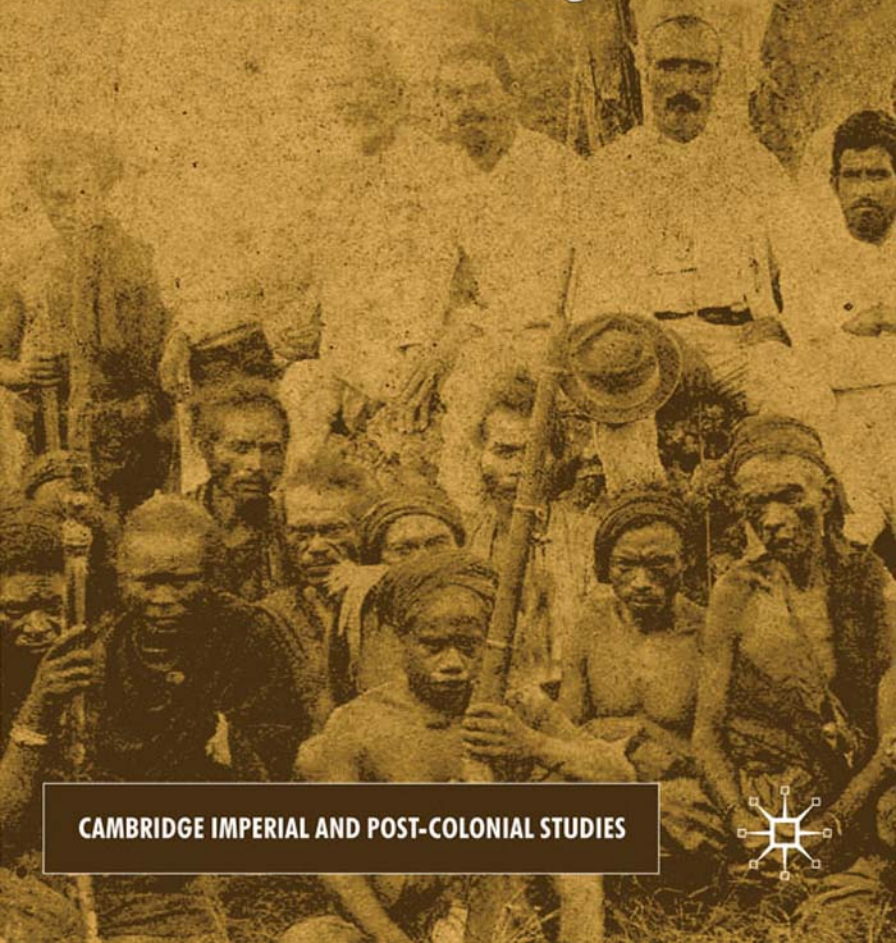


Headhunting and Colonialism

*Anthropology and the Circulation of Human
Skulls in the Portuguese Empire, 1870–1930*

RICARDO ROQUE



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Headhunting and Colonialism

Anthropology and the Circulation of Human Skulls in the Portuguese Empire, 1870–1930

Ricardo Roque

Research Fellow, Institute of Social Sciences, University of Lisbon

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*In memory of my grandparents
Leonel Roque and Mário Afonso*

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Acknowledgements

This book has many origins. One of them may be set in Lisbon, in 1999, when wandering through the streets I witnessed several public demonstrations against the brutality of the militias and the Indonesian military, in the aftermath of the referendum for the independence of East Timor. My curiosity on this occasion inspired me to try to understand violence in Timor and its historical connections with the Portuguese presence. In addition, a remark by a former Portuguese colonial officer, a relative of the late governor Celestino da Silva, at an early stage of my research was also a key trigger for this project. He had read the manuscript reports of the 1895–96 campaigns, which he continues to keep carefully as part of family archives: ‘Look, *Doutor*’, he said to me, ‘The Portuguese were so few; the Timorese so many. How could “we” have remained in Timor so many years?’ The question, and the possibility of searching for an answer, ignited my historical and anthropological imagination.

The central mystery of this book—the question of the authenticity of the skulls at Coimbra University—first grabbed my attention as I encountered a lengthy paper of 1937. This put me on the track of this fascinating collection and the interlaced histories of scientific collecting and indigenous headhunting, in ways that I would not have predicted. The uncertainty of this collection’s provenance and the mystery that it fed on ethnological discussion in the 1930s–40s became my own historical enigma and forms the storyline of this book. In 2003, the themes of the possession and repatriation of historical human remains in British museums took centre stage in public debate. If I had not been in the United Kingdom in this period, my perception of the wider implications of skull collecting for world history, and of the contemporary significance of historicizing the colonial past of human remains collections, would not have come into being.

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Lisbon, September 2009

Abbreviations

ADBUC	Arquivo do Departamento de Botânica da Universidade de Coimbra (Archives of the Department of Botany of the University of Coimbra)
AGC	Agência Geral das Colónias
AHM	Arquivo Histórico de Macau (Macao Historical Archives)
AHMil	Arquivo Histórico Militar (Military Historical Archives)
AHU	Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino (Overseas Historical Archives)
AMAUC	Arquivo do Museu Antropológico da Universidade de Coimbra (Archives of the Anthropological Museum of the University of Coimbra)
AUC	Arquivo da Universidade de Coimbra (University of Coimbra Archives)
BAGC	<i>Boletim da Agência Geral das Colónias</i>
BGC	<i>Boletim Geral das Colónias</i>
BPAP	Biblioteca Pública e Arquivo Regional de Ponta Delgada (Ponta Delgada Public Library and Regional Archives)
BPMT	<i>Boletim da Província de Macau e Timor</i>
BSGL	Boletim da Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa
CMS/CMLC	Câmara Municipal de Sintra/Casa-Museu Leal da Câmara
GMT	Governor of Macao and Timor
JAIGBI	<i>Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland</i>
MSNMU	Ministro e Secretário dos Negócios da Marinha e Ultramar (Portuguese Minister and Secretary of the Navy and Overseas Affairs)
TSPAE	<i>Trabalhos da Sociedade Portuguesa de Antropologia e Etnologia</i>
SPAE	Sociedade Portuguesa de Antropologia e Etnologia

Glossary

Throughout this book, when possible I have adapted the terminology of the Tetum language used in the colonial period to current spelling, according to Luís Costa, *Dicionário de Tétum-Português* (Lisbon: Colibri, 2001). The original colonial terms were respected in quotations. It is to *Tetum-praça* that I refer when mentioning Tetum words and concepts. *Tetum-praça* was the *lingua franca* of the territory during the colonial period, constituting a form of Tetum influenced by the Portuguese language. All passages originally in Portuguese and French have been translated into English by the author.

Aclála: Timorese war cry.

Arraial (pl. *arraiais*): irregular armies composed of Timorese warriors and supplied by the Timorese kingdoms to the colonial government.

Asua'in: title bestowed on brave warriors and headhunters.

Bando (pl. *bandos*): instructions communicated by the governor to the kingdoms.

Barlake: traditional Timorese marriage contracts.

Batuque: Timorese drum-playing.

Dató (pl. *datós*): Timorese aristocrat or noble.

Estilo (pl. *estilos*): lawful traditional norms and customs.

Finta: annual tribute paid by the Timorese kingdoms to the Portuguese government in Dili.

Liurai (pl. *liurais*): Tetum term signifying 'lord of the land' or 'territorial lord'.

Lorosa'e: songs chanted on occasion of decapitation of enemies; *lorosa'e* could also designate the rites of reception of severed heads.

Lulik: Tetum term expressing interdiction, danger, and sacredness.

Morador (pl. *moradores*): special companies of indigenous irregulars established by the Portuguese in the eighteenth century.

Nai lulik or *rai lulik*: sacred or ritual lord.

Pomali: Timorese cult places or sacred sites.

Principal (pl. *principais*): members of the Timorese aristocracy or royalty.

Régulo (pl. *régulos*): etymologically 'little kings', it was the expression used by the Portuguese during the colonial period to generally designate indigenous rulers or chiefs in the Portuguese colonies.

Serapinan (or *serapinão*): the gift presented to the governors by the Timorese kings on occasion of vassalage rites.

Suangue: witch, or dangerous quasi-spiritual entity.

Tabedais: Timorese ceremonial dances.

Introduction

This book explores two interconnected topics: headhunting in the context of colonial wars, and the collection of human heads for European museums, between the 1870s and the 1930s. It is an enquiry into the interactions between European colonialism and indigenous cultures, and an investigation into the relationships between colonial violence and the science of anthropology in that historical period. By looking closely at Portuguese colonialism in East Timor, it aims to understand how indigenous peoples and colonial powers interacted in a mutually dependent way, and how collected remains came to be seen as objects of political, symbolic, and scientific significance. As such, this work combines imperial history and historical anthropology with the history and sociology of science. The social life of collections, the relations between colonizers and colonized, and the nature of indigenous ritual violence, or headhunting, have been studied by scholars of the history of science, imperial history, and social and cultural anthropology. However, these topics have not been investigated as a connected whole. This study brings them together through an interdisciplinary approach that examines the circulation of human skulls and the stories told about them to offer a broader understanding of how colonialism, headhunting, and anthropology become mutually intertwined. Hence this book is an attempt to use skulls and their webs of documentation as a prism through which to view how these different processes intersect.

The book explores these issues through a focus on a revealing case study. It tells the story of a unique museum collection of skulls obtained in East Timor in the late decades of the nineteenth century, the authenticity of which was the subject of controversy throughout the twentieth century. Although at the time Timor was a peripheral colony of a secondary European empire, this territory nonetheless epitomizes the critical significance of severed heads to both colonial power and indigenous cultures. Moreover, the rich, and contentious, history of Timorese museum collections exemplarily brings to light how colonial documentation systems and historical accounts interacted with colonial order, racial theories, and with the identification



Map 1 East Timor.

of human remains. I expect the narrative that follows, as it examines in detail the historical events and elaborates on their conceptual consequences, to illuminate the wider relevance of the cases which form the basis of this study. My purpose now is to introduce the reader to the particular research problems posed by the colonial setting. The remaining sections will explain the methodology of this study.

East Timor, a fragment of the imperial past

Imperialism is an atavism. It falls in the great group of those things that live on from earlier epochs, things which play so great a role in every concrete situation and which are to be explained not from the conditions of the present but from the conditions of the past.¹

From the 1870s to the early twentieth century, Portugal was experiencing a rising tide of nationalist and imperialist euphoria. Portugal's colonial possessions then extended from significant portions of land in Africa to a handful of small colonies in Asia. But the empire had seen better days. It looked diffuse, neglected and disconnected, and seemed to promise diminished economic returns. Attachment to the idea of its resurgence,

however, dominated the minds of contemporaries.² The sixteenth-century Age of Discoveries, recalled as a glorious era that had taken Portugal to a place of political eminence and economic success in the world-system, had long past. The revival of opulence enjoyed during the eighteenth century with the exploitation of South American resources had been put to an end in 1822, when Brazil declared independence, definitively breaking ties with its former colonial masters. Brazil had been lost. Portugal's early modern maritime empire in Asia had been crumbling since the seventeenth century, under the pressure of Dutch and British interests in the region. Only fragments survived: Goa and the small territories of Damão and Diu in India; the city of Macao; and, finally, the eastern side of the island of Timor. The hope of a new age that would restore the economic prosperity and political glories of the past inspired the dream of a 'Third Portuguese Empire' centred on the exploration of the imagined, nearly mythical, wealth of the African colonies—primarily Angola and Mozambique.³ The energies were turned to the scramble for Africa; the lands of the East, Timor above all, lingered on the margins of old imperial maps.

Throughout this period, East Timor was perceived as an utterly remote and mysterious Portuguese colony. Despite nearly four centuries of Portuguese presence—initially in West Timor, based in Lifau and since 1769 in the East, based in Dili—the impact of European 'civilization' seemed nil and economic profits a mirage. Portuguese rule, a governor confessed in 1893, had resulted solely in 'loss of lives and money'.⁴ It was conventional in Portuguese colonial literature to open with a statement on how little the Portuguese public actually knew, and how misinformed the imperial authorities were about the most remote, most 'unfortunate', most rejected, and 'least known' of Portugal's colonies.⁵ Timor's reputation in Portugal was, in fact, very poor: it was said to be a 'damnable colony' cursed to perpetual backwardness.⁶ 'Considered from every possible point of view', a former official complained in 1903, 'except for its natural wealth, one must admit Timor is the most miserable country in all the universe, where civilization has never entered.'⁷ The chronically 'uncivilized' and unprofitable character of Timor was then difficult to accept, and an influential current of opinion in the 1880s vehemently argued for 'abandoning' the colony 'once and for all, for no matter what price'.⁸ This perception gained wider currency in the context of critiques of the 'decadent' and 'backward' state of the Portuguese nation vis-à-vis other 'modern' European countries, a *leitmotif* of progressive Portuguese intellectual circles of the 1870s. Nevertheless, engulfed by the rising imperialist-nationalist ideology that would dominate imperial policy in Portugal from the 1890s, these critical views did not prevail. Thereafter, the sacred principle of the Portuguese empire's historical continuity would determine that all colonial territories dating back to the Discoveries were necessarily inalienable.⁹ In Timor, the empire may have been adrift, but

in the name of a splendid imperial past, no colony, not even Timor, could be relinquished.

The prosperous era of the sandalwood trade with Macao in the seventeenth century had long passed, and the Portuguese had ceased commerce and navigation in Timorese waters.¹⁰ Relationships with the colony were limited to routine administrative matters, and, in any case, troubled and erratic. Despite two inconsequential periods as an autonomous province (1851–52 and 1863–66), Timor had always been subordinate to governors either in Goa or Macao. By the 1870s, ‘Macao and Timor’ constituted a single province. The ‘district’ governor in Timor was subordinate to the authority of the ‘provincial’ governor in Macao. Yet, the colonies were separated by many miles of water and by many days of travel. When, why, and how a certain occurrence took place in Timor was often unintelligible to Macao, let alone to Lisbon: ‘all attempts are practically vain’, the governor of Macao wrote in 1880, ‘to know what goes on there in the various areas of public administration’.¹¹ Moreover, the political conflicts between the authorities in Macao and Timor caused constant problems for the imperial administration. In 1896, administrative autonomy was finally granted to Timor. But the tensions with Macao and the communication problems continued. During much of the year, Timor was isolated. In the 1890s–1900s, for instance, an urgent telegram from Dili to Lisbon could take at best 15 days, for the Dutch steamers that called at Dili twice a month had to first take the message to Makassar or Surabaya, from where it was finally transmitted.¹² The Portuguese establishment in Timor, furthermore, seemed defenceless. Throughout the colonial period the shortage of regular troops was constant. The regular army was a fluctuating and undisciplined amalgam of Africans, Goanese, Portuguese, and Macanese, who erratically arrived either to replace other aged and diseased soldiers, or to staunch episodic rebellions. In the event of war against local enemies, the Portuguese dependence upon indigenous forces—the *arraiais* and the *moradores*—was complete. The *arraiais* represented a rather unstructured company of irregulars: armed men supplied by Timorese allies to the Portuguese on occasion of war, as a tributary obligation of vassalage. The *moradores* were a more structured and loyal company of irregulars composed of the Timorese residents in Dili and in the fortified settlements of Manatuto and Batugadé.¹³ Created by the governor Coelho Guerreiro in 1702, at Lifau, and later reorganized in Dili, these companies were under the direct command of a Timorese lieutenant colonel, had an autonomous body of Timorese officers, and military ranks similarly to the regular army. They served as volunteers, whenever they were called to fight, and received no stipend, simply their arms.

Distant and isolated, the administration seemed condemned to oblivion and misery. The complaints about shortage of military forces, officials, and scarcity of financial resources were a perennial feature of official correspondence. Apart from occasional non-Portuguese nationals, the European

community was largely confined to Dili and numbered a few Portuguese officials and army officers, a body of regular soldiers, and occasional missionaries. Beyond the capital city, government authority was said to be 'nominal'.¹⁴ The territory was fragmented into a multitude of variously sized and highly autonomous indigenous polities, the so-called *reinos* (kingdoms), ruled by Timorese authorities who bore the title of *rei* (king). The autonomy and rivalry of the kingdoms towards the Portuguese establishment seemed to block colonial rule. Wars with the Timorese kingdoms were practically an annual occurrence. A military model of territorial administration was attempted in 1860–63, and the kingdoms were divided into administrative districts supervised by colonial officers.¹⁵ However, the shortage of military personnel severely limited the efficacy of this system. In 1891, for instance, only five army officers supervised the north coast; on the south coast only one out of six districts had an officer in charge.¹⁶ Throughout the nineteenth century an extensive gallery of governors arrived with dreams of modernizing the government. Between 1873 and 1894, when Celestino da Silva began his 14-year tenure, Timor experienced 17 governors and one government council. Most governors did not last more than 2 years; some succumbed to malaria, the unbearable conditions of isolation, or often to the political conflicts with Macao and local officials within months. But those who survived disease usually left the island convinced that colonial administration was practically hopeless. Every imperialist project aimed at modernizing the state, civilizing the people, or bringing indigenous authorities under more centralized control seemed to produce little or no effect. It was as if colonialism in Timor could never be modern.

In the last quarter of the nineteenth century, then, East Timor challenged in important ways the contemporary imagination of modern imperial rule. Yet, the Portuguese did not want Timor because of the present. They were there because of the past. The past, a mythical past of imperial glory, was, indeed, the reference. Timor was regarded as a vestige of the golden Age of Discoveries. For this reason, imperialism in the island was meaningful, legitimate, and desirable. An ideological form of 'imperialism as atavism', to borrow from Joseph Schumpeter's critical insight, thus seemed to be expressed in Portuguese official policy with regards to Timor. The territory was and should remain Portuguese because it was part of a holy heritage of revered ancestors. Eventually, on this kind of ideological ground the Portuguese government continued to claim legitimate possession of East Timor as an integral part of Portugal, practically until 1975, when the Portuguese were forced to leave in the face of the Indonesian military invasion.

The sociology of Timor's 'colonial atavisms'

The attachment to a sacred national past legitimated an atavistic imperial policy of preservation of Portuguese rule in the territory, against all odds. Yet,

ideology alone is insufficient to explain the persistence of the Portuguese colonial presence in the territory. How, locally, could the European establishment be maintained with such a weak colonial apparatus, left on its own in such a marginal fragment of the empire? The answer to this question should consider yet another kind of colonial atavism that seemed to prevail in Timor. In fact, the daily practice of administration seemed to reproduce institutions, symbols, and practices perceived by the Portuguese as coming from the past. These atavisms enabled the effective exercise of government, and included elements that the Europeans classified as 'old-fashioned', 'primitive', 'feudal', 'pre-modern', or even 'barbaric'. Although fundamental to colonial rule, the ceremonial institutions of the Portuguese administration were a heritage that most governors wished to see definitively behind them. Governor Lacerda in 1880, for instance, regretted that the Portuguese had once put the colony 'under an entirely aristocratic organization, for we even committed the mistake of granting the title of kings to *régulos* [indigenous authorities]'.¹⁷ Many political institutions of the late nineteenth century, in effect, had been introduced by former Portuguese governors in the seventeenth and eighteenth century. Then, just like in other Asian and African colonies, the Portuguese tried to secure the subordination of local chiefdoms by means of a 'feudal-styled' institution: vassalage oaths.¹⁸ The Portuguese also granted European military ranks and status titles to Timorese aristocracy. These institutions were the basis of important political ties with Timorese polities. In return for their investiture as kings, for instance, the Timorese authorities were obliged to obey the orders of the governor, annually pay a tribute in kind—the so-called *finta*—and supply labourers for public works and armed men—the *arraiais*—at the governor's request. As one governor stated in 1795, 'because of a very ancient pact established with the first Portuguese conquerors... they provide support against the enemies of the State.'¹⁹

However, the persistence of these early colonial elements was generally perceived as undesirable. All the more so since these 'colonial' structures to a considerable extent had blended with the 'indigenous' political structures. This colonial system, to a significant extent rooted in atavistic colonial institutions and in the indigenous cultures, could hardly be reduced to the dichotomy 'indirect' or 'direct' rule, to a process of post-conquest vulgarization of power, or to a functional rapport with collaborators.²⁰ Its workings were of a different character. The interconnections with the indigenous world in particular, as Chapter 1 will suggest, had over the centuries become symbiotic. These ties seemed to be especially intimate concerning warfare and the exercise of justice. Critical to the argument of this book, colonial warfare offered an occasion for the Timorese warriors to practice traditional headhunting against the Portuguese enemies. By the late nineteenth century, the intimate connection between Portuguese and these 'barbarisms' was increasingly uncomfortable. Yet, colonialism in Timor seemed to be too

dependent on the energies of Timor's 'pre-modern' and 'barbaric' configurations to be able to survive without them. These were colonial atavisms that actively were made part of the contemporary reality so much so that they were not mere 'atavisms' at all. They were the quintessence of colonialism in practice.

One purpose of this book is to explain how precisely the Portuguese engagement with these 'atavisms' made colonialism possible. Part I in particular will deal with this problem. This study, thus, does not approach the apparent survivals of the early modern Portuguese empire, or the blending with indigenous elements as dysfunctional signs of barbarism and backwardness. Instead, here they are regarded as processes that could play a dynamic part in the formation of colonial order. The existing literature fails to provide a convincing explanation for Timor's atavistic colonialism. Its negative connotations remain, and Timor's colonial atavisms have been either inadequately discussed, or superficially investigated.²¹ In this vein, for example, the main work with any historiographical pretensions regarding the period covered by this book has portrayed the colonial military mechanisms as evidence of the 'feeble', 'miserable', or 'mediocre' character of Portuguese colonization.²²

This work does not analyse in detail the diversity of atavistic structures associated with the practice of colonial rule. The intention is to characterize its general mechanisms and focus on the most striking of these structures: 'headhunting'. Timorese ritual violence might be seen as a way of expressing hostility towards the Portuguese establishment. Yet, this book demonstrates that Timorese headhunting was also a constituent element of Portuguese colonialism. Since the beginning of the Portuguese presence on the island of Timor in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the ritual decapitation of enemies had been a common practice in colonial warfare. In the late nineteenth century, this form of violence grew to an unprecedented scale and intensity in the course of the so-called 'pacification' campaigns led by the Portuguese against their indigenous enemies. These campaigns caused enormous devastation. Many indigenous villages were destroyed, and hundreds of people were killed and beheaded by the Timorese warriors who fought alongside the Portuguese as auxiliary troops. This suggests that 'colonialism' and 'headhunting' could form a dynamic unity. Their interdependencies enabled colonial power and indigenous cultures to coexist and prosper in a reciprocally significant way, even if their distinctiveness in some manner was retained. This book characterizes this form of entanglement as 'mutual parasitism'. This conceptual framework seeks to enrich imperial and post-colonial studies with a fresh alternative to current understandings of colonial interactions based on the notion of cultural hybridity, a matter which will be dealt with thoroughly in Chapter 1.

The focus will be the period from 1875 to 1912–13. This period covers the critical years of the Portuguese late imperialist activity in Timor,

until the moment when eventually the greatest 'rebellion' against the Portuguese establishment took place in the country.²³ This was followed by important shifts. Although these did not totally break with previous patterns, some of the basic institutions that had organized colonial order for many decades (such as the organization into kingdoms, the *finta*, or the vassalage) changed rather dramatically. Timorese headhunting, too, seems to have entered a period of some inactivity, possibly resuming during the conflicts that followed the Japanese occupation of East Timor during the Second World War. How and why could such a historical configuration have come about, exactly when European imperialisms were so self-conscious of their 'civilizing mission'? How could the rising 'modern' science of anthropology engage with such an 'atavistic' form of colonialism, one in which 'European' and 'indigenous' cultures of violence seemed to be entangled? This book will attempt to answer these big questions by tracing small things. It will focus on a particular aspect of this atavism—the colonial engagement with Timorese headhunting—and observe its connections with anthropology at the micro-scale.

The micro-history of a collection of skulls

In 1882, 35 human skulls were sent from the Portuguese colony of Timor to the Coimbra University museum in Portugal, where the greater part of the collection is still held today. It was a rare and invaluable set. Although many hundreds of human skulls of 'exotic races' had already reached the hands of anatomists and anthropologists in Europe, nowhere could a similar sample of Timorese skulls be found. In the second half of the nineteenth century human skulls from 'savage' populations and remote parts of the world were desirable scientific objects for museum scholars working in the emergent science of anthropology. Skulls were expected to provide crucial evidence for the construction of a universal table of the 'races of men'. In Portugal, the arrival of the collection virtually coincided with the institutionalization of anthropology at Coimbra University. The skulls were measured and studied in 1885 by anthropology students and in 1894 the findings were published in a Portuguese journal. The author of the paper, J. G. de Barros e Cunha, relied on craniometry for drawing a classification of the races of Timor. This work is meaningful within the context of international debates on the ethnology of the Indonesian Archipelago. Yet, in the early decades of the twentieth century, this anthropological study was strongly questioned in Portugal. Then, a public controversy about the authenticity of the collection arose. Former colonial officers in Timor claimed the collection was not 'authentic', and suggested that the crania belonged to a mixed group of Portuguese, African, Timorese, and Indian soldiers slaughtered by Timorese head hunters in 1895. The controversy reached its peak in 1935–37, and in the process some of the main actors in the field of

Portuguese colonial anthropology became involved. The dispute sparked debate on the ethnology of Timor, along with historical research on the colonial origins of the collection. However, the history and identity of the collection was to remain uncertain. The controversy, too, despite its coeval importance to the field of anthropology, has since remained invisible—only a few, locally, at Coimbra Museum, recall its existence. The original participants in the discussion had passed away by the 1960s. Ethnogenic debates and the study of skulls fell out of academic fashion from the end of the Second World War. In Portugal, after the April Democratic Revolution of 1974, the paradigm of physical anthropology with its racial and colonialist undertones gave way to the predominance of social and cultural anthropology.

This book investigates the trajectory of this museum collection of Timorese crania. The reconstruction of the history of this collection between the 1870s and the 1930s takes the form of a 'micro-history'.²⁴ The empirical perspective is microscopic. Yet, as micro-historians have insistently emphasized, the main purpose is to view single and marginal events within larger historical processes. Its virtue lies in the capacity to restore the fragment, in the words of Comaroff and Comaroff, to 'a world of meaningful interconnections'.²⁵ In the discipline of history, this approach has been normally explored in the European context, especially in biographies of *subjects*, communities, or events at the margins. This book extends the scope of micro-history. On the one hand, it argues that historians ought to embrace the micro-history of *objects*. It calls attention to the need to engage, from approaches grounded in the singular, with 'material life', that 'rich zone, like a layer covering the earth', as Fernand Braudel suggested, 'made up of people and things'.²⁶ This engagement is pursued in relation to museum collections. It is worth clarifying here that because it is concerned with the fragment as a world of interconnections, the micro-historical approach to collections goes beyond the museum. Its object is much wider in scope, scale, and reflexive ambition than the circumscribed and individualized historical knowledge attached to museum objects in archival registers and labels. These museum 'histories', as this study demonstrates, offer a 'miniature historiography', which should be taken as the very object of micro-historical analysis and a starting-point for accessing wider interconnections and circulations.²⁷ On the other hand, it suggests that it is the moment for imperial historians to explore the methodological insights of micro-history, so as to articulate the recent concerns with world history with a focus on 'small' things rather than on 'big' structures.²⁸ The history of the 'big', in effect, may offer additional reasons for treating singularities as 'worlds of interconnections'. As C. A. Bayly recently argued, a major change in world history during the period covered by this work was the proliferation of linkages and connections. Therefore, if 'the long nineteenth century' has made the significance of local histories increasingly global, so the dense analysis of singular

histories of circulation can become a privileged site for the study of global processes in that context.²⁹

The circulation of the collection—both as a material entity and as an object of knowledge—is examined across time, geographical space, and cultural and institutional boundaries. As such, it offers fertile ground for exploring a set of important and wider issues. Firstly, with its origins in ceremonial violence in Timor, the collection enables us to analyse the relationship between colonialism and headhunting in a specific locality. Secondly, as the object of a controversy about ‘authenticity’, the collection enables the discussion of processes of the ways in which anthropological knowledge and colonial history were mutually constituted. Controversies, as students of science and technology have shown, are appropriate subjects with which to think about ‘science and society’.³⁰ In a similar vein, the dispute about the collection’s authenticity brings to light complexities in the circuits of things and documentation, thereby charting the development of the connections between ‘anthropology and empire’. Because this dispute is set in Portugal, its analysis exposes the specificities of Portuguese colonial anthropology. However, this study also intends to show that the traditional national histories of anthropology, such as the Portuguese, need to be reconsidered at a transnational level. By the same token, it suggests that the narratives of anthropology’s history conventionally centred on the British, French, or German anthropologies ought to encompass the cross-national circulations revealed by ‘other’ histories of anthropology. Thus, thirdly, in intersecting with international ethnological debates, the collection brings out the webs of scientific knowledge in which the collection was entailed. The transnational dimension of the collection was not confined to scientific ideas. Because the Timorese collection was an example of the large-scale circulation of things and texts, there is a fourth and important aspect that it enables the study to address: the ‘global political economy’, in the words of Andrew Zimmerman, of anthropological specimens, during the ‘museum era’ of anthropology (c. 1850s–1920s).³¹ Museums then became central nodes of long-distance networks through which artefacts, skeletons, and skulls were circulated as ‘collections’.³² The fact that these circuits were sustained by the often violent intrusion of European colonization into indigenous territories of Africa, Asia, Oceania, and America has become a source of post-colonial distress, especially visible in repatriation disputes.³³ Perhaps for this reason, the circulation of indigenous skulls in the colonial period has not been addressed outside the political struggles regarding the ethics of collecting.³⁴ The history of the Coimbra collection offers an occasion to study unexplored aspects of this large-scale process. It brings to light a significant and little discussed dimension of the ‘global political economy’ of colonial anthropology: the traffic of collections of histories that followed the traffic of collections of things.

Tracing connections between objects and archives

Rather than simply offering a micro-history centred on subjects, therefore, this work proposes a micro-history centred on objects. It combines the potency of approaches grounded in the singular with approaches centred on the analysis of things. This might encourage colonial studies, for some time epistemologically trapped in the vicious circles of discourse analysis, to engage actively with the recent attention paid to the social study of materiality.³⁵ As such, this work explores new ways of thinking about material objects in imperial and post-colonial studies. The privilege given to material objects in human sciences has roots in the epistemologies of nineteenth-century museum anthropology. In the twentieth century, these were criticized for their essentialist and evolutionist views of material culture, giving way to symbolic and linguistic orientations.³⁶ In the last three decades, the focus on museum things was revived as a legitimate means of accessing the cultures of people. Many have thus found inspiration in Appadurai's 'social life of things', Kopytoff's notion of 'cultural biography', or Thomas's approach to the 'recontextualizations' of objects.³⁷ Methodologically, this book also 'follows things around', but it takes alternative theoretical directions. This study is concerned with looking at culture, power, and knowledge as emergent within the social and material webs formed by skulls, texts, and people.³⁸ It explores the epistemologies and collective effects generated along these webs, by focusing on the trajectories of attachments of things and words. Chapter 5 will further explain how this approach theoretically differs from the conventional cultural biography of things. The methodological sensitivity to the circulation of things, consequently, implies symmetrical sensitivity to the circulation of texts. For, texts, too, can be approached as 'things' in circulation. Thus, it is not simply the circulation of human skulls that this micro-history of collections intends to analyse, but the connections that objects in motion maintained with circuits of *archives*.

This book considers archives of things as 'circulating entities'. This notion differs from current definitions in two ways. On the one hand, it calls attention to the material nature of archives, in contrast with a notion of the archive as a de-materialized and supra-discursive totality; on the other hand, it emphasizes the archive as a fluid and mobile entity in a state of becoming, an entity which emerges in practice and can be located in many places. In social theory, the notion of the archive has been marked by Michel Foucault's view of the archive as a discursive system of historical *a priori* that rules over the formation of particular discourses.³⁹ Foucault's emphasis on the discontinuous, historical, and fractured nature of such archives may be worth preserving in this context of analysis. However, its structuralist connotations should be avoided. Instead, I intend to start from a more 'down-to-earth' definition: circulating archives can be seen in the traditional

sense as a 'collection of records'. However, the word archive does not refer to a precise physical location in which these records are kept. Archives are not immobile documentation systems with a permanent location. They constitute formations of texts and stories that are in flux across time and space. As such, they emerge throughout the collective networks of circulating museum objects. In effect, that 'global political economy' of anthropological objects that historians have talked about did not just move objects from place to place. It also traded narratives and information; it circulated texts from hand to hand. This was a dynamic economy of archives in circulation whose networks extended beyond the museum and gave rise to a productive economy of knowledge. In many cases, in fact, descriptions of objects resulted from practices and occasions that preceded the arrival of collections in the museum. Thus, a view of the documentation of objects as static systems in a museum fails to understand the workings of these knowledge processes.

Strikingly, despite recognition of the growing importance of documentation in museum practice at the turn of the nineteenth century, and the emergent interest in the ethnography of archives (colonial archives in particular), the analysis of archives as circulating entities remains a largely unexplored topic in the histories of science and of anthropological collections in that period.⁴⁰ By following the ways in which archives of museum objects come into emergence, this study reconsiders the significance of knowledge-making and archive-building as processes entailed in the trajectory of collections. The account that follows, then, is not solely a micro-history of a collection of objects. It is a history of documents, and of the consequences for colonial history and anthropological understandings, which could result from their presence or absence. In effect, this study begins with a singular silence; it begins with a broken archive. The identity of the crania held today at Coimbra University has been labelled problematically 'Timorese' throughout the period of its presence in the museum. Their provenance is not clearly established; their original documentation remains unknown. In undertaking a micro-history of this collection, this study will bring out new linkages, and will unearth the missing story.

The structure of the book

This book is structured as an analytical narrative, the sequence of which tries to respect the contingent, reversible, and multiple interconnections that shaped the course of the Timor collection from the 1870s to the 1930s. For these reasons, throughout this work the linkages between the collection and the events described may for some moments disappear from sight, only to re-appear later in the account. Part I, 'Encounters with Parasites', discusses the dynamics of colonialism and headhunting in East Timor from the

early 1870s to 1912. The purpose is to understand the connections between colonial power and the circuits of decapitated heads created by indigenous ritual violence during colonial warfare. In offering a cross-cultural analysis of Timorese ritual life and the ceremonial character of Portuguese rule, it brings forward a theory of colonial parasitism that guides the understanding of colonial interactions in Timor, and is expected to be of wider application in other empirical contexts. The circulation of severed human heads in East Timor is here examined as a central manifestation of this complex symbiosis arranged by the European and indigenous collectives in the realm of justice and violence. Chapter 1 explores an episode associated with the origins of the Coimbra collection—the military campaigns of 1896—so as to examine critically the categories of ‘headhunting’ and ‘pacification’. It also introduces the conceptual framework of ‘mutual parasitism’. Chapter 2 investigates the forms of colonial power that resulted from the entanglement of the colonial and indigenous worlds. It describes the theories and cultural strategies by which the Portuguese and Timorese cultures were entangled both in the exercise of justice and in the conduct of war. The relationship between colonial warfare and headhunting rites is explored further in Chapter 3. This chapter analyses the colonial accounts of headhunting rites. By examining the ritual circuits of severed heads in colonial warfare, it demonstrates how colonial rule and indigenous societies could form a circulatory system. In addition, it describes this system as organized by the Portuguese attempts to regulate purity and pollution in the circulation of human remains.

Part II, ‘Skulls and Histories’, investigates the trajectories of human skulls throughout the networks of museum anthropology, and explains how the colonial events of warfare became intertwined with the collection, with the trade, and with the scientific study of skulls. By looking in detail at the complex trajectory of one set of human crania from East Timor to the Coimbra Anthropological Museum, in Portugal, it examines why and how the severed heads circulating in colonial territories could appear in anthropological museums. The intention here is to understand how colonial circuits could engage with scientific circuits of human skulls, and to attend to the mediatory role played in this process by the stories told about the skulls’ racial and colonial identity. Chapter 4 analyses how the collection was sent from Macao to the Coimbra University in 1880–82. It will be revealed here that the collection was sent to Coimbra without associated ‘histories’. The significance of human skulls for late nineteenth-century anthropology is investigated at the international, national, and local level in Chapter 5. The following chapter, Chapter 6 describes international and national debates on the classification of the races of Timor, and focuses on the controversy over the authenticity of the skulls, in the 1930s. The collection’s conflicting narratives will then be analysed. Chapter 7 brings together

the dynamics of colonial interactions discussed in the first chapters and the anthropological trajectory of the human skulls. It investigates two colonial collecting histories for the collection as 'social dramas' of colonialism. It then recovers the 'original' archive of the skulls, and explains its emergence in the context of struggles between the Catholic Mission and its enemies in Timor.

Part I

Encounters with Parasites

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1

Parasitism in Colonial Interactions

In historical as in anthropological approaches a dichotomous idiom prevails in the description of European intrusions into indigenous societies. 'Barbaric' practices, such as headhunting, figure prominently in this imagery: they are doomed to elimination by European colonialism that imposed 'civilization' on 'savage' and exotic tribes. Recently, this colonial idiom has been criticized by post-colonial theoreticians who resort to the concept of hybridity. This chapter argues, however, that both colonial and post-colonial vocabularies are inadequate to describe symbiotic associations between indigenous and European realms, in particular between headhunting and pacification in colonial Timor, and provides an alternative analytical framework. Building on the notion of mutual parasitism, a new way of conceptualizing intimate colonial interactions between the European and indigenous collectives is proposed.

This chapter focuses on one event of the 'pacification' wars, thus called to express the Portuguese determination to eradicate local 'resistances' to colonial authority in late nineteenth-century Timor: the destruction of the mountain village of Dato-Tolo in 1896 by a punitive expedition composed of Timorese headhunters and Portuguese military. This episode reveals that ritual violence and decapitated heads could add to the vitality of colonial empires, at the same time as indigenous headhunting intensified and prospered in becoming part of pacification campaigns. These observations disrupt the dichotomy between 'headhunting' and 'pacification', and pave the way for an argument on parasitic symbiosis. Moreover, the focus on this episode is meaningful for reasons examined later in the book. The Dato-Tolo campaign also intended to avenge the massacre of a Portuguese military column and the beheading of Portuguese officers, in 1895. The severed heads resulting from this campaign were to be at the centre of a controversy about the authenticity of the skulls held at Coimbra Museum. Chapters 6 and 7 will explore in detail the connections between this event and the collection's history.

The first two sections of the chapter examine the headhunting/pacification dichotomy, as it has been displayed in colonial imagination and anthropological literature. The third section, in particular, attempts to extend the consequences of a critique of this dichotomy to the understanding of colonialism in Timor, and to the comparative discussion of similar colonial interactions in other contexts and periods. Here, the notion of symbiosis is set against the idea of hybridity, shifting the interpretive framework of post-colonial theory into a mutual parasitism framework. Because thinking of colonialism symbiotically moves the analysis forward, the final section of this chapter offers a theoretical discussion of parasitic symbiosis in human relations. The conclusion provides an interpretation of Michel Serres's theory of parasitism. The purpose is to transfigure his proposal into an original theory of mutual parasitism informed by the historical anthropology of colonial interactions in Timor. This perspective provides an interpretive device for examining the Portuguese activity in East Timor from the 1870s to 1912 in the remaining chapters. Mutual parasitism explains how the colonial and the indigenous worlds could be held together by mutual inclusion and asymmetric balances. This form of symbiosis between European and indigenous collectives allowed colonial rule and indigenous order in the jural realm to coexist and prosper through a relationship of close interdependence. This involved reciprocal gains and reciprocal losses, mutual change through minimal transformations, as well as many political and cultural intimacies. Yet, it also involved the creation of boundaries and the preservation of difference. This perspective, then, calls attention to the fact that colonial communities and local societies might be mutually energizing and mutually reliant, whilst in some manner retaining their distinctive dynamics. Ritual violence and the circulation of severed human heads played a principal role in this symbiosis. Chapters 2 and 3 will explore further how this mode of relating held together colonial and indigenous collectives in the realm of justice and war.

Dato-Tolo, 1896

Às fogueiras das clareiras, nas clareiras, ao luar,
 Vamos todos, vamos todos, vamos todos a bailar.
 As cabeças de inimigos, as cabeças vão saltar.
 Inimigos, perdoar, inimigos, estalar, rolar!
 Ui! Na serra a guerra aterra a terra.
 É rumor o tambor, é rumor de guerra.¹

Dato-Tolo was located in the peak of a rocky hill, surrounded by dense groves of trees. The ruggedness of Timor's mountain range, the central backbone of the island irregularly ascending in height from East to West, seemed to have

conspired to place Dato-Tolo—a hamlet in the kingdom of Sanir—in a perfect defensive position.² The inland populations of East Timor, particularly in the western regions, took advantage of the relief to build their villages. Rings of settlements were scattered along the top of the hills. Each was a potential citadel, encircled by walls or palisades made of trees, bamboos, or stone. Dato-Tolo gave the impression of a village ‘shaped as a castle’,³ and the Timorese populations, according to the Portuguese, considered it ‘unconquerable not just because of its position but also its fortifications’.⁴ This view added to the reputation of Sanir as a lawless country, a ‘small kingdom’ traditionally disobedient to colonial authority, living off plundering its neighbours and where ‘robbers, assassins, drunkards, tramps, and criminals of every kind’ found safe haven.⁵

Second-lieutenant Francisco Duarte and captain Francisco Elvaim camped in front of Dato-Tolo on the afternoon of 13 August 1896. The governor of Timor, Celestino da Silva, had sent them on a mission to punish the indigenous kingdoms deemed responsible for the most disastrous Portuguese loss registered in recent wars against Timorese enemies: in September 1895, a government column, including all the Portuguese officers, was massacred at the hands of warriors from the Western kingdoms of Cová, Cotubaba, Fatumean, and Sanir. This time, nearly 6000 armed men were under the command of Duarte and Elvaim. A small force was composed of Timorese irregulars (the *moradores*) and less than 40 Portuguese regulars—sergeants, corporals, horn-players, artillerymen, and one missionary. Yet, the large majority of the troops consisted of auxiliaries, the *arraiais*,⁶ supplied by allied indigenous kingdoms as a tribute to the government.⁷ As the troops approached Dato-Tolo from the mountains, the beating of drums and strident Timorese *aclalak* (war cries) sounded. There were reasons to worry. The sight of stone walls freshly built by the residents and the cold reception by the villagers on the way alarmed the officers.⁸ Confrontation was imminent. A sequence of diplomatic attempts to negotiate the allegiance of Sanir with the government forces, and thereby prevent an attack, had proved to be unsuccessful. Furthermore, information reached second-lieutenant Duarte about Dato-Tolo harbouring fugitives from Cotubaba and Cová. When a request to deliver the fugitives to the Portuguese was ‘insolently’ denied, immediate assault was ordered.⁹

The resistance was tenacious. For four days losses occurred on both sides. Dressed in traditional war costumes, armed with flint guns, swords, spears, and some Albini firearms given by the government, the Timorese *arraiais* stood at the forefront. Second-lieutenant Duarte and allied indigenous leaders urged on the *arraiais* as they struggled to scale the walls. At the rear, artillery fire targeted the defences, but often with little success. On 17 August, however, Dato-Tolo’s defences finally broke, and the village was taken. Some managed to get away by releasing the village buffaloes—a most valuable source of wealth—and causing general confusion; various men even

abandoned the *arraiais* in a greedy attempt to secure a few buffaloes for themselves. But inside Dato-Tolo, and in the surrounding villages, many did not have the same chance. The violent assault continued, unusually, through the night and for the following days across Sanir territories. Francisco Duarte described the moment as a memorable colonial victory, unforgettably cruel:

I cannot recall the natives having suffered such a complete punishment set by the government until this very day. The spectacle offered by Sanir to all neighbouring kingdoms that witnessed the events of the evening of 17 to 18 August shall live on in the memory of the living for many years, I am sure, and the tale will pass down from parents to children and from grandparents to grandchildren.¹⁰

Captain Elvaim was no less assertive: after a 'blood-thirsty fight', he remarked, 'we came out as winners and with our sovereignty established once and for all among these rebel and treacherous peoples, who have for so long mocked our forces.'¹¹

In official reports to the governor, Duarte and Elvaim told of the scale of violence by quantifying the number of dead and wounded on both sides. The count also included the number of Sanir's smaller villages plundered and set on fire by government *arraiais* during and after Dato-Tolo had resisted. They recorded how many hamlets were burnt down; how many cattle, agricultural produce, and all possible kinds of village objects and wealth were taken as booty by the *arraiais*; and how many trees, how many agricultural fields were destroyed. A record was to be kept of every occurrence of damage, as if the 'severity of punishment', the military victory, and the prestige of Portuguese sovereignty in Timor was increased in strength and prosperity by the very act of recording the material destruction and dispossession inflicted upon the people and property of Sanir. In a vain literary attempt to depict that tragic evening at Dato-Tolo, captain Elvaim reported:

To paint the scenes of horror inside the hamlet [of Dato-Tolo] during that evening is beyond my powers; I will simply say that the flames, the anguishing cries combined with the raging yells of the victors, the shooting, the sound of bamboos cracking on the fire, and the *lorosá* sang from all directions offered an example of what hell should look like. And this scene lasted from 7 p.m. until dawn of the next day. Dato-Lolo [sic] was taken and the floor covered with more than 100 corpses, disembowelled, decapitated and horribly mutilated; nevertheless the pillage went on, and now and again some shots and one *lorosá* announced that one more had fallen into the hands of our [forces].¹²

Timorese ritual violence was an integral part of the Portuguese victory. *Lorosás*, or *lorosa'es*, ritual headhunters' songs, 'two single notes in third-minor'¹³ accompanying lyrical verses of sacred connotations were chanted by the warriors of the government *arraiais* on occasion of successful beheadings of enemies in battle. Such songs were performed during the battle, and also on the communal occasions of reception of the severed heads at the village or the *arraial* encampment.¹⁴ In Portuguese eyes, this could but be seen as barbarity. Yet Duarte would confess himself powerless in the face of the ritual violence of *arraiais* in combat:

fifteen persons were killed and decapitated, because the *arraiais* cannot resist the pleasure of watching the heads of their adversaries roll on occasions of war, *it is indeed a barbaric act, but we cannot avoid it whilst we need such forces to go to war, and unless the natives attain a higher degree of civilization.*¹⁵

Awareness of risking European values at the sound of the auxiliaries' *lorosa'es* coexisted with a pragmatic capitulation to the efficiency of Timorese ritual violence. As if simultaneously inevitable and highly rewarding, the Portuguese deliberately abandoned themselves to the flow of indigenous actions.

Who in fact was included or excluded from the collective 'we' used by the military officers also appears difficult to ascertain. The tone forming the mixed identity of the winning armies was ambivalent, in a rhetoric that slipped from moments of demarcation to a picture of mutual association: 'they' (Timorese *arraiais*) barbarously took heads of 'our' (Portuguese...) enemies; 'our' (Timorese and Portuguese...) 'forces' won; 'we' (Portuguese...) gloriously 'came out as winners'. To add yet more complexity to the divisions and entanglements of this collective, one observes that the officers' reluctant acceptance of the *arraiais*' 'barbaric actions' ran parallel with an insistent incorporation of both Timorese *arraiais* and enemies' decapitated heads into a narrative of imperial aggrandizement. The head of Brao Sacca, the presumed assassin of Captain Câmara, was one of the prizes, among the many other heads taken from the enemy: 'In that day,' Duarte wrote, 'the enemy left 104 heads in possession of our *arraiais*, and many more would have been taken were it not for their stratagem [of setting buffalos free]. Among the heads taken was that of the famous Brau Sacca, *assuai* of Cová, a proof that the Cová people received and witnessed the punishment imposed on Sanir...'.¹⁶

After wiping out Sanir, the government troops proceeded in the direction of Cová. In a telegraph message to the Ministry of Navy and Overseas Affairs in Lisbon, the governor requested urgent aid from Macao: 'Rebels Sanir defeated many dead large booty. We are in front of Cová.'¹⁷ Aid and ammunition would not come in time. But the governor took the gamble,

and ordered the attack on Cová. Surprisingly, the Queen's village and the rest of the kingdom were rapidly taken with little resistance. As in Sanir—and also as before, in Cotubaba—the officers' records of plunder, killing, decapitation, and destruction were no less exhaustive. So it was later in Lokeo, Fatumean, Dácolo, and Deribate—the violence of Deribate's combats was impressive enough to be described as the 'bloodiest and most tenacious war' ever seen in Timor.¹⁸ The fighting generated such an emotional charge that the *arraiais* and *moradores* proved their devotion to the Portuguese cause shouting as they advanced towards the enemy: 'We shall die! We shall die! It is service of the government!'.¹⁹ In Sanir, Cová, and Cotubaba 169 people were beheaded, while a high, yet unknown, number of dead and wounded had been left behind.²⁰ 'Punishment' was accomplished, 'justice' done, Portuguese 'prestige' re-established. Dato-Tolo was erased from the map.

From Lisbon, reactions to the news of victory were enthusiastic. The King of Portugal, D. Carlos, congratulated the 'officers and soldiers' for having 'once again demonstrated the bravery of the Portuguese people.'²¹ On 20 October, the General Overseas Office sent a telegram to Dili praising the feat of arms and reassuring the governor of their 'full confidence' in his 'energy, direction and good judgement' in the governance of Timor. As proof, Lisbon announced that it was granting Timor the autonomy its administrators had longed for, finally putting an end to Timor's complicated subordination to the governorship of Macao.²² Colonial wars were in their heyday. Metropolitan public opinion had lived in a general atmosphere of nationalist excitement about overseas possessions since the 'pink-map' episode and the humiliation caused by capitulation to the British ultimatum of 1890.²³ Imperialist patriotism thrived. As noted in the Introduction, a highly emotionally patriotic ideology that fed on the historical imagination of 'the Portuguese empire' as a sacred heritage from the glorious age of the Discoveries fostered the project of a 'third Portuguese empire'. Recent military victories in Mozambique in 1895 had stimulated truly collective apotheosis. The national newspapers followed every step of the Portuguese troops in Africa, Goa, and Timor as 'heroic' achievement. The news of another native rebellion successfully crushed by the Portuguese army in Timor, therefore, could only add to the belief in the nation's spiritual mission as imperial power. It was the idea of a perennial empire in the flesh, the revalidation of a lost glory.²⁴

The war accounts of 1896 were received at the Ministry in Lisbon as part of official correspondence from Dili. A long report by the governor Celestino da Silva preceded and introduced the military reports, explaining the rationale behind the military occupation of the Western kingdoms. The imperial government recognized the achievements of the campaign by ordering the reports to be fully published as a book under the official patronage of the Ministry. It came off the press just a few months later, in 1897.²⁵ Further

nationalist readings would commemorate this publication as an illustrious landmark of the Portuguese colonial presence in Timor.²⁶ Yet, prior to publication, a reader of the original manuscripts at the General Overseas Office commented passionately on the achievements described in the reports. Two months of campaigns, which had mobilized more than 8000 men, had augmented Portugal's national glory. The 'Portuguese nation' owed a 'debt of honour' to those 'braves' who raised the name of Portugal to such a crowning point. Medals and high honours should rapidly be granted to the victors—and indeed they were.²⁷ Keeping count of beheaded enemies, moreover, seemed to reach a peak at the ministerial offices in Lisbon. For if doubts remained about how empowering the *arraiais'* ritual violence was for the vitality of the Portuguese empire, an emphatic mention at the General Overseas Office would dissipate them: 'Fights were sometimes so violent that our losses heightened to forty men among dead and wounded, and the enemy, in one single combat, also left 104 heads in possession of our forces.'²⁸ The underline is original.

The quantification of destruction is a conventional mark of victory in war reports. Strikingly, however, in the military accounts sent to the Timor governor in 1896, which were praised by the Ministry, and published with official honours in 1897, the enactment of this discursive convention involved a ceremonial calculation of beheaded people by Portuguese forces. This practice amounted to an enactment of headhunting in which words take the place of 'real' heads, a practice we might begin by describing (to borrow a notion from Kenneth M. George's ethnography of Sulawesi rites with surrogate heads) as 'ritual mode of speaking', a performative representational practice of 'showing signs of violence' by staging headhunting in narration.²⁹ Yet, here there is a peculiarity that pulls apart a straightforward ascription of 'headhunting' to non-Europeans. It consists simultaneously of a 'ritual mode of speaking' about headhunting and empire. The accounts bring headhunters and imperialists strangely together as one collective, one whole, strategically unified in the attainment of military victory. This takes us beyond the mere essentializing of otherness. The resonance of *lorosa'e* ritual songs in the accounts cannot be taken simply as a Timorese trait; it is a self-description of imperial encroachment. It is not a story that the Portuguese officers simply told about 'others', but one they told about themselves.

More complexity can be added as we look in detail at this peculiar ritual mode of speaking. It is not suggested that Portuguese military officers or soldiers physically took heads; it was something the *arraiais* did. Yet, the texts point to more than a semiotic incorporation of decapitated heads as information. They suggest a way of actually performing colonialism by head-counting. Texts in Timor and Lisbon display the Portuguese taking heads as signs, but not as material entities. This suggests a double circuit of mutual incorporation of decapitated heads by imperialists and headhunters. Chapter 3 comes back to the complexity of this circuit in more

detail. It suffices to observe here that, in the colonial texts, both forms of sign and substance appear inter-connected in a discursive enactment of Portuguese colonialism. Imperialism was performed by the *arraiais*' ritual decapitation and the Portuguese ceremonial headcounts for their own profit. An association prevailed such that detaching Timorese headhunting from Portuguese empire-building could only be done at the expense of a loss of imperial strength, prestige, and prosperity. Ultimately, this dissociation could only occur at the expense of the very possibility of colonialism in Timor. In the colonial texts, human heads were not outside the empire—they were brought inside it, infusing vitality into colonialism. As a consequence, semiotic head-taking in colonial texts resembles the link between severed heads and communal prosperity exhaustively discussed by ethnographers of indigenous headhunting.³⁰ Yet, here, one finds the Europeans (not the indigenous people) claiming such collective prosperity from the act of staging ritual violence and head-counting in colonial speech. Heads as signs added to Portugal's vitality as an imperial nation.

This seems puzzling, however. For 'headhunting' and 'colonialism' should not coexist in the same space. Timorese ritual violence came to life inside the logic of colonialism; even the Portuguese incorporation of heads into narratives displayed logics of vitality analogous to structural ethnographic features of indigenous headhunting. We are, therefore, faced with complexities that break down the conventional opposition between headhunting and colonialism. Instead of setting these notions apart, the war reports of Dato-Tolo invite us to think of them together, as a composite entity in which the two terms interpenetrate, forming a new whole. This merging, however, runs against a long-standing dichotomy. The next two sections examine this dichotomy demonstrating how the terms 'headhunting' and 'pacification' have been imagined in opposition. An alternative way of conceptualizing the entanglement of these categories, in and beyond the literary accounts of Dato-Tolo, is then proposed in conclusion.

'Headhunting'

Head-hunter: n. A savage who practises head-hunting.

Head-hunting: n. Among certain savage tribes, the practice of making incursions for the purposes of procuring human heads as trophies or for use in religious ceremonies.³¹

As victories were reported from Timor in 1896, the notion of 'headhunting' conveyed a meaning opposite to an interpenetration of European and non-European cultures. Decapitated heads had a powerful presence in Western representations, for they were central to various Biblical stories and Greek myths.³² Yet, long since the classical era, the European imagination had also

been used to drawing a sharp line between the 'barbarism' of societies practicing ritual decapitation and the advent of a 'civilized' social order, even within the geographic borders of Europe.³³ In the late nineteenth century, this latter meaning crystallized as a stereotype attached to remote non-Western societies seen as the 'barbarian' otherness of 'civilized' Europe. It organized one of those anthropological dichotomies characteristic of the civilizing and evolutionist idioms of the Victorian age. A deterministic historical ordering juxtaposed to the classical category, and the tribal peoples of Southeast Asia especially fitted into the stereotype. Encyclopaedias of the period described headhunting as a trait of primitiveness 'still surviving' only among 'savage tribes' outside Europe, a custom more generally 'prevalent among all Malay races', particularly in Southeast Asia, Borneo, and the Philippine Islands.³⁴

Headhunting was a primitive custom seen as naturally doomed to extinction in the face of Europe's civilization. 'Colonial contact' and the unequal clash of races would, sooner or later, bring about its complete collapse. The extermination of headhunting constituted a historical inevitability and a moral duty of late nineteenth-century colonizers. Entrapped in the idiom of the Western civilizing mission, headhunting represented more than just a descriptive label for 'otherness'; it conveyed a prescriptive moralizing agenda that justified intrusions and repression on the basis of the need to morally redeem the 'savage'. Colonizers were expected to live up to the ethical principle of the extermination of barbarous customs (headhunting as well as cannibalism and other stereotypes of unruly and pagan savagery) and to see to the replacement of barbarous heathens for good Christians, disciplined subjects, or productive labourers. To act in contravention of this principle was a dangerous perversion of the neat symbolic boundaries that organized European identity and difference in the colonial venture. Thus a good deal of the most fervent contemporary criticism of colonial expansion adopted the trope of Europe's fall into indigenous barbarisms, like headhunting, and other moral perversions of the civilizing mission. Stories of Europeans 'going native' by turning into 'white headhunters' stood as ultimate evidence of these dangers.³⁵ They epitomized imperialism's most sinister side, the self-annihilating fall of the civilizing mission into its opposite: a danger famously elaborated in Joseph Conrad's powerful allegory of *Heart of Darkness* in 1902, 'those heads drying on the stakes under Mr. Kurtz's windows'.³⁶

For the ethical principles of colonialism to be preserved, headhunting was a category that could only apply to the Timorese *arraiais* of 1896. The only acceptable way Europeans could relate to their barbaric opposites was by causing their elimination—by violent means if necessary, or, in other words, by 'pacification', a colonial term then used to designate the legitimate exercise of violence for the purpose of severely repressing indigenous barbaric practices, and eradicating indigenous resistances to colonial occupation. In the early twentieth century, alternative courses of history seemed difficult

to be imagined: 'Severe repressive measures', readers of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* were informed in 1910, 'have led to its [headhunting] decrease.'³⁷ Today, this statement sounds prophetic in Southeast Asian historiography. The Dutch pacification campaigns of the 1900s, part of the moralizing Dutch Ethical Policy, are taken as having profoundly eroded autochthonous political systems and headhunting traditions in Southeast Asia.³⁸ And it has been conventionally accepted that, from the 1890s onwards, every European power acting as bearer of 'civilization' took effective steps to eliminate headhunting and other forms of savagery in the region.³⁹

This oppositional idiom and the historical fact of the eradication of headhunting have prevailed in colonial ethnographies. Yet, most post-colonial anthropology has some difficulty in totally erasing the main terms of the dichotomy. Structuralist approaches consider headhunting as a characteristic of indigenous communities (a cultural trait most particular of Southeast Asian cultures), which one could understand abstracting the history of colonial contact.⁴⁰ Certainly, since the 'historical turn' of the 1980s, anthropology has gone beyond both civilizing ideologies and structuralist essentialisms. It has exposed the fallacy of presuming that headhunting was static and belonged to a primitive, 'pre-colonial', past. Although anthropologists still tend to draw upon the historical idea that modern Western imperialism forcibly suppressed headhunting as a form of practice,⁴¹ they nevertheless contest that headhunting as a form of culture simply disappeared with the coming of the colonizers' 'severe repressive measures'. As Renato Rosaldo, Janet Hoskins, and other scholars have demonstrated, post-colonial indigenous communities continued to rely on memories, artefacts, and traditions of headhunting for shaping their collective identities and the politics of the present.⁴² In these post-colonial times, the stereotype is turning against the Europeans, as a criticism of the colonial period. The demonizing effects of the stereotype, however, are not dissimilar from the colonial construct. Various researchers have shown how Southeast Asian indigenous communities inverted the original dichotomy. Indigenous critical reformulations of Europeans as headhunters (such as the rumours of 'construction sacrifice') have been interpreted as a form of cultural reaction to the violence of colonialism as well as to that of the post-colonial nation-state.⁴³ Collectors of human remains for anthropological purposes have also been labelled as 'headhunters' by means of the same inversion, in the wave of critiques that focused on the horrors of colonial methods of collecting.⁴⁴

Anthropological analysis and indigenous critique give new life to the perception of the headhunter. Yet, they do so by retrospectively making complicit the 'white colonizers' in the same evils of barbarous otherness that the Western civilizing vision excluded from its self-definition. One ends up, however, moving in circles. The old opposition returns, now as

an inversion, and so anthropological analysis remains stuck in a dichotomy. If European colonizers can be part of an analysis of headhunting as a cultural construct, they continue to be excluded from any analysis of headhunting as a practical form of ritual violence. Hoskins's conception of headhunting as 'trope' and as 'practice' is in this respect exemplary. A consequence of this distinction is that anthropologists should allow colonial Europeans to participate in headhunting's 'life as trope', but not in its life as practice; indigenous 'traditional practice' alone represents proper ceremonial violence—'modern' practices of decapitation, thus, are at best mimicry.⁴⁵ Perhaps anthropology's tendency to lay its empirical focus exclusively on indigenous communities has detracted from a serious interrogation of the Europeans' involvement in 'traditional' headhunting in the colonial past. It seems at any rate clear that the dichotomy arranged by the category 'headhunting' hinders an understanding of what was happening in Timor in 1896. In practice very little justified such a sharp antagonistic demarcation between 'colonial pacification' and 'traditional headhunting'. Therefore, if anthropology and history have yet much to learn from each other, we might do well by going back to the colonial past and re-assessing the categories. The complexities of the events of Dato-Tolo challenge us to conceive of the European presence as internal to, and constitutive of, indigenous structures of headhunting, and vice-versa—even when Europeans thought of themselves as bringing about headhunting's final extermination by means of 'pacification'.

'Pacification'

The campaign reports of 1896 made the intimate contact between the Portuguese empire and Timorese ritual violence dramatically visible. Further references to the campaigns by Portuguese nationalist historiography insistently pointed this out. The victories over the Western kingdoms have been highlighted as the landmark of the Portuguese modern colonial occupation of Timor, and emphatic references to the campaigns and their so-called 'liturgy of decapitations' resonate well into the twentieth century (Fig. 1).⁴⁶ Furthermore, the counting of heads in military reports, and their incorporation into visions of imperial prosperity, was not limited to the events of 1896. It constituted a common mode of reporting headhunting and imperial expansion in Portuguese war reports throughout the nineteenth century, and in particular during the so-called 'pacification period' of Timor, from 1894 to 1912, the date of the most destructive, and last Timorese rising against Portuguese authority. In this period, more than 20 devastating 'pacification' wars opposed the colonial government and its allies to other indigenous kingdoms.⁴⁷ Pacification would indeed become synonymous with the name of José Celestino da Silva, governor of Timor



T · I · M · O · R

(ANTE-CAMARA · DO · INFERNO!?)

POR · TEOFILO · DUARTE

Figure 1 Headhunting in colonial pacification wars depicted as an expression of indigenous savagery. From the front cover of Teófilo Duarte, *Timor (Antecâmara do Inferno!?)* (Famalicão: Tip. Minerva, 1930).



Figure 2 José Celestino da Silva. Governor of Timor, 1894–1908. From Teófilo Duarte, *Timor (Antecâmara do Inferno!?)* (Famalicão: Tip. Minerva, 1930).

for 14 years (1894–1908). (Fig. 2) Celestino da Silva led 22 pacification campaigns. Because of his victorious campaigns and effective methods of government Celestino da Silva earned recognition as the creator of modern Portuguese Timor. The *Estado Novo* nationalist historiography of the 1930s has covered the figure of Celestino with a legendary aura, the influence of which is still evident.⁴⁸ Celestino da Silva's campaigns were carried out with virtually no regular troops. (Fig. 3) Instead, he mobilized thousands of indigenous irregulars, *moradores*, and *arraiais*. The glorifying versions of his governorship perceived this circumstance as evidence of an intelligent manoeuvring of indigenous divisions, as well as an artful economic expedient for saving Lisbon the costs of sending expeditionary armies from Portugal. Some also tend to attribute to him the feat of the quasi-eradication of the indigenous traditional chiefdoms—a point, however, made impossible to sustain in the face of Celestino's pragmatic politics, as explained below in Chapter 2. The recurrent taking of human heads by the *arraiais* in the course of pacification campaigns, a fact integral to primary historical documentation, has, therefore, not been overlooked in ideological readings.

Colonial and anti-colonial scholars have brought forward contrasting ideological interpretations of the involvement of indigenous headhunters in

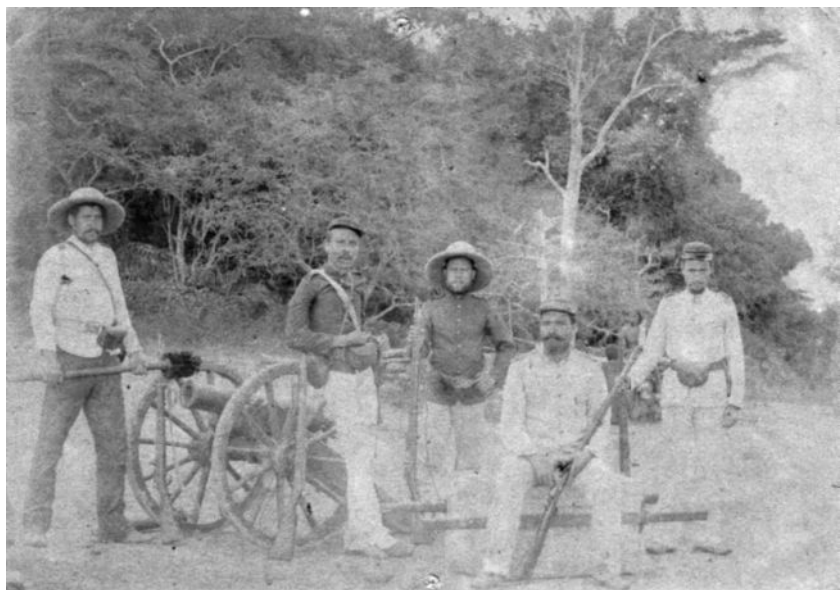


Figure 3 Portuguese army sergeants in East Timor, c. 1895. CMS/CMLC, Ref. 107 Fot/1998. Photographer unknown. Reproduced with permission of CMS/CMLC.

colonial pacification campaigns. These have either been sympathetically justified or fervently denounced. Reasons of tactical and economic nature could be advanced: *arraiais* were cheap armed forces and skilled warriors in the mountains.⁴⁹ Later commentators could echo the contemporary pragmatic arguments for justifying the activity of the *arraiais* in the campaigns:⁵⁰ 'Back then and in those barbaric lands, where we [Portuguese] resorted to the natives for our conduct of the war', captain Felgas wrote in his referential *Timor Português* of 1956, 'native customs could but be respected; otherwise the loyal *arraiais* would desert.'⁵¹ The ideology of *lusotropicalismo* (lusotropicalism), which portrayed Portuguese colonialism as essentially based on cultural tolerance and racial mixture, has provided compatible, yet different, justificatory explanations.⁵² Initially advanced by the Brazilian anthropologist Gilberto Freyre to account for the uniqueness of Portuguese colonial culture, *lusotropicalismo* was willingly appropriated as official imperial ideology by the *Estado Novo* regime in the mid-twentieth century. According to the 'lusotropical' perspective, the military participation of the Timorese has been seen as a proof of the benevolence of Portuguese colonialism, an expression of indigenous spiritual communion with Portugal caused by an age-old colonial policy of tolerance devoid of racial prejudice. Conversely, an inflamed anti-colonial historian has read the same fact as an instance

of the weakness, mediocrity, and backwardness of the Portuguese colonial state. However, even this critical interpretation puzzlingly surrenders to the efficacy of Celestino's methods of conquest. Unlike any other Portuguese colony, the pace and violence of Timor's 'pacification through decapitation', this historian writes, was largely perpetuated by the Timorese themselves, with the complicity of the Portuguese.⁵³

This complicity, however, has to be understood in the longer historical context. Similar colonial interactions are recorded for earlier periods. Celestino's pacification follows about 250 years of close Portuguese–Timorese interactions in the island, which needs to be considered. Late nineteenth-century imperialist language notwithstanding, recording signs of violence in military reports was not confined to the campaign reports of the 1890s. From the early eighteenth century it appears in Portuguese war accounts.⁵⁴ The same holds true for the involvement of *arraiais*. Ritual violence in service of the colonial government was dramatically displayed during nineteenth-century warfare but it had probably happened ever since the *arraiais* fought side by side with the Portuguese. Whenever conflicts arose in Timor, noted Luna de Oliveira, the Portuguese complied with the superstitions and ritual 'bellicosity of the loyal tribes' in order to keep possession of the island: 'And it was always like that, since the era of 1500 to the civilized twentieth century'.⁵⁵ (Fig. 4)

The foundational moments of the Portuguese establishment in Timor, in fact, point to the persistence of a kind of reciprocally convenient association. When the Portuguese ventured into West Timor, they famously reduced the mighty potentate of Wehale to ashes in 1641–42, by siding with the armies of the Queen of Mena, recently converted to Christianity.⁵⁶ Early Timorese willingness to convert to Christianity in the aftermath of colonial victories can be interpreted as an attempt to seek association with the military force of the Portuguese. In this respect, it is not coincidental that the Dominican friars repeatedly directly intervened in local wars, either against Timorese adversaries or the Dutch. Wars conducted in the East since the re-foundation of Portuguese rule in Dili in 1769, by means of a 'contract' with the Motael kingdom owning Dili's lands, displayed similar patterns over the long term. Pacification in the 1890s reveals continuities in the form of a long-standing complicity between Portuguese and Timorese. Rather than marking a rupture, pacification campaigns perhaps constituted a moment of intensification of prior, older, forms of colonial contact, creatively reconfigured and amplified.

The interactions involved in the Dato-Tolo episode call for a broader conceptualization of Portuguese colonialism in Timor. It might be specific to the Portuguese pacification period that it did not break with either pre-existing colonial or indigenous structures of warfare; instead, it gave them a new impetus for making 'modern' colonial occupation possible. However, colonial relationships in Timor are unlikely to represent a characteristic, as it



Figure 4 East Timorese warrior, c. 1900. From Carlos Leitão Bandeira's photograph album. Photographer unknown. Courtesy of António Bandeira.

were, of 'Portuguese colonialism', as nationally oriented imperial historiography tends to assume. Conceptualizing Timor's colonial entanglements can have wider implications for comparative colonial history. Historical evidence points to the occurrence of similar relationships with indigenous 'barbaric' practices in other colonial situations. Historians accept the inclusion of indigenous fighters (namely from 'tribes' renowned for the wildness and bravery of their fighting style) in imperial armies as a common trait of European colonial conquest, particularly in their heyday of late nineteenth-century expansionism.⁵⁷ In West Timor, for instance, from the seventeenth century to at least the 'pacification' of 1905–06, Dutch colonizers mobilized

headhunters in conflicts with local adversaries. The Dutch and their Timorese allies in the West got as much mutual benefit from ritual violence in colonial warfare as their counterparts in East Timor.⁵⁸ Elsewhere, and in other historical contexts, indigenous warriors siding with colonial armies had been passively or actively encouraged by Europeans to practice ritual forms of violence—when not the European military themselves actually participated in mimicking the ‘savage’ doings of their allies: for example, North American Indian scalping in the Seven Years’ War;⁵⁹ Iban headhunting in the British anti-piracy campaigns in early nineteenth-century Southeast Asia;⁶⁰ and Ilongot headhunting in the American pacification campaigns in the Philippines, in the 1900s.⁶¹

Evidence for the intimacy of European colonizers with indigenous customs, particularly ceremonial violence, abounds in the historical record. Yet, their complexity has not received adequate attention, in spite of a recent interest in colonial hybridity. Deconstructivist literary studies and post-colonial theory have recycled nineteenth-century notions of ‘hybridity’, ‘creolization’, and ‘miscegenation’ in an attempt to go beyond the limitations of antagonistic vocabularies in colonial discourse.⁶² Colonialism in these perspectives is not so much about the creation of purified divides, but the generation of hybridizations or amalgamations of distinct cultures, languages, or races—the merging of different entities into ambivalent constitutions.⁶³ Hybridity questions the depiction of colonialism as domination, and is advanced as an instrument of intellectual criticism. Homi Bhabha, for instance, has argued influentially that European dominance is undermined by the ambivalences generated by colonial language itself; hybrids within texts (and subsequently within colonialism) weaken, and ultimately destroy, the authority of colonial power.⁶⁴ These critiques have begun to disturb oppositional idioms and Western dualisms, notwithstanding their methodological shortcomings, which are substantially derived from reducing practices to texts—a reductionism, must be pointed out, not present in the alternative conceptualizing which is presented below.⁶⁵ However, the concept of hybridity is of little use in understanding the interpenetrations manifested in Dato-Tolo, let alone in wider colonialism.

The interactions between Timorese and Portuguese at Dato-Tolo suggest an opposite image to that of amalgamation and to a self-destructive fracturing of colonialism. The union of headhunters and imperialists in the pacification period did not undermine colonial power, nor at any rate annihilate indigenous ritual violence. On the contrary, it intensified both the European and the indigenous dynamic of violence. Furthermore, the composite collective was not an amorphous entity made of unrecognizable elements, but one in which different entities were closely associated. Explaining forms of mutual inclusion and intimate inter-connection where dynamics of difference might coexist with the reinforcement of both imperial authority and

indigenous cultural practices demands a new conceptualization. Indeed, it was not colonial hybridity that took place at Dato-Tolo. To continue borrowing from biological metaphors, it was a form of colonial symbiosis: dissimilar entities were living together in intimate interaction. Biology is used to analyse different types of symbiosis amongst plants and animals. But here the symbiotic relationship takes form in practices amongst humans, and this requires a social science approach. In concluding this chapter, a theoretical perspective alternative to the idioms of hybridity and opposition is outlined, which will serve as a guide for the next two chapters. Colonialism in Timor and the Dato-Tolo episode might well be understood as enactments of a specific sociological symbiosis in colonial interactions: mutual parasitism.

Mutual Parasitism

The French philosopher Michel Serres in his *Le Parasite* of 1980 presented the most important contribution to the theory of parasitism in human relations.⁶⁶ Drawing on literary analysis of allegories, Western fables, and myth accounts, Serres offered a philosophical and interdisciplinary perspective on parasitism as a universal phenomenon. His basic definition of parasites appears to be similar to the conventional derogative understanding: 'parasite' denotes those who make use of others in society, giving nothing in return. For Serres, at its simplest, the host-parasite interaction constitutes an irreversible unidirectional relationship of 'abuse', a form of exchange without reciprocity: parasites 'take without giving', while hosts 'give everything and take nothing'.⁶⁷ Serres's definition, however, acquires greater complexity from communication theory. The parasitic exploitation corresponds to minimal and subtle relationships of interference into circuits of production. Serres conceives of two kinds of these circuits: informational, represented by flows of information embodied in sounds, texts, language, or any sign; and thermodynamic, represented by flows of energy embodied in solids, in physical things. Parasitism occurs when something or someone (a noise, for example) intercepts information flows; or when energetic flows of solids (for example, food or commodities) are diverted from the producers. As he reflects on such interferences, Serres departs from traditional negative connotations. By means of 'minimal actions' and 'small fluctuations', parasites bring complexity into the systems. The minimal interferences introduced by parasites can enable communications, generate new responses, and thus cause systems to change, with varying degrees of permanence.⁶⁸ Parasitic practices, therefore, can act as a generative source of positive dynamics in the mechanism of any host system.⁶⁹ This positive and generative aspect should be kept in mind. Nevertheless, to move towards a theoretical sketch of mutual parasitism one has to still consider the collective, transitive, and

political dimensions of Serres's parasitism. Let us begin by considering the first two.

Parasitism constitutes an interconnected 'chain' of parasitic relationships, which is characterized by functional transitivity. In 'parasitic chains', the participants constantly transit from host to parasite, and vice-versa. Parasites in relation to one circuit can function as hosts in relation to another, and thus every participant in a chain can play the role of host and parasite—it is functionally a 'double'. Every position in the chain entails duplicity, although Serres generally emphasized a structuralist understanding of this duplicity. In structural terms, for example, hosts can transit into parasites but cannot act simultaneously as hosts and parasites with regard to their own parasite(s).⁷⁰ Yet, if one introduces a historical dimension, this ontological duplicity can appear more complex, as one might infer, in effect, from Serres's brief discussion of host–parasite reversals in La Fontaine's fable *The Satyr and the Wayfarer*.⁷¹ The unfolding of parasitic interactions in time metamorphoses the identity of both the 'host' and 'parasite' from one to a double. A host is a 'host-parasite' in becoming, and so conversely is a parasite a 'parasite-host' in becoming. We can now perhaps take a step further than Serres in considering the property of transitivity. If, in the course of time, individuals interchange the functions of parasite and host among one another, simple parasitic relationships can be exchanged, stabilizing as a bidirectional interaction between two ontological doubles: 'host-parasite' interacts with 'parasite-host'. In such double interactions, the Serres's 'simple arrow' of parasitic relationships duplicates. Parasitism becomes mutual because parasitism and hospitality are reciprocated in relation to the same entity. Participants in mutual parasitic collectives thus stand in a symbiotic relationship as both host and parasite; in exchanging hospitality and parasitic interference, they derive mutual loss as well as mutual prosperity. Mutual parasitism, therefore, represents a special transitive modality of parasitic configurations, but it also allows for a reconsideration of power in parasitic interactions.

In effect, the third central dimension of Serres's theory that bears on mutual parasitism is political. Serres's parasitism is a political space characterized by power competition, hostility, and asymmetry. Competition moves across parasitic chains. There is constant inter-parasite struggle for more interference and the best parasitic position, because the higher the number of circuits intercepted or diverted, the greater the political strength of the parasite in the collective. Relationships among parasites can thus be markedly hostile. Yet hostility is also present in the interactions between hosts and parasites. Hospitality and hostility paradoxically define the condition of the host, though Serres does not carry this consideration further, especially with regard to hospitality.⁷² The 'self-contradictory' nature of the host as enemy-and-friend emerges more assertively in Jacques Derrida's deconstruction of 'hospitality' as a term that semantically harbours its

opposite: 'hostility'. Consequently, Derrida argues that, in practice, the obligation of hospitality performs ambivalently as 'hostipitality', a gift of hospitality and an act of hostility.⁷³ In interaction, then, hosts can frequently transit from hospitable to hostile. They can passively or actively welcome parasitic interference, but also struggle to eliminate or exclude undesirable parasites from the circuits.

A further political aspect consists of the asymmetries entailed in the parasitic exchange. As seen above, Serres's basic view of parasitic interactions is of an abusive and unilateral relationship in which exchange, as such, does not occur. However, further in his work, parasitic asymmetry comes to assume another form: that of an exchange of gifts of non-equivalent value. This 'unequal exchange' rests upon a distinction between informational and energetic circuits and between vaporous and solid gifts. In the image of the guest who gives funny stories in exchange for food at a banquet, parasites receive thermodynamic energy in return for an immaterial gift: sounds and information. This plays in favour of the parasite for two reasons. Firstly, because the one that gives less (the parasite) receives more. To give immaterial in return for material is an unfair trade for the host: the latter loses 'energy' and ends up empty-handed with 'sounds' whereas the parasite's strength increases.⁷⁴ Secondly, giving information in return for solids arranges a hierarchy of power in which the weaker governs the stronger. In giving immaterial (informational) for material (energetic), weak parasites are able to govern the actions of strong hosts from a position of energy deprivation, immobility, and passivity. This point is demonstrated allegorically by Michel Serres. According to Serres, the ruler is like the paralytic who, by the simple emission of words, derives mobility and energy by commanding the physical strength of the blind, to whom he nevertheless becomes attached and from whom his force is dependent.⁷⁵ In this parasitic symbiosis, the voice of the parasite is the source of government. Weakness, in short, given that it is grounded on an unequal exchange of immaterial for material, enables parasitic domination.

In its political implications this perspective allows one to address the strength of weak forms of colonial rule. If parasitism is a space of power struggles, hostility, and asymmetry, so it is the mutual parasitism emergent in colonial interactions. It should already be clear that this symbiosis does not discount colonial violence, indigenous hostility towards the colonizers' interferences, or attempts by colonizers themselves to put an end to parasitism. We should not forget, for example, the tragic devastation caused by the association between Portuguese officers and *arraiais* on the populations of Sanir and Dato-Tolo. Instead of discounting the phenomenon of colonial violence, mutual parasitism provides an explanation by highlighting the symbiotic dynamics that underlie the exercise of European rule in indigenous societies. In what regards the study of colonial power, this perspective calls for an understanding of power as grounded on vulnerabilities.⁷⁶ It

is typically assumed, for example, that European domination is reinforced uniquely with more and better knowledge; financial and military resources; administrative efficiency of the state apparatus; and control, surveillance, or discipline of the populations. Yet, the trope of colonialism's dynamics of weakness and vulnerability needs to be taken seriously, as the work of C. A. Bayly and Ann Stoler suggest.⁷⁷ Parasitism in colonial interactions explores this trope. It invites us to understand power as an instance of weakness, immobility, and the relative deprivation of resources. This enables us to conceptualize colonial government in situations of feeble European presence, such as the one of the Portuguese in Timor, as seen in the Introduction to this book. In addition, power in parasitism, as suggested above, should be seen as grounded on 'unequal exchanges'. In colonialism, to address the strength of weak forms of rule calls for an understanding of the symbiotic connections and circuits of unequal exchange interconnecting the indigenous and colonial communities. However, as one moves from simple to mutual parasitism, the circuits of asymmetric exchange duplicate. An analysis of colonial power in mutual parasitism owes much to Serres's insights, yet it requires a few critical departures.

In mutual parasitism, one is in the presence of interactions between dualities 'hosts-parasites' in which the gift of hospitality and the interferences and exploitations of parasitism are reciprocated. This requires an approach equally sensitive to parasitic appropriations and to forms of hospitable inclusion, the latter undervalued by Serres. Immobility and weakness might not be an attribute of parasites alone. Hosts, too, can derive strength by giving themselves away to parasitic interferences. Thus, firstly, because mutual parasitism in Timor implied intimate interpenetration of insider and outsider cultures, one of its central mechanisms was 'mutual inclusion', the capacity of the indigenous and colonizers to host and incorporate one another. The notion, as Annemarie Mol recently proposed, refers to '[a] specific form of coexistence . . . : that of incorporation, of living as a part of what is other, or of holding what is other inside the self'.⁷⁸ I shall thus argue that colonial power in mutual parasitism is grounded on parasitic practices as much as on processes of 'mutual inclusion'. These processes imply a mode of European hospitality characterized by actions of 'active dispossession' or 'self-abandonment', that is, a mode of 'entering into a world of strong sensations; of accepting that "external" forces take possession of the self; of being "under the influence" of something else; of bracketing away one's own control and will in order to be expelled or rendered "beside oneself"'.⁷⁹ Mutual inclusion captures the peculiar interpenetration of self and otherness in Portuguese colonial campaigns; active dispossession points to the Portuguese way of participating in, and becoming a part of, Timorese ritual life. Indigenous headhunting lived as a part of what was colonial, while European colonialism held the otherness of indigenous headhunting inside itself. In Chapters 2 and 3, this view will be extended to a broader analysis

of the Portuguese–Timorese imbrications that laid the grounds for colonial government. It will be argued that, in what concerned the administration of justice and war, the Portuguese and Timorese worlds constituted one assemblage held together by distinctive modes of mutual inclusion and the flows of the headhunting circulatory system.

In mutual parasitism, secondly, double forms of asymmetry and unequal exchange can coexist. Both participants can derive strength as well as weakness from the mutual parasitic interaction—although not necessarily in relation to the same circuits or in relation to the same form of power. As such, mutual parasitism accounts for colonial interactions in which the dynamism of indigenous cultures might symbiotically coexist with the reinforcement of imperial authority. The next two chapters elaborate at length on the double circuits that symmetrically enabled parasitism and hospitality on the part of both the indigenous and the colonizers. Thirdly, in order to address mutual inclusion and double asymmetries of power one ought to undertake a historical ethnography of the colonial encounter that aims to take into account both the Western and indigenous praxis and epistemologies. Serres's theory of parasitism, in contrast, is embedded in Western conceptions. It is, for example, presumed that power increases with the appropriation of the visible (physical energy flows) and that government only derives from information-gifting. However, as we shall see further below, Timorese conceptions of power work precisely in reverse direction. They seem to locate the origin of power in silence and manifestations of the invisible (immaterial energy flows), and take ritual government to be of higher importance than jural government.

This configuration prevailed in colonial warfare in Timor; yet, it was already present in the accounts of Dato-Tolo. To conclude, then, a fresh and brief look at the Dato-Tolo episode might provide an empirical glimpse into the dynamic of mutual parasitism. As demonstrated, Portuguese and *arraiais* intimately interacted in such a way that enabled indigenous ritual violence and colonial pacification to manifest and consolidate, at the same time. In this association, Portuguese and *arraiais* associated by means of host-parasite/parasite-host interdependencies. Let us now consider only the Portuguese duplicity as host and parasite in relation to Timorese ritual violence. The colonizers intercepted the flows of decapitated heads produced by the *arraiais* in a semiotic form. In appropriating heads as information or signs for the exclusive benefit and vitality of the empire, the Portuguese acted as parasites on indigenous ritual violence. But they also behaved as hospitable hosts, though with some reluctance. They welcomed the activity of headhunters in the very body of colonial armies, allowing *arraiais* to physically appropriate for their benefit the flows of decapitated heads produced by punitive pacification. One is here before colonial hospitality as a reluctant mode of 'active dispossession': 'It is indeed a barbaric act', to recall second-lieutenant Duarte's words, 'but we cannot avoid it'. To bracket away the

civilizing mission in the name of pragmatic efficacy was given as justification for imperialist hospitality to the dark forces of headhunting. With such tools, we might then be equipped to re-enter the regions of historical and ethnographic description. The issues, now, are empirical: how could European-indigenous mutual parasitism enable colonial power? On which theories and strategies laid the intimacy of symbiotic interactions? How could colonialism and indigenous societies thrive in these circumstances, the circulation of decapitated human heads being an active part of the two worlds?

2

The Order of Ceremonial Government

The previous chapter argued for a new theoretical approach to colonialism as symbiotic relationship between the European and indigenous worlds. The concept of mutual parasitism called attention to the double reciprocations of hospitality and parasitic appropriation and to how doubles of unequal exchange might generate asymmetries of power. Hostility, it was also suggested, is not alien to the workings of parasitic dynamics. In fact, given the continuous state of war between Dili and the Timorese kingdoms, indigenous hostility seemed to prevail in Timor. Furthermore, as observed in the Introduction, the colonial establishment displayed dramatic traits of weakness. Portuguese Timor was an isolated dependency ran by a minimalist administration that struggled with extreme financial and military debility, and the enmity of the surrounding kingdoms. However, this did not signify that, under these conditions, political order and alternative processes of colonial rule and power did not exist in Timor. The state of apparent weakness and the hostility of the kingdoms also expressed an alternative form of government, whose force derived from the strength of the parasitic ties between the European and indigenous collectives, in the realm of justice and violence. It is the purpose of this chapter to explain the main epistemic strategies of inclusion that made this form of government possible. It seeks to expose these strategies as the principal theories according to which the workings of mutual parasitism were most crucially and distinctively framed and interpreted in Timorese and Portuguese terms. The intention is also to describe the conditions of legitimacy and symbolic efficacy of colonial rule as a mode of 'ceremonial government', a stylized way of exercising control and enacting symbolic power through highly codified occasions and symbolically charged objects.

The chapter examines the adaptability of both the European and indigenous collectives which functioned as one political community—this, it should be observed, meant not a static structure but a dynamic and contingent historical process of colonial interaction. Shared traditions, ceremonial institutions, symbolic power, and a complex political symbology comprising

titles, ranks, myths, or sacred objects and insignia sustained this community. Yet, unity was also made possible by reciprocation of distinctive modes of 'mutual inclusion', the capacity, as observed in the preceding chapter, of the indigenous and colonizers to host and incorporate one another. These modes of inclusion implied two orders of explanation and justification of the inclusion of otherness as part of the self. Indigenous cosmology included the European outsiders, by establishing clear rules for opposite and complementary authority. Europeans took in many indigenous cultural requisites, as a means to pragmatically manage the complexities of the colonial entanglement. Thus European praxiology, a theory of efficient action, allowed the inclusion of the indigenous elements—even if ideally moral limits should be respected. The praxiological and cosmological views of this entanglement constituted the main orders of signification through which the Portuguese-Timorese world was explained and made legitimate, respectively, by colonial administrators and indigenous ritual authorities. At the intersection of these modes of inclusion, colonial government emerged as the management of the symbols and ceremonials that connected colonialism to the indigenous world within the jural realm. Further, the chapter suggests that manifestation of hostility to Timorese enemies was part of the workings of this form of 'government'. As such, it is suggested that the display of ritual violence by the Timorese armies that sided with the Portuguese played an important role in enabling the colonial ceremonial government and symbolic power to operate.

The first section describes the Timorese worldview according to which the Portuguese were incorporated as legitimate 'jural rulers'. The work of later professional ethnographers on East Timorese communities is used to reconstruct the indigenous cosmologies of colonial rule. This allows us to reconsider colonial rule in an indigenous idiom. It is then suggested that legitimacy of colonial rule was grounded on a symbolic dualism, ritual exchange, and a contract of separate, asymmetric, but complementary forms of authority. The Portuguese could become the jural rulers of worldly affairs; but the Timorese remained the supreme lords of sacred affairs. Yet, because the indigenous jural realm was entwined with the Portuguese establishment, colonial sources are required to understand it. If ethnographic literature gives voice to indigenous cult lords, a colonial history can give voice to the foreign jural lords. In effect, it is argued here that the ethnography of Timorese traditional life must be completed with an anthropological history of Portuguese colonialism. The next section explores this possibility. It describes the Portuguese strategies for integrating indigenous conceptions into the principles of efficient government. The Portuguese perceived colonial authority to be dependent on the intensification of symbolic power and the preservation of customs recognized as traditional by the Timorese. The third section examines the role of delegation and codified behaviours in the Portuguese administration of the jural realm. The governor's exercise of command from

a distance by means of *bandos* clarifies the key role of ceremonial as the driving force of the colonial state.

Timorese cosmologies

In the 1970s, the anthropologist Elizabeth Traube observed that the Mambai, the largest ethno-linguistic group in East Timor inhabiting the mountains and valleys opposite to Dili, had incorporated Portuguese rule at the generative core of Timorese social life: cosmology.¹ The Mambai 'narrative of origins' was also a mythic account of the 'origins of colonial rule'.² The Mambai, just like generally the East Timorese, classified the Portuguese as *malae*, a common designation for foreigners or outsiders.³ But for the Mambai, the Portuguese were a special type of *malae*—outsiders whose mythic origins were not foreign but autochthonous.

According to the myth of 'the walk of rule and ban', described by Traube according to accounts told to her by Mambai ritual authorities, the Portuguese were considered descendants of the 'younger brother' of the mythic pair of 'elder/younger brothers' who set off on a sea journey to Portugal and took with him the tokens of jural power.⁴ With his departure, the Mambai society fell into political chaos. Alone, without the tokens of jural power, the 'elder brother' and bearer of the ritual powers, was unable to rule the country and secure order over the whole realm. The re-establishment of order occurred with the arrival of the Portuguese in their ships. This was the fulfilment of the younger brother's promise that one day his descendants would return with new tokens of jural power ('the flag') for exercising 'heavy rule' and 'weighty ban'.⁵ In mythic narration, the Mambai thus accommodated the events of the foundation of Dili on the Mambai lands of Motaél in 1769.⁶ The colonial event was anticipated by cosmology; it was a positive event that reintroduced order where chaos once prevailed. In accordance with the outsiders' condition of 'returning younger brothers', the Mambai surrendered to the Portuguese the jural rule, the 'worldly responsibilities over the realm'. In return, the Mambai received from the outsiders the tokens of jural power, 'flags and other insignia of office'.⁷ Through myth, the Timorese hosted the Portuguese intruders as the legitimate jural lords. Henceforth the European outsiders were called to perform the role of indigenous custodians of political order, according to a cosmological script.⁸

As bearers of the 'flag', the mythic token of jural power, the Portuguese were entitled to rule over worldly affairs. Yet, the Timorese did not give everything away to their 'returning younger brothers'. The mythic legitimacy of colonial rule stopped where the domain of the Timorese ritual lords began. In the mountains opposite to Dili, the Mambai ritual lords continued to hold the spiritual responsibilities over the realm, thus keeping possession of the ultimate, superior, ritual authority over cosmic and sacred affairs, as they always had done. In the Mambai metaphor: 'Ours is the base of rule

[the flag pole], and the Malaia [Portuguese] hold the tip of rule [the flag].⁹ The metaphor expressed the complementary, yet opposed and asymmetric, nature of the colonial-indigenous diarchic governance. The Timorese and the Portuguese formed the two complementary forms of governance of one same realm. Together, they guaranteed unity and order. But they were supposed to exert their authority in separate zones: the Portuguese as custodians of justice and worldly regulation; the Timorese as custodians of fertility and spiritual regulation. Thus the Portuguese were the jural lords of the indigenous world as long as they left the other half of governance untouched, and in Timorese hands.

This myth of colonial rule is a variant of an indigenous theory of the 'extrinsic origins of power' common to Eastern Indonesian cultures: the association of outsiders with political authority and of insiders with ritual power.¹⁰ It also offers clarifying evidence of the cosmology in flexibly accommodating Portuguese political rule into Timorese social order. Its interpretation certainly requires a few precautions. The above myth, for instance, probably expresses the Mambai particular history of hospitable relationships with the Portuguese establishment, let alone the specific retrospective assessment of that history by the storytellers, the 'ritual lords', at a specific point in time, the 1970s, when East Timor went through convoluted changes.¹¹ Not everyone, too, could access the full mythic account. The entire mythic narrative was regarded by Mambai as 'privileged knowledge', associated with the bearers of ritual authority and 'particular social groups'.¹² Further, in other communities (those eventually with a historical past of regular hostility towards the colonizers), the Portuguese might not figure as outsider-ancestors in mythic accounts.¹³ Even among the Mambai, mythic legitimacy did not imply absolute submission: Portuguese misconducts as legitimate rulers were constantly under Mambai critique.¹⁴

Nevertheless, the main tenets of this cosmological political theory pervaded throughout Mambai society, and were present in other Timorese communities as well. Cosmological stories were at the heart of the Timorese social world, and structured kinship systems and the political order.¹⁵ Among most Mambai social groups, as Traube pointed out, the 'basic ideas' of the myth were widespread as part of the 'local origin traditions', and could be 'conveyed in non-narrative discourses and inform ritual events'.¹⁶ Moreover, signs of the cosmological legitimacy of colonial jural authority did appear in other Timorese myths and legends that refer to the Portuguese as returning outsiders or embodiments of ancestors whose ultimate origins were Timorese.¹⁷ A common Timorese legend described the first *malae* to arrive in Timor as a Portuguese who travelled by sea on the back of the mythic crocodile with which the island is identified.¹⁸ In a cosmological account that resembled the Mambai, the Ema claimed ancestry from a population of outsiders coming from Portugal.¹⁹ Among the Fataluku, a legend explained Portuguese jural rule by attributing transcendent qualities to the

colonizers and identifying them with spiritual reincarnations of ancestral Timorese chiefs.²⁰ Therefore, it is plausible to admit a widespread indigenous view of the Portuguese colonial government as legitimate holder of jural authority, a view entailed in Timorese dualist classifications of authority and rendered in a cosmological idiom.

In this chapter, the Timorese cosmologies of Portuguese rule provide an interpretive device for reassessing the colonial establishment from the vantage point of an indigenous cultural strategy of inclusion. Because it is the most thoroughly documented cosmology of colonial rule, the Mambai will be a principal reference in the understanding of the dualist foundations of colonial authority, and of the *finta* as core device of the colonial tribute system. However, the indigenous cosmologies have to acquire significance and interpretive power in relation to the colonial record. The next section will take this approach further, by paying closer attention to the Portuguese sources. The articulations of cosmology with the colonial history will now be guided by the two main insights of indigenous cosmological hospitality. On the one hand, the incorporation of Portuguese outsiders as jural authorities occurred in accordance with a dualist theory of separate and complementary governance. On the other hand, the Portuguese establishment was incorporated as a ceremonial centre founded on reciprocal exchange and tribute. We have seen already the Timorese dualist strategy of hosting the Europeans, utterly illustrated by Mambai cosmologies. It granted legitimacy to colonial authority only if it concerned a separate zone of indigenous life: the government of justice. The integration of Portuguese outsiders was, therefore, structured by the symbolic dualisms of power: the insiders remained in possession of ritual authority; the outsiders took over the legitimate rule of worldly affairs. Having looked at the dualisms in which the colonial authority was entailed, let us now examine the other cosmological dimension of colonial rule: reciprocity and the tribute system.

