or legal doctors, or people with training in medicine who later dedicated themselves to other areas. This is precisely the case of the anthropologist and archaeologist António Mendes Correia (1888–1960)⁵, whose work produced in the field of “criminal anthropology” will be analysed in more detail. The period of analysis is between 1880 (the year of what is considered the first dissertation on crime) and the end of the 1930s. The examples presented throughout the article will seek to highlight how, behind processes of identification and possible treatment or monitoring of deviant

³ On the relations between anthropology, colonialism and eugenics, see: Levine, Philippa. “Anthropology, Colonialism, and Eugenics” In Bashford, Alison; Levine, Philippa (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of the History of Eugenics*. Oxford, Oxford University Press, pp. 43–61. For the Portuguese case, see: MATOS, Patrícia Ferraz de. “Aperfeiçoar a ‘raça’, salvar a nação: Eugenia, teorias nacionalistas e situação colonial em Portugal” In *Trabalhos de Antropologia e Etnologia*, 2010, vol. 50, pp. 89–111.

⁴ On the history of eugenics in the international context, see: Bashford, Alison; Levine, Philippa (eds). *The Oxford Handbook of the History of Eugenics*. Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2010. Kühl, Stefan. *For the Betterment of the Race: The Rise and Fall of the International Movement for Eugenics and Racial Hygiene*. New York, Palgrave Macmillan, 2013 (1997). On the history of Latin eugenics in comparative context, see: TURDA, Marius; GILLETTE, Aaron. *Latin Eugenics in Comparative Perspective*. London & New York, Bloomsbury. For a history of eugenics in Portugal, see: CLEMINSON, Richard. *Catholicism, Race and Empire: Eugenics in Portugal (1900-1950)*. Budapest & New York, Central European University Press.

⁵ On the life and work of Mendes Correia, mentor of the Porto School of Anthropology, see: MATOS, Patrícia Ferraz de. *Anthropology, Nationalism and Colonialism: Mendes Correia and the Porto School of Anthropology*. Oxford & New York, Berghahn Books, 2023.

behaviours, there were often also prejudices, the justification of which could not come from the health or merely biological domain, but rather from social and cultural factors and which, therefore, deserve a deeper reflection.

“Criminal anthropology” in Portugal (first incursions: 1880s–1900s)

The tradition of “criminal anthropology” studies in Portugal dates from the late nineteenth century. The 1880s and 1890s saw the rise and establishment of means to control crime and individuals considered criminals, and the improvement of techniques and instruments for measurement. At that time, anthropology was also seen as anthropometry⁶.

At the Porto School of Medicine and Surgery (*Escola Médico-Cirúrgica do Porto*) some dissertations were on crime and prisons⁷. The first of them, entitled *O Crime: Apontamentos para a sua sistematização* [Crime: Notes for its systematization] by Roberto Frias, in 1880, appeared four years after *L'uomo delinquente* (1876)⁸ by Cesare Lombroso (1835–1909), an Italian criminalist who linked the physical aspect with behaviour and a tendency for criminal activity⁹.

In 1885, with the lead of the doctor Luís Bastos de Freitas Viegas (1869–1928), the anthropology laboratory in the Hospital Conde de Ferreira at Porto initiated its activity with the objective of implementing official teaching of criminal anthropology. Freitas Viegas was also professor of anatomy at the Porto School of Medicine and Surgery, founder and first president of the Portuguese Society of Anthropology and Ethnology (SPAÉ) in 1918. The *Revista de Ciências Naturaes e Sociaes* [Journal of Natural and Social Sciences] (1889–1898), of the Carlos Ribeiro Society (1888–98), also published works on

⁶ Madureira, Nuno Luís. “A Estatística do Corpo: Antropologia Física e Antropometria na Alvorada do Século XX” In *Etnográfica*, 2003, vol. 7, no. 2, pp. 283–303.

⁷ Frias, Roberto. *O Crime: Apontamentos para a sua sistematização* (degree dissertation in medicine). Porto, Escola Médico-Cirúrgica do Porto, 1880. Pereira, João António. *As prisões* (degree dissertation in medicine). Porto, Escola Médico-Cirúrgica do Porto, 1881. Fonseca, Sérgio Moreira da. *O crime: Considerações gerais* (degree dissertation in medicine). Porto, Escola Médico-Cirúrgica do Porto, 1902. Bastos, Álvaro Teixeira. *A tatuagem nos criminosos* (degree dissertation in medicine). Porto, Escola Médico-Cirúrgica do Porto, 1903. Oliveira, Manuel José de. *O problema de Lombroso: Estudo crítico de bio-sociologia sobre a teoria atávica do crime* (degree dissertation in medicine). Porto, Escola Médico-Cirúrgica do Porto, 1904.

⁸ Lombroso, Cesare. *L'uomo delinquent*. Milano, Hoepli, 1876.

⁹ On the work of Lombroso, see: Sansone, Livio. *La Galassia Lombroso*. Roma, Editori Laterza, 2022. This book results from several years of research, taking Lombroso's network into account, not only in Italy, but all around the world, especially in Europe and South America.

criminology. In volume II of this journal, the doctor Júlio de Matos (1856–1922) analysed the work *Crime et criminel*¹⁰ [Crime and criminal] (1892) by Francisco Ferraz de Macedo (1845–1907).

According to the doctor and ethnologist José Leite de Vasconcelos (1858–1941), Ferraz de Macedo “diligently devoted his efforts to criminal anthropology”, having published not also the already mentioned *Crime et criminel* (1892), but also *Bosquejos de Antropologia Criminal*¹¹ [Essays on Criminal Anthropology] (1900) and *Os criminosos “evadidos do Limoeiro em 1847”*¹² [The criminals “escaped from Limoeiro in 1847”] (1901)¹³. Ferraz de Macedo born in Portugal (Águeda), but graduated in medicine in Brazil (Rio de Janeiro), where he led his clinical practice for some years. He attended the Paris School of Anthropology and eventually settled in Lisbon.

