Eastwards / Westwards: Which Direction for Gender Studies in the 21st Century? is a collection of essays which focus on themes and methods that characterize the current research on gender in Asian countries in general, under a comparative approach that tries to cut across the boundaries of time and space.

In this collection, ideas derived from Gender Studies as they are practised all over the world have been subjected to scrutiny for their utility in helping to describe and understand regional phenomena. But the concepts of 'local' and 'global'—with their discoursive productions—have not functioned here as a binary opposition: localism and globalism are mutually constitutive and the authors have interrogated those spaces of interaction between the 'self' and the 'other', bearing in mind their own embeddedness in social and cultural structures and their own historical memory.

Clara Sarmento, PhD in Contemporary Portuguese Culture, develops her research on intercultural representations of gender, as the coordinator of the Centre for Intercultural Studies of the Polytechnic Institute of Oporto, where she holds her teaching position.

Clara Sarmento

EASTWARDS / WESTWARDS

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Which Direction for Gender Studies in the 21st Century?

Edited by

Clara Sarmento

CSP

of women in early China who were noted for various virtues", though the final chapter concerns exemplars of feminine wickedness. After its composition, the LNZ (*Lienu Zhuan*) became the standard textbook for female education for the next two millennia, inspiring generations of Chinese women to cultivate, not only traditional virtues, such as filial piety and maternal kindness, but lauding practices such as suicide and self-mutilation as a means to preserve chastity.

[37] Introduced by Deng Xiaoping with the 14th Congress of the CCP.

[38] The conference was held at *Shanghai Fudan Daxue*, on November 19-22, 2002.

[39] This increase is somehow due to the fact that, for a long period of time, some phenomena, such as homosexuality, were considered crimes, and therefore were not declared.

CHAPTER SIX

THE "OTHER WOMAN" IN THE OVERSEAS SPACE: THE CASE OF PORTUGUESE INDIA[1]

MARIA DE DEUS MANSO

Introduction

"Empire, conquest, commerce and treaties" are words that transport us into another world, another culture and another civilization. Historians are almost always absorbed–or for a long period of time they have been absorbed–by the worry of reconstructing roots, the models of Portuguese occupation, and above all, by the glorious style of its action, not forgetting the "efficient" way in which we applied the values of the Western civilization, disdaining or undervaluing the reaction of the indigenous populations. In this crossing of cultures we have to distinguish the ones that voluntarily "accepted the invader" and consequently, his canons, and those, living in the same place, that have chosen to live according to their ancestral traditions.

Considering the great geographic extension and the great cultural heterogeneity of India, the Lusitanian presence was not uniform: an aspect that will condition the history of the Portuguese on that domain, in a political, economic and cultural point of view. What we bring here is a very specific aspect of our presence in the region: the study of the "other" woman, that is, the non-European woman that lived in that Portuguese space. Generally speaking, studies about women, both European and native, have not obtained much attention from researchers. However, there are some works about European women in the colonial space, such as Charles Boxer's 1975 book *A Mulher na Expansão Ultramarina Ibérica*, [*Women in the Iberian Overseas Expansion*][2]. Boxer shows us different types of women in the "four corners of the world", from the European resident to the indigenous woman: wives, daughters, lovers, widows, maids, concubines, and slaves. This was a pioneering though brief work

written in the 70's, whose subject was retaken with significance about two decades later at the international congress *O Rosto Feminino na Expansão Portuguesa* [*The Female Face of the Portuguese Expansion*], the 1995 issue of *Oceanos* [*Oceans*] about *Mulheres no Mar Salgado* [*Women in the Salty Sea*], and Timothy Coates's *Degredados e Órfãs* [*The Exiled and the Orphans*]–*Colonization directed by the crown in the Portuguese empire: 1550-1755*[3].