Colonial authority as exchange: the *finta* and the tribute system

The organizing principle of Mambai hospitality was exchange and reciprocity, the Timorese ideal form of relationship. As we saw, the foundation of Dili in the eighteenth century was mythically rendered as an agreement and an exchange between insiders and outsiders. It is significant that some colonial authors conveyed colonial rule in a similar idiom of exchange. Major Vaquinhas in 1883 referred to the foundation of Dili on Mambai lands as a 'contract' between the Portuguese and the coastal rulers of Motael.²¹ The governor Afonso de Castro saw Portuguese rule as an exchange relationship, and explained the reciprocal nature of this contract. The Timorese were obliged to pay the *finta*, provide workers at the government's request, and *arraiais* in the event of war: '*In exchange* for these levies [*finta*], Portugal is obliged to maintain the order among the tribes, to protect the weak

against usurpations by force, to impede all foreign attempts to gain possession [of the territory].²² Colonial jural rule was founded upon a 'contract' of exchange, with mutual obligations and mutual benefits. The contract seemed to comprise two clauses. One was the distribution of governance between opposed but complementary authorities, the other the preservation of a tribute system.

The harmony of dual authority and the unity of the realm were secured by a 'tribute system', by which means the Portuguese and Timorese formed one ceremonial community. At its core was the *finta* tax, instituted by the Portuguese in the eighteenth century and paid in land produce by the Timorese communities.²³ The expression 'tribute', rather than 'tax', could in fact be preferred to describe the *finta*, and governor Castro defined it in 1863 as 'the tribute the kingdoms pay to the Government of Timor.'²⁴ In practice, however, the *finta* was less a tribute to the Portuguese alone, than a tribute owed at the same time to the jural and the ritual authorities of the realm. It represented the Timorese gift of harvest to a dual centre. The harvest tribute that constituted the *finta* was first collected at the ritual cult centres in the mountains; then, the ritual lords appropriated part of this tribute and another part was given to the jural lords, in Motael.²⁵ The share of harvest gift owed to the cult centres of the communities allowed the ritual lords to maintain authority over spiritual affairs. In return for the commoners' tribute, the indigenous lords could reciprocate with ritual control of agricultural fertility and order in spiritual affairs. While the Portuguese received harvest tribute in Dili, and both the Timorese cult and jural lords (the *régulos*) appropriated their share on the way, the indigenous realm was in place.²⁶ The *finta* then constituted a tributary chain intersected by constant patrimonial appropriations. From the perspective of Timorese authorities, the patrimonial nature of the chain was an important element of order. Yet, the governors could perceive its indigenous importance, and defend the preservation of *finta*, regardless of its meagre financial benefits: the *finta* was a 'system that is part of the manners and customs,' Celestino da Silva remarked, 'and that would not be political to change... charging it does not raise difficulties, nor it is a cause of resistance.'²⁷ With the *finta*, the legitimacy of both ritual and jural authority was kept alive; and, allowing spiritual lords to watch over the regulation of the ties between the visible and the invisible worlds, the Portuguese played their complementary role in the maintenance of order.

Finta was, therefore, a ceremonial exchange, a tribute given to Dili on the expectation of another gift in return—the gift of law and justice. In receiving their share of *finta*, as Castro observed, the Portuguese and their jural delegates were obliged to give back, 'in exchange', order in worldly affairs. It was thus as a gesture of reciprocation that the exercise of jural authority was perceived. This political exchange eventually juxtaposed to economic exchange circuits. By establishing in Dili, the Portuguese had taken the structural place of Motael, the circulation of *finta* juxtaposing to pre-existent circuits of

exchange of agricultural produce from the mountains for coastal products from Motael.²⁸ The ideal of reciprocity also symbolically organized the political relationships between Dili and the Timorese kingdoms. The vassalage oaths were of great importance in this respect. They ritualized the contract of reciprocity by means of a ceremonial gift exchange, the so-called *serapinan* or *serapinão*.²⁹ The constitution of a vassal-ruler relationship was celebrated with the gift of *serapinan*, with which the *régulo* had to present the governor, and with the governor's counter-gifts. The Timorese *régulo* swore obedience to the government and assumed his or her tributary obligations. He then presented the governor with buffaloes, horses, and other valuables. Yet, in exchange, the governor reciprocated with the royal title, status ranks, and the tokens of office (the sceptre and the flag), while also presenting the *régulo* with alcoholic drinks, fabrics, and a formal reception at the palace.³⁰

The circulation of *finta* in the direction of Dili also maintained a subsidiary chain of tributes from which the indigenous representatives of Portuguese jural authority gained force.³¹ This seemed to reveal the centrifugal character of *finta*. However, because it circulated 'in the direction of Dili', the *finta* was a unifying ritual tribute that, at a supra-kingdom level, stood for a political process of centralization.³² The *finta* secured for the Portuguese in Dili a ceremonial type of territorial centre, by analogy with the way harvest tribute secured indigenous ritual centres. The link represented by annual harvest tribute had been fundamental to construct the most encompassing Timorese centres: Sonebay and Wehale.³³ Their supremacy was not expressed in the form of effective state machinery or territorial occupation. Instead, it was an ascendancy legitimated by myth and expressed in ritual tribute.³⁴ The centralizing principle of a supra-kingdom authority was the maintenance of financially insignificant and symbolically meaningful flows of tribute. By means of the tribute system that linked it to the vassal kingdoms, Dili was a political centre built-up in the indigenous image. This centrality was not secured simply by the harvest gift represented by *finta*. As the Mambai cult lords recalled in the 1970s, 'the villages of the kingdom also owed other forms of ritual service'.³⁵ Indeed, *finta* was not the only tribute agreed on occasion of vassalage contracts. The Portuguese tribute system comprised the obligation to serve the government in wartime as *arraiais*, or in peacetime as public workers. The service as *arraiais* represented a form of ceremonial tribute to jural authority entailed, just like *finta*, in indigenous ideals of reciprocity.

The hospitality of Timorese cosmology brings to light the cosmological and dualist roots of the colonial system. Yet, it would be misleading to stop here our description, as if the 'colonial' was a mirror image of some sort of 'indigenous' essence. The colonial authority was embedded in indigenous cosmologies and conceptions of authority and with difficulty could survive outside of these intimate articulations. The opposite was also true. The indigenous political world was organized by Portuguese

subjects, objects, status signs, and institutions of government. The Portuguese and Timorese political systems had blended into each other over the centuries. Thus, because the indigenous jural realm was entwined with the Portuguese establishment, the indigenous cosmologies unearthed by professional ethnographies are insufficient to understand the jural zone of 'Timorese traditional life'. They require articulation with colonial knowledge. If the study of indigenous cosmology takes us beyond a Eurocentric understanding of colonialism, a reassessment of colonial texts can take us beyond reductive indigenous theories of rule. It is at this point that the contribution of former professional ethnographers of the 1950s–70s in East Timor comes to an end, and the input of historical anthropology is required. The study of jural authority in Timor requires investigation of the modes of European engagement with the indigenous foundations of colonial rule. The next section analyses the colonizers' cultural strategies of hospitality and the modes of explaining and legitimating the Portuguese–Timorese mutual inclusion. The focus is on the principles of Portuguese praxiology, the theory of efficient government.

Portuguese praxiologies

In his celebrated work of 1867, *As Possessões Portuguezas na Oceânia*, governor Afonso de Castro remarked that although Timor was recalcitrant to civilization, the exercise of colonial rule was 'easy' provided that a simple set of principles was observed:

Although tumultuous and inclined to war... [the Timorese] are easy to rule, as long as they are not treated with extraordinary rigour and respect is shown for the Timorese *estylas* [traditions and rites], to which they obey without muttering. ... The Timorese have great veneration for the king of Portugal, acknowledged in the person of the governor whom they call *pae e mãe* [father and mother], and this love and respect has sustained Portuguese domination in that country where our strength has always been insufficient to secure obedience to our sovereignty.³⁶

The foundations of colonial power were not located outside of Timorese culture. The 'Portuguese domination' seemed to spring somewhere from inside an area of close contact with the indigenous world, of which the Portuguese seemed to be a part. In this manner, Afonso de Castro encapsulated colonial rule embedded in indigenous acts of recognition, symbolic conceptions, and traditional rites. The art of 'easy' governance in Timor should then consist of caring for the 'indigenous' foundations of colonial power. The passage amounted to an ethnographic insight into indigenous views of colonial rule; at the same time, it had clear practical aims. The purpose of Castro's insight

was to set general recommendations and warnings for those seeking maximum effectiveness in the government of the Timorese. In doing so, Castro behaved as a praxiologist, a theorist of efficient action. The term 'praxiology', coined by scholars to comprise a branch of knowledge that deals with the efficiency of human conduct, is used here to refer to the generalized theory of efficient government endorsed by the governors in their exercise of colonial rule.³⁷ By symmetry with the Timorese cosmologies, the praxiologies of colonial rule can be approached as the Portuguese cultural strategies for hosting the indigenous culture with a view to the efficacy of ceremonial government. In this regard, Castro's passage is illuminating. It exposed with remarkable clarity the main principles of a more general praxiology of government, according to which mutual parasitism in Timor could be epistemically accommodated and technically managed.

According to Castro, the Portuguese could effectively rule the Timorese if they were to observe two principles. The first recommendation concerned the preservation of indigenous customs, traditions, and ritual life. The Timorese would accept colonial rule if the Portuguese showed a mild, tolerant, and preservationist attitude as regards local customs and traditions, the *estilos*. The second principle concerned the management of the acts of recognition and gestures of 'veneration' through which the Timorese endowed the Portuguese with symbolic powers and sacred attributes. The Timorese accepted colonial rule because they had 'veneration' for the King and for the governor, conceived of as 'father and mother'. The 'sovereignty of Portugal' in Timor, Castro wrote elsewhere, was for most Timorese 'a sacred thing; the respect for the Portuguese flag a religious feeling', and Portugal an object of 'love' and 'cult'.³⁸ Therefore, colonial power could be maintained, or even increased, if the Portuguese were able to intensify these beliefs in their own charismatic forces. Governor Castro was not alone in enunciating the preservation of customs and the intensification of symbolic power as the two main principles of efficient government. Bento da França, for example, made similar recommendations. 'From the [Timorese] perspective', he noted, 'their beliefs and *estylas*', the authority of Portugal was indisputable; the governors were seen by the Timorese 'as predestined by Providence for exercising tutelage over [the people]'.³⁹ He further confessed his 'belief' 'that the Timorese will always willingly accept our domination, so long as we show them good examples, energy and strength, all this tempered by our observance of their *estylas* and manners, in what is reasonable.'⁴⁰

The European vocabulary of these praxiological interpretations did not render the Timorese conceptions in an indigenous idiom neither encapsulated it in all their complexities. Not every Timorese, moreover, would eventually endorse the often essentialist view of the hospitable inclusion of Portuguese outsiders. The 'veneration' for the Portuguese, for instance, was not equally distributed. As Governor Celestino observed, the idea that the 'Timorese consider themselves to be Portuguese' and the aura of sacredness

that surrounded colonial people and things seemed to 'exclude the kingdoms near the Dutch border'.⁴¹ Nationalist and luso-tropicalist ideologies have been misinterpreting the indigenous deference for the persons and symbols of colonial authority (notably the Portuguese flag) as demonstration of 'Portuguese patriotism', and this reading must be avoided.⁴² The Portuguese were not Mambai, they did not talk about themselves as the 'returning younger brothers'. They were possibly unaware of their mythic status, for cosmology was a secret and sacred knowledge that Timorese ritual keepers, such as those from which Traube collected the myth, reserved for themselves. Nevertheless, the colonial accounts can be positively analysed as interpretive insights into the indigenous conceptions of colonial rule, in the service of a pragmatic management of the colonial engagement. The Europeans' ability to live through and engage in colonial situations depended on the skilful management of their inclusions in indigenous culture. The authors of these praxiological observations (governors, officers, and officials) were referring to lived experiences of having been the object of indigenous attributions. The praxiological knowledge often expressed these experiences, but also provided a theory of practice that helped colonial actors to succeed in their interactions with the indigenous people. In short, it is irrelevant in this context whether the Portuguese understanding of the indigenous incorporations of colonial authority accurately depicted Timorese cosmologies in an indigenous idiom. The important thing was that this understanding could be pragmatically accurate, and achieved the desired effect: the efficiency of government. Therefore, though trapped in European vocabulary, Afonso de Castro did capture the key elements of the indigenous cultural relationship with jural authority that the good government praxis ought to take into account. In the next section, Castro's two rules will guide the analysis. Let us first look at Castro's second recommendation. Colonial rule was effective if the Portuguese kept the intensity of the indigenous recognition of colonial symbolic power at its height.

The administration of symbolic power

The colonizers could sense that their authority had throughout the course of time been internalized by the Timorese in the dualisms of symbolic classification. According to the governors, the Timorese perceived the colonial government as a dual centre and the governor as a dual *persona* composed of a pair 'father and mother'. 'Father' could also be used to designate the governor only, or the executives of the governor.⁴³ A military officer in Timor in the 1870s, for instance, claimed that the indigenous troops called him '*pae dos portugueses*' (father of the Portuguese).⁴⁴ The colonial government was further understood as a 'female and male' pair, a dualist centre of jural authority entailed in the complex cascade of symbolically opposed attributes that organized the mythic pair 'great mother and great father', to which professional ethnographers of East Timor have called attention.⁴⁵ The

classification of the colonial governor as 'father and mother' could express its double condition of holder of both female 'conjunctive' and male 'disjunctive' jural powers.⁴⁶ Indeed, as the discussion of *bandos* of peace and war will demonstrate, the ceremonial command of justice by the governor and his delegates followed an opposition between conjunctive powers of conciliation and peace, and disjunctive powers of punishment and war. However, it was not the indigenous symbolic dualisms of colonial authority that most impressed the colonizers. For the governors, the most remarkable Timorese cultural incorporation of colonial authority regarded the Timorese attribution of sacred or charismatic qualities and forces to Portuguese people and things. In thus emphasizing colonial power as the result of indigenous belief in and 'recognition' of invisible powers, the Portuguese claimed possession of what Bourdieu termed 'symbolic power', 'that invisible power which can be exercised only with the complicity of those who do not want to know that they are subject to it or even that they themselves exercise it.'⁴⁷

In colonial eyes, the Timorese 'respected' the Portuguese as if these had been endowed with intangible, almost holy, qualities. '[R]espect towards the Portuguese', a governor noted, 'is, with rare exceptions, a kind of religion'.⁴⁸ Timor's connection with the Portuguese seemed to belong to the sphere of the supernatural. The magic and mysticism of the actual events was so fantastic that European eyes could hardly believe it to be real. The supernatural seemed to most intensively and dramatically be made manifest on occasion of warfare. 'Extraordinary things' happen around here, governor Celestino reported to Lisbon, things that 'nobody in the metropolis can believe'.⁴⁹ Could someone, for example, believe in his visit to the Atabai battlefield in July 1899? Besieged in their villages for a month, the Atabai people offered ferocious resistance to the government troops. Yet, when the governor came within their sight the warriors 'stood up from their defensive posts and removed their kerchiefs, as sign of respect for the governor, for the "father" Not even one rebel considered the idea of killing me, of disrespecting me, though they could have done it safely and with advantage!'⁵⁰ Or could anyone believe in what occurred at a Portuguese fort on the south coast, some years before? Dr Gomes da Silva, one army officer, one soldier, and one Timorese prisoner had been put under siege by 'a great number' of natives. They had come with full armoury for releasing the prisoner, 'but seeing our flag [raised up], they sent an emissary requesting us to lower the flag, because otherwise they could not attack; it is obvious that the flag was not lowered, and it is certain that the attack did not occur.'⁵¹ The flag was sacred, an almost supernatural entity. Other fantastic stories circulated about the magic qualities of some Portuguese governors and army officers. These frequently concerned their charismatic influence upon the destiny of battles, or their invulnerability to the enemies' bullets.⁵²

As Celestino da Silva's stories suggest, the reverence towards the Portuguese was especially visible with regard to a subject position, the Governor, and an object, the Flag. The governor and the flag seemed to represent the most intense, concentrated, embodiments of the mystical power of the Portuguese. The governor, associated with the symbolic pair 'father and mother', was understood as the main delegate of the supreme, sacred, authority of an invisible 'King of Portugal'. A Tetum word was reserved for expressing his jural superiority: *enboot*, or *emboôte*, meaning 'bigger person'.⁵³ The link with the King also presented homology with indigenous structures. The governor, wrote Cardoso de Carvalho in 1883, was traditionally 'honoured and respected', to 'whom the Timorese call "father" and "mother" and kiss the hand... [he] is considered like a *principal* of the King of Portugal and as such, and by analogy with their form of government, he is always worthy of the highest respect, like the respect they show with relation to their *régulos* and *principais* whose doings they entirely tolerate'.⁵⁴ In its turn, the Portuguese national flag represented a powerful and sacred token of jural power. The Mambai, for instance, as we saw, had a special place for the Portuguese flag in mythic narrations. It was the mythic token of jural power brought by the 'outsider' ancestors to exercise rule over worldly affairs, and passed on to the indigenous jural delegates for sustaining political order in the kingdoms. In effect, by virtue of an ancient tradition, on occasion of vassalage rites the governor handed Portuguese flags to the *régulos*. The Timorese, Vaquinhas remarked in 1883, kept the Portuguese flags with sacred veneration and told 'fabulous stories' about the wars in which they had taken part.⁵⁵ Portuguese flags were considered *lulik*, a complex and important indigenous term that implied 'interdiction', 'danger', and 'sacredness'.⁵⁶ As *lulik* entities, the flags were kept as sacred heirlooms in the sacred houses (the *uma lulik*) of the communities, in which the sacred heritage passed down from mythic ancestors or former house members was safeguarded.⁵⁷ As such, the flags empowered the holders with jural power, enabling them to activate the presence and intervention of invisible forces of justice on special ceremonial occasions. Flags also embodied the magic of hostility. They were raised against the enemies (either European or Timorese) as magic weapons or protective devices, and prior to battle could be the object of special preparatory rites⁵⁸ (cf. Fig. 12). Therefore, the Portuguese flag was not perceived as a stranger object of colonial domination or national identity, but as a Timorese token of jural power and a *lulik* object of self-empowerment, protection, or hostility, eventually mythically legitimated.

The experience of an indigenous belief in the intangible forces associated with the Portuguese supported the conviction that the continuity of colonial sovereignty in Timor depended on the ineffable energies with which the Portuguese were endowed. For many, in fact, 'Portuguese domination' in Timor could only be explained as an effect of 'moral force', or, as some

preferred, as the product of the 'prestige of the Portuguese name'.⁵⁹ The term *prestígio* (prestige) was ordinarily used for referring to the intangibility of colonial power. 'Prestige' was an intense, yet volatile force put to the test in the exercise of justice and the conduct of war. It empowered the colonial establishment through the filter of Timorese perceptions and emotions. The ability to maintain and intensify the belief in this energy was an important aspect of governance. Governors sensed that certain things had to be done 'so that the prestige of our name does not die away'.⁶⁰ 'Prestige' depended on, for example, the effects that individual behaviour could have upon the spirits of the Timorese because those were considered 'exemplary'. There was a constant concern with the negative effects of 'abuses' of authority, or the unfair exercise of justice upon the indigenous recognition of Portuguese power.⁶¹

Yet, above all, the outcome of colonial wars was determinant to the intensification of prestige. Warfare seemed to be the moment of decisive revelation of Portuguese symbolic power. The expansion of prestige was represented by victory and its subtraction by defeat. Prestige was said to intensify with the magnitude of violence and destruction, with the horror left behind in the spirits of the Timorese by the *arraiais*. Bento da França recalled the victorious Ulmera war of 1861 as a great moment of expansion of prestige. The 'impression of terror', he remarked, was such that afterwards the government 'acquired such moral force that every kingdom took pride on supplying the greatest number of auxiliaries and workers'.⁶² Fear, horror, and panic were emotions attributed to the Timorese as expressing their degree of certainty on the force of Portuguese power. The Timorese, Fernandes stated, only showed respect to the government when 'fear of punishment' was kept alive in their spirits.⁶³ But if the Portuguese 'had' power when they won a battle, they 'did not have' power when they lost it. The intensity of 'prestige' died out on occasion of unsuccessful confrontations. Until 1895, the most memorable moments of decrease in Portuguese power were the 'disasters' and 'shames' of 1868–70 at Cová and Cotubaba; these, one governor regretted, 'have much concurred to our loss of prestige' among the Timorese people.⁶⁴ Power increased, or decreased as belief in its existence intensified, or faded away. Therefore, this invisible power was an intensive force, yet fragile in its immense dependence on the complicity of Timorese belief. In their discourse about 'prestige', then, the Portuguese expressed recognition of the need for Timorese recognition to sustain colonial symbolic power.

The invocation of 'prestige' to justify the undertakings of European colonialism could be a convention of patriotic language, especially as heroic and military ethos gained momentum in the late nineteenth century. Nevertheless, with regard to Timor, it was more than a discursive convention. It accounted for entwined symbolic processes. It is significant that, for example, the Portuguese wrote about their 'prestige' among the Timorese in ways

that resembled the Javanese traditional conception of power as a magnetic and charismatic force. In the traditional Javanese view, power constituted an intangible and mystical attribute believed to be embodied in persons and things, revealed on ritual occasions and transmitted through signs of power (for example, titles, regalia).⁶⁵ '[A]ll rule was charismatic', Benedict Anderson observed, 'insofar as it was based on belief on power.'⁶⁶ The attribution of spiritual or magic qualities to Portuguese people and things could thus amount to a Timorese variant of a Javanese conceptualization of power. Furthermore, the influence of Javanese political traditions in Timor had historical precedent. In the fourteenth century, prior to the Portuguese arrival, Timor was a vassal polity of the great Javanese empire of Majapahit.⁶⁷ Traits of Javanese social structure and status were still visible in Timor by the nineteenth century (for example, the title of *tumungão*), and it is possible that traits of the Javanese political culture also prevailed.⁶⁸

The Portuguese perception of their power's dependence on warfare interpreted perhaps still another indigenous conception. The Timorese attributed to warfare a magic character and invisible energies. The association of colonial symbolic power with warfare might be illuminated by the Timorese concept of *le'u musu*, an Atoni term glossed by ethnographers as the 'enmity magic', 'hostility power', or 'mystical power over warfare'.⁶⁹ This concept has been studied with regard to the Atoni cultures of warfare and head-hunting in colonial West Timor. Similar studies do not analyse it in East Timorese contexts, but a wider application of the concept in the island might be hypothetically considered. According to Middelkoop, *le'u musu* was one type of *le'u*, a term denoting 'fascinating and re-inspiring' invisible powers and 'the sphere of taboo'.⁷⁰ As opposed to the 'fertility power' mobilized in agricultural rituals, the enmity magic was invoked in war and headhunting raids during the divinatory rites that preceded combat. It then embodied in the sacred weapons and war costumes used by the warriors.⁷¹ It is possible that the Portuguese demonstrations of violence in colonial campaigns might have been perceived as revelations of such a mystical power. The Dutch colonial ethnographer, Schulte-Nordholt, for instance, has interpreted in this manner the Timorese submission to the Portuguese in the seventeenth century. The voluntary conversion of Timorese rulers to Christianity and the payment of allegiance to Portugal, he argued, was a consequence of the Portuguese military victory over Wehale in 1642 'probably because the *le'u musu* or enmity *le'u* of the Portuguese was obviously more powerful than that of the Meromak O'an, the divine son of Wehale.'⁷² The Portuguese belief in the circulation of 'prestige' in situations of combat found parallel in the indigenous belief in the circulation of a mystical power over warfare. In combat, a common practical world could then include two different concepts of symbolic power. The same wars that revealed colonial 'enmity magic' in the Timorese view, brought 'prestige' to life in Portuguese eyes.

The management of the indigenous recognition of Portuguese symbolic power, especially in situations of warfare, was a primary dimension of government. But efficient rule, as Castro above pointed out, implied observance of yet another principle. The government praxis required the preservation of local customs and traditions, the *estilos*.

The pragmatic preservation of *estilos*

In his study on colonial law in the Portuguese Eastern Empire, the historian A. M. Hespanha argued for the persistence, since the early modern period, of a separate law system in the Eastern colonies as regards the metropolitan kingdom.⁷³ In these colonies, Portuguese laws coexisted with traditional law systems, the metropolitan regulations often applying only to the European or Christian communities. The indigenous consuetudinary systems were, thus, to a great extent preserved. For Hespanha, the reasons for this prevalent institutional dualism were both theoretical and practical. Until the 1820s, separate indigenous law systems were legitimated by the doctrine of law. On the one hand, a lower status of 'savages' and non-Christians excluded the indigenous in principle from general regulations; on the other, particular norms had primacy over general laws, and thus the 'particular' law of communities had ascendancy in the regulation of indigenous life. In addition, a 'pluralist' anthropological-juridical view gave protective covering to cultural difference, excluding the automatic extension of metropolitan law to the overseas peoples until the late eighteenth century.⁷⁴ In theory, however, this tolerant coexistence had limits. The indigenous customs that threatened the principles and norms of Christian morals and religion were not to be permitted.

In the pluralist tradition, the exercise of law in the colonies implied the rightful management of the specific *usos e costumes* (manners and customs) of particular non-Christian communities. Central to this Portuguese doctrine was the juridical notion of *estilo*, 'the set of norms', according to Hespanha, 'that were *practiced*, namely in a court, the norms that, because they were ratified by a "prescribed" custom (i.e., a custom in force for a certain period of time), did not require further legitimacy or recognition.'⁷⁵ The pluralist view lost ground with the Enlightenment and especially with the shift towards a Constitutional system in Portugal in the 1820s.⁷⁶ However, many of its elements were not modified and especially in Portuguese Asia the universalistic view was basically not effective.⁷⁷ When universal laws existed they were simply not regarded in practice. Throughout the nineteenth century, in the name of a 'pragmatic politics' of tolerance for indigenous customs the principle of *estilo* and the duality of systems continued to be respected, particularly in remote areas of the empire.⁷⁸ Universal regulations were replaced for the adherence to local juridical customs established by tradition. These principles found perhaps the most extreme development in the most isolated of the Portuguese Eastern colonies: Timor.

In Timor, the doctrine of *estilos* and the observance of lawful manners and customs were entrenched in the administration of justice. The indigenous *usos e costumes* had never been systematically collected or codified (like they had been in Portuguese India, for example, since an early date) but they formed a consistent oral tradition perpetuated in jural practice.⁷⁹ The Timorese consuetudinary law was the object of special legal recognition by imperial authorities. The Civil Code of 1867 and a decree of 1869—both to be in force in Timor well into the twentieth century—extended to the colonies the metropolitan law. Yet, these universal codes continued to safeguard the indigenous consuetudinary traditions of *usos e costumes* and, especially, they safeguarded a status of exception for Timor.⁸⁰ The indigenous *usos e costumes* were to remain the basis of law in what concerned ‘the disputes between themselves [Timorese], unless they are opposed to moral and public order.’⁸¹ In the late nineteenth century, the indigenous customs had thus formal recognition as a separate ‘system of law’. For colonial governors, such recognition could only be maintained. The necessity of preserving the efficiency of government in the island justified Timor’s ‘exceptional’ case in the Portuguese imperial system. ‘Timor’, governor Graça stated in 1880, ‘cannot be administered in the manner of an African district; its customs and character are of a special nature. The Kingdom’s legislation cannot be entirely and indistinctly applied to the Portuguese colonies; it requires important modifications in relation to each province.’⁸² In Timor, however, the ‘important modifications’ exceeded the imagination of the most pluralist-minded legislators. In effect, the premise of separation between European and indigenous consuetudinary systems was not just unclear, as also the customs in contradiction with the ‘moral and public order’ were tolerated.

The ‘moral’ limits set by the decree of 1869 to the Portuguese tolerance for indigenous customs seemed to regard the ‘absolutely repugnant’ and anti-Christian customs.⁸³ The boundary was vaguely termed, as a later commentator complained, and perhaps for that reason ‘useless’, hardly to be put in legal practice.⁸⁴ Yet, clearer interpretation did not guarantee its effectiveness. ‘It would be absolutely necessary for the progress of civilization’, claimed the Superior of the Timor Catholic Mission in 1890, ‘that this [decree of 1869] was well observed; but unfortunately this has not been understood yet.’⁸⁵ In practice, the moral boundary was illusory. European ‘moral principles’ should limit certainly ‘barbaric’ customs, but in reality, França confessed in 1897, such limits were impossible to enforce.⁸⁶ The jurisdiction of the judges appointed by Macao was restricted to Dili. Outside of Dili, in the kingdoms, the regulation of justice was at the mercy of Timorese traditional laws: ‘The kingdoms are ruled by what one calls *estylas*,’ Castro wrote in 1867, ‘and there our mild legislation is unknown.’⁸⁷ By the late nineteenth century, the juridical notion of *estilos* had been appropriated by the indigenous law system. The Tetum expression *estilu* preserved the vernacular meaning, and adjusted it to widely convey every sort of lawful

traditional norms, rites, and customs that should be obeyed as sacred age-old regulations.⁸⁸ In the long duration the concept had become a point of contact of Portuguese and Timorese notions of legitimate law and jural authority. Some traditional practices of justice, as we will see, had Portuguese origins or required Portuguese engagement, but others were eventually Timorese customs granted legitimacy by means of symbolic reclassification as *estilos*. The term *estilos* was indifferently applied to 'indigenous' and 'colonial' norms and rites. The two law systems looked blurred. In effect, the very practice of delegating jural powers to indigenous kings had paved the way for such a blurred system.

The administration of justice in the kingdoms was the province of indigenous authorities. These authorities were simultaneously the traditional Timorese 'jural lords' appointed by the communities and the kings or *régulos* appointed by the Portuguese governor.⁸⁹ It was thus partly by delegation from the Portuguese government that indigenous justice could be legitimately exercised in the kingdoms. 'The authority of the *régulo* for administering justice', explained governor Celestino, 'derives from the power granted to him by the governor on occasion of proclaiming him *régulo*, receiving his oath, and handing him the sceptre of office, sign of the invested powers'⁹⁰ (Fig. 5). The practice of delegation had helped to create an indigenous system of justice founded upon the legitimacy of European rites and signs of authority. As bearers of the tokens of jural power ceremonially received from the governor, the Timorese jural lords were entitled to exercise justice according to indigenous customs and with the assistance of Portuguese legitimacy. Even the *principais*, Vaquinhas noted in 1884, were recognized as equivalent to European 'judges of peace'.⁹¹ This delegation of justice to the Timorese was an entrenched mechanism of colonial administration. It could amount to giving away the administration of justice to the Timorese *principais* and *régulos*. But, by virtue of tradition and for pragmatic reasons, such was the way the governors had always proceeded: 'The governors', Hugo de Lacerda acknowledged in 1877, 'either because of the shortage of [armed] forces, or because of the organization of the district [are] forced to empty themselves of their judicial functions in relation to the vassal kingdoms in accordance with old customs'.⁹² Indigenous justice was the territory of indigenous authorities. However, the force of indigenous law evoked the 'European' principle of *estilos*, while the very legitimacy of the indigenous 'judges' derived from a bestowment of jural powers by the Portuguese governor. The indigenous consuetudinary system had become embroiled in colonial authority. The embroilment, moreover, was mutual.

In colonial language the term *estilos* did not mean just 'their' indigenous *estilos*. It designated the set of inviolable rules and rites to which both the Portuguese and Timorese had to subject their actions. The governor had authority, claimed Celestino da Silva, because of and 'in accordance with the *estilos*'.⁹³ *Estilos* were thus at once a sacred source of legitimate

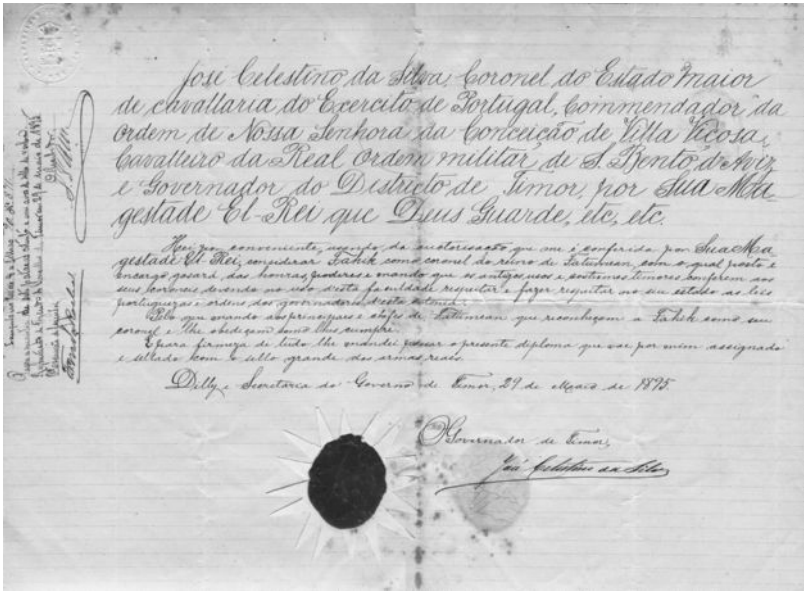


Figure 5 Diploma (carta-patente) granting the rank of colonel and the associated honours, status, and jural authority to a Timorese noble (here by the name of Fahik) of Fatumean, in May 1895. The rank of colonel was by tradition bestowed only on the Timorese kings or *liurais*. The document bore the signs of Portuguese authority (official stamps; the governor's signature—here, Celestino da Silva). It entitled its Timorese holder to exercise jural command in the kingdoms, in the name of the King of Portugal, and 'according to the Timorese ancient manners and customs', whilst also enforcing the kingdom's 'chiefs and *principais*' to recognize Fahik as their ruling colonel. These documents were probably distributed along with other signs of Portuguese jural power to Timorese nobles and rulers on occasion of vassalage. Tokens of status and power of ruling houses, such documents would eventually become most prized possessions of their Timorese holders and, possibly, also their descendants. There is no evidence on how this particular *carta-patente* reached the hands of Portuguese army officers, but it might have been one of the items collected from Fatumean by government parties during the punitive campaigns of 1896. Private archives of Celestino da Silva's relatives. Courtesy of Comt. Alpoim Calvão.

jural authority, and an institution of regulation and control of the exercise of Portuguese rule. In this regard, colonial authority configured a type of 'traditional authority', a variant of Weber's 'traditional' type of legitimate domination.⁹⁴ The legitimate exercise of colonial authority derived to a considerable extent from its observance of *estilos*. *Estilos* had to be revered, obeyed, and reproduced; and should they be offended or contradicted by the colonizers, the order of colonial authority itself could suffer damage.

The *estilos*, then, functioned as a unifying institution. Their preservation and continuity held together the community formed by indigenous 'insiders' and colonial 'outsiders'. If properly reproduced and respected, the *estilos* allowed Timorese traditional culture to continue and colonial authority to live on. Therefore, because the observance of *estilos* assisted the legitimacy of colonial authority, the Portuguese were held captive of every sort of rites, norms, customs, manners, and ceremonies considered by the Timorese to be sacred and established by tradition. For the sake of their authority, then, the Portuguese were urged to participate in the perpetuation of *estilos*. The 'barbarity' of the indigenous customs could on occasions be the target of intrusive civilizing interferences, especially by the Catholic missionaries, as Chapter 7 will observe. Yet, such occasions, as we will also see, were extremely problematic, and, as a rule, in the praxis of colonial government the political gains of pursuing a preservation of local traditions exceeded the moral losses.

The management of *estilos* was a sensitive and important area of administration. The fundamental principle of good government, as Castro above observed, was here the preservation of traditional customs. Thus, the concessions that the pluralist tradition did not back up, the elasticity of colonial praxiology allowed. To perpetuate *estilos* amounted to a form of pragmatically caring for the local foundations of colonial authority, of such efficient results that an entire style of jural government (followed virtually to perfection by Celestino da Silva) could be overtly based upon it. The preservationist practices were of two main kinds. They could oscillate between total non-interference and passivity, and active engagement with the production of traditional rites. The Portuguese, for example, dealt differently with *estilos* according to their location within the 'jural' or the 'ritual' zones of diarchic authority. Portuguese passivity was necessary with regard to all the *estilos* of Timorese traditional life in which Portuguese engagement was to be avoided, or not required by tradition. The passive observance of *estilos* had firstly to respect the Timorese contract of separate and complementary dual authority. The *estilos* of ritual lords required European distance and inaction. The Timorese seemed especially keen on maintaining the ritual realm untouched by Portuguese interference. This impermeable zone was designated in colonial language as *pomali*, the sacred sites, things, or rites kept apart from the Portuguese. 'This is one of the few instances', França observed about *pomali*, 'in which the Timorese offer resistance to our orders.'⁹⁵ This area was under the control of indigenous cult lords, ordinarily designated in the documentation by the Portuguese term *pomaleiros*, or the Tetum terms, *dató lulik* or *rai lulik*. Passivity and non-interference, in addition, had to be put in practice with regard to the traditional justice practiced by the *régulos*, including the most 'barbaric' forms of punishment. Head-hunting rites in colonial campaigns, as seen in Chapter 1, were the object of similar justifications. The governors expressed concern with the execution

of people for crimes of *suanguice* (witchcraft), which was ordered by the *régulos* according to traditional norms. But in practice they felt 'forced' to tolerate them: 'without force to make its determinations respected,' wrote Castro, 'the superior Portuguese authority has to be indifferent to these horrors when attempting to repress such cruelties, and has to sanction with silence these bloody *estilos*, in order not to be disobeyed.'⁹⁶ Power was ineffective if *estilos* were to be openly affronted: '[T]he governors and military commandants', França warned, 'need still to take much care in getting them [Timorese] to do what we want without injuring their *estilos*.'⁹⁷ To keep distance from the ritual lords' activities and eyes closed to 'barbarities' was an efficient way of exercising government. Silence and passivity was a pragmatic means to secure 'obedience' to colonial authority.

Yet, the perpetuation of *estilos* could require more active participation. If concerning the 'ritual realm' or the barbarity of indigenous justice the Portuguese praxiology recommended passivity or absence, with respect to the etiquettes and ceremonies of the *estilos* of justice, the authorities had to be engaged actors. Their preservation required obedience, in action, to codified behaviours and ceremonial principles in the performance of command. In the jural realm, the Portuguese were called to manage in practice a blurred system of justice grounded on 'traditional' customs that, in the course of time, they had themselves crucially shaped and brought to life. The next section explores some of the modalities of this practical engagement. Having looked at the colonial and indigenous cultural strategies of mutual inclusion, we will now examine the ceremonial codes that enabled the hierarchy of Portuguese jural authority to be expressed in social life, and the exercise of colonial command to be effective across the territory.

The colonial command of justice

For the natives, the Governor is the *great jural lord* [*grande justiceiro*], the one who administers justice rigidly,⁹⁸ the general, the only representative of His Majesty, the *father*, the officers are his delegates, they are his arms, the governor speaks to [the indigenous people] through their mouths, what they say and command is what the governor says and commands.⁹⁹

In the above passage of 1905, the governor Celestino da Silva rendered his view of the indigenous understanding of the workings of Portuguese administration of justice and exercise of colonial command. The governor's description also conveyed important themes of Timorese symbolic conceptions of the political system: a central ruler, immobile, silent, and supreme, exercises power over the realm through the action and speech of executive delegates.¹⁰⁰ Delegation formed a concentric structure of administration, and was thus the main mechanism for a central ruler to exercise effective government. The governor, the 'father', or 'father and mother', the ultimate

justice maker, stood at the centre of the jural realm. He was the magnetic holder of the creational power of political order and steady justice. The governor's voice was rule and command. Yet, his power emanated and his voice was heard through his active delegates, the army officers. They were the executives of justice. Away in distant lands, they transmitted the voice of the governor, the words of command that regulated the realm.

The metaphor had clear implications for the jural praxis of governor Celestino. The image of the *grande justiceiro* and his delegates was deep-rooted in his interpretation of colonial government. No other governor perhaps endorsed the recommendations of Portuguese praxiology in more overt and determinate manner. He prided himself of 'administering justice according to the Timorese *estilos*', and was of the opinion that the government of Timor should be based on an official policy of preservation of old customs and organizations, to the point of giving up the 'civilization of the peoples', at least temporarily.¹⁰¹ In Celestino's view, the efficiency of this way of administering justice required the strategic incorporation of indigenous cultural codes. In order to rule over the jural realm, the Portuguese had to release themselves from European principles, and embrace the Timorese manners: 'We have to merge them with our social manners, but first we have to merge ourselves with their social manners'.¹⁰²

The image of the 'great jural lord' exerting a commanding voice over the people through his 'arms', the officers, was embedded in his military model of administration, designed in 1896–98¹⁰³ (Fig. 6). Celestino's metaphor of the governor and his delegates included only the European military, and it is possible that the Portuguese officers were considered the ultimate executives of the governor. Yet, as seen above, by virtue of their entitlement to the office of king, the *régulos* could also claim the status of legitimate delegates of the government to exercise indigenous justice. Celestino da Silva was aware of the jural system of delegation comprising both indigenous and European executive authorities; he would not take action to change it. Ideally, however, the administration of colonial justice was to be in the hands of Portuguese officers. Celestino da Silva divided the colony into 'military districts', in charge of which should stand one Portuguese army officer. The officers in the interior were closer to the people's customs than the judges in Dili, and then in a better position to give their sentences 'in harmony with Timorese customs and ways'.¹⁰⁴ The delegation of justice to Portuguese active executives, just like the delegation to *régulos*, was an old custom of colonial government. In defending this model in the 1890s, the governor considered that he was simply putting on paper a customary practice of administration, an *estilo*, long since observed in Timor, thus just granting recognition to the traditional system of bringing the governor's heavy rule to the kingdoms.¹⁰⁵

The regulation of worldly affairs in the territory was to be the area of legitimate activity of the governor, but the communication of command from Dili to the kingdoms was based on a concentric structure of delegation.



Figure 6 *Comando militar* (military post) at Railite, c. 1900. From Carlos Leitão Bandeira's photograph album. Photographer unknown. Courtesy of António Bandeira.

The conditions of efficacy of this structure, however, were inherently symbolic and ceremonial. Firstly, as seen above, the efficacy and legitimacy of jural authority was conditional on the indigenous recognition of Portuguese symbolic power, as well as on the colonizers' compliance with prescribed rites and norms, the *estilos*. *Estilos* were an elastic concept. From still an analytical perspective, they can be seen as lawful sets of sacred rites and norms according to which behaviours towards people and things believed to embody symbolic power were to be codified. The rightful management of these codified behaviours was also of great importance to an efficient government. Thus, secondly, the symbolic efficacy of colonial rule depended on the ceremonialism that expressed and enacted the hierarchy of jural authority and the communication of command. With the term 'ceremonialism' I comprise here the codified or (to keep with the semantics of *estilos*) 'stylized' practices and occasions concerned with managing connections with the symbolic power of Portuguese jural authority.¹⁰⁶ The codified behaviours that composed the colonial ceremonialism of justice can be categorized into two main types: etiquette and ceremonial occasions.¹⁰⁷ Gestures of deference and tributes expressed the indigenous recognition of a higher status for Portuguese jural authorities; they helped sustain symbolic power. Thus complex ceremonials and etiquette regulated behaviour in social interactions

between Timorese and Portuguese persons of status.¹⁰⁸ The performance of justice, the public deference towards colonial authority, and the transmission of instructions constituted themselves important ceremonial occasions. In what follows, I intend to pay attention to the specific ceremonials that made the exercise of colonial command possible: the *bandos*.

The two faces of ceremonial command: *bandos* of peace, *bandos* of war

To continue with Celestino da Silva's metaphor, the governor spoke to the Timorese through the mouth of his executive officers. Yet, his voice only efficaciously communicated power and order under prescribed liturgical conditions. The *bandos* represented these conditions, standing as proof of the intrinsic ceremonial nature of colonial command. At once an institution of communication and government, the *bandos* made the intervention of the governor happen in the affairs of kingdoms and in the conduct of the people. The *bandos* were ritualized instructions of the governor to his subjects, announced by his delegates. They made the double voice of the 'great jural lord' heard throughout the territory. They could bring peace and conciliation, but also punishment, war, and destruction.

In Portuguese vernacular language, the term *bando* was used to designate 'public announcements', also conveying the meaning of authoritative command and 'prohibition'.¹⁰⁹ Eventually an early form of communicating orders to the population, the expression could still appear in the official vocabulary of colonial administration to mean lawful proclamations.¹¹⁰ Significantly, then, the term *bando* indicated not just a superior command, but also a codified gesture, a ceremonial occasion: the action of reading out an order by playing the drum, in public. In Timor, the Portuguese vernacular meaning was basically preserved, and the term became closely associated with the exercise of justice.¹¹¹ In indigenous appropriations, the term also entailed a sacred aura of inviolability and taboo. The term *bandu* (widespread in various indigenous languages) conveyed the idea of compulsory determinations issued by jural authorities (normally by playing the drum); its meaning sometimes merged with that of *lulik*.¹¹² In any case, *bando* held association with the commanding 'voice' of the governor. 'To publish' or 'to proclaim' a *bando* was the expression denoting the issuing of colonial law, the transmission of the governor's instructions from Dili to the kingdoms. The ritualized character of *bandos* became central to its definition and effectiveness in Timor. Only under codified conditions could a *bando* issued by the governor in Dili have some probability of being obeyed in the kingdoms. The act of proclaiming a *bando* should follow the *estilo*: a party of soldiers headed by a Portuguese army officer and carrying 'drum and flag' had to approach the hamlets of the kingdom, or come close to the local authorities and, in public, read out the governor's *bando* at the sound of drum-beating.¹¹³

The *bandos* were originally and ultimately an emanation of the Portuguese governor, used to issue every sort of determination, order, or prohibition.¹¹⁴ It was, for example, by means of *bando* that the kingdoms were called to accompany the government as *arraiais*.¹¹⁵ *Bandos* consisted of written instructions in Portuguese, which on occasion of proclamation could be translated into Tetum or other indigenous languages. The act of proclamation, as a rule, was in charge of the Portuguese executive officers, but, on occasions, the indigenous jural delegates, the *régulos*, could also proclaim the governor's *bandos*. In fact, in the course of time, in the kingdoms the *bandos* had also become an institution of administration of indigenous justice. The Timorese kings, and every authority who claimed independent jural authority in the territory, could express jural determinations in the same manner.¹¹⁶ *Bandos*, thus, were also the sentences and ordinations determined by *régulos* and transmitted through their *dató* executives.¹¹⁷

The execution of *bandos* was in the charge of the active delegates. The executive officers, as governor Celestino observed, had powers to exercise justice according to *estilos*, in the image of the governor. Accordingly, they were to be owed deference. Because of their status as jural delegates, for example, the Portuguese officers in journey had the right to receive *gastos* (tributes) from the villages, when they were travelling with *caixa e bandeira* (drum and flag), the insignia of jural power.¹¹⁸ In addition, the officers were expected to replicate the two attributes of firm administration of justice embodied in the 'great jural lord': the power of conciliation and the power of punishment. The jural attributes of the 'jural lords' conveyed a bipartition of conjunctive and disjunctive powers, eventually expressing the long-standing entailment of Portuguese jural authority in the Timorese symbolic dualisms. Thus, the governor was called to play the conjunctive role of peacemaker and creator of order when chaos traversed the indigenous worldly realm. He should promote conciliation and act as supreme arbiter of disputes (especially conflicts involving royalty and aristocracy), and show clemency towards the transgressors. Yet, the governor was also expected to exert ultimate punitive power in the face of offences or transgressions to *bandos*. Therefore, *bandos* of peace and war expressed the two opposed and complementary spheres of jural arbitration.

The governor's sentences transmitted by *bandos* of peace could suffice to put an end to situations of war or political dispute between indigenous authorities. '[T]heir need for self-conservation', governor Carvalho wrote, 'forces the various kingdoms to accept our government as mediator and judge in their contending, and there is not one kingdom even conceiving of absorbing another.'¹¹⁹ In 1875, the intervention of governor Hugo de Lacerda was requested by the Timorese to arbitrate a long standing conflict between D. Matheus Soares, regent colonel of Bibiçusso and a *principal*, D. Florêncio Hornay, who were in a state of feud. His mediation re-established the peace.¹²⁰ Through the *bandos* of peace, the governor acted as

unifying force in a fragmented territory where royal and aristocratic lineages constantly competed for political power. However, the arbitration of the governor could be insufficient, if not granted recognition or if it was rejected by one of the parties. In that case, the *bandos* of peace could but act as forerunner to the other face of jural command: *bandos* of war. In 1891, governor Forjaz was called by the *régulo* of Lamaquitos to mediate an indigenous conflict, but in attempting to proclaim a *bando* of conciliation the governor's emissaries were attacked. On account of that offence and disobedience, war on the kingdom was declared as a legitimate punitive action.¹²¹ Afonso de Castro summarized the dialectics between *bandos* of peace and war in 1867. The frequent wars between the Timorese 'would always be resolved with the publication of *bandos*, as it so often happens in Timor'; the governor 'only takes measures to terminate [the wars] when some of the contestants appeals to the governor, and he only intervenes with the force when his *bando* of peace is disobeyed.'¹²² In the event of disobedience to its determinations, the governor had legitimacy to expose the other half of jural power: punishment.

As a rule, the government took punitive measures in the event of transgressions to the contracts that linked the Timorese to the Portuguese. These typically occurred as a result of disobediences to the *bandos*, aggressions to the executive officers, failures to comply with the obligations of the tribute system, or offensive behaviours that disrespected the etiquettes of deference. Violence did not automatically follow disobedience; it was seen as the last punitive resource. The first gift of the governor was clemency. Forgiveness for the faults was typically promised in exchange for the payment of fines that would compensate for the acts of disobedience. These fines were established at the discretion of the governor or his delegates, and normally paid in kind.¹²³ The fines could often impede bloodshed, but if the transgressors failed to accept the exchange of clemency for fines, punishment took the course of violence. In these cases, war only had grounds for legitimate declaration if the exchange of clemency for fines was refused or disrespected. Significantly, it was with analogous justifications that indigenous kings claimed the legitimacy of their 'rebellions' against the Portuguese government. In 1881, for example, D. Alexandre da Costa Mendes, King of Cotubaba, claimed compensations from the Portuguese government for an illegitimate exercise of punitive violence on his lands in 1868.¹²⁴ The Portuguese transgressions to *estilos*, an 'unfair' exercise of jural power, or failure to passively observe indigenous customs could be invoked as sound reasons for interrupting tribute to the governor, disobeying *bandos*, and expressing hostility against the government.¹²⁵

Bandos of war took place at the outset of confrontations. Attacks on villages during the pacification period were usually preceded by proclamation of a *bando* by the Portuguese army officers. These *bandos* played a role homologous to the indigenous oratory ceremonials of the *homulac*, the 'ceremonial

orator' who was in charge of the speeches and exchange of arguments prior to combat.¹²⁶ They explained the offences or faults committed against the government and invited the transgressors to come forward, accept the gift of forgiveness, and pay obedience to the governor. Only when these ceremonials failed and the symbolic exchange was denied could the attack occur as legitimate punishment. Colonial warfare thus prefigured one of the dual dimensions of jural government and was a ceremonial expression of the governor's justice. Inscribed in the *estilos*, its purpose was the legitimate re-establishment of order in worldly affairs. In this regard, it could be seen as an exercise of destruction that expressed the governor's attributes of firm justice in punishing transgressions to the institutions, rules, and traditions of the jural world in which the Timorese and Portuguese were entangled. War was an event of punishment, and it was through the display of punitive violence that the Portuguese invisible powers were at the same time revealed and put to dramatic test.

The modes of mutual inclusion

In the civilizing mindset of the end of the century, the Portuguese colonial administration—short of military strength and economic means, territorially entrapped in Dili—could but be conceived of as an incomprehensible miracle. Yet, colonial power, legitimate authority, and effective government indeed existed in Timor. For the mechanisms of colonial rule were not to be found outside of the island. They were not in Lisbon, or in Macao, or somewhere in the regional networks that linked Dili to the Dutch or British colonies. Instead, the foundations of colonial power were placed in the very zones of merging with the indigenous world that the Eurocentric viewpoint perceived as source of weakness of the colonial establishment. The analysis of this chapter has revealed that colonial rule had roots above all in Timor itself, in the historical strata of Portuguese–Timorese interactions. In concluding, it is to how these interactions shaped Portuguese ceremonial rule that I will draw attention.

In focusing on the entangled foundations of the state, the analysis developed here took us beyond both 'Eurocentric' and 'indigenocentric' approaches. Eurocentric theories cannot account for the indigenous nature of the colonial state. This has been a main consequence of Clifford Geertz's work on the *Negara*, the traditional state of nineteenth-century Bali. Geertz challenged Eurocentric approaches by taking on an ethnographic analysis of the historical experience of indigenous state-formation. Western political theory reduced political life to 'command-and-obedience' and 'political symbology' to emptiness of authority and ideological concealment. In contrast, Geertz argued for the active role of symbolic elements—magic, myth, or ceremony—in state-formation and the exercise of state power.¹²⁷ Rituals and ceremonies, Geertz argued, should be taken not as mere instruments

of the state, but as the state itself, in actuation.¹²⁸ In this line of thought, this chapter has argued for ceremonialism as the driving force of Portuguese government. Thus, it has extended Geertz's formulations on the ceremonialism of 'indigenous' traditional states to the understanding of the European colonial state itself. Yet, the analysis has also taken us beyond Geertz's indigenocentric approach. In effect, his method accepts the premise that the European participation can be abstracted from a historical reconstruction of indigenous traditional systems.¹²⁹ Therefore, if Eurocentric approaches might preclude the understanding of colonial ceremonialism, an anthropological history that erases the 'colonial' from the 'indigenous' and insists on ultimate cultural incommensurability is incapable of accounting for the colonial imprint on the indigenous state. Indeed, with regard to East Timor, this was revealed to be the case. The symmetric analysis of the indigenous and colonial understandings of colonial rule was the method here followed to attain the double purpose of reconstructing traditional life and reassessing the colonial government. The question that requires examination, then, is not whether the Portuguese colonial state was an indigenous state, or the Timorese politics became corrupted by colonial interference, but how their intimate entanglement could have produced a common political system.

Two main epistemic strategies of mutual inclusion made this common system possible. This chapter has argued that colonial power was articulated in distinctive epistemologies of reciprocity of hospitality that, in the long term, had brought the Portuguese and the Timorese political systems together. In stressing these distinctive approaches, my argument is that the historical combination of a praxiology endorsed by European administrators and a cosmology sanctioned by indigenous authorities made the actual mutual inclusion of the Portuguese and Timorese worlds respectively meaningful, legitimate, and consequential in practice. As such, only the analysis of these combined, yet distinctive, strategies can account for the jural realm in East Timor in the colonial period. Thus it must be made clear that these modes of inclusion do not equal neatly opposed and essentialized 'indigenous' and 'European' cultures or rationalities. Timorese authorities, for example, could also denote pragmatic engagements with the Portuguese authority, as it eventually happened in the formation of occasional political alliances with Dili against other local enemies; Europeans, too, could formulate intercultural contact in cosmological terms, and the most notorious 'cosmologies' of this period—the civilizing and evolutionist grand narratives—could interfere with the praxiological readings. For instance, Chapter 7 will show how the civilizing views of Catholic missionaries in Timor in the 1870s collided with the dominant pragmatic perspectives of the colonial military and officials.

Situations of double meaning in cross-cultural encounters do not necessarily imply conflict and dissension.¹³⁰ Portuguese and Timorese, therefore, did not have to perceive the entanglement in the same way and in the

same idiom so as to engage in its construction, for mutual benefit. Important, first, was that the cultural idioms implied a form of hospitality, and, second, that the two would allow social life to come together in one practical domain. Distinct worldviews, an indigenous cosmology and a colonial praxiology, could lay the grounds for one political world. At a general level, these modes of hosting otherness created conditions for the unity of a political realm, even if they entailed misrecognitions, asymmetries, and oppositions. This inclusion, though, also entailed attempts to preserve difference. By working out a separated dual sovereignty, the cosmologists retained indigenous distinctiveness and superiority; by insisting on the creation of symbolic boundaries, the praxiologists tried to purify the colonizers' part in the pollutions of the entanglement—an issue which will be explored further in the next chapter. Timorese cosmology hosted the colonial claim to power by accepting the Portuguese as outsider-rulers of the jural realm. As a consequence, the traditional jural authorities of the indigenous diarchic political system became embedded in the signs and codes of jural power introduced by the Portuguese. This inclusion could grant mythical legitimacy to Portuguese rule. But it influentially shaped the intrusions of the colonial state: culturally, by incorporating the colonial government into the schemes of symbolic dualism and reciprocity; institutionally, by equalling the *finta* to ceremonial harvest tribute and giving pace to the mechanisms of rule by delegation. The Timorese cosmological gift of legitimate authority was thus regulated by rules of reciprocity and, above all, by a dualist separation of powers. In the perspective of Timorese cult lords, this distribution of power implied complementary governance, but also an asymmetry that gave symbolic advantage to the Timorese. The Portuguese could rule over worldly affairs, but the Timorese claimed for themselves the supreme ritual authority over spiritual affairs. If they respected the Timorese contract, the Portuguese governors could empower indigenous institutions as well as colonial domination.

Thus, if colonial authority cannot be understood without the flexible hospitality of indigenous cosmologies, the enactment of indigenous authority during the colonial period cannot be understood without the Portuguese praxiologies. The gift of jural authority prescribed to the Portuguese an active role in the preservation of the indigenous order. The Portuguese authority could be effectively maintained were the colonizers to reciprocate the indigenous hospitality with the colonial hospitality of indigenous life. The Portuguese strategy of inclusion of indigenous otherness was in the service of pragmatic colonial rule. Praxiology expressed this strategy, interpreting the colonial entanglement with a view to efficient government. The praxiologist-governors understood that an efficient, pragmatic, government of the colony implied dispossession of European principles and the action of giving over to the flow of indigenous beliefs in symbolic power and the sacredness of *estilos*. Colonial government in Timor, therefore, was

not about the imposition of moral principles and the introduction of dramatic changes. It was about preserving and seizing indigenous energies, letting the indigenous other become part of the colonial self, and vice-versa. It was the art of containing and being contained in, manoeuvring and being manoeuvred by, indigenous life. Power was perceived by the Portuguese as a charismatic force with which the Timorese endowed them; and the legitimacy of authority derived from old customs recognized as sacred by the indigenous people. Power and authority, therefore, depended on the indigenous complicity. Yet, this complicity was not a guarantee of absolute 'domination', lack of critique, hostility, or 'resistance' towards colonial authority. For, as noted in Chapter 1, relations of hospitality might also entail relations of hostility. Symbolic power was a source of strength and traditional authority a source of supremacy, but the indigenous complicity that secured the 'symbolic efficacy' of colonial power and authority, to use Bourdieu's term, was dependent on strict symbolic and ceremonial conditions.¹³¹ Should the colonizers fail to practice the traditional law and observe the rites and norms in accordance to *estilos*, and the legitimacy of their jural authority could vanish. Should the Portuguese fail to feed on the indigenous recognition of Portuguese hostility forces, and the intensity of symbolic power could disappear as mysteriously and terribly as it might come into view.

Ceremonialism was the heart of an artful management of stylized behaviours and the symbolic power of colonial authority. Colonial government was, in other words, the government of ceremonial. The *estilos* had to be carefully observed, along with a myriad of codified behaviours. To govern the Timorese was to be able to enact the ceremonial codes through which the indigenous acknowledged the hierarchy and power of Portuguese authority. Thus, a crucial dimension of the symbolic efficacy of colonial authority was its compliance with the requirements of ritual life, in a number of ways. The *finta* and the tribute system constituted ceremonial occasions of tribute-gifting; vassalage oaths were as well highly codified ritual occasions; and interactions with the Timorese were embedded in etiquette. The colonial command of justice itself, finally, was the ceremonial performance of *bandos*, and the exercise of punishment the display of ritual violence, the enactment of colonial headhunting. The compliance with ritual life could be passive and disengaged, as we saw, or it could be active in what especially regarded the exercise of justice, the realm on which the mutual inclusion of indigenous and Portuguese worlds was the most visible. The next chapter will return to this theme of passive and active articulations, from the perspective of symbolic problems of purity and pollution. Here, in what regarded government, it needs to be noted that both passive and active strategies could be profitable. In preserving the Timorese ritual realm untouched by their intrusion, the Portuguese respected the dualism of authority on which grounds the legitimacy of colonial authority was possible. While, in continuing with the obedience to *estilos* and the practice of *bandos*, the Portuguese

took in their hands the rule over the Timorese realm of justice. Therefore, the unity of the Portuguese–Timorese political system was sustained by more than two modes of mutual inclusion. It was held together by sets of prescribed norms, ceremonial institutions, codes, material objects, and social roles associated with the exercise of justice, which value and cognitive content was to be, to some extent, tacitly shared and acknowledged by both the colonizers and indigenous. Colonial asymmetries, accordingly, were also crafted within these delicate and common webs of ceremoniality. In this regard, the relative supremacy of the Portuguese was eventually articulated in a series of minor but important political differentials. Differentials generated by the logics of symbolic power, the unidirectional flow of *finta* towards Dili, or the capacity of the colonial governors to mobilize, by means of the vassalage rites, the inflows of jural capital to the Timorese ruling classes—namely, the circulation of Portuguese objects, signs, and ranks acknowledged as important elements of status and critical tokens of jural power in the Timorese communities.

Colonial warfare was part of the ceremonial life of legitimate justice, exemplarily dramatizing the indigenous–colonial interconnections of which the jural realm was made. It was entailed in the tribute system, in the expression of punitive justice, and participated in the intensification of Portuguese symbolic power. In this regard, it was striking the importance of warfare as a theatre of terror that fed the invisible symbolic power of the Portuguese.¹³² The conduct of war was regulated by its own *estilos*. In the *estilos* of war, the governor and the Portuguese officers were not alone. They were in the company of *arraiais*, *moradores*, and their indigenous leaders. Then, just like in other instances of articulation with Timorese ritual life, the Portuguese had to concede indigenous rituals. Moreover, entailed in the punitive manifestations of Portuguese jural authority, headhunting was a ceremonial event of the governor's rigid justice. Not merely a sign of otherness, as it were, but an enactment of the ceremonialism of colonial justice and a form of intensifying symbolic power. Headhunting rites form the object of the next chapter. The Portuguese intertwinement with the ritual circuits of severed heads in colonial campaigns will now be examined.

3

The Circulatory System of Colonial Headhunting

The previous chapter examined how distinct strategies of hospitality could articulate the indigenous other and the European stranger in a common world. In the contact zone between Timorese cosmology and Portuguese praxiology, colonial rule was exercised as the ceremonial government of jural life, and colonial power emerged as a form of charisma. The same contact zone enabled the indigenous ritual life to be governed by the Timorese ritual lords. In this process headhunting became included in colonial forms of justice and government. Colonial wars activated ritual violence, and, in the event of victory, intensified the Portuguese power. The last chapter, then, revealed how mutual parasitism in colonial interactions was possible through certain theories and strategies of mutual inclusion. The current purpose is to approach mutual parasitism from the perspective of the circulation of human remains. By following the ways in which the heads of enemies circulated in Timor, this chapter aims to describe headhunting as a 'circulatory system'.

This chapter argues that the flows of severed heads formed ritual circuits that held together colonialism and indigenous societies. The circulation of human remains connected the two cultures, to form an entangled reality, a common system. Colonialism was kept alive by this system. At the same time, it enabled Timorese communities to acquire symbolic means of prosperity, but also to accumulate social status, political power, and material wealth. However, this chapter also analyses the symbolic problems that the involvement in the ritual life of headhunting could pose to Europeans. Therefore, it argues for the significance of practices of management of purity and pollution in organizing the circulation of things.

The first section interrogates the ethnographic knowledge of headhunting provided by army officers and governors. Military ethnographies constituted eyewitness accounts that simultaneously described Timorese headhunting as a sphere of otherness and as a realm of practices coincident with Portuguese colonial campaigns. Therefore, these ethnographies pave the way for a historical description of indigenous headhunting as a realm that extended to

the colonial system. The second part reconstructs the ritual life of headhunting during colonial campaigns by articulating the insights of colonial ethnographies with the interpretive devices of later professional anthropology and social theory. It is argued that severed heads followed complex ritual circuits that could interfere, symbolically as well as socio-politically, in the prosperity of Timorese communities. The third section introduces the problem of the management of European purity and pollution in the circulatory system. It describes how the ritual life of headhunting depended on the inclusion of Portuguese places, things, and signs—but also of people, especially of the army officers as ritual actors in the *lorosa'e* ceremony, or 'head-feasts'. Yet, the participation of Europeans in the ritual life of headhunting in colonial campaigns was surrounded by polluting dangers. Mutual parasitism in warfare threatened the civilizing ethos as well as key religious principles regarding the treatment of the dead body. The chapter thus looks at the European efforts to organize the system by drawing boundaries and setting rules of purity. It also analyses the ways in which the colonizers tried to manage polluting dangers through the concealment of transgressions and the purification of the system into distinct circuits. The analysis of a controversy over the methods of the governor Celestino da Silva brings these issues to light. The conclusion of this chapter elaborates on the metaphor of the circulatory system. It is argued that this notion enables us to view colonial and indigenous cultures as deeply interconnected in practice, yet symbolically fractured.

Military ethnographies of headhunting

Villages set on fire and heads cut off are here still indispensable conditions for the enemy to be considered defeated. The Dili *moradores* do not take heads anymore; the auxiliary kingdoms, going in the wake of *moradores*, do that service. The Timorese who cuts one head off is considered *assuai* (brave) and is entitled to a reward from his *régulo*. The moment one Timorese takes a head, the *arraial* of his kingdom immediately sings the *Loro Sai*, warrior chant, full of quite remarkable melody and harmony. Severed heads also make room for great ceremonies, which begin by feeding [the heads] with all attentions and end by kicking them countless times. As soon as one arrives at the encampment the *arraial* of each kingdom collects the heads decapitated by their people and hangs them by the long hairs used by the Timorese, on bamboos stacked on the ground, and put in the mouth of each of them a chew of betel and areca so that they do not miss the pleasures that they had in life. At night all the *arraiais* form a circle, each of them around the heads they had cut and then start a peculiar ceremony. The chief of the *arraial*, standing up at the centre of the circle, commences the *Loro Sai*, which the Timorese do not sing unless heads have been cut off. In this chant the chief begins by presenting the

head with a thousand apologies for having cut it off; then demonstrates to the head why its decapitation was necessary, but tells it not to worry, because it will never fall short of anything, not even the chew! From time to time, the *arraial* choir confirms these apologies, and when they are fed up with apologising, they start incriminating the heads, and it is then that the heads pass through harsh times! The *arraial* chief turns towards the heads with his sword in hand and, very angry, asks them, always singing: 'But why have you armed yourselves against us? Why did you want to kill us? For didn't you know that we are stronger than you?' And as the heads do not respond to these questions the *arraial* gets furious, screeches, jumps and finally throws the heads down to the ground and kicks them madly, frenetically. This ceremony is repeated many nights, and always in the same way.¹

Captain Eduardo da Câmara landed on Timor in June 1894. He arrived in company with his superior officer at the Lisbon Metropolitan Guard, Colonel Celestino da Silva, who then took charge as district governor. Celestino da Silva's 'full confidence' in the captain was evidenced by immediately appointing him government secretary, a position of personal trust and of the highest political importance, ranking right below the governor.² Educated in metropolitan military schools, the captain had already served in the Portuguese colonies of Goa and Mozambique.³ In March 1895, the captain was put in command of one of Celestino's first pacification campaigns: the war against the Western kingdoms of Obulo and Marobo.⁴ This was Câmara's first combat in Timor. His bravery and strict observance of the instructions were noted in official correspondence to Portugal. A copy of the campaign report—proof of how 'our troops brilliantly sustained Portuguese honour and the prestige of our flag', so the governor commented—was forwarded to Lisbon with honours.⁵ Câmara's report, however, had singular ambitions. The author presented it as an account of Timorese *usos e costumes* (manners and customs) observed during the campaign. 'In this report', he began, 'I describe some Timorese customs so that Your Excellency judges this people's state of civilization.'⁶ It thus went beyond a simple report of military doings. It claimed to be an accurate eyewitness account of headhunting ceremonies, offering a series of vignettes on *estilos* of war performed by the *arraiais* under his command—before, during, and after combat. One of the ethnographic vignettes authored by Eduardo da Câmara in May 1895 is the long passage quoted above. (Fig. 7)

The captain's account describes the *lorosa'e* rite, also ordinarily called *feita das cabeças* ('head-feast'). The 'head-feasts' were a central motif in Portuguese military ethnographies of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.⁷ In effect, Câmara's account was part of a tradition of knowledge practices associated with the culture and identity of army officers in Timor. Although by no means exclusive to that colony, this tradition turned out to be crucial for

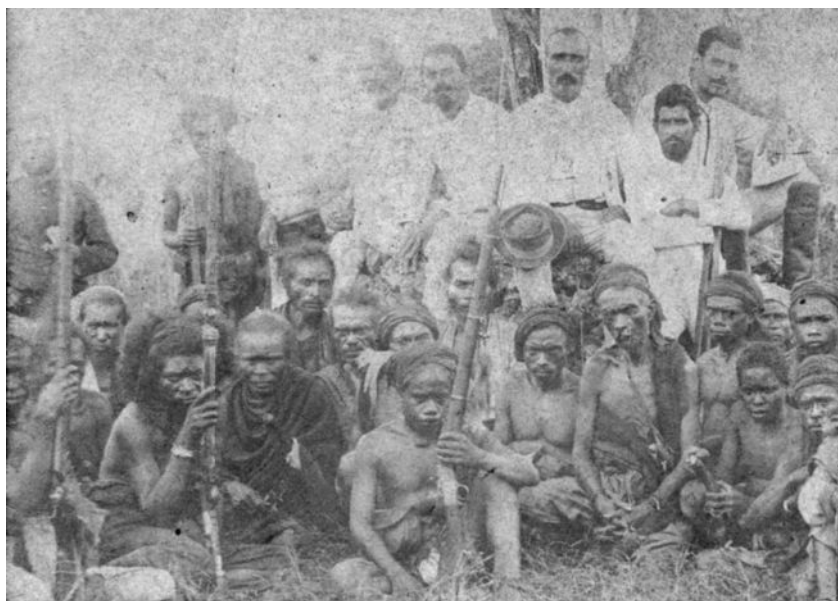


Figure 7 Portuguese officers and the *arraiais* at Balibó, 1895. Above, from left to right: indigenous colonel Albino Ribeiro, second-lieutenant Francisco Duarte, captain Eduardo da Câmara, lieutenant Silva, second-lieutenant Carvalhais. Below, Timorese *arraiais*. The picture was taken on occasion of establishing a new military post at Balibó during the Obulo and Marobo campaign of 1895. CMS/CMLC, Ref. 101A Fot/1998. Photographer unknown. Reproduced with permission of CMS/CMLC.

Timorese colonial anthropology, and a good deal of later scientific discussion has to be understood with this military tradition in mind.⁸ The acquisition of knowledge about Timorese *usos e costumes* was entailed in the social life of army officers. It was, foremost, a form of knowledge born of the pragmatic need to master the ceremonials and conventions that organized interactions with the indigenous in the zones of war and justice. In a text describing the Timorese *estilos* of war in 1884, major Vaquinhas made this pragmatic context clear: ‘when some European officer in command of a force comprising this people does not know these *usos*... he finds himself in serious trouble, as it happened to [me] in [my] first war, when I ignored not just the *usos e costumes* here reported, as I did not understand the [indigenous] dialects.’⁹

With the governor Celestino, this pragmatic form of knowledge, though not formally institutionalized, went through a moment of crystallization, continued by his successors in office, notably Eduardo Marques (1908–09).¹⁰ In organizing the territory into ‘military districts’ in 1896, Celestino da Silva

fully bestowed administrative responsibilities to the army officers. He then urged the officers to engage in the study of 'the character and history of the native peoples', acquiring all possible knowledge about the kingdoms.¹¹ The governor strongly disliked the officials who depended on local interpreters and showed disinterest in local cultures; in contrast, he praised the army officers who gained knowledge about the indigenous, such that in 1905 he even made a proposal for granting an extra salary gratification for the officers who spoke indigenous languages.¹² He was himself the author of a richly informed report on Timorese *usos e costumes* in 1901, and was proud of being able to speak different indigenous languages.¹³

With regard to East Timor, headhunting rites emerged as an anthropological trope in this army officers' ethnographic tradition.¹⁴ Later academic ethnographers of East Timor did not examine Timorese ritual violence. They have restricted themselves to an analysis of ritual life in realms other than warfare.¹⁵ The available accounts of headhunting have been authored by colonial army officers, governors, or state officials, on the basis of direct experience of military campaigns, or (to a lesser extent) of second-hand information provided by indigenous people who served as irregulars in colonial wars. As a rule, a striking characteristic of these accounts was their claim to eyewitness observations.¹⁶ They claimed to be accurate empirical descriptions of the total set of indigenous ceremonial gestures—speeches, dances, songs, and so on—witnessed by Europeans on the spot. Contrary to a common premise of modern cultural anthropology, there was little interest in sympathetically reconstructing the meaning behind the gestures. The empiricist style of these accounts was mechanical rather than interpretive. In addition, headhunting was enveloped in a civilizing idiom. The rites were portrayed in an essentialist fashion as 'superstitious' and 'savage' ceremonials, external, different, primitive, and morally inferior. Still, in contrast with the ritual mode of head-counting analysed in Chapter 1, decapitated heads were reported as barbaric events 'outside' of European realities. Câmara's above account, for instance, presents head-taking as pure 'Timorese custom' of the *arraiais*, thus acquitting the Portuguese of any parasitic attachment to indigenous violence in colonial campaigns. In this regard, therefore, the colonial ethnographies seemed to merely play their small part in the larger discursive processes of othering that critical scholars have identified as distinctive of Western objectifications of indigenous cultures throughout the colonial period.¹⁷

The historical reconstruction of headhunting as a circulatory system must take this colonial knowledge as its point of departure. This knowledge can pose constraints to analysis. For example, because it was little sensitive to the identity divides into 'ethnic groups' that later anthropologists were to consider meaningful (for example, the Kemak; the Mambai, and so on), it is in many cases difficult to avoid a generalist description. However, rather

than assuming *a priori* its dismissal as epiphenomena of 'orientalist' misconception, a more positive approach to these texts is proposed here.¹⁸ Yet, in order to provide a re-description that circumvents their limitations as much as it gains from their insights, the colonial sources will be linked here to the insights of later social theory and anthropological research.¹⁹ As a result, I expect to illuminate both forms of ethnographic knowledge by bringing them into interpretive interaction. Furthermore, my historical re-description of headhunting rites takes us beyond the traps of both the colonial accounts and post-colonial discourse theory. The purpose of this method of reconstruction is not to replicate the colonial process of othering by describing 'headhunting' as a discrete indigenous domain, nor to look at othering as a mirror-image of the colonial self. Instead, in reconstructing colonial headhunting as a circulatory system, the aim is to account for an entangled historical reality. Before moving on, let us see how the colonial ethnographies themselves entail the possibility of providing such an alternative description.

The military ethnographies are complex historical ethnographical documents. Although they indeed represent headhunting as something distinctly 'indigenous', it is not simply otherness these accounts reveal. They also situate indigenous headhunting inside the dynamic of Portuguese colonialism. Headhunting rites and colonial campaigns are depicted as simultaneous and interdependent. In effect, as colonial ethnographers recognized, the indigenous rites of headhunting consisted of colonial rites of war. In 1863, governor Afonso de Castro, one of the most reputed colonial authors and a noteworthy observer of Timor, brought this interconnection to light. In closing his description of Timorese warfare, he revealed that indeed there was no basic 'difference' between indigenous and colonial warfare as regards headhunting rites. The 'customs' were the same; the particularity, however, was that the Portuguese were part of them:

If the war begins between some [Timorese] kingdoms and the Portuguese government, the customs are roughly the same, because in Timor [European military] forces were never enough to quell the rebels. The *Praça*,²⁰ that is Portugal, fights the Timorese with the Timorese, and the government side is not dissimilar from the other sides, apart from the fact that an army officer is in command and they [on the government side] have more force.²¹

The Timorese head hunters described by the colonial officers were at the same time the irregular troops—the *arraiais* and the *moradores*—under their command. This merging of headhunting and colonialism had long since prevailed in Timor, as observed in Chapter 1. Moreover, the depth of contact in the realms of war and justice had been of such an extent that it was difficult to imagine how a 'pre-colonial' world could have looked. Thus, even

though military observers claimed to describe 'external' events, headhunting rites had been 'internal' to Portuguese colonial warfare since the seventeenth century. There was no being 'outside' headhunting rites. For the descriptions concerned rites practiced by Timorese irregulars and witnessed by Portuguese army officers in the course of colonial campaigns. Further, as we will see, governors and army officers participated in the rituals; they were themselves actors in the rites. The boundaries between 'subject' and 'object' of description blurred. Thus, Portuguese colonial ethnographies do not merely represent a process of 'othering'. Embedded in parasitic connections, descriptions of the 'other' amount to a (self-)description of colonial interactions in practice. This form of colonial knowledge allows us to engage with headhunting as a historical event placed at the intersection of the colonial and indigenous worlds. Therefore, it is neither a purified 'indigenous' headhunting, nor a purified Western self that this chapter is about to describe. It is the Portuguese entanglement with Timorese ritual violence, as it developed in colonial warfare. The object of description, in sum, is colonialism as a form of indigenous ritual violence, and the ritual life of headhunting as a form of colonialism. To begin, then, I will examine the ritual character of this system by reconstructing the circuits of the severed heads in colonial campaigns.

The ritual circuits of severed heads

The colonial ethnographies already offered us the possibility of analysing some of the ritual dimensions of colonial warfare. To serve the government as *arraial* was of ritual significance; it meant a tribute to Portuguese jural authorities, expressing principles of ritual exchange. Timorese violence in pacification campaigns was also a ritual activity related to the management of invisible powers. During colonial wars, the Timorese warriors made the presence of invisible and spiritual energies constantly felt by mediation of magical weapons, war costumes, and divinatory rites conducted by the Timorese ritual lords prior to the battle.²² Another important dimension of this intertwined ritual life was the seasonal juxtaposition between the Timorese agricultural calendar and Portuguese wars.

Ritual violence and the agricultural calendar

Colonial warfare was a seasonal ritual activity. The Portuguese and the *arraiais* went on punitive expeditions during the months of the dry season, which normally extended from May/July to September/December, with some climatic variations.²³ The Portuguese explained the seasonality of wars in two ways: either the heavy monsoon rains prevented military manoeuvres; or the indigenous were unwilling to join the *arraiais* because agricultural work had to take place in the months of the wet season, and they

could not leave their fields unattended. It was, thus, common to interrupt or postpone colonial campaigns in accordance with the Timorese agricultural calendar.²⁴ In 1861, for instance, the governor Afonso de Castro stopped a campaign because 'the rainy season was coming and this is the period when the Timorese consecrate themselves to work the fields.'²⁵ In 1896, another governor made a similar remark: 'during this [rainy] season it is not possible for me to employ the *moradores*, all of them are busy with preparing the fields for cultivation, from which they take their food; to distract them during this period would condemn them to starvation for a year.'²⁶ It was during the dry season that the Timorese were willing to serve the government as warriors. Other traditional tributes to the Portuguese followed this pattern. The collaboration in public works (for example, constructing roads, or building government stations) was as well a tributary activity of the dry season: 'when the time of preparing [their] kitchen-gardens arrives', noted the governor Celestino, 'everyone disappears, and in general they only come back after the harvest of fruits.'²⁷

The seasonal rhythm of colonial warfare indicates that tribute to the Portuguese government—as warriors, but also as workers—was integrated in the indigenous agricultural calendar. This seasonality should moreover be understood as a meaningful integration of government warfare in the cycles of indigenous ritual life. It is likely that, in the colonial period, headhunting constituted a communal ritual activity punctuated by the rhythm of the agricultural calendar. It was the case in West Timor. According to Schulte-Nordholt, Atoni headhunting took place during the dry season, and, in indigenous views, it represented a 'special kind of harvesting', and the severed heads were described as the 'harvest of war'.²⁸ In East Timor, the same pattern probably existed. Later ethnographers thoroughly examined the intimate harmony of varied dimensions of East Timorese life with the succession of the seasons. The agricultural calendar was central to ritual life. While during the rainy season people were mostly occupied with agriculture, during the dry season there was little work to be done in the fields. Then, the men were free to perform other services, such as hunting wild animals—itself a ritual activity.²⁹ It was also in the dry season that the most important annual rites of the community were held. These communal rites bore on the agricultural fertility of the wet season. They were celebrated as a means of calling the rains, or securing the forthcoming fertility of the land.³⁰ Because it took place during the dry season, perhaps colonial headhunting also signified a communal rite of the dry season, the performance of which could bear on the fertility of the land.

The connection of headhunting with the fertility of the land, or more generally the prosperity of the community, seems to be corroborated by the classificatory place of severed heads and of the dry season in East Timorese cultures. The importance of this type of connection, moreover, has

been observed recurrently in the anthropological literature.³¹ Symbolic classifications associated the dry season with 'masculinity', 'heat', 'danger and combat', or with ritual murder—attributes opposite and complementary to the 'feminine' and 'cold' nature of the rainy season.³² In Timor, in particular, severed heads can also be represented as 'gendered symbols', and conveyed in a vegetative idiom as 'fruits'.³³ In addition, the use of bamboo poles stuck on the ground for the exhibition of recently severed heads might be interpreted as an association of heads with fertility. Symbolically, according to Clamagirand, the bamboo is denoted as a mediator between 'earth and heaven', and the ritual use of bamboos normally bore on the fertility of the land.³⁴ Therefore, Timorese commoners leaving their cultivation fields to serve the government as *arraiais* or *moradores* might have seen themselves as agents in a ritual event of the dry season, the result of which could help securing the prosperity of the community or the agricultural fertility of the land.

If the calendar of colonial campaigns suggests association with Timorese fertility rites, the active role of women in the 'head-feasts' adds to the conjunction of the circulation of heads with the 'feminine' forces of fertility. 'As I was about to set camp at Lio Lima', wrote second-lieutenant Duarte in 1896, 'a great crowd of women awaited us; playing their large drums, they danced around the heads which the Lio Lima warriors had cut off in Cotubaba'.³⁵ Women normally accompanied war expeditions. The *arraiais* were composed of men only, and only men participated in battle, but women played a complementary role. Occasionally, they could help in loading the warriors' guns.³⁶ However, in general, the participation of women was fundamentally of a ritual nature. At a distance, in the villages, they prayed and presented gifts to the ancestors, as was the case with the wives of *moradores*.³⁷ On campaign, as the fight went on during the day, they stayed at the encampment singing, dancing, and mocking the enemy; at night, they continued these dances around the tents of the *régulos* or war chiefs. Later, when the warriors returned with decapitated heads to the encampment, the role of women was central. They conducted conciliatory and offensive gestures in the head-feast. They handled the heads, passed them through their body and genitals, sang the *lorosa'e*, participated in the head-kicking, and performed the offensive ritual speech to the enemies' remains. The women could also perform the *régulo's* role in the event of his absence, executing his ritual gestures in receiving the heads and leading the dances.³⁸

Ritual circuits and object-mediations with the invisible

The circulatory system of headhunting should thus be understood as a ritual circulatory system. The divination rites and the hostility objects were part of the overall ritual system, yet for analytical purposes I here concentrate attention on the 'ritual circuits' that concerned the severed heads. 'Ritual' has been an operational term used by anthropologists to distinguish head-taking

from other forms of violence, while the metaphor of a 'cosmic' or 'ritual journey' has been influentially mobilized to account for the intertwinements of cosmology and spiritual life in headhunting raids.³⁹ The notion of ritual circuits evokes this imagery, but will be used in a specific sense and in the context of an analysis of the circulatory system. It comprehends the sequence of ceremonial practices that shape the trajectories of severed heads in colonial campaigns.⁴⁰ The particular orientation of these practices, to borrow a term from Gomart and Hennion, was to enable heads to play the role of 'object-mediators', objects that, in interconnecting the spiritual and earthly worlds, allowed the agencies of the invisible to interfere in the visible realm of collective life.⁴¹ In making these connections possible, heads as object-mediators could appear as the link-source of good or bad things happening in the world of the living. Their ritual circuits could mediate the community's exchange relationships with the spiritual realm, inviting the world of the dead and the spirits to intervene in the constitution of a prosperous earthly world. Yet, as we will see, this object-mediation was not necessarily collaborative, and thus the ritual circuits involved a complex management of the enmity of the heads. The collaborative object-mediation of severed heads could be expected, for example, with regard to agricultural fertility, as seen above. But it could be exercised in still other ways. If the *estilos* of war were properly performed, the physical appropriation of severed heads in colonial warfare could bring out symbolic as well as socio-political benefit for the indigenous groups allied with the Portuguese. Let us start with the symbolic aspects of these circuits in the rites of incorporation, and then look at their social and political character.

The *lorosa'e* rites of incorporation

The 'head-feasts' or *lorosa'e* rites constituted the communal ceremony of reception and incorporation of the severed heads in the community. They represented the collective climax of ritual circuits that began with the decapitation of the enemy in battle, on which occasion the warrior also chanted a *lorosa'e* song. (Fig. 8) The ceremony took place at the villages, at the military encampments during colonial campaigns, but also, as we will see, at the seat of government in Dili. Professional ethnographers have been trying to cope with the complex meaning of similar ceremonies.⁴² Robert McKinley, for instance, argued that headhunting rites signify the incorporation of the enemy/outsider as a friend into the community. This might be a structuralist reduction that does not allow for the importance of enmity.⁴³ Yet, if taken in a more nuanced view that comprehends the prevalence of enmity, the idea that a friendly incorporation of a hostile outsider is the strategic goal of such rites might in the current context be accepted.⁴⁴ In fact, the *lorosa'e* rites of reception seemed to configure a set of activities oriented to, on the one hand, tame the enmity of the heads, and, on the other, integrate them as collaborative object-mediators between the two realms of



Figure 8 *Lorosa'e* chant around the severed heads, c. 1910s. From A. Leite de Magalhães, 'Subsídios para o Estudo Etnológico de Timor', *TSPAE*, 1, II (1920), 53.

the indigenous community: the visible realm of the living and the hidden spiritual world. The intimate link between the earthly world and spiritual entities, between life and death, has been noted as a core element of East Timorese cultures by later ethnographers.⁴⁵ In East Timor, the assurance of life and fertility among the living implied consistent ritual activity devoted to the preserving of good links with the world of the dead and other spiritual agencies. It is therefore likely that severed heads played a part in these

connections, conveying mediations with the invisible world and agencies of spirits. The colonial officers' ethnographies give evidence in this direction. They also suggest that the purpose of the rites was to ensure the cooperative intervention of spiritual entities in the community. However, the risk of hostile mediations was constant. Some depicted Timorese *lorosa'e* rites as forms of appeasing the spirits of those violently killed, or of calming the guardian spirits of the ancestors.⁴⁶ 'The soul of the dead', noted lieutenant Pinto Correia in 1935, 'absorbs the interest of the living and determinates or embarrasses their entire existence.'⁴⁷ With regard to war rites in Ataúro, the same author noted: '[t]he enemies were decapitated so that their soul (*hóhoi*) would not harm the adversary.'⁴⁸ Severed heads embodied the potency of hostility. Osório de Castro, for instance, recounted the fantastic story of a Timorese *morador* whose foot was bitten by the enemy's freshly decapitated head.⁴⁹

During and after the head-feasts, the ambivalent condition of the heads as friend and enemy remained unresolved. As good (friendly) object-mediators, they could help hold the community together; as bad (hostile) links on the contrary, they could cause harm. Therefore, enmity had to be controlled and collaboration had to be looked after through continuous ritual work. There was a constant risk of the heads intervening in the community as harmful agencies, such that friendly collaboration had to be systematically re-assured. During the *lorosa'e*, this twofold ritual purpose was manifest in two types of ritual gestures: reconciliation and recrimination.⁵⁰ The heads were firstly the object of a justificatory and apologizing speech, in which the motives for their killing were proclaimed. This was followed by an offensive speech and a series of humiliation gestures, of which the most impressive perhaps was the collective practice of kicking the heads in a circle. Both the conciliatory and offensive gestures helped neutralize hostility and incorporate the head as a collaborator into the community.⁵¹

The rites of incorporation took on communal scale and public impact during the head-feasts or *lorosa'e*. Yet, the conciliatory purposes of the *lorosa'e* were continued in ritual work of apparently more private nature. Whilst the head was included in the community, ritual practices had still to be performed with a view to manage enmity and enhance cooperation.⁵² These involved practices of preservation of the head, and gestures of food-gifting. As a rule, after the head-dances, the heads were cleaned in water, the brain extracted, and then they were smoked and dried on the fire.⁵³ These tasks were undertaken by the head hunter himself.⁵⁴ Afterwards, the warrior, after a period of seclusion and purification, would nourish the head with food gifts. Second-lieutenant Acácio Flores, for instance, explained how the warriors carefully treated the severed heads by every day presenting them with food-gifts and chew 'as if they had turned into one more family member'.⁵⁵ Preservation techniques also seemed to express the double ritual strategy of domestication of hostility and friendly incorporation.⁵⁶ For a transitional

period at least, the heads kept traces of the personhood and humanity of the victims. The final artefact of preservation practices—the skull—was not immediate. Eventually the head went through a temporary stage of semi-mummification, ‘so that’, in the opinion of Osório de Castro, ‘the heads preserve the expressions they had alive for the longest time possible’.⁵⁷ The victims’ facial features could be visible months or maybe years after decapitation—a fact that might explain the recognition of captain Câmara’s remains months after his death at Cová, as will be seen in Chapter 7.

The ritual circuits involved special procedures of exhibition. These culminated the process of incorporation with the permanent display of severed heads in segregated locations deemed sacred and tabooed—*lulik*—by the community. In battle, the decapitators carried the heads on their belts or on long bamboo sticks⁵⁸ (Fig. 12). At the encampment or the village, the heads, dried and semi-mummified, were temporarily displayed on the top of bamboo poles.⁵⁹ In the long run, however, the skulls of enemies were displayed on a fig tree (*Ficus benjamina*; *gondão* in Portuguese, or *hali* in Tetum), or alternatively in a tamarind tree.⁶⁰ This was perhaps the most common or at least most visible form of exhibition. In addition, they could appear in stone piles or in stonewalls, ‘constructions of loose stone’ often located ‘in the protection of’ *lulik* trees; or, still, inside caves located at the foot of high mountains—possibly because mountains were usually understood as sacred homelands of spirits and ancestors.⁶¹ (Fig. 9) In contrast, the skulls of



Figure 9 Enemy skulls in the stone walls of the *tranqueira* (fortress) of the Timorese major Quei-Mau at Bela-Hilu (former military post of Súru), c. 1910s–30s. From J. Simões Martinho, *Timor. Quatro Séculos de Colonização Portuguesa* (Porto: Progredior, 1943), p. 17.

ancestors were not to be preserved. Family relatives and community members were to be buried after more or less complex and long mortuary rites (depending on the status of the deceased), and the graves marked with stone tombs.⁶²

The skull trees were sacred places and contact zones with the spiritual world. Both the trees and the skulls displayed on them were considered *lulik*. As *lulik*, the heads were ritually preserved, exhibited, and protected from indiscriminate contact with the outside world. Their ritual status might have resembled that of other *lulik* objects safeguarded in the village's *uma lulik*.⁶³ Throughout the colonial period, every village or kingdom seems to have held its own *lulik* tree, and such trees containing a great number of skulls were openly visible in Timor until the 1940s.⁶⁴ *Lulik* trees housed spiritual entities and their space was surrounded with powers, dangers, and prohibitions. The Timorese kept a respectful distance from these places (as well as from *lulik* skulls), and expected them to be left undisturbed—even by the Portuguese *malae*.⁶⁵ Throughout the years, possibly after the harvest, offerings of food and betel chew continued to be presented to the heads and, on these occasions, special ceremonies were held around the trees.⁶⁶ Besides, once segregated in these places, skulls were possibly considered inalienable possessions of the community. Yet, under special conditions they could be alienated. Some authors, for instance, have described the exchange of skulls as a peace ceremony held between former adversaries.⁶⁷ Still, during the *lorosa'e* and before exhibition on sacred trees, heads could be given away as a tribute to the war chiefs, a practice explored below.

The status of *asua'in* and the war booty

The heads taken in the Portuguese colonial campaigns were thus embedded in the symbolic dynamics of Timorese ritual life. Yet, indigenous communities could seek prosperity in less spiritual manners. The participation in colonial headhunting could constitute an indigenous social and political strategy.⁶⁸ In this regard, the circulatory system of colonial headhunting shaped the indigenous social structure by helping to sustain a status group of warriors: the *assuais*, or *asua'ins*. In the colonial sources, this Tetum term commonly appears in association with the Portuguese adjective *valentão* (the most brave one).⁶⁹ Alternatively, *asua'ins* might have been designated as *mano ama* ('cock of the king'), or, still, classified as *meo*, a social category of head hunters to which students of the Atoni have been making reference.⁷⁰ At the kingdom level, there were various military ranks and honours associated with warfare. Yet, the title of *asua'in* was an honour bestowed only upon those who had taken heads in battle, including in colonial campaigns. The indigenous *régulo*, or the war leader, upon the victorious return of warriors, ceremonially granted the title of *asua'in*. The Portuguese governor or army officers, as we will see, could also fulfil this role.

The ceremonial rewarding of the *asua'in* took place during the head-feasts in the form of a public praise for the warrior's bravery. On this occasion he was granted the insignia of *asua'in*.⁷¹ These insignia usually consisted of golden or silver discs (*luas*) to be worn by the warrior around his neck. In areas close to Dili, wearing earrings also signalled the status of *asua'in*—insignia, for example, used by the *moradores*, which bear proof to their active part in headhunting in the service of the colonial government, despite captain Câmara's observation above.⁷² 'Bringing one head' was a necessary condition for being granted this title, but possibly was not sufficient. Before being declared *asua'in*, a successful head-taker had to go through a sequence of trials in which his courage and physical skills were put to the test.⁷³ Furthermore, this status group could be stratified. According to Pinto Correia, Timorese headhunters could be ranked with different titles according to the 'bravery' of their feats of ritual decapitation: heads heroically obtained; heads decapitated while the enemy was still alive; or heads decapitated but not collected.⁷⁴ In East Timor, situations of warfare provided an opportunity for young men seeking social status, while, for older *asua'ins*, they added to their social significance in the community. In addition, at least in some regions of the island, the status of headhunter might have been a requirement for marrying: 'In Lamekito', second-lieutenant Flores observed in 1891, 'the man who does not cut one head off cannot marry.'⁷⁵ In any case, achieving the honour of *asua'in* could influence the politics of marriage and sexual competition; 'the girls', captain Martinho asserted, 'were the first to demand the quality [of *asua'in*].'⁷⁶ Moreover, women also could play a role in the ceremonial act of praise and attribution of the *asua'in* honour. The British naturalist, Henry Forbes, noted in 1885 that the warriors 'who come back carrying heads are saluted by the women, who along with the *Dato Luli* have come out to meet them with music, with the cry of *Oswai! Oswai!* ('Braves! Braves!').'⁷⁷

The pace of ceremonial warfare in the colonial period resulted in the consolidation of a respected class of *asua'in* warriors in Timorese society. '[T]he fact, however, of decapitation', an official wrote in 1910, 'brings the executor (*assuai*) honours and advantages that every indigenous desires. . . he since becomes part of the kingdom's *elite* to whom the defence and the mysteries of their politics are trusted.'⁷⁸ The key role of the irregulars, *arraiais* and *moradores*, in Portuguese colonial warfare contributed to the consolidation of the *asua'in*'s class and status. It was, for example, the case during the pacification period, with regard to the companies of *moradores*. For most Portuguese colonial governors, the *moradores* had a reputation for being loyal government warriors, and in indigenous conceptions they became identified with the category of *malae*. By the time of the governor Celestino da Silva, it was prestigious to become a 'government *asua'in*'. The governor raised the status of *moradores*. He re-organized and expanded the companies and gave them a uniform and a regular salary.⁷⁹ They eventually became a special class, a type

of 'indigenous nobility', responding directly to the governor and 'independent of the *régulos*'.⁸⁰ A former official in Dili in the 1900s observed that they had 'become great in their own country. The other natives were both envious and fearful of them; ... [they] took pride in becoming *moradores*, who feel important for using uniform';⁸¹ it 'became a great honour' to serve the government in this period.⁸² After the campaigns of 1896, some were rewarded for their bravery with Portuguese medals, knighthood titles, or with ruling rights over conquered territories.⁸³ Parallel to these rewards, the bravest *moradores* were also bestowed the title of *asua'ins* for their action in campaigns, a title possibly bestowed by the governors themselves. In fact, by the 1900s, many *moradores* exhibited a 'small ear-ring on the left ear', an insignia only the *asua'ins* were allowed to wear.⁸⁴

The possession of human heads and the search for the status of *asua'in* could be evoked as the main motive for taking part in Portuguese campaigns.⁸⁵ However, the plundering of villages together with the acquisition of slaves was more recurrently advanced as a reason for the involvement of entire Timorese communities.⁸⁶ 'In general', Câmara wrote in 1895, 'the auxiliary kingdoms join the *arraiais* of the government only with a view to pillage, which we cannot avoid, and which is the worst punishment that a defeated people can suffer.'⁸⁷ The pillaging of houses and plantations followed the conquest of a village or a kingdom. Every valuable object or animal was taken back by the *arraiais*: corn, rice, gold, silver, *mutiçala* (coral beads), fabrics, buffaloes, horses, goats, jewels, and so on. The activity was described by second-lieutenant Duarte as a form of 'harvest', and this metaphor might have rendered an indigenous understanding of plundering as communal moment of 'harvesting', paralleling in the dry season the harvest of the wet season.⁸⁸ Plundering was not a task left to the warriors alone. Crowds of women, children, and elderly people went in their wake, helping to carry the spoils of war to the encampment and, then, to the villages: 'everywhere', second-lieutenant Duarte wrote after the conquest of Passa-Laran and Atay in 1896, 'women, children and men [are] carrying [the spoils], like ants supplying their barn'.⁸⁹ The booty collected by the community was divided according to social stratification. In general, the commoners had the right to pillage plantations and villages. Yet, the best portions went to the *régulo* and the *principais*.⁹⁰ The latter had the right to take possession of the most valuable objects of wealth (fabrics, jewels, cattle) as well as of the war prisoners. Prisoners figured importantly in the 'harvest of war'. (Fig. 10) Their fate was slavery, though ritual executions of some prisoners (for example, *asua'ins*) could occur.⁹¹ Women and children were normally captured and became a possession of the war leaders. As slaves, the war prisoners could be traded as commodities, but some types of slaves could be integrated in the community, almost as family members.⁹² The loyal Timorese *régulos* and war leaders could expect still other advantages from involvement in colonial wars on the Portuguese side. They could be rewarded in the form of status



Figure 10 The Portuguese officers and the Timorese irregulars gathered around the Portuguese flag, with (below) the war prisoners taken from enemy villages during a campaign c. 1900. From Carlos Leitão Bandeira's photograph album. Photographer unknown. Courtesy of António Bandeira.

honours, appointments to the post of king in the place of disobedient *régulos*, or with the expansion of ruling powers to new territories.⁹³ Dramatic reconfigurations of political structure and landscape ordinarily followed colonial campaigns as a consequence of the Portuguese policy of rewarding the allies with the lands of defeated kingdoms.⁹⁴

Headhunting in the service of the government could be a source of symbolic and socio-political prosperity for indigenous groups. Certainly these were benefits only the *arraiais* and *moradores* could celebrate. The prosperity of some Timorese classes and communities necessarily implied great loss and misery for other groups and communities—the groups killed and defeated in battle. The circulation of severed heads exclusively empowered the victors. As seen in Chapter 1, the Portuguese appeared keen to take their share in this prosperous circulation by appropriating decapitated heads of enemies as information. The colonizers also deployed pragmatic theories and techniques for tolerating indigenous headhunting rites and justifying their own participation in the *estilos* of war and justice. In some contexts, the dynamic of mutual parasitism in which colonialism and headhunting were entangled looked visible and legitimate. But sometimes the entanglement

with indigenous otherness could be problematic. With regards to head-feasts and generally the indigenous appropriation of severed heads and 'harvest of war', the Europeans made an effort to create difference and establish boundaries. The next section examines the Portuguese strategies for purifying their participation in the circulatory system of headhunting.