Another example came from António Augusto da Rocha Peixoto (1866–1909), one of the founders of the Carlos Ribeiro Society in Porto, who had the work “A tatuagem em Portugal”¹⁴ [Tattoos in Portugal], published in the volume II of *Revista de Sciencias Naturaes e Sociaes* (1893), influenced by Lombroso and “criminal anthropology”¹⁵. António Aurélio da Costa Ferreira (1879–1922), a “close friend of Ferraz de Macedo”, according to Leite de Vasconcelos,¹⁶ also contributed to this area with the work *La capacité crânienne chez les criminels portugais*¹⁷ [Cranial capacity in Portuguese criminals], published in 1905 by the Société d’Anthropologie de Paris. Costa Ferreira graduated at the University of Coimbra Faculties of Philosophy (1899) and Medicine (1905). Following several periods in Paris, he settled in Lisbon in 1907. He was minister of internal development (1912–13) and in 1914 he created the Medical-Pedagogical Institute for the teaching of the mentally disabled. He

¹⁰ MACEDO, Francisco Ferraz de. *Crime et criminel: essai synthétique d’observations anatomiques, physiologiques, pathologiques et psychiques sur des délinquants vivants et morts selon la méthode et les procédés anthropologiques les plus rigoureux*. Paris, Belhate & Thomas, 1892.

¹¹ MACEDO, Francisco Ferraz de. *Bosquejos de Antropologia Criminal*. Lisbon, Imprensa Nacional, 1900.

¹² MACEDO, Francisco Ferraz de. *Os criminosos “evadidos do Limoeiro em 1847”*. Lisbon, Tipografia da Papelaria Palhares, 1901. From the seventeenth to the nineteenth century, Limoeiro was the main prison in Lisbon and also the central prison of the Portuguese penal system.

¹³ Vasconcelos, José Leite de. “A Antropologia portuguesa como fonte de investigação etnográfica” In *Boletim de Etnografia*, 1928, no. 4, p. 9.

¹⁴ Peixoto, António Augusto da Rocha. “A tatuagem em Portugal” In *Revista de Sciencias Naturaes e Sociaes*. Porto, Typographia Occidental, 1893, vol. 2, pp. 97–111 and 145.

¹⁵ See, for example: Correia, António Mendes. *A Escola Antropológica Portuense*. Lisbon, Bertrand, 1941, p. 11.

¹⁶ Vasconcelos, “A Antropologia portuguesa como fonte...”, 1928, p. 9.

¹⁷ Ferreira, António Aurélio da Costa. “La capacité crânienne chez les criminels portugais” In *Bulletins et Mémoires de la Société d’Anthropologie de Paris*, 1905, vol. 6, pp. 357–361.

was a founder of SPAE and a local correspondent of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland from 1910.

Anthropometric Posts

On August of 1899, legislation was published creating the Anthropometric Posts, to undertake “anthropometric measurements of all prisoners” who entered the Central Prison or were dispatched by police commissioners or criminal investigation judges (article 81)¹⁸. According to the Decree-Law of November of the same year, the anthropometric posts should be equipped with the Bertillon system¹⁹.

The Decree-Law of September 1901 established the creation of posts for the collection of photographs, physical measurements and fingerprints in the civil prisons of Lisbon, Porto and Ponta Delgada²⁰. According to this decree (article 77), prisons should have an anthropometric post for the study of criminal anthropology and to assist police and court services “to verify, as precisely as possible, of the identity of individuals who entered therein”²¹.

This method, which was based on “the principle that there are no persons who exactly resemble each other and that the dimensions of certain bones, unchanged from adulthood, differ considerably from one specimen to another”, would allow individuals to be identified via particular distinguishing marks and measurements of height, length of feet and the middle toe. The colour of the iris, hair, beard and skin must also be observed and placed on the prisoner’s identification card with other specifics, together with front and profile photographs, to which a serial number was assigned²².

On March 2, 1902, the Central Anthropometric Post was created next to the Civil Prison and the Tribunal da Relação do Porto [Porto Court of Appeal], under the direction of Luís de Freitas Viegas. The *Revista de Antropologia Criminal* [Journal of Criminal Anthropology] was published from this post; it was directed by António Ferreira Augusto (1851–1907) and Freitas

¹⁸ <http://digitarq.cpf.dgarq.gov.pt/details?id=39150>, accessed December 2011.

¹⁹ System developed by French anthropologist Alphonse Bertillon (1853–1914), in 1879, to identify and describe individuals using measurements of specific parts of the body (such as head, face, ears, nose, hands and feet) and frontal and profile photographs. The techniques used in this system were used to identify individuals with deviant behaviour or those considered criminals.

²⁰ <http://www.redeconhecimentojustica.mj.pt/Category.aspx?id=78>, accessed December 2011.

²¹ <http://digitarq.cpf.dgarq.gov.pt/details?id=39150>, accessed December 2011.

²² <http://digitarq.cpf.dgarq.gov.pt/details?id=39150>, accessed December 2011.

Viegas, and two issues were published²³. This post also gave rise to the work *A Tatuagem nos Criminosos [Tattoos on Criminals]*, in 1903, by Álvaro Teixeira Bastos (1879–1945)²⁴. The post was succeeded by the Department of Criminal Anthropology, Experimental Psychology and Civil Identification and by the Porto Institute of Criminology. The Anthropometric Post collected “thousands of anthropometric and fingerprint records, in addition to photographs” and tattoos²⁵. The documentary background of this post, currently under the auspices of the Portuguese Photography Centre, consists mostly of portraits of prisoners.

At the beginning of the twentieth century, at the University of Coimbra, the discipline of anthropology, created by Bernardino Machado (1851–1944), in 1885, also had a component regarding the Course in Criminal Anthropology, approved in academic year 1908/09, with the designation of Course of Anthropometry.

Creation of the identity card in Portugal

The identity card emerged with the republican regime, after 1910. In 1912, the first attempt was made to create an archive with the identification data of citizens, using scientific knowledge and the techniques used in criminal identification. The previously mentioned Aurélio da Costa Ferreira, as minister of internal development, proposed creating an identity card for all civil servants in ministries and general directorates. The document was supposed to include fingerprints of the five fingers of the right hand, particular signs and a photograph, but few employees requested the aforementioned card.