The last decades, under a historiographic point-of-view, underwent a deep change, above all, due to the rise of the so-called "vision of the defeated"[4] or of the "less important people"[5], where History is placed in the feminine. Nowadays, we are not only worried about European history but also about the history of the "other" civilizations, and above all, about the way in which the West acted towards those societies, analyzing the absorption of, as well as the opposition to, the invading culture[6]. The ways of imposing or accepting an "unknown" culture were in part due to the actions of the royal representatives and the Church. Even though they were almost always together in the sense of establishing or reproducing Western models in those places where the political integration of the people required their Christianization[7], they did not always agree in the methods of colonization, and not always did the gentiles react to the system in the same way. The reasons for this fact were many and varied along time but, as it is obvious, the ancestral traditions of these people and the socio-political interests of both cultures have contributed to either the acceptance or the rejection of "the replica of the old world"[8].

As in many other periods of history, the cross-cultural situations are not always clear, regardless of the separation that may exist amongst groups. It becomes inevitable that aspects of both cultures interweave, contributing to the end of the cultural "purity" of both sides, as occurred in arts, architecture, religion, language, food, clothing, and rites of passage[9].

Considering what we have just written, the gentile or Muslim women that would not convert to Christianity, and that in subsequent Portuguese conquests would live in Portuguese territory–as subjects of the Portuguese Monarch–even keeping their religious beliefs and ancestral traditions (because it was allowed by the Portuguese authorities), had to confront a new socio-political and religious reality that would not always allow the preservation of their memory as a member of another ethno-cultural reality. Several institutions have contributed to this situation, among them, the Church, which tried to limit many practices by way of synodic decisions and of legislation passed by the Portuguese government. This connection of efforts that imposed a series of rules set the women's daily routine. Bearing this in mind, we will study some documentation that was

published about the Portuguese conquests in India, so that we can understand the transformations or the continuity in women's lives, while remaining "unfaithful" or gentile, but living in a Portuguese land.

The "Other Women" of Portuguese India

The daily routine of the indigenous woman, since the arrival of the Portuguese, suffered from a corruption that was manifested in distinctive ways. This circumstance was due to the different times and different methods of Portuguese settlement. It is not our purpose to analyze this aspect, that has already been deeply studied, but we will not neglect it either[10]. This study will follow the general documentation we have consulted, both on the regions where the Portuguese presence was most significant, and on the areas where this presence was scarce[11].

Therefore, in the first place, we have the reality of Goa or, better, the region of "the old conquests", where virtually all the population was Christian. At the end of the 16th century, beginning of the 17th century, 300,000 souls resided in old Goa, of which three-quarters professed Christianity[12]. The intolerance felt at the beginning caused the majority of the population to convert or to escape, creating, in the course of time, a new wave of emigration, for example, to Canará and Monomotapa[13]. On the other hand, the Christian mission found here a land that was easily molded to the synod or royal resolutions; the same did not happen, for instance, in Damão, Diu, and Baçaim. In Goa, a practice of interracial crossing was initiated from the beginning, which does not mean that at the beginning the mixing of "races" was a reality. It is generally known that, based on the structure of Hindu society, the castes would not interact with each other, and the Europeans were only able to do so with the "marginal" stratum of the society: dancing girls and widows[14].

The concept of miscegenation used by S. Gruzinski for Latin America is applicable in Goa, as the *modus vivendi* of these people was altered, not only by the sequential application of many of the structures that constituted Portuguese society–even though they maintained the local institutions, the organization of rural and commercial life, and the caste system–but also by the adaptation of some Hindu practices by the Christian population, in religious constructions, in the housing architecture, in the introduction of new furniture, in the style of clothing, in entertainment, and in the interaction of the Europeans with some castes. As far as the marginal sectors are concerned, as previously mentioned, this relationship between the Europeans and the marginal castes was the start

of a new reality, where the later were given a greater social value that the system they belonged to did not allow[15].

If Goa represented a success for Christianity outside of Europe, the same did not happen, for example, in Damão or Diu, where the process of Christianization used by the Portuguese authorities was different. The number of Christians was also inferior to that of Goa, where, at times, the cult was limited to the Portuguese locations. However, we cannot assert that the local life was not subjected to a new reality resulting from the arrival of the new comer.