Purity and pollution in headhunting rites

Do not sanction the horrible and barbaric custom of—*head feasts*—with your presence, neither authorize any European to attend them, on whatever pretext, nor give permission to the celebration of those feasts in the vicinity of temples, command houses, schools and barracks, instead you shall try to avoid them as much as you possibly can.⁹⁵

The above is a regulation established by the governor Celestino da Silva in his *Instructions for the Military Commandants* of 1896. Under the heading 'Relationships with the natives', the instruction circumscribed the Portuguese tradition of pragmatic observance of Timorese ritual life. The governor's policy of 'merging into indigenous social manners' seemed willing to stop at the point of contact with the head-feasts. These rites constituted a dangerous area of colonial interaction, from which the governor wished the officers to stand clear. The governor proposed a rule for purity and cleanness: stand clear of 'head-feasts', stay European, stay clean. The mere presence in the *lorosa'es* was a form of being in the wrong, of 'being dirty'. The instruction thus did not convey the need for 'civilizing interference'; it did not command officers to eradicate a 'horrible and macabre' indigenous rite. Instead, it regulated symbolic boundaries by setting a rule for avoiding contact with the 'pollution dangers' of indigenous headhunting—the kind of dangers and powers, as Mary Douglas observed, that 'punish a symbolic breaking of that which should be joined or joining of that which should be separate.'⁹⁶

Symbolic boundaries were at risk. The governor's rule of purity expressed concern with the collective consequences of individual acts of contamination with head-feasts. In effect, to participate in or give permission to head-feasts seemed to interfere with important tenets of the two important dimensions of European identity as regards the colonial project: the civilizing ethos and Christian religion. Firstly, contact with indigenous rites could cause the pollution not just of army officers themselves, but of colonialism as a collective venture. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, as seen in Chapter 1, the European view of indigenous barbarisms—including headhunting—was articulated in a civilizing idiom. European identity in colonial context implied opposition to 'savage' native behaviours and adherence to a civilizing ethos orientated towards the eradication of 'barbarous'

customs. To break the boundary that separated 'civilization' from 'barbarity' represented a fall into darkness that emptied the colonial venture of moral meaning. Secondly, the presence in *lorosa'e* rites stood in opposition to the Christian treatment of human remains as much as it possibly evoked lasting European imageries of the corpse and the skeleton as dangerous entities on the boundary of life and death. Avoidance of contact could articulate an age-old Western imagery of dangers concerning the boundary position of corpses and skulls as regards death and the soul.⁹⁷ The presence at, or permission given to, headhunting rites also disrespected the sanctity of the corpse and contradicted the doctrine of the resurrection of the body set down by Catholic theology.⁹⁸ The corruption of the body threatened the salvation of the soul. In Christian views, the spiritual trajectory of the self in the afterlife was dependent on the physical integrity of the corpse, expected to remain undisturbed in sacred places and burial grounds.

Yet, in practice, as Celestino da Silva's instruction suggests, the breaking of these religious and ethical boundaries and the consequent risk of pollution were difficult to avoid; for the governor drew a boundary, at the same time conceding the difficulty of actually respecting its existence. The management of purity was ultimately left to the arbitration of the military; they were to avoid contact with head-feasts 'as much as they possibly could'. In the end, therefore, the governor set down a plastic rule of purity open to the contingencies of the Portuguese embroilment with Timorese ritual life. Polluting dangers protected the existence of symbolic boundaries. But the pragmatic intimacy of Europeans with those rites put these boundaries constantly under threat. In effect, Celestino da Silva's attempt to purify the entanglement of Portuguese colonialism with headhunting had clear grounds. Purity had to be protected because transgressions were common.

The governor's intention to impede the rites from taking place next to European locations suggested that the indigenous sites of *lorosa'e* ceremonies could be coincident with the Portuguese sites of authority. Indeed, the circuits of severed heads in pacification campaigns passed not only through Timorese villages and *lulik* trees. They intersected with the geography of colonial power. They could be held at the military encampments during punitive expeditions. (Figs. 11, 12, and 13) In addition, the concern with head-feasts held 'in the vicinity of temples' indicates that this might have been customary. In 1893, for instance, Timorese warriors exhibited the severed heads of Chinese enemies before a Catholic church in Okussi.⁹⁹ During a campaign in the 1900s, '[severed heads] were lined up in front of the Catholic church', and then the government troops celebrated the *lorosa'e*.¹⁰⁰ The preference for Catholic churches for this ceremony should be interpreted as an instance of a broader Timorese incorporation of Catholicism into animist culture, a process begun in the early years of missionary activity. Furthermore, McWilliam has observed that, in West Timor, hunted heads

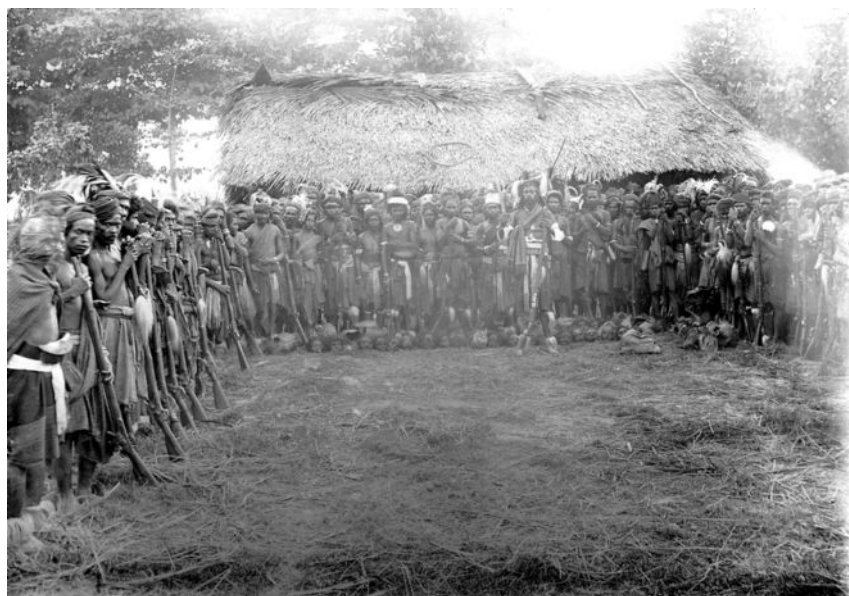


Figure 11 Warriors of the *arraial* of Maubara in pose after a punitive campaign, displaying on the floor the heads they took to the enemy (c. 1900). From Carlos Leitão Bandeira's photograph album. Photographer unknown. Courtesy of António Bandeira.

were exhibited on poles 'surrounding the cult houses' of the village, the spaces where 'hostility magic' was believed to be stored.¹⁰¹ In this light, Catholic churches possibly represented a structural equivalent of village cult houses—the places where Portuguese 'hostility magic' was kept. In preferring Portuguese sites as spaces for celebrating the *lorosa'e* in colonial campaigns, it is possible that indigenous people sought connection with the charismatic hostility forces of Portuguese power. Moreover, other locations of *lorosa'e* rites suggest that the ceremonies were held close to, or in juxtaposition with, the places that embodied the Portuguese authority. Dili, for instance, seems to have been selected as the ritual setting for head-feasts on occasion of remarkable Portuguese victories. In fact, glorious campaigns could be celebrated with effusive head-feasts in the capital city, the ceremonial centre of Portuguese power. In 1861, Dili was the stage of triumphal *lorosa'es* to celebrate a great victory over Ulmera and Lacló. According to Afonso de Castro, who thoroughly documented the ceremonies, the scene was customary in Timor since times immemorial.¹⁰² Mention of similar head-feasts in the colonial record appeared 50 years later, describing the *lorosa'e* conducted by the *moradores* in Dili, after the dramatic Portuguese victory over Manufai in 1912.¹⁰³



Figure 12 The *arraial* of Liquiçá, after a punitive campaign c. 1900. The Portuguese flag is being raised by a warrior behind the war chiefs; on the left, warriors are hand carrying severed heads. From Carlos Leitão Bandeira's photograph album. Photographer unknown. Courtesy of António Bandeir.

This entangled geography points towards the importance of different categories governing Portuguese elements in the circuits of severed heads. The ritual efficacy of the *lorosa'e* rites of incorporation seemed to depend on the presence of Portuguese objects, signs, places, and people. Without this presence, the incorporation of heads into indigenous communities as cooperative object-mediators was perhaps an outcome unlikely to be achieved. Songs and ritual speeches provide further evidence of the symbolic inclusion of Portuguese authority. The *lorosa'e* sang by the choir of warriors could include explicit references to Portugal and the King. 'The King' was understood as an invisible entity, the ultimate source of Portuguese jural authority. Major Vaquinhas noted in 1884 that in the 'lyrics [of *lorosa'e*] the name of *El-Rei* [the King] of Portugal is often mentioned'.¹⁰⁴ Another passage from a Timorese ritual speech given to the heads during the *lorosa'e* bears proof to the significance of evoking the hostility 'force' of the 'government': 'You have been rebels, you died... You should have known that we had the force because we were with the government... but you preferred fighting and there you are, dried, withered, and subject to our kicks'.¹⁰⁵ The entwining of *lorosa'es* with Portuguese authority remained when ritual



Figure 13 The *arraial* of Liquiçá, with the enemy severed heads lined up on the floor (c. 1900). From Carlos Leitão Bandeira's photograph album. Photographer unknown. Courtesy of António Bandeira.

violence temporarily faded out between 1913 and the Second World War. This time, the rite was held without severed heads, yet the ceremonial gestures and songs of the head-feasts were performed on the occasion of Portuguese colonial authorities visiting the *sukus* or villages.¹⁰⁶

The head-feasts in colonial campaigns constituted an entangled ritual in which the Portuguese themselves took part as ritual actors. By virtue of *estilo*, the army officers, even colonial governors, were often present. This made the eyewitness knowledge of military ethnographies possible. The officers 'were there' as 'observers', but as a rule did not describe themselves as an active part of the rites. However, this gaze concealed a presence that was a form of ritual action. Even if considered as merely 'passive', eyewitnessing was a form of agency that enabled the rite to occur. As Celestino da Silva seemed to be aware, the simple bodily presence of the Portuguese propelled the *lorosa'es*. Portuguese officers worked as mediators that put the invisible power and authority of Portugal in the service of the ritual efficacy of head-feasts. Moreover, there was no such thing as a passive eyewitness. In the *lorosa'e*, Portuguese officers and governors were called to play an active ritual role as war chiefs.

According to colonial ethnographies, 'one chief' normally performed the leading ritual role in the ceremony. This chief received the heads and superintended the opening scenes of the rite. The heads were laid on his feet and mounted on a pile by the warriors as a form of tribute. Then, he had in his charge the initiation of the rite. He picked up one of the heads and performed a justificatory speech explaining why the head was decapitated. Afterwards, he gave the first kick, triggering collective head-kicking and the start of choir and dancing of the *lorosa'e*. Also on this occasion, the chief praised and rewarded the warriors, granting them the title of *asua'in*. Colonial sources can refer to the chief as an indigenous lord, either 'the *régulo*', 'the chief of the *arraial*', or the *dató lulik* of the kingdom.¹⁰⁷ Sometimes, however, the mention is vague, ambiguous, allowing for either indigenous or European chiefs.¹⁰⁸ One source, for instance, depicted the chief as the 'captain': 'One of the heads was presented to the war captain, who received [them] and applied the initial kick.'¹⁰⁹ Indigenous war chiefs likely performed this ritual role. But ambivalence in the sources might also conceal the fact that the Portuguese commanding officers could perform the same leading role.

Governor Afonso de Castro's account of head-feasts in Dili provides one of the few occasions of the visibility of Portuguese ritual action. In 1861, Castro described these rites in detail, suggesting the traditional character of the Portuguese action in the ceremony, in particular of the governor as supreme war chief. 'All the forces that have composed the victorious army come together in Dili, in a pre-arranged date.'¹¹⁰ War prisoners (women, men, and children) were displayed in a circle 'in the centre of which are laid the heads cut by the *asua'ins*'; at that moment, Castro observed: 'The Governor comes out of his residence, accompanied by his staff, and takes position near the heads. Then the *asua'ins* come forward, they dance and sing around their enemies' heads, on which they give kicks.'¹¹¹ The governor's next ceremonial function, with the help of an indigenous chief, consisted of rewarding the warriors, bestowing on the brave the *asua'ins*' insignia—the golden and silver discs. By the 1890s, the gifting of the heads taken in colonial campaigns to the Portuguese governor was considered customary by *arraiais*: 'according to their *estilos*', officer Flores remarked in 1891, upon conclusion of the *lorosa'e* rites the heads 'should be given to the governor.'¹¹² The campaigns of 1912 famously revealed another of these incidents, that time raising some controversy in metropolitan circles. Then, the governor Filomeno da Câmara gave permission to headhunting rites. In addition, he supervised the *lorosa'e* as supreme chief, initiating the rites with the usual first kick: 'having recognized the impossibility', explained Teófilo Duarte, also governor of Timor in 1927–28, 'of putting an end to the warrior custom in which the winner cuts the loser's head off, his most prized trophy, [Filomeno da Câmara] allowed it, even if *contre-coeur*, and could not exempt himself from the traditional kick on the rebels' skull.'¹¹³

A Timorese war legend collected by Father Pascoal in the 1940s illustrates the relevance of Portuguese ritual agency in *lorosa'es*, from an indigenous perspective. The legend offers a contrast with the passive idea of eye witnessing offered, for example, by the account of captain Câmara with which I began this chapter. Significantly, this tale situates captain Câmara himself as ritual actor in a *lorosa'e* ceremony. According to legend, Bere-Laca, a brave *asua'in* of the government, served under the command of captain Câmara, during a campaign near the Dutch border 'in the first years of Celestino da Silva's governorship'.¹¹⁴ Bere-Laca gloriously returned to Batugadé carrying many severed heads. Then: 'Captain Câmara embraced [Bere-Laca]. The captain declared that his courage and dedication was an example to follow. In the *loro-sáa*, he was put at the forefront of all the other *assuais*.'¹¹⁵ In Timorese eyes, captain Câmara was not an eyewitness external to indigenous customs. As war chief, he was entitled to perform a leading ritual role, playing an active part in the ritual circuits of severed heads. In the ritual life of colonial campaigns, therefore, head-feasts did not come into being as a pure Timorese custom. They were a ritual drama in which the Portuguese intervened as constructive actors according to an indigenous script.

The case against the governor Celestino da Silva

By the time of Celestino's *Instructions*, this type of entanglement with indigenous ritual life seemed difficult to justify. The invisibility of Portuguese action in head-feasts indicates the seriousness of the transgressions. For if, in practice, the rule of purity had to be constantly broken, in the symbolic representation of colonialism the boundaries of purity had necessarily to exist. These polluting transgressions were managed by gestures of purification. For example, as we have seen, in the colonial ethnographic accounts, the Portuguese active presence in head-feasts could be concealed by means of strategies of othering and omission of the observer. The controversy on the methods of pacification of Celestino da Silva provides another opportunity for understanding how impurity could be managed by gestures of purification.

Celestino da Silva, an avowed monarchist and anti-republican, was well connected in the corridors of the monarchy. He owed his 14 years in office to the patronage and personal protection of the King, D. Carlos I, against his enemies.¹¹⁶ He was also an ingenious writer in his reports to Lisbon. The publicity accorded to his misbehaviour which derived from direct complicity with indigenous head-feasts was concealed in official correspondence. However, the governor had bitter political enemies inside and outside of Timor, who accused him of causing the pollution of Portuguese colonialism. In the 1890s, and especially in the late 1900s as republican opposition to the monarchy gained volume, Celestino was the target of political attacks in the press of Macao and Lisbon, and in private correspondence to the Ministry, the Overseas Office, and influential politicians.¹¹⁷ A legal action

against 'abuses', robberies, and other barbarities of his autocratic colonial regime entered in court by the 1900s.¹¹⁸

The polluting contact with different forms of indigenous barbarity was at the forefront of the accusations. During the Funar war of 1905, the military were accused of taking part in ritual kicking during head-dances, and of exhibiting the heads of enemies on poles inside the command houses—including the heads of elderly people, women, and children.¹¹⁹ The governor was charged of using the energies of headhunting to eliminate political enemies. He was said to have sent *moradores* and other Timorese forces on a mission for decapitating adversaries; their 'head[s] [were] brought back to the governor'.¹²⁰ The accusations regarding the barbaric treatment of war prisoners and adversaries included summary executions, especially at the Batugadé prison. In the campaigns against Pulo-Cambing (Ataúro), in 1905–07, the governor had presumably given orders to 'decapitate elder and children' and 'to rob jewels'.¹²¹ In the course of this campaign, a Timorese *maioral* (noble) brought severed heads from Ataúro to Dili with the purpose of 'presenting them to the *Embote* (governor)' as a proof of 'obedience'. The governor, who ordered the heads to be sent back to Ataúro, silenced the episode.¹²² According to an official document cited by one of Celestino's enemies, the *arraiais* of Lacló (under the command of a Portuguese officer) disembarked in Dili with 'sixteen human heads, nineteen female prisoners, and ten children'. The destination of the heads and prisoners was put at the disposal of the governor.¹²³ 'While the governor stays there [in Timor]', wrote a former army officer, Sousel Guimarães, 'nothing shall be known in Lisbon, because the people live under enormous savageries and terror.'¹²⁴ Rather than a disinterested patriotic pursuit, the pacification wars were denounced as a mere private means to acquire wealth. Accusations of pollution thus included the personal appropriation of war booty by the governor and his army officers. In particular, the use of war prisoners as slave labourers either in public works or in the coffee plantations owned by Celestino da Silva and the officers. Unsurprisingly, the governor admitted none of these transgressions. However, he made mention of some facts and justified others, but not in the perspective of his political enemies.

The prisoners captured in colonial wars could become slaves under the tutelage of the government. In reporting on successful campaigns in 1903, the governor wrote: 'Many prisoners were taken, who are now employed in the same [public] works as those of Fatu-Mate-Bien ...' as 'punishment'; 'afterwards I will set them free'.¹²⁵ A former official in this period explained that 'in general [the *arraiais*] take possession of the cattle, and the destiny of women and children is decided by the government.'¹²⁶ In effect, as seen above, the disposal and possession of prisoners of war as slaves constituted a traditional right of *régulos* and war chiefs. The Portuguese officers and governors in campaign could benefit from the same right, just like they resorted to other Portuguese rights of the tributary system. Moreover, the procedure

of dividing the spoils of war might have had origins in the early colonial period. Captain Martinho observed that, until 1911–12, the Timorese referred to war prisoners with the Portuguese term *quartel*. The governors initially introduced this expression in the eighteenth century to designate the shares respectively owed to the colonial and indigenous authorities in the partition of spoils of war.¹²⁷

Portuguese appropriations of the war booty were therefore customary. Moreover, because the government did appropriate part of the booty, colonial campaigns turned out profitable to the state.¹²⁸ The appropriation of booty could cover the expenses of one campaign, or even result in extra profit.¹²⁹ In 1893, the governor Forjaz explicitly referred to this practice: 'It thus happens that, sometimes, instead of losses, from wars result profits to the State, as occurred at Lautém and Mate-bian, countries rich in cattle, which apprehension and sale went far beyond the expenses.'¹³⁰ Yet, in what concerned booty, the accusations of pollution did not focus on appropriation of the spoils *per se*. The problem arose if the objects of booty were taken for private profit rather than for the profit of the state. Thus, polluting appropriations of booty could be circumvented if one was able to justify the partition of spoils of war on the basis of patriotic ideals. Along with concealment, this was to be Celestino da Silva's other way of managing the boundaries of purity: the distinction of different circuits of booty.

Celestino da Silva kept silent about any kind of implication in head-dances. Exonerated in 1908 by the newly crowned King, he returned to Europe, dying a general in a secluded Portuguese village, in 1911. Celestino did not respond to the charges raised against him in 1906–08 in public writings nor did he go to court. But he responded to similar charges in 1897, regarding abuses and barbarities in the campaigns that crushed Cová, Sanir, and other kingdoms in 1896. This took place in a long confidential letter to the Minister of Overseas Affairs, in 'protest' against the 'infamies' of the press.¹³¹ 'I was told', Silva remarked, that 'a few miserable... [say that] after the last campaign against the Western rebels, of such glory for our arms, I gave permission to an illegal partition of the spoils of rebels, and *quicá* to my own profit'.¹³² All this Celestino denied, though he recognized that the fines of 1895 had been profitable to the state. Further, he clarified that before the punitive raids he made clear the partition of booty: '[I] proclaimed that the government did not want any booty for itself, and all spoils then obtained would become possession of the kingdoms that collected them.' This being the case, the governor was giving up the customary right of the war chief to appropriate the spoils of war. Yet, in his opinion, if it was not for this promise of booty, the 15,000 Timorese warriors who composed the *arraiais* would otherwise have never joined the government party: 'it would be insanity to try to take the spoils away from them, for the immediate result would be desertion, because the *arraiais* consider booty as a payment for their services, [and] not without reason'. This was a pragmatic justification,

of the kind commonly used to explain the Portuguese tolerance of indigenous rites. Yet this justification also implied a divide, according to which the colonial entanglement was to be purified, despite concession to indigenous barbarity. If in reality plundering had been allowed, only Timorese hands had been fouled with ritual violence. European hands were clean. 'From the Western campaign', he asserted, 'nothing remained in European hands, and nothing entered the public coffers because there was nothing to come in.'¹³³

The governor took every precaution to preserve a symbolic boundary by purifying the Portuguese merge with indigenous ritual life. He saw differences at the very point where the entanglement with ritual violence occurred. In a confessional passage, the governor tried to explain how a distinction in the circuits of appropriation of booty amounted to a form of respecting European symbolic boundaries. '[S]omething else came to my possession from the spoils of war', the governor wrote:

one cane with a silver knob, taken in Sanirihí [Sanir], and bought from a native by second-lieutenant Francisco, and which he then presented to me, and I presented on that day to captain António Talouni da Costa e Silva...; one *chapéu armado* [mounted hat] and a *régulo's* chair from Cotubaba, which today are in my office, in the government palace, as commemorative insignia, and which have no value, and intend to keep in the office after I have gone; one big Japan jar, with defect, taken in the capital of the Cová kingdom, and bought by captain Elvaim from a native, and which he presented to me, and I expect to keep for myself by right, as a souvenir of all the work I've had, all I've suffered, and the glory we accomplished; it has no intrinsic value, but it decorated the—*pomal* [sacred site]—of the kingdom that we had conquered, the kingdom of those who defeated us for many years; it is of great value to me.¹³⁴

The passage reveals an attempt to purify the Portuguese entanglement with indigenous violence by means of a division of the spoils. A line was being drawn. There were good (pure) and bad (polluting) European trajectories of spoils of war. Trajectories expressing economic disinterest and patriotism led to legitimate European appropriations. Others led to a fall into pollution. According to Celestino, the division of the spoils had been such that the Timorese had kept every economically valuable object for themselves, while the Europeans had but kept possession of symbolic valuables. They kept things as 'souvenirs'. Sceptre, jar, hats, chair were collected for their value as symbols of conquest and signs of one's part in a moment of national glory. These symbolic things got to European hands without coercion. It is remarkable the governor's insistence in pointing out that the objects were either 'bought' from the natives or exchanged as 'gifts' among Europeans. The gesture of purification effaced violence and divided the circulatory system into two separate circuits. So long as the indigenous alone

took material possession of the 'harvest of war', the purity of 'pacification' was preserved; so long as the Europeans took but symbolic possession of booty, the polluting dangers were avoided.

The circulatory system and the management of colonial purity

The French sociologist of science, Bruno Latour, has recently used the metaphor of 'circulatory system' for revising the idea of 'a science isolated from the rest of the society'.¹³⁵ Alternatively, the notion of 'circulatory system of science' looks on science as a set of multiple 'vascularisations' that penetrate society and politics, and which are necessary to keep science alive.¹³⁶ In the light of the findings of this chapter, this metaphor is useful. Headhunting can be seen as a circulatory system able to interconnect the colonial and the indigenous as a single entity. In illuminating this form of entanglement, this notion allowed us to approach the idea of mutual parasitism in colonial interactions from the perspective of the circulation of human remains. Yet, this chapter introduced still another issue. This concerned the problem of how a boundary-breaking circulatory system could function along with boundary-making practices.¹³⁷ Colonial headhunting has also been approached as a system cut across by symbolic lines of division that tried to cope with the boundary-breaking articulations. On the one hand, rules of purity and polluting dangers struggled to create and organize differences in the system, while, on the other, a work of purification struggled to conceal or circumvent the transgressions. The argument was then twofold. The circuits of headhunting brought colonialism and indigenous communities together in a common world animated by the energy of ritual violence. Yet, this was in tension with symbolic boundaries, according to which the system should preserve differences and purity. In concluding, it is to these two dimensions that I would like to call attention.

This chapter has shown that colonial headhunting in Timor emerged as a circulatory system that flowed equally through the indigenous and colonial realms. In this system, the ritual circuits of severed heads in colonial campaigns have represented these flows. The Portuguese and Timorese were actors in ritual dramas from which both could take advantage—even if only indigenous groups were to physically take possession of the human heads obtained in battle. With this circulation, the indigenous communities allied with the Portuguese were granted means of symbolic prosperity. To serve the government in war was a way of bringing severed heads to work as object-mediators with the hidden world of the spirits. Yet, the analysis also revealed that the constitution of cooperative object-mediations with the invisible should not be essentialized as the 'authentic' nature of the system. For the circulation of severed heads did not simply entail a spiritual kind of benefit, it also enabled the indigenous communities to accumulate, as Pierre Bourdieu would phrase it, other forms of 'capital'.¹³⁸ As we saw, in

colonial campaigns, the capitals derived from the circulation of the 'harvest of war' in its wider sense could take more secular forms. To serve the government in war was a way of maintaining or achieving social classification through the title of *asua'in*, or of receiving military ranks from the governor. It allowed the accumulation of secular honours and status, but also of material wealth, crops, or slave force (prisoners). It was even a way of the loyal *régulos* and *datós* to get political and territorial gains. The ritual circuits of severed heads and war booty could thus capitalize the communities of the *arraiais* and *moradores* simultaneously with symbolic, social, economic, and political force. Yet, the energies generated by these circuits did not flow only inside of indigenous communities. Their ramifications extended to the colonial realm. In effect, the same ritual circulation of severed heads also helped to keep the Portuguese authority alive. In indigenous conceptions, victorious headhunting campaigns manifested the Portuguese hostility force; while, in imperial eyes, they augmented the glory of empire and increased the Portuguese 'prestige'—including, as seen in Chapter 1, through practices of head-counting. Therefore, the more enemies' heads went in the direction of *lulik* trees, the stronger colonialism became. Besides, in traditionally taking a share of the spoils of war (either in the form of material wealth or prisoners), the government could use the wars to compensate for its structural financial weakness. The preservation of this entwined system was essential to the survival of Portuguese colonialism. Should the connections that linked the Portuguese and Timorese in the practice of ritual violence be broken, colonial power could run a risk of disruption.

The articulations that interlocked Portuguese and Timorese can be classified into two main types: passive and active. Passive articulations can be understood in relation to the type of Portuguese pragmatism analysed in the preceding chapter. The pragmatic passivity as regards Timorese ritual life was a synonym neither of non-incorporation into indigenous ritual life, nor of non-agency. The display of immobility and non-action was a meaningful embodiment of power in Timorese conceptions.¹³⁹ Passivity and tolerance with regard to indigenous ritual life was also a Portuguese technique of rule, a means of maintaining the empire in Timor. The denunciators of impure colonialism did not normally scrutinize this passive type of connection. Passivity seemed to be a relatively non-problematic transgression justifiable by pragmatic arguments. It was around the 'active vascularizations' of mutual parasitism that problems of purity and pollution arouse. Polluting dangers were located at the points of entanglement with the ritual circuits of severed heads. These concerned, in particular, the presence of Portuguese elements in the *lorosa'e* rites, or head-feasts. Yet, in a wider sense, polluting dangers could derive from active entanglements with every realm of circuits perceived as distinctly 'indigenous'. This 'indigenous' system comprised the circulation of the 'harvest of war' in all its principal forms: severed heads, human people (prisoners), and booty (cattle, jewels, fabrics, coffee

crops). The 'harvest of war' was a source of pollution for the Portuguese if it involved bodily contact with, or the physical appropriation of, heads, prisoners, or objects—and if this appropriation was intended for personal profit. Therefore, the Europeans also had something to lose in being part of the circulatory system. Symbolically, they jeopardized purity, while, materially, they had to give severed heads and part of the booty away to the indigenous.

In practice, colonial power and indigenous violence formed an interconnected system. Yet, this chapter has also argued that this system cannot be understood without reference to the European management of purity and pollution with regard to symbolic boundaries. Because European symbolic sanctions did not prevent actual contact and transgressions were constant, the circulatory system had to be cleaned and purified. This meant that, in practice, contact with ritual circuits often could be rejected as a form of respecting the symbolic boundaries, as it might have been the case, as we saw, with governor Celestino, who in 1907 did not accept the tribute in severed heads paid by a Timorese *maiorial*. Nevertheless, because passive and active articulations could not be destroyed without endangering colonial power, the management of purity in a system based on transgressions was often a symbolic and rhetorical work, rather than one exercised in material practice.

This work can be observed in gestures of purification. This notion is used here in a wider sense to designate practices of which the strategic purpose was to make the European entanglement with ritual violence pure by removing or occulting every sort of dirty or polluting element. The idealized result of 'colonial purification', as Latour's use of the term suggests, consisted of a state of total dichotomy between Europeans and Indigenous, 'Us' and 'Them'.¹⁴⁰ In this chapter, we have looked at two main types of gestures of purification. Firstly, colonial purity could be exhibited by invisibility or concealment of transgressions. The silence that, in the colonial records, generally surrounded the presence of Portuguese in headhunting rites was a form of displaying cleanness and preserving difference. Occulted, the transgressions did not impact on boundary divides. The colonial ethnographies could protect colonial purity in this manner. They removed from the texts the polluting active articulations, portraying the Portuguese officers as passive outsiders, witnesses devoid of any action during the rites. Secondly, colonial purity could be arranged by a work of separation. Processes of othering in military ethnographies are an example. They detached the 'Europeans' from the rites by means of an essentialist depiction of headhunting as a sphere of 'indigenous' otherness. In addition, the circulatory system could emerge as organized around separate cultural boundaries if one was able to create different circuits of appropriation. Thus, the management of colonial purity by separation could be done by dividing the system into two circuits of appropriations, like Celestino da Silva did in responding to his enemies in 1897.

Therefore, as long as it worked according to two different circuits, the circulatory system could function without posing a threat to European symbolic boundaries. Moreover, if these two circuits were to be set apart, not only was Portuguese purity preserved, but the indigenous ritual life was also not disrupted. In Chapter 1, it was suggested that the heads appropriated during colonial warfare circulated in two distinct directions. On the one hand, the Timorese *arraiais* appropriated the heads as material things; on the other, the Portuguese appropriated the heads as signs and information. For the sake of the empire, governors and army officers counted severed heads in their reports, but, in their practical life, they should allow the heads to circulate in indigenous closed circuits. Separate, there was no danger of pollution. The circuit of heads as physical things, too, so long as it was maintained purely in indigenous hands, could bear on the reinforcement of Portuguese 'prestige'. While the *arraiais* were allowed to take heads, the Portuguese establishment in Timor was guaranteed a source of strength. Thus, Portuguese officers in the pacification period did not divert severed heads from ritual circuits, even if they performed the first kick during head-feasts. They generally did not remove heads from Timorese sacred places, such as *lulik* trees, not simply because the indigenous would resist this action but also because the Europeans had a lot to lose in such an active interference. If the 'indigenous' circuit of heads as material things was actively subtracted from colonial life, polluting dangers and negative effects in the economy of Portuguese power were to be expected.

European practices of collecting have to be understood in relation to this circulatory system of headhunting. For, subtractions of severed heads from Timor could also occur under particular conditions. These practices of collecting will be discussed in Chapter 7, yet a brief mention should be made to the conditions in which they were to happen. The headhunting system, on the one hand, offered possibilities for collecting because it contained the Europeans inside the indigenous ritual life; on the other hand, it posed constraints by containing boundaries, averting the danger of pollution, and by the differentiation of circuits. Diversions of heads from indigenous circuits were difficult to be made without damaging either crucial articulations of the system, or without breaking its symbolic boundaries. Thus, although thousands of human heads were decapitated by the *arraiais* with the assistance and complacency of Portuguese officers, only a few leaked out of the circulatory system to metropolitan museums. Nevertheless, these leaks sometimes occurred. Then, new circuits came to life. Skulls from Timor could appear in Portugal. The following chapters of this book will consider these alternative circuits in relation to the culture of anthropology in metropolitan context. The circulation of human skulls from Timor to Coimbra forms the subject of the next chapter.

Part II

Skulls and Histories

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Trajectories of Human Skulls in Museum Collections

The preceding chapter described colonial headhunting in Timor as a circulatory system that interconnected European and indigenous societies. The ritual circuits of severed heads could empower the Portuguese and their allied Timorese communities. This close contact was also organized by boundaries of purity and dangers of pollution, and the Portuguese pragmatic principle of preservation of customs. Accordingly, severed heads as physical things were expected to circulate strictly within Timorese territories and to remain in the possession of Timorese communities. Thus, if the pace of colonial warfare in the nineteenth century increased and intensified the ritual circuits of decapitated heads, these tended to remain local, confined to the island. These ritual circuits, however, could be evaded, and severed heads re-networked in European circuits, outside of Timor. The following chapters of Part II will examine why and how that could succeed. This chapter initiates this inquiry with the analysis of two large consignments of Macanese and Timorese collections sent from Macao in 1880–82. The intention is to explain the travels of these collections as ‘trajectories’ of things attached to, or detached from, words.

The chapter argues that holding together texts and physical objects, ‘histories’ and skulls, was a central part of the work required to organize good trajectories of human skulls as scientific things in museum collections. The narrative is thus concerned with tracing the contingency of the connections between objects and knowledge, things and words, as they were arranged in motion and on boundaries throughout the networks that linked Macao to Portugal. The focus is on the problems of organizing these collections from the perspective of Macao, and Chapter 7 will later investigate the practices of collecting in Timor. The trajectory of the Timorese collections sprung from the informal and formal gift networks that linked agents in Macao to the state administration and to museums in the metropolis. In this context, skulls emerged as objects ‘out of place’ in larger and heterogeneous collections designed to satisfy the local interests of traders and administrative elites, the imperial concerns of the Lisbon Colonial Museum, and

the botanical requests of the naturalists of Coimbra University. Thus, in following the paths of human skulls, this chapter reveals that, despite the contemporary relevance of skulls for anthropological discussion, the means by which they arrived to museums were contingent, transient, and almost accidental. Further, the analysis shows that, despite the importance of information for the scientific value of skulls, they were donated to museums in Portugal without 'histories' and words attached. The narrative strategy of this chapter is also to enact in narration the silent and accidental character of the museum trajectory of skulls. Therefore, in the following account, as in the course of the events, the human skulls are often put out of sight—only to resurface later.

The chapter first describes the colonial and imperial networks of donation that structured the formation of Macanese and Timorese collections in 1880–82. It suggests that the initiative of collecting in Macao was oriented by commercial calculations structured by obligations of the colonial administration towards the metropolitan government, but also by botanical demands that sprung from informal bounds to Coimbra University. This section also looks at the travels of messy collections organized by different Committees in Timor. It traces in greater detail the contingencies of the travels of consignments of the Medeiros Committee, because, as Chapter 7 will reveal, they included the group of human skulls. The second section analyses the knowledge practices that ordered the Timorese collections in Macao. These activities produced a collection dominated by commercial principles, condemning the objects that did not fit into the classification system to silence. As a result, a set of human skulls from Timor was detached from words and texts. The third section addresses the significance of this detachment for the scientific condition of the skulls. The purpose is to highlight the value that museums then attributed to information and documents in scientific collections. Chapter 6 will explore at length the ways in which this early missing link later impacted on scientific knowledge. The conclusion of this chapter considers the importance of donation networks and the notion of trajectories in the light of the findings of this chapter. It is here suggested that the study of trajectories of things attached to 'histories' offers an alternative way of exploring the history of museum collections.

The networks of museum gifts

In 1880, a government Committee composed of local officials and merchants, and headed by the secretary-general of Macao and Timor, José A. H. Côte-Real, was put in charge of organizing a collection. Their task was 'to assemble, classify, coordinate and methodically exhibit the [Macao] products to be sent to the colonial museum in Lisbon and to the museum of Coimbra University'.¹ The Committee worked under the guidance of an ambitious strategic vision of the role and purposes of the collection, or, to borrow a

term from Akrich and Latour, a 'script'.² In Macao, the script of the collection was chiefly mercantile, a 'commercial script' designed to assert the economic value of Macanese objects as profitable commodities in the then weakened trading networks of the Portuguese Eastern EMPIRE. It responded to a major concern of the colonial administration shared by the secretary-general Côrte-Real and governor Graça: the lasting decadence of Macao's trading relationships with Portugal.³ The 'exhibition of articles in the museums', Graça hoped, will make 'their qualities, applications and prices' known and therefore 'restore the commercial ties between Macao and the Kingdom'.⁴ This 'commercial script' was thus established on local foundations. Yet, the capitalist interests of the Macanese officials and businessmen were in line with metropolitan concerns. Furthermore, the collecting practices of the Committee in Macao were not an isolated event. They came to life in gift and counter-gift relationships that bound Côrte-Real and the Macao officials to museums in Portugal. Human skulls were still invisible at this stage of the trajectory. As we will see, they were not part of the original intentions of the collectors. However, accidentally, the networks and the scripts in place by 1880 would be activated to arrange the trajectory of a collection of skulls from Macao to Portugal, in 1882. Therefore, in describing both the scripts and the museum networks of donation, will be reconstructing the calculations and the structure of gift relationships that made the presence of skulls in Coimbra possible, albeit accidentally. With this in mind, let us first examine how these relationships emerged.

The formal ties of donation with the Lisbon Colonial Museum

The preoccupation with imperial trade and economic progress was also behind the creation of the Lisbon Colonial Museum, founded in 1871 at the Ministry of Navy and Overseas Affairs.⁵ The concentration of colonial raw materials and manufactured articles at the museum was envisaged as a strategy to restore the Portuguese empire as profitable commercial space. Throughout its existence (1871–92), the Colonial Museum acted less as a space for permanent display than as an intermediary. In receiving colonial objects, it was responsible for organizing Portugal's representations to the World Exhibitions then mushrooming throughout Europe.⁶ From the outset, the Colonial Museum tried to take a position at the centre of flows of donation of colonial objects. Patriotism but also commercial profit was to inspire private donations. The museum organizers waved the profit caused by the mere exhibition of products in Europe as reason enough for traders, industrialists, and farmers to give samples of their products to the Colonial Museum, through the mediation of colonial authorities.⁷ The participation of colonial authorities conferred upon the project the formal character of an enterprise internal to the institutional obligations and hierarchies of state administration. Because it was a bureaucratic obligation and a national project, the collecting of object-commodities for the Colonial Museum was

to be part of the role-description of colonial officials. The colonial governors, therefore, could from time to time be ordered to send collections to the Colonial Museum.

Such an occasion occurred in 1877, when the government in Lisbon instructed the Governor of Macao and Timor, Correia da Silva, to organize a collection 'proving the productive wealth of Macao and Timor', to be sent to the Colonial Museum and, then, forwarded to the Paris Universal Exhibition of 1878.⁸ This governor followed the orders. He appointed for that purpose a Committee in Macao and instructed the authorities in Timor to collaborate, reserving a sum of the provincial budget to support collecting in Timor.⁹ By 1880, however, this project was still dead letter. The state funds were never used; no collections had been assembled.¹⁰ The official request of 1877 was finally answered in 1880 through the initiative of the secretary-general, Côte-Real, who was able to persuade the new provincial governor, José da Graça, of the importance of a local collection of products to the restoration of commercial ties between Macao and Lisbon.¹¹ Côte-Real was then put in charge of leading the organization of collections for the Colonial Museum as well as Coimbra University. It was, therefore, in the context of formal obligations towards the metropolitan government that the story of the yet occult collection of skulls in Coimbra seemed to begin. However, the reasons for Coimbra University to also appear as beneficiary of donations require explanation. The bond between Côte-Real and Coimbra University preceded the request of the Colonial Museum. In the project of collecting to the government in 1880, prior requests for botanical specimens and informal links of museum gifting had been merging.

The informal ties of donation with Coimbra University

The presence of Coimbra University as a beneficiary of donations of the colonial administration did not come as a surprise. It was in continuity with former official procedures. Traditionally, Coimbra had attracted a great deal of overseas collections and, until the creation of the Colonial Museum, the imperial government was in the habit of recommending objects collected by special expeditions or colonial authorities to Coimbra University.¹² Furthermore, it was only as an afterthought that Côte-Real considered collecting for the Colonial Museum. Côte-Real's interest in constituting a Macanese collection had its origins in a personal commitment to collaborate as a donor in another, informal, museum gift economy. He first decided to attend the request for botanical specimens formulated in person by the Coimbra naturalist Júlio Augusto Henriques, professor at the Faculty of Natural Philosophy of Coimbra University and director of the University Botanical Gardens.¹³

The request for botanical collections from Macao expressed the strong involvement of Henriques in the revitalization of the university gardens and the reform of natural sciences at the Faculty of Natural Philosophy.¹⁴ The old university collections were outdated and in a state of decay and

new natural history specimens 'from the different provinces of the kingdom' were in great demand.¹⁵ But the improvement of collections looked too big a task for the Faculty resources. Until 1884, the budget was described by one academic as 'insignificant'.¹⁶ Collections could not be monetarily raised, but alternative strategies could be devised. The university collections improved with the aid of informal networks of donors. Certainly the Faculty sought government support, with a view to benefiting from the gifts of the imperial administration.¹⁷ However, such formal solicitations were generally received by the 'state powers' with 'indifference'.¹⁸ More often the donations had an informal basis and resulted from private networks of generous 'gentlemen' that the Coimbra scholars took pains to encourage.¹⁹ These donors were typically recruited from among friends or relatives, as well as among social peers and sociological affines: academics, amateur naturalists, gentlemen, and people occupying respectable positions in public administration. The recruitment of gentlemanly classes and persons of respectable status was a form of guaranteeing reliable specimens and reliable associated information.²⁰ In this regard, the pivotal position of Coimbra University in the social reproduction of Portuguese upper classes was an advantage that university naturalists did not overlook. Former Coimbra students were likely to become socially powerful and socially trustworthy donors and collaborators. Many were to occupy influential positions in public administration, where they could put the resources and authority of their positions to the service of projects of collecting. This was doubtless what Henriques anticipated in 1878, when he asked the favours of Côte-Real, the newly appointed secretary-general of Macao and Timor. According to Henriques: 'I then thought of resorting to various people who, by various means, could help me, and I did not lose my time, or my work. Mr. J. A. Côte-Real was then being appointed to the post of secretary-general of Macao. I addressed him and exposed him the wish of again having vegetable products from the colony in the museum . . . soon he proved that his promises were not vain.'²¹

Côte-Real was a good candidate for Henriques's networks. He graduated in Law at the university, and several members of the Faculty of Natural Philosophy were common friends of Henriques and Côte-Real.²² Further, sentimental reasons could be evoked. Côte-Real explained that his devotion to collecting represented a favour paid to the institution in exchange for the invaluable education he had received as a student. The collections paid back Coimbra's gift of education. For Côte-Real, they conveyed his feeling of 'filial love' and 'gratitude' towards the university, while also a modest contribution to scientific progress.²³ The high rank of Côte-Real in the colonial administration was convenient. As secretary-general he could use state resources to satisfy Coimbra's botanical demands, and accordingly in early 1879 he despatched a herbarium of Macanese plants to Henriques in Coimbra.²⁴ Yet, without breaking his commitments to Coimbra, Côte-Real made some creative additions to the botanical programme, gradually

putting it under the thumb of his own politico-economic interests in the development of the colony. Further, with the creation of the Committee, Côrte-Real's informal connections were absorbed into the formal mechanisms of donation to the Colonial Museum. The objects collected by Côrte-Real now ought to be shared with this institution and conform to a commercial script that expressed Macanese interests and Lisbon's requests.

Côrte-Real responded efficiently to this combination of museum demands with regard to Macanese products in 1880. Reports, catalogues, labels, and Macanese material things packed into boxes and packs came together in the metropolitan museums in late July 1880. The successful arrival of the Macanese collection at Lisbon and Coimbra in 1880 provided an occasion for counter-gifting. The various authorities reciprocated Macao's gifts with praise. The collectors received official eulogies on their honourable and patriotic action of giving their time to collect objects for the nation. In Lisbon, the Minister praised governor Graça and the Committee for the 'important collections' sent to the Colonial Museum.²⁵ In Coimbra, the Rector expressed gratitude to the Ministry and to Macao for the collections kindly presented to the university.²⁶ In Macao, the governor recommended the Committee for royal medals, and published in the official Bulletin an encomiastic eulogy, most especially on his president, Côrte-Real, given the 'spontaneity and disinterest' of his undertaking and its importance for the 'progress' and 'civilization' of the colony.²⁷ The praise, according to Graça, was an obvious act of 'justice', but served also as an 'encouragement' to the Committee 'to continue this work, which I much desire to see finished, at least in relation to Timor, a colony that, trusting on what I am usually told, is still unknown.'²⁸ Indeed, another collection was yet to come. Let us examine the expansion of the commercial script and social networks of donation to the organization of the Timorese consignments in 1882.

The extension of gift networks to Timor

In May 1880, after the Macanese collections were sent to Portugal, governor Graça commissioned the Côrte-Real Committee to carry on collecting for the Colonial Museum and Coimbra University. This time, their principal objective was to assemble a collection of products from the district of Timor 'whose wealth', the governor remarked, 'it is also important to know'.²⁹ Again, the governor's interest in putting an end to ignorance about Timor had politico-economic motivations. The intention was to extend the commercial script of 1880 to a Timorese collection, seen as a 'continuation of the consignments sent in 1880'.³⁰ From Timor, Macao expected samples of raw materials and industrial products to support its expectation of profitable trade in Timorese commodities. Finally, the collection was to provide evidence of the prevailing myth of the geological and agricultural treasures hidden in the country. Macao's dreams of running a prosperous exploration of its problematic district could then finally materialize.

With the Timor collection, the commercial interests of Macao and the Colonial Museum and the botanical interests of Coimbra University were to be kept in harmony. The merging of formal and informal networks of donation was also preserved. In fact, at the same time, governor Graça guaranteed a further Timorese consignment to the Ministry, Júlio Henriques at Coimbra received a similar promise from Côte-Real: 'if God wishes to keep me [in Macao], Your Excellency will still get a quite developed collection from here and Timor, as well as Flora, which I am on the way to ensure, and everything else I can.'³¹ In early 1879, Côte-Real revealed to Henriques that he had already taken action to secure the cooperation of the district governor in Timor.³² This expansion of the networks of museum donation, however, did not follow the informal principles of personal relationship that tied Côte-Real to Henriques. These had been translated into the hierarchical mechanisms of state administration. Indeed, it was as an administrative instruction from the provincial government that Côte-Real's call was received in Timor. On 18 October 1878, the governor of Timor, Hugo de Lacerda, was asked by Macao what had been done so far to enforce the provincial decree of June 1877, which ordered the district authorities to assemble a collection of products for the Colonial Museum.³³ Lacerda expressed unawareness of that decree, apparently never implemented by his predecessor. In reply, he announced prompt measures to correct the failure. He sent the pharmacist Costa Duarte on a collecting expedition to the kingdoms of Laleia, Veimasse, and Laga around Dili. But, in the governor's opinion, Duarte's works proved 'quite disappointing'.³⁴ Therefore, there were no collections to send to Macao in 1880, to Côte-Real's regret.³⁵

Lacerda took other measures. He assigned a permanent Committee to the task of 'executing the work required to constitute collections of products for showing [Timor's] productive wealth at the colonial museum in Lisbon'.³⁶ In Timor, Coimbra was not part of the plans. The purpose was 'to collect and classify the products considered worthy of presentation by the [Timor] Committee', and then send them to the Colonial Museum, via Macao.³⁷ Part of these collections was also intended to stay in Timor, laying the foundations of a municipal museum at Dili.³⁸ The Committee members were chosen from the ranks of colonial administration in Timor: Rev. João Gomes Ferreira, missionary and parson of Dili; pharmacist Costa Duarte; second-lieutenant (and Committee secretary) Jaime H. Sá Vianna; and the Superior of the Catholic Mission, Rev. António Joaquim de Medeiros, president of the Committee. The 'Medeiros Committee' was active from April 1879.³⁹ Yet, nothing was known about the Committee's activities until its abrupt dissolution in February 1881, by decree of the new district governor, Cardoso de Carvalho. Carvalho put an end to the Committee with short and cold praise, allegedly because it had already 'presented its work' and all accounts were closed.⁴⁰ The dissolution of the Committee was another episode in the

political conflict that virtually since the arrival of the new governor opposed Carvalho to the Catholic missionaries. Chapter 7 will return to this episode, making clear the connection between the Medeiros Committee and the collection of skulls. But this connection was unforeseen and invisible to Macao, Lisbon, or Coimbra. In effect, the Timorese collections that came together in Macao were a jumble of things gathered by different Committees in Timor between 1878 and 1882. For the moment, then, let us continue looking at the events from the perspective of Macao, examining the travels of the Timorese consignments to Portugal. Particular attention will be paid to the contingencies of the collections assembled by the Medeiros Committee, for these were to silently include the set of human skulls.

The Committees in Timor and the three consignments

The dissolution of the Medeiros Committee caused perplexity in Macao. If its doings between April 1879 and February 1881 were somehow obscure, even more so were the reasons behind its disappearance. Since 1879, all *Côrte-Real* and Graça had heard from Timor about the collections were promises unfulfilled, the appointment of one Committee, and a disappointing expedition. Yet, as years passed by, the interest in the acquisition of Timorese collections did not wane. In April 1881, following the news of dissolution, governor Carvalho was authoritatively reminded by the provincial governor to urgently send collections to the Colonial Museum via Macao, in obedience with the 'repeated orders from the metropolitan government'.⁴¹ The urgency of this request was precipitated by information brought by Rev. Medeiros himself, who had just arrived in Macao and was quick to exert his influence near the provincial governor. Medeiros told governor Graça about him having been forced to leave behind the collection assembled by the Committee under his charge since 1879. Back in Dili, five boxes with objects, a catalogue, and an appendix report authored by the Rev. Medeiros were just awaiting orders to be shipped to Macao. A circumstance must here be emphasized: the Medeiros Committee prepared packages of objects and produced associated information. However, for them to leave the island, Carvalho had to be willing to release the collection: 'From the Rev. Superior Head of the Mission', Graça explained to his subordinate in Dili, 'I know that he has left there [in Dili] some cases with objects already collected; if Your Excellency does not wish to keep them in that district, Your Excellency will send them to Macao, and regard them as satisfaction of part of the request made by the [Macao] Committee.'⁴²

The concern of the Rev. Medeiros with the collections in the hands of governor Carvalho, and Carvalho's reluctance in assisting the missionary had grounds in their mutual enmity, as we will discuss later in this book. In any case, on this matter the priest had the provincial governor on his side. In May 1881, instructions to release the collections were repeated. Graça ordered Carvalho to ship, with urgency, 'the objects already collected by

the Reverend priests of the Mission and given to that [district] government; some of them can suffer damage if they remain stored in the depot for a long time'.⁴³ In addition, Carvalho received orders to continue with the 'acquisition of collections'.⁴⁴ In order to discipline the work of collecting in Timor in accordance with the instructions of the Colonial Museum, the Macao Committee sent governor Carvalho 'maps' and 'lists of the objects desired', as well as 'exemplars of the registers that should accompany the consignments of objects'.⁴⁵

Carvalho observed these instructions without delay. Besides, he had good political reasons not to fall from grace in the eyes of governor Graça, who was backing up his controversial governorship, especially in his conflict with the missionaries. In May 1881, Carvalho assigned a new Committee at Dili to the task of 'collecting and classifying the natural products of the Timor district' as a means of publicizing the 'productive wealth' of the colony.⁴⁶ The goal was clearly in conformity with Macao and Lisbon's commercial interests. This time, the missionaries were excluded from the Committee, which comprised officials of Carvalho's personal trust: the government secretary, major José dos Santos Vaquinhas, was the president; Costa Duarte the secretary and accountant; and the other members included Dr Belarmino Lobo and captain Raphael das Dores.⁴⁷ In June 1881, Carvalho attended Macao's demands, sending a consignment of 'ten volumes' with objects.⁴⁸ It is unclear whether all, or just part of these volumes, corresponded to those 'five boxes' left behind by Rev. Medeiros a few months before; or whether new items assembled by the 'Vaquinhas Committee' were included.⁴⁹ Nevertheless, it is certain that this consignment included Medeiros's collections, and probably the catalogues and appendix report. At last, governor Carvalho had released them.

The collections of the Medeiros Committee had no easy journey. The contingencies of the trip threatened their integrity, durability, and even physical existence. On 8 August 1881, Graça acknowledged their receipt with serious losses. Only nine volumes reached Macao; the tenth remained, unexplainably, at Makassar. Worse: 'many of the objects arrived broken', complained Graça to Carvalho; 'some specimens were totally ruined'.⁵⁰ In Graça's opinion, bad conservation work at Timor had been a major reason for the losses.⁵¹ Nevertheless, were it not for the damages, Medeiros's consignment would have been outstanding. This fact was observed by Côte-Real in the final report: 'because of the number and quality of the products, and because of the value of some [objects] and the information that accompanied them, this consignment would doubtless be the greatest, but many [objects] got to our hands completely lost, some due to deterioration, others due to bad packing'.⁵² Macao received damaged objects. In contrast, the catalogues and reports authored by Medeiros seem to have arrived safely. Côte-Real might be in possession of a broken collection but he had 'the information' that accompanied the materials 'unbroken'.

This was the first of the three consignments sent from Timor in 1881. The second consignment arrived successfully in November 1881, and had been assembled by the 'Vaquinhas Committee'.⁵³ It was a 'very valuable' collection in 'agriculture, mineralogy, and forests'.⁵⁴ Accordingly, major Vaquinhas received official eulogy and was urged to continue sending to Macao 'everything that can represent Timor's natural production, small and big industries, flora, history, customs, etc.'⁵⁵ Vaquinhas, then interim governor, complied with Macao's requests and in December 1881 another consignment was forwarded.⁵⁶ This was Vaquinhas's personal present to the provincial government. For these reasons, he received all the credit; again, Vaquinhas was praised on the pages of the Provincial Bulletin.⁵⁷ Costa Duarte's 'valuable' private collection of birds, reptiles, butterflies, and molluscs was also offered to the Timor government in April 1881 and later sent along with the consignments to Macao; Côte-Real would present it to Coimbra.⁵⁸ Macao still kept an interest in Timorese collections, but no more collections would come. The main purpose seemed to have been achieved, though. After painstaking troubles, the Côte-Real Committee was finally in possession of Timorese collections. Yet, for this Committee, the work had just started. In Macao, great efforts in 'restoration, conservation, and packing' of 'almost every object' were necessary to rehabilitate the damaged collections.⁵⁹ Further, the collections had to be ordered and classified. But the Timorese consignments revealed to be messy assemblages of things, which did not straightforwardly agree with the view of the commoditization of Timor. The next section analyses the epistemic work done by the Côte-Real Committee in order to cope with this messiness and impose order upon the Timorese collections.

The work of classification and description

The commercial programme designed in 1880 crucially shaped the career of the Timorese collections as objects of knowledge. In February 1882, the Timorese collections were ready to be shipped to Portugal. Shortly before their departure to Lisbon, the objects were put on public display in Macao, arranged and classified with the purpose of providing visual demonstration of the economic wealth of Timor.⁶⁰ Côte-Real clarified to the audience of the exhibition the underlying principles of the Committee's work of organizing the collection: 'to put within view of the country, the trade, its capitalists, its public men and the press, the objects that constitute the natural, industrial, and commercial wealth of Macao as well as Timor'.⁶¹ The objects were exhibited as commodities, evidence of Timor's economic wealth. The organization of the Timorese consignments by the Macao Committee thus accorded with the original commercial vision. Besides, the arrangement of the collection in Macao agreed with the *Instructions for Collecting Various Products in the Overseas Provinces* devised in 1876 by the director of the Colonial Museum,

Andrade Corvo.⁶² The Côte-Real Committee followed the *Instructions* in organizing the classification and description of the objects. As a result, the Committee's ordering of the collection produced commodities with words, and objects, irrelevant for commoditization, without words.

The classification system of the Côte-Real Committee

The *Instructions* were intended to standardize the work of collecting and of informing the objects by the collaborators of the Colonial Museum. They contained clear indication of the categories of things deemed appropriate to the museum, that is, exclusively objects of a commercial or industrial character; no reference was made to skeletal remains.⁶³ The *Instructions* also set standards for the classification and description of the objects, and paid particular attention to the organization of the collective work of gathering information about the objects. This was designed as a cumulative and hierarchical chain of information production, partially juxtaposed to administrative hierarchies. At one level, 'producers or exhibitors' would describe the products and give such descriptions to the local or district authorities, together with the objects. Afterwards, these authorities would record and synthesize the producers' data in a partial catalogue and a partial report.⁶⁴ Finally, the governors had the task of synthesizing the partial information given by the district authorities in the form of 'general catalogues' and one final report. The general catalogue should 'incorporate the explanatory notes necessary for clarifying any doubts', and the reports should show 'the state of the various industries represented by the products sent to the Lisbon colonial museum, the causes obstructing their increment and means to be employed for their development and improvement.'⁶⁵ The colonial authorities were also entitled to interfere with the data produced at earlier stages. They should 'correct inaccuracies', add new details, and, above all, make the synthetic coordination of data. However, the partial documents authored by the subordinate or district authorities were also to be sent to Lisbon, along with the final synthetic documents and the collections. This, too, was the responsibility of the governor.⁶⁶

The Côte-Real Committee occupied the top level of this chain of information. Accordingly, the Committee produced two documents on the Timorese collections: a general catalogue and a final report, both to appear later in the Provincial Bulletin. The production of these documents required difficult coordination of the three consignments. In 1880, the Committee members had themselves selected or collected the objects and written the explanatory notes. In 1882, however, this task increased in complexity. Hundreds of different objects in bad condition arrived at different points in time, collected by different Committees over whom Macao had had only indirect control. Unexpected objects collected by other people and 'partial reports' authored by other colonial authorities in Timor had to be incorporated into a coherent whole. The Macao Committee could thus be confronted with objects

and information inadequate to the commercial script or the *Instructions*, but which the Committee had to coordinate nevertheless. As a result, the Côte-Real Committee produced a synthetic collection. In the texts as in the boxes, the three consignments were merged into one single collection subordinated to a single organizing script. Accordingly, the objects were classified and described as if they constituted a homogeneous ensemble, put together from the outset in straightforward agreement with commercial principles. Further, with the exception of Costa Duarte's collection, the final catalogue synthesized things in such a manner that it was virtually impossible to determine which objects had been sent by which Committee. The Medeiros's and Vaquinhas's collections, for instance, were haphazardly put together.

In Macao, the homogenizing classification system of the collections followed closely the recommendations of the *Instructions* and the mercantile script. In 1882, the Côte-Real Committee applied to the Timorese collections the same strategy followed with regards to the Macanese collections of 1880. The purpose was to produce information that enhanced the commercial or industrial value of the objects. The Macao Committee, he remarked in 1880, did not make 'a regular classification, nor a scientific description of the products'; it tried to act in conformity with the government instructions, offering 'the greatest number of news and explanations that were possible to gather and verify, giving about many objects the information most convenient to their understanding and the clarification of the commerce, as much as possible'.⁶⁷ The classification system was prepared with a view to shaping the objects as commodities, and it was but a variant of standard entries suggested by the Colonial Museum.⁶⁸ The catalogue categories contained 'information about the provenance, uses, prices and quantities in the markets'.⁶⁹ Accordingly, each object was attributed a number, a name, and a geographic origin, and then economic information, such as the price, exporting, and so on, was given. The generalist entry, 'observations', completed the catalogue table.⁷⁰ The constitution of objects as commodities was, therefore, the main goal of the knowledge practices of classification. The consequence, though, as we will see, was that this knowledge system produced well-informed object-commodities as much as it generated things dispossessed of words and information.

The unequal distribution of words in the collection

The final report authored by the Committee went along the lines of the classification system. Only items in accordance with perspectives of capitalist exploration of Timor, things from which economic profits could be foreseen (such as coffee, sandalwood, or gold), were objects of description.⁷¹ The collections, however, included many Timorese things not adapted to profitable commoditization or industrial exploration, such as handcrafted cartridge-boxes used by the Timorese warriors. These other 'non-commoditizable' objects were not described; they were virtually unclassifiable, and were left

with all economic entries empty. Perhaps these omissions were due to a lack of information; or perhaps, and more likely, they were due to the rigidity revealed by the classification and description system. In any case, it is striking the extent to which the catalogue list was cut across by what Lorraine Daston called the 'fault line of language' in nineteenth-century conceptions of objectivity.⁷² 'Things with words' coexisted with 'things without words'; in the catalogue, objectivity was simultaneously performed as a twofold principle. The objectivity of some objects depended on them being profusely described and worded. In contrast, the objectivity of other objects was a function of them being left wordless, as if they could speak for themselves. This type of wordless objectivity was in fact explicitly evoked by the Committee to justify the absolute dissipation of language from certain material things that formed the collection: 'With regard to these [Timorese] products', Côte-Real observed, 'the Committee has almost nothing to say. Their mere observation suffices as a recommendation.'⁷³

In producing a collection with wordless things, the Côte-Real Committee did not follow the principle of holding words and things closely together, as recommended by the *Instructions*. In yet another aspect the *Instructions* would be broken. The texts produced by the authorities in Timor did not travel together with the objects. In March 1881, receipts, lists, the general catalogue, and the final report were sent to the Minister, accompanied by a letter from the governor.⁷⁴ Yet, the partial reports and catalogues authored by the Timor Committees were not included in these consignments. Only the final synthetic documents published in the Provincial Bulletin were to become accessible to the museums in Lisbon and Coimbra. Connection with information eventually produced in Timor was lost. The exception was a quotation from a certain 'Rev. Priest Medeiros's report' in the final report of 1882. The passage referred to samples of copper and gold ores collected by the Medeiros Committee, and to difficulties in obtaining information from indigenous people about the exact location of trees and precious metals.⁷⁵ The citation had been selected with a view to agree with the mercantile script from a rather more detailed report. Truly, the evidence suggests that the 'Rev. Medeiros's report' (to which we will return in Chapter 7) never travelled together with the collections to Portugal. The information that this report may have contained about the objects, and indeed the very existence of the document, was to become unknown to metropolitan scholars. The Medeiros's collection, therefore, might have arrived physically damaged in Macao, but once the Côte-Real Committee subtracted the associated reports and catalogues, it arrived in Portugal adding to its physical damage an important epistemic fracture. The Côte-Real Committee justified the absence of descriptions about a number of material things by subtly evoking a concept of scientific objectivity that exempted things from information. However, this practice was at odds with important contemporary principles concerning the constitution of good, objective, museum collections.

The next section explores Macao's silence about a Timorese collection of human skulls, situating this epistemic fracture in the context of the value then attributed to associated information in scientific collections of human remains.

The significance of 'histories' in scientific collections

The dominance of the mercantile script, the rigidity of the economic orientation of the classification system, and finally the separation of objects from their Timorese texts had a great impact on the epistemic configuration of the set of human skulls included in the consignment sent from Macao to Portugal in 1882. The final report makes no mention whatsoever of the presence of human skulls in the collection. Their existence is signalled in the catalogue list with the following minimalist information: 'Number: 197. Name: Human skulls. Provenance [*Naturalidade*]: Timor.'⁷⁶ The other catalogue entries, which concerned the economic value of objects were blank, as were the entries 'observations'. The geographic origin was the only informative detail: Timor. Yet, even this 'detail' was a rather general indication compared with more detailed information on the origin of other Timorese items. In the catalogue, the geographic origin of things could be specifically attributed to Timorese kingdoms or settlements (for example, 'Cová'; 'Viqueque'), or to the specific locations where they had been collected (for example, 'Found on the beaches of Batugadé'; 'River of Bibiçusso').⁷⁷ Further, the catalogue system hindered the indexation of 'Number 197' to one of the three consignments. It was not possible to know whether the human skulls had been collected by Vaquinhas, or Medeiros, or Costa Duarte. Perhaps skulls were not considered the 'natural, industrial and commercial' products that Macao desired; perhaps no more information about the skulls was sent from Timor; or perhaps that information was filtered, considered irrelevant in the light of the commercial script and the *Instructions*; one effect, therefore, of the 'synthesis' done by the Côte-Real Committee while having to cope with the heterogeneity of the Timorese consignments. In any case, the blank spaces in the catalogue expressed a dissonance between the physical objects, the information possibly associated with them at Timor, and Macao's expectations about the unity and identity of the 'collection'. Further evidence of this dissonance was the exclusion of the skulls from the exhibition held at the Loyal Senate in 1882, before the *Africa's* departure to Lisbon. Trusting the reporter of *O Macaense*, human skulls were not put on display.⁷⁸ In an exhibition oriented to satisfying colonial interests in the capitalist exploration of the island, skulls were things 'out of place'. Their mere visibility seemed to threaten the foundational order of the collection (Fig. 14).

Still, although obviously unsuitable for commercial use, skulls could be given value as 'scientific things'. The incorporation of skulls in the collection

Número	Nome	Naturalidade	Uso e applicação	Proteção	Preço a retalho e por grosso	Distancia entre os pontos produtores e consumidores	Modo de embalagem	Exportação actual	Observações
154	Baleia	Timor							
155	Do. cometa	Do.							
156	Pezes brancos	Do.	Para fazer cestas						
157	Do. de algodão e seda	Do.	Costas ou tapetes ricos						
158	Flores	Do.	Para costureiro						
159	Sandalo	Do.	Para obras de talha e profumaria						
160	Madeira de champagne	Timor							
161	Pau roxo	Do.							
162	Zapim (pau-de-cano)	Do.							
163	Palmeira branca, do.	Do.							
164	Sagui cometa, do.	Do.							
165	Caneta, do.	Do.							
166	Baleia, do.	Do.							
167	Do. de seda	Do.							
168	Quadrado de.	Do.							
169	Pão branco	Do.							
170	Pão amarelo	Do.							
171	Tenaculo de.	Do.							
172	Barro de.	Do.							
173	Sagui de.	Do.							
174	Baleia de.	Do.							
175	Amor de.	Do.							
176	Quadrado de.	Do.							
177	Baleia, do.	Do.							
178	Quadrado de.	Do.							
179	Do. de seda	Do.							
180	Do. de seda	Do.							
181	Caneta de tartaruga	Do.							
182	Caneta de tartaruga	Do.							
183	Caneta de tartaruga	Do.							
184	Caneta de tartaruga	Do.							
185	Caneta de tartaruga	Do.							
186	Caneta de tartaruga	Do.							
187	Caneta de tartaruga	Do.							
188	Caneta de tartaruga	Do.							
189	Caneta de tartaruga	Do.							
190	Caneta de tartaruga	Do.							
191	Caneta de tartaruga	Do.							
192	Caneta de tartaruga	Do.							
193	Caneta de tartaruga	Do.							
194	Caneta de tartaruga	Do.							
195	Caneta de tartaruga	Do.							
196	Capé de pallas branca	Do.							
197	Craneos humanos	Do.							
198	1 concha grande	Do.							

Figure 14 Section of the catalogue prepared by the Côte-Real Committee in 1882 in which the blank spaces for the collection of skulls are visible. All available information was '197: Craneos humanos' (human skulls). From Côte-Real et al, 'Relação de objectos de Timor enviados para os muzeus do Reino', *BPMT*, Suppl. n. 9 (1882), 73.

in Macao was possibly structured by their implicit categorization as objects with scientific utility. Soon after the exhibition, the Timorese collections were shipped to Lisbon. Captain Dores, former member of the Vaquinhas Committee, was put in charge of accompanying the collections, presenting them to the Ministry of Overseas Affairs, and guaranteeing that the objects were delivered to their respective destinations.⁷⁹ In Portugal, Dores ensured the division of the collections between Coimbra and Lisbon, as previously decided in Macao.⁸⁰ In fact, the Côte-Real Committee determined the exact museum destination of each object and each pack beforehand. In the presence of 'duplicates' (for example, two samples of gold) both Coimbra and Lisbon were entitled to receive one exemplar. Yet, the division of objects between Lisbon and Coimbra principally followed a dichotomous categorization opposing 'economic usefulness' to 'scientific value'. Accordingly, for example, Côte-Real explained that because butterflies, birds, reptiles, and insects were primarily things with embodied zoological knowledge, preference was given to Coimbra University in their acquisition.⁸¹ The criteria for separation corresponded to distinct regimes of value and the 'usefulness' of things. Objects endowed with economic value were to be sent to

the Colonial Museum.⁸² Whereas objects perceived as valuable because they embodied pure knowledge constituted scientific things and as such should be sent, as Côte-Real remarked, to 'exclusively scientific museums'.⁸³ It was eventually in accordance with these criteria that the Côte-Real Committee allocated the collection of human skulls to Coimbra University, rather than the Colonial Museum. Therefore, in 1882, the Coimbra University received a significant quantity of boxes and packs containing Timorese collections, forwarded by Lisbon from Macao. Along with the packs, Coimbra also received a register signed by José Alberto Côte-Real. One of the boxes contained 35 skulls. About the box and the skulls the register kept a single record: 'Box number 33–35 human skulls'.⁸⁴ Thirty-five human skulls, number 197, box 33, origin Timor. This was all scholars at Coimbra could know about the 'history' of the collection. However, this scarce information was unlikely to satisfy the knowledge requisites for a good scientific collection of human skulls.

The value of 'histories' in museum collections of human skulls

The next chapter will develop the broader epistemological framework within which the collecting of skulls acquired scientific meaning in this historical period. The purpose is now to point to the value that the missing information in the Timorese collections of 1882 had for museum anthropologists and collectors of human skulls. In effect, contrary to the ideal of wordless objectivity expressed by the Côte-Real Committee, museums in Europe were not interested in skulls as material things alone. This kind of objectivity was a limitation for science. The scientific utility and value of skulls was dependent on the quality of their attachment as things to reliable words and reliable texts—words and texts of a historiographical nature. To use the vocabulary of the period: the best specimens were those with reliable individual 'histories' attached. The term carried a plastic meaning in museum culture. It was also a complex genre of individualized knowledge, itself with a history within museum practices, whose roots can perhaps be traced to the late eighteenth century, the foundational moment, as we will see, of the scientific study of skulls. 'Histories' in any case designated the individualized historical record that should be kept in association with every single skull or set of skulls. 'Histories' could refer at once to biographical data that indexed the human skull to a dead person, his or her name, sex, age, physical and mental health, form of death, ethnic group or 'tribe', and so on; the name of the donor, seller, or collector; a date of acquisition or collection; a geography (for example, the place where the skull had been collected); ethnographic information; references to other articles and texts; or, further, short historical narratives on the circumstances of collecting the specimen. Additionally, with the term 'histories' the curators also referred to documentation associated with the object (letters, labels, and so on). By the time the Timorese collections got to Coimbra University, 'histories' were considered a precious

component of collections of human remains. Their significance for the scientific objectivity of human remains was doubtless established, and seemed, moreover, to have increased with the waking of the science of anthropology and the expansion of European collections of skulls in the second half of the nineteenth century, the heyday of the 'museum period' of anthropology.⁸⁵

The scientific value of skulls was wrapped up in their associated 'histories', as much as it was in their physicality. The two, in fact, were ideally inseparable, and anthropological collections were in theory conceived of as perfect assemblages of histories and things. The growing importance of keeping a record of 'histories' can be assessed in the catalogues of crania then organized by main museum curators and private collectors.⁸⁶ Consider, for example, the Royal College of Surgeons of England, holder at that time of an enviable anthropological collection of human remains.⁸⁷ In 1879, as the College's collections grew at a rapid pace, the curator, William H. Flower, decided to produce a new catalogue. This catalogue was to be more 'historical' than 'anatomical' in character. In organizing it, Flower revealed that, rather than devoting his time (like preceding eminent craniologists did) to the construction of a 'descriptive catalogue' with painstaking anatomical descriptions of every skull, he had paid 'great attention'

especially to the preservation of every record relating to the history and authenticity of each specimen, laying stress on all particulars which are *not to be seen in the specimen itself*, rather than on those which can at any time readily be found there. To do this a very great amount of time has been consumed in searching through old documents, letters, and publications, though often with little visible result; and, notwithstanding all the pains taken, some specimens will be found in the Catalogue, received into the collection in former times, the history of which is doubtful or unknown.⁸⁸

In anthropological collections, human skulls were of little value as 'things-in-themselves'. They required attachment to an 'external' network of documents and the narration of 'all particulars' about their past. Flower's passage thus makes it clear that the constitution of human skulls as museum objects implied a true work of archival research and object narration. Some, the 'older' specimens, seemed not amenable to the strict historiographical requisites that Flower desired for an anthropological collection; those, to his regret, had to be left with doubtful histories or without histories at all. The museum scholar had then to work hard to reconcile the objects with the documentation, thereby raising the scientific quality of skulls to its full height. 'Histories' thus concerned the content of information and the physical archive of documentation that had to be kept together with the items. A proper scientific collection of skulls, therefore, did not comprise objects alone. It consisted of items and their archive.

The preoccupation with informing the items with histories and with texts was a widespread concern of museum scholars. In 1865, Bendyshe urged the 'present possessors' of the collections assembled by the famous Enlightenment craniologist Johann Friedrich Blumenbach to publish his unedited collection of 'very minute and accurate descriptions, certificates, and documents relating to each particular' skull.⁸⁹ In effect, Blumenbach himself had advised craniologists to 'keep together with these treasures [skulls] a collection of autograph letters, by which documentary evidence the genuine history of each is preserved.'⁹⁰ Ideally, then, to each skull a history should be attached. This recommendation was then followed with devotion. The British medical doctor and anthropologist Joseph Barnard Davis, after Samuel G. Morton the most notorious private collector of human crania of 'savage' races, confessed that his early 'curiosity in human skulls' was encouraged by a lecture of anatomy during which skulls were shown with 'a little history attached to them'.⁹¹ At the time of his death in 1881, Davis's residence in Staffordshire housed an impressive museum of nearly 2000 skulls. In 1867, prefacing his catalogue *Thesaurus craniorum*, Davis remarked: 'Considerable pains have been taken to determine the authenticity of each skull. In a large part of the Collection the history of each is known.'⁹²

Curiosity was not the gauge of collectors' interest in 'little histories' attached to skulls. That gauge was authenticity. The preservation of an archive of individualized historical records stood as a mechanism of proof and guarantee of the genuine origin and identity of the specimen. 'Documentary evidence' was to serve as a certificate of the true character of the skulls, a practice that in this particular seemed to evoke former processes of documentary certification of relics of human remains in Europe.⁹³ The growing fear of forgeries or simply the fear of undertaking a false analysis that mistook the identity of the skulls eventually led to the ever higher significance attributed to historical certification.⁹⁴ 'Such details [for example, 'the name of the donor and the date at which it was acquired'] are often of importance', explained William Flower, 'in tracing or establishing the authenticity of specimens which might, perhaps, otherwise be subject of doubt.'⁹⁵ The concern with the possession of true and authentic as opposed to false and inauthentic skulls was probably part of a wider obsession of nineteenth-century European culture with the ideal of authenticity as the search for a true inner self. This ideal emerged out of a Romantic culture of authentic individuality grounded on self-discovery, while, on an institutional level, it was behind the formation of a field of folklore studies and museum collections of cultural artefacts.⁹⁶ In the culture of physical anthropology, the ideal of authenticity translated into the work of defining the 'inner self' of the skull by means of its indexation to traits of personhood and to an ultimate historical origin centre: one date of acquisition; one geographical place of collecting; one life-history of the dead person; one collective belonging to a nation, or tribe, and so on. Histories were the pillar of a knowledge

system based on the 'authenticity' of the specimens. Therefore, the scientific value of a specimen (and ultimately its economic value in transactions) was intimately connected with the existence of a good 'history'. Donors and field collectors of human remains were for that reason encouraged not to neglect the collecting of such historical information. This was the recommendation, for example, given to the field collector R. Parkinson in New Britain by the curator of the Australian Museum, E. P. Ramsay, in 1890: 'The museum requires skeletons ♂ & ♀ as fresh as possible so that the bones can be whitened—any history concerning the individuals their names named tribe &c. will render them more valuable'.⁹⁷

Because the authenticity of a skull was dependent on its network of documents and histories, the authenticity of the documents and histories themselves was an object of concern. In effect, the histories provided to the museums could be untruthful or inaccurate. Thus, the information also had to be subject to processes of certification. Crucial in authenticating the histories (and, by extension, the skulls) was attachment to a named donor. Reliable histories were dependent on the social credibility of the donor, seller, or collector. In catalogues, skulls were registered with the names of their donors, and the donors with their respective status as indicated by the record of their titles, ranks, or honours: 'Dr', 'Sir', 'Colonel', and so on. The more socially reliable the donor, the less likely the history was thought to be untruthful. By associating the skull with the name and status of the donor, museum curators added a credential of authenticity. Further, if the skull derived from donation, the very gesture of gifting served as moral credential to the truthfulness of the specimen. Skull collections were thus often presented as resulting from the offers of generous and disinterested 'donors', respectable 'friends', and persons of status.⁹⁸ Consequently, the practice of naming the donor accomplished still another goal. It served as a counter-gift, a gesture of acknowledgement and gratitude for the disinterested donation. In 1865, J. L. Dusseau, in commenting on M. Vrolik's catalogue of crania, acknowledged the double importance of keeping a record of the names and titles of donors: 'As a fair return and under a much natural feeling of gratitude, Mr. Vrolik did not forget to ostensibly link the name of the donor to every donated object, which has the advantage of constituting a very useful ensemble of documents for the history of the collection.'⁹⁹

The sociological procedures of authentication could, however, be insufficient to ensure the full truthfulness of the information that certified the specimens. The 'histories' had still to pass the test of anatomical critique. It is possible that a skull could have been sent in association with false histories. The accuracy of the link between anatomical and historical descriptions had thus to be carefully examined by the museum anthropologist. This problem was especially acute with regard to the ethnic or racial history of skulls. As a methodological precaution, the craniologist reserved the last word on the race of specimens to his own anatomical judgement. This sensitive issue was

touched upon by the then renowned American ethnologist, Samuel Morton, for some time owner of the largest collection of skulls of 'different races of men': 'I have had the skulls of both Europeans and Africans sent to me by mistake for those of Indians; that these should occasionally be mingled in the same cemeteries is readily understood; but a practised eye can separate them without difficulty.'¹⁰⁰ The reliability of the histories that authenticated an object depended on the trust placed in the informant. But it could look doubtful in the light of craniological expertise. For, donors and field collectors, often untrained in anatomical observation, could mistake the skulls of 'Europeans and Africans' for those of 'Indians', for example. An alternative 'history' had then to be considered.

Trajectories of skulls attached to 'histories'

In recent decades material culture studies have flourished around the idea that objects—museum objects, for example—are in a state of becoming as they move through different cultural contexts and are put to different uses.¹⁰¹ Accordingly, they can be seen as possessing individual histories, which can be reconstructed and analysed in the form of 'cultural biographies', 'social lives', or 'histories of appropriation and recontextualization'.¹⁰² The travelling of museum objects in space and time can then be used to access the cultures and meanings of people. Yet, as above demonstrated, the early importance of 'histories' for the scientific objectivity of museum things challenges the tendency to consider colonial objects in museum collections as deprived of historicity, an issue that Chapter 6 will also discuss in detail.¹⁰³ The methodological focus on the movements of things can be a fruitful point of departure in the historical study of museum objects. However, in following the contingencies of two collections, this chapter has offered another analytical perspective and achieved different results. The result was not a description of the viewpoints that added different meanings to objects as these passed through different cultural contexts. Instead, the chapter offered a description of the work involved in making and unmaking associations between texts and materiality, by this means hypothesizing that the presence, quality, and durability of these associations played a central role in the constitution of museum collections. The object of analysis, thus, was not the travelling of 'objects' *per se*, but the unfolding of 'attachments', in Bruno Latour's phrase, the trajectories of the links between things and texts.¹⁰⁴ In concluding, I hope to provide some clarification of this approach and bring out what the analysis has achieved so far.

Museum objects are not 'out there' just waiting to be picked up. They have to be shaped as such, in material and epistemic practices, as historically contingent as technically elaborate. The work that enables museum objects to come to life can be investigated with the notion of 'trajectory', following the research of sociologist Anselm Strauss on 'illness trajectories'. For

Strauss, trajectories comprise a physical or material dimension (that is, the progress of the disease in the patient's body), as well as the organization of work and the ensemble of interactions that shape the course of the unfolding of the phenomenon, including their effects overall.¹⁰⁵ Such trajectories are frequently affected by disruptive contingencies, which have to be managed and shaped by different kinds of work, executed by many agents in multiple work sites. By analogy, museum objects can also have 'trajectories'. These trajectories may include geographical travels and the unfolding of the physical life of an object; the multifaceted collective work implied in giving things the shape of museum collections; and the interactions and links between the elements involved, including the consequences of the trajectory taken as a whole. Thus, these trajectories comprise the work that interferes not just with the movement of a material body but also with its epistemic, ethical, or political constitution. In the case of museum objects, this work is normally distributed through various people across complex networks, more or less ephemeral and fluid. Frequently, for example, collectors, intermediaries, skulls, and museum scholars are put into connection, into networks, in the act of circulating museum things. The actors in these networks also come together because they share the pragmatic problem of turning material things into collections. Consequently, they are called on to participate in the shaping of durable and reliable links between objects and information, an aspect that, as this chapter has argued, constitutes a crucial dimension of the quality of skulls as museum objects.

This chapter has presented the first fragments of the trajectory of an anthropological collection of human skulls. From the vantage point of Macao, the history of this skeletal collection must be situated within the context of the work invested to produce, in articulation with the metropolis, a collection of natural, commercial, and industrial products that would promote colonial trade in Lisbon, while also serving the botanical interests of naturalists in Coimbra. These might seem to be unrelated stories, but the above demonstrated how they were intertwined. In 1882, 35 human skulls were put in movement from Timor to Macao and Macao to Portugal as a result of a call for a commercial collection. This occurred in the context of flows of object donations in which the informal affinities that linked Côrte-Real to Henriques merged with the formal dynamics of state administration that linked the colonies to Portugal. In this regard, both Coimbra University and the Colonial Museum networked a version of what Marcel Mauss identified as a 'gift economy', an exchange system of circulation of presents by 'donation and counter-donation', transactions voluntary and disinterested in theory, yet governed by normative obligations.¹⁰⁶ The skulls, with the other Macanese and Timorese objects, constituted the patriotic gifts of colonial state officials to metropolitan museums. They were presented as the fruit of disinterested gestures of gifting to the nation, expressing the sentiment of those who felt obliged to do their duty 'as patriots'. The altruistic moral of

these patriotic gifts could be congruent with the satisfaction of individual interests. The donations, for instance, were not without return, even within state administration. A counter-gift was implied.

As we saw, the Museum director, the Minister, or the Governor reciprocated the donations with gestures of deference, official praise, or recommendation for royal medals. By these means, skulls as museum gifts could return to the named donor in the invisible form of gentlemanly honour, social capital, or other credits and favours, or still as an aid to career-building in state administration. In addition, the names of donors could be recorded in the museum catalogues and registers as a gesture of gratitude, a circumstance that was to happen, too, with the Timorese collections at the Coimbra University. The practice of naming the donors performed a relationship of identity between persons and things, a form of individualization of the gift that revealed the binding nature of the act of donation. Yet, this binding was selective. Some individuals were to be dissociated from the history of the Timorese collections, while other names were to become solidly attached. In effect, as the analysis revealed, the gift of naming was not bestowed on every agent involved in the trajectory of the collections; it was not put to circulate back in the museum networks in egalitarian way. In considering just the official praises, it would seem that the Timorese collections were assembled only by Côte-Real, a Committee in Macao, and major Vaquinhas in Timor. This amounted to the erasure of other agents from the construction of the collection, such as governor Carvalho, most members of the Timor Committees, and especially Rev. Medeiros and the missionaries. In fact, in contrast with Côte-Real or Vaquinhas, the Medeiros Committee was not praised in the official Bulletin, possibly because of the political conflicts between Mission and administration during 1881, as Chapter 7 will reveal. The first Timor collection, of which the skulls were a part, became a gift for which Rev. Medeiros received no recognition. This process of depuration by naming crystallized in Coimbra. Then, as will be seen in the next chapter, as a gesture of gratitude from Henriques, the Timorese skulls became attached to a single named donor and collector, the secretary-general Côte-Real.

The intertwinement of the skulls' museum trajectory with the story of one commercial collection was a contingent and equivocal event. Students of museum collections have pointed out that for an object grouping to count as a collection some meaningful purposes or 'principles of organization' have to be present.¹⁰⁷ The concept of 'collection script' proposed here made these principles visible as general strategic designs, verbalized calculations that people inscribed into objects so as to distinguish them as collections and define what role they should play in the human world. In the light of this design, the presence of human skulls in Macao was neither expected nor calculated, and the rigidity of Macao's collection script seemed to leave little meaningful space for human skulls. But scripts do not exhaust the activities that create a collection. In effect, in mapping the contingencies

through which objects come about as collections, the analysis brought to light the different types of work necessary to shape human skulls as object collections: conservation, classification, and description. These notions have already been mobilized in the course of the above analysis, and now require brief explanation.

Conservation expresses the 'enormous care' that distinctly surrounds object collections.¹⁰⁸ It refers to the actions of keeping object-bodies from harm, decay, loss, or waste (for example, packing, storing, shipping, and so on), and which are directed to preserve and shape the bodies' physical trajectory, the physicality and durability of an object-body, throughout space and time. Classification and description, on their turn, express the practices oriented to shape the objects' epistemic trajectory, the process of shaping a physical object as an object of knowledge. If classification can refer to the actions of arranging and ordering physical objects according to a system of categories, description refers to the practices of verbalizing objects in speeches, correspondence, labels, catalogues, index cards, reports, sometimes in the object itself, and so on. Conservation, classification, and description can draw more or less connected, even contradictory, trajectories. The relative autonomy of their respective careers makes the history of one collection a complex interaction between multiple activities. Perceived thus, furthermore, a collection must be defined as an unstable composition of words and things. In effect, the Macanese and Timorese collections were worked out not as simple compositions of things, but as complex combinations of physical objects and textual artefacts, object-bodies and bodies of texts. The epistemic trajectory of museum collections was crucially dependent on the trajectories of the texts that were expected to remain associated with the objects (for example, catalogues, labels, reports). Should the texts, during their travels, become detached from the objects they were intended to describe, then the epistemic trajectory of collections could change more or less dramatically. This link of physical objects to textual materials had to be produced, maintained, and cared for. In order to understand museum objects as trajectories, therefore, careful attention must be paid to the ways in which the associations between things and words, objects and their textual artefacts are historically reconfigured and shaped.

The attachments of things to texts and narrations acquired importance in late nineteenth-century museum anthropology. For, paramount in the condition of human skulls as scientific objects in museum collections was their articulation with 'histories'. The catalogues of anthropological collections revealed that the work of trajectory building in Macao was incomplete. Something was missing from the 35 skulls; their 'histories' were missing. To hold together things and their personal histories was expected, valued, and rewarded; whereas the absence, uncertainty, and unreliability of those histories was a source of trouble for museum curators and physical anthropologists. Good conservation work thus did not guarantee a good museum

skull. A good skull required historical description. 'Historiographical work', in short, was necessary. This work concerned the activity of producing and adding historical context and memory to the objects by providing them with individual histories. 'Histories' could comprise narrative and classificatory kinds of information. But three common characteristics point to their small scale. First, information was at once micro-historical and biographical, concerning those circumstances, incidents, characteristics, or persons that bore relation to the individual material object. Second, this information commonly appeared in the marginal zones of texts, in the form of short narratives, tables, anecdotes, or footnotes. Third, this was a form of individual knowledge of which the physical archive was composed of labels, private letters, register and catalogue entries, or index cards. For these reasons, museum 'histories' might be conceived of as a miniature historiography embodied in a miniature archive.

In 1882, the Macao Committee sent to Coimbra 35 skulls without a miniature historiography or a miniature archive. Sociologists Star and Bowker have argued that classifications can 'break, twist, or torque' the biographies and bodies of persons.¹⁰⁹ Analogously, classification and description systems can also twist the lives of bodies of objects.¹¹⁰ The Timorese collections arrived physically damaged in Macao: they got broken on the trip. Yet, the collections also suffered epistemic twists while physically immobile in Macao. In effect, the epistemic trajectory of the skulls sent from Timor was drastically twisted as it encountered the systems of classification and description of collections proposed by the Macao Committee. Drastic twists in the skulls' links to words and texts took place in Macao. There, skulls emerged as things without words. The skulls were in dissonance with Macao's principles of organization and classification of the collection and accordingly the physical objects were emptied of description. There, too, skulls emerged as things without Timor's texts. In the consignment sent to Portugal, the Macao Committee dissociated the skulls from actual documentation produced at Timor by the other Committees. The movement of skulls to Portugal was nonetheless made possible by the implicit understanding of their scientific utility. They were eventually expected to resurface as wordy things the moment they were made to speak somewhere else, in the Coimbra museum, perhaps, through the voice of anthropologists. Yet, henceforth the Coimbra scholars had to cope with an inescapable fact. They had in their possession a collection of 35 human skulls without 'history'. The next chapter will examine the strategies of the Coimbra scholars to incorporate these wordless skulls as anthropological objects. Having looked at the collection as it moved from Timor to Macao, and Macao to Portugal, we will explore its movements in metropolitan context. It is to the science of anthropology that we now turn.

5

Human Skulls as Anthropological Objects

The previous chapter followed the contingent emergence of a collection of human skulls in the context of a collection of commercial and industrial products sent from Macao to museums in Lisbon and Coimbra. In Macao, the concern with coordinating a heterogeneous consignment in the light of rigid principles of classification and description resulted in a collection with wordless material things. The collection of skulls was one set of objects affected by this process. As a consequence, a link crucial to the scientific value of human remains as anthropological collections was dramatically affected. In 1882, the skulls arrived at Coimbra museum without 'histories' and dissociated from the reports written by the original collectors in Timor. This chapter continues the analysis of the trajectory of the attachments of skulls to words and 'histories'. The object is to describe the process through which the human skulls sent unpredictably from Macao were to reappear in the words of Coimbra academics as 'objects of anthropology'.

This chapter argues that the trajectory of the skulls in Coimbra was organized according to the culture of anthropology. By the time the collection was forwarded to Coimbra, the skull had become the paradigmatic object of a worldwide community of scientists involved in possessing and studying large numbers and diversified types of skulls from every corner of the world. The narrative then analyses the place of human skulls in this culture, situating the emergence of the skull as anthropological object before and during the years of the arrival of the Timor collection at Coimbra. The chapter then provides an international and a national context for this emergence. Finally, it analyses how the objectification of the Timor collection effectively occurred in the 'local' scene of Coimbra University. Particular attention is here paid to the work undertaken at Coimbra museum to cope with the absence of 'histories', thus shaping the wordless skulls sent from Macao as 'crania of Timorese natives' that could stand for abstract entities: the 'races of Timor'.

I will first look at the discipline of anthropology as a science of the skull in Germany, Britain, and—especially—France. A variety of themes

surrounded the anthropological understanding of the skull, not all of them covered in these sections. The argument suggested, however, is that the anthropological objectifications of the human cranium pivoted around the inter-dependency between specific physical objects—‘skulls’— and particular abstract categories—‘races’. The belief that the former were the best mediators for discussing racial affinity and ancestry was at the core of anthropology’s authority. Human skulls were messengers of human races, and only anthropologists knew how to make that message heard. The privileged focus here on French definitions of the discipline derives from the fact that *anthropologie* was not simply a major world player in anthropological discussions. It was the central model for Portuguese anthropologists. Anthropology in Portugal, and in particular at Coimbra, displayed a French lineage. The second section of this chapter turns to the ways in which international developments in anthropology as a science of the skulls were translated into a Portuguese scientific endeavour. It argues that the study of skulls in Portugal emerged in the 1860s–80s as essentially a project of research focused on the metropolitan populations. The section also analyses the course of anthropology at Coimbra University, which was created at the same time as the Timor collection arrived at the university. The last section takes us back to the trajectory of the Timor collection as it began to be reconfigured in the hands of Coimbra academics. It looks here at the work of reattaching words to things, ‘histories’ to skulls, required for shaping the skulls as anthropological objects. The conclusion elaborates on the coexistence of a colonial collection of Timorese crania and the ‘nation-building’ orientations of Portuguese metropolitan anthropology.