In the beginning, the creation of identification archives and identity cards raised suspicions. Some citizens feared that such initiatives were a way for the state to control citizens²⁶ and some working-class people were afraid of being seen as criminals. A curiosity is that the first identity card to be issued in Portugal, in 1914, was that of Manuel de Arriaga (1840–1917) – the first president of the Portuguese Republic between 1911 and 1915.

²³ Pessoa, Alberto. “História da introdução em Portugal dos métodos científicos de Identificação Criminal” In *Congressos do Mundo Português: Congresso da História da Actividade Científica Portuguesa, Ciências Físico-Matemáticas e Militares, Ciências Naturais e Biológicas*. Lisbon, Comissão Executiva dos Centenários, 1940, vol. 12, pp. 709–722.

²⁴ BASTOS, *A tatuagem nos criminosos...*

²⁵ Correia, *A Escola Antropológica Portuense...*, p. 14.

²⁶ Madureira, “A Estatística do Corpo...”.

Only in 1918 was the Lisbon Identification Archive created, replacing the Central Criminal Identification and Statistics Archive, and civil identification began. In 1919, the identity card was instituted by a Decree-Law (no. 5266, of 16 March), which stipulated that it was mandatory for “all persons (...) who were appointed to any civil public office in Lisbon”. For the remaining people, of both sexes, it was optional. The document had four pages, on which were inscribed the name, name of parents, place of birth, date of birth and profession, particular physical signs, a photograph, fingerprint and signature (if the person in question could write).

In 1927, the identity card became mandatory for the exercise of any profession and for enrolment in any secondary or higher education establishment. In that year, civil identification services were distributed among three archives in Lisbon, Porto and Coimbra²⁷. In 1957, the identity card had two pages and in 1970 only one page. From 1986 onwards, it became mandatory to use colour photographs. In 1992, plastic was introduced around the card and a security strip above the photograph. From 2008 onwards, the identity card began to be gradually replaced by the citizen’s card.

“Criminal anthropology” in Portugal (second incursions: 1910s–1930s)

“Criminal anthropology” was also one of the subjects of attention at the SPAE). The purpose of this society was to:

Stimulate and promote, in Portugal, the study of anthropological methods, of zoological anthropology, ethnic anthropology, prehistoric anthropology and archaeology, experimental psychology, ethnography, and of its derived or applied scientific branches, such as military, pedagogical, clinical, criminal, judiciary, etc. anthropologies²⁸.

The SPAE, which published *Trabalhos de Antropologia e Etnologia* [*Works on Anthropology and Ethnology*] exchanged its journal with others on anthropology, physical anthropology, archaeology and criminology, like the journal *Archivio de Antropologia Criminale* [*Criminal Anthropology Archive*], from Turin, from 1920.

Works on “criminal anthropology” were also presented at the scientific sessions held by this society. This was the case of the lectures: “Antropologia

²⁷ <https://www.jn.pt/nacional/bilhete-de-identidade-nasce-com-a-republica--1535340.html>, accessed in August 2022.

²⁸ *Estatutos da Sociedade Portuguesa de Antropologia e Etnologia*. Porto, SPAE, 1918, p. 3.

criminal integral” [Integral Criminal Anthropology] (1925); “Fórmulas e perfis individuais em Antropologia Criminal” [Formulas and individual profiles in Criminal Anthropology] (1933); and “Novas directrizes de antropologia criminal” [New guidelines for criminal anthropology] (1936), all presented by Mendes Correia.

Despite that, “criminal anthropology” was mainly the charge of doctors and legal doctors. In some academic years, criminal anthropology was taught as an independent subject. In the case of Porto, there was “a Department of Criminal Anthropology as a dependency of the Ministry of Justice” and this branch constituted “one of the subjects in the course for coroners” (legal doctors)²⁹. In addition to the works of anthropology produced at the University of Porto Institute of Anthropology (IAUP), others emerged from the Criminal Anthropology and Civil Identification Department, then Criminology Institute (directed first by Joaquim A. Pires de Lima [1877–1951], who succeeded Freitas Viegas, and then by Luís de Pina [1901–1972], all of whom were doctors).

In the reports prepared by physicians, the inclusion of medical terms in expressions which were more appropriate to other contexts, such as “social parasites”, to classify people whose behaviour was considered deviant, is notable. Homosexuals, for example, long classified among the mentally ill, received harsh criticism from doctors: men were supposed to be virile, not effeminate, and specialists attempted to correct these tendencies³⁰.

Between 1912 and 1939, Mendes Correia published several articles and books on criminal anthropology³¹, both in Portugal and abroad, as is

²⁹ Correia, *A Escola Antropológica Portuense...*, p. 16.

³⁰ Only in 1973 were they withdrawn from the American Psychiatric Association’s list of mental illnesses.

³¹ Correia, António Mendes. “Instrução e Criminalidade em Portugal” In offprint of *Porto Médico*, 1912a, vol. 1, pp. 1–7. Correia, António Mendes. “A Situação dos Médicos Legistas e os Progressos da Antropologia Criminal” In *Porto Médico*, 1912b, vol. 2, pp. 46–53. Correia, António Mendes. *Os Criminosos Portugueses: Estudos de Antropologia Criminal*, 1st ed. Porto, Imprensa Portuguesa, 1913; 2nd ed. Coimbra, França Amado, 1914. Correia, António Mendes. “Um Delinquente Habitual: Exame Médico Antropológico” In offprint of *Gazeta dos Hospitais do Porto*, 1913b, vol. 9, pp. 1–14. Correia, António Mendes. “A Criminalidade Precoce” In *A Tutoria*, 1913c, vol. 11, pp. 179–81. Correia, António Mendes. *Crianças Delinquentes: Subsídios para o Estudo da Criminalidade em Portugal*, Coimbra, Typ. França Amado, 1915a. Correia, António Mendes. “Antropologia Criminal Integral: O Normal Delinquente e a Crise Moral” In offprint of *Boletim do Instituto de Criminologia*, 1925, vol. 5, pp. 1–25. Correia, António Mendes. “Le Normal Délinquant et la Crise Morale” In *Revue Anthropologique*, 1926, vol. 7–9, pp. 1–22. Correia, António Mendes. *A Nova Antropologia Criminal*. Porto, Imprensa Portuguesa, 1931a. Correia, António Mendes. “Inquérito sobre as Ideias Morais em Criminosos e Não Criminosos” In offprint of *Arquivo da Repartição de Antropologia Criminal, Psicologia Experimental e Identificação Civil do Porto*, 1931b, vol. 1, no. 2, pp. 101–5. Correia, António Mendes. “O Prof. Carrara e ‘A Nova Antropologia Criminal’” In offprint of *Arquivo da Repartição de Antropologia Criminal, Psicologia Experimental e Identificação Civil do Porto*, 1931c, vol. 1, no. 3, pp. 181–90. Correia, António Mendes. “Ideias Morais em Jovens Criminosos e Não Criminosos” In *Asociación Española para el Progreso de las Ciencias*. Madrid, Huelves