Even though Afonso de Albuquerque has become known as the liberator of the Hindu population from the Muslim dominance, his life was soon changed and a new reality emerged with the publication of the *Foral dos Usos e Costumes* [*Register of Uses and Customs*] on 16 September 1526, whose purpose was to codify the common law which governed the towns of Goa. This *Foral* [*Register*] established a new direction for the government of these communities[16]. Such direction was not linear, in part due to the policy of conversions after the arrival of the Jesuits, and to the political and economic interests of royal authorities. This, together with other legislation published along the years, contributed to the near extinction of the practice of Hinduism.

Many were the determinations that touched the everyday life of those "other women"[17]. One of the first things, as already mentioned, was the *Foral* published in 1526. The Portuguese authorities wished to create a written law that would regulate society, avoiding arbitrary decisions in the government of towns and, if possible, leading to a peaceful relationship between the different groups. The intolerance experienced in Europe had been extended to here. In an effort by the religious authorities to apply many of the determinations from Trento, they tried to discipline society according to Catholic canons, and when this was not possible, they attempted to separate the communities or banish the non-Catholics, perhaps in order to avoid losing the converts. With this intention, five synods were created in Goa during the 16th century. The decrees of the Councils of Goa in the 16th century served as the basis for civil missionary legislation[18]. In order to understand the dimension of the politics related to proselytes, in locations and fortresses where Portugal had an effective power, we should recognize the relevance of the documentation published in the book of "*Pai dos Cristãos*" [*Father of the Christians*]. The image of the "*Pai dos Cristãos*", which was not an ecclesiastic institution but a secular one and related to the state, was an institution of public rights, which copied many laws, provisions and permits from the *Livros dos Oficiais e Livros de Alvarás e das Monções* [*Books of the Officials and*

Books of Permits and of Opportunities], a practice that allows us to understand part of the missionary policy and methods carried out by the Crown and the Church in the Portuguese Orient[19]. The legislation published here essentially consists of the privileges granted to the Christian community, the mechanisms used in the process of conversion, and the methods applied to those who attempted to obstruct the process of Christianization (either as a policy or as privileges and/or segregation)[20].

Concerning the politics directed by the Church, the synods created in Goa a fundamental source to understand what the ecclesiastic authorities wished to implement. In the first provincial council, celebrated in Goa in 1567, it was written that:

> It is necessary to banish from the lands of "anonymous society" every unfaithful that has the role of maintaining their false religions, such as the Moorish priests, the preachers of the gentiles, yogis, sorcerers, *jousis*, *grous* and many others who are amongst the unfaithful religions such as the Brahmans, and *parbus*, who profess the gentiles' beliefs, and who are their leaders.[21]

This attitude will steer many of the deliberations taken along the years, securing other non-Catholic "educators".

The decisions did not always have the expected results, meaning, not everybody would abandon the locations of strong Portuguese presence. Some would opt to remain, but would not comply with the decree and, in other cases, the "Portuguese will" was limited by the Hindu majority that surrounded the region. An aspect worth note refers to the case of those who remained under Portuguese control, especially in the "old conquests", but that would practice many of the Hindu ceremonies in "terra firme" and, in many cases, had their families there. This concept of "terra firme" (which was understood as the lands which were not under Portuguese control) appeared to the gentiles as a synonym for "freedom", for the free practice of their rituals, while for the Portuguese it meant the land of "perdition" and "transgression". This aspect suggests a limited exercise of the Portuguese power, or rather, a contiguous existence of other non-Catholic powers undermining many of the desired policies, for example, the prohibition of rites of passage and the education of orphans, as some orphans were transferred into there, thus excluding the underlying process of catechization. The Hindus who remained here, according to the Church, not only should live in separate neighborhoods, but should also use exterior markings that would identify them, an imposition towards minorities that also occurred in the Kingdom. This strategy for marking the difference would allegedly force them to adopt Christianity[22]. When

going outside, the gentile woman would wear a red cloth upon her uncovered shoulder[23]. They were also prohibited from exercising some professions, such as dancers, caretakers and midwives[24]. These measures intended to prevent some Hindu traditions from being assimilated into Catholic tradition, as was the case of the dancing girls who took part in processions, and to avoid any contact between families and their children and Hinduism[25]. In the case of newborns, they had to be assisted by Christians that could immediately administer baptism, should their lives be in danger[26].