A science of the skull

Il ne s’agit plus, en effet, de distinguer le groupe humain des autres groups, mais de le subdiviser en groupes secondaires nettement définis et aussi naturels que possible; il s’agit de faire reposer cette division sur ce qu’il y a de plus fixe dans l’organisation de l’homme, sur ce qui résiste le mieux aux influences capables de modifier l’individu ou la race. Or, il n’est pas douteux que les caractères physiques sont plus permanents que les autres, et qu’on doit, par conséquent, leur donner la préférence. . . . Or, soit qu’on se place au point de vue purement zoologique, ou au point de vue physiologique, on est autorisé à considérer comme plus importants que tous les autres les caractères relatifs au squelette de la tête[.]¹

In the selection above, the world patron of anthropology and head of the *Société d’Anthropologie de Paris*, Paul Broca, explained in 1866 the pillars of the newborn science of man: *anthropologie*, the ‘natural history of man’, or ‘physical anthropology’ as it was to be renamed in the Anglo-Saxon tradition.² For Broca, a giant task lay ahead of anthropology: the classification of humans

into neatly defined 'secondary groups', or races, a substantial work of discrimination to be ruled by that most historically 'permanent' of 'physical characters': the 'skeleton of the head'—the skull. Though many other bodily characters (for example, skin colour, hair, height, and so on) were to be taken into account, the head should have primacy in racial taxonomy. Broca turned this into a postulate of anthropology: the 'rule of the subordination of the characters', a hierarchy led by the human head, embodiment of 'first-level characteristics, on the basis of which differences between [racial] types are established.'³

Every anthropologist was primarily a scientist of the skull. In the expression of the historian Andrew Zimmerman, the human skull was the 'paradigmatic anthropological object', at once the privileged object of knowledge and the symbol around which the social identity of the anthropologist could be fashioned.⁴ Anthropologists of the period were usually portrayed in the company of the human crania that daily inhabited their laboratories, and at scientific meetings and social events, skulls or their representations could make their presence felt.⁵ The company of skulls in such settings might seem to be a mere repetition of the symbolism of the human skull as sign of death in the Western cultural tradition, conventional *memento mori* that called the attention of the living to the transience of earthly existence.⁶ However, it was instead as an iconoclastic gesture against these traditional imageries that anthropologists and skulls were brought together. The intimate identification with skulls stood for a dramatic statement of agents who, philosophically as well as morally, perceived themselves as radically *avant-garde*. Human skulls in anthropology were to emerge as naked physicality dissociated from any religious connotation of sacredness, or from the Western imagery of death. As Jennifer Hecht suggested, the centrality of human skulls in the culture of *anthropologie* expressed at once opposition to Catholicism, and the endorsement of a philosophical project of materialist 'deconsecration' of the dead body and rejection of the soul.⁷

Anthropology was envisaged as a province of positive facts, free of subjectivity, popular superstition, metaphysical philosophy, or the pernicious influence of Christian authority.⁸ In contrast with its predecessor, ethnology, anthropology had the ambition of attaining a total understanding of man and its core identity rested not on linguistics, but on anatomy, zoology, and physiology.⁹ Anatomical investigations were to replace old philological researches in the study of human races. The object of the discipline was all-inclusive: '[Anthropology] considers mankind as a whole. It investigates his origins and his relations to the rest of the universe.'¹⁰ A nationalist concern with the unearthing of the racial history of civilized European nations went side by side with the universalist objectification of humanity. Indeed, the 'scientific study of human races' stretched to regions and creatures that pervasive European imageries used to see as on the 'limits of the human': all sorts of 'anomalous' creatures, 'physical and mental oddities', anatomical

and moral monstrosities, and particularly the 'savage', 'dark-skinned' people from outside Europe.¹¹ Anthropology was created especially to integrate all those people of strange appearance encountered by the travellers, seamen, and explorers since the expansion of Europe had touched the 'New Worlds'. With such an overarching programme, the community of practitioners was also expected to expand to a world scale. France was perceived as the origin centre of this world. *Anthropologie* called for participation of scholars from all over the 'civilized' world, and to all appearances it seemed successful. Anthropologists, Broca rejoiced in 1876, 'cannot be counted by the hundreds anymore; they are thousands.'¹² Many were indeed to look for inspiration in the French programme. By the 1870s, anthropological societies fashioned in the Parisian model had emerged in various European countries, and even in Brazil.¹³

As anthropologists themselves emphasized in self-celebratory disciplinary histories, *anthropologie* was heir to 'developments' in natural history, ethnology, and the medical sciences.¹⁴ The medical tradition played a paramount role in anthropology's culture. It was by no means coincidental that the teaching of physical anthropology began as part of the curricula of medicine and anatomy, and many anthropologists were themselves medical doctors.¹⁵ The confluence of medicine and anthropology had roots in the culture of modern anatomical medicine. As William Flower observed, only an eye trained in the 'general anatomy of man' could discern the 'so slight and subtle' differences that allowed one to venture into the discrimination of the varieties of man.¹⁶ As a knowledge culture based on manipulating and dissecting human corpses as solid and visible entities, modern anatomical medicine represented a drastic reconfiguration of the Western imagery of the corpse as ambivalent entity between life and death.¹⁷ Each body part was to be inspected as an isolated and desecrated 'object'. Consequently, medical anatomy paved the way for the constitution of the human skull as both a separate physical object and an object of knowledge. Craniology became the branch of anatomical science devoted to the study of the human skull. With the aid of anatomy, craniologists minutely mapped the points and sections of the skeletal head, translating them into Latin nomenclature.¹⁸ To master the anatomy of the skull was the touchstone of anthropological skill. Taken as unambiguous entities of the physical world, skulls could be addressed in their naked materiality. The belief of a spiritual self residing in the head, for instance, was replaced by a materialist quest for an intellectual mind located in the physicality of the brain, a quest for which phrenology—a 'science of the skull' of great impact in the first half of the nineteenth century—became especially notorious.¹⁹

The craniological gaze that emerged with anatomical medicine was perceived as encompassing a comparative approach, in order to rethink the collective nature of mankind. Human nature was to be understood not just in relation to 'normal' and 'civilized' bodies, but also relative to the bodies

of animals, pathological creatures, and 'savage' peoples. Anthropology, however, did not make this comparative move on its own. It took on board natural history and the 'ethnological problem'—'the establishment of historical connections between different racial groups'.²⁰ Natural history was central to the disciplinary identity of anthropology. 'The goal of the anthropologist', Broca recommended, 'is to apply to his science the principles of the natural method, as much as possible.'²¹ Anthropology ought to follow the lawful and objective methods of classic natural history as established by Linnaeus and Buffon.²² Humans should be studied like the other species of the animal kingdom, 'coldly and impartially,' Topinard wrote, 'as if we were dealing with the most indifferent of the animals'.²³ A rigorous zoological comparison of human bodies might thus ascertain differences and similarities between men from different parts of the globe. By this means, the taxonomy of races, the lawful supra-structure recording the fixed natural order behind the arbitrariness of individuals, would inevitably come to the surface.²⁴ Natural history provided a language and methodology, but classical taxonomies looked outdated in the face of the variety of human physical types brought to European attention overseas. The Biblical narrative of human origins presumed by early naturalists became, too, increasingly problematic. Ultimately, accepting different human 'races' could lead to conclusions contrary to Christian theology, and in the early nineteenth century advocates of monogenism and polygenism heatedly disputed that narrative. Evolutionism added complexity to this debate. Still, the anthropological project, in insisting on the differentiation of racial 'types', was built in close proximity to the 'polygenist' vision, even if anthropologists expressed sympathy towards evolutionary theories.²⁵

The anatomical study of skulls gained prominence in the comparative project and craniological arguments were central in ethnological disputes. For, regardless of their alignment with monogenist, polygenist, or evolutionist parties, the scholars considered the human skull particularly useful for thinking about human difference. 'The most striking, and important instance of diversity in the human form,' wrote the British ethnologist James Prichard, 'is in the configuration of the skull.'²⁶ Skulls were important in the study of human races because skull-form offered the most reliable record of the continuity of the physical type through time. The late Enlightenment German anatomist, Johann Friedrich Blumenbach, on whose authority the project of racial craniology ultimately relied, established this premise.²⁷ Singular shapes of skulls were believed to be associated with singular nations and singular races. On this assumption, Blumenbach famously revised Linnaeus's classification of the 'varieties of man' by comparing 'typical' skulls from different nations and regions of the planet; soon other prominent classifications of races based on head form appeared.²⁸ The comparative study of humanity should be based on the empirical study of museum collections of skulls, in the image of classic natural history. In this respect, Blumenbach

also set the model, pioneering the accumulation of human skulls for racial analysis.²⁹

Because skulls ranked so importantly in classifying humans, anthropologists sought to obtain as many as possible. Private skull collections expanded in the early nineteenth century to a considerable extent due to the popularity of phrenology.³⁰ By the 1850s, as phrenology faded out, the accumulation of skulls was associated more exclusively with ethnological investigations. The purpose of comparing and classifying the races of mankind was behind the major private collections of the mid-nineteenth century, in the possession of the medical doctors Samuel Morton, in America, and Barnard Davis, in Britain. Davis, for instance, was convinced of 'the importance of collecting skulls of all human races, and especially those of aboriginal peoples, for examination and comparison'.³¹ By the late 1870s, as anthropology became institutionalized, private collections were giving way to public accumulations.³² It was expected that as a natural consequence of the reunion of ever larger series of human skulls, representing every nation, tribe, and each abnormal or artificial skull configuration, ethnological problems would be solved. Anthropological societies had their own collections of skulls; older museum institutions of natural history and medical anatomy plastically incorporated the anthropological programme, turning also into important points of accumulation. But neither Morton's, nor Davis's, nor any of the public collections were yet sufficient. 'The extent of a collection is of such moment,' wrote Barnard Davis in 1867, 'for, besides affording more reliable averages of measurements, a large one is far more sure to illustrate the types of each race fully, and to contain its aberrant forms.'³³

The preoccupation with the 'extent of a collection' gained momentum with the rising importance of craniometry, the 'measurement of human skulls for the purposes of ethnography and anthropology'.³⁴ The value of craniometry and the continuous expansion of skull collections—in number, scope, and variety—was a requirement increasingly associated with the pursuit of 'scientific objectivity'. The 'validity of results', as Broca said, ought to rest on the extent of the series.³⁵ Craniometry had already become a valuable department of ethnology by the 1850s, augmenting as anthropologists put more emphasis on the power of mathematics and instrumentation.³⁶ As Topinard critically observed in 1885: '[t]here are those who think craniometry is all anthropology is about, there are those who think craniometry is nothing but the cephalic index.'³⁷ The trust in the objectivity of statistics and instrumentation lay behind craniometric enthusiasm.³⁸ Statistical methods were thought to enable anthropologists to discern racial purity from mixture, and talk about races as general and abstract 'types' despite the multifarious individual differences of skulls. Further, mathematical language, metrical instruments, and geometry were a means to avoid the 'errors' of individual observation and annihilate the bias of subjectivity caused by the 'artistic gaze' and 'literary' language of early anatomists. Anthropologists thus

periodically came up with new instrumentation to make the study of skulls ever more accurate and objective. Yet, as practitioners, instruments, and measurements proliferated, opposing views on the orientation of the skull, the indexes, instruments, or typologies and criteria for classification made craniometric comparison increasingly complex. Frequent methodological disputes were a source of unease. Standardization was seen as a possible solution. The French method set by Broca and Topinard and the German Frankfurt Agreement of 1884 offered unity to a growing number of practitioners divided into national parties. Still, the world looked forward to the day when French and German anthropologists would come to methodological agreement.³⁹ Standardization problems, however, did not prove to be an obstacle to anthropological study. Even when the metrological paradigm and the notion of physical type revealed deficiencies, anthropologists seemed unable to believe that better instruments and clearer standardization could fail to resolve the ethnological problem. The obsession with craniometry in fact indicates how important the human skull was to the social and epistemological cohesion of the expanding community of anthropologists and skulls. For, to paraphrase Broca, human crania, like anthropologists, could not be counted by the hundreds; they had to be counted in the thousands.

Human skulls were also playing an important role in the chronological revolution triggered by paleontology and geology in the 1850s–60s, and of which success anthropology derived great profit. For, if the study of skulls enabled the classification of races from distant parts of the world, they could also enable the discrimination of races from distant points in time. The idea that the span of human history went beyond the 6000 years set down by Biblical interpretation seemed then irrefutable in the face of prehistoric discoveries pointing to the presence of man on European soil since, at least, the Quaternary period. Evidence of the great ‘antiquity of man’ was convenient for the claims of anthropologists. At a stroke, the ‘fossil man’ disproved the Biblical narrative that sustained monogenist ethnology, and gave comparative anatomy sound arguments for supremacy over comparative philology in the study of races.⁴⁰ Anthropology’s dominions extended to prehistoric man. In effect, the acceptance of ‘antediluvian man’ largely derived from evidence provided by skeletal remains. Further, because the skull was the primary indicator of race, solving the ‘problem of the antiquity of man’ could not pass without craniological expertise.⁴¹ Even those suspicious of craniology had to concede the fact that ‘craniology is the exclusive method of human paleontology’.⁴² Carved stone and other artefacts revealed ‘human industry’, while the human skulls found in excavations stood as decisive evidence for establishing the racial type and ancestry of prehistoric men. Thus, in the image of the taxonomy of contemporary humans, anthropologists worked to produce a classification of the ‘ancient races’ that accounted for prehistoric human variety. Categories such as the ‘Cro-Magnon’ or ‘Neanderthal’ races of men, for example, came to life out of the examination of cranial findings.

By the time the Timorese collections got to Coimbra, therefore, human skulls were at the forefront of anthropology's undertakings in Europe. They were desired scientific objects in a growing community of scholars involved in the comparative investigation of the races of men all across the globe, and down to the historical depths of human time. Many skulls from many places and distant ages were expected. The anthropological programme, however, could be put to particular uses in contexts other than France, Germany, or Britain. The next section examines the emergence of physical anthropology in Portugal, and the ways in which the study of human skulls were originally promoted to satisfy nationalist interests and solve the ethnogenic problem of 'the Portuguese people'. It was in this context that a course in anthropology was to institutionalize at Coimbra University.

Anthropology in Portugal

In September 1880, Portugal was the centre of the anthropological world. Lisbon hosted the ninth session of the *Congrès International d'Anthropologie et Archéologie Préhistoriques*. From its creation in Italy in 1865, the Congress had turned into the most important international institution of the anthropological community. The Congress had become important because it offered a forum for the presentation and discussion of findings in 'prehistoric anthropology and archaeology', a field of study then standing at the front of the ethnological debate, and which the leading figure of Paul Broca soon claimed as *anthropologie's* dearest province.⁴³ The event made a strong impression upon the Portuguese intellectual community, which in most respects perceived itself to be at the rear of 'modernity' struggling to keep pace with the 'scientific progress' led by other European nations, especially France.⁴⁴ Scholars of international reputation, the elite of archaeology and anthropology were present: Quatrefages, Mortillet, Cartailhac, Virchow, and John Evans. Scientific in character, the occasion was also a political ritual. The Portuguese Royal Academy of Sciences received the congressmen with stately pomp, in the presence of the cream of society: 'the apostolic nuncio', diplomats, 'all ministers and major state officials', and the royal family.⁴⁵ The majesty of the occasion suggests how far anthropology and archaeology had gone in international recognition. These were seen as modern sciences promoted by honourable gentlemen, noble endeavours the 'civilized' nations were called to encourage. The foreign congressmen would return impressed with the pomp of the welcome receptions then arranged by the Portuguese authorities, wherever the scholars went on excursions to archaeological sites and museums from the North to the South of the country. Popular interest in the activities of foreign scholars was also noticed.⁴⁶ The culture of anthropology was setting foot in Portugal and it was received with open arms.

The urgency of the debate about the 'antiquity of man' and the international agitation that followed on from empirical discoveries claiming

new time spans for humanity explained the choice of Portugal to host the Congress. Scholars met in Lisbon to discuss the existence of humans on Portuguese territory in the Miocene epoch of the Tertiary period, finally seeing with their own eyes the archaeological sites and the polemical evidence brought forward years before by colonel Carlos Ribeiro, the dynamic director of the Royal Geological Commission. In 1860–63, near Lisbon, Ribeiro found what he thought to be records of ‘human industry’ in strata geologically classified as Tertiary. It could be a matchless international discovery. Ribeiro first presented his findings at the congress meeting of 1872, but major authorities considered the material evidence to be unconvincing, even after another attempt in 1878.⁴⁷ Ribeiro seemed unable to create a consensus. However, his persistence and the interest of his claims eventually persuaded the Parisian congress committee in 1878 to invite Lisbon to host the next session of the Congress. Once more, in Lisbon, Ribeiro took the opportunity to present his thesis, in a heatedly debated session.⁴⁸ Carlos Ribeiro’s was the most famous of the anthropological works then produced by Portuguese scholars and its international impact remained unmatched for many years. Yet, in Portugal, Ribeiro was not alone. The success of the prehistoric findings that led to the Congress in Lisbon also demonstrated prior collective involvement in anthropological research, especially at the Geological Commission.⁴⁹ Furthermore, years before the Congress, an emergent national field of ethnological studies had been active.

Anthropology before the Congress: prehistoric races and the ethnogenic problem

The Royal Geological Commission was organized in 1857 by the Ministry of Public Works with the purpose of promoting geological studies in Portugal. The Commission was soon in the field charting the territory and undertaking excavations with a view to produce the first geological map of the country.⁵⁰ Publications on prehistoric monuments and sites began appearing in 1865, with comprehensive translations into the French language, ‘the official language of scientific congresses in Europe’.⁵¹ From the outset, Carlos Ribeiro and the Commission members—notably J. F. Nery Delgado and F. A. Pereira da Costa—considered ‘prehistoric anthropology and archaeology’ an obligatory dimension of geological studies.⁵² The Commission set out to investigate the ‘geological antiquity’ of ‘the primitive human races’, with a view to contributing to the settlement of the ‘problem of the antiquity of man upon the Earth’.⁵³

In line with the international consensus on the primacy of the skull, the prehistoric anthropology of the Commission turned its full attention to cranial evidence. Collections of Portuguese skulls were to be given priority in ascertaining the Portuguese ‘prehistoric races’. In 1865, Pereira da Costa published his research on human skulls found at the Arruda excavations, determining ‘the anatomico-osteological characters of the race to

which the buried individuals belonged'.⁵⁴ Two years later it was Nery Delgado's turn to attempt a racial classification of a rare skull found in the caves of Cesareda, which in his opinion attested to the presence in Portugal of the 'Cro-Magnon race'.⁵⁵ Shortly before the congress, another member of the Commission, Paula e Oliveira, undertook the first anthropological study of the races represented by the 'typical' prehistoric skulls in the collections of the Geological Commission; the results were presented to the Congress in 1880.⁵⁶ After years of excavations, in fact, the Commission had assembled the largest Portuguese collection of prehistoric artefacts and skeletal remains, especially skulls. In 1880, when the scholars went on excursion to the Portuguese museums, they were very impressed with the collections in Lisbon.⁵⁷ The extent and quality of the collections at the Geological Section, in particular, were without parallel in the country.

The emergent Portuguese anthropology expressed alignment with international developments. Yet, scholars in Portugal adjusted the discipline to suit their own particular research interests. In taking skulls as evidence of the 'antiquity of man' in Portuguese soil, the prehistoric anthropology of the Commission sought a solution to a specific national concern: the ethnogenic problem of the Portuguese nation. As Ribeiro recalled, prehistoric anthropology and archaeology were meant to cast light upon the 'origins of European nations', such that investigating the geological antiquity of man in Portugal amounted to a search for a unique Portuguese racial ancestry.⁵⁸ In this regard, the Commission aligned itself with the then major preoccupation of Portuguese ethnological scholarship: the origins and identity of 'the Portuguese people'. In effect, in 1880, ethnology in Portugal was not a preserve of prehistoric anthropologists at the Geological Commission. Patriotic fervour and the historicist concern with the national 'decadence' characteristic of Portuguese intelligentsia of the last quarter of the nineteenth century did much to stimulate a metropolitan orientation in the emergent field of anthropological studies.⁵⁹ Gentleman scholars dedicated time and fortunes to the traditional pursuits of ethnological disciplines: comparative philology, folklore, and antiquarianism.⁶⁰ Some Portuguese comparative philologists could extend their theoretical dissertations to Orientalism, and some—including, notably, Júlio Henriques—were adhering to Darwin's theories of evolution.⁶¹ However, in the late nineteenth century the field united around the national ethnogenic problem and, for years to come, this was to remain the core identity of metropolitan scholars who came in the wake of Ribeiro and the French-styled anthropology.⁶²

Unlike the French, British, or Germans, the Portuguese seemed then little concerned with the universalist dimension of the anthropological project. The 'Portuguese people', its ancestry in the past and its identity in the present, regional specificities and national unity, attracted the attention of scholars in Lisbon, Coimbra, Porto, and in the provinces.⁶³ Even as Portuguese medical doctors began proposing—also by the 1880s—the extension

of anthropometric studies outside Portugal's frontier, attention was directed to the bodies of European colonizers, and not so much to the bodies of 'natives'. This was clear in Dr Manuel Ferreira Ribeiro's programme of colonial medical anthropology at the Ministry of the Navy and Overseas Affairs, envisaged as an aid to white colonization and the 'acclimatization' of European races to tropical environments, an issue also fashioned in European (especially French) debates.⁶⁴ Only in the early decades of the twentieth century, as Chapter 6 will show, would metropolitan anthropologists begin to take seriously the study of non-European populations.

Anthropology after the Congress: the 'modern' races of Portuguese people

The presence of French scholars in Lisbon and French praise for the Lisbon collections also reflected the good—yet unequal—relationship between the Parisian group and the Lisbon anthropologists.⁶⁵ The internationalization of Portuguese anthropology necessarily passed, though not exclusively, through France. For the Portuguese, Paris was the centre of anthropological progress; for the French, Portugal appeared simultaneously as an interesting site for prehistoric findings and another candidate for the victorious 'diffusion' of French anthropology. The achievements of the Geological Commission, the adherence of national scholars to the congress, and the Portuguese acquaintance with the newest anthropological problems led French scholars at the meeting to optimistically greet the diffusion of *anthropologie* in Portugal. Yet, they considered the Portuguese practitioners 'isolated' and too dispersed throughout the country; they thought only a society very much like the *Société d'Anthropologie de Paris* could bring them together.⁶⁶ The eminent members of the *Société* then present in Lisbon brought before the congress council a proposal 'for issuing a recommendation in favour of the creation of an Anthropological Society in Lisbon'.⁶⁷ The council resolved not to pronounce, but the French returned to Paris convinced that such Society would soon be founded. At least, such was the 'solemn' guarantee given by the king, D. Luiz, who, according to Cartailhac, 'spontaneously promised to take the initiative of organizing it himself'.⁶⁸ However, the royal initiative never took place. The Parisian proposal seemed to fall into oblivion. For, despite the brilliance of the meeting, not everything was easy for anthropology in Portugal.

In 1882, the medical doctor Ferraz de Macedo decided to pursue anthropology at his own risk. He intended to expand anthropological researches to the craniometric study of 'contemporary Portuguese, comparing them with other peoples in the resulting average, and, later, if possible, with fossil skulls'.⁶⁹ Macedo was after skulls of recently deceased persons, not prehistoric remains. Only after much trouble did he get permission from the Lisbon City Council for studying the skulls exhumed from temporary

graves, but he was required to give them back for inhumation once his investigations were satisfied.⁷⁰ The diversion of numerous skulls from cemeteries between 1882 and 1889 enabled Macedo to publish pioneer craniometric studies, enough to assemble the largest collection of Portuguese skulls ever in private hands and grant him the posthumous title of 'patriarch of Portuguese anthropology'.⁷¹ Yet, regarding the 'science of the skull', not much else happened in Lisbon after the glorious date of 1880.⁷²

In the early 1880s, Portuguese anthropology seemed to lose its European radiance and to enter a period of reconfiguration. A younger generation soon alleged that 'public indifference' and 'lack of government support' had blocked anthropology's development, describing the 8 years following the congress as of general 'paralysis' in anthropological studies.⁷³ 'Paralysis' might be too strong a word to describe the historical context, yet things did not appear as bright as might have been expected in September 1880. Carlos Ribeiro died in 1882, depriving the Geological Section of his energetic leadership, and delaying the publication of the congress proceedings by 4 years.⁷⁴ The Lisbon Geographical Society, created in 1875, presented an ambitious programme of scientific exploration of the metropolitan and colonial territories. It included a 'Section of Anthropology and Natural Sciences', showing programmatic affiliation in French anthropology.⁷⁵ Despite the great influence of the Geographical Society and its networks of members in colonial policy and science throughout the rest of the century, the section of anthropology was rather obscure and its ethnographic museum did not receive skeletal additions from the colonies until the early 1900s. The French proposal of bringing scholars together in one single institution in Lisbon appeared unlikely as the tendency towards spatial dispersion and regional competition gained pace. The geography of anthropology in Portugal was moving up North, to Porto and Coimbra.

In Porto, topics of anthropology were then approached only as a part of courses in Geology and Zoology at the Porto Polytechnic Academy.⁷⁶ In effect, it was from outside the university that a group of young anthropologists (Ricardo Severo, Rocha Peixoto, and Fonseca Cardoso) decided to take up Carlos Ribeiro's legacy and replicate the programme set by 'Broca, the master'.⁷⁷ The group took an aggressive posture against the academic establishment, which they accused of doing little or nothing to promote research on Portugal's ethnogeny. Thus, in his caustic style, Peixoto in 1891 urged those 'in the schools' and 'universities' to fully embrace the challenge of anthropology, pointing a finger at the inaction of the 'new graduates of Coimbra': 'Oh Gentlemen! Not a single one of you know how to measure a skull?'⁷⁸ Some 'gentlemen' in Coimbra, however, well knew how to measure a skull. While the Geological Commission actively researched Portugal's prehistoric races, Coimbra was absent from research and publications. Yet, this move back from the public sphere signified neither lack of interest nor institutional passivity. In a rhetorical tone not dissimilar from that of the

memorialization of the Congress, anthropologists were soon to celebrate the first course in anthropology at Coimbra University.⁷⁹

Anthropology in Coimbra: the institutionalization of anthropology at the university

The enthusiasm of 1880 also touched Coimbra. Júlio Henriques and Albino Geraldès, respectively responsible for botany and for zoology, were members of the congress, although they were inactive in the debates and did not present papers.⁸⁰ Coimbra was taken into consideration by the organization of the meeting. When the foreign scholars went on a tour of the country, they stopped for a few hours at Coimbra for a visit to the university and museum.⁸¹ Henriques and Geraldès showed the visitors around. Yet, Coimbra had little to see. In contrast to the enthusiastic pages on the 'Lisbon collections', Émile Cartailhac dedicated just a few words of courtesy to his hosts at 'the old and famous' University of Coimbra: 'There,' he observed, 'as well [as in Porto], we saw valuable collections both at the scientific Institute and at the University.'⁸² The local collections did not cause further remarks. Geraldès would later complain that lack of government support caused the poor state of Coimbra's collections and its drawbacks in anthropology. For these reasons, he regretted, Coimbra could have never rivalled the achievements of the Geological Commission, which had state resources at its disposal.⁸³

The Faculty of Natural Philosophy, however, followed international and national developments in anthropology with interest.⁸⁴ The Faculty did not want to be left out of the changing disciplinary landscape and anthropology had been accommodated as a branch of zoological science. After all, the 'natural history of man' was a natural science, and was therefore within the scope of the Faculty. 'There are eminent naturalists', explained the director of the Zoological Cabinet in 1870, 'who devote themselves exclusively to the study of anthropology'.⁸⁵ The changes in zoological knowledge caused by the 'progress of travel, scientific explorations by naturalists, and constant geographic discoveries' led the 'study of human races' to assume prime place in Zoology. It was, according to that director, one of its 'capital problems'.⁸⁶ 'Comparative anatomy and physiology' were seen as 'part and the basis of zoology'.⁸⁷ Accordingly, human skeletons appeared in the zoological section of the Natural History Museum, which in 1877 comprised a 'Cabinet of Prehistoric Anthropology and Archaeology'.⁸⁸ However, this Cabinet's collections were then 'extremely poor', insufficient to sustain teaching and research.⁸⁹ The cabinet, just like the museum itself, did not thrive due to a shortage of financial resources and lack of specialist staff. At the close of the 1870s, the 'almost infinite vastness' of zoology was a burden too heavy for the Faculty.⁹⁰ Lecturers showed difficulty in coping with the growing specificity and extent of data in the zoological subjects, and looked forward to a reform: 'Each class of the animal kingdom constitutes a most useful science,

and deserves a special course.⁹¹ The absence of a teaching course in anthropology, in particular, was especially felt, as the museum director observed in 1877: 'The lack of a special chair in the natural history of man at the university is the reason for this backward state [in the collections]. This should come as no surprise, for to our knowledge that is the science of most modern creation.'⁹²

The academic year 1885–86 finally brought relief to Zoology. A government decree of July 1885 approved independent lecturers for what then became the four distinct branches of the Faculty: Zoology; Botany; Mineralogy and Geology; and Anthropology and Archaeology. The Museum was also reorganized into four sections, each with a distinct director.⁹³ The Faculty's degree in Natural Philosophy thereafter included a special course in anthropology: 'Anthropology, Human Palaeontology and Prehistoric Archaeology'. In the words of the Faculty Secretary, the alteration constituted an achievement of one of its lecturers: it was 'a reform long since desired and only recently made possible, to a great extent because of the efforts of Professor Dr. Bernardino Machado.'⁹⁴ Other Faculty members had reclaimed autonomy for anthropology, but none was perhaps as dynamic and politically influent as Bernardino Machado.⁹⁵ It was through his initiative that the reform passed at the parliament in 1883, being approved by a royal decree 2 years later.⁹⁶ The achievement brought benefits to Machado's academic career at Coimbra. He was appointed to organize and supervise the new discipline, and from 1885 to 1907 he held the regency of the course in anthropology.

The course demonstrated the stamp of anthropology's early affiliation with zoology and its contemporary alliance with archaeology. It was divided into sections on Zoological Anthropology, General Anthropology, and Prehistoric Archaeology. The first two subjects corresponded to osteology (the study of skeletons), and ethnology was part of General Anthropology. Anatomical and physiological comparisons were presented as a means of distinguishing men from primates in Zoological Anthropology, as well as for studying human races in General Anthropology. 'Special attention', a former student recalled, was given to craniometry as a method for delineating these comparisons.⁹⁷ The importance of craniology revealed the influence of the French model. In fact, from the outset, Machado's vision for Coimbra anthropology was strongly inspired by *anthropologie*.⁹⁸ The textbooks and technological equipment came directly from France. Topinard, Broca, and de Mortillet authored the course textbooks, while laboratory instrumentation was ordered from Raoul Mathieu, in Paris, Broca's favourite maker of craniometric instruments.⁹⁹ Machado also replicated the French model of training and research. Coimbra's 'Museum and Laboratory of Anthropology' was eventually made in the image of the *Laboratoire d'anthropologie*, created by Paul Broca in 1867.¹⁰⁰ This was a space with access restricted to students and researchers, where skulls, skeletons, and other organs and body parts

were accumulated, exhibited, and made available for the study benches of anthropologists. Museum laboratories constituted a central institution in the study of races. In laboratory work, the skills of the anthropologist associated with the craniometric paraphernalia to translate the physicality of skulls into anthropological information. In Broca's words, they '[made] the study of the most distant human races available'; there, 'sedentary scholars' would find materials to 'ground on a solid anatomical basis the classification of human races'.¹⁰¹ French inspiration was eventually such that in 1898 Machado encouraged the creation of an apparently short-lived association, the Coimbra Anthropological Society. Membership of the Society was restricted to Coimbra residents but its main purpose was ambitious: 'the development of anthropological studies in Portugal'.¹⁰²

The institutionalization of anthropology into museums and annexed laboratories revealed the close interdependency between collections and anthropological knowledge. 'The first condition for a laboratory', wrote Topinard, 'is to be in possession of specimens.'¹⁰³ In this regard, as important as the French inspiration, was the analogy held between the museum model of training and teaching in anthropology and the other disciplines at the Faculty. The Faculty offered training in natural sciences on the basis of the direct inspection of object collections. In anthropology, Coimbra students were primarily offered specialist training in the study of the human skull. That was to be learnt, above all, from manipulation of craniometric instruments and actual examination of skulls, followed by adequate literary description of the 'experiments'. Becoming an anthropologist at Coimbra, in short, equalled a bodily engagement with so-called *trabalhos práticos* (practical work). 'Practical work' was Machado's keyword for anthropological training.¹⁰⁴ In this particular, he subscribed to the Faculty's pedagogical policy. To learn anthropology by performing 'practical works' on human skulls was expected to be analogous, for example, to the learning of botany from the observation of plants. The Faculty insisted on a pedagogical model grounded on the examination of museum collections. Although the Rectory regulations did not make practical work compulsory until 1905–06, the 'principle of practical teaching' underlined the reform of natural sciences studies at the Faculty since the 1860s.¹⁰⁵ In the 1880s, moreover, the move to practical teaching intensified in every course.¹⁰⁶

Coimbra's concept of practical education called for close contact with material things, and thus collections of human skulls were central to the establishment of the new course. However, the students had little to work with. Until 1883–85, the few anthropological collections were still under the care of the zoology teacher. Even throughout the entire decade of the 1880s 'all objects that concern Anthropology and related sciences' were arranged in the zoology galleries.¹⁰⁷ This changed only in 1890, when a refurbishment of the decrepit museum building finally allocated a separate area for the Cabinet of Anthropology.¹⁰⁸ Still, collections were very far from satisfactory

and only vague work had so far been done to catalogue the meagre anthropological collections.¹⁰⁹ Albino Geraldês, in charge of Zoology in 1885–86, was sceptical about the likelihood of progress given the financial limitations: ‘Coimbra Museum’, he regretted, ‘can never stand as equal to analogous foreign institutions’.¹¹⁰ At Coimbra, in the early 1880s, interest in anthropology was as consistent and enthusiastic as scarce and decadent were the skeletal collections. In this context, the unexpected arrival of a collection of 35 human skulls from Macao in 1882 could but be welcomed. The next section examines the reception of this collection. The Coimbra scholars incorporated the skulls as anthropological objects. In this process, they were to reshape the epistemic trajectory of the collection and cope with the absence of words and texts.

The reception of ‘Timorese crania’ at Coimbra

The collections of the new Anthropology Section were finally the object of description in 1894, in the university journal *O Instituto*. The skulls from Timor had then pride of place. In a retrospective overview of the progresses made at the Faculty in the last 20 years, Júlio Henriques summarized the anthropological collections: ‘This section, still incipient, can become one of the most interesting sections in the museum, as soon as it is possible to obtain products from the Portuguese possessions. It has no auxiliary staff and requires more space.’¹¹¹ Henriques then listed the ‘incipient’ collections held at the cabinet in 1892. There were ‘weaponry, clothes, varied products, whose origins are largely unknown’; ‘African weapons presented by my friend’ Pereira de Melo; ‘casts of crania and weapons presented by the Geological Commission’; a ‘good collection of crania collected by Dr. Albino Geraldês from the graves of Coimbra Cathedral’; and finally ‘many and interesting objects sent from Macao by Mr. J. Alberto Corte-Real, among which is a considerable series of crania from the Timorese [*crânios de Timores*].’¹¹² It was not the first time that, on behalf of the Faculty, Henriques publicly referred with some pomp to the skulls sent by Corte-Real. In 1883, in an article praising Macao’s gifts to the botanic garden, he also made a point to emphasize ‘other very important objects’ presented to the Natural History Museum, ‘such as birds and other animals, guns, minerals, and a great collection of crania from the natives of Timor.’¹¹³

In these passages, Henriques offered an indication of what had been Coimbra’s tactic for incorporating the unanticipated collection of human crania. At Coimbra, the skulls sent from Macao as ‘scientific objects’ had been reshaped as an anthropological collection, objects valuable for anthropological science as a whole. This was immediately visible in the spatial allocation of the objects. The skulls were sent to the zoological rooms of the Natural History Museum, and there placed in the anthropological section. The codification of skulls as anthropological objects was represented by

new epistemic additions, which resulted from reconfigurations in the links between the skulls and their miniature historiography. Macao had sent to Coimbra a collection of skulls devoid of historical descriptions. Yet, in incorporating the skulls into the museum, Coimbra naturalists reshaped this wordless condition. They reintroduced words, texts, and inscriptions in the places where a silent 'objectness' prevailed. As a consequence, the work of the scholars at Coimbra partially reconstituted a miniature historiography of the skulls. In the early 1880s, with a view to equipping the objects with 'histories', as museum curators recommended, the Coimbra scholars manufactured three innovations in the networks of attachments of skulls to words. They organized a past centred on the donor and the ethnic identity of the things; and, rather than constructing a separate archive of texts, they tattooed on the physicality of the skulls the inscription of a geographic origin.

The donor, 'Côrte-Real'; the ethnic identification, 'Timorese'; and the inscription, 'Timor'

From the outset, the Timorese collection of skulls was considered as attached to the name and status of J. A. Côrte-Real. The naming of skull donors, as the previous chapter revealed, represented at the same time a gesture of counter-gifting and a strategy of authentication of the specimens. Thus, in attaching the collection to the individual name of Côrte-Real, Júlio Henriques was at once reciprocating the collaboration of the secretary-general in his informal network of donors and adding a sociological guarantee of authenticity of the skulls. Henriques credited the secretary-general with all the work of collecting and praised his disinterested gesture of presenting the collections to Coimbra. In 1883, Henriques acknowledged the Timorese collections to have been 'coordinated and sent to Coimbra by Mr. Côrte-Real', the product of his 'patriotic initiative' with the aid of the governor and 'several gentlemen' in Macao.¹¹⁴ Henriques also took the initiative of republishing the Committee's final report of 1882 in *O Instituto*, implicitly attributing the authorship to Côrte-Real.¹¹⁵ Henriques's early strategy of naming stabilized in the decades to come. At Coimbra, the human skulls were to become attached to the name and the rank of Côrte-Real. Yet, in the course of time, the administrative position of Côrte-Real was overvalued. The first systematic catalogue of the ethnographic collections (produced as late as 1955) listed all Timorese objects as a 'Gift from José A. H. da Cunha Côrte-Real'.¹¹⁶ Future publications continued to attribute the collections to Côrte-Real, but this time the benefactor, originally a secretary-general, was elevated to the position of 'Governor of Macao and Timor'.¹¹⁷ This enhancement of status lacks historical rigour.¹¹⁸ However, the distortion meaningfully reveals the importance of donor naming for the value and truthfulness of the collection. Because the donor was reliable, the collection of skulls should be assumed as authentic anthropological material, despite the lack of associated texts. Indeed,

Barros e Cunha would later resort to this strategy of certification in his battle for the authenticity of the skulls, as Chapter 6 will show.

If adding a named donor provided authentication, the addition of an ethnic identity created anthropological value. In effect, the Coimbra naturalists went a step further in the attribution of a past to the skulls. They invented an ethnic or racial belonging. It was taken for granted from the beginning that the collection comprised 'crania from the Timorese'. The scholars created non-European human remains out of an assumption. Because they came from Timor, the skulls were assumed to belong to Timorese 'natives'. Other possibilities of ethnic belonging were excluded. In fact, the Timorese identity of the skulls was not contained in the information sent from Macao. Only a territorial provenance was attached to the collection: 'Timor'. It is in effect a territorial marker that to this day remains tattooed on the 'bodies' of the skulls. No paper labels have survived. The crania currently held at the Coimbra Museum of Anthropology bear just an old handwritten China-ink inscription on the right parietal that numbers the objects in a sequence from 1 to 35 and shows a Portuguese script: '*Colecção de Timor*' [Collection from Timor]. According to the current keepers, these inscriptions refer to the first arrangement of the pieces done at an early date in the museum's history¹¹⁹ (Fig. 15). The use of China-ink to produce perpetual inscriptions on the physical bodies of human skulls was a common practice of labelling skeletal collections in the nineteenth century, standing as alternative or complementary to paper labels. Numbers indexing the skulls to a catalogue or register were ordinarily inscribed, but the geographic origin, the date of acquisition, or the race or ethnic category also commonly appeared. In any case, at Coimbra, in the 1880s, geographic origin and ethnic classification did not stand in opposition. Geographic origin and ethnic marker were understood as equivalent. They stood for one and the same past of the skulls. The identification of geography with ethnicity or race was thus presumed by academics, and on the basis of such a supposition, geographical information translated into ethnic category.

The Timorese-ness of the skulls was Coimbra's construct. Yet, in accepting the skulls as 'Timorese', Coimbra naturalists were not creating scientific value in relation to the ethnogenic programme around which the Portuguese field of ethnological studies was then organized. Instead, they shaped 'exotic' museum objects as scientifically relevant to the universalist purposes of anthropology as the comparative study of remote human races. And this, as we saw, was a dynamic field located outside of Portugal. Exotic skulls were especially valuable for French, British, or German anthropologists actively seeking to fill the gaps in the universal taxonomy of races. Thus, to possess a full series of 35 'Timorese crania' put Coimbra in a position to intervene at an international level. Furthermore, the collection was without international parallel. In the 1880s, despite the many thousands of indigenous skulls already transferred to Europe, only a few isolated specimens



Figure 15 The collection of crania at the Coimbra Anthropological Museum. The crania are currently displayed in a glass case in the museum storeroom. This is an area of restricted access. Every skull is catalogued with two numbering systems: the first, older, from 1 to 35 is inscribed on the right parietal; the second, of more recent date, is inscribed on the frontal in a sequence from 1310s to 1330s. The China-ink script on the right parietal of the human skull in the first plane reads: 'Nº 8. C.ção de Timor' (N. 8. Timor Collection). The crania continue to be used for teaching purposes at Coimbra, in particular to illustrate traumatic lesions. Photo by the author, 2004. With permission of MAUC.

from Dutch Timor were in the hands of craniologists. To the regret of leading French craniologists in 1884, no skulls from the Portuguese side of the island had been collected so far; for this reason, East Timor remained anthropologically 'unstudied'.¹²⁰ The West Timorese skulls then in existence were dispersed throughout different museums and could not be considered, on their own, a significant series. There was one skull at the Paris *Muséum d'Histoire Naturelle*, brought by Dumoutier in 1840; two other skulls at the Vrolik Museum, in Amsterdam, in 1865; and van der Hoeven eventually held another.¹²¹ In Britain, only the indefatigable Barnard Davis could claim possession of two Timorese crania gifted by his Dutch correspondents in Batavia, in the 1860s. Together with other skulls from the area, they formed part of one of his most prized sets, 'the finest collection of Indian Archipelagic skulls that ever reached the shores of England'.¹²² Upon purchase of Davis's collection in 1880, the Royal College of Surgeons came into possession of the two skulls, but many years would pass until another single specimen was added to the collections.¹²³ Further, as the next chapter will make clear, specimens of the Indonesian Archipelago were especially desired, since the

area became a main focus of ethnological discussion in the 1860s. Such a scientific interest caused speculative prices for the rarest skulls of the 'Indian Archipelago' in the world market of ethnological specimens.¹²⁴ Therefore, 'crania from the Timorese' in Coimbra indeed constituted a highly valuable addition to the anthropology section in which collections were so badly needed. All these 'anthropological objects' required was craniological expertise and craniometric instruments. Yet, this was not to be done by Henriques or other Coimbra professors. The anthropology of the skulls was the work of students, during the practical work classes of the new anthropology course.

The anthropology of the collection in the 'practical work' classes

Anthropological training at Coimbra was based on translating the experience with material things in the laboratory into texts. This was, too, part of 'practical work'. By 1885, the Timor collection constituted the main collection (and presumably the first) available for teaching and research in anthropology.¹²⁵ At that time, however, turning skulls into words was not the province of Coimbra professors. Henriques was a botanist, devoting his time to the botanical garden and collections; the Zoology professor, Geraldes, had a reputation in organic chemistry and conchology; and Machado was a spirited and enthusiastic lecturer but, apart from his notes on anthropology as an aid to teaching, never published anthropological researches.¹²⁶ Machado's growing involvement in politics, furthermore, caused long periods of absence. From 1885 to 1895 he was on constant leave, while various substitute lecturers ran the course in his place; their involvement with anthropology, too, was confined to teaching.¹²⁷ Collections were seen essentially as an aid to teaching. Research was delegated to students (Fig. 16).

In Coimbra, anthropological texts were the outcome of the practical work classes, and the authors were students reading for a degree in Natural Philosophy. In order to graduate in the anthropology course, students were required to write an original anthropological dissertation, supervised by the teacher and based on work done on the collections. In the early years, these dissertations consisted basically of craniometry texts. Only by 1901–02 did works on ethnographic objects and anthropometry *in vivo* begin to appear.¹²⁸ Because they were essentially for educational purposes, the students' dissertations normally had a limited internal circulation among students and teachers in the Faculty. In 1894, however, one of these texts was considered worthy of wider publicity and was published in *O Instituto*. The author was a graduate in Natural Philosophy, João Gualberto de Barros e Cunha, and the text was titled *News about a series of skulls from the Island of Timor held at the University Museum*.¹²⁹ This was to be the first and main anthropological study ever to appear on the Timor collection.¹³⁰ The publication represented recognition of scientific authority conferred on a former student, but also the scientific relevance that, at Coimbra, was attributed to the collection of Timorese crania. In the years to come, the article would circulate in various



Figure 16 A class of anthropology at the Faculty of Natural Philosophy of Coimbra University, c. 1895-96. From *Cem Anos de Antropologia em Coimbra* (Coimbra: Museu e Laboratório Antropológico, 1985), p. 17. With permission of MAUC.

reprints, with different dates. It first appeared as an extract from *O Instituto* dated 1895;¹³¹ then, as a chapter in the anthology *Class of Anthropology* of 1902, a selection of students' dissertations (mostly craniometry) set to signpost the 'high standards' of the anthropological knowledge produced by Coimbra graduates since 1885 in the classes supervised by Machado.¹³² Inside this volume, however, the text appeared with the date of 1885.¹³³ The article was finally to circulate as an extract from this anthology, but this time dated 1898.¹³⁴ The various reprints and dates, as the next chapter will show, would cause misunderstanding.

Born in Lisbon of an upper-class family headed by his father, an illustrious royalist politician, Cunha began reading for a degree in Natural Philosophy in 1881, which he completed with honours in 1885.¹³⁵ In that same year, Albino Geraldès, director of the Natural History Museum, 'invited' him and two other students, Aarão de Lacerda and Duarte Pereira da Silva, to study the Timor collection, at a time when 'the anthropological section of the museum was under organization'.¹³⁶ Cunha, Lacerda, and Silva made the craniometric measurements together, probably during the practical classes. However, for reasons unclear, Cunha alone prepared, wrote, and authored the paper, published under his name 9 years after the craniometry took place. Cunha's biography would become dramatically mingled with the

earliest of his works: the student dissertation on the Timorese crania. The text got him started in academia and made his name as an anthropologist. Yet, it later turned into a source of unrest in which much of his energies were spent.

The colonial collection and 'nation-building' anthropology

It is generally assumed that the discipline of anthropology came into its own as the study of non-European peoples and was embroiled in the power dynamics of Western colonialism. This assumption has achieved the status of universal truth from the empirical study of the British, North American, French, and German cases.¹³⁷ Yet, as recent sensitivity to the plurality of disciplinary developments in anthropology suggests, this hegemonic narrative needs to be critically decentred in relation to other 'histories of anthropology' within and outside of Europe, including the attention to political inequalities.¹³⁸ The history of anthropology in Portugal, of which this chapter has offered a glimpse, can provide evidence of such a plurality, in revealing how a discipline of foreign origins translated into a national genre of anthropology. Traditionally, Portuguese historians have identified the peculiarity of this 'translation' as resulting in a type of 'anthropology of nation-building', to use the rigid analytical category advanced by George Stocking.¹³⁹ From this perspective, in the nineteenth century, the Portuguese scholars were so exclusively concerned with research 'at home' that 'empire-building' research simply disappeared from the history of Portuguese anthropology. However, as a previous work revealed, this is a misleading disciplinary view.¹⁴⁰ The reduction of Portuguese anthropology to 'nation-building' must be revised in the face of the rich variety of knowledge practices of anthropology then actively pursued by imperial agents on the spot (military, missionaries, or medical doctors), in the Portuguese colonies. In this view, the 'Portuguese people' might be the central object of metropolitan research in the late nineteenth century, while, parallel to it a lively field of anthropological knowledge about the colonies was also active. The issue, then, is not whether 'Portuguese anthropology' belongs to either one category or the other but how it could contain both projects of knowledge, and how they could become contingently connected. For, in Portugal, the anthropology of nation-building coexisted with empire-building anthropologies. This chapter has kept to this important point. It has called attention to the metropolitan focus of Portuguese anthropology in the 1860s-80s as regards the research on skulls and the races of men. However, it has also expanded on the notion of 'coexistence' between 'empire' and 'nation' types of anthropologies in a discussion of scientific collections. The analysis has brought to light the process through which a metropolitan-oriented anthropology came to be inhabited, at its very heart, by an anthropological collection of colonial skulls. In now concluding, it is

to the complexities of this coexistence and the effects this colonial collection could have for anthropology that I would like to draw attention.

In Portugal, the culture of anthropology and the value of the skull as anthropological object came into being as a process of replication of discussions, instruments, theories, and disciplinary models developed in other countries, especially France. An evolutionary narrative supported the attempts of scholars to align Portugal with scientific development taking place in France. Such an evolutionary concurrence looked momentarily real at the Lisbon congress of 1880, but soon this impression would fade out. Transnational connections made anthropology in Portugal possible, but replication also meant inventive translation. Until 1880, archaeology and prehistoric anthropology provided the dynamic framework for anthropological studies on human skulls in Portugal. This was in harmony with international concern with the 'antiquity of man' in Europe. Yet, the Portuguese mechanism for translating scientific models tended to privilege the incorporation of those elements that could serve the discussion of the leitmotif of the intellectual community: the problem of national ethnogeny. Portuguese populations alone seemed to concern the metropolitan researchers. Therefore, some key directions of anthropological research in France, Germany, or Britain looked totally or partially excluded, or received little attention, the most important being the universal taxonomic project of studying the 'savage' populations of colonial territories. Empirical anthropology in Portugal was being configured as a metropolitan system of knowledge in which universal or colonial elements sounded strange, like an intrusion. In contrast with French, British, and German anthropologists who by 1880 had assembled vast numbers of skulls for mapping human races, researchers in Portugal did not gather skulls of 'different races'. The exception, a collection of Timorese skulls, arrived unexpectedly from Macao in 1882. How this 'exception' came to be included in a field apparently orientated towards different research concerns is an issue worth considering.

The Timorese collection seemed to prefigure an unplanned interference with the 'nation-building' order of Portuguese anthropology. Yet, this interference could be accommodated rather than rejected, though apparently dissonant with core local interests. The previous chapter has already alluded to the 'unexpected' and uncalculated character of this collection. Skulls were circumstantial in Macao's commercial consignment, and neither Lisbon nor Coimbra requested such things for museums. However strange the collection was, it was tactically incorporated both in Macao and Coimbra. The lack of an explicit demand or a strategic calculation did not prevent the collection from being part of the consignments to Portugal, nor of it being willingly incorporated by Coimbra academics. In effect, the design of the skulls' trajectory might here be interpreted as a chain of tactical movement, the 'art of transforming events into occasions', in Michel de Certeau's terms.¹⁴¹ The trajectory took shape because agents in Macao and

Coimbra 'seized the opportunity', converting 'originally strange elements'—the human skulls—into meaningful constituents of museum collections.¹⁴² The Faculty of Natural Philosophy offered fertile ground for transforming that surprising 'event' into a profitable anthropological 'occasion'. Coimbra academics did not ask for skulls. They were nonetheless in a position to welcome them as anthropological objects. They took good note of the rising of anthropology in Europe, and struggled to turn anthropology into an independent course at the university. Coimbra scholars supposed that skulls were objects of anthropology and embodiments of races before the collection got to the university. Further, in a context in which collections were desired to reform teaching and research in natural sciences, the agents at Coimbra turned the skulls into a key piece in the launching of a new course. Both Macao and Coimbra, then, incorporated the collection of skulls despite its circumstantial nature. However, they pursued dissimilar epistemic tactics of transforming the event into an opportunity. If Macao doomed the circumstance to silence, Coimbra worded the event.

In moving from Macao to Europe, we have moved along an epistemic shift in the trajectory of the collection. The Côte-Real Committee thought the objectivity of the skulls resided in its dissociation from information. As a result, the skulls were sent with their 'histories' missing. In contrast, at Coimbra the scientific value of skulls depended on shaping anthropological objectivity by means of new and more attachments of skulls to words. This required the rearrangement of the links between skulls and information in the museum collection. To start with, importantly, this rearrangement was intended to reconstitute for the skulls a miniature historiography where no 'histories' and no archive existed. Two main aspects in this invention of 'history' at Coimbra deserved attention: firstly, the attachment of the donor's name to the objects as form of authentication; secondly, the attribution of a stable and homogeneous ethnic identity to all the skulls, which presumed equivalence between geographical origin and ethnic category. In incorporating the skulls as 'Timorese crania', Coimbra defined for the collection a particular scientific value that was not in tune with the value skulls normally had in the Portuguese community. The incorporation of the collection as representative of a 'savage' race, then, did not conform to the ethnogenic concerns of national scholars. Instead, it answered the universalist preoccupations central to the community of scholars in France, Britain, or Germany. Therefore, the 'Timorese collection' was not yet expressing the nationalist 'colonial anthropology' that was to take shape 40 or 50 years later in Portugal, as the next chapter will show. In the early 1880s, in assuming the collection to be the crania of indigenous Timorese, the Coimbra scholars envisaged alignment with the global programme of anthropology as it developed outside of Portugal.

Potentially, such incorporation of skulls could be of wider consequences. In assuming that the 35 skulls belonged to 'natives' from the island of Timor,

the Coimbra scholars put themselves in a position to interfere with both the state of metropolitan anthropology in Portugal and the state of universalist ethnology outside of the country. A collection of 'Timorese crania' was eventful because it was unique by international and national standards. In the national scene, it was the first collection of human remains of 'savages' from the Portuguese colonies to ever reach the hands of metropolitan scholars. It could bring about a change in the scope of national investigations, extending their object to a colonial or universal type of anthropology. A circumstantial colonial collection held by a 'modest' museum on the periphery of the international community could, at one stroke, interrupt the ethnogenic focus of Portuguese metropolitan anthropology and contribute to international debate on the ethnology of the Indonesian Archipelago. In Portugal and abroad, the Timorese skulls could perhaps make a difference. Initially, the Faculty seemed to intend this double interference to occur. As collections from Macao and Timor arrived in great number, the prospect of developing the universal dimension of the anthropological programme at Coimbra might have been on the table. The academics' interest in giving privileged visibility to Barros e Cunha's practical work on the Timor collection exemplifies how seriously such a course of action was considered. In effect, it was not just a named donor and an ethnic marker the Coimbra scholars attached to the skulls. They continued the process of rearranging the semantic networks of the collection by taking it to the laboratory for measurement and study by the students. From the materials, an anthropological dissertation about the races of Timor was produced. With the new text associated with the collection, the 'Timorese crania' were made to stand for a particular classification of Timorese races. How the anthropological text was received in reality will be seen in the next chapter. It is to the debate on the classification of the Timorese races and the controversy on the Coimbra collection that we now turn.

6

Histories and Classification in Timorese Anthropology

The preceding chapters have analysed the epistemic trajectory of the Coimbra collection by focusing on the connections between things and words. This chapter continues this analysis. At Macao, as we saw, practices of classification and description oriented to a commercial framework divorced the human skulls from texts and information. This separation between words and things attested to the absence of historiographical work. Skulls without 'history' were, therefore, received at Coimbra Museum. At Coimbra, skulls and words were reconciled, but Macao's missing historical information was not recovered. The scholars presumed the indigenous identity of the skulls. Anthropology's coming of age as a scientific discipline at the university paved the way for studying the skulls as evidence of the human races. A student at Coimbra, Barros e Cunha, produced a craniological text about the collection. The purpose was to classify the races of Timor. Consequently, the location of the skulls doubled. Physically, they inhabited the Coimbra museum storerooms, while, epistemically, they found their place in the scientific text enveloped in anthropological language. Therefore, it is the circulation of this text that we must now principally follow, if we are to understand further epistemic developments in the collection.

The complexity and contingency of holding together a collection of human skulls and a classification of human races form the centre of this chapter. It brings new insights into how historical stories and anthropological classification might come together in knowledge practices. The hypothesis is that the epistemic space of museum anthropology is animated by a dynamic interaction between anthropological classification and historical narration. The intention is to demonstrate that classification is dependent on the narrative practices of ordering of the type we have described in Chapter 4 as 'miniature historiography'. This chapter views the construction of anthropological 'orderings of races' as contingent patterns of interaction between higher-order forms of knowledge (taxonomic tables, for example) and other, 'micro', forms of knowledge that seem to lie on the margins or be hidden in the small scale of textual artefacts. In anthropology,

the articulation between human skulls and races is situated in classificatory arrangements as well as in stories. Hence if there is a form of knowledge to which the anthropology based on human crania must be historically related, it is the narration of the biography of things as practiced by the historical actors themselves.

This argument is developed in three sections. It is first analysed how Timor was reconfigured as an object of ethno-geographic classification by the mid-nineteenth century. This section demonstrates how scholars in Britain and France reworked imageries of savagery and blackness associated with the mountain tribes for ordering the virtually unclassifiable condition of Timorese mixed populations. The main issues of this international debate regarding Wallace's ethnological line and the 'black race' of the Timorese formed the context of Barros e Cunha's anthropological study. This context is also important for reasons explored later in Chapter 7. We will see, then, how the collecting of skulls in the 1870s by missionaries in Timor was informed by the main tenets of these anthropological views. The next section explores how Barros e Cunha worked out a Papuan classification for the Timorese population. The focus is on the internal economy of the text, with a view to demonstrating that the entity 'Papuan race' resulted from the interaction between craniometric comparison, anatomical description, and ethnographic narration. The third section shifts focus from the text to its circulation. It examines in detail the debate on Timorese ethnology and the authenticity of the collection that brought the text to life in Portugal, in the early-twentieth century. The skulls and their missing history stood at the centre of a dispute about the classification of the inhabitants of Portuguese Timor as either Malays or Papuans. This section offers a reassessment of the place of object narrations in museum collections and anthropological science. The intention is to illuminate the close nexus between classification and historiography, examining the different forms of interaction between race classifying and story telling in the course of an anthropological controversy. In developing the arguments of Michel Foucault's *The Order of Things*, the chapter concludes with a reflection on the importance of integrating the small narratives of the history of objects into the history of anthropology. It is suggested that interactions between stories and the 'order of things' are central to the conditions of possibility of anthropological classification.

Timor and the ethnological line

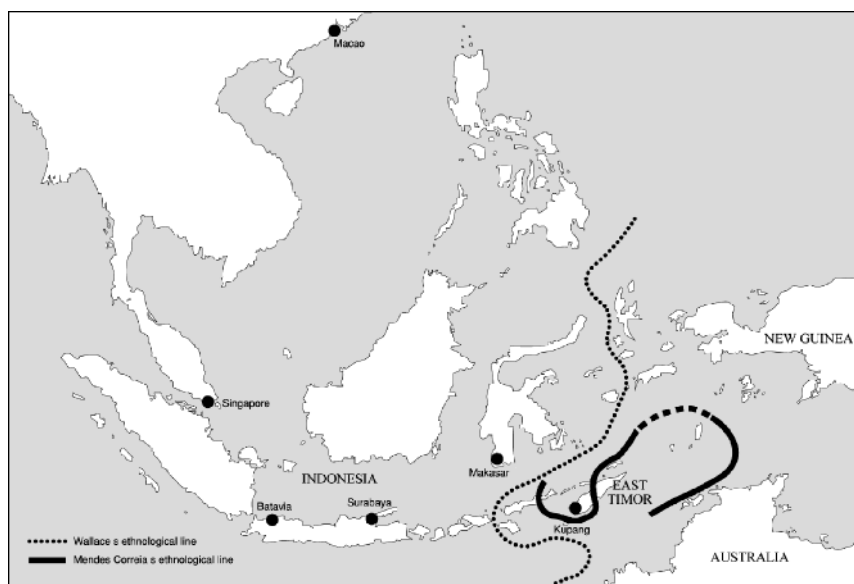
One of the more influential ethnological observations about the island of Timor was made by the British naturalist, Alfred Russell Wallace, in a series of articles and finally in his widely acclaimed book *The Malay Archipelago* of 1869.¹ Wallace's original theorizing of evolution by natural selection earned him fame next to Darwin, and his biogeographical arguments made no less contemporary impact.² Wallace divided the then called 'Indian', or 'Malay',

Archipelago into two distinct biogeographical zones, the Indo-Malayan and the Austro-Malayan.³ A boundary line inscribed on the map gave visual expression to this concept. 'Wallace's Line', as it became known, concerned the natural history of plants and animals. But Wallace inscribed another similar line on the map. This was an ethnological boundary that organized the natural history of humans across the archipelago. Wallace's ethnological line merged anthropological and geographical investigation, a merging considered at that time of 'the first importance' in accounting for 'aboriginal races'.⁴ At stake were distributions in space as well as in time.⁵ Classifying a region as 'Papuan', for instance, constituted a historical statement on the character of its primitive representatives and the 'ethnic origins' of the population. It expressed the essential continuity of race characters between the 'ancient' inhabitants in the past and the living populations in the present, despite accidental ethnic intermixtures throughout history.

Wallace's ethnological line—very close to though not absolutely congruent with his biogeographical boundary—cut the archipelago into two halves corresponding to two distinct natural divisions of mankind: 'the *Malays* who inhabit almost exclusively the western half of the archipelago and the *Papuans* whose head-quarters are New Guinea and some of the adjacent islands'⁶ (Map 2). This clear-cut division admitted sub-categories as well as 'tribes intermediate in their chief characteristics'.⁷ The nearer one geographically stood to the Malay-Papuan boundary 'intermigration and commixture' was expected to have 'taken place'.⁸ However, Wallace's conviction of the possibility of a sharp dichotomous classification overtook any possible ambivalence.⁹ Regardless of mixtures, tribes could always be 'generally referred to as modifications of one or the other' of those two radically opposed 'primary races'.¹⁰ The mixed peoples of Timor, close to the 'line of junction', were no exception.

The ethnological line crucially organized an emerging discussion on the anthropology of Timor. The island was placed on the eastern, Papuan, side of the ethnological map. Concerning plants and animals, it seemed to Wallace ambivalently related both to Java and Australia; yet hypothetical primeval proximity to the latter seemed to justify Austro-Malayan affiliation.¹¹ Ethnologically, similar ambivalence appeared. Because of its positioning near the 'line of junction', Timor's inhabitants could display a stronger 'mixture' of characteristics of the two races.¹² Nevertheless, Wallace concluded that the Timorese—middle stature, 'dusky brown or blackish, with bushy frizzled hair, and the long Papuan nose'—were beyond any doubt 'much nearer to the true Papuan'.¹³

Wallace's clear-cut Malay-Papuan divide had significant implications on preceding classificatory arrangements of Timor. On the one hand, it displaced the island from a Malayan to a Papuan position; on the other, it offered an unambiguous categorization of Timor's 'mixed' races. Conventionally, ethnologists of the first half of the century followed von



Map 2 Southeast Asia and the ethnological lines proposed by Alfred Russell Wallace and António Mendes Correia.

Humboldt's demarcation of a common 'Malayo-Polynesian' region, and affiliated the Timorese with the all-embracing Malayan racial type suggested by Blumenbach.¹⁴ Remarkable similarities between Malay and Polynesian languages, along with the widespread use of Malay throughout the archipelago, supported the argument that the Asiatic and Pacific peoples descended from similar racial stock; physical differences signified but 'modifications of one type'.¹⁵ In the late eighteenth century, Blumenbach authoritatively incorporated this philological argument into his demarcation of the 'Malay race', a physical anthropological category encompassing the Indonesian archipelago and the Pacific.¹⁶ Nevertheless, until the mid-nineteenth century this tendency to Malayan affiliation coexisted with the conviction that the Timorese represented some sort of 'juxtaposition', 'fusion', or 'mixture' of Asiatic and Pacific races. There were difficulties in securing Timor's connection to the Malayan race, whilst accepting a condition of ambivalence.¹⁷ The 'mixed' complexion of the inhabitants resisted clear categorization. Outstanding variety seemed to be the only ethnological certainty, and in fact some—notably the British ethnologist G. W. Earl—inclined to consider the people virtually irreducible to existing race categories.¹⁸ Wallace's ethnological line seemed to clarify this disorder. In positioning Timor near the line of junction, he acknowledged a state of 'commixture', but, in dissociating the island

from the Malayan type, provided an alternative and unequivocal Papuan classification.

Yet, to consider the inhabitants of Timor as essentially of black race (such as the Papuan) was not that new. Most ethnologists then assumed that 'savage' black tribes of mountaineers offered the solution for the ethnic origins of the islanders. In effect, Wallace's classification of Timor seemed to build less on direct eye-observations than on a persistent imagery of the primitive islanders as dark coloured savages dwelling on the mountains. Locally, around Dili, negative stereotypes of the mountaineers prevailed among the colonial circles with which Wallace possibly made contact.¹⁹ Though he spent most of his time around Dili and Kupang, Wallace's classification relied selectively upon his impression of the 'mountaineers'.²⁰ His Papuan race fits exclusively into his description of the mountain tribes, whose primitiveness, savagery, hostile dispositions, and dark colour he opposed to the either Malayan or mixed character of coastal peoples. On the mountains alone, he remarked, dwelled 'a people of Papuan type'—'rather slender forms, bushy frizzled hair, and the skin of a dusky brown colour', 'said to be great thieves', 'always at war with each other'. Wallace, however, went just briefly to Baliba [*sic*] 'four miles off [Dili] on the mountains'²¹ (Fig. 17).

The Timorese were of Papuan race because the tribes of the mountainous interior displayed Papuan physical and moral characters. In effect, Wallace's classification sprang from long-standing anthropological constructs. The imagery was rooted in a lasting dual indigenous view found throughout the archipelago: the *hulu* (upstream) and *hilir* (downstream) division, upon which relationships between coastal and mountain peoples were widely organized. From the coastal perspective, negative imageries of otherness embodied in *hulu* mountain tribes. These indigenous categories and European ethnic classifications had been converging since an early date. By the early modern period, the view entrenched in European travel literature as an opposition between the civilized lowland peoples, the 'Bugis', and the upland tribes, the 'Alfouros', of negroid characters and monstrous customs, such as anthropophagy and headhunting.²² The dichotomy then moved from travel literature to racial classification, offering not just a way of differentiating 'black' from 'yellow' races, but also different types of blacks.²³

Timor came to life in European literature embedded in this imagery. Even those, prior to or contrary to Wallace, who had included Timor in Malayan categories, conceded that somewhere on the mountainous interior dwelled a primitive black people of 'savage' customs, among whom representatives of the ancient inhabitants could be found. Black races and savage mountaineers dominated the European anthropological imagination of the island. Physical characters (for example, black colour, frizzled hair, and so on) appeared in association with social and moral attributes of barbarity (hunter-gathering, headhunting, taboo superstitions, and so on), as well as a timeless primitivism that made the mountaineers the obvious



Figure 17 Wallace's depiction of 'Timor men' illustrated his view of their Papuan physical characters: dark-colour, frizzled hair, and slender forms. From Alfred Russel Wallace, *The Malay Archipelago* (London, 1869, reprint New York: Dover, 1962), p. 150.

object of historical considerations on the island's ethnic origins. For the accuracy of this assertion, ethnologists typically relied on a few European travel accounts, apparently mentioning ferocious and primitive black populations in Timor.²⁴ Important for perpetuating this imagery in the following decades, for instance, was the classification of the Timorese races offered by

the French naturalist François Péron, who, after a stay in Kupang in 1801, stressed the existence of savage tribes of frizzled hair and black colour in the interior, while considering coastal mixtures unimportant.²⁵

By the time Wallace put Timor on the black side of the line, therefore, the imagery of the Timorese aborigines as savage mountaineers was entrenched in ethnological literature. In a wider sense, the study of the mountains' 'black races' was established as the driving force of anthropological research in the Indonesian Archipelago. Attempts to classify the inhabitants of the archipelago concentrated attention on the distribution and diversity of the 'Oceanic' or 'Oriental Negroes', taking for granted that they represented the 'original' inhabitants. The importance of studying the Papuans and their distribution increased in this context. The category 'Papuan' or 'Papua' was widely applied as general designation for the 'Oriental Negroes'.²⁶ It was conventional to assume that it had originated from the Malay term *papuwah* (meaning 'frizzled'), applied by Malays to refer to the woolly haired people of the islands, a physical peculiarity which ethnologists took on as a distinctive character of the Papuan race.²⁷ European explorations of the Pacific in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries solidified this imagery, distinguishing the Papuans, a savage black race, from the more civilized brown Polynesians as well as from the Australians, along a Melanesia/Polynesia ethno-geographic divide.²⁸ Conventional wisdom amongst ethnologists was also the idea that the Papuans had spread out by migration from their homeland in the great island of New Guinea. Once upon a time 'small tribes' of Papuans migrated eastwards, settling widely across the islands of the Indonesian Archipelago.²⁹ The details of this distribution were unknown, but it seemed likely that Papuan migrants had settled in Timor.³⁰ By the 1870s, the idea that Timor's ethnic origins ought ultimately to be sought in the mountainous interior received further credence from the work of the French anthropologists, A. de Quatrefages and E. T. Hamy, particularly from their widely acclaimed *Crania ethnica* of 1882.³¹ The Papuan influence in Timor, 'under the guise of mixed populations [with Malayo-Polynesian traces], in which Papuan blood predominates', they believed, was an 'irrefutable' fact.³² However, the French anthropologists engaged critically with Wallace's ethnological line, contesting its positioning with regard to Timor.³³ For, rather than just Papuans, the ancient inhabitants of Timor ought to be reclassified as representatives of the two '*racés noirs* of Melanesia': the Papuans and the Negritos, the *petits noirs* of Malaysia and Melanesia.³⁴ For this reason, Hamy had concluded in 1874 that it was necessary to redraw the ethno-geography of the archipelago and place Timor right on the ethnological line.³⁵

The Negrito hypothesis kept the primacy of black races and mountain tribes intact in ethnological research. It also revealed the relevance of Timor for the ethno-geographic discussions of the Indonesian archipelago. Yet, it added complexity to a debate in which the scholars appeared unable to unite around a consensual classification. The Timorese constituted a

problematic 'mixed race' that defied and resisted classification. In the face of ethnic mixture, for example, some looked inclined to more nuanced and less straightforward divisions. The British naturalist Henry Forbes, after a stay in Dili and its surroundings in 1882, confessed himself 'quite unable to say to what race [the Timorese] belong'.³⁶ Nevertheless, by the 1880s, ethnologists in the wake of Wallace no longer regarded Timor as Malayan. In Britain, Blumenbach's Malay type, seen as 'a strange conglomeration of the then little known Australian, Papuan, and true Malay types', had fallen into disregard.³⁷ Timor was admitted fully within the Papuan category, even if an ambiguous imagery of 'mixture' prevailed, or the Negrito thesis threatened to bring the island closer to Asia.³⁸ The main British and French anthropologists could disagree about the precise location of the ethnological boundary, or prefer different anthropo-geographic classifications and terminologies.³⁹ However, they at least accepted that anyone who intended to make a point on Timorese anthropology ought to assume that the primitive inhabitants of the island were to be found somewhere on the mountains, among dark coloured tribes.

Stereotypes of savagery and otherness supported a view of the Timorese as essentially of black race and many believed that the island's ethnic confusion could be sorted out by classifying the mountain tribes. In this context, it mattered little that Malayan or Indonesian traits figured in the anthropological descriptions. These were deemed less relevant. It also mattered little whether evidence concerned Dutch, or Portuguese Timor. The ethno-geographical object for classification was the island and its inhabitants as a whole, not the European colonial territories. In effect, the most relevant geographical demarcation for deciding the anthropological classification of Timor was the internal opposition between coast and mountains. The ethnological divide and the political boundaries followed separate lives—something which was to change in the Portuguese debate. Chapter 7 will show how this anthropological imagery informed collecting practices in Timor, shaping the early moments of the collection's epistemic trajectory. This chapter now turns attention to how this set of assumptions on the ethnology of Timor was worked out by Barros e Cunha. The following section analyses the relationships between the different forms of knowledge, which, at the scale of the anthropological text, enabled the classification of the Timorese skulls as 'Papuan'.

The anthropological text

Barros e Cunha's anthropological piece drew exclusively on British and French works. Not a single national text on Timorese ethnology was mentioned, in part because none existed, but also because Cunha's strategy of scientific authority relied on the 'modernity' of international works, and on a view of the knowledge of colonial agents on the spot as hierarchically

inferior to that of university practitioners of anthropology.⁴⁰ The crania of Timor at the Coimbra Museum were presented as evidence 'worthy of special attention' for audiences outside the national community.⁴¹ Cunha inherited the underlining assumptions of the debate centred on Wallace's ethnological line. He was committed to the project of devising a clear anthropogeographic classification of the Timorese, despite ethnic confusion.⁴² By the same token, he considered the Malay influence of minor relevance, and presumed the primacy of the 'savage' black races of mountaineers in the ethnogenesis of Timor. In the text, Cunha put these elements in motion through a combination of craniometrical classification, anatomical description, and ethnographic narration. Craniometry, anatomy, and narrative held together to support one anthropological argument: the classification of the Timorese as Papuans. Let us see how these forms of knowledge were brought into contact, paying special attention to the role of Cunha's ethnographic story.

The homogeneity of the collection was the first condition for craniometry. Regarding age, Cunha took the majority of the craniums to be 'old', 'adult', or 'mature'.⁴³ Yet, out of the original 35, only 28 male skulls were included for craniometrical study. In order to produce a homogeneous 'series' appropriate for statistical average analysis, Cunha cautiously considered the exclusion of one female skull and six 'uncertain' in terms of sex.⁴⁴ Male skulls alone sufficed as a basis for accurate race classification. Cunha eventually evoked a prevailing gender divide in comparative anatomy that presumed skulls more appropriate to male-racial differentiation.⁴⁵ Having constituted a 'series', Cunha provided statistical averages regarding the standard craniometric measurements. Cephalic, facial, and nasal indexes, as well as an extensive sequence of other measurements, were visually displayed on comparative lists and tables. Significantly, side by side with his own results, Cunha presented the craniometrical data published by Quatrefages and Hamy for the skulls of Malayan, Polynesian, Papuan, and Negrito races.⁴⁶ However, Cunha was trying to prove the skulls belonged to the Papuan race. A special list was displayed for the purpose of demonstrating one-to-one proximity between the averages of the Coimbra collection and the averages of *Crania ethnica's* 'New Guinea Papuans'.⁴⁷ 'Contradictions between different important indexes', he remarked, 'proved that we are effectively before a mixed race'.⁴⁸ Yet so distant were the Coimbra averages from *Crania ethnica's* Malays and Polynesians, and so close were they to Papuans that: 'We can with confidence conclude that, although there is in Timor the mixture of many races, the Papuan element enormously predominates above all the others, at least in the Portuguese side of the island.'⁴⁹ This was a strong assertion in support of a Papuan classification of Timor. It especially supported Wallace's ethnological line.

Cunha's classification also depended on associating the collection with a specific ethnographic narration that allowed a particular colonial past to be

imagined for the skulls. Craniometrically, he did not take all standard measurements into account. Anatomical observation revealed that 'almost all the skulls' evidenced a 'great lack of substance at the basis', and thus measurements involving the *basion* could not be taken.⁵⁰ The physicality of the skulls hindered complete craniometrical description, but it also paved the way for inferences on the history of the collection. To make connections between the ethnography and anatomy was an important form of reasoning in physical anthropology. It worked as a methodological premise for distinguishing 'natural' from 'artificial' characteristics in the bones. Cunha was in this respect fully within the terms of scientific craniology. In his opinion, such an anatomical particularity resulted 'evidently' from 'blows caused by an edged instrument, blows that in general seem to have come from right to left, and from back to front.'⁵¹ Further, he linked this anatomical particularity with a specific ethnographic explanation. 'The explanation for these blows', he asserted, 'can be found in one of Mr. Forbes's observations in his book', *A Naturalist's Wanderings in the Eastern Archipelago*.⁵² Cunha then mentioned Forbes's description of how a Timorese warrior proceeded to the ritual decapitation of an enemy. After having spoken out his name and asked the name of the victim, he cut the head off, brought it home, removed the brain, and dried its skin and flesh before a fire. Forbes's account also explained another particularity of 'many of the crania', that is, 'the black, smoky, layer covering the[ir] interior.'⁵³ Taken together, these observations led Cunha to conclude that the skulls were the historical product of Timorese 'savage' headhunting rites, in the course of wars among indigenous people:

The crania at the museum come obviously from battlefields. Nevertheless we were forced to consider one as doubtless feminine and six as *uncertain*. This should come as no surprise: the Timorese are cruel and coward and they make war the savage way, taking the villages by surprise, whenever they can, and killing all the inhabitants regardless of sex, or age.⁵⁴

In telling an ethnographic story, Cunha attached a possible colonial past to the collection. To indicate 'Timor' as provenance for the skulls could perhaps suffice for general ethno-geographic considerations, but it was of little help for addressing the major ethnological issue of the island: the opposition between coast and mountains. Did the skulls come from the mountains? Cunha could not tell. Yet, he tried to compensate for the absence of historical information by offering an ethnography that, at a stroke, associated the skulls with the anthropological imagery of the 'savagery' of the mountaineers, and created a historical past for the collection. 'Battlefields' were the site of collecting, and indigenous headhunting the cause of violence. Cunha's story also reinforced the presupposition about the indigenous identity of the crania, established at Coimbra in the 1880s. Timorese skulls bore

the marks of the violence of Timorese sword blows. They were indigenous bones and indigenous headhunting artefacts, purified of European intervention. Widespread stereotypes of savagery echoed in Cunha's account. Yet, his confident declaration of the 'cruelty', 'cowardice', and otherness of headhunting in East Timor likely derived from his reliance on the authority of Forbes, whose ethnography was deeply embedded in the moralizing dichotomies of the headhunting stereotype. In Forbes's book, a passage strikingly similar to the one quoted above describes the indiscriminate killing and decapitation of men, women, and children as a Timorese war custom.⁵⁵ For Forbes, indigenous only were the agents and the victims of ritual decapitation in Timor. He explained headhunting as a war custom 'practiced among the Timorese', simply obliterating the Europeans from the dynamic of Timorese ritual warfare.⁵⁶

Nevertheless, this ethnography explained but part of the skulls' physicality. It built on the recognition of a causal linkage only between traumas at the skulls' *basion* and Timorese rites of decapitation during war. A fixation with headhunting overlooked another trauma: the holes visible in many of the crania, suggesting 'perforation' by 'a lead shot'.⁵⁷ Cunha did not interrogate why or how they should be there. Shots on the head did not fit into the ethnographic imagery of indigenous headhunting. For that particular, Forbes's account of Timorese customs provided no ethnographic answer, though probably Timorese warriors alone—the *arraiais* included—used flint rifles by the 1880s.⁵⁸ To hold together ethnographic narration, anatomical description, craniometry, and finally racial classification, contradictory or unexplainable anatomical features had to be ignored. The skulls seemed to authorize Cunha to classify the Timorese as Papuans. But for this classification to be possible, only certain ethnographic stories could be told. A particular past had to remain attached to the collection—a past without Portuguese agency and without Portuguese victims, fully organized around the barbaric otherness of Timorese ritual decapitation. Specific stories interacted with specific anthropological classifications. We will return to this point in the next section.

Cunha's study, however, made no impact on the contemporary international debate. This at least is the conclusion drawn from the silence that surrounded the study in British or French circles in the years to come. It is likely that, as trajectories of similar texts in this period indicate, the Portuguese idiom of the text, the local, provincial, character of journals such as Coimbra's *O Instituto*, and peripheral origins as regards the world centres of anthropology conspired to assure little visibility and limited international circulation of the paper.⁵⁹ Furthermore, the prestige of craniometry began to decline by the 1890s. At the turn of the twentieth century, growing disbelief in the historical fixity of skull form, the challenge of Mendelian theories, and difficulties in sorting out clear racial taxonomies in the face of the general 'miscegenation' of human populations seemed to drag the anthropological

project centred on the skull into a dead end. By the 1900s, studies of crania in museum collections had become outdated.⁶⁰ In the Anglo-Saxon and French anthropological traditions, the retreat of craniometry was reinforced by a growing distrust in the traditional vocabulary of physical anthropology, as opposed to the 'scientific racism' in Germany that gained pace between the world wars.⁶¹

At Coimbra, however, the text turned into a benchmark of Barros e Cunha's reputation as anthropologist. In 1905, Cunha began a university career as Demonstrator of Zoology and Anthropology at the Faculty of Natural Philosophy, at the same time holding a job as High School teacher in Coimbra.⁶² But he did not publish on Timorese ethnology after his student days. He spent his time at the university following devotedly the French-style anthropology in which he was trained as a student, becoming the authority in the ethnological study of human crania at Coimbra. Yet, he let pass important critical references to his work by other Portuguese scholars. In fact, though the original context of the debate was international, the text was to follow a national career. This did not occur immediately after publication. The Portuguese anthropological community took two decades to seriously interact with Cunha's study.⁶³ A main reason, perhaps, for such a long period of hibernation, was the distance of the work from the then central preoccupations of Portuguese anthropology. By the time the article came out, the ethno-geography of the Indonesian Archipelago was not a Portuguese discussion by any means. The study of 'the Portuguese people' concentrated attention and the work seemed not to attract the interest of the national community. By the 1910s, though, these conditions began a process of change. 'Colonial anthropology' was coming into its own, and as national anthropologists started looking to the colonies, the debate on Timor and the ethnological line settled in Portugal. The next section examines how the interactions between historiography and classification came to the fore in the trajectory of the text. In the national debate Cunha's ethnographic story would not be enough to secure the scientific classification a safe future. It is to the ensuing controversy on the authenticity of the collection that we now turn.

The legend of Cová

The first reference to Cunha's paper appeared in an article of 1916 that discussed the anthropology of Okussi-Ambeno, a Portuguese enclave in West Timor.⁶⁴ The author, Prof. António Mendes Correia, was an important scientific authority. Head of the new course in Anthropology created in 1911 at the University of Porto, Correia was on the path to become the leading Portuguese anthropologist of the first half of the twentieth century. Still loyal to the lines of the French naturalist paradigm, Correia's anthropology was marked as much by a lack of confidence on craniometry as by the belief in

the power of anthropometry *in vivo* to revitalize the taxonomic project.⁶⁵ Two articles on Timor, accompanied by two other papers on Angola, signalled this move.⁶⁶ They also constituted the point of departure for his intention to institutionalize a research field of 'colonial anthropology' in Portugal, which expressed Correia's ideological view of anthropology as a science at the service of the Portuguese empire.⁶⁷ This represented a shift in the traditional metropolitan focus of the national community, and was also different from the universalism of French anthropology. Because colonial anthropology should contribute to empire-building, its object of knowledge was simply the 'natives' inhabiting the colonies under Portuguese rule.

Mendes Correia set the tone for the coming discussion on Cunha's work. He acknowledged the earlier international discussions, but did not get inspiration from the same literature that had laid the ground for Cunha's assertions.⁶⁸ His main reference was the anthropometric research of the Dutch anthropologist Ten Kate, conducted in the West and centre of Timor, in the 1890s.⁶⁹ For Ten Kate, it was possible to say that the Papuan, 'black element', predominated in West Timor among the *Atoni*, whereas the Malayan, 'yellow element', prevailed in the Centre, among the so-called *Belos* (or *Ema-Belos*), designation commonly applied by anthropologists to generally designate the inhabitants of East Timor.⁷⁰ Correia appropriated Ten Kate's argument to contest the idea 'that a Papuan type' was 'dominant all across the island'; he defended that 'in both territories, types of principally Malay origin prevail.'⁷¹ Mendes Correia would further add to this fundamental belief on the predominance of the Malay race an ethnological division: the Malayan type dominated in Portuguese Timor, and negroid races prevailed in the Dutch side.⁷² This absolutely diverged from Cunha's argument. Nevertheless, instead of going openly against Cunha, Correia simply discredited him on historiographical grounds: 'I did not find', he remarked, 'in Mr. Barros e Cunha's study, indication of whereabouts in the island the crania were collected.'⁷³ For Correia, Cunha's ethnographic story offered inappropriate knowledge about the provenance and past of the skulls for securing his anthropological classification. Now that the Papuan and Malay races were to be disputed within the island, clearer geographic provenance should urgently be specified. In that short sentence, indeed, Correia hit on Cunha's weak point: the history of the collection. This weakness was to be explored by the colonial military, soon to enter the anthropological debate with surprising historiographical revelations.

The Coimbra collection and the story of the 'massacre' of Cová in 1895

If Mendes Correia shed suspicion on the validity of Cunha's argument, a few years later major Leite de Magalhães, a former colonial officer in Timor, turned that suspicion into devastating distrust.⁷⁴ In 1919, based on his philological researches in Timor, Magalhães gave a talk on the ethnology

of the island before the Portuguese Society of Anthropology and Ethnology (SPAЕ).⁷⁵ The SPAЕ was then the institutional face of Correia's 'colonial anthropology'. Magalhães's talk was 'much appreciated' and 'justly praised' by Correia, to whose friendship and encouragement Magalhães owed the possibility of presenting his findings.⁷⁶ In effect, the academic had good reasons for welcoming the military's contribution.

Two main points united Magalhães and Correia: one was the Malayan thesis; the other the election of 'Portuguese Timor' as object of analysis. Firstly, both believed that the ethnic origins of Timor were Malayan—not Papuan nor negroid—and it was as Malay or Indonesian race that the East Timorese should be classified.⁷⁷ It is true that experienced colonial observers like Governor Celestino da Silva bluntly rejected Timor's affiliation with the Malayan race as 'ethnogenic heresy', defending that 'the black-oceanic type, aboriginal, is predominant'; most inhabitants belonged to the "*Papuan*" type'.⁷⁸ Yet, in stressing the Malayan identity of the East Timorese, Magalhães and Correia seemed closer to many important opinions prevailing within the circles of Portuguese colonial military and officials, than they were to the international context that had inspired Cunha's Papuan classification. The few Portuguese who wrote on Timor generally followed the authoritative observations of Afonso de Castro, who had stated in 1867 that the Timorese belonged to the 'yellow or Malayan race', not just because of their physical and moral traits but also due to oral traditions that identified the original settlers as 'men coming from countries further East'.⁷⁹ Secondly, the relevant ethno-geographic object of their 'colonial anthropology' was 'Portuguese Timor' rather than the entire island. In Magalhães's words, the purpose was 'to discover the ethnic affinities of the Timorese populations subject to the domination of Portugal'.⁸⁰ The emphasis on 'domination' revealed the concern with the utility of science for the exercise of colonial power. Yet, it is here important to follow the scientific object shaped by this concern, less than its ideological dimension. For Magalhães and Correia, the political geography of Timor reframed the ethno-geographic problem. The ethnological line should correspond to the political boundary. Race divides were expected to emerge along the political split of the island into East (Portuguese) and West (Dutch).

The clash with Cunha's Papuan argument came to surface in Magalhães's talk. Their differences concerned opposite classifications. Yet, in the wake of Correia, Magalhães fought the battle over classification in historiographical territory. He offered startling evidence on the unreliability of Cunha's claims: the Coimbra collection was not authentic; the skulls from Timor, after all, were not Timorese bones. Magalhães made this point by telling a story. In a footnote, he sturdily contested the authenticity of the skulls:

I should remark that the twenty-eight crania at the Coimbra Museum on the basis of which Mr. Barros e Cunha wrote his study only by providential chance would belong to Timorese natives in their totality. From

investigations I have undertaken, I know that those crania were collected from a *Ficus indica*—the sacred tree—of the indigenous state, or kingdom [reino], of Cová, the crania being the tragic remains of Captain Câmara's ill-fated military column, slaughtered at Fatumean in the year of 1895. This column consisted of Timorese, Africans, Indians and Portuguese.⁸¹

Magalhães filled up the hitherto blank space of the collection's epistemic trajectory with a description that associated the human remains with one concrete past. The account provided a historiography for the collection; it claimed to be a 'historical story', in Whyte's terms, which indexed the collection to 'events that really happened'.⁸² A retrospective narration had put the collection back into an original spatial-temporal context of collecting. One date—1895; one place—a sacred tree in Cová; and one incident of sad remembrance—the massacre of Portuguese troops. Magalhães's account of the collection met with a dramatic colonial event that 'really happened' and strongly imprinted on collective imagination: the 'massacre' of a Portuguese military column under the command of captain Câmara by the warriors of Cová and Fatumean in 1895. The next chapter will return to the contemporary circumstances of this incident. What needs now to be noted is that Magalhães introduced further complexity into the imagination of this event. In bringing the 'collection' and the 'massacre' together, he created a historiographical object at the meeting point of the collection and the colonial episode. Hence to offer a narrative both of the massacre and of the provenance of the skulls could amount to one and the same 'history'. Importantly, this entanglement carried great consequences for the dispute over anthropological classification. If the story was taken as true, it could cause a drastic twist in the epistemic trajectory of the crania. In effect, Magalhães set forth a historiographical falsification of the skulls, which corresponded to a falsification of Cunha's classification. The identity of the crania was reconfigured as an indiscriminate ethnic jumble on which grounds no reliable assertion whatsoever on the 'Timorese race' could be made. Although the bones were the artefacts of Timorese headhunting, they belonged to Portuguese victims, and to their African, Timorese, and Indian allies. 'Crania of Timorese natives', as it was assumed at Coimbra since 1882, certainly they were not. Scientifically, the skulls were useless. These historiographical revelations represented a severe blow to Cunha's Papuan thesis. But Cunha did not react. He later explained that the footnote 'went unnoticed' to him.⁸³ In any case, for 15 years Magalhães's story circulated as trustworthy, without rivals, as the history of the collection, discrediting the craniometric study. Specialists in Portugal, above all Mendes Correia, looked on Cunha's study with distrust.⁸⁴

In 1934–35, the book *Gentio de Timor* (The Native of Timor), an ethnographic monograph on Timorese *usos e costumes*, triggered the polemic. The author was another former officer in Timor, lieutenant Armando

Pinto Correia, interested in putting ethnography at the service of colonial administration.⁸⁵ Pinto Correia's ethnographic compilation was not centrally concerned with Timor's ethnological problem.⁸⁶ But he wrote aggressive and lengthy footnotes attacking the ethnologists. He doubted that the solution for the 'great problem of the classification and ethnogeny of [Timor's] authentic aboriginals' was forthcoming, and emphatically criticized most scientific disciplines for too often basing their claims on insufficient or doubtful empirical evidence.⁸⁷ He was particularly tough on 'the desperate fantasy' of anthropology: 'There are anthropologists who sometimes look like practitioners of cartomancy'.⁸⁸ Anthropological reveries had a concrete example: a certain craniological study. 'Speculative, delirious, hypothesis', Pinto Correia remarked, 'behind a façade of university science, have already appeared, based on just a few dozens of skulls randomly collected in one colonial war, and in which indigenous bones were mixed up with the skulls of Mozambican troops'.⁸⁹ If here implicit reference was made to Cunha, further along a footnote reinstating Magalhães's history of the collection made it explicit. The skulls measured by Cunha belonged to European, Timorese, African, and Indian troops 'slaughtered in 1896 [sic]', and afterwards 'found on a sacred tree' in Cová: 'That mixture', he concluded, 'only verified later on, invalidates the anthropologist's conclusions'.⁹⁰ Cunha's anthropology was wrong because Magalhães's history was true. In narrating a story, Pinto Correia again disrupted Cunha's anthropological classification.

The 'myth of Cová' and the controversy on authenticity

The military's history disrupted the indigenous authenticity of the skulls. By 1935, the year Pinto Correia had made his aggressive statements, Cunha's Papuan classification of Timor seemed to be on the brink of collapse unless the history of Cová was contradicted. This time, however, the remarks did not pass without response and the controversy came into public visibility. In the early 1930s, though in his sixties and having just retired from the High School job, Cunha was actively involved in craniological research. In 1933–34, he had been appointed to a Professorship at the university, taken charge of the Zoological Museum and Laboratory, and temporarily replaced the Director Tamagnini at the anthropological museum. Cunha's career was at its zenith; he then finally broke the silence. He came promptly to the pages of the major national newspaper *Diário de Notícias* with a letter in defence of his work.⁹¹ The letter, titled 'The ethnic origins of the Timor population and the myth of the sacred tree of the kingdom of Cová', was intended to invalidate the stories told by the two military men. Circumventing the historiographical falsification of the skulls was the means to preserve his 'anthropological conclusions' of 1894. The purpose, then, was to transform the stories from a status of 'historical' stories into another of 'fictional' accounts. The colonial officers were accused of reporting a 'legend', a 'myth'

of collecting—the ‘myth of the sacred tree of the kingdom of Cová’.⁹² The massacre might have been a real event, but its link to the collection was imaginary. The military’s story was a myth, because they had set the chronology wrongly. If the officers had carefully read his paper, they would have found mention of the craniological observations having been conducted ‘in 1885’.⁹³ Truly, the paper circulated with the date of 1898 (a fact which possibly fostered confusion), but it had been originally published in 1894 and the craniometry undertaken 10 years before.⁹⁴ Therefore, unless time could be reversed, the craniums could not belong to those killed in ‘1895 or 1896’, nor collected from Cová’s sacred tree.⁹⁵

Cunha added still another argument for the fictional character of the Cová story. This was grounded on craniology, instead of historiography. Cunha categorically declared that ‘none of the skulls belonged either to an European or an African negro: this statement can be made’, he explained, ‘because the shape of the Euro-African skull is sufficiently different from the Melanesian to be noticed at first sight’; were it not the case, Cunha would not have considered the skulls together, as a series, for analysis.⁹⁶ In short, an anthropologist could make assumptions about the ethnic identity of skulls, regardless of a truthful historical narrative for the collection. Craniology could stand in for historiography. Therefore, in clarifying the chronology and claiming the authority of craniology over historiography, Cunha was convinced he had ended the dispute over classification. In concluding the letter, he confidently remarked: ‘still today I absolutely endorse the conclusions of my study: the skulls from Timor that I have studied ... conclusively demonstrate that the ethnic background of the population of the island of Timor is of the *Melanesian Race*, and more especially of the *Papuan* division of that race.’⁹⁷

This historical clarification could have been sufficient to bring the controversy to a dead end: but it did not. In a matter of days, the responses of Leite de Magalhães and Pinto Correia appeared on the same *Diário de Notícias*.⁹⁸ The military’s model of field ethnology, their hostility towards craniology, and their advocacy of the Malayan race of Timor came aggressively to the fore. Calling upon his authority as one ‘who has travelled across the colony in every direction’, Magalhães utterly denied that Papuan or black races of any kind predominated in Timor.⁹⁹ Pinto Correia subscribed to Magalhães’s opinion. It was a ‘grave mistake’, he asserted, to ground the anthropological classification of a population on ‘the mere anthropometry of thirty-five skulls’; even if by any chance those few skulls displayed Melanesian characters, the Timorese populations certainly did not.¹⁰⁰ The officers also supported their arguments with the anthropometry of Ten Kate, Lapicque, Biljmer, and Mendes Correia, which, in their opinion, offered proof of predominance of ‘Malayan or Indonesian blood’.¹⁰¹ These arguments opposed a supposedly ‘discredited’ museum anthropology derived from the experience of human remains to ‘up-to-date’ anthropology

grounded on anthropometric or ethnographic field observations. However, the conflict over classification again was mainly situated in historiographical terrain.

The officers admitted the chronological mistake. The skulls measured in 1885 could not certainly belong to troops decapitated 10 years later, in 1895. The event of the massacre and the event of collecting were not the same. Nevertheless, they made clear that they had not 'invented' that story. The account was not fictional—at least in part. They stated that in telling the story of Cová they simply gave voice to a widespread oral account taken as truthful by the colonial community in Timor, and further validated by reliable testimonies. By the 1910s, in Timor, it seemed that the memory of the events of 1895–96 had become juxtaposed to the history of the Coimbra collection. European officials, military, and settlers reiterated the story—and the officers had taken their word for it. Pinto Correia remarked that he had heard the story from 'former settlers and officials who have lived' in Timor 'for a long time' and amongst whom the story had 'general' acceptance.¹⁰² Magalhães likewise justified the history by giving assurance of the trustworthiness of his source: 'But I certainly did not make up that *consignment* [of skulls]', he observed,

I have collected the information from the man with the longest permanence in the colony, and of all the most knowledgeable of Timor's secrets: Dr. Belarmino Lobo. A question then comes to mind: whereabouts, though, are the crania of Cová [the skulls of Captain Câmara's column]? It is necessary to discover the truth about this, so that no unwary scholar comes to suffer the consequences of the Babelic mixture caused by the massacre.¹⁰³

The massacre of 1895 might have no bearing on the past of the collection studied by Cunha. But it still could bear on the history of other museum collections. Magalhães continued to declare that indeed the decapitated heads hung on Cová's sacred tree had been sent as a 'consignment' to Portugal, where they were at the mercy of anthropologists. This other consignment required, too, historical inquiry. It was a true story because the storyteller should be trusted: the Goan medical doctor Belarmino Lobo, for successive years the President of the Dili City Council and the Director and single *Preparador* of the obscure Dili Museum.¹⁰⁴ Lobo had had direct experience of the event of Cová in 1895 and in 1881 he had some involvement in the 'real' trajectory of the Coimbra collection—though of this circumstance Magalhães was probably unaware.¹⁰⁵ Only in the 1940s, as we will see, did this latter fact become known to the participants in the controversy. In any case, Magalhães seemed to have good reasons to claim the trustworthiness of Lobo's account and continue to use it in favour of his historiographical arguments. His insistence on the non-fictional character of the Cová story,

regardless of it not being chronologically associated with the Coimbra collection was a means of stressing the importance of historical knowledge in scientific classification.