the case of the conference at Brussels Law Courts on 11 May 1931, under the auspices of the Belgian Union of Criminal Law and the Royal Belgian Society of Anthropology and Prehistory³². Taking this extensiveness of Mendes Correia's work on criminal anthropology into account, the next section will be dedicated to this author's analyses.

Genius and Talent in Pathology (1911)

Mendes Correia's interest in studying individuals with deviant behaviour began in the dissertation for his medical course – *O Génio e o Talento na Patologia [Genius and Talent in Pathology]* (1911) – in which he drew up a critical overview of the doctrines that establish the pathological roots of genius and talent.³³ He sought to find traces of genius and talent in patients in the Hospital de Rilhafoles and in the Hospital Conde de Ferreira, analysing their musical and poetic compositions, drawings, paintings and portraits. Lombroso's work seems to inspire his dissertation, but mainly in criticism of it.

According to Correia, in the work *L'uomo delinquente* (1876), Lombroso's intention was to site crime as an atavistic concept.³⁴ However, many behaviours³⁵ were not explained by atavistic regression, but by mesological

y Compañía, 1932a, pp. 55–8. Correia, António Mendes. “La Nouvelle Anthropologie Criminelle” In offprint of *Scientia: Revue Internationale de Synthèse Scientifique*, 1932b, vol. 51, pp. 357–65. Correia, António Mendes. “L'Étude du Criminel en Portugal” In offprint of *Revue de Droit Pénal et de Criminologie*, 1932c, vol. 2, pp. 1–28. Correia, António Mendes. “La Nuova Antropologia Criminale” In offprint of *Giustizia penale*, 1936a, vol. 1, pp. 1–35. Correia, António Mendes. “La Nuova e la Vecchia Antropologia Criminale” In offprint of *Giustizia penale*, 1936b, vol. 7, pp. 1–50. Correia, António Mendes. “A Nova e a Velha Antropologia Criminal” In offprint of *Arquivos de Medicina Legal e Identificação*, Rio de Janeiro, Imprensa Nacional, 1937, vol. 13, pp. 1–30. Correia, António Mendes. “Les ‘Profils’ en Anthropologie, Biotypologie et Criminologie” In *Bolletino del Comitato Internazionale per L'Unificazione dei Metodi e per la Sintesi in Antropologia Eugénica e Biologia*, 1939, vol. 9, pp. 1–6.

³² CORREIA, “Étude du Criminel en Portugal”...

³³ Correia, António Mendes. *O Génio e o Talento na Patologia*. Porto, Imprensa Portuguesa, 1911.

³⁴ Lombroso, Cesare. *L'uomo delinquent*. Milano, Hoepli, 1876.

³⁵ The relationship between bodies and behaviour and between bones and other physical elements is explicitly suggested in: Stocking, George W. Jr. (ed.). *Bones, Bodies, Behaviour: Essays on Biological Anthropology*. London, University of Wisconsin Press, 1988, vol. 5. On attempts to correlate morphological characters with behavioural parameters, particularly in the North American and French tradition during the nineteenth century, see: Stocking, George W. Jr. *Race, Culture and Evolution: Essays in the History of Anthropology*. Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1968. Gould, Stephen Jay. *The Mismeasure of Man*. New York, Norton & Company, 1981. Stepan, Nancy Leys. *The Idea of Race in Science: Great Britain 1800-1960*. London, MacMillan Press, 1982. On the Brazilian case, see: Corrêa, Mariza. *As Ilusões da Liberdade: A Escola Nina Rodrigues e a Antropologia no Brasil*. 3rd ed. Rio de Janeiro, Fiocruz, 2013 (1998). Schwarcz, Lília Moritz. *O Espectáculo das Raças: Cientistas, Instituições e Questão Racial no Brasil: 1870-1930*. São Paulo, Companhia das Letras, 2007 [1993]. SOUZA, Vanderlei Sebastião de. *Renato Kehl e a Eugénica no Brasil: Ciência, Raça e Nação no Período Entreguerras*. Guarapuava, Editora Unicentro, 2019.

conditions of a social nature, that is, “it was necessary to recognise the place of moral madness, misery, alcoholism, political tyranny, mental alienation and finally other social and individual causes of human criminality”³⁶. For Correia, if Lombrosian exclusivism prevailed, the penal system’s only need would be to eliminate criminals, “once the impossibility of correcting their atavism was proven”; however, in criminal matters, “the principle of *reparation* for crime” had already been established, “the *penal substitutes*” (suggested by Enrico Ferri’s doctrines)³⁷ and the suggested “systems for *correction* of criminals, especially minors”³⁸. According to Correia:

The social value of geniuses is enormous and invaluable. They have been the vanguard of civilization, true agents of social progress. And modern humanity relegates them, summarily and with barely no defence, to the field of mental pathology! If this is not indeed an injustice, as we suppose, it is at least ingratitude³⁹.