However, going back to an age very distant from ours, we may ask if many of these methods were due to the value ascribed to Hindu women, or rather, to a form of Europeanizing or Christianizing. We believe that the second aspect is more significant, as one of the reasons for implementing a new culture was the emergence of a new Man, in the broad sense of the word. We will take as an example the case of polygamy, a topic that caused a great debate[27]. The Catholic authorities understood that this was an obstacle to the process of conversion. To the Europeans, this was a condemnable, immoral practice. But the same did not occur with the gentiles, who associated polygamy to the idea of prestige and power. However, the Church–wishing to ban such behaviours and to universalize certain principles–ordered that every convert should have only one wife, the one who he first betrothed, and that the others should be rejected[28]. This doctrine sometimes led to the persecution of missionary priests. But then, what would happen to the rejected woman? Due to the low status granted to women in this society, in the case of isolated conversions, the rejected woman was ostracized. When this happened on "mostly Christian land", they would try to educate her in the Christian beliefs and would arrange a marriage with a Christian husband. She was rarely given the possibility of a choice: this "solution" was actually imposed upon her. In the case of a married woman that opted for the Christian baptism, whose husband did not follow her example, and who would separate from her as a result of the conversion, the man was forced to provide for her and their children until she remarried, perhaps in the hope that he might also be Christianized, "because it was not a reason that, by converting, she should lose them, that by fault of the husband and not hers, she would no longer live with him"[29]. However, when the convert was the husband, he would no longer have any responsibility towards the woman that remained gentile.

The attempt to eliminate many of the gentile traditions and the desire to "provide brides" banned practices such as the habit of widows having their heads shaved, being burned alive (*sati*) and being prevented from remarrying[30]. One could be led to think that the role of women as educators became thus reinforced, but that was not the case. If the woman did not convert, she would lose the right to her children who, in most cases, were sent to St. Paul's School (*Colégio de S. Paulo*) or educated by Christians, and immediately baptized[31]. This persistence is the proof that no rights were acknowledged to the Hindu woman over her children. They were considered as orphans even though their mother was alive. As far as inheritance is concerned, no change was observed as long as the woman remained in the "old faith".

Conclusion

Going back to the idea that the process of colonization and the missionary policy varied along time and space[32], we must emphasize that the later conquests, called the "new conquests", in the 18th century, took on a new life: Portuguese civil authorities did not suppress the rights, as well as the uses and the traditional customs of those who would not convert. In the old conquests, in the last decade of the 17th century, some changes had already occurred: regardless of the original reasons–political, social, and economic instability–the gentiles were now governed and judged by the laws of the kingdom, in terms of succession and division of assets[33]. Such attitudes reflected the political, religious, and economic atmosphere lived in Europe during both periods.

In material terms, the situation of women was favored. As an example, the widowed Hindu woman inherited the husband's belongings, an aspect sealed by Hindu law[34]. In terms of relationship with the family and the community, women had to live in accordance with tradition. This woman, who became entitled to the husband's inheritance, was still forbidden to remarry and, when she did so (the so-called "mulher de pano" or "woman of cloth"), this union would not have the "effects of marriage" nor were the children considered to be legitimate. Also, amongst the gentile and the Muslims, the practice of polygamy was allowed, even though the husband could ask for the dissolution of the marriage, in case the woman committed adultery. Identical measures were applied to Damão and Diu[35].