The officers claimed that the absence of a history invalidated the Papuan classification and, therefore, they could but continue to sustain that Portuguese Timor was affiliated to the Malay race. If historiographical work was needed for the consignment of 1895, the more it was for the mysterious collection that, sometime before, went to Coimbra. The officers insisted in making the outcome of the ethnological dispute dependent on the narration of a reliable history. This time, though, they had no alternative story to tell. In effect, the problem was that no story existed to be told. Pinto Correia was assertive. In declaring the Timorese as Papuans, 'Mr. Barros e Cunha fell into error due to lack of authenticity in the skulls he observed', and, he sarcastically added: 'I am now persuaded that these were not [the skulls] of the famous sacred tree of Cová. But I am not convinced that these skulls have ever moved in living skeletons of real Timorese.'¹⁰⁶ In a similar vein, after pointing out that Lobo's story required further investigation, Magalhães exclaimed: 'And this is not all! There is yet another more important thing to inquire: where have the 35 crania measured by Dr. Barros e Cunha been collected?'¹⁰⁷ Cunha was put to test. If he wished his classification to be taken seriously, he first ought to certify the collection with a reliable history.¹⁰⁸ Whilst the Coimbra anthropologist remained incapable of providing a truthful historical story, the skulls could not be accepted as authentic; no Papuan race could be said to exist in Portuguese Timor.

Barros e Cunha responded with what he considered categorical demonstration of authenticity of the collection. It took him 2 years to prepare a long paper of 50 pages with an equally long title: *The authenticity of the Timorese crania at the Museum of the University of Coimbra, and the present state of our knowledge about the problem of the ethnic composition of Timor's population*.¹⁰⁹ The paper was published in 1937, in the Coimbra journal of anthropology, and 500 leaflets were rapidly printed for distribution in early 1938. The support of the Coimbra Anthropological Institute (of which Cunha was a member) through his Director, Tamagnini, signalled institutional solidarity and the collective character of the dispute.¹¹⁰ The authority of 'Coimbra anthropology' and the assumptions that for so long had sustained the value of the collection at Coimbra were at stake. The paper was to be read by the right people, at home and abroad; the authenticity of the collection should be protected before both the national and international audiences. A campaign of personal mailing was carefully prepared. Mendes Correia, Magalhães, Pinto Correia, and virtually every Portuguese scholar, scientific journal, and scientific society somehow involved in anthropology, as well as institutions and agents with political responsibilities in colonial affairs, received an exemplar.¹¹¹ Many more copies found their way to a great number of anthropologists and anthropological journals and societies

in Europe, America, and Asia.¹¹² The French journal *L'Anthropologie*, which traditionally reviewed Portuguese publications, wrote a review, but possibly this was as far as the international impact of the paper went.¹¹³ Portuguese was still the language of the text. Moreover, the issues that made it especially timely were not located outside the country. The problems it addressed were part of a Portuguese debate—and Portuguese the debate was to continue.

The piece was a lengthy response to the officers. Cunha's argument for the authenticity of the skulls was 'anthropological' rather than 'historiographical'. Instead of narrating a story, as the army officers demanded, he responded by certifying the collection with a truthful classification. Certainly, it was desirable that someone could find out the 'exact place or places' of provenance, but this information 'would [but] increase [the collection's] documental value'.¹¹⁴ Historical data were secondary and had a minor effect upon the scientific arguments. The only consequence of an absent historiography was that the skulls should be considered as a '*fortuitous sample*' of Timorese populations.¹¹⁵ Further, in deeming historical knowledge less relevant, Cunha proposed a reversal of Magalhães's and Correia's argument. The anthropological classification of the Timorese as 'Papuan race' was not wrong because the skulls were not authentic. Indeed, it was quite the opposite: the skulls were authentic because Cunha's classification was anthropologically correct. The veracity of the Papuan thesis authenticated the collection. Cunha offered a rhetorical demonstration of his Papuan thesis. In fact, he could not repeat the craniometry of the skulls made in 1885. Only 29 skulls then existed at Coimbra. In November 1902, Prof. Bernardino Machado lent six of the original 35 skulls to the German anthropologist Rudolf Martin.¹¹⁶ Tamagnini's request for their return in 1913, justified with the need 'to do a revision of the old measurements', was not attended; Martin never gave the skulls back.¹¹⁷ Cunha could not replicate his observations, yet he could hold strongly to the authority of scientific literature and manipulate the classificatory uncertainties about Timor in his favour. Old and recent travel accounts and anthropological works were mobilized so as to show that the Papuan classification was fully 'within the truth' of scientific anthropology. Wallace's argument resumed. Even the authors referred to by the officers as giving evidence against the Papuan race were used by Cunha to demonstrate that the Timorese were basically Melanesians. Such a rhetorical demonstration of the Papuan race as uncontested anthropological 'fact' should compensate for the lack of historiographical knowledge. The latter could be the collection's weak point, but a truthful classification could very well stand for an absent historical narrative.

Cunha tried to prove both his classification and the authenticity of the skulls without having to tell a story. But he had no story to tell. In engaging with the officers' historiographical objections, he again declared the chronological mistake of the 'myth of Cová'. Apart from this disclaimer, all Cunha could say about provenance was that the collection 'was presented to the

Museum, one or two years before [1885], through Professor Dr. Júlio Henriques, by the Governor of the Province of Macao and Timor', with the 'indication of coming from Timor.'¹¹⁸ Uncertainty surrounded the date of arrival, vaguely 'one or two years before' 1885. It was as if, at Coimbra, the already meagre knowledge of the collection's past had grown nebulous since 1882. 'Apart from those indications', Cunha remarked, 'nothing else exists'.¹¹⁹ Scholars involved in the consignments of 1880s had passed away; nothing but a fuzzy memory of the events eventually survived.¹²⁰ Still, Cunha asked these 'indications' to be taken as sufficient historical proof. Henriques's naming of Côte-Real as the skull-giver was turned into an authoritative authentication story. The skulls were a respectable gift by 'a Governor'. The collection ought to be authentic because the status and character of the donor, a colonial governor, was trustworthy.¹²¹ Further provenance specifications Cunha could not provide, and in yet another attempt to undervalue the lack of information he stated that it was 'very frequent' in European museums to find specimens of 'that period' as badly informed as Coimbra's skulls: 'In 1884 one still did not attach to those indications the same importance we do today.'¹²² European museums, however, did attribute great importance to this sort of information back in the 1880s, as seen in Chapter 4. But Cunha was trying to dismiss historiographical deficiencies in museum objects at any cost; he knew this was the weak link in his scientific ordering.

The Coimbra anthropologist tried hard, but historiography and classification seemed too entangled to be set apart. As much as it concerned the 'true' or 'wrong' colonial narrative of the human material, the controversy at the same time concerned the impossibility or possibility of translating human skulls into anthropological classifications. Consequently, the placing of the Timor inhabitants into the Papuan category could subsist with difficulty, unless attached to an appropriate story. By 1937, the skulls at Coimbra still required such a providential history. But the two military men would not participate in the following discussion. Pinto Correia died of an accident in Mozambique by 1940; Magalhães passed away in Lisbon in 1944. Yet, having heard about the dispute in Timor in 1935, another colonial officer, captain José Simões Martinho, undertook investigations with a view 'to ascertain where the crania had been collected'.¹²³ Martinho did not enter the debate with the intention of disputing the ethnological classification of Timor and his intervention was strictly historiographical. Martinho was to advance an alternative story that continued to associate the skulls with the kingdom of Cová, though introducing a significant chronological change.

The Coimbra collection and the story of the sacred tree of Cová before 1882

The result of Martinho's researches appeared in the Coimbra newspaper *Diário de Coimbra* in 1942 and a year later in a chapter of his monograph.¹²⁴

The main finding consisted of some of the documentation associated with the collection: the reports and catalogues sent from Macao in 1881–82, published in the Provincial Bulletin. In these documents, Martinho read that the skulls appeared ‘with the indication of being Timorese [*sic*]’, though the Committee’s report ‘said nothing about the region’ inhabited by the natives to whom the skulls belonged.¹²⁵ The documents only mentioned ‘Timor’ as provenance, as we saw, but Martinho deduced that the skulls were from ‘Timorese’. He imposed on the documentation his inventive reassessment of the Cová story, to be explained shortly below. In looking at the documents, one fact intrigued Martinho. Belarmino Lobo, Magalhães’s trustworthy storyteller, was one of the members of ‘the sub-committee’ in charge of organizing the collection in Timor. How could Lobo—who ‘twelve years before the disaster, had been the organizer of the Timor catalogue’—have misinformed Magalhães that the skulls originated in the disaster of 1895? Only Lobo’s ‘strange confusion or amnesia’ could explain such a gross chronological error.¹²⁶ Other less psychological reasons could be advanced for Lobo’s presumed mistake.¹²⁷ Yet, it is here important to explore how Martinho’s interpretation of both the documents and Lobo’s story shaped another influential version of the links between colonial history, Cová, and the Coimbra collection.

Lobo’s mis-telling landed Martinho in an imbroglio. Should the story he told Magalhães be distrusted; or should Magalhães be distrusted as not having been told that story by Lobo? At any point Martinho considered plausible that his military companion, colonel Magalhães, had misinterpreted or lied about his source. He did not doubt Magalhães’s trustworthiness. But Lobo’s ‘amnesia’ was acceptable—at least in part. Martinho, just like Magalhães some years before, considered that the Cová story was only partially fictional. Although chronologically wrong, it was in all other respects veracious. If Lobo truly was one of the Committee members, and if he reported to Magalhães that the skulls were collected from a sacred tree in Cová, ‘there is no doubt, therefore,’ Martinho concluded, ‘that the thirty-five skulls came from Cová’ and were collected from that kingdom’s sacred tree.¹²⁸ Coimbra and Cová were historically related. However, this did not mean the crania had belonged to the inhabitants of Cová. Their ethnic identity remained uncertain. Martinho drew this conclusion from the ethnographic observation that, in the sacred trees, the Timorese kept only the heads taken from their enemies, in distant lands: ‘Never, then,’ he stated, ‘the heads found in certain regions and in those places belong to their inhabitants. As trophies of war and victory, they belong to enemies of different kingdom.’¹²⁹ This ethnographic inference complicated the issue of provenance. The skulls could belong to anyone at war with Cová, at some point prior to 1882.

Who were the enemies of Cová? In an attempt to provide an answer, Martinho hinted at Cová’s history of hostile relationships. Located close to the Portuguese-Dutch border, the Cová kingdom also bordered what Europeans

saw as the indigenous provinces of *Belos* and *Servião*, understood as practically equivalent to the political division of the territory. Due to Cová's boundary position, its Timorese enemies were 'either from the *Bêlu* or the *Servião*,' for 'at that time' both peoples made incursions into one another's territories.¹³⁰ But the skulls could also belong to *arraiais* or *moradores*... 'It is certain', Martinho noted, 'that the Cová kingdom revolted in 1869, when it was beaten [by government troops], thus being possible that the crania at the Coimbra Museum belonged to *moradores* or *arraiais* sent for beating that kingdom.'¹³¹ In associating the collection with the Cová rebellion of 1869, Martinho again intersected the history of the collection with another colonial event—and one not less shameful for the Portuguese colonizers. The shattering defeat and subsequent massacre of government forces sent to punish the Cová rebellion in 1868–70 was almost as tragically famous as the slaughtering of Câmara's troops in 1895. However, contrary to Magalhães or Pinto Correia, Martinho associated the collection with Cová's sacred tree without doubting the indigenous identity of the skulls. For Martinho, the enemy heads of Cová could only be seen as indigenous. He presumed that only Timorese heads were taken by Cová head hunters; he did not mention the possibility, for instance, of Portuguese, African, or Indian soldiers having been decapitated—a fact not unlikely to have occurred in 1868–70.¹³²

From the perspective of Cunha, Martinho's history was convenient. It identified a provenance for the collection that preserved the indigenous authenticity of the skulls, despite ethnic uncertainty. Indeed, the craniologist did not let such a providential aid pass without mention. In 1942, before an academic audience, Cunha presented Martinho's research as the historiographical 'demonstration' of authenticity. Cová's sacred tree contained 'exemplars from diverse kingdoms', more probably from a kingdom 'nearby', and thus the collection was a '*fortuitous sample* of the Timorese population'.¹³³ The Coimbra anthropologist then fell at ease to re-affirm the validity of his thesis. Remarkably, he continued to resort to the anthropological assumptions of 1880s, as if the certainty of the Papuan classification persisted through time, without contradictions, nor interruptions. '[F]rom Wallace, eighty years ago, until Bijlmer, twelve years back', he concluded, 'all naturalists who stayed on the island and made direct observations agree in seeing in the population a mixture, in which Papuan, or Western Melanesian, race characters predominate.'¹³⁴ Fifty years later, Cunha insisted: the inhabitants of Portuguese Timor were Papuans. With the historiographical obstacle gone, the clash with the Malayan classification was direct.

Mendes Correia understood the message. Despite his opposition to Cunha's arguments since the 1910s, he stood silent while the colonial officers successfully fought the battle in historiographical terrain. But now that Martinho's historical research had made authenticity acceptable, anthropological expertise rather than documental research was required. In 1944, Correia opposed to Cunha's 50 pages' article of 1937 in a monograph of

over 200 pages dedicated to the anthropology of 'Portuguese Timor'.¹³⁵ The book was intended as a groundbreaking reassessment of Timorese ethnology, set forth to revise Wallace's ethnological chart of the Malay Archipelago.¹³⁶ In reclassifying the Timorese as 'predominantly' 'Proto-Malay' or 'Proto-Indonesian', Mendes Correia inscribed on the map an alternative convoluted 'bio-ethnic limit between Indonesia and Melanesia'.¹³⁷ (Map 2) As in 1916, this new line divided Timor into two ethnic halves that matched with the two political territories: Dutch Timor (excluding the Kupang area) was of 'Melanesian' race; Portuguese Timor was Malayan or 'Indonesian'.¹³⁸ Only half of the island belonged to Wallace's Papuan divide. Further, he was inclined to an innovative evolutionary interpretation of Timor's ethnic heterogeneity. Less than resulting from external migrations, it was the product of a 'spontaneous' internal process. Timor was a 'primeval centre of ethnic differentiation', instead of 'a zone of racial metamorphism of contact'.¹³⁹

Correia's ethnological theory, however, consisted foremost of a response to his old rival, an attempt to invalidate the Papuan thesis of Cunha, once and for all. Correia took on board that the skulls were Timorese and collected from a sacred tree in Cová. But he refused to accept the Papuan classification of the skulls as suitable for 'the Portuguese part of the island'.¹⁴⁰ The collection, though authentically Timorese, was not authentically East Timorese, and thus could not help colonial anthropology in the study of Portuguese Timor. To start with, Cunha's argument was outdated. It mirrored a moment in the past, when the issue was 'confusing' and 'the position of authorities such as Wallace and Hamy dominated'.¹⁴¹ Yet, it was in 'contradiction' with the truth established by recent developments in anthropology. It went against 'all those' who considered that the Malayan influence prevailed in Portuguese Timor among the *Belos*, while the Papuan race prevailed in Dutch Timor among the *Atoni*.¹⁴² Consequently, Cunha's Papuan classification could only be correct 'if the [Coimbra] professor admits that the series of crania sent by the Portuguese governor of Timor to the Coimbra Museum belongs to Atoni-Timor, or to the Dutch side of the island, and not to Belos of the Portuguese side'.¹⁴³ This represented another loop in the complex interactions between historiography and classification, as we have accompanied so far. Cunha had attempted a similar strategy of using classification to reconstruct a history for the skulls in 1937. But the effects were now reversed. It was Correia's turn to change the historical past of the collection by sheer force of anthropological 'facts', so that Cunha's claims were to be invalidated. Correia also explored intelligently the fissures of Martinho's version of the legend of Cová. Martinho was uncertain about whether the skulls of enemies of Cová belonged to inhabitants of the East, or the West. Mendes Correia offered a solution. Because Cunha had classified the skulls as 'Papuan race', they ought to have been collected from a sacred tree loaded with the heads of the *Atoni* enemies of Cová. Timorese and Papuans they were indeed, but not from the inhabitants of Portuguese Timor. Cunha did

not respond; the Papuan thesis seemed to perish and the controversy was coming to a point of closure. A state of imprecision was to surround further discussion of Timorese ethnogeny. Yet, in Portugal, practically from the date of publication, Mendes Correia's *magnum opus* turned into the authoritative work on the physical anthropology of Portuguese Timor.¹⁴⁴

Histories and the order of things

In his classic *The Order of Things*, Michel Foucault raised the problem of how classification is historically possible. The question concerned the conditions of possibility for the 'experience of order' to be made manifest in the history of Western culture: 'When we establish a considered classification [...], Foucault wrote, 'what is the ground on which we are able to establish the validity of this classification with complete certainty?''¹⁴⁵ This chapter has presented anthropology with a similar problem: how could one experience the Timorese population as a natural order of races? On what grounds could 'the Timorese' be classified with certainty? In the model of Classical natural history, collections of human skulls, some believed, were the things that enabled the ordering of the Timorese in the *tabula* of races. But 'the Timorese' configured a continuum of fuzzy boundaries, resistant to neat and straightforward orderings.¹⁴⁶ As much as they could resemble 'Malays', they could well be classed as 'Papuan', or maybe Polynesians, or perhaps Negritos... Timor's disordering heterogeneity defied anthropology at the core of its 'syntax', as if 'secretly undermining the language' of the taxonomic project.¹⁴⁷ In the classification of races, 'the Timorese' configured what Foucault called a '*heteroclite*' object, one which could be '“laid”, “placed”, “arranged” in sites so very different from one another that [was] impossible to find a place of residence for them, to define a *common locus* beneath them all.'¹⁴⁸ This chapter, then, has described anthropologists coping with how to order an object with multiple classificatory locations. We have been put before Foucault's seminal formulation of the problem of the 'order of things'. But perhaps we need to come up with a slightly different answer.

So as to understand the experience of order, Foucault suggested, one should archaeologically unearth the *a priori* 'rules' of an all-encompassing Western *episteme*. These rules explained how various 'discursive practices'—from linguistics to economy or natural history—arranged things into coherent patterns of similitude and difference. Foucault's remarks on the discursive rules of Classical natural history are here of special importance, because the epistemological project of nineteenth century anthropology as a 'natural history of man' was modelled, as we saw, in this tradition. By the seventeenth century, Foucault identifies a change in the Western *episteme*, marked by the emergence of natural history.¹⁴⁹ Earlier, Renaissance historians wrote the histories of plants and animals by inextricably describing

both 'all that was visible of things' and all 'the signs that had been discovered or lodged in them', that is, all that had been said about the objects by the 'ancients', and 'the legends and stories with which [the thing] had been involved.'¹⁵⁰ Natural history, however, purified the classification of things from the compilation of these external 'semantic networks' in which objects were involved. It represented the possibility of classifying living beings by drawing exclusively on the direct experience of material objects. The shift, for Foucault, implied the 'sudden separation, in the realm of *Historia*, of two orders of knowledge henceforward to be considered different': the knowledge derived from the experience of physical things; and that which derived from the experience of the words, stories, and texts that existed in association with the object. With the emergence of natural history, the construction of a history of nature, according to Foucault, thereafter

requires only words applied, without intermediary, to things themselves. The documents of this new history are not other words, texts or records, but unencumbered spaces in which things are juxtaposed; herbariums, collections, gardens; [...] stripped of all commentary, of all enveloping language, creatures present themselves one beside another, their surfaces visible, grouped according to their common features, and thus virtually analysed, and bearers of nothing but their own individual names.¹⁵¹

In Foucault's view, then, natural history collections constitute pure spaces of materiality upon which classificatory orderings are imposed, without the mediation of 'other words, texts or records'.¹⁵² The Classical model of natural history constructs knowledge orderings out of the observation of the visible physicality of collections of objects. No documents, no fables, no histories participate in the construction of classifications. This is not to say, as Foucault notes, that there is no concern with articulating time with classification tables, even prior to the emergence of evolutionism. Instead, the important point is that classification is grounded on the experience of 'things-in-themselves' as opposed to, and instead of, the experience of semantic mediations found in texts and provided, for example, by the many stories in which objects have been 'enveloped'. One should, therefore, expect the *episteme* of anthropology to obey the rules highlighted by Foucault. In effect, at a first glance, most literature on anthropology and collections gives no reason to think otherwise.

Foucault's argument on the dissociation between stories and things in collections finds parallel in the idea that nineteenth century museum anthropology is characterized by modes of ordering which imply 'erasure', 'destruction', or 'occultation' of historicity from the objects.¹⁵³ This view seems to cross various approaches. Museum anthropology has been critically portrayed as a discipline 'out of time', in which objects appear as timeless and ahistorical things in themselves, enveloped in grand evolutionist

narratives that 'deny coevalness' to the Other.¹⁵⁴ Typically, museum contexts are characterized by a politics of time, depriving objects of history. Historians of anthropology suggest that, back in the 'museum era', specimens were considered 'self-sufficient' data that did not require 'commentary as to the political and economic circumstances in which they had been gathered'.¹⁵⁵ 'Colonial exchanges', as Zimmerman notes, appear as the foundational moment of a process 'of stripping those objects of their history'.¹⁵⁶ James Clifford and Susan Stewart, for instance, have gone so far as to assert the destruction of context in museum collections.¹⁵⁷ For Stewart, museum collections are simply 'context destroyed', arrangements of self-enclosed ahistorical entities in which classification opposes and takes over historical memory and narration.¹⁵⁸

These perspectives have been important in allowing a critical reconsideration of the value of historicity in the discipline of anthropology. Yet, they seem as distant as Foucault's conclusions from providing an adequate answer to the issues we have been dealing with throughout this work. Such an answer to the problem of the order of things in anthropology fails to consider the role of micro-orders of knowledge visible in the practices of description and storytelling produced, along the trajectories of collections, by the historical actors themselves. The workings of these small-scaled *epistemes* cannot be set apart from larger epistemic orderings. This chapter has developed this hypothesis. That is, anthropological collections are expected to display an intimate intertwinement between physical objects and individualized histories, on which grounds orders of description and classification might be validly arranged. In effect, for the reader following this book, to see nineteenth-century anthropological collections as a realm of purified material objectivity in which histories play no role should cause perplexity. To start with, we have seen collections emerging as compositions of things and texts. Historiographical work and storytelling was expected to be done, so as to increase the objectivity of things. Chapter 4 indeed suggested that anthropologists were not just concerned with the observation of things; they were interested in the compilation of texts and stories associated with specific objects. They were preoccupied with attaching reliable documents and reliable stories to collections, stories which were not contained, as it were, in the 'objects themselves', but without which objects could with difficulty be qualified as scientific 'collectables'. This form of historical knowledge I have called a 'miniature historiography'. Part of this miniature semantic network of words and texts could derive from a simple experience of things, but a good deal, in fact, derived from the experience of other documents and other stories bearing on the past and identity of objects.

The *episteme* of museum anthropology, then, perhaps never worked as Foucault suggested. The knowledge of material things and the knowledge of stories into which things had been entailed were not to be made separate. The main reason for avoiding such a sharp-breaking separation was that it

could put broader knowledge orderings at risk. Indeed, in the controversy analysed above, it was not separation between observation and documents, classification and stories, that we experienced as the condition of possibility for the certainty of anthropological orderings. It was quite the opposite; it was their close interaction. Narrating or not narrating a story for the Timor collection of skulls shaped the certainty of anthropological classifications. The notion that there is no room for the mediation of stories in the forms of ordering introduced by sciences such as natural history or anthropology evokes the *illusio* of the objectivity of 'things-in-themselves'. We have seen that *illusio* being performed by the Macao Committee, when human skulls were to a great extent detached from texts and words. A separation between stories and skulls resulted from the work of that Committee. But the anthropologists did not desire this separation. Instead, they considered it problematic. For some time, that parting did not prevent anthropological classification to take its course. Barros e Cunha's 'experience of a collection of skulls' enabled him to arrange a Papuan race for the Timorese. However, Cunha's ordering could not be sustained without an associated 'history'—a story not to be taken as a 'fiction'. Soon the life of skulls without history revealed a treacherous path. Significantly, the importance of reattaching skulls to stories came to the fore exactly at the point when race classifying gathered momentum. In the Portuguese controversy, more than the experience of the skulls-in-themselves, what counted for deciding the certainty of the 'order of things' was the quality of the links between skulls and colonial history, the agents' ability to mobilize reliable documents and truthful stories for historicizing the collection. The classification of races required the narration of objects. Words and things could only 'hold together' in classification if adequately mediated by an individualized historical narrative of the collection. In short, the validity of a considered anthropological ordering of material things (the skulls) was inextricably associated with the validity of the historical stories associated with these objects.

The analysis of the controversy about the 'legend of Cová' suggests two further conclusions. Firstly, it invites us to conceive of the order of things in anthropology as the product of performative interactions between two main forms of knowledge: forms of narration and forms of classification. Stories and classifications were dynamically entangled in the course of a controversy that constantly reshaped both the reality of Timor's 'Papuan race' and the reality of the history of the collection. The effects of their changing interactions impacted on one another. In this perspective, the stories told by Magalhães or Martinho, for example, should not be seen as external 'contexts' or 'culture' insufflating empty things with 'meaning', in a vocabulary characteristic of cultural analysis, or narrations in the strict linguistic sense of the term. They were stories that generated different 'realities' and had unforeseen collective consequences. It might then be appropriate to follow an insight of John Law and think of these stories, and of interactions

between stories and classification, as reciprocally performative.¹⁵⁹ Stories can enact classifications, and vice-versa. Their interaction can interfere with the condition of 'things themselves', as well as with social relationships, for example, with the careers and authority of the participants in the controversy. To illuminate this point, let me for a moment reconsider some of the main moments of the controversy.

Different patterns of performative interactions between stories and the order of races emerged during the controversy. At some points, stories 'performed into' classification. Narratives were advanced that could either destroy a certain classification or make it possible by creating a past, a geography, an ethnic origin, and a 'colonial context' for the skulls. In the internal economy of the text, Cunha's ethnographic story helped to secure a 'Papuan race' for the Timorese. But this story was considered insufficient for guaranteeing valid classification. Cunha's rivals claimed that only a historical narrative on the geography, chronology, and circumstances of collecting could, or could not, authenticate the skulls as indigenous bones. A historiography rather than an ethnographic narrative was required for supporting the Papuan classification. It was also not enough to tell or not tell a story. Objects had to exist in association with 'histories', rather than with 'fictions'. Indeed, it is significant to observe that the effect of historiography on classification depended on how reliable or true the stories were taken to be. The struggle to decide whether the story about the 'sacred tree of the kingdom of Cová' was either a myth or an account referring to real events is evidence of this point. For instance, while the Cová story (1895) was accepted as true, the classification failed; when it was demonstrated as a fiction, or when another Cová story (pre-1882) was advanced to replace that of 1895, the classification seemed possible again. The certainty or uncertainty of historiography caused changes in the certainty or uncertainty of classification. Yet, sometimes the agents attempted to reverse this arrow. In fact, at other points, classification 'performed into' stories. Classifications could also organize a past for the collection. They could make some stories possible, while preventing others from coming to life. This move was made manifest in the strategy followed by Cunha and Mendes Correia. They insisted that anthropological knowledge could substitute or interfere with narrations, creating reliable identities and provenances for collections. Perceived thus, one can understand narratives as plastically enacting scientific classification and the 'reality' of certain race constructs, and the other way around.

A second aspect is worth considering. It concerns multiplicity. One interesting effect of the constant interactions between narratives and classification during the debate was the increase in complexity and uncertainty. The more stories were told, the more pasts and more classifications for the collection seemed to be possible; it was difficult to close the history of the collection into one hegemonic narration. In reaching the closing moments of the debate, we can conclude that neither Cunha's demonstration, nor

Martinho's investigations, nor Mendes Correia's work had been able to unite the collection around either a single story or a single classification. Timor's 'heteroclite' condition in race classification did not diminish. Instead it seemed to be amplified. A same dispersion of the historical locations of the Coimbra collection apparently occurred. In the years to come, the history of the collection evolved from a state of silence to a state of multiplicity. Despite all pains taken to provide a definitive clarification, Magalhães's account of 'Cová's sacred tree in 1895' coexisted with Martinho's story of 'Cová's sacred tree before 1882'; and Mendes Correia's conclusion that the skulls belonged to Atoni of West Timor coexisted with Cunha's conclusion that the skulls were a 'fortuitous sample' of East Timorese. The 'fictional' or 'real' character of the Cová legend of 1895, in particular, remained uncertain. Some would say, for instance, that Martinho's historical evidence 'refuted the value attributed to the [skulls] as study material.'¹⁶⁰ Others, notably Hélio Felgas in 1956, continued to accept Magalhães's original story, suggesting that the skulls at Coimbra were the remains of Câmara's troops killed in 1895.¹⁶¹ And, as late as 1999, a student of anthropology at Coimbra decided to investigate whether the story of Cová (1895) was true; whether among the Timor crania still held at the museum could 'exist some from Europeans (Caucasoid), particularly Portuguese'—'remote' as this possibility seemed to the author, many of the crania's Caucasoid identity apparently remained uncertain.¹⁶² Therefore, as historiography and classification closely interacted all the way through the controversy, the history—just like the anthropology—of the Coimbra collection did not close into one; it opened up into many, into a multiplicity of orders of historical knowledge.

The problem of the order of things then resurfaces as a problem of historical ordering. The past of the skulls expanded in complexity; it could not be reduced into one and univocal 'linear series' of events. The collection's history unfolded into various parallel accounts that referred to contradictory circumstances, chronologies, and spaces of collecting, difficult to bring together into a common sequence of events. Historically, 'the Timor collection'—just like 'the Timorese' in anthropological classification—configured an object of multiple locations. As an effect of the controversy, it had stabilized as a 'heteroclite' historical object. That is, it could be 'laid', 'placed' or 'arranged' in so very different moments and places in the past that no single 'historical order of things' seemed possible. It was as if the same physical skulls persisted in the apparent impossibility of having been collected in (at least) two different spaces and times. They could be the remains of captain Câmara's troops collected from a sacred tree in Cová in 1895, as well as the indigenous remains of Timorese enemies collected from a sacred tree in Cová prior to 1882. We therefore arrive at a point in which the epistemic trajectory of the human skulls had bifurcated into two main historiographies, whose 'fictional' or 'historical' character was open and in motion. One collection of things existed in the form of two historical

stories of collecting. Hence to account for the history of the Timor collection requires the writing of not one but two historical descriptions. The symmetric investigation of these two histories of collecting forms the object of the next chapter. In what follows, I will try to retell both stories by going back to the colonial contexts of collecting. The intention is to examine on which grounds these historical 'orders of things' were possible, and how an alternative retelling of these two accounts might interfere with the trajectory of the collection. The next chapter returns to Timor.

7

Collecting and the Dramas of Colonial Hostility

In the previous chapter the interaction between historical stories and anthropological knowledge has been examined in the context of a controversy about the authenticity of the Coimbra collection. In the 1930s, conflicting narratives about the colonial past of the Timorese crania intruded into anthropological constructs. Throughout the twentieth century, the diffuse historical identity of the collection was expressed in two contrasting narratives. Some stories attributed the origin of the skulls to a Timorese massacre of Portuguese troops in Cová in 1895–96, while others associated them with indigenous victims of Timorese headhunting, during unspecified conflicts near the Dutch border sometime prior to 1882. Both narratives, however, accepted the skulls had been collected from a ‘sacred tree in Cová’. This chapter reassesses these accounts, by looking at the colonial episodes of collecting. In addition, the chapter unearths the ‘lost’ documentation of the collection and offers an alternative account of its colonial history.

Practices of collecting skulls, as well as their associated circuits of information were entailed in processes of hostility, unfolding over time in the form and atmosphere of public dramas. The purpose of this chapter is then to understand colonial collecting as an event in such social dramas. As such, it considers collecting both as product of these processes and as an effective set of actions oriented to the symbolic resolution of social crisis. The Portuguese appropriation of severed heads could comprise ritual modes of speaking in which heads were taken as signs. Yet, for analytical purposes ‘colonial collecting’ is here taken to mean the appropriation of severed heads as physical things, with a view to incorporation into European communities. In this regard, colonial collecting includes not just the European acquisition of indigenous remains, but also, and importantly, the European repossession of European remains. As revealed in the preceding chapters, a museum collection must be seen as a product of epistemic practices and of the contingent history of its associated archives. Here I maintain the focus on the relationship between objects, archives, and knowledge practices. The analysis of collecting will encompass not just the practices of appropriating skulls

'in the field', but also the cultural and political contexts in which 'talking about' such practices gained meaning and visibility. Thus by situating the temporal emergence of collecting in colonial discourse we will re-encounter the associations between skulls and words.

The chapter first investigates the contentious suggestion that the skulls originated in a massacre of Portuguese troops at Cová in 1895. In focusing on the circulation of decapitated Portuguese officers' heads, it explores collecting as what Victor Turner calls 'redressive' and 'reintegrative' actions orientated towards managing a collective crisis. As such, collecting expressed a twofold logic. On the one hand, the Portuguese rescued European skulls, including the head of captain Câmara, as patriotic relics which, when returned to Portugal, helped create a sense of moral order for the disturbed national community. On the other hand, the Portuguese took possession of the severed head of the presumed murderer of captain Câmara. This was intended to be sent to a museum in Portugal, as a form of continuing punishment for the criminal. Trajectories of indigenous skulls then were contiguous with the violence of colonial punishment. The second and third sections of this chapter investigate skull collecting as emergent in relationships of hostility during the Laleia war of 1878–81. First analysed are the conflicting retrospective views of the war, brought forward during a court dispute involving the Catholic missionaries, the governor, the army officers, and the *régulo* of Laleia, Manuel dos Remédios. It was in the course of the political struggles that followed this dispute that the original 'history' of the Coimbra collection reappeared in the public sphere. This story revealed that the skulls did not come from the 'sacred tree of Cová'. According to their collectors, Rev. Medeiros and the Catholic missionaries, they belonged to enemies killed during the Laleia war and were presented as a gift to the priests. The latter were then responsible for turning them into a proper anthropological collection. The collection of skulls was therefore the result of violence. Yet, the action of telling that story of collecting was itself the product of hostility. It was told in the context of political conflict as a means to help the Mission in crisis. The conclusion addresses the value of approaching collecting as meaningful actions in the course of colonial dramas. The purpose is also to comparatively reassess the two episodes with regards to their connections with colonial headhunting, and the subsequent impact of their circuits of information on storytelling about the Coimbra collection.

The head of captain Câmara, 1895–96

quand un être sacré se subdivise, il reste tout entier égal à lui-même dans chacune de ses parties. En d'autres termes, au regard de la pensée religieuse, la partie vaut le tout; elle a les mêmes pouvoirs, la même efficacité. Un débris de relique a les mêmes vertus que la relique intégrale. La

moindre goutte de sang contient le même principe actif que le sang tout entier.¹

Captain Eduardo da Câmara left Dili for Batugadé on 28 August 1895 (Fig. 18). With the assistance of the Portuguese officers Lagos, Bettencourt, and Flores, he led an armed force of 150 Dili *moradores* and a small number of regulars of European, Indian, Macanese, and African extraction.² This constituted part of the expeditionary force prepared by Celestino da Silva with the purpose of crushing the lasting opposition of Manufai to Portuguese ceremonial power in the Western provinces.³ From Batugadé, the captain was expected to call *arraiais* along the Portuguese-Dutch border, in Balibó, Sanir, Cová, and Cotubaba, and afterwards 'subject Suai Reimean and Camenassa, and proceed up to the Suai border'.⁴ It was a difficult mission. Cová, Fatumean, and Balibó were kingdoms with strong traditions of



Figure 18 Eduardo Inácio da Câmara, 1894. CMS/CMLC, Ref. 279 Fot/1998. With permission of CMS/CMLC.

hostility towards the Portuguese establishment and had paid vassalage to the government a couple of months before.⁵

The worst expectations were soon confirmed. At Batugadé, only with great difficulty, did Câmara overcome the reluctance of Cotubaba, Sanir, Balibó, and Cová to supply carriers, according to the *estilo*.⁶ Further signs of non-recognition of the authority of the government delegate occurred at the passage of the troops in the kingdoms. Consequently, the captain imposed fines on Cová and Fatumean and harshly punished the indigenous authorities. After a troubled journey, the column arrived at Forém. Câmara repeatedly ordered the *régulo* to come to his presence, in order to pay homage to the government delegate and present the traditional tributes in men and provisions. But the *régulo* did not come. Câmara interpreted the delay as a sign of 'rebellion'. Confusion followed; how and why the shooting started is unclear. The captain received a mysterious message, perhaps from Fatumean, and, soon afterwards, he nervously ordered his men to open fire on Forém. Gunfire lasted until dark; the night was spent in a tense atmosphere. The villagers shouted death threats at Câmara's troops: 'in the morning, you will find no path to retreat, and you will leave the artillery piece, supplies, and everything behind'; 'you will be reduced to dust, all of you will lose your heads'.⁷

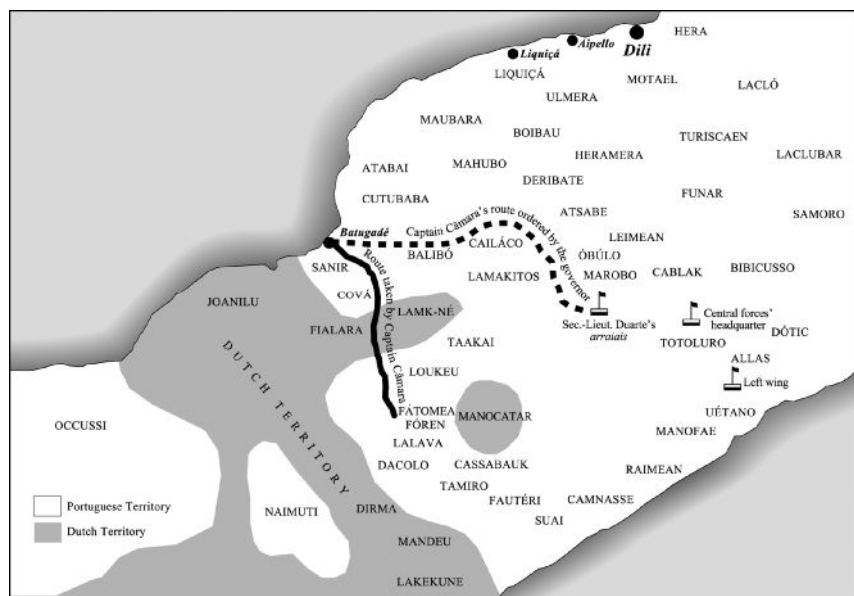
At the dawn of 7 September 1895, Câmara and his officers gathered to decide on the retreat to Fatumean. They might have expected to find a haven in the small fort, but it was too late. At that moment, the people of Cová had already plundered the station of Fatumean, in the charge of lieutenant Mendes da Silva. The Timorese prisoners were set free; Silva and the European soldiers decapitated.⁸ Câmara and his men were forced to escape via a river path bordered by high mountains. They were an easy target for enemy fire. Trapped in the canyon for one day and one night, they joined a desperate battle with Timorese warriors. The Europeans 'were the target of every shot'.⁹ Flores, Lagos, Bettencourt, and most Portuguese soldiers died on the spot, and their heads were immediately cut off. But Câmara did not fall in battle. Miraculously, he and a few men managed to cross the border and escape into Dutch territory. However, for reasons unknown, the captain turned back. Like virtually every other occurrence on those days, the circumstances of Câmara's return to Cová and his subsequent death were to be covered in mystery.

According to the soldier António Borges Pereira, possibly the only European survivor, the captain returned to Cová 'where his head was cut off'¹⁰: 'During the night Captain Câmara went towards Loc-en with an artillery soldier and some *moradores*, and then from Loc-en to Cova, where he was killed!'¹¹ The version of Câmara's death that was to prevail in Dili and Lisbon suggested that he abandoned the group and, all alone, headed to Cová. Celestino da Silva was responsible for publicizing this account, and reported the lonely journey to Cová as an act of 'heroic' self-sacrifice, a premeditated

'suicide': 'Captain Câmara', he explained in official correspondence to Lisbon, 'was a brave man; he did not want to survive the disaster for which he was so responsible.'¹² In Timor a contemporary story reported that Câmara fell after a 'terrible fight'; he killed three enemies and was finally decapitated by an *asua'in* of Cová.¹³ Câmara's solitary death and decapitation in Cová was consolidated as a legendary tale in the coming decades. Later, colonial historians recalled the moment as the decapitation of a hero at a moment of vulnerability: whilst stopping at the Bé-Fane spring in Hilar to quench his thirst, Câmara was denounced to the village chief by an indigenous woman. An *asua'in* of Cová was put in charge of killing the officer. Then, after accomplishing the feat, the *asua'in* brought the severed head of captain Câmara to Cová, where it was put on public view at the top of a long bamboo stick.¹⁴

The above account of Câmara's journey draws on the official description of the incidents. It was reported by governor Celestino da Silva in several letters to Macao, and by the 'official' report which was presented by a Committee appointed in Dili in September 1895 to fulfil the task of collecting the survivors' testimonies, 'to ascertain the causes of the disaster ... the circumstances in which it occurred, and who is the responsible'.¹⁵ Yet, although it received official sanction, this narrative was one of many accounts in circulation during the months that followed the incident. The official report of the Dili Committee was itself an attempt to bring order into this multiplicity, whilst also clearing the governor of political responsibilities. It suggested that the captain's misbehaviours had been the 'cause' of indigenous hostility—ultimately, the cause of the tragedy¹⁶ (Map 3). However, in Lisbon and Macao, some strongly disputed that Câmara—an officer of unblemished conduct—could have lost his temper. Instead, they argued the cause of such a tragedy must have been the 'betrayal' and mischievous character of indigenous people.¹⁷ Moreover, even Dili's official retelling of the event was open to uncertainty. Governor Celestino remarked that the survivors' versions were so many and that they were such 'completely contradictory narrations' that he himself could not 'guarantee' the truthfulness of the account.¹⁸ 'There are different versions of the army officers' deaths', he observed in December 1895; and in still another letter he confessed: 'So far nobody has written the truth; romance and more romance, nothing more. Only in the future, I believe, the truth about all that happened between Batugadé and Forém will be known.'¹⁹ The lack of 'truth', the diversity of accounts, and their contradictory nature expressed the uncertain character of the episode. It also expressed the need to cope with a drama by creating retrospective accounts.

Despite the proliferation of stories, one fact was agreed: a 'disaster' had taken place. The multiple and conflicting narratives enacted a moment of public crisis, whilst establishing the epistemic conditions for further actions to correct the collective problem. In other words, the varied colonial recapitulations, to borrow from Victor Turner's metaphor, gave 'captain Câmara's



Map 3 The Western Kingdoms and the journey of captain Câmara and his men in 1895. This is based in a map produced by the Committee appointed by Celestino da Silva in 1895 to investigate the causes of the massacre. It contrasted the actual journey with a so-called officially planned itinerary so to acquit the governor from responsibilities in Câmara's tragic end. From a map enclosed in ACL_SEMU_DGU_RM_005_Cx 1, 1890–99. With permission of AHU.

death and decapitation' the dramatic 'structure and atmosphere' of a 'public episode of tensional irruption', a 'social drama' in which the vitality of colonialism was at stake.²⁰ The narratives also enacted the crisis in a peculiar way: at the core of the drama were the death of Europeans and the loss of European heads.²¹ Certainly the deaths of many regular soldiers and Timorese irregulars helped denominate the episode as a 'massacre', amplifying its local consequences, but, it was around the death and decapitation of Portuguese army officers, especially captain Câmara, that the public crisis unfolded.²² The tragic fate of the Portuguese officers at Cová equalled a disruption of order in the imperial community, both locally and at home. In fact, in struggling to accurately recount the journey of the captain Câmara's column, the colonial accounts referred to the European military leaders as 'individuals' that stood for the vitality of the colonial establishment and, ultimately, the imperial nation. In this near Durkheimian correspondence between individual and collective, the loss of the heads of officers to 'savage' enemy headhunters symbolized the collective crisis. Yet, they were also

to play a symbolic role in the process of resolution of this crisis. In effect, in here approaching the 'massacre of Cová' as a phased social drama, the intention is to situate the Portuguese involvement in skull-collecting in Timor as subsequent actions intended to 'redress' the public crisis and 'reintegrate' the national collective.²³ Collecting, therefore, was an event in a dramatic process. To begin, then, let us situate the value of the bodies of Europeans in relation both to the colonial economy of symbolic power and the heroic economy of the empire.

The local and national significance of Portuguese severed heads

The slaughtering of the troops and, especially, the killing of European officers informed the contemporary interpretations of the incident as a crisis of Portuguese symbolic power in Timor. In Dili, a rumour suggested that Câmara and the officers had died in Fatumean.²⁴ From that very moment, Celestino remarked, he saw before himself 'a great disaster'.²⁵ The governor was particularly worried about the devastating impact the officers' deaths would have upon the force of Portuguese 'prestige', and expressed a further preoccupation with the loss of still more European heads. Should other officers be killed and decapitated, he feared, the power crisis could take even greater proportions. Days after the incident, in a poignant note to his close collaborator second-lieutenant Duarte, he wrote:

unfortunately the news about the disaster of captain Câmara and deaths of the officers has been confirmed. The moment for the great sacrifices has arrived ... Duarte, an enormous disgrace is hurting us. Count entirely on me. Do not let yourself nor your relatives be killed, for God's sake.²⁶

Later in 1896, Celestino reiterated the warning: 'take no risks with yourself, because your death will have, in the present circumstances, a disastrous effect'.²⁷ The same advice was given in confidential instructions to the officers in the campaign of 1896. Do not take risks, take the greatest care with your life and your heads: 'the death or serious wounding of our officers', the governor remarked, 'and principally of the chief of the column, would be an irreparable disaster, the complete defeat of our forces'.²⁸ Portuguese severed heads lost to the Timorese enemy drastically represented a fall in 'prestige'; conversely, they empowered the adversary. Celestino da Silva's concern expressed the importance of losing or gaining possession of Portuguese severed heads for the economy of symbolic power in Timor. In effect, the colonial record bears evidence of Portuguese officers being the principal target of enemy fire and Timorese attempts for decapitation in combat.²⁹ Conversely, the protection of Portuguese bodies from death and decapitation by the enemy motivated the *moradores* and *arraiais* to fight more fiercely and heroically.³⁰

The death and decapitation of the war leaders stood at the core of the disaster. If in Timor the loss of the officers' heads was perceived as a crisis in 'prestige', the incident amplified in the information circuits of the empire in the form of national crisis. The leading officers—Câmara, Bettencourt, Lagos, Flores—'murdered' by the 'natives' took the front stage as martyrs and sacrificial victims of the imperial venture.³¹ Their decapitation by 'savages' and the knowledge that their dismembered bodies had not been offered proper Catholic burials caused special distress: 'at this very moment', a former military companion of Câmara then commented,

the heads of our untimely dead officers are placed on a stake, where they stand as trophies of glory for those bandits, who are worse than cannibals, who represent the lowest species of the human race, if at any event they belong to it... their dilacerated bodies are now a pasture for carnivorous animals, while their heads are trophies of savages.³²

In Lisbon, in effect, the harm done to the bodies of Europeans in Timor seemed to represent a severe blow to the body of the imperial nation. This singular correspondence might have been an expression of the heroic culture of a nationalist imperial society, one in which, to borrow freely from Marshall Sahlins, 'the chief lives the life of the group'.³³ In the 1890s, the public imagination of the Portuguese empire celebrated victorious feats of arms in the colonies and military leaders were elevated to the status of national heroes.³⁴ In this heroic atmosphere the death of the officers in Timor was sensed as a disorder of national-imperial scope. Initially, the government tried to prevent the news of the disaster spreading to the wider public, fearing a quick escalation of public crisis.³⁵ Yet, catastrophic accounts of the officers' death had already broken in London via Amsterdam and Batavia, perhaps unsurprisingly given that Lisbon stood remotely at the end of the information networks that linked Timor to the outside world.³⁶ The government was forced to confirm the occurrence on 2 October. Immediately, the newspapers spoke of a 'massacre', 'a hideous catastrophe', 'terrible hecatomb' of 'fatal consequences for the prestige of our sovereignty'.³⁷ Accounts of Câmara's death soon widely circulated in Portugal, Spain, France, and England.³⁸ In Lisbon, the headlines were unambiguous: 'The revolt in Timor—Forces slaughtered—Death of the Government Secretary-General—A critical situation'.³⁹

Perceived thus, the tragedy of September 1895 required appropriate reaction. In the following moments of the drama, 'redressive actions' were taken with a view to correcting the disorder.⁴⁰ These actions fell into two strategies, which involved different forms of head-collecting: punishment and repossession. Redressing the disaster was to imply 'actions of punishment' orientated towards violently dispossessing the criminal enemies of life and wealth, but also 'actions of repossession' oriented to rescue Portuguese

things lost to the enemy. We begin with the activities of punishment and the collecting of Timorese skulls.

Actions of punishment and the decapitation of enemies

The certainty of being in the midst of a 'great disaster' was as undisputable as the need to reciprocate the officers' deaths by taking 'revenge' based on an equal or higher degree of violence. In informing the Ministry of the occurrence in October 1895, the governor of Macao and Timor expressed his patriotic intention to set up a military expedition, 'in revenge for the outrage': 'Whatever the cause of the disaster', he concluded, 'the fact is that it took place and [the rebels] have to be severely punished.'⁴¹ In Lisbon, some urged the government to send a special metropolitan expedition so that 'those undisciplined hordes of rebel savages receive a severe and exemplary punishment!'⁴² Another army officer voiced his indignation, pressing the Portuguese authorities to act with regard to the 'natives' in Timor as the British were doing with regard to the Aborigines in Australia; 'persuaded of the uselessness of such animals, they decided to extinguish them with gunshot, like famished wolves.'⁴³

Lisbon gave Celestino da Silva a free hand in avenging the disaster. Celestino began preparations for a punitive campaign, but rejected the hypothesis of a metropolitan expedition. He decided to trust local resources, confident that the traditional mechanisms of mutual parasitism in Timor would appropriately redress the balance. In his opinion, the punishment could and should be conducted with Timorese *arraiais* and *moradores*, as it had always been done with considerable success.⁴⁴ A punitive strategy of unlimited violence was designed, the governor declared, 'in reparation for the outrage suffered by our fatherland'.⁴⁵ Because the rainy season was approaching, the governor postponed the punitive expedition for the coming dry season.⁴⁶ In August 1896, the campaign began. The governor's orders were clear: 'to raze everything to the ground'.⁴⁷ The officers obediently followed the instructions. Thousands of *arraiais* invaded and plundered Sanir, Cotubaba, Cová, and Fatumean during 1896. It 'was a war of extermination, as no other war in Timor has ever been conducted,' Celestino da Silva later explained, 'a war made as it was demanded to be, [in] memory of those slaughtered in Fatumean on 6 September 1895; there was no mercy for anyone, and no mercy could be shown; in all hearts pulsed the feeling of the duty of revenge.'⁴⁸

Ritual decapitation played a part in the mechanisms for redressing the disaster. This form of punishment was collectively and anonymously imposed on the 'enemy'. The quantitative practice of head-counting in the accounts of these military expeditions, for instance, as seen above in this work, participated in this collective form of punishment. But in 1896 the dramatic dynamics also implied other forms of head-taking. For it mattered 'whose

heads', rather than just 'how many' had been taken. The logic of collective punishment was complemented by a principle of individualization of crime. Because the crisis centred on the figure of Câmara and the officers, their murders had to be individually punished and 'compensated'. Accordingly, in material practice as well as in discourse, the Portuguese performed another kind of appropriation of Timorese heads. It was important to possess the heads of the enemies that had been named as the actual 'assassins' of the Europeans.

This form of individualized punishment gained momentum in the decapitation of Brão-Sacca, *asua'in* of Cová and presumed murderer of captain Câmara. References to the seizure of Brão-Sacca's head by the Portuguese forces in Cová occupied a distinguished place in the accounts celebrating the victory. In September 1896, Celestino da Silva expressed his displeasure at the escape of many of the 'principal heads' of the rebellion, declaring: 'of those who murdered our officers only one was killed, a certain Brão-Sacca, the assassin of the unfortunate captain Câmara.'⁴⁹ Other accounts of the campaigns gave prominence to the head of Brão-Sacca. Later on, in another official letter, the same governor remarked: 'A famous Brão-Sacca was killed and left his head in the hands of our [forces], he was a much feared criminal and one of the murderers of the ill-fated captain Eduardo Ignacio da Câmara.'⁵⁰ The recurrent public references to the killing and decapitation of Brão-Sacca gained meaning in the context of the punitive logic of the crisis. The loss of the heads of Câmara and the officers was compensated for with the possession of the head of their murderer. Yet, this represented more than an act of discursive appropriation. The head of Brão-Sacca did not follow the customary ritual circuits of colonial headhunting. It was appropriated by the government and its destination was not to be Timorese villages. I will return to the 'destination' of Brão-Sacca's head below. For the moment, let us look at collecting in the redressive actions of repossession. 'Portuguese things' lost to the enemy in the disaster were to be brought back to their 'right place'. Accordingly, Portuguese heads, too, were to be retrieved.

Actions of repossession and the recovery of European human remains

To rescue the severed heads of the dead comrades, especially of Câmara, was a main goal of the campaign against Cová. This purpose was made explicit by Celestino da Silva, in a personal letter to captain Câmara's nephew, António da Câmara, in Lisbon. In February 1896, Celestino solemnly promised the captain's family that he would do his very best to recover the head of the officer: 'I have little hope of getting the head of my unfortunate friend back. We will see; I will do everything I can to achieve this goal. Diplomacy, stratagems, force, in short, I will make use of every means.'⁵¹ The governor did not break his promise. In October 1896, he gave explicit instructions to the officers in this regard. He ordered the officer in charge of attacking Fatumean to recover the Europeans' heads, along with other items in the

possession of the enemy: 'You should do your best to take back two artillery pieces', he explained, 'which should be at Fatumean or its surroundings, and carry the heads you find in order to see if among them is the head of the unfortunate Lieutenant Mendes da Silva.'⁵² The officer in command managed to take possession of 'some of [Mendes da Silva's] belongings, such as books, and a dolman of lieutenant rank stained with blood, and a few other articles'.⁵³ However, he was unable to recover his head.

Duarte and Elvaim, the officers in command of the attacks on Sanir and Cová, were more successful. In Sanir, many 'soldiers' uniforms and military objects, ammunition, etc.' were recovered.⁵⁴ In the main village of Cová, residence of the queen, some days after the attack on Dato-Tolo, a higher number of uniforms, artillery pieces, suitcases, and 'saints and religious garments' were collected.⁵⁵ In addition, and more importantly, in Cová Duarte and Elvaim regained possession of Câmara's head. The head was collected along with an uncertain number of others from a sacred tree. Celestino valued it as a great feat of the campaign and described it with pomp in his report to Lisbon:

The spoils taken by our forces were important and, in Cová, capital of the kingdom, many *heads* were found on a tree near the 'pomal' [sacred indigenous site]; many of them belonged to white men, without doubt, and had been cut off in different epochs, but amongst these only one could be recognized without contestation as that of *the brave captain Câmara*.⁵⁶

'Many *heads*' of 'white men' were collected at Cová. Most could not be named and therefore could not be fully linked to a state of personhood. Only one, the head of captain Câmara, had been restored to that condition by an act of 'recognition'. As much as the punitive victories over the enemy, the repossession of Eduardo da Câmara's head seemed to constitute a feat capable, on its own, of redeeming the public crisis. As reports of the collecting action reached Lisbon, the appropriation of the head of captain Câmara was singled out as major achievement of the campaign.⁵⁷ The newspapers praised it as a glorious conquest of the Portuguese 'soldiers'.⁵⁸ At the ministerial offices in Lisbon, the above passage of the report highlighted: 'Recognition of the head of Captain Câmara'.⁵⁹ The 'recognition' of 'the head' as container of Câmara's personhood pointed to the possibility of giving him a proper burial. The identification also carried positive implications for the management of the public crisis. Because the decapitation of Câmara corresponded to disturbance of the nation, to retrieve their head from the enemy and reconduct it to their rightful place in Christian trajectories of the dead body could be part of the solution. In order to impact on the resolution of the collective drama, then, the head of Câmara and of the 'white men' would have to return to sacred ground. This came to pass as the heads were sent back to Dili, and that of Câmara back to Portugal.

The circulation of the hero as relic: the head of captain Câmara

The circulation and preservation of human heads as holy relics, body parts in which the extraordinary personhood of martyrs and saints was believed to inhere, was a current practice in the religious culture of Christian Europe.⁶⁰ The Portuguese repossessing of white men's skulls at Cová should also be read as an act of appropriating sacred relics, which held religious as well as patriotic significance. In his famous report of October 1896 on the punitive campaigns, governor Celestino explained the destiny he had given, or intended to give, to the skulls the troops collected from the sacred tree of Cová. He then wrote:

The heads were sent to this city [Dili], where I keep them with the intention of, at a suitable time, depositing them in a tomb, which will be build according to my instructions, except for [the head] of *the brave and untimely dead captain Eduardo Ignacio da Câmara*, which I have shipped properly packed on the warship *Africa* to his nephew António da Câmara, a secretary official at the Ministry of the Kingdom, because it was my understanding that it should be delivered to the family, who with much insistence several times asked me for everything we could conquer that belonged to their heroic leader.⁶¹

The heads of Europeans 'without a name' were carried to Dili by the Portuguese troops as sacred things, where they were 'intended' for Christian burial in a tomb specially arranged by the governor. No documentation indicates if this 'intention' was fulfilled. In any case, the intention pointed to the double significance of collecting European heads. Christian burial in Dili was meant to provide a solution to broken religious trajectories, but it also articulated a solution for the public crisis. The restoration of proper burial of the decapitated Europeans was meant to help the reintegration of the colonial community and its damaged nationhood. But it was to be in the circulation of the head of captain Câmara to Portugal that 'patriotic-religious' reintegration was to be accomplished. For the governor had revealed that a division of the Cová collection of white men's remains had been made. The head 'with a name', the head of Eduardo da Câmara, was sent to Portugal as a gift to the captain's relatives. Celestino da Silva accounted for this action as a private response to a private request made by the family of the deceased. He fulfilled the promise made to Câmara's nephew before the punitive campaign. Thus, at the same time as he reported to the Ministry, he wrote to António da Câmara:

In the ship *Africa* that left [Dili] a few days ago, I have sent a funereal gift to Your Excellency; it is the head of your uncle and my unfortunate friend, the brave captain Câmara. Your Excellency will judge whether or not I have done the right thing; I have done what I wished would be done

to myself. ... The head of my unfortunate friend was found together with others in Cová in the kingdom's main village; I recognised it at first sight from among the others.

...

PS: The head goes suitably packed in a box of teak wood, the best we can get here, we do not have good craftsmen; as precaution it goes inside another box addressed to Your Excellency; it is convenient that you claim it as soon as the *Africa* arrives.⁶²

Celestino planned to circulate the head as a family relic.⁶³ As such, it should help restore the order of private lives disrupted by the death of a loved one, helping the relatives to maintain a connection with their beloved relative and 'heroic' ancestor.⁶⁴ However, the head was also meant to serve similar purposes on a broader level. It was also intended to work as a device that helped maintain collective connection with the vitality of a national hero, while reconciling the imperial community disrupted by the 'disaster'. The journey of captain Câmara's remains to Portugal blurred private and public realms of mourning. As soon as the news of its transportation from Timor reached Lisbon, Câmara's head called the immediate attention of the public and the state authorities. It was the relic of a national martyr. Consequently, its reception in Lisbon was prepared as a sequence of public rites of incorporation of the head in the Portuguese community, as patriotic as religious in character. Catholic burial was the centre of these public rites. The arrival of the head on board the *Africa* was a stately occasion and the event was given full coverage in the newspapers.⁶⁵ In an atmosphere of great sorrow, a long procession of people accompanied the urn with the head, covered with a Portuguese national flag, to the Cemetery of Prazeres in Lisbon, where the Minister of the Navy and Overseas Affairs gave a poignant speech⁶⁶ (Fig. 19).

The recovery of the captain's head in Timor and the rites at Lisbon were worthy of attention abroad. A French newspaper celebrated the heroic recovery ('The soldiers retrieved the head of their chief and sent it to Lisbon') and referred to the burial ceremonies as 'occasion of a touching demonstration of patriotism'.⁶⁷ In Spain, the event hit the headlines.⁶⁸ D. Ramon Auñón y Villalón, army officer and member of the Spanish Parliament, published a eulogy to the Portuguese nation and the captain. D. Ramon expressed his admiration for Câmara as 'martyr of civilization' and praised the soldiers' bravery for having 'recovered the head of their leader'. The Portuguese government, finally, was the object of D. Ramon's special tribute because of the 'patriotic-religious action' of 'giving burial to the remains of the hero'.⁶⁹ The interconnection between patriotic and religious idioms at home and abroad illuminates the significance of the actions of retrieval and reception. Yet, still another head was intended to travel from Cová to Portugal: the head of the *asua'in* Brao-Sacca. This journey, too, was meant to articulate



Figure 19 The burial of the head of captain Câmara at the Cemetery of Prazeres in Lisbon, 1897. CMS/CMLC, Ref. 110 Fot/1998. With permission of CMS/CMLC.

the resolution of the drama, yet according to a contrasting principle. This time, it was to express punishment and the destination of the remains was not the cemetery, but the museum.

The circulation of 'the criminal' as museum specimen: the head of Brao-Sacca

By the time of the Cová 'massacre', the scientific inspection of bodies was traditionally complicit with principles of punishment sanctioned by Catholic religion and by state law. The origins of this complicity may be found in the culture of dissection in anatomical medicine, a discipline from which, as seen in Chapter 4, physical anthropology derived much of its scientific and professional identity. Dissection had been a topic of conflict between Christians since the advent of anatomy, yet medical students had still gained access to what Roy Porter appropriately termed 'vile bodies'.⁷⁰ Post-mortem dismemberment of executed criminals was seen as a continuation of human justice, and even Catholic doctrines accepted it as the advance consummation of divine punishment for men whose soul was already lost for eternity. Dissection was legitimately practiced on the bodies of executed criminals until legitimate sources of recruitment extended to the destitute and poor in the nineteenth century.⁷¹ Therefore, so long as medical dissection could

continue trajectories of bodily and spiritual punishment, the mobilization of corpses as scientific objects was viewed as culturally legitimate.

Anthropology was heir to this historical pattern of juxtaposition between capital punishment and scientific objectification of the body. In effect, often the skulls of indigenous people sentenced to death in the colonies or killed in the course of warfare as rebels against colonial authority found their way to Western anthropological collections.⁷² The presence of 'vile skulls' in museum anthropology was an extension of colonial sites of punishment. The trajectory of the skull of the supposed Timorese decapitator of captain Câmara should be understood as, in a similar vein, continuous with the punitive dynamics of the Cová drama. By conflating the categories of criminal and 'savage', the head of Brao-Sacca was doubly appropriate for anthropological objectification. Science's intersection with bodily punishment and the interest of anthropologists in indigenous remains was perhaps behind governor Celestino's intention to send the Timorese head to a museum. In 1896, in the same letter informing the relatives about the transport of the captain's remains to Lisbon, he stated:

Two of the *valentões* [braves, or *asua'ins*] who murdered my unfortunate friend were killed, and the head of one of them named Brau-Succa [*sic*], will soon go to a museum in Lisbon, whereas the head of the other one could not be obtained, because his followers carried his corpse, hiding themselves in Dutch territory.⁷³

The body of Câmara, the hero, was endowed with sacredness and should 'rest in peace' in a cemetery. In contrast, the vile body of the criminal, Brao-Sacca, was suitable for profanation in the museum. The letter expressed the purpose of sending the head to a museum, but no further evidence suggests that a Timorese head was received in a Lisbon museum during this period.⁷⁴ This might suggest that the project of circulating Brao-Sacca's head as museum object was not fulfilled. Nevertheless, the intention reveals that the drama of Cová could articulate two different types of European collecting of human remains. The division of the two categories of remains between the museum and the cemetery, respectively, continued the twofold logic of punishment and salvation paramount to the mechanisms for redressing the 'disaster' in the campaigns of 1896. Thus, if the circulation of Câmara's head as relic culminated in the salvation of the collective self, the circulation of the head of Brao-Sacca as museum object could culminate in the punishment of the indigenous enemy. In the context of the Cová's social drama, therefore, the museum destination of human skulls consummated a colonial strategy of punishment. This suggests that government practices of circulating Timorese skulls to scientific museums continued the punitive mechanisms associated with the exercise of ceremonial violence on which the force of colonial power was based. For, the circuit of collecting illustrated by the head of

Brão-Sacca does not stand alone in the historical record.⁷⁵ Moreover, it is also as a result of the violence of colonial punitive mechanisms that the collection of skulls at the Coimbra Museum must be understood. Having examined actions of collecting in Cová in 1896, we continue to analyse collecting as part of yet another dramatic process: as an event in the conflicts that opposed the Catholic missionaries to their enemies during and after the Laleia war, in 1878–81. We will then finally turn to the original ‘history’ of the Coimbra collection.

The mission and the Laleia war, 1878–81

In April 1881, after three years at war with the government, D. Manuel Salvador dos Remédios, the former king of Laleia, a coastal kingdom to the east of the capital, finally showed up in Dili. Despite all the pains taken since 1878, the governor Lacerda and the missionaries had been unable to track him down on the mountains of Laclubar and Tekinamata, where he sought refuge and organized his armies.⁷⁶ D. Manuel was wanted in connection with ‘crimes’ concerning the so-called ‘Laleia war’, but he had descended from the mountains willingly. As anticipated by his adversaries, Remédios had just awaited the departure of governor Lacerda to enter into negotiation with the Portuguese officers Cabreira and Vaquinhas. D. Manuel was highly regarded in Portuguese military circles as a man of great political influence, and European manners. ‘He always put on the uniform of colonel and had a martial appearance’, observed captain Dorez, ‘and could be taken for a European; he was intelligent and somewhat educated, such that he might be considered the only civilized *leoray* who has appeared in Timor, and perhaps for that reason he was so chased until he died.’⁷⁷ With the officers’ support, Remédios expected to obtain the pardon of the new governor, Cardoso de Carvalho, and the restoration of his honours as a king.⁷⁸ In Dili, Major Vaquinhas brought D. Manuel before governor Carvalho, who sent him to prison ‘adding that he had to answer for some actions of which he was accused’.⁷⁹ In effect, others offered a rather different reading of the *régulo*’s character. For the Catholic Missionaries, no words were strong enough to describe Remédios: ‘thug’, ‘superstitious’, ‘iconoclast’, ‘incendiary’. He was a rebel and an anti-Christian criminal and, as such, should be punished. Governor Carvalho decided that the matter should be settled in court. The trial took place in Dili in April 1881, and was the stage of an ongoing political conflict between different social groups in the colony.⁸⁰ The accusers were the missionaries whilst on the side of Remédios were the Portuguese military and eventually governor Carvalho himself. The responsibility for the war of Laleia was at stake.

The Portuguese Catholic missionaries then in Timor did not share the traditional praxiology of governors and officers, or the tolerant attitude of

former priests towards local customs. Educated at the Seminary of Sernache de Bonjardim (the Royal College of Overseas Missions) they had arrived in 1877–78 with the ambitious purpose of reforming the Catholic Mission.⁸¹ Imbued with the strong patriotic imperialist ideology that was emblematic of the Seminary, the new missionaries advocated the virtues of an intrusive and moralizing programme of colonial intervention. They were determined to put an end to every Timorese ‘superstition’. The Mission Superior, Rev. Joaquim de Medeiros, and the parson of Dili, Rev. Gomes Ferreira, prepared the prosecution’s case. They charged Manuel dos Remédios of moral and religious crimes. ‘The death of some of his close relatives’, Rev. Ferreira remarked, ‘was sufficient motive for Manoel dos Remédios to arrest and decapitate several individuals, as *suangues* (sorcerers) who had been the cause of that death.’⁸² The death sentence for the crime of *suanguice* (witchcraft) was normally executed with great ceremonial cruelty and constituted a customary form of Timorese justice in the kingdoms.⁸³ ‘If these crimes affect society and are an invincible obstacle to the development of a country’, Rev. Medeiros observed, ‘Religion condemns them and finds them deeply repugnant, they represent a grave offence to her, because they are crimes based on anti-religious actions, such as sorcery, *soangues*—of all Timorese [customs] the most superstitious.’⁸⁴ Besides being guilty of abhorrent murders derived from ‘superstitions’, D. Manuel was also guilty of heresy against the sacred things of the Church during the war: ‘the wicked man robbed the Laleia church, smashed the images on the altar, spread them on the floor, and afterwards he burnt the temple down’.⁸⁵ Thus in recapitulating the origins of the conflict, the missionaries claimed that the violence of the government had been legitimate because it expressed a response to transgressions against the sacred principles of Catholic religion. The atrocious crimes of *suanguice*, followed by disobediences to the governor’s *bandos*, had been fair reasons for taking part in a 3 years’ war against Remédios.⁸⁶ Indeed, the Mission had played an active part in the war. Rev. Ferreira explained: ‘the missionaries preaching the Christian doctrine and opposing superstitious beliefs [were] just aiding the government in the high mission of civilizing this people’; ‘by virtue of their sacred ministry, [they] cannot but stigmatize so many crimes’.⁸⁷

For the missionaries, therefore, the Laleia war had been a kind of religious Crusade against paganism and ‘barbarity’, a war as morally virtuous in the eyes of the Portuguese Law as in the eyes of God. According to the stories of the armed conflict told during the trial, the war had been expression of an enmity between the priests and the *régulo*. In fact, the enmity was reciprocal. Enclosed in correspondence to Lisbon was a statement where D. Manuel presented his version of the incidents in 1881.⁸⁸ Since their arrival, the Catholic missionaries were determined to eliminate the practice of *barlake* (Timorese marriage contracts), an institution central to the Timorese political alliances and ritual life. In Laleia, *barlake* was common.

Eventually, Rev. Medeiros insistently requested the *régulo* to abandon the practice and celebrate a Catholic marriage but he faced resistances. When, in 1878, the reverends Medeiros and Branco tried to establish a new mission station in Laleia, they failed and had to return to Dili. According to Rev. Ferreira, this occurred because the 'disorders in Laleia, promoted by Manuel dos Remédios who revolted against the government' had already started.⁸⁹ According to Remédios, however, the attempts of the Superior to settle a mission in his territory and force him to reject the *barlake* custom had been his 'legitimate' reason for making the war against the government.⁹⁰ The war began, he complained, because the 'missionaries were hard to satisfy'; they became aggressive 'when their demands were not attended'. It was Medeiros who tried to persuade the governor to 'persecute' him, and the missionaries had led armies of *moradores* in the war: 'three priests including the reverend Medeiros armed with rifle and revolver accompanied the force that came to Laleia for arresting me'. Remédios went as far as to suggest that the missionaries had mutilated the saints and set fire to the Laleia chapel, with the single purpose of portraying him 'as if he was some heretic'.⁹¹ In short, the priests, not Remédios, were the cause of war.

The arguments exchanged in court did not exhaust the complex story of the power struggles between indigenous aristocracy, Portuguese army officers, the governor, and the missionaries, which fed on the conflicts of 1878–80. The official correspondence of governor Lacerda to Macao and Lisbon in that period, for example, contained successive explanations about the 'causes' of war that were sufficiently ambiguous and contradictory to allow alternative interpretations.⁹² Nevertheless, the court case constituted a crucial moment of the 'Laleia war' as social drama, to continue with Turner's metaphor. In effect, the trial represented a critical episode of public tension in which 'conflicting groups' attempted to assert opposite orders of legitimacy for colonial violence, on the basis of different retrospective accounts of the war.⁹³ Critical patterns of hostility were then brought to light. On the one hand, the court dispute depicted the Laleia war as a civilizing and religious crusade of the Catholic priests based upon the mutual enmity between D. Manuel and the Mission; on the other, it pointed to political conflicts between the officers, the governor Carvalho, and the Mission. In this regard, the trial of Remédios was also an arena for a tension between two opposite colonial theories of government of indigenous customs. The Mission's civilizing paradigm clashed with the pragmatism of army officers in the conduct of politics in the kingdoms. In giving public form to these conflicts, the court case is of interest for a particular reason. Its outcome would bring to the surface hidden historical connections of the Coimbra collection of skulls. For, it is in the dramatic hostility of the 'Laleia war' that both the actions of collecting the skulls and of narrating skull collecting must be located. Therefore, the Laleia drama will enable us to reconstruct the trajectory of attachments

of skulls and histories which was lost in 1882 at the hands of the Côte-Real Committee. Let us look at the 'crisis of the Mission' that followed the court sentence.

After the trial: the Mission *versus* governor Carvalho

The *régulo's* denunciation of the Mission as the driving force of violence and hostility in the Laleia war prevailed in court.⁹⁴ The judge claimed a 'lack of evidence' and acquitted Manuel dos Remédios.⁹⁵ Accordingly, right after the trial, Carvalho accepted the vassalage of D. Manuel, re-established the kingdom of Laleia, and published a *bando* reinvesting Remédios with the title and honours of king of Laleia.⁹⁶ In the letter explaining these decisions to the governor of Macao, Carvalho provided sound pragmatic reasons for pardoning and restoring the ex-'rebel' to the post of king. Because Medeiros was 'the most influential *régulo* in the other kingdoms', Carvalho claimed, it was 'of the highest political convenience' for the government to preserve him as ally rather than to have him as an enemy. The 'ill-will towards this *régulo*', Carvalho continued, 'implies the enmity of other kingdoms, whereas befriending him means not simply total obedience to the government but also the loyal and sincere friendship of the kingdoms connected to him and under his influence.'⁹⁷ It did not matter if D. Manuel had barbarically killed people as witches, refused to celebrate Catholic marriage, or committed other religious heresies. Political advantages were to be derived from having the presumed 'criminal' on the Portuguese side. The praxiology of government officers prevailed; the civilizing paradigm of the Mission lost the battle. Furthermore, as a consequence of the court decision, Remédios's historical version of the 'causes' of war achieved the status of official truth. The Mission was blamed for the war. Soon the accusations of the missionaries' active part in the armed conflict were to be voiced by governor Carvalho and the military, who assumed the Laleia war had originated in a 'persecution' promoted by the missionaries, especially the Mission Superior, out of hatred against the *régulo* Remédios.⁹⁸

The closure of the trial and Carvalho's pragmatism received the support of the provincial governor, José da Graça.⁹⁹ 'I consider very sound', Graça observed, 'the reasons that took Your Excellency to re-establish the kingdom of Laleia'.¹⁰⁰ The history of the war expressed in court and advocated by Remédios, Carvalho, and the army officers also received the sanction of Macao. The missionaries had not just lost the case in court, but they also became the tainted in the eyes of district and provincial authorities. In Macao, governor Graça agreed with Carvalho. His conviction was that the Laleia war had been a war of 'blood-thirsty hatred' led by the Mission Superior just because the *régulo* 'did not want to subjugate to the domination wished by the Mission'.¹⁰¹ He accused the priests of exhibiting behaviour altogether 'inappropriate to the evangelical character of

their mission', instigating violence, 'persecuting' indigenous authorities, and finally making unfounded accusations in court.¹⁰²

After the trial, the tension between governor Carvalho, the military, and the missionaries—namely the Superior, Medeiros, and the second in rank, Gomes Ferreira—escalated to a bitter public conflict that resonated in Macao and Lisbon. The social drama staged during the trial reconfigured into a political conflict between state and ecclesiastical authorities. The moment was to be recalled in ecclesiastical histories as the 'crisis of the Mission', a result of 'persecution' by the colonial authorities, particularly governor Carvalho.¹⁰³ In effect, as the trial drew to a close, Carvalho had taken the place of Remédios in missionary discourse. The governor was now the 'enemy of religion', the 'anti-Catholic', the 'advocate of impious doctrines'.¹⁰⁴ The conflict erupted when Rev. Ferreira, then Interim Superior, refused to attend, as prescribed by custom, the vassalage rite of Manuel dos Remédios unless the latter apologized to the Catholic faith for his misbehaviours. As Remédios refused to bow to the Mission's demands, Carvalho refashioned the ceremony and performed the vassalage without the priest; in addition, he punished Ferreira with a suspension from office and a sojourn in Dili's jail.¹⁰⁵ The incident provoked the outrage of Medeiros and the Bishop and motivated a voluminous exchange of correspondence between the authorities in Timor, Macao, and Lisbon. Carvalho authored a number of venomous letters denouncing the evil political interests of the Mission, in the process gaining the support of the provincial governor.¹⁰⁶ Medeiros and Ferreira presented their case to the principal ecclesiastical authorities, the Bishop of Macao, D. Manoel, and the Overseas Missions *Procurador* in Singapore.¹⁰⁷ The Bishop took the missionaries' side from the outset. In forwarding Medeiros's and Ferreira's complaints to Lisbon, he indefatigably praised his subordinates, pleading with the Minister to take action against Carvalho's 'abuse of authority'.¹⁰⁸ A considerable number of documents was thus in circulation as a result of the post-trial crisis of 1881. Multiple accounts disputed the propriety of the actions taken against Remédios in the war, as of those taken against the Mission after the court decision. The Laleia war, the trial, the activities of the Mission since 1877, and many other incidents of recent colonial history were constantly recapitulated by the actors, in an attempt to seek political advantages. It was in the course of this dispute that a story appeared about the Mission's involvement in collecting for the colonial government. This account concerned the activities of the 'Medeiros Committee' appointed by governor Lacerda in 1879, following Macao's instructions to assemble collections for the Lisbon Colonial Museum. As such, it is a suitable point at which to pick up the threads of the story told in Chapter 5, about the trajectory of the consignment of Timorese skulls sent to Macao in 1881. The missing words of the Coimbra collection are now about to resume.

The heads of Timorese highlanders

The report of the activities of the Medeiros Committee was told in the heat of the moment by Rev. Medeiros, in a long letter to the Bishop of Macao dated June 1881, and then forwarded by the latter to the Minister of the Navy and Overseas Affairs.¹⁰⁹ The account appeared in the course of a lengthy and detailed explanation of missionary activity since 1877. Medeiros intended to redress the damage done to the Mission by their political enemies, by presenting clear proof of its importance for the colonial establishment, and of the patriotism and virtuousness of his team of priests. Medeiros's letter was then meant to intervene in the ongoing drama of the Laleia war and it is such an action that, somewhat accidentally, puts us back on the track of the Timorese collections sent to Macao. In fact, in the list of the missionaries' 'virtuous activities', Medeiros described the service they had paid to Science. 'The missionaries', he explained, 'were also members of a committee in charge of collecting colonial products for the Lisbon and Dili museums, and created by decree of the District government.'¹¹⁰ This reference refers to events analysed in Chapter 5. Yet, we can now reassess them, not from the viewpoint of Macao, but from the perspective of the Timor Committee. Medeiros's report to the Bishop contained startling information. It offered a 'history' of the skulls, the 'history' silenced by agents at Macao.

Medeiros recapitulated the work done by the Committee under his charge, first describing the incidents that followed its dissolution in February 1881 by decree of governor Carvalho. Only Carvalho's ill-will could explain the abrupt end of the Committee, which caused the interruption of collecting and forced Medeiros to give 'all materials' to the Public Treasure.¹¹¹ In fact, Carvalho's decision caught Medeiros by surprise. He was about to leave for Macao and swiftly requested the governor send people to helping him with packing the collections, but the request was denied. Then, 'I did myself this service', Medeiros explained, 'aided by Rev. João Gomes Ferreira and an employee of the Mission, using very bad boxes for that purpose, because I was not provided with better ones.'¹¹² This was done in a rush. Then, the Superior obediently handed the collections to Carvalho and accompanied the packages with an *ofício* (official letter) and a catalogue of the collections: 'I did myself the catalogue of all the products contained in five boxes and sent it, with the due official letter of consignment to the same governor [Carvalho]'.¹¹³ So that the Bishop of Macao could confirm these affirmations, Medeiros 'copied in full' the official letter, the *ofício n. 15*, addressed to Carvalho on the occasion of giving away the collections in February 1881.¹¹⁴

The *ofício n. 15* and the remarks on the anthropological collection

The *ofício* revealed that a scientific and anthropological orientation had guided the collecting work done by the Medeiros Committee. Rev. Medeiros

recommended Carvalho create another 'permanent committee', whose activities should 'comprehend the scope of researches apparently insignificant, which can produce great results for Commerce and for archaeological, anthropological, and geological studies in general.'¹¹⁵ Thus, in contrast to the commercial interests that guided collecting in Macao, the views of the Medeiros Committee in Timor had not been strictly commercial. The missionaries had a place for anthropology in their collecting programme. Medeiros's interest in the development of anthropological researches in Timor received confirmation in other instances of his official letter to Carvalho. For instance, he called attention to the importance of studying Timorese prehistoric artefacts with a view to addressing the 'momentous issues' of the 'antiquity of man', then 'discussed in the main athenaeums of the civilized world'.¹¹⁶

The involvement of Christian missionaries in anthropology and colonial collecting should be no surprise.¹¹⁷ Yet, Rev. Medeiros's enthusiastic engagement with prehistoric anthropology and the problem of the 'antediluvian man' might still cause some puzzlement. In that historical context, the findings of prehistoric anthropology contradicted the literal interpretation of the Biblical narrative of human origins. Further, the iconoclastic use of skulls in anthropology and the anti-clerical posture of most practitioners defied the Catholic establishment.¹¹⁸ Nevertheless, for Medeiros, Anthropology and Religion were not incompatible. In the 1870s, the pursuit of modern sciences was central to an ongoing redefinition of the Portuguese Catholic missionary's role. The imperial government hoped the new overseas missionaries to become 'at the same time missionaries of religion and missionaries of science.'¹¹⁹ Rev. Medeiros and the Portuguese priests in Timor had received some education in natural sciences at the Seminary in the 1860s, and, there, had been imbued with an ethos that integrated the unity of 'science and religion' as one ultimate worth. At the Seminary, the devotion to scientific knowledge in the exercise of missionary activity was considered a way of bringing man closer to divine perfection, a gift to the progress of civilization, and a patriotic contribution to the Portuguese empire. 'All the sciences are excellent in their own kind', a teacher explained in 1871 to the future missionaries in Timor, 'and no science is better than the other, because all tend to the same end of perfecting the man, enlightening his knowledge and orienting their will to the good.'¹²⁰

Thus, in showing the Bishop the involvement of the Mission in scientific activities on the side of the government, Medeiros was offering another demonstration of the virtuous character of the Catholic missionaries. In the same vein, collecting human skulls as anthropological objects, if properly framed as scientific endeavour, was both a legitimate and morally virtuous action of the priests; it was part of their role. Rev. Medeiros's letter to Carvalho included lengthy remarks on a collection of human skulls assembled by the Committee with the purpose of being used for

anthropological studies. The reverend explained that, although the catalogues sent to Carvalho already contained information about many of the objects, he considered it 'convenient' 'to add' the 'following observations' with regard to a special set of things listed as 'number 1' in his catalogue. Medeiros wrote:

Under number 1 are thirty-five skulls. They are from adult persons of one and the other sex, who perished at the hands of the government auxiliary forces in the war of Laleia against the thug and rebel Manuel dos Remédios from 1878 to 1879. It represents for the Timorese the greatest glory, according to their barbaric and repugnant customs, to be able to exhibit a severed head from the enemy, either man or woman.

The [Timorese] themselves dry them up on the fire or the sun; and from this derives that these exemplars cannot entirely satisfy the requirements of scientific analysis, because they were not dried with the care required for the purpose of science, but only with that inspired by the savagery of these peoples, which, unfortunately, is still great and will remain so for many years.

Nevertheless, as soon as the Timorese delivered the crania, the greatest care was taken in preserving the lower jaws, which can easily be adapted to the upper [jaws]. These crania are from natives, who inhabit, the most part, in the mountains, where the purest race is found. In the lowlands, especially in hamlets located on the beach, there is no race defined; whereas in the rest of the island is almost beyond doubt that the Australian [race] predominates.¹²¹

The original missing 'history' of the 35 skulls at Coimbra University is here revealed.¹²² The account contradicted central tropes of the historical versions of the Coimbra collection, as they appeared in the next hundred years. There was no kingdom of Cová, no undefined borders that established them as specimens from West Timor, no sacred tree, and no Portuguese severed heads. The story composed a past which further narrators did not imagine—a past with another chronology, '1878–79', geographical origin, 'the mountains', and another colonial event, the 'Laleia war'. Medeiros defined the skulls as the remains of victims of Timorese headhunting, of which the Mission had legitimately taken possession from the indigenous, and then re-shaped as 'anthropological objects'. It was as objects intended for the anthropological study of 'savage' races that the collection was presented to the governor by the priests. The very fact that a narrative for the collection was provided, expressed awareness of the significance of attaching skulls to 'histories', as desired by museum scholars. In effect, the first element worth noting in the above account is Medeiros's informed framing of the skulls as anthropological specimens.¹²³

Medeiros did significant historiographical work in order to portray the crania as specimens of anthropological worth. The account also revealed Medeiros's implicit anthropology of the Timorese races. He ventured an ethnic identity for the Timorese: they belonged to a 'black race', the 'Australian race'. Furthermore, and perhaps more importantly, Medeiros categorized the collection as 'anthropological' due to the geographical origin of the victims from which the skulls were taken: the mountains, where the 'purest race' of Timor could be found, as opposed to the lowlands where the race was undefined. It is possible that this view incorporated local indigenous stereotypes concerning the hill people, then eventually designated as *kaladis*. Especially around Dili, the highlanders were looked upon by coastal people as backward and ignorant folk, surrounded with an aura of mystery.¹²⁴ Nonetheless, in associating this stereotype with the trope of racial purity and blackness, Medeiros expressed familiarity with the value of mountain specimens for ethnological debates in Europe in the 1870s. In fact, the history attached to the collection prefigured a particular anthropological classification of the races of Timor, in line with two key assumptions of the international debate on the races of the Indonesian Archipelago, as analysed in Chapter 5. That is, the idea of the predominance of a 'black race' as a primitive substratum of the whole population, and the longstanding imagery of the mountain inhabitants as the ultimate representatives of this original race. Therefore, in describing the mountains as the ethno-geographical origin for the crania, the Committee added anthropological value to them. Defined thus, the anthropologists were in a position to be able to ascertain the true aboriginal race of Timor. However, in that it was articulated by the Mission Superior, the attribution of 'mountain' origins to the skulls carried another meaning entailing a colonial definition of the enemy (Fig. 20).

The enemy on the mountains: collecting and the punitive violence of the Laleia war

Although conveniently framed as anthropological specimens, the skulls belonged to enemies of the Mission during the Laleia war. They were representatives of the group classified as government rebels and 'enemies of Religion'. The mountains of Tekinamata and Laclubar opposite Dili became Remédios's headquarters during the war, since his forced withdrawal from Laleia in 1878. Throughout the war years, 'the mountains' became a geographic synonym for the barbaric and anti-Christian enmity of Remédios. In the colonial imagery of the Mission and the government authorities, the enemy identified with a wild, inhuman, inhabitant of mountain regions. Rev. Medeiros explained that Remédios 'hidden among the rocks' had 'murdered and robbed the peoples like the most ferocious cannibal.'¹²⁵ Up on the mountains, the provincial governor remarked, was where Remédios 'lives like the wolves hidden among the rocky hills'.¹²⁶ Therefore, Rev. Medeiros's articulation of the skulls as anthropological objects was predicated on the



Figure 20 *Montanhese*s', inhabitants of the mountains in East Timor. Postcard by the *Edições da Missão* (Mission Publishers), c. 1927. Courtesy of João Loureiro.

colonial imagination of an enemy. This conflation was not just rhetorical. For the skulls sent to Macao had resulted from actions of ceremonial violence perpetrated by Timorese hands but in fact triggered by the enmity of Catholic missionaries and the government towards Manuel dos Remédios during the Laleia war.

As stated in the *ofício*, the skulls belonged to men and women decapitated by loyal Timorese 'auxiliaries' during the war of Laleia 'from 1878 to 1879'. The severed heads were the result of punitive actions of colonial 'justice'. Exactly where the skulls were obtained by the Timorese irregulars is not clear. Yet, it is likely that they resulted from Portuguese incursions on the highlands of Laclubar, Funar, or Fatumaca in 1879. It was on the mountains of Laclubar that the fiercest combat with Remédios's allies took place. There the Portuguese claimed their soundest victories and, also there, the impact of the *arraiais*' violence of headhunting was at its height. In fact, the 'Laleia war' was no exception to the interlocking dynamics of mutual parasitism in warfare. The campaign against Remédios and his allies was launched in 1879 with companies of *moradores*, *arraiais*, and one European Battalion sent from Macao.¹²⁷ The crucial confrontations took place in April–June 1879, on the mountains of Laclubar. The hamlets of Bocoli, Ossuqueli, Lavatere, and especially Laclubar—main refuge of Remédios and his 'most powerful ally'—were reported to have been 'destroyed' during this campaign.¹²⁸ The raids that devastated Laclubar in June 1879, in which 2000 *arraiais* took

part, caused such destructive effects that governor Lacerda published an official declaration of victory, and in Lisbon the campaigns were considered to have been concluded with glory.¹²⁹ But in reality the war was not over. Remédios was still on the run, and his armies were active. Episodic fighting persisted until the departure of Lacerda in September 1880. The kingdoms of the uplands, Laclubar and Funar, offered consistent opposition, and the Eastern allies of Remédios were active. In December 1879, for instance, the government troops responded to this constant hostility by raiding the region of Fatumaca, plundering and destroying 'the villages of Ahabere, Namilau, Belminth and Lacubelle, which compose Goruçá.'¹³⁰

The distribution of agency in collecting and the meaning of indigenous head-gifting

Medeiros intended to present museums in Portugal with a collection of severed heads from the enemies of the government and the Catholic Mission. Thus, in appropriating the severed heads of the victims of these campaigns as scientific things, the missionaries continued a symbolic punitive action against populations perceived as representatives of the criminal, pagan, and infidel *régulo* Remédios. This pattern of skull collecting is similar to the one exemplified by the head of Brao-Sacca, as analysed in the preceding section. The constitution of human heads as museum specimens was closely allied to punitive action and the classification of enemy, savage, and criminal.

Despite the priests' part in the war, it was not in connection with violence that missionary agency in the scene of skull collecting was portrayed by Medeiros in the *ofício*. Medeiros looked down on the gathering of human crania as the result of Timorese headhunting, seeing it as the consequence of indigenous savagery. At the same time, he celebrated their arrival in European hands as the product of indigenous gifting; the crania, he observed, were 'delivered by the Timorese'. This might be read as a way of sanitizing the Portuguese contact with the circuits of headhunting, while concealing the part played by the Mission in the war that led to a violent appropriation of the remains.¹³¹ The 'delivery' of the crania also had the air of a ceremonial change in the condition of skulls as dangerous things. As they came into the hands of Medeiros, the skulls went through a transformation from wild objects of 'barbarity' into 'civilized' objects of a scientific collection. Detailing two occasions of indigenous agency attained this double effect of cleaning and domestication. A moment of indigenous head-gathering was contrasted with an occasion of indigenous head-gifting to the missionaries. The latter were portrayed as passive recipients, while the Timorese appeared as the actual agents both of the 'dirty job' of collecting the heads and of the action of gifting. The missionaries passively 'received' what the latter had actively 'hunted and gathered'.

Medeiros's claimed that the skulls were presented by the Timorese auxiliaries, the *arraiais* and *moradores*, as a gift to the missionaries, possibly in Dili.¹³² The statement should not be disregarded. Comparable situations of indigenous head-gifting, for instance, occurred in West Timor.¹³³ However, Medeiros's description should be accepted with caution. The Timorese seemed determined to keep secret and untouched by European collectors—including the missionaries—those things and places surrounded with *lulik* prohibitions.¹³⁴ In effect, Medeiros's account contained complaints about the indigenous 'superstitious' 'repugnance' to helping the missionaries to collect, or to supply them with information about, rocks, minerals, and flora in their lands.¹³⁵ As seen above in this work, the heads of enemies were, too, attributed *lulik* qualities as they were integrated as possessions of the Timorese communities. Why the Timorese auxiliaries apparently 'broke' *lulik* rules and diverted severed heads to the hands of Catholic missionaries is difficult to interpret. Yet, this gesture may become intelligible if understood not as a rupture in the circulatory system of colonial headhunting, but as a gesture meaningful in the terms of this system as it took shape during the Laleia war. Perceived thus, the possibility of an indigenous skull-gift to the Mission Superior, Rev. Medeiros, can be interpreted as a tribute to his authority in the realm of warfare: a tribute to the missionaries as *nai* or *rai luliks* (sacred or ritual lords) during the campaigns.

As reverends Medeiros and Ferreira discovered, in the Timorese conceptions the authority attributed to Catholic missionaries was not of the same order as that of the Portuguese governor. As figures of authority, the missionaries were the object of great deference and were paid tributes in kind by the Timorese. They were perceived as *nai lulik* of outsider origins, whose authority was analogous with that of traditional indigenous *nai lulik* and their powers deemed equivalent to the indigenous sacred lords' ritual mastering of spiritual and magic forces.¹³⁶ The Mission Superior—treated as '*pai de todos os Cristãos*' (father of all Christians)—and their delegates, the priests, thus held a kind of 'ritual' authority independent of the 'jural' authority of the governor and his executives, the officers.¹³⁷ The exercise of ritual authority also implied the mastering of spiritual forces during warfare. The powers and authority of indigenous *nai luliks* was crucial to battle, performing divinatory rites for inspecting the intangible energies that determined the (in)vulnerability of warriors and ultimately the outcome of battle.¹³⁸ The *rai lulik*, Afonso de Castro noted, 'accompanies warriors in battle... [he] has on his hands the destiny of the war.'¹³⁹ Involvement of Catholic priests in warfare was not uncommon in the colonial history of Timor, furthermore, and in this light the Portuguese missionaries might have been giving pace to military and political interference ordinarily played over the centuries by preceding missionaries, the Dominican friars.¹⁴⁰

The Portuguese priests took part in at least some armed confrontations during the Laleia war, on the side of *arraiais* and *moradores*. In effect, despite

Medeiros's attempts to conceal the Mission's part in violence, he himself offered evidence of the priests participating in assembling *arraiais* or leading Timorese auxiliaries in battle. Rev. Medeiros, for instance, praised his close companion, Rev. Sebastião da Silva, for helping the people of Lacluta against Laclubar: Rev. Sebastião 'called for the help of Barique (kingdom) which immediately sent him eighty men, with [these men] great disgraces were avoided'.¹⁴¹ Medeiros also revealed that on one occasion he had come to the help of a group of *moradores*: 'I found them surrounded by enemies and I was able to help them following the instructions I had received from the district governor'.¹⁴² Thus, the gifting of skulls to the missionaries may have meant a tribute to the sacred or ritual authority of the priests, one which they were effectively exercising during the military campaigns against Remédios in 1878–79.¹⁴³ In return for the skull gift, Timorese skull-givers may have expected that the missionaries continued to rightfully exercise their role as ritual lords of war during the conflict of Laleia. Therefore, the 'history' attached by the Reverend to the collection of skulls transformed events of a war in which the missionaries were actors into information of anthropological significance.

Colonial collecting and its circuits of information

The colonial context of anthropological collecting has received considerable scholarly attention, and a recent concern with the detailed study of 'field collecting' has revised some presuppositions regarding the colonial 'inscription' of things.¹⁴⁴ Scholars have observed that 'European collecting' is not a monolithic relationship but a practice entailed in different colonial 'projects', in different types of interactions, and a practice, too, in which indigenous agency must be taken into account.¹⁴⁵ Thus, although on many occasions collections were the product of violence, collecting (skull-collecting included) could refer to a wide range of colonial interactions, and not necessarily violent acts.¹⁴⁶ Therefore, it is the reconstruction of 'contexts of acquisition' in the field and the historical study of collections of indigenous objects that currently draw scholarly attention, probably reflecting the current concern with the ethical legitimacy of museum property and distrust of the colonial transactions.

This chapter has also focused on the colonial nature of European collections of human skulls. It has revealed that with regard to human remains, alternative contexts and objects should be considered for the study of colonial collecting. It has emphasized that colonial collecting involved more than obtaining indigenous objects; that it was also about regaining possession of European human remains. Furthermore, the analysis has not only concerned itself with 'contexts of acquisition'. It has also examined the temporal emergence of collecting in the colonial archives. As such, it has focused on circuits of texts and stories and on the political fields in

which 'talking about' collecting emerged. The historical reconstruction of collecting as material practice has been accompanied by a reconstruction of the processes of knowledge formation and circuits of documentation in which skull-collecting acquired visibility and significance. In following this approach, the contemporary dynamics of the two colonial episodes which, though with contrasting chronologies, bear on the history of the Coimbra collection have been unveiled. The following conclusion intends to assess these episodes comparatively in relation to issues analysed in preceding chapters. Firstly, it will consider collecting with regard to contexts of acquisition and assess their relationships with the circulatory system of colonial headhunting in Timor. Secondly, it will consider collecting as regards its contexts of information, reflecting on the impact of early circuits of knowledge and documentation on the trajectory of the Coimbra collection.