Phrenological positions and the prejudices underlying them ended up discredited, not only because they were inconclusive, but because they were to be found at the origin of atrocities carried out on innocent people. As well as refuting the identification of genius and madness, Correia rejected Max Simon Nordau’s ideas (published in *Entartung*⁴⁰ (1892–1893)), referring to the case of Friedrich Nietzsche as evidence. Correia, then a medical finalist, believed that although Nietzsche was a genius, his madness only appeared at an advanced stage of his life⁴¹. Correia furthermore claimed that both in hygiene and in forensic medicine, a doctor “is not an ancient physicist”, a “remote surgeon” or an “archaic healer”, but “a true sociologist, who brings social facts into play and intervenes powerfully in the collective life of human societies”⁴². From his studies in hospitals, Correia concluded that: “the mentality of the alienated does not reach the limits of genius”; “among the alienated who have artistic tendencies, painters predominated, followed by poets”; the alienated

³⁶ CORREIA, *O Génio e o Talento...*, pp. 3–4.

³⁷ Enrico Ferri (1856–1929), founder of modern criminology, attributed biological e social causes to crimes.

³⁸ CORREIA, *O Génio e o Talento...*, p. 5.

³⁹ CORREIA, *O Génio e o Talento...*, p. 6.

⁴⁰ *Entartung* is a German word whose meaning is degeneration. NORDAU, Max Simon, *Entartung*, 2 vols, Berlin, Carl Duncker, 1892–1893.

⁴¹ CORREIA, *O Génio e o Talento...*, p. 101–102.

⁴² CORREIA, *O Génio e o Talento...*, p. 7.

who were authors of appreciable works of art, “were already artists ... before their illness”⁴³.

The Portuguese Criminals: Studies in Criminal Anthropology (1913, 1914)

Subsequently, Mendes Correia wrote on individuals with deviant behaviour, the “delinquent”, and “delinquent children”. He wrote specifically on criminal anthropology and it was in this area that he passed his public exams to be named second tenured assistant professor of anthropology at the University of Porto Faculty of Sciences in 1913, with the dissertation *Os Criminosos Portugueses: Estudos de Antropologia Criminal*⁴⁴ [*Portuguese Criminals: Studies in Criminal Anthropology*]. In the same year, he worked as associate judge and as a doctor at the Porto Central Youth Detention Centre, where he issued medical opinions.

Correia divided the criminals into “random” or “occasional” offenders, and “habitual” offenders. This division suggests that he believed there were false criminals – the occasional ones, like most murderers – and true ones – the habitual ones (with a congenital or acquired habit), such as thieves and vagrants. Occasional criminals were those who were free from:

profound and particular criminal tendencies, they accidentally commit a crime, moved by a powerful momentary factor, such as misery, hunger, drunkenness, passion, an emotional state, love, honour, anger, hate, revenge, or a political or religious ideal⁴⁵.

The anthropologist João Fatela, who analysed violence in Portugal between 1926 and 1946, also concluded that “homicide is a practice of adult men with no criminal past, and occurs in a context of strong relational proximity” and that, “despite the absence of global statistics by cause, everything indicates that homicides resulting from serious pathological

⁴³ CORREIA, *O Gênio e o Talento...*, p. 179. Correia’s interest in psychiatry and mental illness is contemporary with the work of eminent figures in medicine and psychiatry in Portugal, such as the nineteenth-century alienists and Miguel Bombarda, Júlio de Matos and Sobral Cid. On the work of these doctors, see: Quintais, Luís. *Mestres da Verdade Invisível: No Arquivo da Psiquiatria Forense Portuguesa*. Coimbra, Imprensa da Universidade de Coimbra, 2012.

⁴⁴ CORREIA, António Mendes. *Os Criminosos Portugueses: Estudos de Antropologia Criminal*. 1st ed. Porto, Imprensa Portuguesa, 1913a.

⁴⁵ CORREIA, António Mendes. *Os Criminosos Portugueses: Estudos de Antropologia Criminal*, 2nd ed. Coimbra, França Amado, 1914, p. 52.

anomalies are rare, as are, in fact, homicides associated with organized crime”⁴⁶.

The photographs included in the book *Os Criminosos Portugueses* [*Portuguese Criminals*], by Correia⁴⁷ (1914), were taken in prisons, or places that Michel Foucault would call surveillance spaces, in which the power of resistance is denied⁴⁸. Analysing the cases portrayed in photographs, we can see that men were mainly associated with crimes such as manufacturing counterfeit currency, forgery of documents, drunkenness and rape, while women were criminalized for infanticide or for having caused an abortion. Another interesting aspect is that beggars (*mendigos*) were considered vagrants (*vadios*), or that they could not be integrated into society and therefore were close to criminals or grouped with them in this type of analysis.

Limits of classification and determination

Mendes Correia considered that “it is premature to intend to establish an exclusively endocrinological classification of offenders”⁴⁹. According to him, the environment, although it was not omnipotent, was the “breakthrough condition”, thus emphasizing the neo-Lamarckist influence on his work. In many cases the environment acted as a factor of stimulus and advantage, and although “tendencies” may be inherited, it is “education and the environment” that complete the individual constitution⁵⁰. Correia included prostitutes in an “anthropological and social category” close to that of the criminal, as “degeneration, neurosis, psychosis, especially moral madness, hysteria and mental weakness, spread abundant stigmatization” among them; just as criminals were victims of their social environment, prostitutes were influenced by “deplorable social conditions, such as abandonment by their

⁴⁶ Fatela, João. *O Sangue e a Rua: Elementos para uma Antropologia da Violência em Portugal (1926-1946)*. Lisbon, Dom Quixote, 1989, pp. 52, 58.

⁴⁷ CORREIA, *Os Criminosos Portugueses...*, 1914.

⁴⁸ For a comparative study on the functioning of Brazilian prisons between 1930s and 1960s, based on the case study of a Penitentiary in Florianópolis, see: BORGES, Viviane. “O arquivo e a prisão: a premissa de inferioridade dos indivíduos incômodos (Brasil, 1930 – ao tempo presente)” In *Revista Brasileira de História*, 2023, vol. 43, no. 94, pp. 123–144.