To sum up, we would like to say that the initial Portuguese religious fervor, supported and developed by the Crown, and the product of several circumstances, eventually diminished and gave in to the demands of the non-Christian population, who resisted the policies of Christianization. Moreover, the published legislation, especially after 1691, is without a doubt a "compound" of Portuguese legislation with its Hindu counterpart. The Hindu and Christian "purity" were touched by and adapted to local

circumstances, allowing the peaceful cohabitation of different groups, in a territory where the Portuguese presence had already become effective[36].

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[1] Translated by Ana P. Melo and Richard F. Mello.

[2] See also: Bouchon, Geneviève, "Les Femmes Dans La Société Coloniale Ibérique". In *Inde Découverte, Inde Retrouvée 1498-1630. Études d'histoire indo-portugaise.* Lisbonne et Paris, Centre Culturel Calouste Gulbenkian, CNPCDP, 1999, p. 383.

[3] As an example, we have cited only those studies of general information on the Empire, but there are specific studies on Brazil and the Portuguese Africa. About the Orient, however, very little has been done.

[4] Gruzinski, Serge. *O Pensamento Mestiço* [*The Mestizo Thought*]. S. Paulo, Companhia das Letras, 2001, p. 55.

[5] This concept is originary from the work of: Andrés-Gallego, José. *História da Gente Pouco Importante: América e Europa até 1789* [*The History of Less Important People: America and Europe until 1789*]. Lisbon, Estampa, 1993. We have also tried to include in these pages topics that, until recently, had not been the object of study. We would like to unveil themes and subjects that, so far, have not obtained much attention in the overseas gest, in the perception of the other.

[6] On the topic, although focused on the process that occurred in Latin America, we recommend Serge Gruzinski's *O Pensamento Mestiço*. As the term "*mestiçagens*" (miscegenations) is problematic, we suggest: Burke, Peter. *Hibridismo Cultural* [*Cultural Hybridism*]. São Leopoldo, Editora Unisinos, 2003.

[7] This demand has not always been practical. In the case of India, the methods of contact varied according to the location. In many places, it was only possible to establish a political and commercial relationship.

[8] Gruzinski, Serge, *op.cit.* About the Portuguese identity in India, we recommend: Bouchon, Geneviève. "Evolução e sobrevivência da identidade portuguesa na Ásia" [*Evolution and Survival of the Portuguese identity in Asia*]. In *Revista Cultural de Macau* [*Cultural Review of Macao*]. Macao, November 1991, p. 94.

[9] The process of miscegenation had started long ago, but here we only refer to the modern period, to the period of the great discoveries.

[10] About Goa, many works have already been published, but we recommend: Santos, Catarina Madeira. '*Goa é a chave de toda a Índia': Perfil político da capital do Estado da Índia, 1505-1570* [*'Goa is the key to all Índia': Politcal Profile of the capital of the State of India*]. Lisbon, CNPCDP, 1999. Thomaz, Luís Filipe. *De Ceuta a Timor* [*From Ceuta to Timor*]. Viseu, Difel, 1994. Lopes, Maria Jesus dos Mártires. *Goa Setecentista: Tradição e Modernidade* [*18ᵗʰ century Goa: Tradition and Modernity*]. Lisbon, Center for the Study of People and Cultures of Portuguese Expression, Universidade Católica, 1999. Souza, Teotónio de. *Goa Medieval. A Cidade e o Interior no Século XVII* [*Medieval Goa. The City and its Interior in the 17th century*]. Lisbon, Ed. Estampa, 1994. About other locations

where the Portuguese presence is found in the State of India, we recommend: Couto, Dejanirah. "A Fortaleza de Baçaim: Fortalezas da Expansão Portuguesa" ["Fortress of Baçaim: Fortresses of the Portuguese Expansion"]. In *Oceanos* [*Oceans*] nº 28, Oct.-Dec. 1996, pp. 105-126. Garcia, José Manuel. "Breve roteiro das fortificações portuguesas no Estado da Índia" [*Brief Guidebook of Portuguese Fortifications in the State of India*]. In *Oceanos* nº 28, Oct.-Dec. 1996, pp. 121-126.