This chapter has stressed the colonial character of collecting as an event in dramas of hostility, arguing that actions of collecting human heads, and the actions of making such collecting practices public, constituted dynamic elements in the resolution of colonial conflicts. The two historical episodes that have been examined reveal that the collecting of skulls took place during processes of colonial conflict. Rather than responding to a gauge of metropolitan scientific desire, then, the European appropriation of skulls was meaningful because it interfered with social situations of public tension and crisis. Collecting was part of the mechanisms for helping specific groups to cope with their sense of symbolic, social, and political disturbance. The individual paths of human heads from Timor to Portugal intimately instantiated and interfered with these broader collective processes. Thus, in 1895–96, collecting was a means to redress an imperial disaster, restore the circulation of 'prestige' in Timor, and support the symbolic reintegration of Portugal as national and imperial community. The significance of collecting, both in colonial and metropolitan contexts, achieved a truly national scope in 1895–96, which was not repeated in the case of the Laleia war of 1878–81. But a similar sociological articulation between collecting and social cohesion was at stake in the enmity that caused collecting to take place here. In 1878–81, collecting skulls expressed the 'civilizing' purposes of a particular Portuguese group in Timor—the Catholic missionaries, allied with the governor Hugo de Lacerda—while coming to terms by means of violence with offences to religion and state law. Thus, if in 1895–96 collecting European and Timorese severed heads were aspects of actions taken to redress a crisis of imperial order, in 1878–81 collecting Timorese skulls was part of legitimate mechanisms for punishing the enemies of Catholic religion and the government.

Yet, concerning the definition of 'colonial collecting', the analysis has brought an important distinction to light. It has revealed that 'colonial collecting' can refer to two distinct strategies in social dramas. On the one hand, as the tragic story of captain Câmara revealed, it could occur as a form

of salvation, designed to rescue European remains as holy relics with the purpose of restoring them to their rightful place as established by contemporary Christian norms regarding the treatment of the dead. The journey of European heads to Dili, and then Portugal, represented at once a climactic moment in spiritual restoration of personhood to the dead and of the social reintegration of the disturbed imperial community. On the other hand, collecting could occur as a form of punishment. The possession and post-mortem treatment of Timorese 'vile bodies' was meant to continue a strategy of punitive justice, therefore helping the collecting groups to come to terms with social disturbance. The classification of the barbaric enemy was homologous to the anthropological classification of specimens of scientific significance. In line with these principles, Timorese human heads could be circulated to museums in Portugal. Importantly, it was this punitive trajectory that the collection of skulls held at Coimbra museum originally expressed. It expressed continuity with a form of colonial justice, at once religious and political, that targeted criminals and infidels. Collectively, the severed heads represented the punishment of those who defied religious morals, and took sides with the *régulo* Remédios. Hence the Timorese heads analysed by the anthropologist Barros e Cunha in the 1890s belonged to Portuguese enemies and enemies of the Catholic Mission.

Because Timorese skulls stood for victims of Portuguese punitive violence in Timor, the collecting of indigenous skulls was an event contiguous to the structure of symbiotic relationships that characterized ceremonial violence in colonial warfare. The Portuguese military campaigns of Cová in 1896 and Laleia in 1878–80 were principally undertaken with auxiliary troops. Therefore, the skulls were an expression of the terrible extent of Portuguese hostility towards their Timorese enemies. Yet, by the same token, they revealed the strength of Portuguese–Timorese mutual hospitality in the realm of war and justice. For, the skulls sent to Coimbra were also the severed heads decapitated by the *arraiais* and *moradores* who, as was customary, paid ritual service to the government on occasions of war. In this respect, the Portuguese collecting of indigenous skulls cannot be accounted for without indigenous agency, nor should it be seen as a brusque rupture in the ritual circuits of colonial headhunting. Thus, I have suggested that the gesture of head-gifting to the Catholic missionaries during the Laleia war was a meaningful tribute to their exercise of authority over the destinies of warfare, expressing the ceremonial gestures of gifting that, following successful campaigns, instantiated the bonds between warriors and war chiefs. Certainly, this gift, as much as the taking of heads, should be understood on its own terms. For the Timorese gift was not a gesture done with a view to constitute 'anthropological collections'. As seen in Chapter 3, the heads of Timorese enemies could be presented to the governor or war chiefs in the course of the 'head-feasts', and it was possibly as a tribute to the governor or the army officers that the head of Brao-Sacca reached Portuguese hands

in 1896. In this vein, the skulls at Coimbra might have then signified a gift to the Mission Superior Medeiros in his condition of Portuguese 'sacred lord' and 'father of Christians' who, in the particular conditions of 1878–79, acted as the master of the 'hostility magic' of the war against the 'barbarian' *régulo* Remédios.

Thus, being an active part, much like the missionaries were in 1878–81, of the circulatory system of colonial headhunting was conditional for turning the skulls of enemies into anthropological specimens. Timorese agency was also fundamental. For, if it was not for a gesture of tribute to the authority of sacred lords, the heads would not have been easily moved away from local circuits. Colonial collecting implied colonial headhunting. Yet, paradoxically, the formation of anthropological collections was only possible if the circulatory system of headhunting was to be evaded and, in its place, other circuits emerged. So as to become a 'collection', the heads had to change place from local networks to the circuits that linked Timor to metropolitan museums.

In this regard, collecting might be approached as a practice of translation, a transformation that, materially and culturally, rearranged the networks of skulls in colonial headhunting by extending them to encompass wider circuits, meaningful and legitimate on European terms.¹⁴⁷ European agency was decisive in performing this translation. The constitution of an 'anthropological' collection of skulls in 1881, for instance, was the product of the creative activity of the missionaries. Their pivotal position in the dynamics of hostility of the Laleia war and their scientific ethos enabled the missionaries to intervene as brokers between headhunting and collecting circuits of human remains. The analysis of collecting as social drama illuminated the principles and circumstances that made such translations to be moments of European virtue, rather than moments of European pollution. As seen in Chapter 3, making contact with the circuits of severed heads in colonial headhunting was dangerous and polluting. Portuguese contact with headhunting rites was often subject to concealment. Nevertheless, these dangers could be domesticated insofar as collecting skulls articulated with certain orders of legitimacy, on particular moments in the course of social dramas. The two episodes here analysed suggest that public talk about collecting (rather than its concealment) could be an effective and positive input into the ongoing dramas of colonialism, and legitimately express the superior values of Western civilization. In 1895–96, collecting appeared in colonial discourse not as a polluting action but as an achievement that crucially contributed to correcting the collective disorder caused by the massacre. In 1878–81, the collecting activities of the missionaries were presented as expressions of devotion to virtuous 'civilized' values of patriotism and science. This nonetheless implied some gestures of purification. For instance, Rev. Medeiros's 'history' of the collection sanitized European agency in collecting from contact with indigenous headhunting, thus achieving a symbolic distinction between the

missionaries' virtuous participation in the war and the perceived savagery of their Timorese auxiliaries—a distinction that even if it did not occur in practice was important to stage discursively.¹⁴⁸ Yet, by being purified, Medeiros's revelations about skull-collecting could accomplish their contemporary purpose: to intervene in a conflict with governor Carvalho. For, as this chapter revealed, accounts of collecting were events in the archives and circuits of information generated by the social dramas. To conclude, let us consider how the contemporary stories about collecting may have coincided to create multiple pasts for the Coimbra collection.

In the 1930s, some were convinced that the skulls at Coimbra were the remains of troops massacred in 1895. The truthfulness of this account was claimed on the basis of a story that circulated in Timor about a consignment of skulls sent to Portugal in 1895–96. The ways that 'the Cová massacre and the death of captain Câmara' were reshaped by proliferating histories might explain the emergence of that later account of the collection. From the outset, the 'disaster of Cová' took shape as a fluid historiographical object, an uncertain event that inhabited the diverse and contradictory narrations which helped the community to cope with the 'disaster'. From this perspective, the story that associated Cová with the Coimbra collection might be understood as one of the accounts generated within this field of multiple recapitulations. The fact that indeed there was European appropriation of severed heads at Cová and that a project existed for sending Brao-Sacca's head to a museum might have added to the credibility of the account. In any case, the story later told by the colonial officers, gained force from its dramatic origins and the boundary-breaking trajectory of human remains that it denounced. The 'legend of Cová' inverted the place of European remains in the two collecting circuits organized by the disaster, and which should not be confused. European heads had travelled to the 'wrong place': the museum. As such, the story denounced a breach in the symbolic boundary that destined European remains to trajectories of salvation and indigenous skulls to trajectories of punishment. In so doing, it added distress to an apparently unresolved moment of historical crisis. However uncertain the fate of the heads collected in Cová in 1895 was, it is certain that they did not go to the Coimbra Museum. The skulls studied by Barros e Cunha belonged to highlanders killed during the Laleia war and were obtained by Catholic priests. At least, such was the 'history' of the collection that its 'original' account revealed.

The chapter has unearthed a crucial piece of the archive of the Coimbra collection, whose connection with the skulls had been lost since the early 1880s. The *ofício n.15* from Medeiros to Carvalho emerged in the archive in the course of a political conflict between the Mission and the governor in 1881. As a part of Medeiros's lengthy report to the Bishop, then, the account of the Medeiros Committee was meant to interfere with those processes of hostility; it was an action for redressing the Mission crisis caused by the trial

of Remédios. The peculiar circumstances of the conflict help explain the occurrence of the account in a context apparently dissociated from the early trajectory of the skulls as a museum collection, and analysed in Chapter 4. For 'the same' documents and stories of collecting can be multiple. They can meaningfully emerge at different moments and in distinct circuits of information, and, on every occasion, play a particular active role. As suggested in Chapter 4, Medeiros's documentation probably travelled to Macao along with the objects assembled throughout 1878–81. Yet, Medeiros's *ofício*, as material thing, was separated from the skulls by the Côrte-Real Committee; the narrative of the skulls that it contained was also dismissed as irrelevant. The stories they told did not fit into the description system devised for the collections. As a result of this separation, future scholars in Portugal lost track of the words that Rev. Medeiros attached to the skulls in Timor in 1881. With the loss of this 'history', it was also the 'original' ontology of the skulls that disappeared. Medeiros's framing of the skulls as anthropological specimens was not to resume in later anthropological discussion about them. Without the history, the skulls no longer appeared as representatives of Timorese highlanders of the 'purest race'. Instead, their historical identity constantly changed and the anthropological classification of the races of Timor became immersed in flux.

Conclusion

This book has analysed the connections between anthropology, colonialism, and headhunting in the Portuguese empire between 1870 and 1930 by examining the micro-history of the circulation of human skulls and the stories told about them. The investigation mapped the movement of objects and documents. The notion of the archive as circulating collections of records enabled me to explore the connections between skulls and networks of texts and stories over time and across boundaries. This revealed that links between the skulls and such semantic networks were contingent and vulnerable. It also revealed that connections between colonialism, headhunting, and anthropology might well result from the retrospective construction of knowledge about them. The epistemic ordering of the historical identities of things created multiple connections between colonial contexts, ritual violence, and anthropological concepts. The micro-history of the Coimbra collection of Timorese crania brought these broader issues to light. In now concluding, I intend to elaborate on some of the implications of the materials discussed here and to explore the wider potential of the argument about colonial interaction and anthropology adopted in the previous chapters. Firstly, I will consider the significance of parasitism as a conceptual framework for the comparative study of colonialism and intercultural exchange. Secondly, I will observe how an approach focused on objects and its circulating archives might open up new directions in the historical analysis of collections.

Mutual parasitism as a social form of colonialism

Colonial violence had terrible effects on indigenous communities in East Timor. But it was also on these occasions that the interpenetration of ceremonial colonialism and indigenous ritual warfare was most poignant. The investigation of the ritual circuits of severed heads showed that the study of imperialism and indigenous traditional cultures must take seriously the

densely interwoven realities that emerged from the intimacy of colonial relationships. It also underscored the importance of attending to the impact of colonial outsider cultures in the effective development of what is conventionally treated as purely 'traditional' or 'indigenous' forms of violence—a point that studies on contemporary violence in Southeast Asia, in particular, tend to fail to acknowledge. In the realm of violence, colonialism and headhunting were constitutive of each other; the two could not be set apart. At the core of this interweaving was a common 'circulatory system' that, though organized by principles and rules of separation, was crucial both to Portuguese power and to Timorese headhunting. These interconnections may in many instances have been specific to what I have called the 'colonial atavisms' of Portuguese nineteenth-century colonialism in Timor. Yet, the analysis of the dynamic (rather than dysfunctional) character of these atavisms suggests the metaphor may be a useful means of exploring colonialism as a form of what has been called 'entanglement'.¹ By focusing on the relationships created by the circulation of severed heads, this study reconstructed a zone of practical activity in which European and indigenous cultures came close together. This relationship did not directly exemplify the otherness of an indigenous realm; neither did it simply reflect the Western subject and its preconceptions. Rather, 'colonial headhunting' was an entangled realm of ritual life—albeit a realm intersected by attempts to create distinction and maintain symbolic boundaries. In this regard, the metaphor of entanglement, though useful, is on its own theoretically insufficient to account for the striking features of colonial headhunting in East Timor. This book then went beyond oppositional idioms and the vocabulary of hybridity to conceptualize complex host–parasite exchange in which colonial power could thrive and indigenous traditional life could be maintained. It has elaborated a view of European–indigenous relationships as mutually parasitic—a theoretical vocabulary which, I hope, can prove useful in other research contexts.

The study of intimate interactions in colonial warfare made clear that circulating the skulls of enemies could affect the vitality of both colonial power and indigenous societies. Accordingly, colonial rule and the indigenous jural world were connected in a reciprocally significant way. Accounting for this symbiosis, I argued, required a new framework—'mutual parasitism'—according to which European and indigenous collectives are mutually reliant and mutually energizing, while also mutually hostile and distinct. Mutual parasitism is one possible form of interaction between groups of colonizers and colonized at certain historical moments—therefore not the only form, not a static arrangement, and one form that may coexist with others, sometimes in tension or contradiction. It should thus be clarified that the focus on mutual parasitism does not imply that, empirically, situations of syncretism are totally absent from the colonial history of Timor, or that, theoretically, we should altogether dismiss notions such as hybridity from

the vocabulary of anthropology and post-colonial studies. These notions can prove useful in the analysis of certain processes and certain moments in colonial history, as much as the alternative perspective of mutual parasitism is, I believe, especially apt for the understanding of certain processes and moments in colonial histories. Moreover, as argued throughout this book, the latter perspective enables scholars to understand the complexities of intercultural exchanges. In effect, a point to retain is that a focus on hybridity is insufficient and inadequate to explain the reciprocal working of colonial rule and indigenous societies, as well as the complex interplay of inclusion, differentiation, and hostility that this reciprocity simultaneously entails. By perpetuating an exotic fascination with the strangeness of colonial hybridisms we might be unable to tackle a central question. How do colonial and indigenous collectives exist side by side and function symbiotically, for considerable periods of time? How can they both prosper, while somehow exploiting one another? How is 'colonialism' in these terms possible both as a form of society and as a mode of domination? The attempt to answer this threefold problem is at the core of the notion of mutual parasitism. In accounting for intercultural exchange in the colonial period, therefore, the concept of mutual parasitism is likely to succeed where the hybridity viewpoint often fails: (i) in providing an explanation for colonial power *in connection with* indigenous forms of life, and vice-versa; and (ii) in addressing simultaneously the European-indigenous dynamics of differentiation *in connection with* the modes of their mutual inclusion.

Mutual parasitism refers to a specific mode of relating; it is a particular form of sociation. As observed in Chapter 1, it concerns exchange relationships between colonizers and colonized in which gestures of inclusion and hospitality, on the one hand, and gestures of parasitic exploitation and domination, on the other, are *reciprocated*. The groups of colonizers and colonized involved in this relationship thereby become intimately interdependent, even if their distinctiveness is in some form symbolically imagined and practically maintained. Mutual parasitism in colonial interactions is thus advanced to refer to forms of interdependence in which European 'colonial' and indigenous 'traditional' orders can coexist and prosper not only with reciprocal gains, but also with reciprocal losses, sometimes performed as 'active dispossessions'. It is furthermore a specific political relationship that accounts for forms of parasitic power grounded on relative weakness and vulnerability. Colonial parasites, for instance, derive their relative strength from convenient appropriations of energy and resources from their indigenous host communities. These are subtle appropriations that do not aim to substantially transform the existent systems—for by definition parasites take their profit from the systems as they find them. This is a general mode of relating that can be treated as an abstract 'social form', to use Georg Simmel's vocabulary, the contents and manifestations of which can be examined, following empirical scrutiny, in relation to diverse historical settings, varied

motivations, and discrete colonial contexts. 'Sociation is the form', Simmel wrote, '(realized in innumerably different ways) in which individuals grow together into a unity and within which their interests are realized.'² Conceived thus, mutual parasitism is one possible form of sociation between European outsiders and indigenous insiders, which comes into life in the course of colonial expansion. It is, in other words, one form society takes amongst colonizers and colonized, through which both form a unity and realize their different interests. Colonial justice and violence in East Timor has provided a paradigmatic example of the application of this notion—but as a social form of colonialism mutual parasitism is not limited to Timor, let alone to the Portuguese empire. It is to be found in other colonial contexts and imperial experiences, and in practices other than violence, warfare, and justice.

As a social form, mutual parasitism can appear in association with different colonial activities, agents, interests, and projects. By the same token, it can be connected to distinct types of indigenous agents, activities, and projects, even if those in existing positions of social power and closest to, or to some extent built on, the European establishment—such as the Timorese *régulos* or *reis* and the aristocratic and military classes associated with the jural administration—are the most likely, and perhaps most successful, indigenous parasites of colonial mechanisms. Nevertheless, mutual parasitism also clearly manifest more widely within the indigenous communities, such as in the communal involvement of the Timorese in colonial head-hunting practices. I have stressed in this book how mutual parasitism comes into being in the exercise of justice and violence, and in Chapter 1 reference was made to comparable circumstances in colonial military history, beyond Timor. It is obviously prudent to state that only further research will reveal if, how, and to what measure this concept is useful in other colonial situations. Yet, there is sufficient comparative evidence, I believe, to suggest that it will prove valuable in the study of distinct colonial undertakings. Similar parasitic configurations probably emerged in other contact zones of imperial expansion, with important consequences for both colonial projects and indigenous societies. Commerce and trade is possibly one such contact zone. In the history of Southeast Asia, for instance, the survival and success of the Western trading posts and political establishments scattered throughout the region seem to have depended on finely negotiated arrangements with local rulers and communities (sometimes formalized through 'treaties') from which reciprocal benefits could be derived, but the preservation of which also involved mutual concessions. The parasitic nature of the Europeans' association with indigenous commercial systems in particular has been noted by scholars. In the face of the tiny number of 'white people' between 1800 and the 1930s, it has been observed how they were led to 'appropriating and working the Southeast Asian system' 'to adapt themselves to the styles and practices of the region' or 'to manage and exploit

commercial and social structures as they found them.³ Europeans could take advantage of the local systems 'as they found them', and in this process play a productive and effective role in their 'indigenous' functioning. It is in this light revealing that Clifford Geertz occasionally interpreted the flourishing Negara state in nineteenth-century Bali as a mutually parasitic political and commercial system—a system of which the isolated European ports of trade were an active part: 'Mutually parasitic,' Geertz wrote, 'the lord and the subandar, the Negara and the port of trade, political splendidness and commercial isolation—all went out together.'⁴

A focus on the mutuality of exploitation and hospitality is useful to explain how small European groups or establishments, isolated from metropolitan centres, implanted in foreign lands, and surrounded and outnumbered by stronger indigenous collectives, were able to survive, and even achieve military, commercial, and political success, despite the severe constraints of their condition. It may then be hypothesized that mutual parasitism especially (though not exclusively) flourishes in colonial contexts and situations in which the European presence—like in East Timor—is characterized by proportionately insignificant demographic representation; isolated establishments (on the coast, inland, or in frontier areas) with shortage of funds and resources; and feeble administrative and military apparatus. This configuration of circumstances has been a mark of Western imperialism in many Asian and African territories throughout history. Until more stable and direct administrative structures were established, it is probable that the preservation of parasitic connections with autochthonous regimes was critical to shaping a form of colonialism the strength of which resided in incorporating or appropriating elements perceived to be 'local', 'indigenous', 'barbaric', or simply unfamiliar to European eyes. Even when those structures were in place, parasitic connections might have not simply died out.⁵ This was a mode of exploitation moreover grounded on the passive or active tolerance of the 'local' systems, including direct participation in the continuity of indigenous customs, however abhorrent they were perceived to be.⁶ In the connections thus formed, Europeans became interdependent of, and openly or covertly complicit with, groups and practices understood as 'savage' and 'primitive' in the light of Christian morals and Western civilizing ideologies. This was true, as we have seen, with regard to headhunting in Timor until a late period; but it seems to have been true in other contexts and in relation to other 'barbarisms' as well.

The history of slavery, for instance, seems to provide such evidence. From the fifteenth century, the Europeans in Africa and Southeast Asia acted in concert with indigenous societies which were based on slave-raiding and slave-trade, even after slavery was formally abolished and its suppression declared to be a central aim of European colonization.⁷ In Africa, in particular, the massive demand for African slaves to be used in the plantation economies of America fed on close interdependencies between the African

and Western economic and political systems. In this context, the survival and prosperity of many European traders and colonial officials was concomitant with the socioeconomic dominance of African classes of warriors, aristocrats, and merchants associated with the maintenance, exploitation, and traffic of African slaves.⁸ These complicities did not terminate with the abolition of slavery in the nineteenth century. As the historian Martin Klein has demonstrated, the French in Senegal and Sudan, and the British in Gambia, would not have survived or even aspired to colonial rule throughout the nineteenth century without compromising with the constant practicing of slavery and slave-raiding by African political and mercantile elites, and on whom European presence on African soil was dependant. Europeans in African colonies, moreover, were also inside actors in the slave systems; they 'slept with slave women, used slave servants and labor, and depended on slave soldiers.'⁹ It is further revealing that the French conquest of Sudan in the 1880s–90s—in this respect comparable to the events of Timor—was the sight of dramatic imbrications of the European military with the 'savagery' of the customs of slavery.¹⁰ African agents, too, exploited European brutality to their advantage: 'The French army', Klein concludes, 'was as much part of this savagery [slavery] as any other, and their African agents often exploited French power to accumulate wealth and slaves.'¹¹ Europeans and Africans, in other terms, behaved in a mutually parasitic way.

Whatever benefit administrators, merchants, army officers, warriors, and aristocratic classes drew from their mutual exploitation, the Westerners' permissive intimacies with 'savage' customs became increasingly difficult to maintain in the face of 'civilizing' programmes designed to intrude into 'native' customs and beliefs and rigidly opposed to European slippages into savagery—such as the evangelizing agendas of many Christian missionaries in the late nineteenth century. In these contexts, mutual parasitism might encounter limitations. However, as the case of Timor indicates, the age of new imperialism, the hegemony of civilizing ideals in imperial policy, or the aggressive agendas of missionaries are not necessarily contrary to the persistence and development of parasitic entanglements in practice. The same Portuguese Catholic missionaries in East Timor, for example, who opposed the praxiology of administrators and army officers and took pains to bring about a 'civilized' order, also turned out to be agents in the local dynamics of war in the 1870s–80s. They ended up actively immersed in the Timorese–Portuguese fabric of violence, and took possession of skulls. Indeed, nothing in principle would preclude white colonizers from acting along pragmatic lines whilst also preaching the civilizing mission; or from practically participating even in the most barbaric manifestations of the colonial entanglement in spite of their sincere commitment to so-called humanizing values. Different and contradictory registers could cohabit in colonial praxis; civilizing values and parasitic activity could coexist in the colonizers' routines: 'enslavement of Indians by whites was so routine,' Michael Taussig

observed in his study on colonial terror in late nineteenth century Colombia, 'that even progressive antislavery-minded foreigners... could quite unself-consciously take advantage of it—or be taken advantage of.'¹² Europeans in the tropics could present themselves as humanists, satisfying their self-perception as 'civilized' imperialists and the expectations of metropolitan opinion. Simultaneously, however, the apostles of civilization could (unwillingly or not) be dragged into the mutuality of exploitation and inclusion. For, in many cases bodily survival as well as social, economic, and political success in the colonies could only be effectively achieved through organic connections with indigenous practices and almost unrestricted concessions to entrenched local arrangements.

Colonial history, therefore, might learn from the study of peripheral colonial fragments. East Timor was a distant, and relatively small and obscure colony. Yet, it illustrated important features of colonial rule and indigenous history that a focus on settings conventionally 'central' to what is seen as the imperialist scramble for colonial territories in that period might have left unexamined. This book has revealed that colonialism—even at its most violent expression—could function as a weak and parasitic form of power, often entangled with indigenous violence and dependent on symbolic and ceremonial mechanisms which were taken to be atavistic. This might help to reconceptualize colonialism at a broader level, as the notion of mutual parasitism suggests. In addition, it calls attention to the importance of understanding European late imperialism by looking at its developments at the margins. That is, for instance, by looking at the ways it emerged in the fragments of older imperial structures (such as the Portuguese empire), or in border zones of European expansion viewed as geographically peripheral and culturally wild. In this regard, it might be worth pointing out that a good deal of the colonial experience of the period of late imperialism was exactly occurring in such wild and peripheral areas of the world, areas for many centuries occupied by indigenous communities and so far well beyond the Western presence. Frontiers and borderlands, in other words, were then the effervescent heartland of imperial expansion. This being the case, the history of the obscure colony of Timor might help remind historians of the significance of studying colonial experience on the borderlands of imperialism.

Colonial collections, archives, and multiple histories

Ritual violence was a critical aspect of the performance of colonial power and the circulation of skulls was then at once a product and an agent of this historical process. In thus exposing the interdependence of colonialism and headhunting, this study has shown that considerations about the colonial history of museum collections of human remains must be sensitive to what is meant by 'colonial' in such histories. For, the Timorese skulls held at the

Coimbra museum resulted from the workings of a colonial circulatory system of headhunting that, as already observed, was 'indigenous' as much as it was 'European'. In collecting the skulls with a view to sending them to museums, the Portuguese simply intervened in a pre-existent system of circulation of which they had been an integral part for centuries. This revealed that the movement of severed human heads from colonial to scientific circuits did not simply occur according to strategic metropolitan designs or mechanical offer and demand relations. Embedded in the local dynamics of colonial interactions, this movement emerged as the product of contingent *translations* of enemy heads classified as savage, heretic and/or criminal into scientific specimens, a translation as convenient for the interlaced logic of colonial and indigenous violence as for the interests of museum science. In Timor the novelty of this translation was not the Portuguese involvement with heads and headhunting circuits as such, but the creative extension of networks of Timorese skulls to wider circuits of museum collections. The 'anthropological' set of skulls at Coimbra University thus expressed a colonial logic of hostility that was constituted through Timorese as well as Portuguese agencies. In other words, just as Timorese headhunting was an inherent aspect of colonialism, so the event of collecting was not simply a form of colonial intrusion alien to indigenous society; it was also a part of the flow of indigenous violence. It is likely that these imbrications between collecting, ritual violence, and enmity find more general application with regards to collections obtained in the course of warfare, such as 'trophy heads' or skulls of enemies, and other forms of war booty. In any case, the history of museum collections should be theoretically and methodologically equipped to deal with collections embedded in colonial entanglements that challenge the clear-cut divides of the post-colonial worldview.

In examining the colonial history of anthropological collections, therefore, it is necessary to consider carefully the complexities of the 'colonial'. But it is also necessary to account for the complexities of 'history' as a knowledge process, a process that the circulating archives of collections both expressed and enacted. This study has shown that, as the skulls were moved from local to metropolitan circuits as museum specimens, working out 'histories' for them was an activity endowed with considerable meaning in an imperial and scientific context. It is a central argument of this book that one cannot account for the history of things without simultaneously accounting for the dynamics of their particular archive and the historiographical work done by people in the past. For museum anthropologists, 'skulls-in-themselves' were of little use. Skulls could become or fail to become valid scientific objects depending on their attachment to texts and stories. Practices orientated towards the creation of miniature histories for objects, including the creation of colonial biographies, were an important dimension of the formation of objects as scientific things in museums. The Coimbra collection is a good example of these issues. The analysis of the disputes

over the colonial 'origins' of the crania showed that the circulation of skulls could be accompanied by narrations and recapitulations of the colonial past of collections. The practice of scientific classification based on collections (classifications of human races, for example) does not oppose the practice of historical narration about the history of a collection or an object. Instead, they are to be seen as interdependent and co-constitutive. The study of the history of collections thus ought to involve a discussion of how associated documents and stories were circulated, and how these documents and stories actually created object collections. Studies should also consider how these documents and stories potentially interfered with the constitution of the objects themselves as well as with other things and realms—scientific knowledge, ethical and religious concerns, and political and professional struggles, for example. In other words, no 'biography of things' is possible without a reflexive analysis of the biographies written about things in the 'museum period' of anthropology. By the same token, no historical analysis of anthropological collections should fail to notice the importance of object narration in the episteme of nineteenth-century sciences. I thus hope that this study will encourage historians and sociologists of science to pay greater attention to the impact and significance of memory work, archival systems, and practices of storytelling in the fabric of scientific knowledge.¹³ This is not to say that all museum material has been equally endowed with historical information by former agents; blank spaces, broken archives, and absent histories are indeed very frequent in the archives of collections. But one must account for the memories and histories of things as they emerge, their shifting configurations and value, as well as the manifold effects that their presence (or absence) might have on collections and their intended uses.

The archive and the practice of documenting and historicizing things are, then, central to the argument of this book. Consequently, it has been argued that skulls in museum collections can have multiple histories. This point is important for current biological anthropologists and scientists who, notwithstanding the dominance of modern genetics, continue to value highly in their analysis the histories and documentation associated with human remains collections of olden times. The point is also particularly relevant in the light of recent preoccupations with documenting and writing colonial histories for indigenous human remains. The issue is a source of anxiety and concern for those engaged in the debate about the repatriation of human remains. Australia has been promoting the National Skeletal Provenancing Project.¹⁴ In Britain, a recent report recommended an advisory panel to 'look to the history of a particular acquisition' and investigate the 'circumstances of removal' of human remains as one means of determining the ethics of collecting in the past and assess the legitimacy of the retention of these pieces in museums today.¹⁵ This struggle against uncertain provenances and the attempts to fill the gaps in the archive may yet provide results. However, historians, scientists, curators, and activists of repatriation

should be prepared to deal with collections with histories, much like that of the Timorese skulls at Coimbra, that are fragmented and multiple. Their pasts might not be restored to linear chronological sequences and definitive circumstances, but instead to a condition of partially connected, coexistent, and possibly equivocal and contradictory stories. It is not silences but the multiplicity of historical voices which is, perhaps, the effective legacy of the circulating archives of the past. This being the case, collections today might belong simultaneously to distinct origins and display incongruous identities in manners that cannot be disentangled. To aim at reducing these states of proliferation to unambiguous conditions might prove unsuccessful. The challenge posed by the crania at Coimbra to museum collections in general is, I believe, of another sort. In aspiring to a post-colonial reordering of colonial collections, the challenge is to accept epistemic turbulence and allow human remains to display in the present their irreducibly multiple history and identity.

Notes

Introduction

1. Joseph Schumpeter, 'The Sociology of Imperialism,' in *Imperialism and Social Classes* (New York, 1919, reprint New York: Meridian Books, 1951), pp. 1–98.
2. On nineteenth-century debates on Portugal and its imperial project (especially concerning the turn to Africa), cf. Valentim Alexandre, 'A Questão Colonial no Portugal Oitocentista', in V. Alexandre and J. Dias (eds), *O Império Africano 1825–1890* (Lisbon: Estampa, 1998), pp. 21–132; João Pedro Marques, *Os Sons do Silêncio: o Portugal de Oitocentos e a Abolição do Tráfico de Escravos* (Lisbon: Imprensa de Ciências Sociais, 1999), ch. 6. Since the 1970s–80s the (un)economic character of Portuguese colonialism in Africa has been controversial amongst historians. Cf. R. J. Hammond, *Portugal and Africa, 1815–1910. A Study in Uneconomic Imperialism* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1966); Gervase Clarence-Smith, *The Third Portuguese Empire, 1825–1975: A Study in Economic Imperialism* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1985).
3. Cf. Valentim Alexandre, *Velhos Brasis, Novas Africas. Portugal e o Império (1808–1975)* (Porto: Afrontamento, 2000).
4. Projecto de reorganização do distrito de Timor, elaborado pela Comissão nomeada em Portaria de 16 Novembro 1893, 19 April 1893, Lisbon, AHU, Macao and Timor, ACL_SEMU_DGU_1R_002_Cx 9, 1895–1896.
5. Cf. for example, Afonso de Castro, *As Possessões Portuguezas na Oceânia* (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional, 1867); Bento da França, *Macau e os seus Habitantes. Relações com Timor* (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional, 1897); A. Leite de Magalhães, 'Timor, a Desventurada', *O Mundo Português*, IV, 45 (1937), 391–5; G. Pimenta de Castro, *Timor (Subsídios para a sua História)* (Lisbon: AGC, 1944), p. 10.
6. J. A. Fernandes, *Timor. Impressões e Aspectos* (Porto: Tip. A Tribuna, 1923), pp. 6–8; Ribeiro da Fonseca [R.F.], 'Timor', *Revista Militar*, 19 (1895), 577.
7. Raphael das Dores, 'Apontamentos para um Dicionário Chorographico de Timor', *BSSL*, 7–12 (1903), 821. I provide a more detailed account of this imagery of East Timor in Ricardo Roque, 'The Unruly Island: Colonialism's Predicament in Late Nineteenth-Century East Timor', *Portuguese Literary and Cultural Studies*, 19 (2010), forthcoming.
8. J. P. Oliveira Martins, *O Brazil e as Colónias Portuguezas* (3rd edn, Lisbon: Livr. Bertrand, 1887), p. 12. See also Rui Ramos, *A Segunda Fundação (1890–1926)* (Lisbon: Círculo de Leitores, 1994), pp. 145–6. Rumours of negotiations for selling East Timor to Holland, albeit readily disclaimed, reappeared in the years to come—for example, in 1920, and 1934. In Australia, some also expressed interest in the acquisition of Timor by the late 1910s. See C. M. Pilliet to Foreign Office of the Australian Government, 12 Dec. 1919, Canberra, National Archives of Australia, Timor (Portuguese) Purchase of, A11804/1; Anonymous, 'Uma atoarda absurda acerca de Timor', *BAGC*, 106 (1934), 108–9.
9. See Alexandre, *Velhos Brasis, Novas Áfricas*.
10. See A. Teodoro de Matos, *Timor Português 1515–1769. Contribuição para a sua História* (Lisbon: Inst. Histórico Inf. D. Henrique, 1974), pp. 177–85; André

- Teixeira, 'Comércio Português na Região de Timor na Segunda Metade do Século XVII', *Oriente*, 4 (2002), 83–95.
11. Joaquim José da Graça to MSNMU, 24 June 1880, Lisbon, AHU, Macao and Timor, ACL_SEMU_DGU_1R_002_Cx 1, 1879–1880.
 12. Cf. Fernandes, *Timor*, p. 29; Armando Pinto Correia, *Timor de Lés a Lés* (Lisbon: AGC, 1944), p. 63.
 13. J. S. Vaquinhas, 'Timor. Cartas de José dos Santos Vaquinhas', *BSGL*, IV, 6 (1883), 284–5; Castro, *As Possessões*, pp. 369, 371.
 14. Dores, 'Apontamentos', 764.
 15. New territorial reforms in the 1890s gave new pace to this military model. Castro, *As Possessões*, pp. XV–XVI.
 16. See Cypriano Forjaz to GMT, 28 July 1891, Lisbon, AHU, Macao and Timor, ACL_SEMU_DGU_RM_003_Cx 6, 1887–1893; Celestino da Silva to GMT, 1 Sept. 1894, Lisbon, AHU, Macao and Timor, ACL_SEMU_DGU_RM_003_Cx 7, 1890–1895.
 17. Hugo de Lacerda to MSNMU, Relatório sobre a administração de Timor desde 3 de Julho de 1878 até 31 de Agosto de 1880, Lisbon, AHU, Macao and Timor, ACL_SEMU_DGU_1R_002_Cx 1, 1879–1880.
 18. Since the sixteenth century, the Portuguese in Africa and Asia secured the allegiance of local rulers by means of vassalage treaties and still in the nineteenth century they remained a principal means of guaranteeing the dependence of indigenous princedoms from Portuguese authority. Many *sobados* in Angola and the Ranes princedoms in Goa continued to be linked to Portugal by vassalage contracts. See B. Heintze, 'Luso-African Feudalism in Angola? The Vassal Treaties of the Sixteenth to the Eighteenth Century', *Revista Portuguesa de História*, 18 (1930), 111–31; Jill Dias, 'Angola', in V. Alexandre and J. Dias (eds), *O Império Africano 1825–1890* (Lisbon: Estampa, 1998), pp. 354–7; Ricardo Roque, *Antropologia e Império: Fonseca Cardoso e a Expedição à Índia em 1895* (Lisbon: Imprensa de Ciências Sociais, 2001), pp. 50–4. See also Alan Strathern, *Kingship and Conversion in Sixteenth-Century Sri Lanka: Portuguese Imperialism in a Buddhist Land* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007).
 19. João Marinho de Moura, Descrição da Ilha de Timor, causa de sua decadência, e projecto do seu augmento, 1 Dec. 1795, Rio de Janeiro, Biblioteca Nacional do Rio de Janeiro, Asia and Africa Collection, I-32-34-030.
 20. For the theory of collaboration, cf. Ronald Robinson, 'Non-European Foundations of European Imperialism: Sketch for a Theory of Collaboration', in R. Owen and B. Sutcliffe (eds), *Studies in the Theory of Imperialism* (London: Longman, 1972), pp. 118–40; for the notion of 'vulgarisation of power': John Lonsdale, 'The Conquest State of Kenya 1895–1905', in B. Berman and J. Lonsdale (eds), *Unhappy Valley. Conflict in Kenya and Africa* (London: J. Currey, 1992), I, pp. 13–44; for collaboration and indirect rule in Southeast Asia: J. S. Furnivall, *Colonial Policy and Practice. A Comparative Study of Burma and Netherlands India* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1948); A. J. Stockwell, 'British Expansion and Rule in South-East Asia', in Andrew Porter (ed.), *The Oxford History of the British Empire. The Nineteenth-Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), III, pp. 371–94; Carl A. Trocki, 'Political Structures in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries', in N. Tarling (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Southeast Asia. From c. 1800 to the 1930s* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), II, pp. 75–126. The notion of indirect rule has also been (inadequately) used to describe Portuguese administration in Timor. See for example: Cf. Hélio Felgas, *Timor Português* (Lisbon: Agência

- Geral do Ultramar, 1956), pp. 307–11; Matos, *Timor Português 1515–1769*, p. 103; René Pélissier, *Timor en Guerre: le Crocodile et les Portugais (1847–1913)* (Orgeval: Pélissier, 1996), p. 65; Ivo Carneiro de Sousa, 'The Portuguese Colonization and the Problem of East Timorese Nationalism', *Lusotopie* (2001), 190.
21. A vast body of literature on the territory has recently appeared but no significant historical research work has been produced on Timorese colonial history. Typically, descriptions of East Timor's colonial history appear in introductory and superficial overviews that tend to portray the colonial past as a virtuous 'history of resistance' characterized by the 'resilience of the Timorese' to outsiders over the centuries, and/or by Portugal's inability to bring about an effective, modern, colonization. For example: James Fox, 'Tracing the Path, Recounting the Past: Historical Perspectives on Timor', in James Fox and Dionísio Babo Soares (eds), *Out of the Ashes: Destruction and Reconstruction of East Timor* (Adelaide: Crawford House, 2000), pp. 1–29; Geoffrey C. Gunn, 'Five-hundred-year Timorese Funu', in R. Tauter, M. Selden and S. R. Shalom (eds), *Bitter Flowers, Sweet Flowers. East Timor, Indonesia, and the World Community* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2001), pp. 3–14; But for a state of the arts on East Timor studies since 1999, see Geoffrey C. Gunn, 'The State of East Timor Studies Since 1999', *Journal of Contemporary Asia*, 37, 1 (2007), 95–114.
 22. Cf. Pélissier, *Timor en Guerre*. Previous professional historiography on colonial East Timor has focused on the 1500s–1700s period. See Matos, *Timor Português 1515–1769*; C. R. Boxer, 'Portuguese Timor: A Rough Island Story, 1515–1960', *History Today*, 10, 5 (1960), 349–55.
 23. In the current state of historical research the 1911–12 Manufai revolt was the last 'anti-Portuguese' rising, followed only decades later by the Viqueque revolt of 1959. On the Viqueque rebellion see Janet Gunter, 'Communal Conflict in Viqueque and the "Charged" History of '59', *The Asia Pacific Journal of Anthropology*, 8, 1 (2007), 27–41; Geoffrey C. Gunn, *Timor-Leste: An Anthropology of War and Liberation* (Nagasaki: The Research Institute of Southeast Asia, 2006).
 24. Micro-history is a well-established style of historical research grounded in the significance of the singular. See Carlo Ginzburg, *A Micro-História e Outros Ensaios* (Lisbon: Difel, 1989), ch. VI; Giovanni Levi, 'Les Usages de la Biographie', *Annales*, 6 (1989), 1325–36; Giovanni Levi, 'On Microhistory', in Peter Burke (ed.), *New Perspectives on Historical Writing* (Cambridge: Polity, 1991), pp. 93–113. See also Jacques Revel (dir.), *Jeux d'Échelles. La Micro-Analyse à L'Expérience* (Paris: Gallimard/Seuil, 1996).
 25. John Comaroff and Jean Comaroff, *Ethnography and the Historical Imagination* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1992), p. 16.
 26. Fernand Braudel, *The Structures of Everyday Life. The Limits of the Possible* (London: Collins, 1981), pp. 23–24, 31.
 27. Cf. for a recent call for introducing micro-history in museum studies that, however, tends to confound what I will call 'miniature histories' with 'micro-history': S. J. Redman, 'Microhistory in the Museum', *Journal of Microhistory* (Spring 2006), <http://www.microhistory.org>.
 28. For example: A.G. Hopkins (ed.), *Globalization in World History* (London: Pimlico, 2002). But cf. Lara Putnam, 'To Study the Fragment/Whole: Microhistory and the Atlantic World', *Journal of Social History*, 39, 3 (2006), 615–30.
 29. C. A. Bayly, *The Birth of the Modern World. Global Comparisons and Connections* (London: Blackwell, 2004), p. 2.
 30. See for example: Michel Callon, 'Pour une Sociologie des Controverses Technologiques', *Fundamenta Scientiae*, 2, 3/4 (1981), 381–99.

31. Andrew Zimmerman, *Anthropology and Antihumanism in Imperial Germany* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001), p. 151.
32. These networks also traded indigenous people intended for public display. See *Ibid.*; Nicolas Bancel, Pascal Blanchard, Gilles Boetsch, Éric Deroo and Sandrine Lemaire (eds), *Zoos Humains. De la Vénus Hottentote aux Reality Shows* (Paris: Découverte, 2002); Barbara Creed and Jeanette Hoorn (eds), *Body Trade. Captivity, Cannibalism and Colonialism in the Pacific* (New York: Routledge, 2001).
33. Stocking and Jacknis have also mentioned the existence of a 'commodity economy of evolutionary anthropology' moving ethnographic artefacts to museums. George W. Stocking, 'Philanthropoids and Vanishing Cultures: Rockefeller Funding and the End of the Museum Era in Anglo-American anthropology', in George W. Stocking (ed.), *Objects and Others: Essays on Museums and Material Culture* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1988), p. 2; Ira Jacknis, 'The Ethnographic Object and the Object of Ethnology in the Early Career of Franz Boas', in George W. Stocking (ed.), *Volkgeist as Method and Ethic. Essays on Boasian Ethnography and the German Anthropological Tradition* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1996), p. 192.
34. Cf. for example: Thomas Bolsi and Larry Zimmerman (eds), *Indians and Anthropologists. Vine Deloria, Jr., and the Critique of Anthropology* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1997); David Hurst Thomas, *Skull Wars. Kennewick Man, Archaeology, and the Battle for Native American Identity* (New York: Basic Books, 2000); Megan J. Highet, 'Body Snatching & Grave Robbing: Bodies for Science', *History and Anthropology*, 16, 4 (2005), 415–40. For a viewpoint less committed to these agendas, see Paul Turnbull, '“Rare Work Amongst the Professors”: The Capture of Indigenous Skulls within Phrenological Knowledge in Early Colonial Australia', in Creed and Horn (eds), *Body Trade*, pp. 3–23. Cf. Andrew Bank, 'Of “Native Skulls” and “Noble Caucasians”: Phrenology in Colonial South Africa', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 22, 3 (1996), 387–403.
35. Science studies and social anthropology have been pursuing this thread from different perspectives. For overviews of science studies approaches to objects that draw inspiration from actor-network theory, see Bruno Latour, *La Science en Action. Introduction à la Sociologie des Sciences* (2nd edn, Paris: Folio, 1995); Bruno Latour, *Reassembling the Social. An Introduction to Actor-Network Theory* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005). For recent works that express the need for anthropology to re-engage with material culture from new angles, compare Alfred Gell, *Art and Agency. An Anthropological Theory* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998); Nicholas Thomas, 'The Case of the Misplaced Poncho: Speculations Concerning the History of Cloth in Polynesia', *Journal of Material Culture*, 4, 1 (1999), 5–20; Amiria Henare, Martin Holbraad and Sari Wastell (eds), *Thinking Through Things. Theorising Artefacts Ethnographically* (London: Routledge, 2007). For insightful works on the talkativeness of things, see Lorraine Daston (ed.), *Things That Talk. Object Lessons from Art and Science* (New York: Zone Books, 2004).
36. Marilyn Strathern, 'Artefacts of History: Events and the Interpretation of Images', in Jukka Siikala (ed.), *Culture and History in the Pacific* (Helsinki: Finnish Anthropological Society, 1990), pp. 25–44; Amiria Henare, *Museums, Anthropology and Imperial Exchange* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005).
37. See Arjun Appadurai, 'Introduction: Commodities and the Politics of Value', in A. Appadurai (ed.), *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), pp. 3–63; Igor Kopytoff, 'The Cultural Biography of Things: Commodification as Process', in Appadurai (ed.), *The Social Life of Things*, pp. 64–94; Nicholas Thomas, *Entangled Objects:*

- Exchange, Material Culture, and Colonialism in the Pacific* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1991), p. 9.
38. This approach draws inspiration from the attempts to situate knowledge in socio-material networks in science and technology studies. Cf. for example Bruno Latour, *Pandora's Hope. Essays on the Reality of Science Studies* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1999).
 39. Cf. Michel Foucault, *L'Archéologie du Savoir* (Paris: Gallimard, 1969). But for a critical and informative review of different theories and recent work on 'archives', see Penelope Papailias, *Genres of Recollection: Archival Poetics and Modern Greece* (New York and Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), pp. 1–41.
 40. The encounters between historians, anthropologists, and archives have recently emerged as an object of reflection. Colonial archives (namely public or state archives) are now the object of stimulating ethnographic approaches in the context of colonial studies. See Nicholas Dirks, 'Annals of the Archive: Ethnographic Notes on the Sources of History', in B. K. Axel (ed.), *From the Margins: Historical Anthropology and Its Futures* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2002), pp. 47–65; Antoinette Burton (ed.), *Archive Stories: Facts, Fictions, and the Writing of History* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2005); Ann Laura Stoler, *Along the Archival Grain: Thinking Through Colonial Ontologies* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009). Rare studies have denoted an interest in following the documentation of collections. See M. R. Bouquet and J. Freitas Branco (eds), *Melanesian Artefacts: Postmodernist Reflections* (Lisbon: Museu de Etnologia, 1988); Robert L. Welsch, 'One Time, One Place, Three Collections: Colonial Processes and the Shaping of some Museum Collections from German New Guinea', in M. O'Hanlon and R. L. Welsch (eds), *Hunting the Gatherers: Ethnographic Collectors, Agents and Agency in Melanesia, 1870s–1930s* (Oxford: Berghahn, 2001), pp. 155–79.

Chapter 1

1. Around the fire in the glades, in the glades, by moonlight,
All together, all together, all together we go dancing.
The heads of enemies, the heads go jumping.
Enemies, forgive us, enemies, crack, and roll!
Ui! The war in the mountain is the land terrifying.
It is sounding the drum, it is the war sounding.

The poem is evocative of Timorese headhunting rites and songs. Alberto Osório de Castro—Portuguese poet and amateur ethnographer and botanist—wrote the verses while serving as a judge in Timor in 1908–1911. Alberto Osório de Castro, *Flores de Coral. Poemetos e Impressões da Oceânia portuguesa* (Dili, 1908, reprint Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional, 2004, vol. I), p. 406. For a slightly modified version of the poem, see: Alberto Osório de Castro, *A Ilha Verde e Vermelha de Timor* (Lisbon, 1943, reprint Lisbon: Cotovia, 1996), p. 138.

2. Francisco Duarte's manuscript refers to this hamlet as Dato-Tolo. The name is wrongly transcribed in the published version as Dato-Talo, while Captain Elvaim's report mentions Dato-Lolo. The hamlet could not be located on available maps. Timor's toponymy in the nineteenth century was unstable because of the periodic rearrangement of territories and the inflows and outflows of population following to wars. It is likely that people did not rebuild the destroyed villages in the same place, even not with the same name. Cf. Pélissier, *Timor en Guerre*, p. 162.

3. Francisco Duarte to Celestino da Silva, 31 Aug. 1896, Lisbon, AHU, Macao and Timor, ACL_SEMU_DGU_RM_005_Cx 1, 1890–1899.
4. Francisco Elvaim to Celestino da Silva, 2 Sep. 1896, Lisbon, AHU, Macao and Timor, ACL_SEMU_DGU_RM_005_Cx 1, 1890–1899.
5. Ibid. For Sanir's reputation. See also: J. S. Vaquinhas, 'Timor. I', *BSGL*, 4, 7 (1883), 326.
6. The Portuguese expression *arraial* designated those men whom kings were obliged to supply as tribute to governors, especially in wartime, under vassalage contracts: 'The word *arraial* is reserved for the natives who serve as auxiliaries of regular troops, and for those employed as carriers.' Castro, *As Possessões Portuguezas na Oceania*, p. 67. Cf. for the etymology of the word: José Pedro Machado, *Dicionário Etimológico da Língua Portuguesa com a mais Antiga Documentação Escrita e Conhecida de Muitos dos Vocábulos Estudados* (5th edn, Lisbon: Horizonte, 1989), II, pp. 313–4; L. F. R. Thomaz, *De Ceuta a Timor* (Lisbon: Difel, 1994), p. 628.
7. Francisco Duarte started with 29 regulars (or 1^a linha), 48 *moradores* (or 2^a linha), and 5,080 auxiliary troops (or *arraiais*) supplied by the kingdoms of Atsabe (1,500), Cailaco (700), Hermera (1,000), Leimean (780), Deribate (600), Marobo (350), and Mahubo (150). Francisco Elvaim was commanding a force of 6 artillery regulars, 51 *moradores*, and 850 auxiliaries from Maubara. These numbers oscillated during the campaign. There were withdraws (Deribate and Hermera abandoned the government *arraiais*), but also important reinforcements: 250 *moradores* (Motael, Manatuto e Lacló); and the *arraiais* of Lio-Lito and Lio-Hate (1,000), Lio-Lima and Balibó (unknown number) and possibly some men from Ussé e Odemou.
8. Francisco Duarte to Celestino da Silva, 31 Aug. 1896, Lisbon, AHU, Macao and Timor, ACL_SEMU_DGU_RM_005_Cx 1, 1890–1899.
9. Ibid.
10. Ibid.
11. Francisco Elvaim to Celestino da Silva, 2 Sep. 1896, Lisbon, AHU, Macao and Timor, ACL_SEMU_DGU_RM_005_Cx 1, 1890–1899.
12. Ibid.
13. J. Gomes da Silva cit. in Castro, *A Ilha Verde e Vermelha de Timor*, p. 138.
14. While the *aclalak* were war cries of apparently intimidatory character, the *lorosa'es* were described as a ceremonial 'hymn of war' that 'implied chopped heads'. The *lorosa'es*, as we will see, consisted of a communal war ritual that comprised dancing, singing, and other ceremonial activities. Cf. J. S. Vaquinhas, 'Timor. Usos—Superstições de Guerra', *BSGL*, IV (1884), p. 476; José Simões Martinho, *Timor. Quatro Séculos de Colonização Portuguesa* (Porto: Livr. Progredior, 1943), pp. 247–57.
15. Francisco Duarte to Celestino da Silva, 31 Aug. 1896, Lisbon, AHU, Macao and Timor, ACL_SEMU_DGU_RM_005_Cx 1, 1890–1899. [my emphasis]
16. Ibid. Chapter 7 will return to this episode.
17. Celestino da Silva to Director General of Overseas Office, Telegram 15 Aug. 1896, Director General of Overseas Office, Telegram, 20 Aug. 1896, Ponta Delgada, BPAR, Hintze Ribeiro Archives, Box 2 – 2.1.15. Timor. See also Celestino da Silva to Counsellor Director General of Overseas Office, Telegram, 20 Aug. 1896, Ponta Delgada, BPAR, Hintze Ribeiro Archives, Box 2 – 2.1.15. Timor.
18. Celestino da Silva to MSNMU, Oct. 1896, Lisbon, AHU, Macao and Timor, ACL_SEMU_DGU_RM_005_Cx 1, 1890–1899. Cf. J. Celestino da Silva, *Relatório das Operações de Guerra no Distrito Autónomo de Timor no Anno de 1896 enviado ao*

- Ministro e Secretário dos Negócios da Marinha e Ultramar* (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional, 1897), p. 45.
19. In the Portuguese original: *Morramos, morramos! É serviço do governo!* [italics in the original]. This was Duarte's free translation of the Tetum outcry: 'mate-mate em bote nia serviço.' Duarte translates *embote* as *governo* (government). Yet the current use of the Tetum word *embote* signified *governador* (governor). Francisco Duarte, 'Relatório das operações contra os rebeldes de Deribate desde 11 de Setembro até 5 de Outubro de 1896', in Silva, *Relatório das Operações de Guerra*, p. 139. Cf. A. Pinto Correia, *Timor de Lés a Lés*, p. 48, n. 1; Luís Costa, *Dicionário de Tétum-Português* (Lisbon: Colibri, 2001).
 20. Francisco Duarte to Celestino da Silva, 31 Aug. 1896, Lisbon, AHU, Macao and Timor, ACL_SEMU_DGU_RM_005_Cx 1, 1890–1899.
 21. D. Carlos to President of the Council, Telegram, 16 Sep. 1896, Ponta Delgada, BPAP, Hintze Ribeiro Archives, Box 2 – 2.1.15. Timor.
 22. Overseas General Office to Celestino da Silva, Telegram 20 Oct. 1896, Lisbon, AHU, Macao and Timor, ACL_SEMU_DGU_1R_002_Cx 9, 1895–1896.
 23. The 'pink map' episode of 1890 was a traumatic event for Portuguese patriotic feelings. After several expeditions and diplomatic efforts to extend the Portuguese territorial area of influence from Angola to Mozambique through a contiguous inland connection, the Portuguese government was forced to capitulate by force of a British *ultimatum* in 1890. A rose-colored map linking Angola to Mozambique, the Atlantic coast to the Indian coast of Africa, represented Portugal's territorial ambition in Africa, one which British interests in central Africa strongly opposed. For this episode, see Charles E. Nowell, *The Rose-Colored Map: Portugal's Attempt to Build an African Empire from the Atlantic to the Indian Ocean* (Lisbon: JICU, 1982).
 24. For colonial campaigns, cf. Roque, *Antropologia e Império*, ch. 1; Valentim Alexandre, 'Situações Coloniais: II—O Ponto de Viragem: as Campanhas de Ocupação (1890–1930)', in F. Bettencourt and K. Chauduri (eds), *História da Expansão Portuguesa*, IV (Lisbon: Círculo de Leitores, 1998), pp. 182–211.
 25. Silva, *Relatório das Operações de Guerra*. Here, Duarte's and Elvaim's reports (plus other reports of the various punitive expeditions of 1896) appear as appendix 'Documents' to governor Celestino da Silva's official report. For accounts of the Dato-Tolo episode, see *Ibid.*, pp. 57–62, 94–104.
 26. Cf. J. Celestino da Silva, 'Final do Relatório das Operações de Guerra no Distrito Autónomo de Timor—1896', *BAGC*, 23 (1927), 89–100.
 27. Anonymous, Direcção Geral do Ultramar, s.d., Lisbon, AHU, Macao and Timor, ACL_SEMU_DGU_RM_005_Cx 1, 1890–1899. Portuguese officers and some *moradores* received official praise, military honours, and medals. Governor Celestino da Silva in particular was granted special praises from the King and the Minister, the title of *Conselheiro* (Counsellor) of His Majesty the King of Portugal, the Gold Medal 'Rainha D. Amélia' (Queen D. Amélia), and still the honour title of *Comendador* (Commendator) of the Order of 'Torre Espada' (Tower and Sword) for Value, Loyalty, and Merit. Anonymous. Curriculum Vitae do General da Divisão José Celestino da Silva, Lisbon, Documentation of J. Celestino da Silva's descendants, s.d.
 28. Anonymous, Direcção Geral do Ultramar, s.d., Lisbon, AHU, Macao and Timor, ACL_SEMU_DGU_RM_005_Cx 1, 1890–1899. [underline in the original]
 29. I here draw an analogy between heads taken as signs in European reports and the representational use of surrogate heads in the *pangngae*, ritual headhunting songs

- and performances of Highland Sulawesi, Indonesia, analysed by George. Kenneth M. George, *Showing Signs of Violence. The Cultural Politics of a Twentieth-Century Headhunting Ritual* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996).
30. Cf. Ibid., ch. 3; Rodney Needham, 'Skulls and Causality', *Man* 11, 1 (1976), 71–88.
 31. AAVV, *The Century Dictionary. An Encyclopedic Lexicon of the English Language* (New York: The Century Co., 1889), p. 2750 [emphasis in the original]. As a word in its own right, 'headhunting' appears in contemporary English dictionaries, but not in Portuguese dictionaries. This might have occurred because the Portuguese expression *caça de cabeças* consists of a union of two nouns, just like in the French *chasse aux têtes*. I assume however that the meaning of *caça de cabeças* crystallized in a similar manner. Therefore, for example, in the referential *Grande Enciclopédia Portuguesa e Brasileira* (Great Portuguese and Brazilian Encyclopaedia) of the first half of the twentieth century headhunting appears under the heading *caça* (hunt) as a 'cruel practice' characteristic of the indigenous people of Southeast Asia, namely of Timor.
 32. See Julia Kristeva, *Visions Capitales* (Paris: Réunions des Musées Nationaux, 1998). For classical myths, see Richard Broxton Onians, *The Origins of European Thought. About the Body, the Mind, The Soul, The World Time, and Fate* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1951).
 33. This theme continues a civilizing idiom whose roots go back to the expansion of the Roman Empire and the concept of 'barbarian' tribes. Cf. Strabon cit. in Kristeva, *Visions Capitales*, p. 33.
 34. AAVV, *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (11th edn, London, 1910–11), XIII, p. 121. Cf. Carl Bock, *The Head-Hunters of Borneo. A Narrative of Travel up the Mahakkam and down the Barito* (2nd edn, London: S. Low, Marton, Searle & Rivington, 1882); AAVV, *The New Century Dictionary of the English Language* (New York: The Century Co., 1927), p. 723; Henry Cecil Wild (ed.), *The Universal Dictionary of the English Language* (7th edn, London, 1952), p. 535.
 35. For a famous story of a European turned headhunter in the Solomon Islands in the 1870s, see Nigel Randell, *The White Headhunter. The Story of a Nineteenth Century Sailor Who Survived a South Seas Heart of Darkness* (London: Carrol and Graf, 2003).
 36. This passage refers to Charles Marlow's first sight of Kurtz's house at the riverbank surrounded by decapitated human heads on poles. Joseph Conrad, *Heart of Darkness* (London, 1902, reprint London: Hesperus, 2002), pp. 65–7.
 37. AAVV, *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, XIII, p. 121.
 38. H. Schulte-Nordholt, *The Political System of the Atoni of Timor* (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1971), p. 8; Andrew McWilliam, 'Severed Heads That Germinate the State: History, Politics, and Headhunting in Southwest Timor', in Janet Hoskins (ed.), *Headhunting and the Social Imagination in Southeast Asia* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996), pp. 160–1.
 39. From 1890s, Trocki states, 'most forms of slavery, were eliminated, as were piracy, head-hunting, cannibalism, trial by ordeal, the arbitrary rule of native chiefs and the power of secret societies.' Carl A. Trocki, 'Political Structures in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries', in Nicholas Tarling (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Southeast Asia. From c. 1800 to the 1930s* (2 vols, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), II, pp. 81–2.
 40. Cf. Robert McKinley, 'Human and Proud of It! A Structural Treatment of Headhunting Rites and the Social Definition of Enemies', in G. N. Appell (ed.), *Studies in Borneo Societies: Social Process and Anthropological Explanation* (Illinois: Center

- for Southeast Asian Studies, Northern Illinois University, 1976), pp. 92–145; R. E. Downs, 'Head-Hunting in Indonesia', in P. E. Josselin de Jong (ed.), *Structural Anthropology in the Netherlands. A Reader* (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1977), pp. 116–49; Derek Freeman, 'Severed Heads that Germinate', in R. H. Hook (ed.), *Fantasy and Symbol. Studies in the Anthropological Interpretation* (London: Academic Press, 1979), pp. 233–46.
41. But an exception is historical anthropological work on the Shuar of Ecuador. Growing entanglement with the Euro-American colonial economy in the late nineteenth century (namely the 'heads-for-guns trade'), Steel has argued, can explain the intensification of Shuar headhunting raids in the period 1850–1917. Danielle Steel, 'Trade Goods and Jívaro Warfare: The Shuar 1850–1957, and the Achuar, 1940–1978', *Ethnohistory*, 46, 4 (1999), 754–8.
 42. Renato Rosaldo, *Ilongot Headhunting 1883–1974. A Study in Society and History* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1980); Janet Hoskins, 'The Headhunter as Hero: Local Traditions and Their Reinterpretation in National History', *American Ethnologist*, 16, 3 (1987), 605–22; Janet Hoskins, 'On Losing and Getting a Head: Warfare, Exchange, and Alliance in a Changing Sumba, 1888–1988', *American Ethnologist*, 16, 3 (1989), 419–40; Cf. the essays collected in Hoskins (ed.), *Headhunting and the Social Imagination in Southeast Asia*. For an interesting attempt to discuss the silence of colonial records regarding headhunting rituals in Sulawesi, see George, *Showing Signs of Violence*, ch. 3. On the continuing significance of shrunken heads (even in their absence) among the Shuar, see also Steven Lee Rubenstein, 'Circulation, Accumulation and the Power of Shuar Shrunken Heads', *Cultural Anthropology*, 22, 3 (2007), 357–99.
 43. Rumours of 'construction sacrifice' have been observed a bit all across Island Southeast Asia since at least the 1960s. These indigenous stories typically describe the military, colonial officials, missionaries, or representatives of the post-colonial nation-state as headhunters procuring skulls for the foundations of public buildings. Cf. P. Middelkoop, *Headhunting in Timor and Its Historical Implications* (2 vols, Sydney: University of Sydney, 1963), I, pp. 8–9; Richard Allen Drake, 'Construction Sacrifice and Kidnapping Rumor Panics in Borneo', *Oceania*, 59 (1989), 269–79; Margaret Erb, 'Construction Sacrifice, Rumors and Kidnapping Scares in Manggarai: Further Comparative Notes from Flores', *Oceania*, 62 (1991), 114–26; Sandra Pannell, 'Travelling to Other Worlds: Narratives of Headhunting, Appropriation and the Other in the 'Eastern Archipelago'', *Oceania*, 62 (1992), 162–78; Hoskins, 'Introduction: Headhunting as Practice and as Trope', in Hoskins (ed.), *Headhunting and the Social Imagination in Southeast Asia*, pp. 31–3.
 44. See for example, James Urry, 'Headhunters and Body-Snatchers', *Anthropology Today*, 5, 5 (1989), 11–2. But for a rather more sophisticated structuralist parallel between headhunting and museum collecting, cf. Pannell, 'Travelling to Other Worlds'.
 45. Hoskins's distinction is thus analytically useless in the context of this study. It tends to exclude Western agency and practices from definitions of headhunting. Cf. Hoskins, 'Introduction: Headhunting as Practice and as Trope', pp. 2, 35, 37.
 46. 'Liturgy of decapitations' is Luna de Oliveira's term. Cf. J. Simões Martinho, 'Ocupação militar de Timor. Resumo histórico', in Anonymous (ed.), *Principais factos da ocupação ultramarina (séculos XIX e XX até à Grande Guerra). Exposição Histórica da Ocupação* (Lisbon: AGC, 1937), pp. 67–76; Luna de Oliveira, *Timor na História de Portugal* (2 vols, Lisbon: AGC, 1950), II, pp. 372–496.

47. Cf. from an anti-colonial perspective, Pélissier, *Timor en Guerre*, ch. III and IV (for a summary of the Dato-Tolo episode see pp. 164–5); from a nationalist perspective privileging the 1896 campaigns, Oliveira, *Timor na História de Portugal* (on the Dato-Tolo episode see pp. 394–430).
48. Headed by Salazar, the *Estado Novo* (New State) regime was a right-wing dictatorship lasting from 1933 to 1974. Celestino's charismatic governorship was romanticized in a novel of 1931, titled *The King of Timor*: Teófilo Duarte, *O Rei de Timor* (Lisbon: A. M. Pereira, 1931). Cf. Gonçalo Pimenta de Castro, *Timor (Subsídios para a sua História)* (Lisbon: AGC, 1944); Anonymous, *O Dia de Timor. Rememorando Celestino da Silva a propósito do aniversário dum tratado—6 de Agosto de 1661* (Porto: Ed. 1ª Exp. Colonial Portuguesa, 1934); AAVV, *Figuras portuguesas de Timor. Homenagem a Celestino da Silva* (Dili: Imprensa Nacional, 1961). The reputed Asianist Luís Filipe Thomaz has recently described Celestino da Silva as 'the most notorious, perhaps, of all [governors] who knew Timor.' Even Pélissier calls him the 'supreme pacificator'. Thomaz, *De Ceuta a Timor*, p. 596; Pélissier, *Timor en Guerre*, p. 73.
49. See Oliveira, *Timor na História de Portugal*, II, pp. 381–2. For original contemporary arguments on the tactical and economic advantages of *arraiais*, see Castro, *As Possessões Portuguezas*, p. 369; Cypriano Forjaz to GMT, 15 Nov. 1893, Lisbon, AHU, Macao and Timor, ACL_SEMU_DGU_1R_002_Cx 8, 1894; Silva, *Relatório das Operações de Guerra*, pp. 33–8; Celestino da Silva to MSNMU, March 1896, Lisbon, AHU, Macao and Timor, ACL_SEMU_DGU_RM_005_Cx 163, 1895–1899.
50. Chapter 3 will elaborate on this pragmatism as central to Portuguese colonial rule in Timor.
51. Hélio Felgas, *Timor Português* (Lisbon: Agência Geral do Ultramar, 1956), p. 268. See also Teófilo Duarte, *Timor (Antecâmara do Inferno!?)* (Famalicão: Tip. Minerva, 1930), p. 98.
52. On *luso-tropicalismo* see Cláudia Castelo, 'O Modo Português de Estar no Mundo': *o Luso-Tropicalismo e a Ideologia Colonial Portuguesa (1933–1961)* (Porto: Afrontamento, 1999). For examples of luso-tropical discourse concerning the Timorese involvement, see Felgas, *Timor Português*, pp. 304–57; A. Leite de Magalhães, 'Tropas de côr', *Defesa Nacional*, 39 (1937), 16–17.
53. Pélissier, *Timor en Guerre*, p. 313.
54. The Portuguese eighteenth-century manuscript known as the *Planta de Cailaco* (Cailaco's Map)—probably representing the Cailaco war of 1726—includes the following inscription: 'Encampment of the [Portuguese] *Capitão-mor do Campo* (Field Chief-Captain) Joaquim de Matos for the period of forty three days and *where our people were presented with more than 150 heads taken from the enemy*'. [my emphasis] Oliveira, *Timor na História de Portugal*, p. 572.
55. Oliveira, *Timor na História de Portugal*, II, p. 390. See also Martinho, *Timor. Quatro séculos de colonização portuguesa*, p. 36; Felgas, *Timor Português*, pp. 182–5. For the Timor's military history in the period 1847–94, see Pélissier, *Timor en Guerre*, ch. 1 and 2; for the early nineteenth century, see Castro, *As Possessões Portuguezas*, pp. 121–7. Prior to 1769: Matos, *Timor Português 1515–1769*, ch. 3.
56. According to Leitão, after the defeat of Wehale, many Timorese kings sought the Dominican friars for conversion to Christianity, just like the Portuguese victorious allies of Mena had done before. Humberto Leitão, *Os Portugueses em Solor e Timor de 1515 a 1702* (Lisbon: Tip. Liga dos Combatentes da Grande Guerra, 1948), p. 208, ch. 20; Schulte-Nordholt reiterates this account: Schulte-Nordholt, *The Political System of the Atoni*, p. 163–5.

57. Cf. Bayly, *The Birth of the Modern World*, ch. 12; D. M. Anderson and D. Killingray (eds), *Policing the Empire. Government, Authority and Control, 1830–1940* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1991); D. Killingray and D. Omissi (eds), *Guardians of Empire. The Armed Forces of the Colonial Powers, c. 1700–1964* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999). For a quantitative view of the significance of the recruitment of indigenous soldiers for European colonial expansion, see Bouda Etemad, *Possessing the World: Taking the Measurement of Colonisation from the 18th to the 20th Century* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2007).
58. 'The Dutch, Topasses and Portuguese fought their battles with the assistance of the Timorese for centuries this way [headhunting]—as a reward the Timorese were allowed to keep the heads they had taken.' Schulte-Nordholt, *The Political System of the Atoni*, pp. 179–80, 348. See also D cited in McWilliam, 'Severed Heads That Germinate the State', p. 128; Pélissier, *Timor en Guerre*, pp. 26, 72–3, 223; Middelkoop, *Headhunting in Timor*, p. 6; Jaap de Moor, 'The Recruitment of Indonesian Soldiers for the Dutch Colonial Army, c. 1700–1950', in Killingray and Omissi (eds), *Guardians of Empire*, pp. 53–69.
59. Cf. George A. Bray III, 'Scalping during the French and Indian war', <http://www.earlyamerica.com/review/1998/scalping.html>; James Axtell, *The European and the Indian: Essays in the Ethnohistory of Colonial North America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1981).
60. James Brooke (British 'white rajah' of Sarawak) integrated Iban head hunters in his expeditions for eradicating piracy. Allen R. Maxwell, 'Headtaking and the Consolidation of Political Power in the Early Brunei State', in Hoskins (ed.), *Headhunting and the Social Imagination*, p. 112; A. J. Stockwell, 'British Expansion and Rule in South-East Asia', in Andrew Porter (ed.), *The Oxford History of the British Empire. The Nineteenth-Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), III, p. 378.
61. Rosaldo, *Ilongot Headhunting*, pp. 257–61.
62. For a historical and critical revision of theoretical perspectives on hybridity, see Robert J. C. Young, *Colonial Desire. Hybridity in Theory, Culture and Race* (London: Routledge, 1995).
63. Cf. Annie E. Coombes and Avtar Brah, 'Introduction: The Conundrum of "Mixing"', in Annie E. Coombes and Avtar Brah (eds), *Hybridity and Its Discontents: Politics, Science, Culture* (London: Routledge, 2000), pp. 1–16.
64. See Homi Bhabha, 'Signs Taken for Wonders. Questions of Ambivalence and Authority Under a Tree Outside Delhi, May 1817', in *The Location of Culture* (London: Routledge, 1994), pp. 102–22. But see also for another development of the argument about the proliferation of hybrids against the grain of modernity's obsession with 'purification': Bruno Latour, *We Have Never Been Modern* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1993).
65. For an insightful critique of Bhabha, see: Benita Parry, 'Signs of Our Times. Discussion of Homi Bhabha's *The Location of Culture*', *Third Text*, 28/29 (1994), 5–24.
66. An English translation of Serres's book appeared in 1982 yet his work in general has had limited impact on history and social sciences, except for the field of science studies. For an informative summary of Serres, see Steven Brown, 'Michel Serres: Science, Translation and the Logic of the Parasite', *Theory, Culture and Society*, 19, 3 (2002), 1–27.
67. Michel Serres, *Le Parasite* (Paris: Hachette), pp. 9–12.
68. See *Ibid.*, pp. 341–9.

69. A well-established body of evidence in biology also points to blurred boundaries between what biologists traditionally call 'mutualism' (symbiosis with reciprocal benefits) and 'parasitism' (symbiosis with unilateral benefits). Some parasites can positively stimulate organisms, sometimes and in some contexts for mutual benefit. Cf. Frédéric Thomas, François Renaud and Jean-François Guégan (eds), *Parasitism and Ecosystems* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005).
70. Serres, *Le Parasite*, p. 115.
71. In this fable, the Satyr (host) welcomes the Wayfarer (parasite) into its house to share a meal. But suddenly the Satyr turns into parasite of the Wayfarer, as he becomes hostile, interrupts the guest's meal, and finally expels the Wayfarer. *Ibid.*, pp. 37–40.
72. But see again Serres's discussion of *The Satyr and the Wayfarer*: *Ibid.*
73. This ambivalence rests on the Latin etymology of the words 'hostility' and 'hospitality'. For Derrida, they share a 'troubling analogy in their common origin between *hostis* as host and *hostis* as enemy, between hospitality and hostility.' Jacques Derrida, 'Hospitality', *Angelaki*, 5, 3 (2000), 3–18. I thank Giovanni da Col and Patrice Ladwig for this reference.
74. 'If information could stand for energy', Serres states, 'we would be gods'. Serres, *Le Parasite*, p. 182.
75. Cf. *Ibid.*, pp. 71–4, 56, 252.
76. I have also elaborated on this point in Ricardo Roque, 'The Razor's Edge: Portuguese Imperial Vulnerability in Colonial Mexico, Angola', *International Journal of African Historical Studies*, 36, 1 (2003), 105–24.
77. Cf. C. A. Bayly, *Empire and Information: Intelligence Gathering and Social Information in India, 1780–1870* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996); Ann Laura Stoler, *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power. Race and the Intimate in Colonial Rule* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), p. 10.
78. Annemarie Mol, *The Body Multiple: Ontology in Medical Practice* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2002), p. 143. Mol is not discussing colonialism, but how self and otherness get 'mutually included' as a disease (atherosclerosis) is enacted in medical practice. The concept of 'mutual inclusion' is however suggested as carrying wider theoretical implications, which I try to develop.
79. Emilie Gomart and Antoine Hennion, 'A Sociology of Attachment: Music Amateurs, Drug Users', in John Law and John Hassard (ed.), *Actor-Network Theory and After* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1999), p. 221.

Chapter 2

1. East Timor is a diverse ethnic and linguistic territory. Geoffrey Hull has recently identified 16 indigenous languages. The East Timorese languages can in any case be classified into two distinct language families: the Austronesian and the Trans-New Guinean, or 'Papuan'. See Geoffrey Hull, 'The Languages of East Timor. Some Basic Facts', <http://www.ocs.mq.edu.au/langs.html>; Thomaz, *De Ceuta a Timor*, pp. 613–35; Cf. Arthur Capell, 'Peoples and Languages of Timor', *Oceania*, 14 (1943–44), 311–37; 15, 19–48.
2. Elizabeth Traube, *Cosmology and Social Life. Ritual Exchange Among the Mambai of East Timor* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986), ch. 3. See also Elizabeth Traube, 'Mambai Perspectives on Colonialism and Decolonization', in Peter Carey and G. C. Bentley (eds), *East Timor at the Crossroads: the Forging of a Nation* (London: Cassell, 1995), pp. 42–55.

3. *Malae* (*malai*, or *malaia*) is a Tetum term derived from the Malay *melayu*. The term *malae* could also designate Timorese who either by virtue of upbringing had become westernized, or by virtue of position close to European or Portuguese culture. This was the case of the *moradores*, as seen in the preceding chapter. On the term *malae* cf. Traube, *Cosmology and Social Life*, pp. 52–3, n. 2; Costa, *Dicionário de Tétum-Português*, p. 239; António de Almeida, 'Presenças etnobotânicas brasileiras no Timor Português', *Memórias da Academia das Ciências de Lisboa (Classe de Ciências)*, XIX (1976), 158; Thomaz, *De Ceuta a Timor*, p. 623.
4. For a detailed account of this myth, see Traube, *Cosmology and Social Life*, pp. 54–8.
5. *Ibid.*
6. This mythic incorporation seems to reveal a flexible version of Marshall Sahlins's 'structure of the conjuncture'. Cf. Marshall Sahlins, *Islands of History* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987).
7. Traube, *Cosmology and Social Life*, pp. 54–8.
8. In Traube's insightful words: 'By Mambai theories of origin the Malaia [the Portuguese], who occupy the structural position of outsider-rulers, are not strangers at all, but are the returning younger sons of the land. The ultimate origins of the Malaia are autochthonous, their relationship with the Timorese is based on kinship, and their arrival on Timor signifies the return of the legitimate defenders of order.' *Ibid.*
9. *Ibid.*
10. *Ibid.*, pp. 52–3. The association of outsiders with political authority is perhaps a cosmological trope of even wider significance. See Marshall Sahlins, 'Depending on the Kingness of Strangers; or, Elementary Forms of Political Life', Paper presented at the Workshop *Beyond Deconstruction: Engaging Colonial Knowledge*, King's College, Cambridge, 14–16 Sept. 2006.
11. Cf. Traube, *Cosmology and Social Life*, p. 61.
12. *Ibid.*, p. 60.
13. Still, in the post-colonial present, communities of traditionally anti-Portuguese past can strategically reinvent their historical connections with the Portuguese in a more positive light. Cf. Andrea K. Molnar, '“Died in the service of Portugal”: Legitimacy of Authority and Dynamics of Group Identity Among the Atsabe Kemak in East Timor', *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*, 37, 2 (2006), 335–55.
14. Traube qualifies this critique as 'the critique of the rightful rulers'. Traube, *Cosmology and Social Life*, pp. 61–2.
15. Several professional ethnographers who conducted fieldwork in East Timor, in the 1950s–70s, have consistently explored this dimension of Timorese life. The classic study that established the importance of the Durkheimian theme of correspondence between cosmic and social orders in the study of Eastern Indonesian cultures is F. A. E. van Wouden, *Types of Social Structure in Eastern Indonesia* (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1968). See also the essays collected in James Fox (ed.), *The Flow of Life. Essays on Eastern Indonesia* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1980).
16. Traube, *Cosmology and Social Life*, pp. 58, 60.
17. Other important Timorese cosmologies of hospitality concerned the Catholic missionaries, but I will not deal with these here. The cosmologies analysed in this chapter concern only the colonial jural government. See for example, Ezequiel E. Pascoal, 'Curiosa lenda', *Seara*, 3–4 (1950), 40–2.

18. António de Almeida, 'Alguns aspectos antropológicos do Timor Português', *Memórias da Academia das Ciências de Lisboa (Classe de Ciências)*, XII (1968), 8.
19. António de Almeida, 'Da origem lendária e mitológica dos povos do Timor Português', *Memórias da Academia das Ciências de Lisboa (Classe de Ciências)*, XIX (1976), 351.
20. Francisco de Azevedo Gomes, 'Os Fataluku' (B. A. dissertation, ISCSPU, 1972), p. 162.
21. Vaquinhas, 'Timor. Cartas de José dos Santos Vaquinhas', 278–9.
22. Afonso de Castro, 'Une Rébellion à Timor en 1861', *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde*, XIII (1864), 391. [my emphasis]
23. The *finta* was eventually introduced by governor Soto Maior around 1710–14. By 1737, another governor made a brief and unsuccessful attempt to abolish *finta* and replace it by a capitation tax. Shortly afterwards, Goa gave explicit orders to re-establish the tribute. Matos, *Timor Português 1515–1769*, p. 127; Castro, *As Possessões*, p. 376.
24. Afonso de Castro, 'Notícia dos usos e costumes dos povos de Timor', *Anais do Conselho Ultramarino*, unofficial section (1863), 31.
25. Cf. Traube, *Cosmology and Social Life*, p. 121.
26. Perhaps for these reasons the Mambai cult lords remembered the abolition of the *finta* and its replacement for a capitation tax in 1912 as a deplorable transgression of the cosmological contract, idealizing a golden age of the indigenous order prior to its abolition. *Ibid.*, pp. 120–4. Traube incurs into chronological error by saying that the colonial 'tribute system' was abolished and substituted by a cash tax in 1903. Cf. *Ibid.*, pp. 58, 121; Traube, 'Mambai Perspectives on Colonialism and Decolonization', p. 48.
27. Celestino da Silva to MSNMU, 5 June 1897, Lisbon, AHU, Macao and Timor, ACL_SEMU_DGU_1R_003_Cx 10, 1897–1900.
28. As an exchange relationship, according to Traube, *finta* might be seen as a variant of wider pre-colonial exchange circuits that linked the mountaineers to the coastal peoples. Traube, *Cosmology and Social life*, pp. 121–2.
29. From the Malay words *sirih* (betel) and *pinang* (areca), the Timorese term eventually signifies social communion. According to Thomaz, *serapinão* was also a local term used in the colonial period to traditionally refer to the *finta* tribute paid to the Portuguese. L. F. Thomaz, 'Timor Loro Sae: Uma Perspectiva Histórica', in AAVV, *Timor. Um País para o Século XXI* (Sintra: Atena, 2000), p. 34.
30. See M. I. F. Tamagnini, *Diário de uma Viagem a Timor (1882–1883)* (Lisbon: CEPESA, 2002), pp. 60–1; Celestino da Silva to MSNMU, 25 Jan. 1901, Lisbon, AHU, Macao and Timor, ACL_SEMU_DGU_1R_002_Cx 11, 1901–1904.
31. For detailed descriptions of the complex chain of patrimonial appropriations of *finta* involving *régulos*, *datós*, and army officers, see Celestino da Silva to MSNMU, 25 Jan. 1901, Lisbon, AHU, Macao and Timor, ACL_SEMU_DGU_1R_002_Cx 11, 1901–1904; Castro, *As Possessões*, p. 377.
32. Cf. Schulte-Nordholt, *The Political System of the Atoni*, p. 357.
33. The position of Wehale as ancient 'ritual female centre' was legitimated by mythic narration and supported by a harvest tribute system. Its networks extended to East Timor still in the nineteenth century. Cf. James J. Fox, 'The Great Lord Rests at the Centre. The Paradox of Powerlessness in European-Timorese Relations', *Canberra Anthropology*, 9, 2 (1982), 22–33; Gérard Francillon, 'Incursions upon Wehali: a Modern History of an Ancient Empire', in Fox (ed.), *The Flow of Life*, pp. 248–65.

34. This was observed by Afonso de Castro in 1867: 'The payment of this tribute is in fact an act of great significance, and it leads us to believe that Behale and the Senobay reduced those kingdoms to submission without, however, maintaining the conquest, for apart from the tribute no other links tied such kingdoms to Behale and Senobay'. Castro, *As Possessões*, p. 19.
35. Although Traube details the principles of *finta*, she does not elaborate on these other ritual obligations, such as the *arraiais*. Traube, *Cosmology and Social Life*, p. 121.
36. Castro, *As Possessões*, pp. 327–9. [italics in the original]
37. In particular, I here expand on the basic definition of praxiology as 'the general theory of efficient action'. T. Kotarbinski, *Praxiology. An Introduction to the Sciences of Efficient Action* (Oxford and New York: Pergamon Press, 1965), p. 1.
38. Castro, 'Une rébellion à Timor en 1861', 391.
39. França, *Macau e os seus Habitantes*, pp. 215–6, 222.
40. *Ibid.*, p. 278.
41. Silva, *Relatório das Operações de Guerra*, p. 38.
42. Cf. Thomaz, *De Ceuta a Timor*, p. 652. For *luso-tropicalismo* see Chapter 1.
43. Celestino da Silva observed that the Timorese considered the 'government' as 'father and mother', though the governor was treated as 'father'. Yet, other governors suggested that the governor himself was seen as a pair 'father and mother'. Cf. Celestino da Silva to MSNMU, 5 June 1897, Lisbon, AHU, Macao and Timor, ACL_SEMU_DGU_1R_003_Cx 10, 1897–1900; Celestino da Silva to MSNMU, 25 Jan. 1901, Lisbon, AHU, Macao and Timor, ACL_SEMU_DGU_1R_002_Cx 11, 1901–1904.
44. Raphael das Dores, *Como se Adquire a Fama ou História d'um Caluniado* (Lisbon: Typ. J. G. Esteves, 191–), p. 72.
45. Typically, Timorese cosmogonies described a world originated from a sacred origin centre comprising a female/male 'dualistic unity' often depicted as one primordial pair, for instance, the 'great mother and great father'. Cf. Traube, *Cosmology and Social Life*; and for sexual dualism: David Hicks, 'Conjonction Féminine et Disjonction Masculine chez les Tetum (Timor, Indonésie Orientale)', *L'Homme*, 94 (1985), 23–36.
46. Cf. *Ibid.*
47. Pierre Bourdieu, *Language and Symbolic Power* (Cambridge: Polity, 1991), p. 164.
48. Silva, *Relatório das Operações de Guerra*, p. 38.
49. Celestino da Silva to MSNMU, 25 Jan. 1901, Lisbon, AHU, Macao and Timor, ACL_SEMU_DGU_1R_002_Cx 11, 1901–1904.
50. *Ibid.*
51. Celestino da Silva to GMT, 1 Sept. 1894, Lisbon, AHU, Macao and Timor, ACL_SEMU_DGU_RM_003_Cx 7, 1890–1895.
52. Second-lieutenant Francisco Duarte became legendary. He received the indigenous nickname of *arbiru* (man of courage, who achieves everything). Governor Celestino himself was believed to be invulnerable to bullets. The assessment of the invulnerability of warriors was central to the divinatory rites in colonial campaigns. Castro, *Timor. Subsídios para a sua História*, p. 110.
53. According to Silva, the term derived from *ema* = people; *boóte* = bigger than. The expression *enboot* still figures in current Tetum dictionaries as 'governor'. Celestino da Silva to MSNMU, 25 Jan. 1901, Lisbon, AHU, Macao and Timor, ACL_SEMU_DGU_1R_002_Cx 11, 1901–1904. Costa, *Dicionário de Tétum-Português*, p. 79.

54. Cardoso de Carvalho to GMT, 30 June 1883, Lisbon, AHU, Macao and Timor, ACL_SEMU_DGU_1R_002_Cx 2, 1881.
55. Vaquinhas, 'Timor. I', 328.
56. The Tetum term *lulik* could be applied virtually to every entity, from places and inanimate objects to living beings. For the term *lulik*, see Claudine Friedberg, *Comment Fut Tranchée la Liane Céleste et Autres Texts de Littérature Orale Bunaq (Timor, Indonésie)*, Recueillis et Traduits par Louis Berthe (Paris: SELAF, 1978), p. 153; António de Almeida, 'Contribuição para o Estudo dos Nomes 'Lúlik' (Sagrados) no Timor de Expressão Portuguesa', *Memórias da Academia das Ciências de Lisboa (Classe de Ciências)*, XXI (1976–77), 121–47. Cf. Traube, *Cosmology and Social Life*, p. 143.
57. Portuguese flags were constitutive of the *lulik* heritage of Timorese communities until at least the second half of the twentieth century. For examples of the preservation of Portuguese flags in sacred houses: see Shepard Forman, 'East Timor: Exchange and Political Hierarchy at the Time of the European Discoveries', in Karl L. Hutterer (ed.), *Economic Exchange and Social Interaction in Southeast Asia: Perspectives from Prehistory, History, and Ethnography* (Ann Arbor: Center for South and Southeast Asian Studies, University of Michigan, 1977), p. 108; Almeida, 'Contribuição para o estudo dos nomes 'Lúlik' (sagrados)', 126–7, 134; J. G. de Lencastre, 'Marcos da expansão do império. Solor-Alor e Timor', *Boletim da Agência Geral das Colónias*, 104 (1934), p. 15; Thomaz, *De Ceuta a Timor*, p. 652. For *lulik* heirlooms in general, see Brigitte Renard-Clamagirand, *Marobo. Une Société Ema de Timor* (Paris: SELAF, 1982), pp. 42, 44, 271; Friedberg, *Comment Fut Tranchée la Liane Céleste*, p. 270.
58. During the campaigns of 1896, second-lieutenant Duarte referred to the *estilos* of 'flag washing' (*lavagem da bandeira*) performed by the *arraiaís*. Francisco Duarte, 'Commando Militar de Thiarlelo, 31 Aug. 1896', in Silva, *Relatório das Operações de Guerra*, p. 71. On these *estilos* see also A. F. Acácio Flores, *Uma Guerra no Distrito de Timor* (Macao: Typ. Commercial, 1891), p. 19.
59. Dore, 'Apontamentos', 766; Celestino da Silva to GMT, 17 Nov. 1894, Lisbon, AHU, Macao and Timor, ACL_SEMU_DGU_1R_002_Cx 9, 1895–1896.
60. Celestino da Silva to GMT, 1 Sept. 1894, Lisbon, AHU, Macao and Timor, ACL_SEMU_DGU_RM_003_Cx 7, 1890–1895.
61. Cf. Cardoso de Carvalho, Governor of Timor, Ofício n. 57, 27 May 1881, Macao, AHM, AC, P-274; Celestino da Silva, *Instruções Para os Commandantes Militares* (Macao: s.ed., 1896), p. 89; Hugo de Lacerda to MSNMU, 10 Aug. 1878, Lisbon, AHU, Macao and Timor, ACL_SEMU_DGU_RM_005_Cx 47, 1878.
62. França, *Macao e os seus Habitantes*, p. 276.
63. Fernandes, *Timor. Impressões e Aspectos*, pp. 32–3.
64. Hugo de Lacerda to MSNMU, 6 Feb. 1877, Lisbon, AHU, Macao and Timor, ACL_SEMU_DGU_RM_005_Cx 46, 1877. With those defeats, another governor pointed out 'our credit among the Timorese peoples was strongly affected [...] [and] very affected our honour will remain in these places if no effort is made to prudently reduce these peoples to indispensable obedience.' José Maria Lobo d'Ávila to MSNMU, 7 Nov. 1876, Lisbon, AHU, Macao and Timor, ACL_SEMU_DGU_RM_005_Cx 45, 1876.
65. Benedict R. O'G. Anderson, 'The Idea of Power in Javanese Culture', in Claire Holt et al. (eds), *Culture and Politics in Indonesia* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1972), pp. 1–70.
66. *Ibid.*, pp. 64–7.

67. Cf. Keith W. Taylor, 'The Early Kingdoms', in Tarling (ed.), *Cambridge History of Southeast Asia*, I, pp. 176–9, 218–9.
68. *Tumungões* could rule villages, though in some instances appeared in command of armies in war, or as counsellors to the king. According to Osório de Castro, the Portuguese expression *tumungão* is eventually a corruption of the indigenous term *Toumungó*, and this of the Javanese title *Tumengung*, possibly introduced into the Timorese political organization by the Majapahit empire, before the arrival of the Portuguese. See Castro, *Flores de Coral*, p. 430; Castro, 'Notícia dos Usos e Costumes dos Povos de Timor', 29; Celestino da Silva to MSNMU, 25 Jan. 1901, Lisbon, AHU, Macao and Timor, ACL_SEMU_DGU_1R_002_Cx 11, 1901–1904.
69. The word *le'u* exists in Tetum but conveys a different meaning. Perhaps the complex term *lulik* is closer to the meaning of *le'u*. See P. Middelkoop, *Headhunting in Timor and Its Historical Implications*, pp. 21–3; McWilliam, 'Severed Heads that Germinate the State', pp. 154–5; Andrew McWilliam, 'Case Studies in Dual Classification as Process: Childbirth, Headhunting and Circumcision in West Timor', *Oceania*, 65, 1 (1994), 63.
70. Middelkoop, *Headhunting in Timor and Its Historical Implications*, pp. 21–3.
71. See *Ibid.*
72. Schulte-Nordholt, *The Political System of the Atoni*, p. 165. Cf. Felgas, *Timor Português*, pp. 225–7.
73. António Manuel Hespanha, *Panorama da História Institucional e Jurídica de Macau* (Macao: Fundação Macau, 1995).
74. *Ibid.*, p. 37.
75. *Ibid.*, p. 48. [emphasis in the original]
76. *Ibid.*
77. Cf. *Ibid.*, pp. 52–3; Ana Cristina Nogueira da Silva, 'Uma Justiça "Liberal" para o Ultramar?: Direito e Organização Judiciária nas Províncias Ultramarinas Portuguesas do Século XIX', *Revista do Ministério Público*, 27, 105 (2006), 165–200. By the mid-1890s, the civilizing ideologies stimulated harder versions of Portuguese customary codifications in the African colonies. See Rui Pereira, A 'Missão Etnográfica de Moçambique'. A Codificação dos 'Usos e Costumes Indígenas' no Direito Colonial Português', *Cadernos de Estudos Africanos*, 1 (2001), 127–77.
78. This pragmatism was eventually formalized in the 1930s. Hespanha, *Panorama da História Institucional e Jurídica de Macau*, p. 52.
79. In Goa, the first codifications of local customs dated from the sixteenth century; others were to appear later. In Timor, a first official attempt to survey and codify Timorese *usos e costumes* with a view to support the administration of justice was undertaken in 1908–09, by recommendation of governor Eduardo Marques. See *Ibid.*, pp. 6–7, 48–9; Luís da Cunha Gonçalves, 'Direito Consuetudinário dos Indígenas de Timor', *Memórias da Academia de Ciências de Lisboa (Classe de Letras)*, I (1936), 203–4.
80. On this code and the problem of the colonial exercise of law according to *usos e costumes* in the nineteenth century Portuguese colonies, cf. Ana Cristina Nogueira da Silva, '“Missão Civilizacional” e Codificação de Usos e Costumes na Doutrina Colonial Portuguesa (Séculos XIX–XX)', *Quaderni Fiorentini per la Storia del Pensiero Giuridico Moderno*, 33–34, II (2004–5), 899–921.
81. Gonçalves, 'Direito Consuetudinário dos Indígenas de Timor', 203–4.
82. Joaquim José da Graça to MSNMU, 8 March 1880, Lisbon, AHU, Macao and Timor, ACL_SEMU_DGU_1R_002_Cx 1, 1879–1880.
83. Gonçalves, 'Direito consuetudinário dos indígenas de Timor', 203.

84. Ibid.
85. António Joaquim de Medeiros, 'Missões em Timor', *Annaes das Missões Ultramarinas*, II, 2 (1890), 105.
86. França, *Macau e os seus Habitantes*, pp. 223–4, 226.
87. Castro, *As Possessões*, p. xv.
88. The use of the term *estilo* or *estyllo* (pl. *estilos*) in Timor preserved the vernacular meaning of 'custom', 'consuetudinary practice', a lawful manner or style of doing something. In Tetum, it can also designate 'sacrificial rites' and any rite performed according to the manners and customs of communities. Cf. Machado, *Dicionário Etimológico*; António de Almeida, 'Da Onomástica-Tabu no Timor Português—Antropónimos e Zoónimos', in AAVV (ed.), *In Memoriam Jorge Dias* (Lisbon: JICU, 1974), III, p. 12; Costa, *Dicionário de Tétum-Português*.
89. Even after the replacement of the system of kingdoms for the *suku* system from 1912–13, this kind of blurring was preserved. This was visible to professional ethnographers in East Timor still in the 1970s. See David Hicks, 'Unachieved Synchronism: the Local-Level Political System in Portuguese Timor, 1966–1967', *Anthropos*, 7 (1983), 17–40; Elizabeth Traube, 'Mambai Rituals in Black and White', in Fox (ed.), *The Flow of Life*, p. 296, n. 12. The intertwinement of Portuguese colonial administration with the traditional holders of political or jural authority between 1912 and 1975 has also been observed in a recent survey of the Timorese political system. Recent ethnographic work on Timorese 'traditional justice' in the context of post-conflict processes of reconciliation also points (even if only in brief) to imbrications of Timorese customary justice with the Portuguese administration in the colonial period. Sofi Ospina and Tanja Hohe, 'Traditional Power Structures and the Community Empowerment and Local Governance Project. Final Report', Presented to CEP/PMU, ETTA/UNTAET and the World Bank, Dili Sept. 2001, <http://info.worldbank.org/etools/docs/library/136160/tslg/papers.html>; Andrew McWilliam, 'Introduction: Restorative Custom: Ethnographic Perspectives on Conflict and Local Justice in Timor', *The Asia Pacific Journal of Anthropology*, 8, 1 (2007), p. 3.
90. Celestino da Silva to MSNMU, 25 Jan. 1901, Lisbon, AHU, Macao and Timor, ACL_SEMU_DGU_1R_002_Cx 11, 1901–1904.
91. Vaquinhas, 'Timor. Usos—Superstições de Guerra', 479.
92. Hugo de Lacerda to MSNMU, 6 Feb. 1877, Lisbon, AHU, Macao and Timor, ACL_SEMU_DGU_RM_005_Cx 46, 1877.
93. Celestino da Silva to MSNMU, 25 Jan. 1901, Lisbon, AHU, Macao and Timor, ACL_SEMU_DGU_1R_002_Cx 11, 1901–1904.
94. 'Authority will be called traditional if legitimacy is claimed for it and believed in by virtue of the sanctity of age-old rules and powers.' Max Weber, *Economy and Society* (2 vols. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979), p. 226.
95. França, *Macau e os seus Habitantes*, p. 224.
96. Afonso de Castro, for example, disgustfully confessed that he had to concede *suangue* sacrifices. Bento da França and Hugo de Lacerda expressed similar difficulties. But see also Chapter 7 for the complexities of trying to put an end to *suangue* killings. Castro, *As Possessões*, pp. xix, 371; França, *Macau e os seus Habitantes*, pp. 239, 223. See also: Hugo de Lacerda to MSNMU, 12 Aug. 1879, Lisbon, AHU, Macao and Timor, ACL_SEMU_DGU_1R_002_Cx 1, 1879–1880.
97. França, *Macau e os seus Habitantes*, p. 225.