⁴⁹ Correia, António Mendes. *Introdução à Antropobiologia*. Coimbra, Imprensa da Universidade, 1933, pp. 69, 75.

⁵⁰ Correia, *Introdução à Antropobiologia...*, p. 83.

family, abuse, misery, seduction, unhappy love affairs, bad or no education”; so, for Correia, there was a parallelism with criminality⁵¹.

Although Correia recognized the existence of individuals with greater predisposition to deviant and criminal behaviour, he denied that there was a “type” of born delinquent, since any individual can be a delinquent. Correia suggested the possibility of finding an index of Portuguese value based on the study of criminality, as there was a lower percentage in Portugal than that of countries considered more cultured and progressive⁵². Homicides, for example, were more frequent than in France and northern countries, but less so than in Austria, Spain, Hungary and Italy; in the case of theft, Portugal had the lowest numbers and “given the poor economic conditions of the Portuguese population, their family, legal and political disorganization and the poor educational environment..., more advanced delinquency would be expected”, according to Correia⁵³.

Besides, the real numbers of violence for the period analysed are not in fact known. João Fatela suggests that violence was hidden in Portugal as a cultural practice and that this occurred not only in this country, or during the António de Oliveira Salazar (1889–1970) dictatorship, but throughout the West, “as it became a delinquent practice”.⁵⁴ According to Fatela, this concealment cannot be separated from the legal-criminal movement that, from the nineteenth century onwards, began to hide it in the delinquent’s body and hide it in prison in order to correct it and “the legal definition of crime or tort” was the basis for bounding a field of investigation that determines the logic of violence⁵⁵.

The history of anthropology was thus linked to the history of criminology. Various anthropologists (including Correia) were involved in this criminalization; perhaps this is the reason behind Correia’s need to isolate himself from these intentions when he stated in *A Nova Antropologia Criminal* that his work was the testimony of an anthropologist⁵⁶ and that it was the jurists who should establish prophylaxis and therapies for the individual factors of crime. For this reason, except on incidental occasions, Correia set

⁵¹ CORREIA, *Os Criminosos Portugueses...*, 1914, p. 77–8.

⁵² CORREIA, *Os Criminosos Portugueses...*, 1914.

⁵³ Correia, António Mendes. *Raça e Nacionalidade*. Porto, Renascença Portuguesa, 1919, p. 162.

⁵⁴ Fatela, *O Sangue e a Rua...*, p. 14.

⁵⁵ Fatela, *O Sangue e a Rua...*, p. 14.

⁵⁶ CORREIA, *A Nova Antropologia Criminal*, p. v.

aside penal problems, the penitentiary issue and the social reforms related to the fight against crime; he also separated himself from any association with potential schools⁵⁷.

The criminal's morals

Mendes Correia's originality also lies in the idea of the criminal's moral, or psycho-moral, individuality. This idea opened new horizons for the study of the causes of crime, which interested both medical examiners (who could treat them) and jurists (who could punish them). The idea of observing (by the doctor) and punishing (by the lawyer), present in institutions where Correia exercised his duties, recalls Michel Foucault⁵⁸ and his analyses in similar institutions. The idea of morality, in part inspired by Nietzsche⁵⁹, was a constant theme for Correia and is present in several of his works. According to Correia, although some authors still defended Lombroso's old concept in the 1930s, it was no longer acceptable to consider criminals as morphologically distinct. Thus, it was necessary to research not only descriptive or somatological characteristics, but above all their "moral individuality"⁶⁰. Correia argues that often it was the environment, or a fortuitous situation, that triggered the crime⁶¹. Both in Portuguese prisons and in the *Refúgio*⁶², an annex of the Porto Youth Detention Centre (*Tutoria*)⁶³, Correia says that he encountered:

A large mass of delinquents whose criminal acts cannot be considered the product of degenerative flaws or pathological defects, but are essentially the consequence of a deplorable

⁵⁷ CORREIA, *A Nova Antropologia Criminal*, p. vi.

⁵⁸ Foucault, Michel. *Surveiller et Punir: Naissance de la Prison*. Paris, Gallimard, 1975.

⁵⁹ Correia states that it was António Emílio de Vasconcelos, a fellow student and future doctor at the Porto military hospital, who, around 1910, advised him to read this philosopher, whose *Thus Spoke Zarathustra* he had on his bedside table (Correia, António Mendes. *Em Face de Deus: Memórias e Confissões*. Porto, Fernando Machado, 1946, p. 61). Although Correia searched for this work, he only found *Twilight of the Idols*, i.e. the philosopher's penultimate work (1888) written shortly before his loss of lucidity and which, according to its author, constitutes a declaration of war on Christian morality, the misconceptions of philosophy and some "modern" trends.

⁶⁰ CORREIA, *A Nova Antropologia Criminal...*, p. 57.

⁶¹ CORREIA, *A Nova Antropologia Criminal...*, pp. 54–5.

⁶² While the *Refúgio* was the place where minors were collected until the court decision, the detention centres (*Tutoria*) were where disadvantaged children who were considered criminals or at risk were examined.

⁶³ On this institution between the 1930s and 1960s, i.e. after the publication of Correia's main works on delinquency and criminality, see: Lopes, João Teixeira (ed.). *A Tutoria do Porto: Estudo sobre a Morte Social Temporária*. Porto, Afrontamento, 2001.

earlier education. Some were absolutely *ignorant* of certain moral ideas. Were they insusceptible to acquiring these ideas? In general, no⁶⁴.

The *Tutoria* (Youth Detention Centre) collective court⁶⁵ consisted of a magistrate, a doctor and a teacher. As a doctor and assistant judge at the Porto Youth Detention Centre, established in 1912, Correia issued opinions on children and young people⁶⁶ from that year until the mid-1920s. The *Tutoria* was a republican project of social regeneration that aimed to eliminate crime and youth felonies, but also to watch over and protect the most disadvantaged social classes.