[11] One of our main sources is: *Arquivo Português Oriental* [*Archives of the Portuguese Orient*], ed. J. H. Cunha Rivara. New Goa, National Press, 1857-1876 (reprinted: New Deli & Madras, Asian Educational Services, 1992). From here on, it shall be cited as *APO*.

[12] Brito, Raquel Soeiro de. *Goa e as Praças do Norte Revisitadas*. Lisbon, CNPCDP, 1998, p. 105. About the population, see: Souza, Teotónio de, *op. cit.*, pp. 52 onwards.

[13] Souza, Teotónio de, *op. cit*, p. 54.

[14] The influence of elements of Hindu culture was also felt among the European Christians, namely in cultural practices, for instance, in the use of musical instruments in gentile feasts (Lopes, Maria de Jesus dos Mártires, *op. cit.*, p. 250).

[15] See the article : Carletti, Francesco. "La cité des Plaisirs, Goa 1500-1685". In *L'Inde Portugaise, apostolique et commerciale*, colléction *Mémoires* nº 41. Paris, Autrement, 1996, pp. 159-180. Lopes, Maria de Jesus dos Mártires, *op. cit.*, p. 252 onwards.

[16] Souza, Teotónio de, *op. cit.*, p. 59.

[17] Since men are also part of society, it is obvious that many of the references made also changed the everyday lives of men. About the European women that would leave to India, and about the mechanisms used by the Portuguese crown both for the conversion of the populations and to favour Christian women, see: Coates, Timothy. "Colonização Feminina patrocinada pelos Poderes Públicos no Estado da Índia (1550-1750)" [*Female Colonization sponsored by the Public Authorities in the State of India*]. In *Oceanos* nº 21, January-March 1995, pp. 34-45. Kamat, Pratima. "Instituições de Caridade e a Mulher em Goa (1510-1835)" [*Institutions of Charity and the Women in Goa*]. In *Oceanos* nº 21, January-March, 1995, pp. 45-52.

[18] Here we indicate the decisions especially of the First Council of Goa (1567) because the civil missionary legislation was based on the councils, and particularly, on the book of *Pai dos Cristãos* [*Father of the Christians*], commented and annotated by José Wicki S. J. (Lisbon, Center for Historic Overseas Studies, 1969, p. X).

[19] Book of *Pai dos Cristãos*, *op.cit*, p. X. We highlight the role of the following kings: John III and his wife, Catherine, Sebastian, Henry and of the kings of the Philippine period, in particular, Phillip I. Of equal importance is the viceroyalty of Constantino de Bragança and of António de Noronha.

[20] This work is the result of two codices found at the time, designated as the *Arquivo do Estado da Índia* [*Archive of the State of India*], in Goa, with the

number 9529–Prediction in favor of Christendom (The Book of *Pai dos Cristãos*)–
and number 7693–Laws in favor of Christendom.

[21] *APO*, fasc. 4, p. 11. In this volume, we find four synods created in Goa and they all point out the same aspects concerning women, i.e., they insist on the same decrees, which means that they insist on the same policies along time and that the Hindu society insists on living according to their own traditions.

[22] The council distinguishes between the honorable woman and the erroneous gentile woman, who should also live in separate places.

[23] *APO*, fasc. 4, p. 71.

[24] This prohibition was not only aimed at dancers, but also at any type of entertainment which was not in accordance with Christian canons: "Como não há cousa, que mais incite a sensualidade, que cantos, e bailes lascivos, e deshonestos, manda este sagrado Synodo sob pena de excomunhão que nenhuma pessoa daquy por diante seja ousada a bailar ou cantar a sarabanda, nem as cantigas que chamão mundã, ou cafrinho, nem os mande bailar, ou cantar [...] e desejando obviar os males, que se seguem na republica da multidão das moças tangedeiras, e bailadeiras que há neste Estado, prohibe estreitamente que não haja escollas, em que ensinem a cantar, e bailar, ou tanger moças [...]" [*Since there is no such thing that incites more sensuality than songs and lascivious and dishonest dances, this sacred Synod determines that under the penalty of excommunication no person from here on shall dance or sing the saraband, nor the songs that are called mundã or cafrinho, nor order someone to dance, or sing [...] and wishing to prevent the evils that follow in the republic of the multitudes of singing girls, and dancing girls that are in this State, strictly prohibits schools where they teach girls how to dance, sing or play musical instruments*], *APO, op. cit.*, fasc. 4, p. 264.