98. The Portuguese word *justiceiro* has no direct translation in English. It means 'the one who maintains or administers justice rigidly'. I here translate it as 'jural lord' in accordance with the Timorese notions explored in the first section of this chapter, but also maintain the Portuguese meaning in the translation.
99. Celestino da Silva to MSNMU, 13 July 1905, Lisbon, AHU, Macao and Timor, ACL_SEMU_DGU_RM_Folder 3, 1904–1907. [emphasis in the original]
100. The body as a metaphor for rule and power is also a common trope in South-east Asian cultures. Cf. for example, Schulte-Nordholt, *The Political System of the Atoni*, chs. XI and XII.
101. Celestino da Silva to MSNMU, 25 Jan. 1901, Lisbon, AHU, Macao and Timor, ACL_SEMU_DGU_1R_002_Cx 11, 1901–1904; Silva, *Relatório das Operações de Guerra*, p. 38. See also Celestino da Silva to MSNMU, 13 July 1905, Lisbon, AHU, Macao and Timor, ACL_SEMU_DGU_RM_Folder 3, 1904–1907; Celestino da Silva to MSNMU, 5 June 1897, Lisbon, AHU, Macao and Timor, ACL_SEMU_DGU_1R_002_Cx 10, 1897–1901.
102. Celestino da Silva to MSNMU, 11 Jan. 1898, Lisbon, AHU, Macao and Timor, ACL_SEMU_DGU_1R_003_Cx 10, 1897–1900.
103. Ibid.; Silva, *Instruções*.
104. The execution of justice by the military officers in the interior, instead of in Dili, was further justified as both a cultural and an economic expediency. It would save the indigenous the trouble of going to the capital; in Dili, at a distance, the indigenous *estilos* could but be incorrectly followed by judges. Celestino da Silva to GMT, 1 Sept. 1894, Lisbon, AHU, Macao and Timor, ACL_SEMU_DGU_RM_003_Cx 7, 1890–1895.
105. See Celestino da Silva to MSNMU, 11 Jan. 1898, Lisbon, AHU, Macao and Timor, ACL_SEMU_DGU_1R_003_Cx 10, 1897–1900. [emphasis in the original]
106. Apart from the Christian religious connotation of the term 'ritual' as opposed to the secular connotation of the term 'ceremonial', the two may be seen as equivalent, since both regard intense social occasions of connecting with sacred or charismatic values and powers of a specific group or society. Yet, in this chapter, for the sake of conceptual clarity, I use the term 'ritual' in the context of the rule over sacred affairs conducted by Timorese 'ritual lords', whereas ceremonial will be preferred to express the practice and management of *estilos* associated with the peculiar mode of ritual rule of Portuguese 'jural lords' over secular or worldly affairs. I may however refer to headhunting in colonial warfare as 'ritual' or 'ceremonial' violence because, in that context, the two zones of rule closely intersected. Cf. Edward Shils, *Center and Periphery. Essays on Macrosociology* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1975), pp. 154–5. For a critique of the use of 'ritual' as concept in social sciences, see Philippe Buc, *The Dangers of Ritual: Between Early Medieval Texts and Social Scientific Theory* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001).
107. Cf. Shils, *Center and Periphery*, pp. 154–5.
108. The complexities of this etiquette would deserve a more detailed treatment. But see Silva, *Instruções*, p. 4; França, *Macao e os seus Habitantes*, p. 278, cf. pp. 242–3.
109. See Machado, *Dicionário Etimológico*, I, p. 384.
110. In Macao, for example, the investment of Joaquim José da Graça as Governor of Macao and Timor in 1879 was published in the Official Bulletin as a *bando*, after it having been proclaimed in Macao 'published in the places of *estilo* at the sound of drum [*caixa*]'. 'Leal Senado da Câmara. Bando. 28 Novembro 1879', *BPMT*, XXV, 48 (1879), 289.

111. The Tetum term *bandu* can still be defined as 'to proclaim a ban (by playing the drum)'. Costa, *Dicionário de Tétum-Português*, p. 49.
112. In 1976–77, Almeida noted that, in the eastern point of Timor, the term *bandu* was used instead of *lulik*. He also observed that the Tetum term *bandu* was 'very widespread in East Timor, signifying prohibition, much respected consuetudinary practice'. Almeida, 'Contribuição para o estudo dos nomes 'Lúlik' (sagrados)', 124.
113. Cf. Felgas, *Timor Português*, p. 267, n. 106.
114. *Bandos* were used by Celestino da Silva, for example, to proclaim the possession of lands, extinguish kingdoms, or create *jurisdições*. See Celestino da Silva to MSNMU, 5 June 1897, Lisbon, AHU, Macao and Timor, ACL_SEMU_DGU_RM_Cx 10, 1897–1900; Eduardo da Câmara to Celestino da Silva, 25 May 1895, Lisbon, AHU, Macao and Timor, ACL_SEMU_DGU_RM_005_Cx 1, 1890–1899.
115. See Felgas, *Timor Português*, p. 267, n. 106. See Governor Teixeira da Silva's *bando* calling the *arraiais* in 1868: Castro, *Timor (Subsídios para a sua História)*, p. 79.
116. *Régulos* hostile towards the Portuguese also used *bandos* in the administration of justice. In 1895, in the eve of confrontation with Portuguese forces, the king of Manufai proclaimed a *bando* forbidding all his subjects from coming into agreement with the government. Celestino da Silva to GMT, Aug. 1895, Lisbon, AHU, Macao and Timor, ACL_SEMU_DGU_2R_Cx 9, 1895–1896.
117. Indigenous *bandos* were as well an emanation of jural authority, but the ceremonies and modes of ritual communication could be different. Martinho, *Timor. Quatro Séculos*, pp. 220–1.
118. *Gastos* were normally given in produce and cattle as provisions for the journey. The officers also had the right to request carriers, or warriors in case of war. Missionaries on journey should be honoured with the company of the local *régulo* and a personal ceremonial party, receiving tribute from the people in going past the villages. Vaquinhas, 'Timor. Usos—Superstições de Guerra', 490–1.
119. Cardoso de Carvalho to GMT, enclosed in Joaquim José da Graça to MSNMU, 11 May 1881, Lisbon, AHU, Macau and Timor, ACL_SEMU_DGU_1R_002_Cx 2, 1881.
120. Hugo de Lacerda to GMT, Jan. 1875, Lisbon, AHU, Macau and Timor, ACL_SEMU_DGU_RM_005_Cx 44, 1875; Felgas, *Timor Português*, p. 267, n. 106.
121. See Cypriano Forjaz to GMT, 23 Nov. 1891, Lisbon, AHU, Macau and Timor, ACL_SEMU_DGU_RM_003_Cx 6, 1887–1893.
122. Castro, *As Possessões*, p. 123.
123. For example, buffaloes, agricultural produce, fabrics (*sarões*), horses, golden and silver discs, or *mutiçala* (coral beads). See Celestino da Silva to the Officer in Command of the expedition against Lokeo and Fatumean, Edict n. 1327, Confidential, Oct. 1896, Lisbon, Private archives of Celestino da Silva's relatives, Commandant Guilherme Alpoim Calvão.
124. See D. Alexandre da Costa Mendes, King of Cotubaba, to Governor of Timor, 12 June 1881, Lisbon, AHU, Macao and Timor, ACL_SEMU_DGU_1R_002_Cx 2, 1881.
125. See the claims for pardon and the explanations for disobedient behaviour presented by the *principais* of Cová to the army officer in command of Batugadé in 1878: José Silva Pereira dos Santos to Hugo de Lacerda, 20 July 1878, Lisbon, AHU, Macao and Timor, ACL_SEMU_DGU_RM_005_Cx 47, 1878.

126. The *homulac* could state the motives for doing the war, declaim a history of the affairs that justified the dispute, and try to bring the parties into agreement. Sometimes, his skills were enough to preclude fighting. The *homulacs* also played their role by the side of the Portuguese in colonial campaigns. See Vaquinhas, 'Timor. Usos—Superstições de Guerra', 478; Duarte, 'Commando Militar de Thiarlelo', 31 Aug. 1896, p. 51.
127. Clifford Geertz, *Negara: the Theatre-State in Nineteenth-Century Bali* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980), p. 122. In the wake of Geertz, see also Clendinnen's brilliant study of the Aztecs: Inga Clendinnen, *Aztecs: An Interpretation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991). The importance of 'political rituals' for state-administration has also been explored by medieval historians of Europe. Cf. Jacques Le Goff, 'The Symbolic Ritual of Vassalage', in his *Time, Work, and Culture in the Middle Ages* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980), pp. 237–87.
128. See Geertz, *Negara*, p. 13.
129. In her ethnographic history of the Balinese kingdom of Klungkung, Wiener has correctly pointed out Geertz's lack of critical analysis of Dutch colonial sources. Nevertheless, Wiener embraces an indigenocentric project, rescuing the indigenous traditional system and exploring the ultimate epistemological difference between Dutch and Balinese conceptions of power. Cf. Margaret J. Wiener, *Visible and Invisible Realms. Power, Magic, and Colonial Conquest in Bali* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995).
130. As Pina-Cabral suggested in his study of early nineteenth-century colonial Macao, such 'equivocal compatibilities' might compose mutually beneficial arrangements. Cf. João de Pina-Cabral, *Between China and Europe: Person, Culture and Emotion in Macao* (London: Continuum, 2002), ch. 5.
131. See Bourdieu, *Language and Symbolic Power*.
132. Cf. the role of ritual mass murder among the Aztecs: Clendinnen, *Aztecs*.

Chapter 3

1. Eduardo da Câmara to Celestino da Silva, 25 May 1895, Lisbon, AHU, Macao and Timor, ACL_SEMU_DGU_RM_005_Cx 1, 1890–1899.
2. See Eduardo Ignacio da Câmara. Processo individual, n. 687, Lisbon, AHMil, Box 1019; Celestino da Silva to MSNMU, 10 July 1895, Lisbon, AHU, Macao and Timor, ACL_SEMU_DGU_RM_005_Cx 1, 1890–1899.
3. Eduardo Ignacio da Câmara. Processo individual, n. 687, Lisbon, AHMil, Box 1019.
4. For the origins and rationale of the Obulo and Marobo campaign, see Celestino da Silva to MSNMU, 10 July 1895, Lisbon, AHU, Macao and Timor, ACL_SEMU_DGU_RM_005_Cx 1, 1890–1899.
5. Ibid.
6. Eduardo da Câmara to Celestino da Silva, 25 May 1895, Lisbon, AHU, Macao and Timor, ACL_SEMU_DGU_RM_005_Cx 1, 1890–1899. The report was published posthumously in Lisbon—but the above section on the *lorosa'e* headhunting ceremonies was not included in the published version by the journal editors. This editorial action might be seen as what I call below a 'gesture of purification' aimed at protecting the memory of the captain from the dirtiness of being portrayed as an eyewitness of head-feasts. Câmara's account, moreover, was tragically prophetic. The editors could have not ignored that this ethnographic

description of May 1895 detailed the ritual circuits presumably undergone by the captain's own head, only a few months later, during the Cová massacre (see Chapter 7). Eduardo Ignacio da Câmara, 'Relatório do comandante das operações contra os reinos rebeldes de Obulo, Marobo, Baboi, Balibó e outros', *Anais do Clube Militar Naval*, 25, 11–12 (1895), 695–707, 795–803.

7. Descriptions of Timorese 'manners and customs' of war circulated in official correspondence and in publications. See for example: Castro, 'Une Rébellion à Timor en 1861', 389–409; Vaquinhas, 'Timor. Usos—Superstições de Guerra', 476–7; João dos Santos Pereira Jardim, 'Notas Ethnographicas sobre os Povos de Timor', *Portugália*, I, 2 (1900), 355–9; For later colonial ethnographies, see also: Martinho, *Timor. Quatro Séculos*, pp. 247–57; Felgas, *Timor Português*, pp. 180–3; Correia, *Timor de Lés a Lés*, pp. 27–31; Castro, *A Ilha Verde e Vermelha de Timor*, pp. 100, 126, 136–8; Gomes, 'Os Fataluku', pp. 96–8.
8. It is the case of the controversy on the Coimbra collection discussed in Chapter 6.
9. Vaquinhas, 'Timor. Usos—Superstições de Guerra', 478.
10. Eduardo Marques instructed the officials to conduct ethnographic surveys. See Castro, *A Ilha Verde e Vermelha*, p. 87.
11. See Silva, *Instruções*, p. 5; Silva, *Relatório das Operações de Guerra*, pp. 40–3.
12. See Celestino da Silva to MSNMU, 11 Aug. 1896, Lisbon, AHU, Macao and Timor, ACL_SEMU_DGU_1R_002_Cx 9, 1895–1896; Celestino da Silva to MSNMU, 23 March 1906, Lisbon, AHU, Macao and Timor, ACL_SEMU_DGU_RM_005_Cx 3, 1904–1907; Celestino da Silva to MSNMU, 13 July 1905, Projecto do governo do distrito autónomo de Timor, relatório de organização militar do mesmo distrito, Lisbon, AHU, Macao and Timor, ACL_SEMU_DGU_RM_005_Cx 3, 1904–1907.
13. See Celestino da Silva to MSNMU, 11 Aug. 1896, Lisbon, AHU, Macao and Timor, ACL_SEMU_DGU_1R_002_Cx 9, 1895–1896; Celestino da Silva to MSNMU, 25 Jan. 1901, Lisbon, AHU, Macao and Timor, ACL_SEMU_DGU_1R_002_Cx 11, 1901–1904. Cf. Castro, *Timor (Subsídios para a sua História)*, p. 90.
14. An interesting comparison might be drawn with the British tradition of military colonial anthropologies of headhunting concerning the Nagas of India, which emerged in the same historical period. See Julian Jacobs, 'The Observers and the Observed', in J. Jacobs et al. (ed.), *The Nagas—Hill Peoples of Northeast India. Society, Culture and the Colonial Encounter* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1990), pp. 17–26; Andrew West, 'Writing the Nagas: A British Officer's' Ethnographic Tradition', *History and Anthropology*, 8 (1994), 55–88. For general arguments on the importance of colonial military ethnographies in the history of anthropology, see also Peter Pels, 'The Anthropology of Colonialism: Culture, History, and the Emergence of Western Governmentality', *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 26 (1997), 163–83; Peter Pels and Oscar Salemink, 'Introduction: Five Theses on Ethnography as Colonial Practice', *History and Anthropology*, 8, 1–4 (1994), 1–34; Peter Pels and Oscar Salemink (eds), *Colonial Subjects. Essays in the Practical History of Anthropology* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1999); Roque, *Antropologia e Império*, part III.
15. Atoni headhunting in West Timor was however recorded as vanished and strictly 'indigenous' phenomenon by Dutch colonial ethnographers in the twentieth century. Cf. Middelkoop, *Headhunting in Timor and Its Historical Implications*; Schulte-Nordholt, *The Political System of the Atoni*. For insightful anthropological reassessments of Atoni headhunting, see McWilliam, 'Case Studies in Dual Classification as Process'; McWilliam, 'Severed Heads That Germinate the State'.

16. In this mode of 'ethnographic authority' they seemed not fundamentally different from similar claims of modern anthropology. Cf. James Clifford, *The Predicament of Culture. Twentieth Century Ethnography, Literature, and Art* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1988), pp. 21–55.
17. See for example: Johannes Fabian, *Time and the Other. How Anthropology Makes Its Object* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1983); Bernard McGrane, *Beyond Anthropology: Society and the Other* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1989); Edward Said, 'Representing the Colonized: Anthropology's Interlocutors', *Critical Inquiry*, 15 (1989), 205–25.
18. Cf. Nicholas Thomas, *Out of Time. History and Evolution in Anthropological Discourse* (2nd edn, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1996), ch. 6 and afterword; Marshall Sahlins, *How 'Natives' Think About Captain Cook, For Example* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995), epilogue.
19. See Thomas, *Out of Time*, p. 69.
20. *Place* in the French text was eventually Castro's translation of the Portuguese term *Praça* (literally Square), commonly used to refer to Dili, the seat of Portuguese government in East Timor.
21. Afonso de Castro, 'Résumé Historique de l'Etablissement Portugais à Timor, des Us et Coutumes de ses Habitants', *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde*, XI (1862), 505.
22. Although an important moment of the ceremonial life of warfare, the divinatory rites conducted by the ritual lords will not be explored here at length. My main focus is here on the ritual circuits of severed heads. For descriptions of divinatory *estilos* and other taboos associated with the preparation of war, see António Joaquim Garcia to GMT, 19 Oct. 1870, Macao, AHM, AC, P-64; Vaquinhas, 'Timor. Usos—Superstições de Guerra', 476–8; Eduardo da Câmara to Celestino da Silva, 25 May 1895, Lisbon, AHU, Macao and Timor, ACL_SEMU_DGU_RM_005_Cx 1, 1890–1899; Correia, *Timor de Lés a Lés*, pp. 27–31, 36–40.
23. East Timor was affected by the Asiatic and Australian monsoons. In the North, rains normally started in October and ended in April. In the centre, south, and mountain areas of Timor, two wet seasons took place: the first one in January–February; and the second one in May–July. See Castro, *Flores de Coral*, p. 397; Felgas, *Timor Português*, pp. 55–77.
24. For this reason Celestino da Silva in 1895 postponed the punitive campaigns against Sanir, Cová, and Fatumean to the next year, 1896. Celestino da Silva to MSNMU, 7 March 1896, Lisbon, AHU, Macau and Timor, ACL_SEMU_DGU_RM_003_Cx 163, 1895–1899.
25. Castro, 'Une rébellion à Timor en 1861', 403.
26. Celestino da Silva to GMT, 13 Dec. 1895, Macao, AHM, AC, P-1547.
27. *Ibid.*
28. Schulte-Nordholt, *The Political System of the Atoni*, pp. 342–3. See also McWilliam, 'Severed Heads That Germinate the State'; van Wouden, *Types of Social Structure in Eastern Indonesia*, ch. IV. For a brief association between fertility of rainy season and war in Portuguese sources, see Fernandes, *Timor. Impressões e Aspectos*, p. 30.
29. See Brigitte Clamagirand, 'The Social Organization of the Ema of Timor', in Fox (ed.), *The Flow of Life*, p. 138; Claudine Friedberg, 'Boiled Woman and Broiled Man. Myths and Agricultural Rituals Among the Bunaq of Central Timor', in Fox (ed.), *The Flow of Life*, pp. 266–89.

30. For detailed accounts of the various Timorese agricultural rites respectively associated with the rainy and dry seasons, see Renard-Clamagirand, *Marobo*, ch. 7. For colonial accounts which dealt with these rites or the agricultural calendar, see Castro, 'Résumé historique de l'établissement portugais à Timor', 491–8; Martinho, *Timor. Quatro Séculos*, pp. 249–50.
31. Cf. for example, Derek Freeman, 'Severed Heads that Germinate', pp. 233–46; Jacobs et al., *The Nagas*, ch. 11.
32. Friedberg has explored the association between agriculture and combat in Bunaq cosmology, and rituals in particular. Combats and murders emerged as ritual moments for ensuring the arrival of the rains and the fertility of the seeds. See Friedberg 'Boiled Woman and Broiled Man', pp. 282, 266. See also Friedberg, *Comment Fut Tranchée La Liane Céleste*, p. 20; van Wouden, *Types of Social Structure in Eastern Indonesia*, pp. 126–7.
33. Hoskins, 'Introduction: Headhunting as Practice and as Trope', p. 23.
34. Renard-Clamagirand, *Marobo*, p. 271. Cf. Schulte-Nordholt, *The Political System of the Atoni*, pp. 351–3.
35. Duarte, 'Commando Militar de Thiarlelo, 31 Aug. 1896', p. 93.
36. Correia, *Timor de Lés a Lés*, p. 31, n. 3.
37. Vaquinhas, 'Timor. Usos—Superstições de Guerra', 477–8.
38. For references to the role of women confirming the sexual symbolism of headhunting rites of reception, see Vaquinhas, 'Timor. Usos—Superstições de Guerra', 477; Ferreira da Costa, 'Que Significam o Corte de Cabeças Humanas e a Conservação dos Crânios Humanos em Muralhas e Árvores Sagradas', *O Mundo Português*, 7 (1947), 36; Castro, *As Possessões*, p. 324; Correia, *Timor de Lés a Lés*, p. 55; Castro, *A Ilha Verde e Vermelha de Timor*, pp. 137, 140.
39. Cf. Hoskins, 'Introduction: Headhunting as Practice and as Trope', p. 2; McKinley, 'Human and Proud of It!', pp. 92–145; Pannell, 'Travelling to Other Worlds'.
40. Timorese *régulos* could decree the decapitation of criminals as punishment for crimes of robbery, and commonly violent deaths ended up with decapitation. However, the analysis here concerns only the trajectories of the heads taken in combat. See Castro, *As Possessões*, p. 50; França, *Macau e os seus Habitantes*, p. 226; Castro, *A Ilha Verde e Vermelha de Timor*, p. 172; Armando Pinto Correia, *Gentio de Timor* (Lisbon: Lucas & Ca., 1934), p. 319.
41. '[O]bject-mediators', Gomart and Hennion write, 'do not just repeat and relay actions but also transform these in surprising ways. To say that objects are 'mediators' is a way of noting that something 'happens' without falling back to action and actors. [...] Mediation is a turn towards what emerges, what is shaped and composed, what cannot be reduced to an interaction of causal objects and intentional persons.' Gomart and Hennion, 'A Sociology of Attachment', pp. 225–6; Cf. George, *Showing Signs of Violence*, pp. 66–7.
42. Even Frazer's *The Golden Bough* included a few remarks on rites of reception of severed heads in Timor. James Frazer, *The Golden Bough. A Study in Magic and Religion* (London, 1922, reprint London: Wordsworth, 1993), p. 312. See also Schulte-Nordholt, *The Political System of the Atoni*, pp. 348–51. The general meaning of similar rites of incorporation remains an object of debate in anthropology. For overviews of this debate, see George, *Showing Signs of Violence*; Hoskins, 'Introduction: Headhunting as Practice and as Trope'.
43. *Ibid.*, p. 14. Cf. McKinley, 'Human and proud of it!'.
44. Cf. McWilliam, 'Case Studies in Dual Classification as Process', p. 66.

45. See David Hicks, *Tetum Ghosts and Kin: Fertility and Gender in East Timor* (2nd edn, Illinois: Waveland Press, 2004). This point has also been made with regard to Timorese mortuary rituals. See Shepard Forman, 'Descent, Alliance, and Exchange Ideology among the Makassae of East Timor', pp. 152–77; Renard-Clamagirand, *Marobo*, p. 145.
46. See for example: Costa, 'Que significam o corte de cabeças humanas', 22–36; Paulo Braga, *Nos Antípodas* (Lisbon: Cosmos, s.d.), pp. 35–9; Castro, *A Ilha Verde e Vermelha de Timor*, p. 138.
47. Correia, *Gentio de Timor*, p. 69.
48. Correia, *Timor de Lés a Lés*, p. 40. In a similar vein, Azevedo Gomes observed that the *seemai* (a Fataluku headhunting rite equivalent to the *lorosa'e*) was concerned with ensuring the collaboration of the spirits (*tei*) in the humiliation and repression of the defeated enemies. Gomes, 'Os Fataluku', p. 96.
49. Castro, *A Ilha Verde e Vermelha de Timor*, p. 138.
50. Schulte-Nordholt has underlined this conciliatory dimension as part of rites of incorporation among the Atoni. Schulte-Nordholt, *The Political System of the Atoni*, pp. 42, 349, 352.
51. The rites of incorporation might also have included forms of cannibalistic integrations of the enemy, although anthropophagy was not a feature of Timorese cultures. According to Azevedo Gomes, the Fataluku customarily ate the boiled brains of killed enemies mixed with betel, areca, and lime. Osório de Castro denied the existence of anthropophagy in Timor, yet he told of Timorese warriors eating 'corn fertilized with the draining of the heads.' Gomes, 'Os Fataluku', p. 106. Castro, *A Ilha Verde e Vermelha de Timor*, pp. 140, 172. Cf. Hoskins, 'Introduction: Headhunting as Practice and as Trope', p. 12.
52. Cf. Correia, *Timor de Lés a Lés*, p. 33; Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, p. 312.
53. Acácio Flores cit. in Correia, *Gentio de Timor*, p. 40. See also Correia, *Timor de Lés a Lés*, p. 40; Castro, *A Ilha Verde e Vermelha in Timor*, p. 140. Cf. Schulte-Nordholt, *The Political System of the Atoni*, p. 50; Henry O. Forbes, *A Naturalist's Wanderings in the Eastern Archipelago. A Narrative of Travel and Exploration from 1878 to 1883* (New York: Harper, 1885), p. 450.
54. The warrior could receive the aid of other people in this task. Cf. Castro, *A Ilha Verde e Vermelha de Timor*, pp. 138–9.
55. Flores cit. in Correia, *Gentio de Timor*, p. 40.
56. Cf. McWilliam, 'Case Studies in Dual Classification as Process', p. 66.
57. Castro, *A Ilha Verde e Vermelha de Timor*, p. 139.
58. On head-carrying see Jaime Inso, *Timor 1912* (Lisbon: Cosmos, 1939), p. 37; Fernandes, *Timor. Impressões e Aspectos*, pp. 31–2; Castro, *A Ilha Verde e Vermelha de Timor*, p. 139.
59. The skulls of robbers punished with decapitation were exhibited on walking trails, also on a bamboo stick. See José Gomes da Silva, 'O Combate de Ayassa', *BPMT*, XXXVIII, suppl. n. 2 (1892), 14.
60. Cf. Castro, *A Ilha Verde e Vermelha de Timor*, pp. 43–4, 48; Correia, *Timor de Lés a Lés*, p. 40; Martinho, *Timor. Quatro Séculos*, pp. 248–9, n. 1.
61. *Ibid.*; see also Castro, *A Ilha Verde e Vermelha de Timor*, p. 141; Paulo Braga, *A Terra, a Gente e os Costumes de Timor* (Lisbon: Cosmos, 1935), p. 26.
62. The comparison between the treatment of enemies' remains and the complex funerary rites of treatment of the remains of relatives would require a special examination. This will not be developed here. Cf. for example: Castro, *A Ilha Verde e Vermelha de Timor*, pp. 150–1. For later ethnographic analysis of funerary rites in East Timor, see for example: Renard-Clamagirand, *Marobo*; Forman,

- 'Descent, Alliance, and Exchange Ideology among the Makassae of East Timor'; Molnar, ' "Died in the service of Portugal" ', 335–55.
63. Material things kept inside the sacred house could also be the object of cults of food-gifting. Castro, *Flores de Coral*, p. 417.
 64. See Braga, *Nos antípodas*, pp. 35–9; Braga, *A Terra, a Gente e os Costumes de Timor*, pp. 25–6;
 65. Cf. *Ibid.*, p. 26.
 66. 'When the harvest of corn comes to an end, the Timorese present gifts of animal meat to the *luliks* of the *gondão*, and finally they dance a *tebedae* around the colossal tree.' Castro, *Flores de Coral*, p. 415. On these rites see also Vaquinhas, 'Timor. Usos—Superstições de Guerra', 488; Correia, *Timor de Lés a Lés*, p. 38; Castro, *A Ilha Verde e Vermelha de Timor*, p. 141.
 67. See Gomes, 'Os Fataluku', p. 106; Forbes, *A Naturalist's Wanderings*, p. 450.
 68. Cf. McWilliam, 'Severed Heads that Germinate the State', p. 133.
 69. Eventually, the Tetum term *asua'in* became equivalent to the Tetum expression *válentâne*, an indigenous modification of the Portuguese word *valentão*. The Portuguese could also translate *asua'in* as 'hero', or as 'the warrior who cuts more heads from the enemy'. See Vaquinhas, 'Timor. Usos—Superstições de Guerra', 477–8; Osório de Castro, *Flores de Coral*, p. 436. Cf. Costa, *Dicionário de Tétum-Português*, p. 40.
 70. Vaquinhas, 'Timor. Usos—Superstições de Guerra', pp. 477–8; Correia, *Timor de Lés a Lés*, p. 32. Cf. McWilliam, 'Severed Heads that Germinate the State'; Schulte-Nordholt, *The Political System of the Atoni*, pp. 338–45.
 71. Flores cit. in Pinto Correia, *Gentio de Timor*, p. 40.
 72. In 1912, Jaime Inso makes explicit reference to the participation of *moradores* in headhunting rites. Inso, *Timor. 1912*, p. 37. See also Castro, *As Possessões*, p. 336; Fernandes, *Timor. Impressões e Aspectos*, p. 26; Vaquinhas, 'Timor. Usos—Superstições de Guerra', 481.
 73. *Ibid.*, 477–8; Martinho, *Timor. Quatro Séculos*, p. 247.
 74. See Correia, *Timor de Lés a Lés*, p. 32; cf. Vaquinhas, 'Timor. Usos—Superstições de Guerra', 481.
 75. Flores, *Uma Guerra no Distrito de Timor*, p. 34.
 76. Martinho, *Timor. Quatro Séculos*, p. 248. Cf. for connections between head-hunters' status and marriage among the Atoni McWilliam, 'Severed Heads that Germinate the State', pp. 132–3; Schulte-Nordholt, *The Political System of the Atoni*, pp. 353–4.
 77. Forbes, *A Naturalist's Wanderings*, p. 450.
 78. Júlio Celestino Montalvão e Silva, *A Mão d'Obra em Timor. Breve Memória sobre o seu Território, Clima, Produção, Usos e Costumes Indígenas, Indústria, Agricultura e Comércio* (Lisbon: Typ. A Editora, 1910), p. 28.
 79. Silva, *Relatório das Operações de Guerra*, pp. 36–7.
 80. Castro, *Timor (Subsídios para a sua História)*, p. 104; Jacinto I. Santos e Silva to Celestino da Silva [Dec. 1896], Lisbon, Private archives of Celestino da Silva's relatives, Commandant Guilherme Alpoim Calvão. See also Fernandes, *Timor. Impressões e Aspectos*, p. 26.
 81. Silva, *Relatório das Operações de Guerra*, pp. 36–7. J. A. Fernandes, *Notas biográficas sobre Celestino da Silva*, Undated, p. 8, Lisbon, Private archives of Celestino da Silva's relatives, Colonel José Carlos Montalvão. But for a more critical perspective on *moradores* and Celestino, see Zola [António Pádua Correia], *Quattorze Annos de Timor (1ª série)* (s.l., s.ed., 1909), pp. 32–3.
 82. Castro, *Timor (Subsídios para a sua História)*, p. 104.

83. In 1896, the Dili *moradores* claimed possession of a portion of the territory of Deribate for themselves. The governor attended this request. Silva, *Relatório das Operações de Guerra*, pp. 27–8.
84. See Castro, *Timor (Subsídios para a sua História)*, p. 104; Fernandes, *Timor. Impressões e Aspectos*, p. 26. Cf. Vaquinhas, 'Timor. Usos—Superstições de Guerra', 481.
85. See especially Inso, *Timor 1912*, p. 37; Martinho, *Timor. Quatro Séculos*, pp. 247–8.
86. See for example Ibid., pp. 224–5; Fernandes, *Timor. Impressões e Aspectos*, pp. 31–2; Correia, *Timor de Lés a Lés*, p. 31. Cf. McWilliam, 'Severed Heads that Germinate the State', pp. 157–8.
87. Eduardo da Câmara to Celestino da Silva, 25 May 1895, Lisbon, AHU, Macao and Timor, ACL_SEMU_DGU_RM_005_Cx 1, 1890–1899. See also Celestino da Silva to GMT, 17 Nov. 1895, Relatório do governador do distrito de Timor dando conta da guerra de Lamaquitos, Lisbon, AHU, Macao and Timor, ACL_SEMU_DGU_1R_002_Cx 9, 1895–1896.
88. Duarte, 'Commando Militar de Thiarlelo, 31 Aug. 1896', p. 87. The use of the metaphor of harvest (the 'harvest of war') to describe the product of head-hunting and plundering has been observed among the Atoni. Schulte-Nordholt, *The Political System of the Atoni*; McWilliam, 'Severed Heads that Germinate the State'.
89. Duarte, 'Commando Militar de Thiarlelo, 31 Aug. 1896', p. 87. In 1897, in one single campaign, 3,000 women, excluding children and elderly people, followed the *arraiais* with the purpose of carrying back the war booty. See also Celestino da Silva to MSNMU, 23 Sept. 1897, Reservado, Lisbon, AHU, Macao and Timor, ACL_SEMU_DGU_1R_002_Cx 10, 1897–1900; Pélissier, *Timor en Guerre*, p. 176.
90. Cf. Correia, *Timor de Lés a Lés*, p. 41; Castro, *Timor (Subsídios para a sua História)*, p. 14.
91. Cf. Castro, *A Ilha Verde e Vermelha de Timor*, p. 139; Fernandes, *Timor. Impressões e Aspectos*, p. 31.
92. Correia, *Timor de Lés a Lés*, p. 41. Cf. Castro, *Timor (Subsídios para a sua História)*, p. 14; Ezequiel Enes Pascoal, 'A Morte do Buan. Conto', *Seara*, II (1950), 130.
93. The rebellious kingdoms could be punished with extinction, and granted as *jurisdições* to the loyal Timorese. After the campaigns of 1896, for instance, the governor extinguished various rebel kingdoms and their lands were redistributed by the loyal kingdoms. See Duarte, 'Commando Militar de Thiarlelo, 31 Aug. 1896', pp. 76, 89; Silva, *Relatório das Operações de Guerra*, pp. 27–31; Celestino da Silva to MSNMU, 25 Jan. 1901, Lisbon, AHU, Macao and Timor, ACL_SEMU_DGU_1R_002_Cx 11, 1901–1904.
94. See Cipriano Forjaz to GMT, 15 Nov. 1893, Relatório da guerra de Maubara, Lisbon, AHU, Macao and Timor, ACL_SEMU_DGU_1R_002_Cx 8, 1894; Does, 'Apontamentos', 776, 798.
95. Silva, *Instruções*, p. 8. [emphasis in the original]
96. Mary Douglas, *Purity and Danger. An Analysis of Concept of Pollution and Taboo* (London, 1966, reprint London: Routledge, 2002), p. 140.
97. For this imagery, in which medieval popular and learned traditions have eventually been articulating with the meaning of skulls as *memento mori*, see Nancy Caciola, 'Wraiths, Revenants and Ritual in Medieval Culture', *Past and Present*, 152 (1996), 3–45; Folke Henschen, *The Human Skull. A Cultural History* (London: Praeger, 1966). For funerary rites and the cultural representations of the corpse

- in nineteenth century Northern Europe see Ruth Richardson, *Death, Dissection, and the Destitute* (2nd edn, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000), ch. 1.
98. See Jennifer Michael Hecht, *The End of the Soul. Scientific Modernity, Atheism, and Anthropology in France* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2003), pp. 14–5.
 99. Pélissier, *Timor en Guerre*, p. 131.
 100. Castro, *A Ilha Verde e Vermelha de Timor*, p. 140.
 101. McWilliam, 'Severed Heads that Germinate the State', 156.
 102. Castro, 'Une Rébellion à Timor en 1861', 403; Castro, 'Résumé Historique de l'Établissement Portugais à Timor', 506. Cf. Oliveira, *Timor na História de Portugal*, II, pp. 33–5; Pélissier, *Timor en Guerre*, pp. 47–9.
 103. See Inso, *Timor 1912*, pp. 19–20, 37; Duarte, *Timor (Antecâmara do Inferno!?)*, p. 98; Pélissier, *Timor en Guerre*, p. 294, n. 231.
 104. Vaquinhas, 'Timor. Usos—Superstições de Guerra', 477.
 105. Fernandes, *Timor. Impressões e Aspectos*, pp. 31–2.
 106. See for example Correia, *Timor de Lés a Lés*, pp. 24–5.
 107. Eduardo da Câmara to Celestino da Silva, 25 May 1895, Lisbon, AHU, Macao and Timor, ACL_SEMU_DGU_RM_005_Cx 1, 1890–1899; Vaquinhas, 'Timor. Usos—Superstições de Guerra', 477; Castro, *A Ilha Verde e Vermelha de Timor*, p. 140. Cf. Castro, *Timor (Subsídios para a sua História)*, p. 14.
 108. Pimenta de Castro writes that after one warrior collected and piled the heads, the dance begins, 'Then one chief, taking any of them, tell to the people present who he was', and then explains why he or she was killed and decapitated. Ibid. A source of 1893 describes that 'the *assuai* and his warrior companions join in a circle, the head being thrown into the middle [of the circle] until it gets to the feet of the chief who gives it the first kick.' Flores cit. in Correia, *Gentio de Timor*, p. 40.
 109. Correia, *Timor de Lés a Lés*, p. 38.
 110. Castro, 'Résumé Historique de l'Établissement Portugais à Timor', 506.
 111. Ibid.
 112. Flores, *Uma Guerra no Districto de Timor*, p. 43.
 113. Duarte, *Timor (Antecâmara do Inferno!?)*, p. 98. See also Inso, *Timor 1912*, pp. 19–20, 37; Pélissier, *Timor en Guerre*, p. 294, n. 231; Oliveira, *Timor na História de Portugal*, II, p. 387.
 114. Pascoal, 'A Morte do Buan. Conto', 174.
 115. Ibid.
 116. The assassination of D. Carlos in 1908 has thus been mentioned as a main reason for his exoneration from office. One of his enemies accused the Minister of Overseas (1897–98) and Director General of the Overseas Office in Lisbon (1899–1910), Felisberto Dias da Costa, of 'criminal connivance' with Celestino da Silva. Costa was accused of receiving coffee and money as payment for supporting the governor. Miguel Sousel de Guimarães to Afonso Costa, 25 Sept. 1906, ed. A. H. de Oliveira Marques, *Correspondência Política de Afonso Costa 1896–1910* (Lisbon: Estampa, 1982), pp. 230–4.
 117. Sousel de Guimarães mentions written accusations sent to the DGU since 1898. Miguel Sousel de Guimarães to Afonso Costa, 25 Sept. 1906, ed. Marques, *Correspondência Política de Afonso Costa 1896–1910*, pp. 230–4. For a summary of this debate, see Pélissier, *Timor en Guerre*, pp. 228–32.
 118. A former judge in Timor prepared the process. General Castello Branco was sent to Timor with the purpose of investigating the accusations. Eventually he came back empty-handed and the governor was not formally accused. One

- of the governor's collaborators, António Joaquim, was found guilty of some accusations in 1907. See Zola, *Quattorze Annos de Timor*, pp. 3–5.
119. Zola, *Timor. O Governo do General de Brigada do Quadro da Reserva José Celestino da Silva durante 14 annos. Latrocínios, Assassinatos e Perseguições (2ª série)* (Lisbon: s.n., 1911), p. 57; Zola, *Quattorze Annos de Timor*, pp. 28–30.
 120. *Ibid.*, p. 6; Zola, *Timor. O governo do general de brigada*, p. 57.
 121. Sousel de Guimarães to Afonso Costa, 25 Sept. 1906, ed. Marques, *Correspondência Política de Afonso Costa 1896–1910*, p. 233.
 122. Zola, *Timor. O Governo do General de Brigada*, p. 59.
 123. João Augusto Regala to Celestino da Silva, 18 July 1905, ed. Zola, *Quattorze Annos de Timor*, p. 32.
 124. Sousel de Guimarães to Afonso Costa, 25 Sept. 1906, ed. Marques, *Correspondência Política de Afonso Costa 1896–1910*, p. 234.
 125. Celestino da Silva to Director General of Overseas, 14 Jan. 1904, Lisbon, AHU, Macao and Timor, ACL_SEMU_DGU_1R_002_Cx 11, 1901–1904.
 126. Fernandes, *Timor. Impressões e Aspectos*, p. 31.
 127. Martinho, *Timor. Quatro Séculos*, p. 214, n. 1.
 128. In a letter to one of his army officers, for instance, Celestino da Silva suggested that conducting 'small attacks' on Atabai in 1899 'would be profitable'. While, in another letter, he informed his officer that he would continue with the attack on Cailaco for forcing the enemy to surrender, but also 'to finish the taking of some booty [*presas*]', which today [we] did not have time to take'. Celestino da Silva to Jacinto I. Santos e Silva, 17 June 1899, Lisbon, Private archives of Celestino da Silva's relatives, Commandant Guilherme Alpoim Calvão; Celestino da Silva and Francisco Duarte to Jacinto I. Santos e Silva, Despacho n. 20, 15 June 1899, Lisbon, Private archives of Celestino da Silva's relatives, Commandant Guilherme Alpoim Calvão.
 129. This advantage was noted by Celestino da Silva and used as economic justification for the recruitment of *arraiais*. See Celestino da Silva to MSNMU, 23 Sept. 1897, Reservado, Lisbon, AHU, Macao and Timor, ACL_SEMU_DGU_1R_002_Cx 10, 1897–1900; Celestino da Silva to Director General of Overseas, 14 Jan. 1904, Lisbon, AHU, Macao and Timor, ACL_SEMU_DGU_1R_002_Cx 11, 1901–1904.
 130. Cypriano Forjaz to GMT, 15 Nov. 1893, Lisbon, AHU, Macao and Timor, ACL_SEMU_DGU_1R_002_Cx 8, 1894.
 131. The newspaper *O Echo Macaense* eventually harboured most accusations. Second-lieutenant Francisco Duarte also came in the governor's defence in this newspaper. Celestino da Silva to MSNMU, 23 Sept. 1897, Reservado, Lisbon, AHU, Macao and Timor, ACL_SEMU_DGU_1R_002_Cx 10, 1897–1900. Cf. Pélissier, *Timor en Guerre*, p. 163, n. 99.
 132. The accusations also included the distribution of conquered territories through loyal chiefs after the campaign, as well as the private appropriation of punitive fines by military commandants. Celestino da Silva to MSNMU, 23 Sept. 1897, Reservado, Lisbon, AHU, Macao and Timor, ACL_SEMU_DGU_1R_002_Cx 10, 1897–1900.
 133. *Ibid.*
 134. *Ibid.*
 135. Originally, 'circulatory system' was a biological term proposed by William Harvey for describing the whole circuit of arteries, veins, and blood flows that constituted a living body. Latour, *Pandora's Hope*, p. 80.
 136. *Ibid.*

137. Cf. for a treatment of boundary making in science studies: Thomas Gieryn, 'Boundaries of Science', in Sheila Jasanoff et al. (ed.), *Handbook of Science and Technology Studies* (London: Sage, 1995), pp. 393–441.
138. Cf. Bourdieu, *Language and Symbolic power*.
139. Because immobility signified ultimate creational power in mythic entities, the exhibition of silence and immobility in social life was expected as manifestation of higher and stronger power. This conception of supreme cosmological ruling power associated with immobility has been stressed as characteristic of ritual power in the Tetum of Central Timor. It was the basis of the ritual central authority held by the kingdom of Wehale throughout the colonial period. Cf. Tom Therik, *Wehali: the Female Land. Traditions of a Timorese Ritual Centre* (Canberra: Pandanus Books, 2004).
140. Bruno Latour uses the notion of purification to signify the modern work of separating Nature from Society in the form an 'absolute dichotomy' regardless of the hybridizations of modernity. Yet Latour does not cope with the issues of purity and pollution developed here. Cf. Latour, *We have never Been Modern*.

Chapter 4

1. J. José da Graça, 'Administração Geral. Portaria n. 51. 15 Maio 1880', *BPMT*, 26 (1880), 172.
2. The notion of script is borrowed from Akrich and Latour, who use it to designate the type of work done by the designers of 'technical objects'. Cf. Madeleine Akrich, 'The De-Scripture of Technical Objects', in Wiebe E. Bijker and John Law (eds), *Shaping Technology/Building Society. Studies in Sociotechnical Change* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1992), pp. 205–24; Madeleine Akrich and Bruno Latour, 'A Summary of a Convenient Vocabulary for the Semiotics of Human and Non-human Assemblies', in Bijker and Law (eds), *Shaping Technology/Building Society*, pp. 259–65.
3. See J. A. Côrte-Real, 'O Commercio e Industria do Chá em Macau e a Lei de 27 de Dezembro de 1870', *O Instituto*, XIX (1879), 113–29; J. José da Graça to MSNMU, 20 Oct. 1881, Lisbon, AHU, Macao and Timor, ACL_SEMU_DGU_1R_002_Cx 3, 1882–1883.
4. Graça, 'Administração Geral. Nº 51', 171. See also J. A. Côrte-Real, 'Relatório', *BPMT*, Official Section, Suppl. to n. 26 (1880), 172–3; J. José da Graça to MSNMU, 16 May 1880, Lisbon, AHU, Museu Colonial de Lisboa, Diversos Documentos, Deposit 1, Case 4, Shelf 6, Folders 744–766.
5. This museum's purpose was 'to collect, preserve, and display for public examination the various products and objects that can help the knowledge, economic study, and profitable use of the varied wealth of our overseas possessions.' Cit. in José Silvestre Ribeiro, *Historia dos Estabelecimentos Scientificos Litterarios e Artisticos de Portugal nos Successivos Reinados da Monarchia* (Lisbon: Typ. da Academia Real das Sciencias, 1889), XVI, p. 304. See also Luís de Andrade Corvo to Governors of Angola, Cap Vert, St. Thomé, and Guinea, 10 April 1891, Lisbon, AHU, Museu Colonial de Lisboa, Diversos Documentos, Deposit 1, Case 4, Shelf 6, Folders 744–766.
6. The Colonial Museum also maintained a gallery for exhibitions at the Naval School in Lisbon. Cf. Roque, *Antropologia e Império*, pp. 326–8; Manuela Cantinho, *O Museu Etnográfico da Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa: Modernidade, Colonização e Alteridade* (Lisbon: FCG/FCT, 2005), pp. 81–97.

7. Luís de Andrade Corvo to Governors of Angola, Cap Vert, St. Thomé, and Guinea, 10 April 1891, Lisbon, AHU, Museu Colonial de Lisboa, Diversos Documentos, Deposit 1, Case 4, Shelf 6, Folders 744–766.
8. Carlos Eugénio Correia da Silva, 'Portaria n. 66. 25 de Julho de 1877', *BPMT*, XXII, 30 (1877).
9. Côrte-Real, 'Relatório' (1880), 172.
10. The sum of 500\$000 *reis* was reserved in 1877 for collecting work in Timor but was still available in 1880. See Joaquim José da Graça to MSNMU, 21 May 1880, Lisbon, AHU, Museu Colonial de Lisboa, Diversos Documentos, Deposit 1, Case 4, Shelf 6, Folders 744–766; Côrte-Real, 'Relatório' (1880), 172; Hugo de Lacerda, 'Portaria n. 55. Governo de Timor. 28 Abril 1879', *BPMT*, XXV, 28 (1879), 149.
11. Côrte-Real, 'Relatório' (1880), 171–2.
12. For a survey of collections sent to Lisbon and Coimbra in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, see Cantinho, *O Museu Etnográfico*, pp. 21–81.
13. Côrte-Real, 'Relatório' (1880), 171. See also: Júlio Augusto Henriques, 'O Museu Botânico da Universidade e as Collecções de Productos de Macau e Timor', *O Instituto*, XXX (1883), 60–2.
14. Henriques was appointed director in 1872, but already in 1867 he joined a university committee in charge of recuperating the Botanical Garden. Ribeiro, *Historia dos Estabelecimentos Scientificos*, pp. 211–2, 230–1.
15. The decadence of collections was especially visible at the Museum of Natural History. *Ibid.*, pp. 447–8, 468–9. See also Notícia sobre os estabelecimentos anexos à Faculdade de Philosophia no ano de 1862 (ano lectivo 1861–62), ed. Ribeiro, *Historia dos Estabelecimentos Scientificos*, p. 103; M. Rosário Martins, 'As Collecções Etnográficas', in AAVV, *Cem Anos de Antropologia em Coimbra 1885–1985* (Coimbra: Museu e Laboratório Antropológico, 1985), pp. 117–8.
16. Francisco de Sousa Gomes to Rector of Coimbra University, 30 Sept. 1884, Coimbra, AUC, Reitoria da Universidade, Correspondência recebida das Faculdades e estabelecimentos universitários—Faculdade de Filosofia a Museu Antropológico, D. IV, Section 2a E., Case 11, Tab. 4, n. 27, Inward Correspondence: Faculdade de Filosofia 1849–1911.
17. In 1872, Carvalho had already pleaded with the government to 'command diplomats, consuls, and colonial governors to send some products for national museums every year'; and in 1878, the Faculty Council tried to persuade the authorities to put 'the navy surgeons on overseas duty in charge of collecting everything worthy of being displayed in the museum galleries' and send them to Coimbra. Notícia sobre os estabelecimentos anexos à Faculdade de Philosophia no ano de 1862, 103; J. A. Simões de Carvalho, *Memória Histórica da Faculdade de Philosophia* (Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade, 1872), p. 227.
18. *Ibid.*, pp. 215, 65.
19. A naturalist observed in 1884–5 that the zoological collections had shown improvement because of 'the favour of persons from outside who generously supported the growth of the collections'. Albino Geraldès, *Relatório do Professor de Zoologia, 1885–1886* (Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade, 1887), p. 5. Already in 1870 did the director of the Zoological Cabinet observe: 'Some acquisitions of specimens, which occur every year,' 'result principally from private donations'. J. A. Simões de Carvalho, *Relatório do Director do Gabinete de Zoologia*. Coimbra, 24 Apr. 1870, ed. Carvalho, *Memória Histórica da Faculdade de Philosophia*, p. 226.

20. For the role of trust in science, see Steven Shapin, *A Social History of Truth: Civility and Science in Seventeenth-Century England* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994). Cf. Anne Secord, 'Corresponding Interests: Artisans and Gentlemen in Nineteenth-Century Natural History', *British Journal for the History of Science*, 27 (1994), 383–408.
21. Henriques, 'O Museu Botanico da Universidade', 60–1.
22. In his letters to Henriques, Côrte-Real sent warm regards to 'our friends', Moller and Simões de Carvalho. See José A. H. Côrte-Real to Júlio Augusto Henriques, 4 June 1880, Coimbra, ADBUC, Correspondence of Júlio Augusto Henriques.
23. Côrte-Real, 'Relatório' (1880), 171–2; José A. H. Côrte-Real to Júlio Augusto Henriques, 25 Feb. 1879, Coimbra, ADBUC, Correspondence of Júlio Augusto Henriques.
24. Côrte-Real collected the herbarium with the support of the Public Works Department of Macao. Côrte-Real, 'Relatório' (1880), 171–2; see also José A. H. Côrte-Real to Júlio Augusto Henriques, 4 June 1880, Coimbra, ADBUC, Correspondence of Júlio Augusto Henriques.
25. See Director-Geral do Ultramar, 'Portaria n. 51. 2 Agosto 1880', *BPMT* (1880); Visconde de S. Januário, 'Portaria n. 67. 9 Setembro 1880', *BPMT* (1880), 301.
26. Visconde de Villa-Maior, Rector of Coimbra University, to MSNMU, 29 July 1880, Lisbon, AHU, Museu Colonial de Lisboa. Diversos Documentos, Deposit 1, Case 4, Shelf 6, Folders 744–766.
27. Joaquim José da Graça to MSNMU, 2 July 1880, Lisbon, AHU, Museu Colonial de Lisboa. Diversos Documentos, Deposit 1, Case 4, Shelf 6, Folders 744–766.
28. *Ibid.* See also: Graça, 'Administração Geral', 172.
29. *Ibid.*
30. Joaquim José da Graça to MSNMU, 15 Feb. 1882, Lisbon, AHU, Museu Colonial de Lisboa. Diversos Documentos, Deposit 1, Case 4, Shelf 6, Folders 744–766.
31. José A. H. Côrte-Real to Júlio Augusto Henriques, 4 June 1880, Coimbra, ADBUC, Correspondence of Júlio Augusto Henriques.
32. The intention of satisfying Coimbra's demands for Timorese vegetable products reinstated the promise made to Henriques in February 1879: 'I have asked the Governor of Timor, and he has already promised me a collection from the three kingdoms, which is of great importance there. Once I receive it, I hope the collection from Macao will be ready, and will send them both to Your Excellency, if the usual human contingencies don't deprive me of the necessary time.' José A. H. Côrte-Real to Júlio Augusto Henriques, 25 Feb. 1879, Coimbra, ADBUC, Correspondence of Júlio Augusto Henriques.
33. Côrte-Real's letter to the district governor, Hugo de Lacerda, on behalf of the provincial government cannot be found. Only Lacerda's response is available. Hugo de Lacerda, 'Portaria 21. Governo de Timor. 30 April 1879', *BPMT*, XXV, 28 (1879), 149.
34. Lacerda, 'Portaria 21. Governo de Timor. 30 April 1879', p. 149. Duarte's report was published in the Bulletin. See Albino da Costa Duarte, 'Relatório ácerca da digressão feita a alguns pontos de leste da ilha de Timor. 12 Dezembro 1879', *BPMT*, XXV, 28 (1879), 149.
35. See Côrte-Real, 'Relatório' (1880), 172.
36. Lacerda, 'Portaria 21'.
37. *Ibid.*
38. Cf. António Joaquim de Medeiros to D. Manoel, Bishop of Macao, 3 June 1880, Lisbon, AHU, ACL_SEMU_DGU_1R_002_Cx 2, 1881; Anonymous, 'Exposição',

- O Macaense—Jornal Político, literário e noticioso*, 1, 28 Feb. 1882, pp. 2–3; Joaquim José da Graça to MSNMU, 15 Feb. 1882, Lisbon, AHU, Museu Colonial de Lisboa. Diversos Documentos, Deposit 1, Case 4, Shelf 6, Folders 744–766.
39. It was possibly in this context that in 1879 Rev. Gomes Ferreira was appointed to go on a collecting trip to the interior. A list of the missionaries dated 1879, refers to him having been appointed ‘to go for some time to the interior countries, with a view to organizing a system for studying the languages of the different places, and work on the collection of colonial articles for the museum of Lisbon and for the one to be formed in Dili.’ José Maria, Bishop of Bragança, ‘Mappa dos Missionários que desde 1866 até 1879 saíram do Collegio das Missões Ultramarinas de Sernache do Bom Jardim, para as Missões que lhes foram designadas nas Diferentes Possessões Portuguezas, 14 Agosto 1879’, *Annaes das Missões Ultramarinas*, 1 (1889), 159.
 40. Cardoso de Carvalho, Portaria n. 20. Governo de Timor, 11 Feb. 1881, Macao, AHM, AC, P-274.
 41. Joaquim José da Graça to Cardoso de Carvalho, 13 April 1881, Macao, AHM, AC/17/P-27855.
 42. Ibid.
 43. Joaquim José da Graça to Cardoso de Carvalho, 9 May 1881, Macao, AHM, AC/17/P-27855.
 44. Joaquim José da Graça to Cardoso de Carvalho, 13 April 1881 and 9 May 1881, Macao, AHM, AC/17/P-27855.
 45. Examples of these documents have not survived. It is likely that they either followed or corresponded to the instructions sent by the Colonial Museum to Macao, as seen below. Joaquim José da Graça to Cardoso de Carvalho, 13 April 1881, Macao, AHM, AC/17/P-27855.
 46. Cardoso de Carvalho, Portaria n. 39. Governo de Timor, 8 May 1881, Macao, AHM, AC/17/P-274.
 47. Governor Graça would officially confirm Raphael das Dores as Committee member in 8 Nov. 1881. See Cardoso de Carvalho, Portaria n. 39. Governo de Timor, 8 May 1881, Macao, AHM, AC/17/P-274. Cf. J. A. H. Côrte-Real et al., ‘Relatório’, *BPMT*, Suppl. to n. 9 (1882), 67; José da Graça, ‘Governo de Macau e Timor. Portaria n. 79. 8 Novembro 1881’, *BPMT* (1881).
 48. Joaquim José da Graça to Cardoso de Carvalho, 8 Aug. 1881, Macao, AHM, AC/17/P-27855.
 49. The fact that ‘ten volumes’ instead of ‘five boxes’ were sent to Macao might suggest that the Vaquinhas Committee added new collections to this consignment. However, in his report on the Timorese collections, Côrte-Real stated that the first consignment comprised only collections arranged by the Medeiros Committee. See Côrte-Real et al., ‘Relatório’ (1882), 67.
 50. Joaquim José da Graça to Cardoso de Carvalho, 8 Aug. 1881, Macao, AHM, AC/17/P-27855.
 51. Ibid.
 52. Côrte-Real et al., ‘Relatório’ (1882), 67.
 53. Joaquim José da Graça to Cardoso de Carvalho, 11 Nov. 1881, Macao, AHM, AC/17/P-27855.
 54. Côrte-Real et al., ‘Relatório’ (1882), 67.
 55. Ibid.
 56. Yet, the loss of some objects was considered unproblematic because many of the damaged materials were duplicates of originals already in possession of the

- Macao Committee. Joaquim José da Graça to José dos Santos Vaquinhas, 11 Feb. 1881, Macao, AHM, AC/17/P-27855.
57. José da Graça to J. S. Vaquinhas, 11 Feb. 1881, Macao, AHM, AC/17/P-27855; Graça, 'Portaria n. 20. 8 March 1882', *BPMT*, 9 (1882), 66.
 58. For this gift, the governor Carvalho praised Costa Duarte. See Côrte-Real et al., 'Relatório' (1882), 67; Cardoso de Carvalho, Portaria n. 45. Governo de Timor, 11 April 1881, Macao, AHM, AC/17/P-274.
 59. Côrte-Real et al., 'Relatório' (1882), 66.
 60. See Anonymous, 'Exposição', *O Macaense. Jornal político, literário e noticioso*, 1, 28 Feb. 1882, p. 3.
 61. J. A. H. Côrte-Real cit. in Anonymous, 'Exposição', p. 3.
 62. Similar instructions were used in Portugal since the 1860s for organizing collections to World Exhibitions. They were made in the image of French museum instructions. Luís de Andrade Corvo, *Instruções para Serem Colligidos nas Províncias Ultramarinas os Diversos Productos que Devem Figurar no Museu Colonial de Lisboa* (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional, 1876). See Cantinho, *O Museu Etnográfico*, pp. 84–5.
 63. The objects sent to the museum should belong to the following categories: 'Natural products'; 'Agriculture'; 'Industries'; 'Commerce'; 'Curiosities and art-works' ('archaeological objects' were here mentioned); 'Foreign colonies'. Corvo, *Instruções*, p. 4.
 64. Ibid.
 65. Ibid, p. 2.
 66. Ibid., pp. 2, 4–5.
 67. Côrte-Real, 'Relatório' (1880), 173.
 68. See Corvo, *Instruções*, pp. 5–6.
 69. Joaquim José da Graça to MSNMU, 15 Feb. 1882, Lisbon, AHU, Museu Colonial de Lisboa. Diversos Documentos, Deposit 1, Case 4, Shelf 6, Folders 744–766.
 70. The catalogue categories were: 'number'; 'names'; 'provenance'; 'uses and applications'; 'production'; 'price by retail and wholesale'; 'distance between the places of production and the nearest ports'; 'means of transportation'; 'annual exportation'; 'observations'. The catalogue of 1880 employed similar categories. Côrte-Real et al., 'Relação de Objectos de Timor Enviados para os Muzeus do Reino', *BPMT*, Suppl. to n. 9 (1882), 69–75. Cf. Côrte-Real et al., 'Catálogo de Objectos Remettidos ao Museu Colonial de Lisboa e ao Museu de Coimbra', *BPMT*, Official section, Suppl. to n. 26 (1880), 177–84.
 71. Côrte-Real et al., 'Relatório' (1882), 67–8.
 72. Lorraine Daston, 'Scientific Objectivity With and Without Words', in Peter Becker and William Clark (eds.), *Little Tools of Knowledge* (Ann Harbour: University of Michigan Press, 2001), pp. 259–84.
 73. Côrte-Real et al., 'Relatório' (1882), 67.
 74. Joaquim José da Graça to MSNMU, 15 Feb. 1882, Lisbon, AHU, Museu Colonial de Lisboa. Diversos Documentos, Deposit 1, Case 4, Shelf 6, Folders 744–766.
 75. A. J. Medeiros cit. in Côrte-Real et al., 'Relatório' (1882), 67.
 76. Côrte-Real et al., 'Relação de Objectos de Timor', 73.
 77. Ibid., 71.
 78. Cf. Anonymous, 'Exposição', pp. 2–3.
 79. See J. José da Graça, 'Portaria n. 13. 31 Janeiro 1882', *BPMT* (1882), p. 31. See also: Dores, 'Apontamentos', 783.

80. Does himself presented his private collection of Timorese birds to the naturalist F. Mattoso Santos, as a gift to the Zoological Museum of the Lisbon Polytechnic School. See Does, *Como se Adquire a Fama*, pp. 84–5; F. Mattoso Santos, 'Uma Collecção de Aves de Timor', *BSGL*, 8 (1883), 453–60.
81. See Côte-Real et al., 'Relatório' (1882), 66.
82. In 1883–4, the Macao and Timor collections allocated to the Lisbon Colonial Museum were partly or entirely moved to the museum of the Geographical Society of Lisbon (of which Côte-Real was also a member). This followed to a late minute decision by the Portuguese government for not sending a representation of Portugal to the coming World Exhibition of Amsterdam. See Cantinho, *O Museu Etnográfico*, pp. 274–5.
83. Ibid.
84. J. A. H. Côte-Real, *Relação de objectos embarcados no navio África Comandante A. Pedrozo para o Museu de Coimbra*, 15 Feb. 1882, Coimbra, AMAUC.
85. The decade of the 1860s inaugurates a period of exponential growth in public collections of skulls, skeletons, brains, and soft tissue of Europeans and, especially, non-Europeans. This tendency continues to the early twentieth century. For surveys of skull collections, see: Nélia Dias, 'Série de Crânes et Armées de Squelettes: les Collections Anthropologiques en France dans la Seconde Moitié du XIXe Siècle', *Bulletins et Mémoires de la Société d'Anthropologie de Paris*, 1, 3–4 (1989), 205–25; Christine Quigley, *Skulls and Skeletons. Human Bone Collections and Accumulations* (London: McFarland, 2001).
86. For an overview of the main catalogues and collections by the 1860s, see Joseph Barnard Davis, *Thesaurus Craniorum. Catalogue of the Skulls of the Various Races of Man, in the Collection of Joseph Barnard Davis* (London: Taylor and Francis, 1867).
87. By 1880 the Royal College of Surgeons of England held the largest anatomical collections of the races of men in Britain. It had become heir to Hunter's collection, and in 1880 purchased Barnard Davis's collections. William Henry Flower, *Catalogue of the specimens illustrating the Osteology and Dentition of Vertebrated animals, recent and extinct, contained in the museum of the Royal College of Surgeons of England. Part I. Man: Homo Sapiens* (London: Taylor and Francis, 1879), p. vii.
88. Flower was setting his 'historical' catalogue against the 'old [descriptive] catalogue' of Richard Owen (his predecessor at the Museum). Flower, *Catalogue of the specimens*, p. v. [my emphasis] Cf. Richard Owen, *Descriptive Catalogue of the Osteological Series contained in the Museum of the Royal College of Surgeons* (2 vols, London: Taylor and Francis, 1853).
89. Thomas Bendyshe, 'Editor's preface', in J. F. Blumenbach, *The Anthropological Treatises of Johann Friedrich Blumenbach*, trans. and ed. T. Bendyshe (London: Longman, 1865), p. xii.
90. Blumenbach, *The Anthropological Treatises of Johann Friedrich Blumenbach*, p. 155.
91. Davis, *Thesaurus Craniorum*, p. v.
92. Ibid., p. xvii.
93. Cf. Patrick Geary, 'Sacred Commodities: the Circulation of Medieval Relics', in Appadurai (ed.), *The Social Life of Things*, pp. 167–91.
94. The most famous forgery, the Piltdown skull, occurred in the early twentieth century and was only discovered decades later. J. S. Weiner, *The Piltdown Forgery* (Oxford, 1955, reprint Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003).
95. Flower, *Catalogue of the Specimens*, p. x.
96. Cf. Charles Guignon, *On Being Authentic* (London: Routledge, 2004), ch. 4; Regina Bendix, *In Search of Authenticity: the Formation of Folklore Studies* (Madison:

- University of Wisconsin Press, 1997); Clifford, *The Predicament of Culture*, pp. 214–51.
97. E. P. Ramsay to R. Parkinson, 28 July 1890, Sydney, Australian Museum Archives, Outward Correspondence, P-21. [underline in the original]
 98. Davis, *Thesaurus Craniorum*, p. vi.
 99. J. L. Dusseau, *Musée Vrolik. Catalogue de la Collection d'Anatomie Humaine, Comparée et Pathologique de M. M. Ger. et W. Vrolik* (Amsterdam: W. J. de Roever Kröber, 1865), p. vii. See also Samuel G. Morton, 'Catalogue of Skulls of Man and the Inferior Animals, in the Collection of Samuel George Morton', ed. J. Aitken Meigs, *Catalogue of human crania in the collection of the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia. Based upon the Third Edition of Dr. Morton's 'Catalogue of Skulls' &c.* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co., 1857), p. 13.
 100. *Ibid.*, pp. 13–4.
 101. For recent state of the arts and reviews, see Fred R. Myers, 'Introduction: The Empire of Things', in Fred R. Myers (ed.), *The Empire of Things: Regimes of Value and Material Culture* (Oxford: James Currey, 2001), pp. 3–61; Chris Gosden and Yvonne Marshall, 'The Cultural Biography of Objects', *World Archaeology*, 31, 2 (1999), 169–78.
 102. The references respectively are: Igor Kopytoff, 'The Cultural Biography of Things: Commodification as Process', in Appadurai (ed.), *The Social Life of Things*, pp. 64–94; Arjun Appadurai, 'Introduction: Commodities and the Politics of Value', in Appadurai (ed.), *The Social Life of Things*, p. 5; Thomas, *Entangled Objects*, p. 9. For developments of the cultural biography approach, see the special issue of *World Archaeology*, 31, 2 (1999); an example of a cultural biography of one museum skull is Edgar V. Winans, 'The Head of the King: Museums and the Path to Resistance', *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 36, 2 (1994), 221–41.
 103. For a critique of these approaches from this perspective see Ricardo Roque, 'Human skulls and museum work: sketch of a perspective on miniature histories', in Diogo Ramada Curto and Alexis Rappas (eds), *Colonialism and Imperialism: Between Ideologies and Practices*, European University Institute, Dept. History and Civilization, EUI Working papers HEC 2006/01, 2006, pp. 85–98, <http://cadmus.iue.it>.
 104. Cf. Bruno Latour, 'Faktura: de la Notion de Réseau à celle d'Attachment', in André Micoud and Michel Peroni (ed.), *Ce Qui Nous Relie* (Paris: Éditions de L'Aube, 2000), pp. 189–208.
 105. In Strauss's words, illness trajectory refers to (i) the 'physiological unfolding of a patient's disease' in the material body over time; and (ii) 'the total *organization of work* done over that course, plus the *impact* on those involved with that work and its organization'. A. Strauss, S. Fagerhaugh, B. Suczek, C. Wiener, *Social Organization of Medical Work* (revised edn, New Brunswick: Transaction, 1997), p. 8. [*italics in the original*] For developments of the trajectory concept in the sociology of medicine, see, for example: Stefan Timmermans, 'Mutual Tuning of Mutual Trajectories', *Symbolic Interaction*, 21, 4 (1998), 225–40; Tiago Moreira, 'Incisions: A Study of Surgical Trajectories' (D. Phil. dissertation, University of Lancaster), 2000; Susan Leigh Star and Geoffrey Bowker, *Sorting Things Out: Classification and Its Consequences* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1999), ch. 4.
 106. Gift exchange is a theme exhaustively covered by anthropological literature, although museum gift economies in Europe have received little attention. A broader discussion of these museum economies, however, would take us beyond the scope of this chapter. The classic reference is Marcel Mauss, 'Essai

- Sur le Don. Forme et Raison de l'Échange dans les Sociétés Archaïques', *Sociologie et Anthropologie* (Paris, 1923–4, reprint Paris: Quadrige, 2001), pp. 145–279. But for a recent study that suggests the importance of gift relationships in Western museum networks, see Henare, *Museums, Anthropology and Imperial Exchange*. See also: Zimmerman, *Anthropology and Antihumanism in Imperial Germany*, pp. 168–9.
107. Cf. Susan Pearce, *On Collecting: An Investigation into Collecting in the European Tradition* (London: Routledge, 1995), p. 33.
 108. Krzysztof Pomian, *Collectors and Curiosities: Paris and Venice, 1500–1800* (Cambridge: Polity, 1990), p. 8. Cf. for an insightful article on the problematic of decay and conservation, Catherine DeSilvey, 'Observed Decay: Telling Stories with Mutable Things', *Journal of Material Culture*, 11, 3 (2006), 318–38.
 109. Star and Bowker, *Sorting Things Out*, pp. 26, 190–4.
 110. For a study on the impact of legal classification systems upon biographies of art works, see Christopher Steiner, 'Rights of Passage: On the Liminal Identity of Art in the Border Zone', in Myers (ed.), *The Empire of Things*, pp. 207–32.

Chapter 5

1. 'In effect, it is not about distinguishing the human group from other groups any more, but of sub-dividing it into secondary groups neatly defined and as natural as possible; it is about grounding this division on that which is most fixed in the organization of man, which resists best to the influences capable of modifying the individual or the race. Thus, it is beyond doubt that physical characteristics are more permanent than the others, and that, consequently, one should give them preference. [...] Then, either from a purely zoological point of view or from a physiological point of view, one is authorised to consider the characteristics that concern the skeleton of the head as of greater importance than all the others.' Paul Broca, 'L'Anthropologie', in his *Mémoires d'Anthropologie* (Paris, 1866, reprint Paris: C. Reinwald, 1871), I, pp. 23, 32.
2. Hereafter I use the term anthropology to signify the tradition of physical anthropology or *anthropologie*.
3. Broca, 'L'Anthropologie', pp. 24, 39.
4. Zimmerman, *Anthropology and Antihumanism in Imperial Germany*, pp. 9, 106.
5. See George W. Stocking, *Victorian Anthropology* (New York: Free Press, 1987), p. 252; Jennifer M. Hecht, *The End of the Soul: Scientific Modernity, Atheism, and Anthropology in France* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2003), pp. 81–3, 130, 147; Cf. Zimmerman, *Anthropology and Antihumanism in Imperial Germany*, p. 159.
6. For the general symbolism of skulls as *memento mori*, see Folke Henschen, *The Human Skull: A Cultural History* (London: Praeger, 1966), pp. 58–60. For their place in the 'material culture of death' in nineteenth and twentieth century Europe, see Elizabeth Hallam and Jenny Hockey, *Death, Memory and Material Culture* (Oxford: Berg, 2001).
7. See Hecht, *The End of the Soul*, pp. 81–3, 130, 147.
8. Cf. for these dimensions of *anthropologie's* identity see Paul Broca, *Mémoires d'Anthropologie* (3 vols, Paris: C. Reinwald, 1871–8); Paul Topinard, *Éléments d'Anthropologie Générale* (Paris: A. Delahaye et É. Lecrosnier, 1885); Hecht, *The End of the Soul*.
9. See Broca, 'L'Anthropologie', p. 12; Topinard, *Éléments*, pp. 162–3, 214–5.

10. William H. Flower, 'President's Address. On the Aims and Prospects of the Study of Anthropology', *JAIGBI*, 13 (1883), 489.
11. Cf. Felicity A. Nussbaum, *The Limits of the Human: Fictions of Anomaly, Race, and Gender in the Long Eighteenth-Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003); Zimmerman, *Anthropology and Antihumanism in Imperial Germany*, ch. 3.
12. Broca, 'Préface à la Première Édition', in Paul Topinard, *L'Anthropologie* (4th edn, Paris: Reinwald, 1884), pp. XIV–XV.
13. See Broca, 'Histoire des Progrès des Études Anthropologiques depuis la Fondation de la Société', in his *Mémoires d'Anthropologie* (Paris, 1869, reprint Paris: C. Reinwald, 1871), I, pp. 489–500.
14. See for example Topinard, *Éléments*, pp. 1–185.
15. It was the case of Germany, Britain, and France. Cf. Robert Proctor, 'From *Anthropologie* to *Rassenkunde* in the German Anthropological Tradition', in George W. Stocking (ed.), *Bones, Bodies, Behaviour: Essays on Biological Anthropology* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1988), p. 141; Sandra Rouse, 'Ethnology, Ethnobiography, and Institution: A. C. Haddon and Anthropology at Cambridge, 1880–1926' (D. Phil. dissertation, University of Cambridge, 1996), p. 62.
16. Flower, 'President's Address', 491.
17. Cf. Michel Foucault, *Naissance de la Clinique* (Paris: PUF, 1963), ch. VII.
18. See Topinard, *Éléments*, pp. 249–53.
19. On phrenology, see Roger Cooter, *The Cultural Meaning of Popular Science: Phrenology and the Organization of Consent in 19th Century Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984); Paul A. Erickson, 'Phrenology and Physical Anthropology: the George Combe Connection', *Current Anthropology*, 18, 1 (1977), 92–3. For phreno-mesmerism, see Peter Pels, 'Occult Truths. Race, Conjecture, and Theosophy in Victorian Anthropology', in Richard Handler (ed.), *Excluded Ancestors, Inevitable Traditions: Essays Toward a More Inclusive History of Anthropology* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2000), pp. 11–41.
20. George W. Stocking, 'From Chronology to Ethnology: James Cowles Prichard and British Anthropology 1800–1850,' in James C. Prichard (ed.), *Researches into the Physical History of Mankind* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1973), p. ci.
21. Broca, 'L'Anthropologie', p. 32.
22. For the classifications of man proposed by Linnaeus and Buffon, drawing upon the 'Great Chain of Being', see Nancy Stepan, *The Idea of Race in Science: Great Britain, 1800–1960* (London: Macmillan, 1982), pp. 7–9; John S. Haller, Jr. 'The Species Problem: Nineteenth-Century Concepts of Racial Inferiority in the Origin of Man Controversy', *American Anthropologist*, 73, 3 (1971), 1319–29.
23. Topinard, *Éléments*, pp. 2–3.
24. Cf. Gay Weber, 'Science and Society in Nineteenth Century Anthropology', *History of Science*, XII (1974), 264.
25. For the persistence of polygenism in nineteenth century anthropology, see George W. Stocking, *Race, Culture and Evolution: Essays in the History of Anthropology* (New York: Free Press, 1968), pp. 43–68; Stepan, *The Idea of Race*, ch. 4; Herbert H. Odom, 'Generalizations on Race in Nineteenth-Century Physical Anthropology', *Isis*, 58 (1) (1967), 4–18.
26. Prichard, *Researches into the Physical History of Mankind*, pp. 46, 66.
27. In the words of Blumenbach, skulls were the best characteristics for discriminating races, 'because when stripped of the soft and changeable parts they exhibit the firm and stable foundation of the head, and can be conveniently handled

- and examined, and considered under different aspects and compared together.' Blumenbach, *Anthropological Treatises of Johann Friedrich Blumenbach*, pp. 114, 235; Bendyshe, 'Editor's Preface', pp. viii, xi.
28. For example, the classifications proposed by I. G. Saint-Hilaire and Anders Retzius. Cf. Claude Blanckaert, 'L'Indice Céphalique et l'Ethnogénie Européenne: A. Retzius, P. Broca, F. Pruner-Bey (1840–1870)', *Bulletins et Mémoires de la Société d'Anthropologie de Paris*, I, 3–4 (1989), 166–72; Broca, 'L'Anthropologie', p. 32; Topinard, *Éléments*, pp. 264–5.
 29. Elsewhere other Enlightenment anatomists invested personal fortunes in the procurement of human skulls. Cf. Paul Turnbull, 'Enlightenment Anthropology and the Ancestral Remains of Australian Aboriginal People', in A. Calder, J. Lamb, and B. Orr (ed.), *Voyages and Beaches: Pacific Encounters, 1769–1840* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press 1999), pp. 202–25.
 30. Important phrenological collections—such as the collections of James Deville (London), and Dumoutier (Paris)—would later go to the hands of physical anthropologists. Cf. Erwin H. Ackernecht, 'P. M. A. Dumoutier et la Collection Phrénologique du Musée de l'Homme', *Bulletins de la Société d'Anthropologie de Paris*, 10, 7 (1956), 289–308.
 31. Davis, *Thesaurus Craniorum*, p. vi. See also a similar statement in Morton, 'Catalogue of Skulls of Man and the Inferior Animals', p. 13.
 32. Upon the death of their owners, private collections normally became the possession of museum institutions. Cf. Davis, *Thesaurus Craniorum*, p. xii; Dias, 'Série de Crânes et armées de squelettes', 205–25.
 33. Davis, *Thesaurus Craniorum*, pp. xii–xiii. See similar remarks on the contemporary value of large collections in Rudolph Wagner, 'On the Anthropological Collection of the Physiological Institute of Göttingen', in Blumenbach, *The Anthropological Treatises of Johann Friedrich Blumenbach*, p. 354.
 34. *The Century Dictionary*, VI, p. 5678.
 35. Paul Broca, 'Mémoire Sur le Craniographe et Sur Quelques-unes de ses Applications', in his *Mémoires d'Anthropologie* (Paris, 1861–2, reprint Paris: C. Reinwald, 1871), I, p. 43.
 36. Cf. Stephen Jay Gould, *The Mismeasure of Man* (New York and London: Norton, 1981), pp. 51–69.
 37. Topinard, *Éléments*, pp. 398–9.
 38. For craniometry in anthropology, see Zimmerman, *Anthropology and Antihumanism in Imperial Germany*, ch. 4. For the general importance of statistics in the nineteenth century, see Theodore Porter, *The Rise of Statistical Thinking, 1820–1900* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986).
 39. International agreement was only reached in the Monaco Agreement of 1906. For the Frankfurt Agreement see Zimmerman, *Anthropology and Antihumanism in Imperial Germany*, pp. 91–4.
 40. See Stocking, *Victorian Anthropology*, pp. 74–6. For contemporary arguments on the superiority of anatomical approaches as regards linguistics, see Paul Broca, 'La Linguistique et l'Anthropologie', *Bulletins de la Société d'Anthropologie de Paris*, III (1862), 261–319.
 41. Cf. Marianne Sommer, '"An Amusing Account of a Cave in Wales": William Buckland (1784–1856) and the Red Lady of Paviland', *British Journal for the History of Science*, 37 (1) (2004), 53–74.
 42. Oliveira Martins, *Elementos de Antropologia (História Natural do Homem)* (Lisbon, 1880, reprint Lisbon: Guimarães, 1987), p. 197.

43. For the relevance of the geological and archaeological 'revolution in human time' in the 1840s–50s to anthropology, see Stocking, *Victorian Anthropology*, ch. 2; For *anthropologie's* incorporations of prehistoric archaeology and geology, see Broca, 'Histoire des Progrès des Études Anthropologiques', p. 506; Paul Broca, 'L'Anthropologie en 1868', in his *Mémoires d'anthropologie* (Paris, 1869, reprint Paris: C. Reinwald, 1871), I, pp. 513–5; Topinard, *Éléments*, p. 147.
44. The event was later recalled as 'the great spirit that in 1880 brought Portugal to the attention of the learned world of Europe.' Basílio Teles, 'Introdução', *Revista de Sciencias Naturaes e Sociaes*, 1 (1890), 1. See also Artur da Fonseca Cardoso, 'Anthropologia Portuguesa', in AAVV, *Notas sobre Portugal* (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional, 1908), I, pp. 57–8.
45. João de Andrade Corvo, the former Minister of the Navy and Overseas Affairs and an active enthusiast of the sciences, presided over the Congress, while King D. Luiz himself assumed the role of congress Patron; his father, D. Fernando II, was President of Honour. Émile Cartailhac, *Congrès International d'Anthropologie et Archéologie Préhistoriques. Rapport sur la Session de Lisbonne* (Paris: Eugène Boban, 1880), p. 5.
46. In reporting on the Lisbon Congress to the French Ministry of Public Education, Émile Cartailhac described that at the Muge excavations, 'two thousand people, from the summit of the hills, watched us with curiosity and amazement, while we studied the relative position of skeletons, the constitution of the tombs entirely composed of remains of edible shells, complete and broken pebbles brought by man and associated with coal, rare bones and silex; and then discussions took off!' *Ibid.*
47. Ribeiro was appointed by the Ministry of Public Works to represent Portugal at the congress of 1872 in Brussels. For Ribeiro's findings and following discussions, see Carlos Ribeiro, 'Sur des silex taillés découverts dans les terrains miocène et pliocène du Portugal', *Congrès International d'Anthropologie et Archéologie Préhistoriques. Compte-Rendu de la 6ème Session, Bruxelles, 1872* (Bruxelles: Weissenbruch, 1873), pp. 95–104; Carlos Ribeiro, *Relatório Acerca da Sexta Reunião do Congresso de Anthropologia e de Archeologia Prehistorica verificada na Cidade de Bruxelas no mez de Agosto de 1872* (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional, 1873), pp. 57–8, 68–9; Carlos Ribeiro, 'L'Homme tertiaire en Portugal', *Congrès International d'Anthropologie et Archéologie préhistoriques* (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional, 1884), pp. 81–92; 'Discussion de la communication', *Congrès International d'Anthropologie et Archéologie Préhistoriques*, pp. 94–119.
48. Fonseca Cardoso, 'Ricardo Severo, Paleoethnologia portugueza. *Les âges préhistoriques de l'Espagne et du Portugal*, de M. Em. Cartailhac. Porto 1888', *Revista de Sciencias Naturaes e Sociaes*, I (1890), 139.
49. The contemporary disciplinary histories of Portuguese physical anthropology and paleo-anthropology recognize in the Geological Commission the roots of the discipline. Cf. Eugénia Cunha, 'Antropologia Física e Paleoantropologia em Portugal: Um Balanço', *Arqueologia e História*, 54 (2002), 261–72; M. T. G. S. Oliveira Alexandre, 'O Contributo da Antropologia Física em Portugal como Ciência Inter e Transdisciplinar—uma Possível Síntese Histórica do século XIX', *Revista de Guimarães*, 107 (1997), 243–83.
50. The geological section was decreed in 1852, but effectively organized only in 1857. J. F. Nery Delgado, 'Considerações Acerca dos Estudos Geológicos em Portugal', *Comunicações da Secção dos Trabalhos Geológicos*, I (1883), 3.
51. *Ibid.*, 6–7.

52. Ribeiro, *Relatório Acerca da Sexta reunião*, p. 4. Cf. Delgado, 'Considerações Acerca dos Estudos Geológicos em Portugal', 4–5, 12.
53. F. A. Pereira da Costa, *Da Existência do Homem em Epochas Remotas no Valle do Tejo. Primeiro Opúsculo. Notícia sobre os Esqueletos Humanos Descobertos no Cabeço da Arruda* (Lisbon: Comissão Geológica de Portugal and Imprensa Nacional, 1865), p. 1. 'If tradition and history are totally mute about the existence of these primitive human races,' also wrote Carlos Ribeiro, 'archaeological geology and paleontology substitute for their silence, investigating the layers of the earth's crust and depots in caves, studying and comparing the objects of industry from those same races, their bones and those of the contemporary animals found there.' Ribeiro, *Relatório Acerca da Sexta Reunião*, p. 4.
54. Costa, *Da Existência do Homem*, p. 22; cf. pp. 27–8, 58. See also Ferraz de Macedo, *O Homem Quaternário e as Civilizações Prehistoricas na América. Traços de uma Impressão Científica* (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional, 1882).
55. J. F. Nery Delgado, *Da Existência do Homem em Epochas Remotas Provada pelo Estudo das Cavernas. Primeiro Opúsculo. Notícia Acerca das Grutas da Cesareda* (Lisbon: Tip. da Academia Real das Ciências, 1867), p. 63.
56. Paula e Oliveira then authored several works on the skeletal collections of the Geological Commission. F. Paula e Oliveira, 'Notes sur les Ossements Humains qui se trouvent dans le Musée de la Section Géologique de Lisbonne', *Congrès International d'Anthropologie et Archéologie Préhistoriques. Compte-Rendu de la 9^{ème} Session à Lisbonne 1880* (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional, 1884), pp. 291–305; Paula e Oliveira, *Anthropologia Prehistórica. As Raças dos Kjoekkenmoeddings de Mugem* (Lisbon: Popular, 1881); Paula e Oliveira, 'Notes sur les Ossements Humains Existants dans le Musée de la Comissão des Travaux Géologiques', *Comunicações da Comissão dos Trabalhos Geológicos de Portugal*, 2 (1888), 1–13; Paula e Oliveira, 'Caracteres Descritivos dos Crâneos de Cesareda', *Comunicações da Comissão dos Trabalhos Geológicos de Portugal*, 2 (1889), 109–18.
57. There were interesting pieces at the museum of the Portuguese Association of Architects and Archaeologists in Lisbon, and valuable sets of prehistoric skulls at the Natural History Museum of the Lisbon Polytechnic School, a gift from Pereira da Costa, member of the Commission. For a survey of the Portuguese collections and museums visited by the foreign scholars in 1880, see Cartailhac, *Congrès international*, pp. 20–5.
58. Ribeiro, *Relatório Acerca da Sexta Reunião*, p. 3.
59. This metropolitan dimension of Portuguese anthropology is well documented. For an overview, see João Leal, 'The history of Portuguese anthropology', *History of Anthropology Newsletter*, 36, 2 (1999), pp. 10–8. For the Portuguese intellectual context of this period, see Ramos, *A Segunda Fundação*.
60. Cf. Carlos Fabião, 'Archaeology and Nationalism: the Portuguese Case', in M. Díaz-Andreu and T. Champion (ed.), *Nationalism and Archaeology in Europe* (London: UCL Press, 1996), pp. 90–107.
61. Some Portuguese ethnologists and comparative philologists, such as Consiglieri Pedroso, Teófilo Braga, Adolfo Coelho, and Vasconcelos Abreu achieved international notoriety. Americanist interest led Viscount of São Januário, for example, to gather a collection of Peruvian mummies and 'five shrunken human heads'. For anthropology and evolutionism in Portugal, cf. Francisco Arruda Furtado, *O Homem e o Macaco (Uma Questão Puramente Local)* (Ponta Delgada: s.ed., 1881); Martins, *Elementos de Antropologia*; Ana Leonor Pereira, *Darwin em Portugal 1865–1914: Filosofia, História, Engenharia Social* (Coimbra: Almedina, 2001),

- pp. 66–75. For Americanist and Orientalist research cf. Cantinho, *O Museu Etnográfico*, pp. 134–41; João Leal, 'Prefácio', in Consiglieri Pedroso, *Contribuições para uma Mitologia Popular Portuguesa e Outros Escritos Etnográficos* (Lisbon: D. Quixote, 1988), pp. 17–29; Jorge de Freitas Branco, 'A Propósito da Presente Reedição', in Teófilo Braga, *O Povo Português, nos seus Costumes, Crenças e Tradições* (Lisbon: D. Quixote, 1985), I, pp. 15–27.
62. On the translation of French anthropological programmes into Portuguese anthropologies of nation-building in this period see Ricardo Roque, 'Porto-Paris, ida-e-volta: Estratégias Nacionais de Autoridade Científica. A Sociedade Carlos Ribeiro e a Antropologia Portuguesa no Final do Século XIX', in J. Arriscado Nunes and M. E. Gonçalves (eds), *Enteados de Galileu? A Semiperiferia no Sistema Mundial da Ciência* (Porto: Afrontamento, 2001), pp. 247–98.
 63. For the emergence of the metropolitan anthropology of 'the Portuguese people' in the late nineteenth century, see especially João Leal, *Etnografias Portuguesas (1870–1970). Cultura Popular e Identidade Nacional* (Lisbon: D. Quixote, 2000); João Leal, 'Imagens Contrastadas do Povo: Cultura Popular e Identidade Nacional na Antropologia Portuguesa Oitocentista', *Revista Lusitana*, 13–14 (1995), 143–64.
 64. Roque, *Antropologia e Império*, ch. 6.
 65. In Portugal, the Geological Commission and the Portuguese Association of Architects and Archaeologists institutionally represented this connection. For the significance of the Association to the history of Portuguese anthropology, see Cantinho, *O Museu Etnográfico*, pp. 130–41. Cf. Possidónio da Silva, 'Sur un crane découvert à Coimbra', *Congrès International d'Anthropologie et Archéologie Préhistoriques. Compte-rendu de la 6ème session, Bruxelles, 1872*, pp. 599–600.
 66. See Cartailhac, *Congrès International*, p. 23.
 67. The proposal was presented in the name of the *Société* by its President, Ch. Ploix. It was undersigned by E. Magitot, G. de Mortillet, H. Martin, A. de Quatrefages, É. Cartailhac, C. de Foudouze, E. Chantre, G. Cotteau, J. de Baye. See 'Proposition', *Congrès International d'Anthropologie et Archéologie préhistoriques*, p. 31; Cartailhac, *Congrès International*, p. 28.
 68. Cartailhac, *Congrès International*, p. 28.
 69. Eventually, medical doctors at the Lisbon Medical School undertook phrenological researches on the skulls of unclaimed corpses and executed criminals decades before. The history of phrenology in Portugal, however, is not studied. Ferraz de Macedo, *Vários Ensinamentos e Methodo Scientifico-Natural* (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional, 1882), p. 29.
 70. Temporary graves (or *sepulturas rasas*, literally 'ground-levelled graves') were then reserved to unclaimed bodies and the poor or destitute. Macedo asked permission to divert the skulls after the legal period of five years since burial had passed and the corpses could be exhumed and moved to the communal grave by the City Council. See Macedo, *Vários Ensinamentos*, pp. 349–93.
 71. Before his death in 1907, Macedo presented his collection to the Lisbon Natural History Museum. The collection also included skulls from 'Brazilian natives' and became the most important osteological set of the Museum. In 1978, it was almost entirely destroyed by a fire. F. Ferraz de Macedo, *Craniometric notebook*, Lisbon, Museu Bocage, Museu Nacional de História Natural. For Macedo's work and biography, see A. A. Costa Ferreira, *O Anthropologista Ferraz de Macedo: Aposentamentos para a História da sua Vida e da sua Obra* (Lisbon: Typ. A Editora, 1908); Fonseca Cardoso, 'Ferraz de Macedo 1845–1907', *Portugália*, II (1907), 481.

72. At the Natural History Museum, Eduardo Burnay still presented a dissertation on 'Craniology as basis for racial classification', but he did not come back to the subject in publications. Cf. Eduardo Burnay, *Da Craniologia como Base de Classificação Antropológica* (Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade, 1880). Cf. Martins, *Elementos de Antropologia*, pp. 197–203.; Carlos Almaça, *Uma Controvérsia Antropológica de 1881 (Oliveira Martins e Eduardo Burnay)* (Lisbon: Museu de História Natural, 1995).
73. Cardoso, 'Ricardo Severo, Paleoethnologia portuguesa', 139; Rocha Peixoto, *O Museu Municipal do Porto (História Natural)* (Porto: Soc. Carlos Ribeiro, 1888), pp. 28–30.
74. Cf. Nery Delgado, 'Avant-propos', *Congrès International d'Anthropologie et Archéologie Préhistoriques. Compte-rendu de la 9^{ème} Session à Lisbonne 1880*, pp. v–viii.
75. This section was renamed 'Anthropological Section' in 1886. Significantly, 'ethnology' was treated as a different science in a separate section of the Geographical Society. See Cantinho, *O Museu Etnográfico*, pp. 165–98.
76. Cf. A. Mendes Correia, *Os Estudos de Antropologia na Academia Politécnica do Porto (1888–1911)* (Porto: s.ed., 1937); Ricardo Severo, 'O Museu de Mineralogia, Geologia e Paleontologia da Academia Politécnica do Porto', *Revista de Sciencias Naturaes e Sociaes*, I (1890), 139–41.
77. For a detailed analysis of this group and the Carlos Ribeiro Society, see Roque, 'Porto-Paris, ida-e-volta'.
78. Rocha Peixoto, 'A Anthropologia, o Character e o Futuro Nacionaes', *Revista de Portugal*, III, 18 (1891), 696. Cf. Rocha Peixoto, 'A Anthropometria no Exército', *Revista Militar*, 4 (1897), 103–4.
79. Cf. Cardoso, 'Anthropologia Portuguesa', pp. 57–8; A. Xavier da Cunha, 'Contribution à l'Histoire de l'Anthropologie Physique au Portugal', *Contribuições para o Estudo da Antropologia Portuguesa*, XI, 1 (1982), 5–56.
80. Cf. 'Liste des membres souscripteurs étrangers et nationaux', *Congrès international d'Anthropologie et Archéologie Préhistoriques. Compte-rendu de la 9^{ème} Session à Lisbonne 1880*, p. xxxv.
81. See 'Excursion dans le Nord du Pays', *Congrès international d'Anthropologie et Archéologie Préhistoriques. Compte-rendu de la 9^{ème} Session à Lisbonne 1880*, p. 58.
82. In saying that Coimbra collections were similar to Porto, Cartailhac was possibly implying that no collections of skulls were held there, as they were also not held at Porto. Cartailhac, *Congrès international*, p. 20.
83. Albino Gerales, *Relatório do Professor de Zoologia, 1885–1886* (Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade, 1887), pp. 12–13.
84. The challenge of evolutionism and the debates on the antiquity of man, for instance, did not go unnoticed to Júlio Henriques, whom we have seen asking for botanical collections from Macao. He addressed the problems of human evolution and the mutability of the species in his thesis of 1865, and in 1866 presented a dissertation on the *Antiquity of Man*, an updated discussion of the recent discoveries on prehistoric anthropology. The thesis title was *As espécies são mudáveis?* (Are the species mutable?) Cf. 'Relação dos doutores da Faculdade de Filosofia desde a reforma de 1772 até ao presente', in Carvalho (ed.), *Memória Histórica da Faculdade de Philosophia*, pp. 266–7; Júlio A. Henriques, *Antiguidade do Homem. Dissertação de Concurso para a Faculdade de Philosophia da Universidade de Coimbra* (Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade, 1866).