From previous observations, recorded in publications⁶⁷, and from those carried out in the *Tutoria*, Correia drew his conclusions: criminal behaviour was mainly associated with social and economic conditions, linked to aspects of moral order, education and training, hygiene and mental health rather than individuals' physical components⁶⁸. Elsewhere, he stated that crime does not decrease with education, but it can bring a reduction in the most violent occurrences⁶⁹ and he argued for the development of measures to combat social deprivation. A few years earlier, geographer Gérard Péry (1835–1893) also considered that serious crimes had decreased not because of the abolition of the death penalty in the mid-nineteenth century, but because of the increased educational level of the people⁷⁰.

For Correia, examining children and young people contributed to an understanding of the roots of crime and criminality in adults⁷¹. The instruction referred to by Correia was part of education; education was a whole which was related to the morals that must be part of the family. For Correia, “moral imperfection ... is the fulcrum of the criminal problem”⁷². It was because the

⁶⁴ Correia, “Antropologia Criminal Integral...”, p. 3.

⁶⁵ The youth detention centres were instituted by the decree of 27 May 1911.

⁶⁶ Studies on delinquent children were initiated by Ferreira Augusto and Luís de Freitas Viegas.

⁶⁷ Correia, *O Génio e o Talento na Patologia....* CORREIA, *Os Criminosos Portugueses...*

⁶⁸ CORREIA, *Crianças Delinquentes...*

⁶⁹ Correia, “Instrução e Criminalidade em Portugal”.... CORREIA, “A Criminalidade Precoce”...

⁷⁰ Péry, Gérard. *Geografia e Estatística Geral de Portugal e Colónias*. Lisbon, Imprensa Nacional, 1875, p. 284.

⁷¹ CORREIA, *Crianças Delinquentes....* CORREIA, “Antropologia Criminal Integral”... CORREIA, *A Nova Antropologia Criminal...*

⁷² CORREIA, “Antropologia Criminal Integral”..., p. 21.

children⁷³ were in “moral danger”⁷⁴ that they should be under the tutelage of the state, with the state replacing the family; they were the institutions that exercised pedagogical and social reintegration functions.

From medicine (psychiatry) to anthropology

From the analysis of the work produced by Mendes Correia, one of the conclusions that can be drawn is that he took a path from medicine (especially in the domain of psychiatry) to anthropology. These two areas – medicine and psychiatry – garnered the interest of Mendes Correia in anthropology, and he saw “criminal anthropology” as one of the possible practical uses of anthropology.

In the anthropology course he taught at the University of Porto Faculty of Sciences⁷⁵, he included references to: Ferraz de Macedo (*Crime et criminel* [*Crime and criminal*]); Alfredo Luiz Lopes (*Estudos de antropologia criminal* [*Studies on Criminal Anthropology*]); Basílio Freire (*Os degenerados* [*The degenerated*] and *Os criminosos* [*The Criminals*]); and Álvaro Teixeira Bastos (*A tatuagem nos criminosos: estudo feito no posto antropométrico da Cadeia da Relação* [*Tattooing on criminals: a study carried out at the anthropometric post of the Relação Jail*]). His interest in this area made him a member of the Society of Criminology and Forensic Medicine in Sao Paulo (Brazil), for example. He published in journals dedicated to criminology, such as: *Arquivo da Repartição de Antropologia Criminal, Psicologia Experimental e Identificação Civil do Porto* (*Archive of the Department of Criminal Anthropology, Experimental Psychology and Civil Identification of Porto*);

⁷³ On measures to improve the human species from childhood, within the assumptions of eugenics, in a comparative perspective between Brazil and Portugal (first half of the 20th century), see: WEBER, Maria Julieta; MATOS, Patrícia Ferraz de. “Melhorar a espécie humana desde a infância: Eugenia e higiene mental no Brasil e em Portugal (primeira metade do século XX)” In *Zero-a-Seis*, 2023, vol. 25, no. 47, pp. 16–40.

⁷⁴ According to the Decree-Law of 27 May 1911, the “minors in moral danger” were those who “had no fixed abode or means of subsistence (due to the absence of parents, guardians, relatives, etc., due to illness or imprisonment of the children themselves), those whose parents or guardians were recognized as incapable or powerless to fulfil their parental or guardian duties, as well as those who lived in the company of parents or guardians who ‘severely neglected their duties to watch over and educate their children’, who they had ‘notorious and scandalous behaviour’, who were ‘known as being habitually idle, beggars, strays, alcoholics, burglars, ruffians, prostitutes or other immoral beings’, who habitually deprived their children of food and other essential health care, physically abused them in a habitual or excessive manner, made them to ‘steal’, beg or prostitute themselves, were employed in ‘banned, dangerous or inhuman’ professions, and/or had been convicted for certain crimes” (Bastos, Susana Pereira. *O Estado Novo e os Seus Vadios: Contribuição para o Estudo das Identidades Marginais e da sua Repressão*. Lisbon, Dom Quixote, 1997, p. 201).

⁷⁵ Correia, António Mendes. *Antropologia: Resumo das Lições Feitas pelo Assistente, Servindo de Professor da Cadeira*. Porto, Imprensa Portuguesa, 1915b.

Boletim do Instituto de Criminologia (Bulletin of the Institute of Criminology) (in Lisbon); and *Revue de droit pénal et de criminologie (Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology* [in Brussels]). In 1934, he visited Brazil⁷⁶ and presented a conference at the Congresso Nacional de Identificação (National Congress of Identification). His conference was entitled “*O indivíduo, realidade biológica*” [The individual, biological reality], and included the topics of criminology and criminal anthropology⁷⁷. During the same visit, and at the Institute of Lawyers, he presented the lecture “*Os criminosos em Portugal*” [Criminals in Portugal].