[25] *Idem, ibidem*, p. 355.

[26] The case of the caretakers and midwives does not only apply to Goa. There are many references to Baçaim and Malaca.

[27] In the course of time, religious and political authorities have not always been on the same side. For example, in Diu, in a letter dating from 1612, the Vice-Roy Rui Lourenço de Távora, criticizes the Vigário da Vara (a position that was not always held by a religious person) because of the persecutions held against the gentiles and Moors accused of having more than one woman (*APO*, fasc. 6, p. 902). In 1630, another letter informs us about the persecutions that many of the captains and religious authorities carried out against the gentiles (*APO*, fasc. 6, p. 1254).

[28] Polygamy and concubinage were severely criticized, as they were in Europe too. The tridentine Church was also worried about this practice within the church, as well as within the population in general: "Porque a liberdade da carne em que os infiéis vivem he grande causa de se não converterem a nossa ley qye he spiritual; o sancto Synodo pede a S. A. mande os infeies seus vassallos guardarem a ley natural nas cousas seguintes, a saber, [...] nem estêm amancebados, nem casem a segunda, ou mais vezes vivendo a primeira mulher, e os que o fizerem sejam constrangidos a viver com as primeiras, com as quaes somente contrahirão verdadeiro matrimónio: o que também averá lugar em os que ao presente tem mais de huma molher, porque se vê que o contrario disto he grandissimo impedimento

pêra conversão porque custumão os infiéis casar a segunda, e mais vezes por aborrecimento, ou algum defeito da primeira molher: e sabendo que depois de convertidos os hão de constranger a fazer vida com ella, premanecem em sua infidelidade" [*Because the liberty of the flesh in which the unfaithful live is great, causing them not to convert to our law which is spiritual; the holy Synod asks the S.A. to order the unfaithful, their servants, to uphold the natural law in the following matters, to know, [...] not to take mistresses, not to marry a second or more times, being the first wife alive, and those who do it should be compelled to live with their first wife, with whom they contracted true matrimony: this also applies to those who presently have more than one wife because, the opposite of this is a great impediment for conversion, because the unfaithful are used to marrying a second or more times, due to boredom or due to some fault of the first wife: and knowing that after being converted they would be forced to live with her, they prefer to remain unfaithful*]. In: *APO, op. cit.*, fasc. 4, pp. 15-16. Concubinage was more difficult to control, because many of the gentiles were said to be "servants" and, in some kingdoms, women called *Balagateiras*, due to poverty, would sell their daughters, who would become concubines to their owners (*APO*, fasc. 6, supplement, pp. 445-6). The Church also wished to prevent the marriage of priests in São Tomé, and the 4th Synod ordered that those who were married should leave their wives (*APO, op. cit.*, fasc. 4, p. 431). Such an attitude was due, above all, to the concern of the Jesuits with imposing upon these priests and Christians the practice of Catholic rites.

[29] *APO*, fasc. 4, p. 16. On page 21, the council, referring to both men and women, asks that "a S.A que quando algum dos infiéis casados se converter, mande as justiças que tomem o que ficar na infidelidade, e o ponham por alguns dias em casa de alguma pessoa virtuosa, pêra se saber sua determinação, e se o christão se poderá casar com outro" [*when some of the unfaithful married convert, S.A. should order justice to remove the unfaithful one, and to place him/her for a few days in the home of some virtuous person, in order to find out his/her determination, and if the Christian one can marry another person*].