85. J. S. Carvalho, 'Relatório do director do Gabinete de Zoologia. Coimbra, 24 April 1870', in Carvalho (ed.), *Memória Histórica da Faculdade de Philosophia*, p. 226.
86. Ibid.
87. Ibid.
88. An inventory of 1850 counted one 'complete human skeleton' in the Cabinet of Natural History, and another was mentioned at in the 'small cabinet of comparative anatomy' in 1870. See Fortunato Raphael Pereira de Sousa, Inventário do Gabinete de História Natural, 20 July 1850, Coimbra, AMAUC; Carvalho, 'Relatório do director do Gabinete de Zoologia, Coimbra, 24 April 1870', pp. 225, 214. Visconde de Monte-São cit. in M. R. Areia, M. A. Rocha and M. A. Miranda, 'O Museu e o Laboratório Antropológico da Universidade de Coimbra', AAVV, *Universidade(s). História, Memória, Perspectivas. Actas do Congresso 'História da Universidade' (no 7º centenário da sua Fundação)* (Coimbra: Comissão Organizadora do C.H.U., 1991), p. 89.
89. Ibid.
90. Geraldles, *Relatório do Professor de Zoologia*; Carvalho, 'Relatório do director do Gabinete de Zoologia. Coimbra, 24 April 1870', p. 226.
91. Ibid.
92. Monte-São cit. in Areia, Rocha and Miranda, 'O Museu e o Laboratório Antropológico da Universidade de Coimbra', p. 89.
93. See Ibid., p. 90.
94. Secretary of Faculty of Philosophy to Rectory of Coimbra University, Relatório do Secretário da Faculdade de Philosophia [truncated] [c. 1885–6], Coimbra, AUC, Reitoria da Universidade, Correspondência recebida das Faculdades e estabelecimentos universitários, Faculdade de Filosofia a Museu Antropológico, Inward Correspondence, 1849–1911, D. IV, Section 2a E., Shelf 11, Tab. 4, n. 27.
95. Though a specialist in physics, Machado was by the early 1880s expanding his interests to anthropology. At Coimbra, he took responsibility over the Anthropological Cabinet in 1883; and, at Lisbon, he was in that same year appointed to the position of *vogal* (voter) of the Section of Anthropology and Natural Sciences of the Geographical Society. Machado actively collaborated with the Geographical Society for 15 years. He was also a mason and avowed Republican, soon to embark upon a successful political career, becoming one of the most important politicians of his generation. See Cantinho, *O Museu Etnográfico*, pp. 190–2.
96. Maria Augusta Rocha, 'Les Collections Ostéologiques Humaines Identifiées du Musée Anthropologique de l'Université de Coimbra', *Antropologia Portuguesa*, 13 (1995), 10.
97. Eusébio Tamagnini and José Antunes Serra, 'Subsídios para a História da Antropologia Portuguesa. O Desenvolvimento dos Estudos Antropológicos em Coimbra', AAVV, *Congresso do Mundo Português. VIII Congresso* (Lisbon: Comissão Executiva dos Centenários, 1940), XII, pp. 639–41.
98. The first published syllabus, penned by Teixeira Bastos in 1889, was fashioned in French *anthropologie*. See Rocha, 'Les Collections Ostéologiques', 10; M. L. Rodrigues de Areia and M. A. Tavares da Rocha, 'O Ensino da Antropologia', in AAVV, *Cem Anos de Antropologia em Coimbra 1885–1985*, pp. 13–60. For Machado's views on anthropology, see also Alexandre, 'O Contributo da Antropologia Física em Portugal'.
99. After 1890, Coimbra's anthropometric instruments arrived from either France or Germany. For the instrumentation and textbooks, cf. Rocha, 'Les Collections

- Ostéologiques', 34, n. 6, 7; Tamagnini and Serra, 'Subsídios para a História da Antropologia Portuguesa', pp. 39–40; Coimbra, AMAUC, Folder 'Recibos (...) 1912–1913, Box 35; Broca's preference for Mathieu appears in Broca, 'Mémoire sur le Craniographe et sur quelques-unes de ses Applications', p. 71.
100. In 1857, Broca started an anthropological laboratory, but only in 1867 was able to institutionalize the *Laboratoire*, with a library and a museum. See Paul Topinard, *L'Anthropologie* (4th edn, Paris: Reinwald, 1884), p. 208.
 101. Broca, 'L'Anthropologie en 1868', pp. 418, 511.
 102. *Estatutos da Sociedade de Antropologia de Coimbra* (Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade, 1899).
 103. Topinard, *L'Anthropologie*, p. 208.
 104. See Bernardino Machado, *A Universidade e a Nação: Oração Inaugural do Ano Lectivo de 1904–1905* (Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade, 1904).
 105. Júlio Augusto Henriques, 'Universidade de Coimbra. Faculdade de Philosophia 1872–1892', *O Instituto*, XLI (1894), 29–30. Cf. *Regulamento dos Trabalhos Práticos da Faculdade de Philosophia* (Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade, 1906).
 106. 'All professors', reported the Faculty Secretary in 1884, 'put their effort in the development of practical work. ... It is without doubt of great convenience that teaching turns entirely practical and is supervised by the chief of practical work.' Francisco de Sousa Gomes to Rector of Coimbra University, 30 Sept. 1884, Coimbra, AUC, Reitoria da Universidade, Correspondência recebida das Faculdades e estabelecimentos universitários, Faculdade de Filosofia a Museu Antropológico, Folder Inward Correspondence from the Faculty of Philosophy, 1849–1911, D. IV, Section 2a E., Shelf 11, Tab. 4, n. 27.
 107. Henriques, 'Universidade de Coimbra. Faculdade de Philosophia 1872–1892', 44.
 108. Ibid.
 109. Two 'inventories' had been produced on ethnographic and anthropological collections. See Fortunato Raphael Pereira de Sousa, Inventário do Gabinete de História Natural. 1850; Inventário dos objectos existentes na colecção ethnographica do Museu em Novembro de 1881, Coimbra, AMAUC.
 110. Geraldine, *Relatório do Professor de Zoologia*, p. 10. See also Machado, *A Universidade e a Nação*, p. 14.
 111. Henriques, 'Universidade de Coimbra. Faculdade de Philosophia 1872–1892', p. 44.
 112. Ibid.
 113. Henriques, 'O Museu Botânico da Universidade e as Collecções de Produtos de Macau e Timor', 65, n. 1.
 114. Ibid., p. 61.
 115. Henriques, 'Macau e Timor. Remessa de Productos', *O Instituto*, XXIX (1882), 487–500.
 116. Cf. F. B. Pacheco de Amorim and M. H. X. Morais, 'Catálogo-inventário do Museu de Etnografia do Ultramar do Instituto de Antropologia da Universidade de Coimbra', *Anais da Junta de Investigações do Ultramar*, X, 1 (1955).
 117. Cf. Maria do Rosário Martins, 'Timor na Colecção do Museu Antropológico da Universidade de Coimbra', in A. M. Hespanha (ed.), *Os Espaços de um Império. Catálogo* (Lisbon: CNCDP, 1999), pp. 247–50; Maria T. Fernandes, 'As Colecções Osteológicas', in AAVV, *Cem Anos de Antropologia em Coimbra*, p. 80.
 118. During the period of the collections (1878–82), Côrte-Real was secretary-general of Macao and Timor. Being the next in rank after the governor, he acted as substitute governor between 1 May and 8 August 1882, while Graça went on

- a diplomatic mission to Japan. However, this replacement occurred only after the last consignment of Timorese collections had arrived in Portugal, in April 1882. Côte-Real then returned to the post of secretary-general. As substitute governor, he just gave instructions for Dr Gomes da Silva to prepare a collection of Macanese plants to the gardens of the Ajuda Palace in Lisbon. See J. A. H. Côte-Real to Secretary and MSNMU, 18 Aug. 1882, Lisbon, AHU, Macao and Timor, ACL_SEMU_DGU_1R_002_Cx3_1882–1883; *O Macaense*, 22 June 1882.
119. Dr. Maria Augusta Rocha, personal communication, Coimbra, Nov. 2004.
 120. Armand de Quatrefages and Ernest T. Hamy, *Crania Ethnica. Les Crânes des Races Humaines décrits et figurés d'après les Collections du Muséum d'Histoire Naturelle de Paris, de la Société d'Anthropologie de Paris et les Principales Collections de la France et de l'Étranger* (Paris: J.B. Baillière et fils, 1882), p. 271.
 121. The Macleay Museum (Sydney, Australia) also held two skulls from (possibly West) Timor collected by the Russian explorer Nikolai Miklouho-Maclay in 1873 and donated to the museum by his widow only in 1888. The existence of this collection was eventually unknown to anthropologists in Europe. In 1884, A. Langen sent two Timorese skulls to Berlin which were later studied by Rudolf Virchow. See Quatrefages and Hamy, *Crania Ethnica*, p. 272; Dusseau, *Musée Vrolik*, pp. 87–8; Joseph Barnard Davis, Catalogue of crania, London, Royal College of Surgeons, Manuscript Collections, vol. I; Susie Davis, 'Catalogue of Human Remains in the Macleay Museum' (Unpublished catalogue, Macleay Museum, University of Sydney, 1994), pp. 27–8; Maria Johanna Schouten, 'Antropologia e Colonialismo em Timor Português', *Lusotopie* (2001), 159, n. 5.
 122. Davis, Catalogue of Crania, London, Royal College of Surgeons, Manuscript collections, vols I, IV.
 123. Only by 1910 or afterwards did one 'skull of a cattle-chief of the island of Timor' enter the collections of the College of Surgeons. Davis's Timorese skulls did not survive the bombing of the College in the Second World War. Cf. Annotated Copy of W. H. Flower, Catalogue of Specimens Illustrating the Osteology and Dentition of Vertebrate Animals. 1879, London, Museum of the Royal College of Surgeons.
 124. In the 1860s–70s, Barnard Davis learned from a letter of Alfred R. Wallace that a single Dayak skull (Borneo) was worth the then astronomical sum of £25. Davis, Catalogue of Crania, London, Royal College of Surgeons, Manuscript collections, vol I.
 125. Cf. Fernandes, 'As Coleções Osteológicas', pp. 77–81; Rocha, 'Les Collections Ostéologiques'.
 126. See Tamagnini and Serra, 'Subsídios para a História da Antropologia Portuguesa', pp. 642–3; Bernardino Machado, *Apontamentos de Antropologia (1895–1896)* (Coimbra: Typ. Minerva Central, 1995). For biographies of Henriques and Geraldês see Carvalho, *Memória Histórica da Faculdade de Filosofia*, pp. 266–7.
 127. The substitutes were procured from Faculty members whose specializations were not in anthropology. Eventually only Viegas wrote a piece on anthropological method as an aid to teaching. The substitute lecturers were: H. Teixeira Bastos (1885–86; 1889–90); L. Santos Viegas (1890–92); and Bernardo Ayres (1893–95). See Areia and Rocha, 'O Ensino da Antropologia', pp. 12–6. Cf. Henriques, 'Universidade de Coimbra. Faculdade de Filosofia 1872–1892', 48–9.
 128. Cf. Roque, *Antropologia e Império*, pp. 339–40; 261–2; Maria do Rosário Martins, 'As Coleções Etnográficas', in AAVV, *Cem anos de antropologia em Coimbra*, pp. 117–94.

129. J. G. de Barros e Cunha, 'Notícia Sobre uma Série de Craneos da ilha de Timor existente no Museu da Universidade', *O Instituto*, XLI, 14 (1894), 852–60; 15, 934–41; 16, 1044–8.
130. The exception would appear one hundred years later. It was again as an undergraduate dissertation in anthropology that the skulls were analysed at Coimbra in 1999. Nuno M. G. Ribeiro, '“Notícia Sobre uma Série de Crânios da ilha de Timor”: Contributo para o Estudo Paleobiológico da Colecção de Timor do Museu Antropológico da Universidade de Coimbra' (B. A. dissertation, University of Coimbra, 1999).
131. J. G. Barros e Cunha, *Noticia Sobre uma Série de Craneos da ilha de Timor existente no Museu da Universidade* (Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade, 1895).
132. This anthology of students' works was considered the 'first volume', but there was not a second volume. AAVV, *Aula de Anthropologia da Universidade de Coimbra: Trabalhos de Alumnos* (Coimbra, 1902), I.
133. It was also with the date of 1885 that the text later appeared in a bibliography organized at Coimbra in 1985. J. G. Barros e Cunha, 'Notícia Sobre uma Série de Craneos da ilha de Timor', in AAVV, *Aula de Anthropologia da Universidade de Coimbra*, pp. 5–28. Cf. 'Bibliografia. Trabalhos publicados', in AAVV, *Cem anos de Antropologia em Coimbra*, p. 235.
134. It is with the date of 1898 that Cunha lists the text in his *curriculum vitae* of 1932. J. G. Barros e Cunha, *Curriculum Vitae* (Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade, 1932); J. G. Barros e Cunha, *A Autenticidade dos Crânios de Timor do Museu da Universidade de Coimbra, e o Estado Actual dos nossos Conhecimentos Sôbre o Problema da Composição Étnica da População de Timor* (Coimbra: Universidade de Coimbra—Instituto de Antropologia, 1937), p. 347.
135. He finished the degree with 17 marks (out of a maximum 20). Cunha, *Curriculum Vitae*; 'Processo individual de João Gualberto de Barros e Cunha', Coimbra, AUC.
136. Cf. Cunha, 'Notícia Sobre uma Série de Craneos da ilha de Timor' (1894), 855; Cunha, *A Autenticidade dos Crânios de Timor*, p. 347.
137. Cf. George W. Stocking (ed.), *Colonial Situations: Essays on the Contextualization of Ethnographic Knowledge* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1991).
138. See especially the Wallersteinian critique of hegemonic histories of anthropology and the call for 'world anthropologies' in Gustavo Lins Ribeiro and Arturo Escobar (eds), *World Anthropologies: Disciplinary Transformations Within Systems of Power* (Oxford: Berg, 2006). Cf. the comparative collection of essays: Jan van Bremen and Akitoshi Shimizu (eds), *Anthropology and Colonialism in Asia and Oceania* (Richmond: Curzon Press, 1999).
139. The category was originally part of Stocking's popular dichotomy. Stocking opposed anthropologies of 'nation-building' to anthropologies of 'empire-building', which were focused on research abroad. See George W. Stocking, 'Afterword: A View from the Center', *Ethnos*, 47, 1 (1982), 173–86. For arguments on the 'nation-building' orientation of Portuguese anthropology, see especially Leal, 'The History of Portuguese Anthropology', 11–2; Leal, *Etnografias Portuguesas*; João de Pina Cabral, *Os Contextos da Antropologia* (Lisbon: Difel, 1991), pp. 24–5; Jorge Dias, *Estudos de Antropologia* (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional Casa da Moeda, 1990), p. 229. But for a view that suggests ideological conflation between the ideas of 'nation' and 'empire' in mid-twentieth-century Portuguese anthropology and thus does not endorse Stocking's distinction in the Portuguese case, see Omar R. Thomaz, '“O Bom Povo Português”: Usos e Costumes d'Aquém e d'Além-Mar', *Mana*, 7, 1 (2001), 55–87.

140. I have extensively elaborated on this point in Roque, *Antropologia e Império*, part III.
141. Michel de Certeau, *L'Invention du Quotidien. I—Arts de faire* (Paris: Gallimard, 1990), pp. 59–63.
142. Ibid.

Chapter 6

1. Wallace's anthropological considerations first appeared in 1863–65, and were then later re-published in *The Malay Archipelago* in 1869. See for example: Wallace, 'On the Varieties of Man in the Malay Archipelago', *Transactions of the Ethnological Society of London*, 3 (1865), 196–215.
2. The 'Malay Archipelago' comprised the Malay Peninsula to the Philippines on the north, the Nicobar Islands on the west to the remote Solomon, beyond New Guinea, on the east. For Wallace's line and the traditions of biogeographical mapping, see Jane R. Camerini, 'Evolution, Biogeography, and Maps: An Early History of Wallace's Line', *Isis*, 84 (1993), 700–27. For a review of recent work on Wallace, see Jim Endersby, 'Escaping Darwin's Shadow', *Journal of the History of Biology*, 36 (2003), pp. 385–403.
3. Cf. Alfred Russell Wallace, *The Malay Archipelago* (London, 1869, reprint New York: Dover, 1962), p. 7.
4. C. Staniland Wake, 'Report on Anthropology at the Meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science for 1871, at Edinburgh', *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, II (1872), 268–74.
5. This approach derived from a tradition of inquiry into the regional distribution of human races that had been combining geography and ethnology in a common project of knowledge since the early nineteenth century. In Britain, those interested in the ethnic imbroglios of the 'Indian Archipelago' turned attention to ethno-geography, notably John Crawfurd. See J. Crawfurd, 'On the Connexion between Ethnology and Physical Geography', *Transactions of the Ethnological Society of London*, 2 (1863), pp. 4–23. On Wallace's ethnological line see Jeremy Vetter, 'Wallace's Other Line: Human Biogeography and Field Practice in the Eastern Colonial Tropics', *Journal of the History of Biology*, 39, 1 (2006), 89–123. On the emergence of an Anglophone anthropology of the Papuan race in the nineteenth-century, see Chris Ballard, '"Oceanic Negroes": On the Origins of Papuan Anthropology, 1820–1869', in Bronwen Douglas and Chris Ballard (eds), *Foreign Bodies: Oceania and the Science of Race 1750–1940*, ANU E Press, 2008, <http://epress.anu.edu.au/>
6. The Malays on the east and the Papuans on the west were neatly separated along a line drawn down from the Philippine islands, Gilolo, Bouru, 'curving round the west end of Flores, then bending back round Sandalwood Island to take in Roti'. The ethnological line ran slightly eastwards of Wallace's biogeographical line. Wallace, *The Malay Archipelago*, pp. 15, 211. [emphasis in the original]
7. Wallace, *The Malay Archipelago*, p. 446. As one travelled eastwards in the archipelago, for instance, the people should have displayed more Papuan 'physical and moral' traits, while westwards should gradually resemble the pure Malay type. Wallace, 'On the Varieties of Man', 211. See also Wallace, *The Malay Archipelago*, ch. XL.
8. Ibid.
9. See Vetter, 'Wallace's Other Line', 107.

10. Wallace, 'On the Varieties of Man', 211.
11. Wallace, *The Malay Archipelago*, pp. 156–61.
12. Cf. *Ibid.*, p. 446.
13. 'In their excitable disposition loud voices, and fearless demeanour,' he added, 'the Timorese closely resemble the people of New Guinea.' *Ibid.*, p. 451.
14. A. H. Keane, 'On the Relations of the Indo-Chinese and Inter-Oceanic Races and Languages', *JAIGBI*, 9 (1880), 255. See also for the debates on the genealogies of Polynesia and the Pacific, Tony Ballantyne, *Orientalism and Race: Aryanism in the British Empire* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002).
15. Authorities such as James C. Prichard subscribed to this position. Wallace, *The Malay Archipelago*, p. 15. Cf. Prichard, *Researches into the Physical History of Mankind*, Section V.
16. Blumenbach's Malay variety—the fifth, and last, human variety he was to distinguish—encompassed 'the islanders of the Pacific, together with the inhabitants of the Marianne, the Philippine, the Molucca and the Sunda Islands, and of the Malayan Peninsula.' Blumenbach, *The Anthropological Treatises of Johann Friedrich Blumenbach*, pp. 99–100, 266. See also Christina Granroth, 'European Knowledge of Southeast Asia: Travel and Scholarship in the Early Modern Era' (D. Phil. Dissertation, University of Cambridge, 2004), pp. 199–204.
17. John Crawfurd, for instance, influentially suggested that the Timorese 'seem[ed] to be of a race intermediate between the Malay and Papuan Negro, but partaking most of the first'. Still, the Timorese mixture was so peculiar that it likely represented 'an aboriginal and distinct race' more than an 'admixture of these two'. John Crawfurd, *A Descriptive Dictionary of the Indian Islands & Adjacent Countries* (London: Bradbury & Evans, 1856), p. 433. See also Crawfurd, 'On the Connexion Between Ethnology and Physical Geography', 11; J. Crawfurd, 'On the Malayan and Polynesian Languages and Races', *Journal of the Ethnological Society of London*, I (1848), 331. Cf. Dusseau, *Musée Vrolik*, pp. 87–8.
18. See George W. Earl, *The Native Races of the Indian Archipelago. I. Papuans* (London: Hippolyte Baillière, 1853), pp. 179–81. Earl visited Dili apparently during the governorship of colonel Cabreira. Timor's brown-coloured races should have been the subject of Earl's second volume of *The Native Races of the Indian Archipelago*, titled *Brown Tribes of the Moluccas, Timor and Celebes*. This work, however, never reached publication.
19. Chapter 7 returns to these local stereotypes regarding the *kaladis*. Cf. Vetter, 'Wallace's Other Line', 107.
20. Wallace visited Kupang in 1857–59 for a fortnight and Dili in 1861 for four months. The hospitality of two English residents made fieldwork in Dili possible. Wallace, *The Malay Archipelago*, pp. 453, 144. Cf. Jane R. Camerini, 'Wallace in the field', *Osiris*, 11, *Science in the field* (1996), 46–65.
21. Wallace, *The Malay Archipelago*, pp. 146, 149–50, 451–2. Cf. Wallace, 'On the Varieties of Man', 208.
22. In 1778, J. Reinhold Forster seems to have been the responsible for first converting the dichotomy Beajous-Alfouros into a racial divide of the Archipelago, treating the Alfouros as the ancient aboriginal races. See Granroth, 'European Knowledge of Southeast Asia', ch. 2; Bronwen Douglas, 'Science and the Art of Representing "Savages": Reading "Race" in Text and Image in South Seas Voyaging Literature', *History and Anthropology*, 11 (1999), 157–201. Cf. T. N. Harper, 'The Politics of the Forest in Colonial Malaya', *Modern Asian Studies*, 31, 1 (1997), 1–29.

23. During the first half of the nineteenth century, for example, 'Papuan' of the lowlands and 'Alfouros' of the mountains in New Guinea were conventionally treated separately as two black races, competing in ethnological theory for the place of 'ancient' race of the archipelago. See Prichard, *Researches into the Physical History of Mankind*, p. 258.
24. These accounts comprised the works of the British sailor William Dampier (c. 1700s), and of the French naturalists L. de la Tour (1811), François Péron (1807), and L. de Freycinet (1825). As a rule these travellers were limited to the surroundings of Kupang. Nineteenth century ethnologists did not explicitly mention Portuguese sources of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries—eventually the first European texts to mention ethnological aspects of the region. For this reason, I do not discuss early Portuguese sources. Prichard, *Researches into the Physical History of Mankind*, p. 312. For a bibliography of the relevant travel accounts used as proofs for the existence of dark races in Timor, see E. T. Hamy, 'Documents pour servir à l'Anthropologie de Timor', *Nouvelles Archives du Muséum d'Histoire Naturelle de Paris*, X (1874), 247–53.
25. See François Péron, *Voyage de Découvertes aux Terres Australes, exécuté par ordre de Sa Majesté l'Empereur et Roi, sur les Corvettes Le Géographe, Le Naturaliste, et La Goëlette le Casuarina, pendant les années 1800, 1801, 1802, 1803, et 1804* (Paris: de l'imprimerie impériale, 1808), I, p. 144.
26. The term Alfouros, for example, was in the process of being conflated with the Papuan category in scientific classifications of man. See Armand de Quatrefages and E. T. Hamy, *Crania Ethnica. Les Crânes des Races Humaines décrits et figurés d'après les Collections du Muséum d'Histoire Naturelle de Paris, de la Société d'Anthropologie de Paris et les Principales Collections de la France et de l'Étranger* (Paris: J. B. Baillière et fils, 1882), pp. 241–2, 262–3; and Keane, 'On the Relations', 263.
27. Valentyn in 1724 was credited with the first proper ethnological use of 'Papua' to refer to black varieties of Oceania. See Earl, *The Native Races*, p. 3; Quatrefages and Hamy, *Crania ethnica*, pp. 238–9. But Gelpke alternatively suggests that the term Papua originated in Portuguese sixteenth century accounts: Cf. J. H. F. Sollewijn Gelpke, 'On the Origin of the Name Papua', *Bijdragen Tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde*, 149 (1993), 318–32.
28. See Nicholas Thomas, 'The Force of Ethnology: Origins and Significance of the Melanesia/Polynesia Division', *Current Anthropology*, 30, 1 (1989), 27–41.
29. Earl, *The Native Races*, p. 1.
30. This problem formed the object of Earl's investigations in 1853 around Dili, where, according to the prevailing stereotypes, black races were to be found. Despite inconclusive observations, he asserted that the Papuan race 'still existed in a pure state' on the southeast mountains of Timor, leading 'a life more barbarous than that of the Ahetas [or Negritos] of the Philippines', though in a small number and doomed to extinction due to the slave-trade. Earl, *The Native Races*, pp. 181–2.
31. The argument for the presence of Negritos among the mountain tribes of Timor was made by Hamy in 1874–75, and later incorporated into *Crania Ethnica*. See Hamy, 'Documents pour servir à l'anthropologie de l'île de Timor'; Hamy, 'Sur l'Anthropologie de l'île de Timor', *Bulletins de la Société d'Anthropologie de Paris*, 10 (1875), 224–7. Hamy's arguments on Timor reappear in Quatrefages and Hamy, *Crania Ethnica*, pp. 271–4, 193–4. See also Armand de Quatrefages, *Hommes Fossiles et Hommes Sauvages* (Paris: J. B. Baillière, 1884), p. 195, n. 2.

32. Hamy, 'Sur l'Anthropologie de l'île de Timor', 225; Quatrefages and Hamy, *Crania Ethnica*, p. 267.
33. For a discussion of Wallace and Earl, see Quatrefages, *Hommes Fossiles*, pp. 143–93.
34. The Negrito race category in anthropology supposedly originated from the term *Negritos del Monte* applied by the Spanish colonizers to the dark-coloured Philippine mountaineers whose distinctive characteristic was the small stature. See Quatrefages and Hamy, *Crania Ethnica*, pp. 169–70; Hamy, 'Documents pour servir à l'anthropologie de l'île de Timor', pp. 251, 253, 263. Cf. Quatrefages, *Hommes Fossiles*, ch. II; Earl, *The Native Races*, ch. VII; Crawford, 'On the Malayan and Polynesian Languages and Races', 334; Wallace, 'On the Varieties of Man in the Malay Archipelago', 209.
35. 'Mr R. Wallace's ethnological line', Hamy declared in 1874, 'should now pass through the island [of Timor] itself ... which population combines or juxtaposes so many interesting ethnic elements and is placed at the same time as the most meridional place inhabited by Negritos and as one of the westernmost places where Papuans have established.' *Ibid.*, 265.
36. Henry O. Forbes, 'On Some Tribes of the Island of Timor', *JAIGBI*, 13 (1884), 405; Forbes, *A Naturalist's Wanderings*, p. 465. Forbes did not encounter 'any true Papuan', yet he held paradoxical positions as regards Timor's Papuan connection. He initially suggested in 1884 that Timor presented 'a mixture of Polynesian and Malay races, in about equal proportions', but modified his statement in 1885 into 'a mixture of Malay, Papuan, and Polynesian races.' See *Ibid.*, pp. 466–7; Forbes, 'On some tribes of the island of Timor', pp. 405–7. Cf. Forbes, 'On the Ethnology of Timor-Laut', *JAIGBI*, 13 (1884), 8–31.
37. William H. Flower, 'President's Address. Address delivered at the Anniversary Meeting of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, January 27th 1885, on the Classification of the Varieties of the Human Species', *JAIGBI*, XIV (1884–5), 379, n. 1.
38. In his *Australasia* of 1879, Wallace continued to hold to a Papuan classification of the Timorese; A. H. Keane classified the 'mixed Papuan peoples' of Timor as 'Sub-Papuans West'. See Wallace, ed., *Australasia* (London, 1879), pp. 429–30; Keane, 'On the Relations of the Indo-Chinese and Inter-Oceanic Races and Languages', p. 263. See also Keane, 'Appendix. Philology and ethnology of the interoceanic races', in A. R. Wallace (ed.), *Australasia* (London: E. Stanford, 1879), pp. 593–659; Keane cit. in 'Discussion', *JAIGBI*, 13 (1884), 31.
39. Quatrefages and Hamy followed French geographers in preferring terms such as Malaysia, Melanesia, and Polynesia, whereas the British followed the Indo-Malayan and Austro-Malayan geographical terminology proposed by Earl and Wallace. Cunha, 'Noticia sobre uma Série de Craneos da ilha de Timor', 852–3. For D'Urville's pioneering divide into Melanesia, Malaysia, and Polynesia, see Thomas, 'The Force of Ethnology'.
40. Perhaps for this latter reason he entirely neglected the Portuguese colonial ethnographies on Timorese *usos e costumes* observed above in Chapter 3.
41. Cunha, 'Noticia sobre uma Série de Craneos da ilha de Timor', 855.
42. Cf. *Ibid.*, 852.
43. See the 'descriptive records' of each skull: *Ibid.*, 934–41, 1044–8.
44. Cunha tended to emphasize the male identity of the skulls. A recent craniological reassessment of the skulls by a Coimbra student reclassified as female the six skulls considered as 'uncertain' by Cunha. Two other skulls taken by Cunha as

- male have also been reclassified as female by Ribeiro. Cunha, 'Notícia sobre uma Série de Craneos da ilha de Timor', 855. Cf. Ribeiro, "'Notícia sobre uma Série de Crânios da ilha de Timor"'.
45. Cf. Londa Schiebinger, 'The Anatomy of Difference: Race and Sex in Eighteenth-Century Science', *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 23, 4 (1990), 387–405.
 46. Cunha, 'Notícia sobre uma Série de Craneos da ilha de Timor', 1047–8.
 47. This proximity was greater with Northern than Southern Papuans. See *Ibid.*, 856–60.
 48. *Ibid.*, 857.
 49. *Ibid.*, 860.
 50. *Ibid.*, 855.
 51. *Ibid.*
 52. *Ibid.* Cf. Forbes, *A Naturalist's Wanderings*, p. 451. Cunha translated freely from Forbes's English original.
 53. Cunha, 'Notícia sobre uma Série de Craneos da ilha de Timor', 855.
 54. *Ibid.* [emphasis in the original]
 55. Forbes's passage reads: 'Hostilities are carried on mostly by the offensive army pillaging and ravaging all they can lay hands on, robbing every undefended dwelling, ruthlessly decapitating helpless men, women, and children, and even infants.' If Cunha had looked on some Portuguese accounts by colonial officers, he perhaps could have found descriptions of different decapitation procedures. In 1863, Cabreira, for example, argued that Timorese headhunting had become more civilized in the last years; now children and prisoners were spared. Forbes, *A Naturalist's Wanderings*, p. 451. See Duarte Leão Cabreira, 'A Guerra com o Gentio em 1863', *Annaes do Conselho Ultramarino*, Unofficial Section (1864), 50.
 56. Forbes, *A Naturalist's Wanderings*, p. 450. [my emphasis] On Timorese headhunting: *Ibid.*, pp. 450–2.
 57. Cunha mentioned holes 'probably' caused by 'a lead shot' in his description of skulls n. 1, n. 9, n. 25. He also observed 'perforations' in other skulls (for example, n. 8, n. 10, n. 13, n. 14, n. 16, n. 17, n. 20, n. 29, n. 35). In 1999, these bullet perforations were analysed in detail by Ribeiro. Cf. Cunha, 'Notícia sobre uma Série de Craneos da ilha de Timor', 934–41, 1044–8; Ribeiro, "'Notícia sobre uma Série de Crânios da ilha de Timor"'.
 58. The Portuguese had already put aside flint guns as old-fashioned technology, and Snider and Albin breech-loading rifles were preferred for arming regulars and even *moradores*. Cf. Celestino da Silva to GMT, 17 July 1894, Lisbon, AHU, Macao and Timor, ACL_SEMU_DGU_2R_001_Cx 9, 1895–1896.
 59. A previous study has revealed that another contemporary pioneer text in colonial physical anthropology—Fonseca Cardoso's *O Indígena de Satary*—followed a similar international trajectory. See Ricardo Roque, 'Equivocal Connections: Fonseca Cardoso and the Origins of Portuguese Colonial Anthropology', *Portuguese Studies*, 19 (2003), 80–109.
 60. In France, anthropological collections stagnated at the close of the nineteenth century. Even at Coimbra some were to look back to museum craniometry as a thing of the past. See Dias, 'Série de Crânes et Armées de Squelettes', pp. 224–5; Tamagnini and Serra, 'Subsídios para a História da Antropologia Portuguesa', p. 645.
 61. For the problems of Anglo-Saxon anthropology by 1890s–1900s, see Stocking, *Race, Culture, and Evolution*, pp. 161–94. For growing opposition in the Anglo-Saxon anthropology to physical anthropology and racism, see Elazar

Barkan, *The Retreat of Scientific Racism. Changing Concepts in Britain and the United States Between the World Wars* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992). For changes in German physical anthropology: Proctor, 'From *Anthropologie* to *Rassenkunde*'.

62. Under the shadow of Eusébio Tamagnini, head of Anthropology since 1911 and Director of the Coimbra Institute of Anthropology, Cunha moved up slowly in the academic hierarchy. His first 15 years at the university were especially devoted to pedagogy and teaching. In 1887, he received his doctorate in Natural Philosophy with a thesis on zoological geography. He was a deputy at the *Côrtes* in 1891 (for 19 days) and a *Procurador* at the *Junta Geral de Lisboa* in 1887–9. After 1887, for a period unknown, he eventually held a temporary position as substitute lecturer of Zoology at the Lisbon Polytechnic School. At Coimbra, in 1911, he was promoted to First Assistant (*Primeiro Assistente*) in the Sciences Faculty, and in 1929 to Assistant Professor (*Professor Auxiliar*). Only in the 1920s did he return to craniometric research. Apart from practical teaching, he ran a free course on Colonial Ethnography in 1912–13. He was also Rector of the Coimbra Central High School from 1916 to 1919. Hereafter my biographical sources for Barros e Cunha are: Cunha, *Curriculum Vitae*; Processo individual de João Gualberto de Barros e Cunha, Coimbra, AUC.
63. The exception that proved the rule was a dry and short review by Fonseca Cardoso in 1899. See A. da Fonseca Cardoso, 'João Gualberto de Barros e Cunha, *Notícia sobre uma série de crânios da ilha de Timor*, Coimbra, 1898', *Portugália*, 1 (1899), 428.
64. Mendes Correia, 'Timorenses de Okussi e Ambeno (Notas Antropológicas sobre Observações de Fonseca Cardoso),' *Anais Scientificos da Academia Polytechnica do Porto*, XI, 1 (1916), 36–51. The paper used unpublished anthropometrical data collected *in situ* by the late captain Fonseca Cardoso, reputed anthropometrist and former officer in Timor. For Fonseca Cardoso and colonial anthropology in Portugal, see Roque, *Antropologia e Império*.
65. In turning to anthropometry, Correia was in line with the major methodological move taken by physical anthropologists loyal to the French anthropological tradition. Cf. Mendes Correia, 'La Dispersion de l'Homme dans la Surface Terrestre', *Scientia* (1927), p. 213; Mendes Correia, *A Escola Antropológica Portuense* (Porto: Instituto de Antropologia da Universidade do Porto, 1941), pp. 35–6; Topinard, *Éléments*.
66. His early international reputation built to a large extent on these papers. The papers on Timor were praised in *L'Anthropologie*, in 1916. See R. Verneau, 'A. A. Mendes Corrêa, *Timorenses de Okussi e Ambeno*; et *Antropologia timorense*, 1916', *L'Anthropologie*, XXVII, 12 (1916), 480–2; Mendes Correia, *Antropologia Timorense* (Porto: Separata da 'Revista dos Liceus', 1916). For further references to Correia's papers in international literature, see Rui de Serpa Pinto and Hugo Magalhães, *Bibliografia do Professor Mendes Correia (1909–1942)* (Porto: Instituto de Antropologia da Universidade do Porto, 1942).
67. In the 1930s–40s, Correia achieved political prominence as the ideologue and driving force of the *Estado Novo*'s 'scientific occupation', a vision for state-sponsored scientific research in the colonies under the direction of metropolitan academics and institutions. For Mendes Correia's colonial anthropology, see Roque, 'A Antropologia Colonial Portuguesa c. 1911–1950', in Diogo Ramada Curto (ed.), *Estudos de Sociologia da Leitura em Portugal no Século XX* (Lisbon: FCG/FCT, 2006), pp. 789–822; Rui Pereira, 'Introdução à Reedição de

- 1998', in Jorge Dias, *Os Macondes de Moçambique* (Lisbon: CNCDP, 1998), I, pp. V–LII.
68. Cf. Correia, 'Timorenses de Okussi e Ambeno', 36–7, n. 3, 5.
 69. Ten Kate was not mentioned by Cunha, though his investigations were first published in French in 1893–94. Herman Ten Kate, 'Contribution à l'Anthropologie de Quelques Peuples d'Océanie', *L'Anthropologie*, IV (1893), 279–300; Ten Kate, 'Mélanges Anthropologiques. III. Indigènes de l'Archipel Timorien', *L'Anthropologie*, 26 (1915), 519–64.
 70. In Ten Kate's words: 'I have not found anywhere neither pure race Negritos nor Papuans, but populations profoundly mixed with Melanesian and Indonesian blood, among which the negroid element predominates in the west and the yellow element in the centre.' Ten Kate, 'Contribution à l'anthropologie de quelques peuples d'Océanie', p. 290. [italics in the original]
 71. Correia, 'Timorenses de Okussi e Ambeno,' p. 47. However, this opinion contradicted Deniker, another of Correia's main references. Deniker suggested that, except for Malay influence on the coast, the 'Papuan blood' prevailed among the 'Ema-Belos of the middle of the island'. Correia disregarded this point for the sake of his argument. Cf. Jean Deniker, *The Races of Man. An Outline of Anthropology and Ethnography* (London: Walter Scott, 1900), pp. 491–2; Correia, 'Timorenses de Okussi e Ambeno,' 38.
 72. Eventually, Mendes Correia first made this point in an article of 1916. Correia, *Antropologia Timorense*; A. Leite de Magalhães, 'Subsídios para o Estudo Etnológico de Timor', *TSPAE*, 1, II (1920), 46.
 73. Correia, 'Timorenses de Okussi e Ambeno,' 37–8.
 74. In Timor, Magalhães was military commandant of Liquiçá, interim government secretary, and head of the military department. In the 1930s, Magalhães ascended to governor of Guinea, the rank of Colonel, and Director-General of the Colonies. Hereafter my biographical sources for Magalhães are: Processo individual do Coronel António Leite de Magalhães, Lisbon, AHMil, Box 2625.
 75. Magalhães, 'Subsídios para o estudo etnológico de Timor', 37–65.
 76. Correia, 'Relatório dos trabalhos de 1919', *TSPAE*, I (1919), 78; Magalhães, 'Subsídios para o Estudo Etnológico de Timor', 49. See A. Leite de Magalhães, 'A Origem Étnica das Populações de Timor e o Mito da Árvore Sagrada do Reino de Cová', *Diário de Notícias*, 28 Feb. 1935, p. 2.
 77. Magalhães, like Correia, advocated that the 'primitive inhabitants' of Portuguese Timor were of the 'yellow', 'Malaysian race'. Magalhães, 'Subsídios para o Estudo Etnológico de Timor', 48. See also: Leite de Magalhães, 'Província de Timor. A Ilha de Ataúro. Notícia sobre a ilha e seus Habitantes', *BSGL*, 36, 1–3 (1918), 47, 61–2.
 78. Celestino da Silva to MSNMU, 25 Jan. 1901, Lisbon, AHU, Macao and Timor, ACL_SEMU_DGU_1R_002_Cx 11, 1901–1904. [italics in the original]
 79. Castro, *As Possessões*, pp. 311, 327–8; Castro, 'Une Rébellion à Timor en 1861', p. 390. Castro's argument resumes in França, *Macao e os seus Habitantes*, p. 221; Almeida Pinheiro, 'Timor', *BAGC*, 21 (1927), p. 182; Humberto Leitão, 'Algumas Indicações sobre a nossa Colónia de Timor', *BAGC*, 54 (1929), 3–31; Faria de Moraes, *Subsídios para a História de Timor* (Bastorá: A. F. de Moraes, 1934), p. 59. By 1908, even Fonseca Cardoso apparently conceded to the 'clearly Indonesian mass of the population' in East Timor, though suggesting a 'primitive Australian background'. Castro, *Flores de Coral*, p. 409.
 80. Magalhães, 'Subsídios para o Estudo Etnológico de Timor', 49.

81. Ibid., p. 44, n. 1.
82. Hereafter I follow Whyte's distinction between historical and fictional stories based on content rather than on form, a distinction which preserves the possibility of 'imaginary discourses' to be 'real' if taken as 'true': 'The content of historical stories is real events, events that really happened, rather than imaginary events, events invented by the narrator. This implies that the form in which historical events present themselves to a prospective narrator is *found* rather than *constructed*.' Hayden Whyte, 'The Question of Narrative in Contemporary Historical Theory', *History & Theory*, 23, 1 (1984), p. 2. [emphasis in the original]
83. Cunha, *A Autenticidade dos Crânios de Timor*, p. 349.
84. See Mendes Correia, 'Antropologia de Timor', *BAGC*, 108 (1934), 206. A short description of four Timorese skulls in 1925 also referred cautiously to Cunha's contribution and followed Magalhães in declaring to be 'uncertain whether the crania studied by Barros e Cunha have belonged to Timorese'. Joaquim Pires de Lima and Constância Mascarenhas, 'Contribuição para o Estudo Antropológico de Timor', *Arquivo de Anatomia e Antropologia* (1925), p. 452. See also: Anonymous, 'Estudo Antropológico do Indígena de Timor', *BAGC*, 54 (1929), 149–51; Joaquim Pires de Lima, *Os Povos do Império Português* (Porto: Livr. Civilização, 1938), pp. 115–30.
85. *Gentio de Timor* received immediate praise and in that same year was granted the First Prize in the national Colonial Literature contest. Hero of the First World War and avowed right-wing nationalist, Correia was one of the army officers behind the military coup of 1926 from which the *Estado Novo* came out in 1933. He served in Timor from 1928 to 1933 as Military Commandant of Baucau, Director of Public Works, and President of the Dili City Council. Cf. A. Pinto Correia, 'Notas de Etnografia Timorense (Região de Baucau)', *BGC*, X, 106 (1934), 35–52. Hereafter my biographical sources for Pinto Correia are: Processo individual do Capitão Armando Eduardo Pinto Correia, Lisbon, AHMIL, Box 666; Teófilo Duarte, 'Prefácio', in Correia, *Timor de Lés a Lés*, pp. 8–10.
86. Correia, *Timor de Lés a Lés*, p. 16.
87. Pinto Correia vehemently attacked other Portuguese publications, although without mentioning names. See Correia, *Gentio de Timor*, pp. 324–5, n. 1, 337, 345.
88. Paradoxically, he confessed that he had taken possession of 'two skulls for a museum [that he] was organizing'. The skulls were given to him by António da Costa, chief of Tirilolo, district of Baucau. Pinto Correia, however, makes no further reference to these skulls, to their provenance, or to what use they were put. Correia, *Timor de Lés a Lés*, p. 16, n. 1.
89. Correia, *Gentio de Timor*, p. 325, n. 1. Similar distrust of craniometry for clarifying the Timorese racial type was also expressed by a contemporary of Pinto Correia in Timor, Teófilo Duarte: Duarte, *Timor (Antecâmara do Inferno!?)*, s.p.
90. Correia, *Gentio de Timor*, p. 356, n. 1.
91. J. G. Barros e Cunha, 'A Origem Étnica da População de Timor e o Mito da Árvore Sagrada do Reino de Cová', *Diário de Notícias*, 25 Feb. 1935, p. 2.
92. Ibid.
93. Ibid. [emphasis in the original]
94. Cunha referred to this point only in 1937. Cunha, *A Autenticidade dos Crânios de Timor*, p. 347.
95. Cunha, 'A Origem Étnica da População de Timor', p. 2.
96. Ibid. [emphasis in the original]

97. Ibid. [emphasis in the original]
98. Magalhães, 'A Origem Étnica das Populações de Timor'; Correia, 'A Origem Étnica das Populações de Timor e o Mito da Árvore Sagrada do Reino de Cová', *Diário de Notícias*, 2 Mar. 1935, p. 2.
99. Magalhães added that 'negroid elements' in Timorese ethnic 'diversity' could appear, but were not natural; they were the product of interbreeding with African soldiers and convicts. Magalhães, 'A Origem Étnica das Populações de Timor', p. 2.
100. Ibid.
101. Correia, 'A Origem Étnica das Populações de Timor', p. 2.
102. Ibid.
103. Magalhães, 'A Origem Étnica das Populações de Timor', p. 2. [emphasis in the original]
104. In 1889, Lobo was a deputy at the Dili Council and achieved the Presidency by the mid-1890s. He then became the governors' right-hand man in Dili. A medical doctor graduated from the University of Bombay, he settled in Timor by 1879, appointed to the post of *facultativo* (medical official). Pinto Correia also spoke highly of Lobo, as Dili's great modernizer (see Correia, *Gentio de Timor*, p. 310). By the late 1930s, he probably had passed away. In January 2004, a street in Dili—*Rua Belarmino Lobo*—continued to bore his name.
105. Close to Celestino da Silva, Lobo lived through the tragic years of 1895–96 and was one of the Committee members to investigate the causes of the Cová massacre. Portaria do Governador de Timor que nomeia a Comissão para averiguar as causas do desastre de Fatumean, 17 Sept. 1895, Macao, AHM, AC, P-1547.
106. Ten Kate, Lacpique and Mendes Correia were cited by Magalhães; Pinto Correia added to these the authority of Biljmer. Magalhães, 'A Origem Étnica das Populações de Timor', p. 2; Correia, 'A Origem Étnica das Populações de Timor', p. 2.
107. Magalhães, 'A Origem Étnica das Populações de Timor', p. 2.
108. 'Mr. Barros e Cunha', continued Magalhães, 'would pay a high service to science if he would be able to locate the provenance of the thirty-five skulls studied in 1885 and which made possible for him to affirm that they *prove conclusively* the existence [in Timor] of an ethnic background of Melanesian race ... which one today does not find.' Ibid. [emphasis in the original]
109. The paper was originally published as an article in *Contribuições para o Estudo da Antropologia Portuguesa*, II, 12 (1937), 347–403.
110. By the 1930s, the staff of the Institute comprised Eusébio Tamagnini (Director); J.G. Barros e Cunha; Belarmino Athaide; and José Domingos dos Santos. Resumo da actividade em 1932–1933 do Instituto de Antropologia de Coimbra, Coimbra, AMAUC, Box 22, Untitled folder. The state Institute for Higher Culture supported the publication with an extraordinary financial subsidy, upon request of Eusébio Tamagnini. The subsidy covered printing and postage expenses. See Eusébio Tamagnini to Secretary of the Instituto para a Alta Cultura, 31 Aug. 1937; Eusébio Tamagnini to Secretary of the Instituto para a Alta Cultura, 9 Nov. 1937; Guarda-livros of the Instituto para a Alta Cultura to Eusébio Tamagnini, 20 Dec. 1937; Eusébio Tamagnini to Secretary of the Instituto para a Alta Cultura, 24 Jan. 1938, Coimbra, AMAUC, Box 22, Folder Junta Nacional de Educação, Correspondência 1937–1940.
111. Copies, for example, were sent to the Minister of the Colonies and the Governor of Timor. See Expedição das 'Contribuições para o Estudo da Antropologia

- Portuguesa', vol. II, fasc. 12.—*A autenticidade dos crânios de Timor do Museu da Universidade de Coimbra, e o estado actual dos nossos conhecimentos sôbre o problema da composição étnica da população de Timor às entidades abaixo mencionadas*, Coimbra, AMAUC, Box 22, Folder Junta Nacional de Educação, Correspondence 1937–1940.
112. These included some of the authorities cited by Cunha and the military in their dispute. For example: K. Saller, in Germany; Lapicque, in France; and H. J. Bijlmer, in Holland. A good deal was sent directly to persons and institutions (115 copies); 55 packs with books were also sent through the International Exchange Department of the National Library, in Lisbon. Ibid.
 113. H. V. V., 'Barros e Cunha (J. de), *A autenticidade dos crânios de Timor do Museu da Universidade de Coimbra e o estado actual dos nossos conhecimentos sobre o problema da composição étnica da população de Timor* (L'autenticité des crânes de Timor du Musée de l'Université de Coimbra, et l'état actuel de nos connaissances sur le problème de la composition ethnique de la population de Timor)', *L'Anthropologie*, 48 (1938), 619.
 114. Cunha, *A Autenticidade dos Crânios de Timor*, p. 355.
 115. Ibid. [emphasis in the original]
 116. These were the skulls numbered from 1 to 6. There is no record of Martin having replied to this request. Eusébio Tamagnini to Rudolf Martin, 16 Dec. 1913, Coimbra, AMAC, Gabinete de Anthropologia, Copiador de ofícios. I thank Dr. Maria Augusta Rocha for this reference.
 117. The current location of the skulls borrowed by Rudolf Martin is unknown to the keepers of the Coimbra Museum. However, Martin's skeletal collections are today held at the Anthropological Institute and Museum of the University of Zurich (Switzerland). Dr. Kristian Carlson of this Institute recently informed me that 'there are crania from seven individuals that are listed as coming from Timor'. Possibly part of them might correspond to skulls sent from Coimbra to Rudolf Martin in 1902. Dr. Kristian Carlson, personal email, 3 March 2006.
 118. Cunha, *A Autenticidade dos Crânios de Timor*, pp. 347, 355.
 119. Ibid., p. 355.
 120. Personal memory and oral accounts at Coimbra Museum probably constituted Cunha's main source of information. The catalogues sent from Macao were unknown at the museum. They probably had been lost. During my research at Coimbra Museum in 2004, the catalogue of 1882 could not be found among the documentation associated with the collection. The current curators were also unaware of its existence.
 121. Cunha remarked: 'it is not to be believed', that 'a Governor of a province would present the museum with exemplars with the indication of coming from his province but not being from there'. Cunha, *A Autenticidade dos Crânios de Timor*, p. 355.
 122. Ibid.
 123. Martinho was on commission in Timor for about 25 years. Apparently he had no direct communication with Cunha, but was in touch with another anthropologist interested in Timor, António de Almeida, in Lisbon. José Simões Martinho, 'Timor—Qual a Origem do Povo Timorense?', *Diário de Coimbra*, 7 Mar. 1942, p. 2; Martinho, *Timor. Quatro Séculos*, pp. XXI–XXII.
 124. See Ibid., ch. IV.
 125. Martinho, 'Timor—Qual a Origem do Povo Timorense?', p. 2.
 126. Ibid.

127. The interpretation of 'amnesia' might have been avoided if Martinho did not overstate the role of Lobo in the trajectory of the Coimbra collection. Firstly, Lobo was only a member of the second Committee, appointed by governor Carvalho in 1881. Previously, another Committee, headed by Medeiros, had been at work, and it was this first Committee that actually collected the skulls, as the next chapter will reveal. Secondly, Lobo was not 'the organizer of the catalogue'. As seen in Chapter 5, the Bulletin catalogues were prepared by the Côrte-Real Committee. Therefore, Lobo was neither the collector, nor the author of the catalogue. He was a secondary actor. His 'knowledge' of the objects sent to Macao in the 1880s was to a great degree limited.
128. Ibid. See also Martinho, *Timor. Quatro Séculos*, p. 20.
129. Martinho, 'Timor—Qual a Origem do Povo Timorense?'
130. Martinho, *Timor. Quatro Séculos*, p. 20. [emphasis in the original]
131. Yet, for Martinho, the skulls' reliability as anthropological data should be little affected by this fact, for he considered the political division of the territory did not represent an ethnic difference—an opinion, as we saw above, at odds with Mendes Correia and the advocates of the Malayan ethnological specificity of Portuguese Timor. Ibid., p. 21.
132. According to Pélissier's survey of the Cová rebellion of 1868–70, the historical sources provide vague indications about the Portuguese losses—which nevertheless seem to have been extensive. Though the majority of those killed in combat were either *arraiaais* or *moradores*, it is not impossible that European regulars were also among the dead. Cf. Pélissier, *Timor en Guerre*, pp. 76–82.
133. Barros e Cunha, 'Notícias Recentes sôbre a População de Timor', in AAVV, *Associação Portuguesa para o Progresso das Ciências. IV Congresso, celebrado no Porto de 18 a 24 de Junho de 1942* (Porto: Imprensa Portuguesa, 1943), V, pp. 559–60. [emphasis in the original]
134. Ibid., p. 561. [emphasis in original]
135. Mendes Correia, *Timor Português. Contribuição para o seu estudo antropológico* (Lisbon: Ministério das Colónias/Junta das Missões Geográficas e Investigações Coloniais, 1944). The work was published with the official support of the *Junta das Missões Geográficas e de Investigações Coloniais* (Geographical Missions and Colonial Research Council), over which Correia was about to preside.
136. Mendes Correia's main conclusions were as well exposed in an English translation, at the end of the book, and in an article in Spanish. See Mendes Correia, 'Abstracts of the Preface and Chapters I–VII with a full translation of Chapter VII by Prof. Dr. Luís Cardim', in Correia, *Timor Português*, pp. 179–215; Mendes Correia, 'Los Timorenses y la Posición Sistemática de los Indonésios', *Investigación y Progreso*, XV (1944), 257–61.
137. Mendes Correia, *Sobre um Problema de Biologia Humana em Timor Português* (Lisbon: AGC, 1945), p. 9; Correia, *Timor Português*, pp. 213–5.
138. Other ethnological lines had in meantime been proposed. Mendes Correia's draw his ethnological line explicitly in alternative to Wallace's and Bijlmer's. See Correia, *Timor Português*, pp. 195, 203–4.
139. Correia, *Sobre um Problema de Biologia Humana*, p. 9; Correia, *Timor Português*, pp. 213–5.
140. Ibid., p. 26.
141. Ibid., p. 25.
142. Ibid., p. 40.
143. Ibid., p. 28.

144. See for example: Felgas, *Timor Português*, p. 146; Matos, *Timor Português, 1515–1769*, p. 28; Schulte-Nordholt, *The Political System of the Atoni*, pp. 22–3. Mendes Correia visited Timor in the 1950s and continued to defend his ethnological theory. See Mendes Correia, 'Um mês em Timor (Palestras na Emissora Nacional, na série "A Ciência ao serviço da Humanidade", 26 Fev., 5, 12 e 26 de Março e 2 e 9 de Abril de 1955)', *BSGL*, 73, 4–6 (1955), 173–91.
145. Michel Foucault, *The Order of Things. An Archaeology of the Human Sciences* (London, 1970, reprint London: Routledge, 2006), pp. xxiii, xxi.
146. The attempts of Western science to resolve classificatory problems posed by monstrous, hybrid, or paradox objects of nature have been an object of study by historians and sociologists of science. See, for example, Stephen Jay Gould, *The Flamingo's Smile* (New York and London: Norton, 1985), pp. 78–95; Gioilio Barsanti, 'L'Orang-Outan Déclassé. Histoire du Premier Singe à Hauteur de l'Homme (1780–1801) et Ébauche d'une Théorie de la Circularité des Sources', *Bulletins et Mémoires de la Société d'Anthropologie de Paris*, 1, 3–4 (1989), 67–104; Harriet Rivo, *The Platypus and the Mermaid: and Other Figments of the Classifying Imagination* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1997); Anna Maerker, 'The Tale of the Hermaphrodite Monkey: Classification, State Interests and Natural Historical Expertise between Museum and Court, 1791–94', *British Journal for the History of Science*, 39, 1 (2006), 29–47.
147. Foucault, *The Order of Things*, p. xix.
148. *Ibid.* [emphasis in the original]
149. But for a perspective on natural history as 'culture' rather than overarching *epistemes*, see Nicholas Jardine, James Secord and E. C. Spary (ed.), *Cultures of Natural History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995).
150. Foucault, *The Order of Things*, p. 141.
151. *Ibid.*
152. *Ibid.*, pp. 142–3.
153. I also elaborate on this line of argument in Roque, 'Human skulls and museum work: sketch of a perspective on miniature histories'.
154. Cf. Johannes Fabian, *Time and the Other. How Anthropology Makes Its Object* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1983); Nicholas Thomas, *Out of Time: History and Evolution in Anthropological Discourse* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1996); Thomas, *Entangled Objects*; George W. Stocking, Jr., 'Essays on Museums and Material Culture', in Stocking (ed.), *Objects and Others*, pp. 2–14.
155. Michael O'Hanlon, 'Introduction', in O'Hanlon and Welsch (eds), *Hunting the Gatherers*, p. 2.
156. Zimmerman, *Anthropology and Antihumanism in Imperial Germany*, p. 150.
157. Cf. Clifford, *The Predicament of Culture*, p. 220.
158. Cf. Susan Stewart, *On Longing: Narratives of the Miniature, the Gigantic, the Souvenir, the Collection* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1984), pp. 151–2.
159. See John Law, 'On the Subject of the Object: Narrative, Technology, and Interpolation', *Configurations*, 8 (2000), 2; John Law and Vicky Singleton, 'Performing Technology's Stories', *Technology and Culture*, 41 (2000), 765–75.
160. Costa, 'Que Significam o Corte de Cabeças Humanas', p. 24, n. 2. The philologist and anthropologist Arthur Capell made a similar reading of Martinho's findings: 'Martinho mentions a group of 35 skulls from Timor deposited in the University Museum at Coimbra in 1882, but only to show that figures based on them are hopelessly unreliable, because their place of origin is quite uncertain and may not even be Timor at all!' Capell, 'Peoples and Languages of Timor', 194.

161. Felgas, *Timor Português*, pp. 143–4.
162. Ribeiro, “‘Notícia sobre uma Série de Crânios da ilha de Timor’”, p. 38.

Chapter 7

1. ‘When a sacred being is divided into parts, every single of its parts continues to contain the entirety of its self. In other words, with regards to religious thought, the part is worth the whole; it has the same powers, the same efficacy. A fragment of relic has the same virtues as the entire relic. The smallest drop of blood contains the same active principle as the entire blood.’ Émile Durkheim, *Les Formes Élémentaires de la Vie Religieuse* (Paris: Félix Alcan, 1912), p. 112.
2. The regulars numbered 18 infantry and artillery soldiers, including three sergeants. A further 50 *moradores* joined the column at Batugadé. See: Ofício do Governo de Timor, 19 Aug. 1895, Macao, AHM, AC, P-1547; GMT to MSNMU, 9 Oct. 1895, Lisbon, AHU, ACL_SEMU_DGU_2R_001_Cx 9, 1895–1896; Celestino da Silva to GMT, 20 Sept. 1895, Lisbon, AHU, ACL_SEMU_DGU_2R_001_Cx 9, 1895–1896.
3. The expedition comprised three columns under the governor’s general command: right-wing (captain Câmara); left-wing (captain Bello); and central wing (captain Barreiros).
4. Celestino da Silva to Francisco Duarte, 3 Sep. 1895, Lisbon, AHU, Macao and Timor, ACL_SEMU_DGU_RM_005_Cx 1, 1890–1899.
5. In August 1895, Câmara declared: ‘For the present, the rebel peoples are Raimean, Manofai and Tutuluro; the suspect peoples are Suai, Camenasse, Fauteri, Kassabank, Lalava, Forem, and perhaps Fatumean because of the relationships they maintain with those kingdoms.’ Eduardo da Câmara to Francisco Duarte, 23 Aug. 1895, Lisbon, AHU, Macao and Timor, ACL_SEMU_DGU_RM_005_Cx 1, 1890–1899.
6. See Relatório da Comissão para o Governador de Timor sobre o desastre de Fatumean, 5 Oct. 1895, Macao, AHM, AC, P-1547.
7. Ibid.
8. For the death of Mendes da Silva and the loss of Fatumean, see Celestino da Silva to GMT, 3 Dec. 1895, Macao, AHM, AC, P-1547.
9. Celestino da Silva to GMT, 13 Dec. 1895, Macao, AHM, AC, P-1547.
10. GMT to MSNMU, 9 Oct. 1895, Lisbon, AHU, ACL_SEMU_DGU_2R_001_Cx 9, 1895–1896.
11. The citation appeared in an interview to Borges Pereira in a Macanese newspaper. ‘Os acontecimentos de Timor’, *O Século*, 27 Dec. 1895, ed. D. Júlia da Câmara, Notícias acerca da morte do Herói Eduardo Inácio da Câmara, Rinchoa, CMS/CMLC. This source consists of a collection of newspaper cuttings organized by the widow of Captain Câmara, D. Emília Júlia Leal da Câmara. Hereafter this source is used for references to the incident in the Portuguese press.
12. Celestino da Silva to General Overseas Office, 24 April 1896, Lisbon, AHU, Macao and Timor, ACL_SEMU_DGU_RM_005_Cx 1. 1890–1899.
13. Ibid.
14. Cf. Hélio Felgas, ‘Como foi Massacrada em Timor a Coluna do Capitão Eduardo da Câmara’, *Átomo*, 2 (1952), 20; Martinho, *Timor. Quatro Séculos*, p. 78; Castro, *Timor (Subsídios para a sua História)*, p. 92.
15. The Committee was appointed on 17 September 1895. The report appeared in October and was sent to Macao and Lisbon in December 1895 together

- with testimonies of survivors. See Portaria do Governador de Timor que nomeia a Comissão para averiguar as causas do desastre de Fatumean, 17 Sep. 1895, Macao, AHM, AC, P-1547; Celestino da Silva to GMT, 13 Dec. 1895, Macao, AHM, AC, P-1547; Relatório da Comissão para o Governador de Timor sobre o desastre de Fatumean, 5 Oct. 1895, Macao, AHM, AC, P-1547. This documentation is copied in: Lisbon, AHU, Macao and Timor, ACL_SEMU_DGU_RM_005_Cx 1, 1890–1899. See also for a similar official narration by the governor of Macao: GMT to MSNMU, 9 Oct. 1895, Lisbon, AHU, ACL_SEMU_DGU_2R_001_Cx 9, 1895–1896.
16. The official version valued these aspects as explanatory devices for the ‘disaster’, but other contemporary testimonies pointed to the part played by different Timorese actors in the outburst of violence. See D. Feliciano Ribeiro Pires to Governor of Timor, 14 Oct. 1895, Macao, AHM, AC, P-1547.
 17. Military historians in particular recounted the incident with the intention of clearing Câmara of responsibilities and enhancing his heroism. Cf. Ribeiro da Fonseca [R. F.], ‘Timor’, *Revista Militar*, 47 (1895), 646–50; Martinho, *Timor. Quatro Séculos*, ch. V; Felgas, ‘Como foi Massacrada em Timor a Coluna do Capitão Câmara’; Augusto Krusse Afflalo, ‘Heróis do Ultramar. Capitão Eduardo Inácio da Câmara—Pai do Grande Artista Leal da Câmara’, *Jornal de Sintra*, 22 March 1974, p. 4.
 18. Celestino da Silva to GMT, 13 Dec. 1895, Macao, AHM, AC, P-1547. See also Celestino da Silva to GMT, 20 Sep. 1895, Lisbon, AHU, ACL_SEMU_DGU_2R_001_Cx 9, 1895–1896.
 19. Celestino da Silva to António da Câmara, 24 Feb. 1896, ed. Oliveira, *Timor na História de Portugal*, II, p. 365.
 20. Victor Turner, *Dramas, Fields and Metaphors: Symbolic Action in Human Society* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1974), p. 33.
 21. Later nationalist historiography would add consistency to this interpretation, selecting the ‘campaign of 1895 and the death of Captain Câmara’ as ‘biggest disaster’ of the history of Portuguese Timor. J. Simões Martinho, ‘Ocupação Militar de Timor. Resumo Histórico’, in Anonymous (ed.), *Principais Factos da Ocupação Ultramarina (Séculos XIX e XX até à Grande Guerra). Exposição Histórica da Ocupação* (Lisbon: AGC, 1937), pp. 73–5; Martinho, *Timor. Quatro Séculos*, ch. V; Felgas, ‘Como foi Massacrada a Coluna do Capitão Câmara’; Oliveira, *Timor na História de Portugal*, II.
 22. The kingdom of Forém, for instance, was remembered as the place where ‘the five officers lost their heads’. Dore, ‘Apontamentos’, 792.
 23. I here draw inspiration from Turner’s notions of ‘reintegration’ and ‘redressive actions’ as moments in social dramas: cf. Turner, *Dramas, Fields and Metaphors*, pp. 39–42.
 24. The news reached the governor’s ears in the night of 9 to 10 September while he was in Aileu about to attack Manufai. Celestino da Silva to GMT, 13 Dec. 1895, Macao, AHM, AC, P-1547.
 25. Celestino da Silva to GMT, 20 Sep. 1895, Lisbon, AHU, ACL_SEMU_DGU_2R_001_Cx 9, 1895–1896. For a fictional account see Duarte, *O Rei de Timor*, pp. 47–9.
 26. Celestino da Silva to Francisco Duarte, 11 Sep. 1895, Lisbon, AHU, Macao and Timor, ACL_SEMU_DGU_RM_005_Cx 1, 1890–1899.
 27. Celestino da Silva to Francisco Duarte, 24 June 1896, ed. Martinho, *Timor. Quatro Séculos*, p. 81.

28. Governo de Timor. Ofício n. 1327. Confidencial, Oct. 1896, Lisbon, Private archives of Celestino da Silva's relatives, Commandant Guilherme Alpoim Calvão.
29. In the assault on Dato-Tolo, for example, captain Elvaim remarked: the enemy 'shot only against us, the white men'. Francisco Duarte to Celestino da Silva, 31 Aug. 1896, in Silva, *Relatório das Operações de Guerra*, p. 60.
30. After the Maubara war of 1893, Dionizio Barretto, captain of *moradores*, was commended by governor Forjaz 'for having prevented that the head of [Portuguese] second-lieutenant Pio was cut off, getting wounded and at the risk of his own life in front of the village Baner-bê'. Cipriano Forjaz to MSNMU, 15 Nov. 1893, Lisbon, Macao and Timor, ACL_SEMU_DGU_1R_002_1894, Cx 8. I thank Janet Gunter for this reference. See also the legend reported in Ezequiel Enes Pascoal, 'A Morte do Buan. Conto', *Seara*, II (1950), 172–3.
31. 'O massacre de Timor', ed. D. Júlia da Câmara, Notícias acerca da morte do Herói Eduardo Inácio da Câmara, Rinchoa, CMS/CMLC.
32. Fonseca, 'Timor', 577–8.
33. Marshall Sahlins, 'The Return of the Event, Again: With Reflection on the Beginnings of the Great Fijian War of 1843 to 1855 between the Kingdoms of Ban and Rewa', in A. Biersack (ed.), *Clio in Oceania. Toward a Historical Anthropology* (Washington and London: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1994), pp. 37–99.
34. Cf. Yves Léonard, 'I—A Ideia Colonial, Olhares Cruzados (1890–1930)', in F. Bettencourt and K. Chauduri (ed.), *História da Expansão Portuguesa* (Lisbon: Círculo de Leitores, 1998) IV, pp. 521–35.
35. GMT to MSNMU, 9 Oct. 1895, Lisbon, AHU, ACL_SEMU_DGU_2R_001_Cx 9, 1895–1896.
36. '[A]s always', a Lisbon reporter complained, 'the Portuguese newspapers are the last to know about what happens in our colonies; it does not surprise us that the *Times* is well informed.' Before getting to Macao or Lisbon, news from Timor were often first made public at the Dutch ports where some people understood Portuguese, and sooner or later occurrences in the island could appear in the foreign newspapers of Hong Kong or Makassar. 'Revolta em Timor', ed. D. Júlia da Câmara, Notícias acerca da morte do Herói Eduardo Inácio da Câmara, Rinchoa, CMS/CMLC.
37. 'Timor', 2 Oct. 1895; 'Os graves acontecimentos em Timor', [Oct. 1895], ed. D. Júlia da Câmara, Notícias acerca da morte do Herói Eduardo Inácio da Câmara, Rinchoa, CMS/CMLC.
38. For a list with the names of the dead, see Relação nominal dos officiaes de 1ª e 2ª linha e dos officiaes inferiores trucidados no ataque de Fatumean em 6 de Setembro de 1895, 27 Nov. 1895, Macao, AHM, AC, P-1547.
39. 'A revolta em Timor—Forças trucidadas—Morte do secretário geral do governo—Uma situação grave', [Oct. 1895], ed. D. Júlia da Câmara, Notícias acerca da morte do Herói Eduardo Inácio da Câmara, Rinchoa, CMS/CMLC.
40. Cf. Turner, *Dramas, Fields, and Metaphors*, pp. 38–42.
41. GMT to MSNMU, 9 Oct. 1895, Lisbon, AHU, Macao and Timor, ACL_SEMU_DGU_2R_001_Cx 9, 1895–1896.
42. 'Os graves acontecimentos de Timor', ed. D. Júlia da Câmara, Notícias acerca da morte do Herói Eduardo Inácio da Câmara, Rinchoa, CMS/CMLC.
43. Fonseca, 'Timor', 577.

44. Silva also requested 200 African soldiers from Mozambique. Celestino da Silva to MSNMU, 7 Sep. 1895, Lisbon, AHU, Macao and Timor, ACL_SEMU_DGU_1 Reparticao_002_Cx 9, 1895–1896.
45. Francisco Elvaim to Celestino da Silva, 31 Aug. 1896, in Silva, *Relatório das Operações de Guerra*, p. 63. For similar justifications of the need for punitive violence, see Celestino da Silva to GMT, 18 April 1896, Lisbon, AHU, Macao and Timor, ACL_SEMU_DGU_RM_003, Cx 163, 1895–1899; Celestino da Silva to MSNMU, 7 March 1896, Lisbon, AHU, Macao and Timor, ACL_SEMU_DGU_RM_003, Cx 163, 1895–1899.
46. As a rule, only in the dry season, as seen in Chapter 3, the Portuguese could rely on the *arraiais*. Celestino da Silva to GMT, 13 Oct. 1895, Macao, AHM, AC, P-1547.
47. Governo de Timor. Ofício n. 1327. Confidencial, Oct. 1896, Lisbon, Private archives of Celestino da Silva relatives, Commandant Guilherme Alpoim Calvão.
48. Celestino da Silva to MSNMU, Reservado, 23 Sep. 1897, Lisbon, AHU, Macao and Timor, ACL_SEMU_DGU_1R_002_Cx 10, 1897–1900.
49. Celestino da Silva to MSNMU, 7 Sept. 1896, Lisbon, AHU, Macao and Timor, ACL_SEMU_DGU_1 Reparticao_002_Cx 9, 1895–1896.
50. In his report to the governor, second-lieutenant Francisco Duarte also highlighted the seizure of Brao-Sacca's head at Cová. Celestino da Silva to GMT, 5 Oct. 1896, Lisbon, AHU, Macao and Timor, ACL_SEMU_DGU_1R_002_Cx 9, 1895–1896. Francisco Duarte to Celestino da Silva, 31 Aug. 1896, in Silva, *Relatório das Operações de Guerra*, p. 100.
51. Celestino da Silva to António da Câmara, 24 Feb. 1896, ed. Oliveira, *Timor na História de Portugal*, II, p. 364.
52. Governo de Timor. Ofício n. 1327. Confidencial, Oct. 1896, Lisbon, Private archives of José Celestino da Silva's relatives, Commandant Guilherme Alpoim Calvão.
53. Jacinto Santos e Silva, 'Relatório da campanha contra Lokeo, Fatumean e Dácolo', in Silva, *Relatório das Operações de Guerra*, p. 119.
54. Francisco Duarte to Celestino da Silva, 31 Aug. 1896, in Silva, *Relatório das Operações de Guerra*, p. 95.
55. *Ibid.*, p. 102. See also: Francisco Elvaim to Celestino da Silva, 2 Sep. 1896, in Silva, *Relatório das Operações de Guerra*, p. 63.
56. Silva, *Relatório das Operações de Guerra*, p. 25. [emphasis in the original]
57. According to Felgas, more heads would still be found 'stacked within stone walls' by the Portuguese 16 years later. Felgas, 'Como foi Massacrada a Coluna do Capitão Câmara', 20.
58. Untitled, 11 April 1897, ed. D. Júlia da Câmara, Notícias acerca da morte do Herói Eduardo Inácio da Câmara, Rinchoa, CMS/CMLC.
59. Celestino da Silva to MSNMU. Relatório da campanha contra os povos de Oeste, Lisbon, AHU, Macao and Timor, ACL_SEMU_DGU_RM_005_Cx 1. 1890–1899.
60. For skulls, bones, and severed heads as relics in Western cultural tradition, compare Geary, 'Sacred Commodities: the Circulation of Medieval Relics'; Henschen, *The Human Skull*, pp. 61–3; Quigley, *Skulls and Skeletons*, ch. 1. The severed heads of Christian saints could also take on political and nationalist significations, as it happened with the remains of the St. Oliver Plunkett in the Irish context: cf. Siobhán Kilfeather, 'Oliver Plunkett's Head', *Textual Practice* 16, 2 (2002), 229–48.
61. Silva, *Relatório das Operações de Guerra*, p. 25. [emphasis in the original]

62. Celestino da Silva to António da Câmara, 7 Oct. 1896, ed. Oliveira, *Timor na História de Portugal*, II, pp. 366–7.
63. The holiness with which Câmara's head was endowed was revealed in the greatest care put in the construction of a reliquary (a special box of the finest wood) for storing and preserving the head during the journey. The practice bears analogy with the practices of preserving and transporting the heads of Catholic martyrs and saints. See, for example, the history of St. Oliver Plunkett's relics: Frank Donnelly, *Until the Storm Passes: St. Oliver Plunkett, the Archbishop of Armagh Who Refused to Go Away* (new edn, Drogheda: St Peter's Church, 2000).
64. See Hallam and Hockey, *Death, Memory, and Material Culture*, p. 45.
65. 'Capitão Câmara', 12 April 1897, ed. D. Júlia da Câmara, Notícias acerca da morte do Herói Eduardo Inácio da Câmara, Rinchoa, CMS/CMLC.
66. Ibid.
67. Untitled, undated, ed. D. Júlia da Câmara, Notícias acerca da morte do Herói Eduardo Inácio da Câmara, Rinchoa, CMS/CMLC.
68. See 'La cabeza de un bravo', and 'La cabeza de un valiente', ed. D. Júlia da Câmara, Notícias acerca da morte do Herói Eduardo Inácio da Câmara, Rinchoa, CMS/CMLC.
69. Ramon Auñon y Villalon, 'La Cabeza del Capitan Cámara', *Anais do Club Militar Naval*, 4, XXVII (1897), 233–5.
70. Roy Porter, *Flesh in the Age of Reason: the Modern Foundations of Body and Soul* (London: Allen Lane, 2003), p. xiv.
71. Cf. Ruth Richardson, *Death, Dissection and the Destitute* (2nd edn, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000), p. XV.
72. Cf. Winans, 'The Head of the King'; and for an insightful argument in this direction on the connections between 'savage' enemies, skull-collecting, and military practices in the Victorian period, see Simon J. Harrison, 'Skulls and Scientific Collecting in the Victorian Military: Keeping the Enemy Dead in British Frontier Warfare', *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 50, 1 (2008), 285–303.
73. Celestino da Silva to António da Câmara, 7 Oct. 1896, ed. Oliveira, *Timor na História de Portugal*, II, p. 366.
74. The Natural History Museum and the Museum of the Geographical Society of Lisbon hold no Timorese skulls in their current collections and it is likely that none entered the collections in the past. Notice of a gift of Timorese remains to the Museum of Mineralogy and Geology in Lisbon appeared only in 1930–33. The remains were collected from graves by captain Correia de Campos. Cristina Neto, personal communication, August 2002; Hugo Cardoso, personal communication, November 2004; Ana Cristina Roque and Livia Ferrão, 'Notas para um Inventário do Património Histórico-Cultural de Timor Lorosa'e', *Anais de História de Além-Mar*, II (2001), 423–48.
75. In 1923, anthropologists studied the head of a Timorese rebel 'decapitated by the *arraiais* during the war of 1912'. The head was sent by the governor of Timor, Paiva Gomes, to the anatomical museum of Porto University. Joaquim Pires de Lima and Constâncio Mascarenhas, 'Contribuição para o Estudo Antropológico de Timor', *Arquivo de Anatomia e Antropologia* (1925), 458.
76. Does, 'Apontamentos', 820.
77. Ibid., 798.
78. Lacerda was twice governor of Timor in 1873–76 and 1878–80. Government Council of Macao and Timor to MSNMU, 20 Nov. 1879, Lisbon, AHU, Macao

and Timor, ACL_SEMU_DGU_1R_002_Cx 1, 1879–1880. For Remédios's political manoeuvres and alliances with the Portuguese military, see António Joaquim de Medeiros to Bishop of Macao, 20 July 1881, Lisbon, AHU, Macao and Timor, ACL_SEMU_DGU_1R_002_Cx 2, 1881.

79. Ibid.

80. The court was presided over by a former Timorese customs official hurriedly appointed to the post by governor Carvalho.

81. The original team arrived between 1877 and 1878, and comprised 11 European missionaries (including Medeiros). See João Gomes Ferreira to Governor of Timor, March 1884, ed. António José Boavida, *Annaes das Missões Ultramarinas*, 1 (1889), 76–7. For biographies of these missionaries, see also António Joaquim de Medeiros to Bishop of Macao, 3 June 1881, Lisbon, AHU, Macao and Timor, ACL_SEMU_DGU_1R_002_Cx 2, 1881. For the Seminary of Sernache see Cândido da Silva Teixeira, *O Collegio das Missões em Sernache do Bom Jardim. Traços monographicos* (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional, 1905).

82. João Gomes Ferreira to MSNMU, 1 July 1881, Lisbon, AHU, Macao and Timor, ACL_SEMU_DGU_1R_002_Cx 2, 1881.

83. People found guilty of *suanguice* could, for example, be buried alive, impaled, or crushed by a tree. *Suanguie*, a term peculiar to the Portuguese spoken in colonial Timor, may be taken as equivalent to the Tetum term *buan*. *Buan* or *suanguie* designated a dangerous sort of quasi-spiritual entities, 'witches', which usually took the human form as harmless inhabitants of the community. They could cause their neighbours' death by 'eating their souls'. On *suanguie* killing see Castro, 'Résumé Historique de l'Établissement Portugais à Timor', 486–7; Forbes, *A Naturalist's Wanderings*, pp. 438, 473. For the Tetum meaning of *buan*, see Hicks, *Tetum Ghosts and Kin*, pp. 41–2; see also the entries for *buan* and *suange* in Costa, *Dicionário de Tetum-Português*.

84. António Joaquim de Medeiros to Bishop of Macao, 3 June 1881, Lisbon, AHU, Macao and Timor, ACL_SEMU_DGU_1R_002_Cx 2, 1881.

85. Ibid.

86. For *suanguice* crimes, in 1875–76 Lacerda sentenced Remédios and several *principais* to fines. In 1879 Lacerda also claimed that the 'supposed rights of life and death of the *régulos* over their miserable subjects' were the cause of 'constant atrocities, such as those at the origin of the rebellion of Laleia'. See Hugo de Lacerda to GMT, 11 Dec. 1878 and 12 Aug. 1879, Lisbon, AHU, Macao and Timor, ACL_SEMU_DGU_1R_002_Cx 1, 1879–1880; João Gomes Ferreira to MSNMU, 1 July 1881, Lisbon, AHU, Macao and Timor, ACL_SEMU_DGU_1R_002_Cx 2, 1881.

87. Ibid.

88. D. Manuel Salvador da Costa dos Remédios to Governor of Timor [1881], Lisbon, AHU, Macao and Timor, ACL_SEMU_DGU_1R_002_Cx 2, 1881.

89. Cf. António Joaquim de Medeiros to D. Manuel, Bishop of Macao, 3 June 1881, Lisbon, AHU, Macao and Timor, ACL_SEMU_DGU_1R_002_Cx 2, 1881; João Gomes Ferreira to Governor of Timor, March 1884, ed. A. J. Boavida, *Annaes das Missões Ultramarinas*, 1 (1889), 77.

90. Cf. D. Manuel Salvador da Costa dos Remédios to Governor of Timor [1881], Lisbon, AHU, Macao and Timor, ACL_SEMU_DGU_1R_002_Cx 2, 1881.

91. Ibid.

92. Governor Lacerda even suspected of Dutch conspiracies, while for a time it was assumed that Remédios intended to expel the Portuguese from Timor

- for good, a fact that gave the conflict the air of 'anti-Portuguese' rebellion and raised alarm in Macao, Lisbon, and abroad. Cf. for example: Carlos E. Correia da Silva to MSNMU, 13 Feb. 1879, Lisbon, AHU, Macao and Timor, ACL_SEMU_DGU_1R_002_Cx 1, 1879–1880; Hugo de Lacerda to MSNMU, 13 April 1879 and 9 June 1879, Lisbon, AHU, Macao and Timor, ACL_SEMU_DGU_1R_002_Cx 1, 1879–1880.
93. Turner, *Dramas, Fields, and Metaphors*, p. 15.
 94. The missionaries accused the governor and some Portuguese officers of manipulating the trial by threatening the prosecution's indigenous witnesses and attempting to bribe Medeiros with 3,000 rupees. But it was of no avail. António Joaquim de Medeiros to Bishop of Macao, 5 June 1881, Lisbon, AHU, Macao and Timor, ACL_SEMU_DGU_1R_002_Cx 2, 1881.
 95. Cardoso de Carvalho to MSNMU, 11 April 1881, Lisbon, AHU, Macao and Timor, ACL_SEMU_DGU_1R_002_Cx 2, 1881.
 96. The kingdom of Laleia was extinguished by governor Lacerda in November 1879. Cardoso de Carvalho, Portaria n. 25, Governo de Timor, 1 March 1881; and Portaria n. 34, Governo de Timor, 9 April 1881, Macao, AHM, Cópias das colecções das portarias do Governo de Timor, referente ao ano de 1881, AC/17/686/A.G12, P-274.
 97. Cardoso de Carvalho to MSNMU, 11 April 1881, Lisbon, AHU, Macao and Timor, ACL_SEMU_DGU_1R_002_Cx 2, 1881.
 98. Dore, 'Apontamentos', 798, 820.
 99. See José da Graça to MSNMU, 5 July 1881, Lisbon, AHU, Macao and Timor, ACL_SEMU_DGU_1R_002_Cx 2, 1881.
 100. Joaquim José da Graça to Governor of Timor, 9 May 1881, Macao, AHM, AC/27855, 1879–1891.
 101. Júlio P. Carvalho, Parecer da Direcção Geral do Ultramar sobre o conflito que opõe o Governador de Timor ao Superior Interino da Missão, 10 Sept. 1881, Lisbon, AHU, Macao and Timor, ACL_SEMU_DGU_1R_002_Cx 2, 1881. See also Joaquim José da Graça to MSNMU, 19 Oct. 1881, Lisbon, AHU, Macao and Timor, ACL_SEMU_DGU_1R_002_Cx 2, 1881.
 102. For these reasons, Graça recommended Lisbon to replace such ill-behaved missionaries by others, less problematic to district administration. Joaquim José da Graça to MSNMU, 20 July 1881 and 3 Aug. 1881, Lisbon, AHU, Macao and Timor, ACL_SEMU_DGU_1R_002_Cx 2, 1881.
 103. See Manuel Teixeira, *Macao e a sua Diocese. Missões de Timor* (Macao: Tip. da Missão do Padroado, 1974), p. 48; Francisco M. Fernandes, *D. António Joaquim de Medeiros (Bispo de Macao) e as Missões de Timor 1884–1897* (Macao: Universidade de Macau, 2000), ch. V.
 104. D. Manuel dos Remédios died suddenly of natural causes on 17 July 1881. João Gomes Ferreira to MSNMU, 1 July 1881, Lisbon, AHU, Macao and Timor, ACL_SEMU_DGU_1R_002_Cx 2, 1881.
 105. Carvalho obliterated the reference to the Holy Gospels from the vassalage oath and Remédios swore obedience to the Freedom of Cults. This change also caused the missionaries' rage. See António Joaquim de Medeiros to Bishop of Macao, 20 July 1881, Lisbon, AHU, Macao and Timor, ACL_SEMU_DGU_1R_002_Cx 2, 1881; J. José da Graça to MSNMU, 5 July 1881, Lisbon, AHU, Macao and Timor, ACL_SEMU_DGU_1R_002_Cx 2, 1881.
 106. For example: Cardoso de Carvalho to GMT, 30 June 1881, Lisbon, AHU, Macao and Timor, ACL_SEMU_DGU_1R_002_Cx 2, 1881.

107. Gomes Ferreira also addressed a dramatic *Reclamação* (Reclamation) to the Minister and the King of Portugal. João Gomes Ferreira to MSNMU, 1 July 1881, Lisbon, AHU, Macao and Timor, ACL_SEMU_DGU_1R_002_Cx 2, 1881. For letters addressed to Rev. Inácio Pinto, *Procurador dos Bens das Missões Portuguesas na China* in Singapore see Teixeira, *Macau e a sua Diocese*, pp. 62–87.
108. D. Manoel to MSNMU, 8 June 1881, Lisbon, AHU, Macao and Timor, ACL_SEMU_DGU_1R_002_Cx 2, 1881.
109. Rev. Medeiros addressed at least another extensive report to the Bishop on the activities of the Mission and the drama of Laleia. António Joaquim de Medeiros to Bishop of Macao, 20 July 1881, Lisbon, AHU, Macao and Timor, ACL_SEMU_DGU_1R_002_Cx 2, 1881.
110. Note that no reference was made by Medeiros to Coimbra University as museum destination, thereby suggesting that the Medeiros Committee intended the collections either to be sent to Lisbon, or to stay in Dili—a fact that adds to the above argument on the contingency of the trajectory of the skulls to Coimbra. António Joaquim de Medeiros to Bishop of Macao, 3 June 1881, Lisbon, AHU, Macao and Timor, ACL_SEMU_DGU_1R_002_Cx 2, 1881.
111. Ibid.
112. This remark, a vested criticism to Carvalho, might explain the deficient conservation work done on the Timorese collections, later to cause complaints in Macao, as seen in Chapter 4. Ibid.
113. Ibid.
114. The date of this official letter does not appear in the copy. It is very likely however that the letter was sent to Carvalho during the month of February 1881, between the dissolution of the Committee and Medeiros's departure to Macao. António Joaquim de Medeiros to Cardoso de Carvalho, Governor of Timor, [Feb.] 1881, cit. in Medeiros to Bishop of Macao, 3 June 1881, Lisbon, AHU, Macao and Timor, ACL_SEMU_DGU_1R_002_Cx 2, 1881.
115. Ibid.
116. 'The knowledge of the silex weapons used today by some peoples in Timor', Medeiros remarked, 'can be of great service to the comparative studies of Beukher [sic] [Boucher] de Perthes, and to those exposed in the *Blackwood's Magazine*, and therefore shed some further light on facts surrounded with considerable obscurity, such as the antediluvian.' Ibid.
117. For example: Thomas, *Out of Time*, ch. 6; Helen Gardner, 'Gathering for God: George Brown and the Christian Economy in the Collection of Artefacts', in O'Hanlon and Welch (eds), *Hunting the Gatherers*, pp. 35–54.
118. See above, Chapter 5.
119. Manoel Augusto de Sousa Pires de Lima, *As Missões Ultramarinas. Discursos Pronunciados na Câmara dos Senhores Deputados (Sessões de 14, 15 e 16 de Maio de 1879)* (Porto: Livr. Internacional, 1879), p. 60. Cf. Henrique de Barros Gomes, 'Discurso proferido na sessão de 6 de Maio de 1887 pelo Ministro dos Negócios Estrangeiros', *Annaes das Missões Ultramarinas*, II (1890), 58–94; Manuel Pinheiro Chagas, 'Reforma do Collegio das missões. Relatório do Exmo Ministro da Marinha, 3 Dezembro 1884', *Annaes das Missões Ultramarinas*, I (1889), 1–2.
120. *Annaes das Missões Portuguezas Ultramarinas*, 18 (1871), 280–2. See also António José Boavida, 'Os Missionários Portuguezes e a sessão da Sociedade de Geographia', *Annaes das Missões Ultramarinas*, 1 (1889), 23.

121. António Joaquim de Medeiros to Governor of Timor, [Feb.] 1881, cit. in Medeiros to Bishop of Macao, 3 June 1881, Lisbon, AHU, Macao and Timor, ACL_SEMU_DGU_1R_002_Cx 2, 1881.
122. It is worth noting that, according to Medeiros, the original collection included also the skulls' lower jaws. Yet, these never arrived in Coimbra. They possibly became lost on the way to Macao, during the convoluted trip of the cases.
123. Note, for instance, that Medeiros's regretted the physical condition of the bones (not properly dried up by the 'natives'). Instructions for collectors in that period, in fact, express concern with the preparation of anatomical specimens. See for example: Paul Broca, *Instructions Générales pour les Recherches Anthropologiques à faire sur le Vivant* (Paris: G. Masson, 1879), pp. 8–25.
124. The term *kaladi* (as well as apparently its counterpart *firaku*) and correspondent anthropological stereotypes were common throughout the colonial period. Cf. Artur de Sá, 'Caladis de Timor', *BGC*, 302–3 (1950), 35–45; Traube, *Cosmology and Social Life*, p. 49.
125. António Joaquim de Medeiros to Bishop of Macao, 20 July 1881, Lisbon, AHU, ACL_SEMU_DGU_1R_002_Cx 2, 1881.
126. Joaquim José da Graça to MSNMU, 15 April 1880, Lisbon, AHU, Macao and Timor, ACL_SEMU_DGU_1R_002_Cx 1, 1879–1880.
127. This Battalion was composed of 100 men and arrived in February 1879. Carlos Eugénio Correia da Silva to MSNMU, 13 Feb. 1879, Lisbon, AHU, Macao and Timor, ACL_SEMU_DGU_1R_002_Cx 1, 1879–1880.
128. See 'Hugo de Lacerda to GMT, 13 Abril 1879', *BPMT*, XXV, 23 (1879), 124; Visconde de Paço d'Arcos to MSNMU, 19 July 1879, Lisbon, AHU, Macao and Timor, ACL_SEMU_DGU_1R_002_Cx 1, 1879–1880.
129. Júlio P. Carvalho, Parecer da Direcção Geral do Ultramar sobre o conflito que opõe o Governador de Timor ao Superior Interino da Missão, 10 Sep. 1881, Lisbon, AHU, Macao and Timor, ACL_SEMU_DGU_1R_002_Cx 2, 1881.
130. Hugo de Lacerda to GMT, 27 Dec. 1879, Lisbon, AHU, Macao and Timor, ACL_SEMU_DGU_RM_003_Cx 3 1877–1882.
131. For the importance of purification gestures in colonial headhunting, see Chapter 4.
132. Medeiros claimed that the Committee members did not have a chance to make lengthy collecting trips to the interior and had to stay in Dili. A. Joaquim de Medeiros to Governor of Timor, [Feb.] 1881, cit. in Medeiros to Bishop of Macao, 3 June 1881, Lisbon, AHU, Macao and Timor, ACL_SEMU_DGU_1R_002_Cx 2, 1881.
133. Indigenous auxiliaries could give skulls taken in punitive campaigns to Dutch agents. The anthropologist Ten Kate possibly collected a few skulls in 1890–92 through these means. Cf. Meyners d'Estrey, 'Nouvelles du Dr Ten Kate à Timor', *L'Anthropologie*, III (1892), 124; Kate, 'Contribution à l'Anthropologie de Quelques peuples d'Océanie', 279 n. 2; D cit. in McWilliam, 'Severed Heads that Germinate the State', p. 128.
134. The British naturalist Henry Forbes in Timor in 1882 also complained of having been forbidden by the Timorese to collect botanical specimens from *lulik* sites: 'the botanist cannot break or cut a single branch.' Forbes, *A Naturalist's Wanderings*, pp. 454, 475.
135. António Joaquim de Medeiros to Governor of Timor, [Feb.] 1881, cit. in Medeiros to Bishop of Macao, 3 June 1881, Lisbon, AHU, Macao and Timor, ACL_SEMU_DGU_1R_002_Cx 2, 1881.

136. See João Gomes Ferreira to Bishop of Macao, 11 Aug. 1881, Lisbon, AHU, Macao and Timor, ACL_SEMU_DGU_1R_002_Cx 2, 1881. The authority of Catholic missionaries as *nai lulik* of outsider origins was legitimated by mythic narrations and legends. See Ezequiel Enes Pascoal, 'Curiosa Lenda', *Seara*, 3–4 (1950), 41.
137. *Régulo* and *principais* of Manatuto to Governor of Timor, 9 July 1881, Lisbon, AHU, Macao and Timor, ACL_SEMU_DGU_1R_002_Cx 2, 1881.
138. Various Portuguese army officers described the rites in considerable detail. Cf. A. Joaquim Garcia to GMT, 19 Oct. 1870, Macao, AHM, AC, P-64; Vaquinhas, 'Timor. Usos—Superstições de Guerra', 476–8; Eduardo da Câmara to Celestino da Silva, 25 May 1895, Lisbon, AHU, Macao and Timor, ACL_SEMU_DGU_RM_005_Cx 1, 1890–1899; Correia, *Timor de Lés a Lés*, pp. 27–31, 36–40.
139. Castro, *As Possessões*, p. 317.
140. For the political activities of Dominican friars, cf. Matos, *Timor Português 1515–1769*, pp. 45–77; Felgas, *Timor Português*, pp. 224, 312–3; Castro, *As Possessões*, p. xvii; Boxer, 'Portuguese Timor: a Rough Island Story, 1515–1960', p. 352.
141. António Joaquim de Medeiros to Bishop of Macao, 20 July 1881, Lisbon, AHU, Macao and Timor, ACL_SEMU_DGU_1R_002_Cx 2, 1881.
142. António Joaquim de Medeiros, '[Visita a prisioneiros em Macau], Feb. 1888', *Annaes das Missões Ultramarinas*, 2 (1890), 149.
143. The delivery of heads to the priests by Timorese warriors might have involved an intermediary. As seen in Chapter 4, it was the right of war chiefs to receive the heads as a tribute from the *asua'ins*. In this context it is also possible that the missionaries received the skulls from the *régulo* of Motael and chief of *moradores* Albino Ribeiro, allied to the government. In support of this hypothesis is the acknowledgement that Medeiros made in his *ofício* of 1881 to the effective collaboration of Ribeiro in the collecting of objects. A. J. de Medeiros to Governor of Timor, [Feb.] 1881, cit. in Medeiros to Bishop of Macao, 3 June 1881, Lisbon, AHU, Macao and Timor, ACL_SEMU_DGU_1R_002_Cx 2, 1881. The collaboration of Albino Ribeiro was also important to Henry Forbes's botanical collecting in 1882, who acknowledged his support. Forbes, *A Naturalist's Wanderings*, pp. 424, 485.
144. Cf. for a recent state of the arts, O' Hanlon and Welsch (ed.), *Hunting the Gatherers*. See also Chris Gosden and Chantal Knowles, *Collecting Colonialism: Material Culture and Colonial Change* (Oxford: Berg, 2001).
145. For the importance of indigenous agency, the seminal reference is Thomas, *Entangled Objects*.
146. In Australia, or North America, human skulls often reached European hands as the result of grave-robbing and other forms of colonial violence. But they could also be traded with Euro-Americans or gifted by indigenous people to colonial agents, as some Melanesian examples or the case of the Shuar suggest. Cf. Turnbull, 'Rare Work Amongst the Professors'; Bank, 'Of "Native Skulls" and "Noble Caucasians"'; Thomas, *Skull Wars*; Markus Schindlbeck, 'The Art of the Head-Hunters: Collecting Activity and Recruitment in New Guinea at the Beginning of the Twentieth-Century', in H. Hiery and J. Mackenzie (ed.), *European Impact and Pacific Influence: British and German Colonial Policy in the Pacific Islands and the Indigenous Response* (London: Tauris Academic Studies, 1997), pp. 31–43. On the Shuar headhunting and shrunken heads trade, see

- Steel, 'Trade Goods and Jívaro Warfare: The Shuar 1850–1957, and the Achuar, 1940–1978'; Rubinstein, 'Circulation, Accumulation, and the Power of Shuar Shrunken Heads'.
147. For the sociomaterial notion of translation here implied, see for example: Michel Callon, 'Some Elements of a Sociology of Translation: Domestication of the Scallops and the Fishermen of St. Brieuc Bay', in John Law (ed.), *Power, Action and Belief: A New Sociology of Knowledge* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1986), pp. 196–233; Latour, *La Science en Action*.
 148. Cf. Harrison, 'Skulls and Scientific Collecting in the Victorian Military'.

Conclusion

1. Cf. Thomas, *Entangled Objects*.
2. Georg Simmel, 'The Problem of Sociology', in *On Individuality and Social Forms. Selected Writings*, ed. and trans. Donald Levine (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1971), p. 24.
3. Robert E. Elson, 'International Commerce, the State and Society: Economic and Social Change', in Tarling (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Southeast Asia*, II, p. 179.
4. Geertz, *Negara*, p. 97. Clifford Geertz, however, did not elaborate on the conceptual significance of the metaphor of parasitism used in this passage.
5. The late European imperial expansion might have not broken completely with former imperial practices of co-opting indigenous classes and seeking association with local systems. Cf. Frederic Cooper, *Colonialism in Question: Theory, Knowledge, History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005), p. 28.
6. Another example would be early British attempts to govern India according to what was perceived as indigenous customs and practices. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, British officials had to be present and in effect provide the official legitimacy for sati or widow burnings until 1829 when the practice was eventually abolished. See Lata Mani, *Contentious Traditions: The Debate on Sati in Colonial India* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998); and Andrea Major, *Pious Flames: European Encounters with Sati (1500–1830)* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2006). I thank Kim Wagner for these references and the comparative point.
7. Indigenous slave-raiding in Southeast Asia, for instance, is said to have increased as a result of British demand for local products in the early nineteenth century. Cf. Elson, 'International Commerce, the State and Society', p. 136; Rodney Needham, *Sumba and the Slave-trade* (Clayton: Monash University Centre of Southeast Asian Studies, 1983).
8. For an overview of African societies and the Atlantic slave-trade, cf. John Iliffe, *Africans: The History of a Continent* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), ch. 7.
9. Martin Klein, *Slavery and Colonial Rule in French West Africa* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), p. 35.
10. *Ibid.*, ch. 5.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 125.
12. Michael Taussig, *Shamanism, Colonialism and the Wild Man. A Study in Terror and Healing* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), p. 62.
13. New scholarship, in fact, is appearing in this direction. See Geoffrey Bowker, *Memory Practices in the Sciences* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2006).

14. See Deanne Henschant, 'Practicalities in the Return of Remains: The Importance of Provenance and the Question of Unprovenanced Remains', in Fforde, Hubert and Turnbull (eds), *The Dead and their Possessions* (London: Routledge, 2001), pp. 312–16.
15. Working Group on Human Remains in Museum Collections, *Report of the Working Group on Human Remains in Museum Collections*, 2003, http://www.culture.gov.uk/reference_library (updated February 2007), p. 147.

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