Correia wrote about various deteriorations – linguistic, moral or behavioural – defined from the starting point of norms and deviations, or from the establishment of deviant behaviour in the later terminology of Erving Goffman (1922–1982)⁷⁸. Correia wrote “The slang of delinquent children”, where he explored the vocabulary used by minors admitted to the Youth Detention Centre⁷⁹. On the other hand, he analysed the slang used by “Portuguese criminals”⁸⁰; he pointed out that some vocabulary was not exclusive to delinquent children and was in common use in criminal circles in Porto⁸¹. The analysis of his work allows us to conclude that it was the distortion of a certain norm (which could be invented or idealized) that could reveal the deviation. According to Correia, “slang and certain tattoos pull down the morally regular people who use them, to some extent”; it does not matter that tattoos are religious emblems, such as crucifixes, as the “delinquents” who used them often did not know their meaning, or adopted them out of subservience or imitation, and they could be side by side with “obscene representations” such as “naked women in lubricious positions” (Figure 1). On the other hand, manifestations of religiosity of criminals and prostitutes had a tenuous moral value, as they do not “guide their conduct by the norms established by religion”⁸².

⁷⁶ On this visit, see: MATOS, Patrícia Ferraz de. “Um olhar sobre as relações entre Portugal e o Brasil a partir da obra de Mendes Correia: desafios, pontes e interações” In *População e Sociedade*, 2013, vol. 21, pp. 53–69.

⁷⁷ Abstract of the lecture: “Diferenças individuais, nos aspectos morfológico, bioquímico e psíquico. Os fundamentos genéticos da desigualdade. A importância da definição da individualidade em medicina clínica, pedagogia, criminologia, etc. Fórmulas e perfis individuais em Antropologia Criminal” [Individual differences, in morphological, biochemical and psychic aspects. The genetic foundations of inequality. The importance of defining individuality in clinical medicine, pedagogy, criminology, etc. Formulas and individual profiles in Criminal Anthropology].

⁷⁸ Goffman, Erving. *Stigma: Notes on the Management of Spoiled Identity*. New York, Simon & Schuster, 1963.

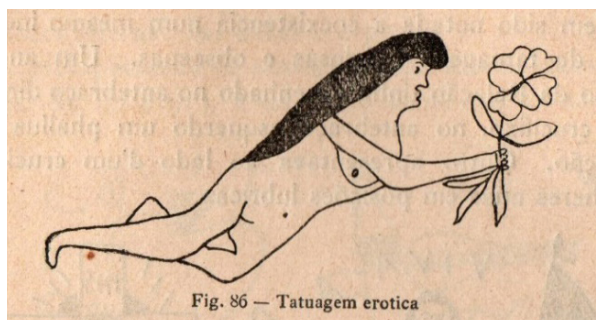
⁷⁹ Correia, *A Nova Antropologia Criminal...*, pp. 57–169.

⁸⁰ CORREIA, *Os Criminosos Portugueses...*, 2nd ed., pp. 244–7.

⁸¹ Correia, *A Nova Antropologia Criminal...*, p. 159.

⁸² Correia, *A Nova Antropologia Criminal...*, pp. 166, 168–9.

Figure 1. “Tatuagem erótica” [Erotic tattoo]



Source: Taken from CORREIA⁸³

Conclusion

In conclusion, it can be said that often, it was the elites, or the most knowledgeable individuals, who appropriated the power to classify and compare human groups. However, those who classified were often following models of development and retardation denouncing their prejudices. In the analysed context, it was mainly physicians and specialists in physical anthropology who had the task of classifying and weaving considerations about humanity, and in their works we can find remnants of Darwinian thought. The context of analysis was also influenced by eugenic theories and proposals for the improvement of the human species.

On the work of Mendes Correia, to which I have given special emphasis, it can be concluded that unlike Lombroso, Correia considered that “criminals” were not necessarily pathologically abnormal. And while Correia did not exclude biological factors, he placed great importance on the psychological, moral and social factors of crime. Correia analysed different types of crime and how they can be relative, taking into account the context in which they occur, as well as different types of criminals. However, at the same time as criticizing Lombroso and giving rise to the task of the anthropologist by promoting the importance of individuality and knowledge of its context, Correia ended up typifying the Portuguese by attributing psychological characteristics to them, such as being: “excessive and unstable as authentic southerners”; “aggressive and intelligent”, not possessing “the cruelty of

⁸³ CORREIA, *Os Criminosos Portugueses...*, 2nd ed., p. 86.

the Calabrian or the Neapolitan”; these characteristics also led him to the conclusion that the Portuguese were those who had the lowest percentages of homicides and crimes against property in the statistics⁸⁴.

Thus, although he criticized Lombroso and correctly argued that crime is relative and that the individuals who commit it can be normal beings at the outset, Correia ended up not following his misgivings to their ultimate consequences. By considering that there are social and national reasons for certain behaviours, he ended up diminishing the importance of this individuality; that is, by replacing the biological determinism proposed by Lombroso, the result, in a way, is social determinism. In some situations, however, Correia sought to analyse the sociocultural context in which the crime occurred.

Currently, there are, at least, still two theses that support the possible correlation between biology and deviant behaviour: by the doctor (neurologist) António Damásio, who highlights the role of the orbitofrontal cortex as a sensitive area in psychopaths; and the neurologist James Blair for whom the amygdala (the area between the orbitofrontal cortex and the hippocampus) is the zone which is the focal point for the study of individuals considered criminals.

This issue is not closed. Although the technical means of the past, and their consequent determinisms, are no longer in force, today there are other techniques, which are more sophisticated but which demonstrate the power to identify, such as biometric technologies. Biometric surveillance, for example, is at the intersection of migration and crime control and can also be influenced by racism⁸⁵. On the other hand, biometric data, with avatars able to identify people who could create problems in the future, can be powerful tools to protect people, but also to control citizens.

⁸⁴ CORREIA, *Os Criminosos Portugueses...*, p. 39. The first statistical study of criminality in Portugal, given its efforts in interpretation and its systematic character, is the “Statistical Study of Crime in Portugal from 1891 to 1895”, by A. Luís Lopes, which was prepared at the request of the organizing committee of the National Congress of Medicine in Lisbon, in 1897 and published by the Imprensa Nacional de Lisboa (Fatela, *O Sangue e a Rua...*, p. 26).

⁸⁵ Amelung, Nina. “‘Crisis’, control and circulation: Biometric surveillance in the policing of the ‘crimmigrant other’” In *International Journal of Police Science & Management*, 2023, vol. 25, no. 3, pp. 297–312.

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