[30] *APO*, fasc. 4., pp. 97, 128 and 129.

[31] *APO*, fasc. 4, p. 97. Certainly, there would be some exceptions and some widowed Hindu women would take care of their children.

[32] About the missionary policy in the 18th century, see: Lopes, Maria de Jesus dos Mártires. *Goa Setecentista: Tradição e Modernidade (1750-1800)* [*18th century Goa: Tradition and Modernity*]. Lisbon, Center for the Study of People and Cultures of Portuguese Expression, Universidade Católica, 1999, pp. 238 onwards.

[33] Sons and daughters of dancers, of single women, and of banned women could take the place of their mothers, but those were the sole cases.

[34] The License of January 15, 1691, annulled the chapters of the *1526 Foral* (Register of 1526). The granting of inheritance for women was certainly due to a practical attitude, as it tried to avoid the inheritance by third parties, by non-family members.

[35] This is just a general approach, as the society was constituted by castes. There were aspects that would apply to one caste, but not to another. There was a series

of special arrangements, depending on the caste. For example, in Damão, the "banianes" have a different status from the other castes. Besides that, the castes where gentile women were traditionally allowed to remarry would continue to do so. Therefore, there were exceptions depending on situations and castes. See: *Code of Uses and Customs of the Non-Christian Inhabitants of Damão*. New Goa, National Press, 1854. Antunes, Luís Frederico Dias. *A Actividade da Companhia de Comércio Baneanés de Diu em Moçambique (1686-1777)* [*The Activity of the Baneanés Commercial Company of Diu in Mozambique*], Master's Dissertation on the History of the Discoveries (15-18th centuries). Lisbon, Universidade Nova de Lisboa, 1992.

[36] Despite the persecution caused by the Inquisition and the legislation published to prevent the co-inhabitation of Christians and Non-Christians, many Portuguese adopted Hindu traditions, such as the celebrations that were held for the birth of their children, the so-called "vigil" (*APO*, fasc. 6, pp. 1290-1). There were, of course, stories of intrigue, among family and group members. In the case of India, as Christianity had contributed to the social promotion of many families, intrigue would occur. One of these cases happened in Damão, in 1619, when a gentile widow, an aunt of the kings of Chouteá and Virgi, went there to take care of some businesses. She was arrested due to the intrigue of a gentile, Mango Sinay, who coveted her money and wished to take her to the captain of Damão, Gaspar de Carvalho de Meneses. This episode caused such a revolt among both gentiles and Christians that she was eventually released (*APO*, fasc. 6, p. 1177).

CHAPTER SEVEN

HEADING EAST THIS TIME: CRITICAL READINGS ON GENDER IN SOUTHEAST ASIA

CLARA SARMENTO

Introduction

With this essay I would like to discuss some critical readings of fictional and theoretical texts on gender condition in Southeast Asian countries, trying to establish their main issues and guidelines. I am therefore going to pay special attention to the issue of silenced female voices and to the ignored practices of women's everyday life. And what happens (or may happen) when they are allowed to have not a room of their own, but a voice of their own.

Though feminists have accused Edward Said of ignoring gender issues, the concept of 'gender hegemony' through hegemonic representations of the other, the silenced one, reminds me of Said's *Orientalism*, especially when he quotes from Karl Marx: "They cannot represent themselves; they have to be represented". Said was aware that the western concept of orientalism implied a particularly male conception of the world, most evident in novels and journey accounts, where women were often the creatures of a male fantasy of power, such as Gustave Flaubert's Kuchuk Hanem. This male concept of the oriental world tends to be static, without any possibility of movement and development, thus becoming 'eternally oriental'. And this also applies to the eternal essence of the oriental–or Southeast Asian–female, as represented in stereotypes and eternalized by the media, popular culture and official discourse, reflecting Said's theory that dominated subjects (women, just like Said's 'oriental') never speak about themselves, their true emotions, desires and stories: they have to be represented, someone has to speak on their behalf.

Within the scope of this essay, I intend to analyze some ideological and