

# 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 Áfricas. 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 Abril 1893, Lisbon, AHU, Macau 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', *BSGL*, 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 Ranés 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, Discripcao 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. Cf. 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. Poemas 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<sup>a</sup> linha), 48 *moradores* (or 2<sup>a</sup> 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 MSNMMU, 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, BPAR, 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* (Commandator) 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 Brozton 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 Jivaro 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!?)* (Famalicao: 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 joined 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*, pp. 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 Etamad, *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, 'Hostipitality', *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 Moxico, 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; *boôte* = 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 *arraiais*. 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 Districto de Timor* (Macao: Typ. Commercial, 1891), p. 19.
59. Dores, '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 *estylo* (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, *Macau 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 ceremonials 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, Macao and Timor, ACL\_SEMU\_DGU\_1R\_002\_Cx 2, 1881.
120. Hugo de Lacerda to GMT, Jan. 1875, Lisbon, AHU, Macao 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, Macao 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 Loeko 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 Saleminck, 'Introduction: Five Theses on Ethnography as Colonial Practice', *History and Anthropology*, 8, 1–4 (1994), 1–34; Peter Pels and Oscar Saleminck (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, Macao 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 headhunters' 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], *Quatorze Anos 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; Dores, '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, *Quatorze Anos 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, *Quatorze Anos 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, *Quatorze Anos 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. Péliissier, *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-Description 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 Botanico 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 Colecções 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 Galdes, *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. Dores 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 Dores, *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'Attachement', 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. Sucek, 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 anymore, 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 19<sup>th</sup> 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, Inventible 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 Ciências 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 Aarchéologie 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 Ciências 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<sup>me</sup> Session à Lisbonne 1880* (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional, 1884), pp. 291–305; Paula e Oliveira, *Anthropologia Prehistórica. As Raças dos Kjoekkenmoeddings de Muge* (Lisbon: Popular, 1881); Paula e Oliveira, 'Notes sur les Ossements Humains Existants dans le Musée de la Commission 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 Foudouce, 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: Apon-tamentos 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<sup>ème</sup> 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 Ciências 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<sup>ème</sup> 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<sup>ème</sup> 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 Geraldès, *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. Gerald, *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

- Ostéologues', 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 coleção ethnographica do Museu em Novembro de 1881, Coimbra, AMAUC.
  110. Geraldês, *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 Coleção 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 Collecções Osteológicas', in AAVV, *Cem Anos de Antropologia em Coimbra*, p. 80.
  118. During the period of the collections (1878–82), Côte-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 Vrolijk*, 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 Gerales 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 Coleção de Timor do Museu Antropológico da Universidade de Coimbra' (B. A. dissertation, University of Coimbra, 1999).
131. J. G. Barros e Cunha, *Notícia 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 Anthropologia 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 Sobre 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 Crawford, 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 Crawford, *A Descriptive Dictionary of the Indian Islands & Adjacent Countries* (London: Bradbury & Evans, 1856), p. 433. See also Crawford, 'On the Connexion Between Ethnology and Physical Geography', 11; J. Crawford, '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 'Alfourous' 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 Goelette le Casuarina, pendant les années 1800, 1801, 1802, 1803, et 1804* (Paris: de l'imprimerie impériale, 1808), I, p. 144.
26. The term Alfourous, 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. Baillièere 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. Baillièere, 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 27<sup>th</sup> 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, 'Notícia 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, 'Notícia 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 Indigena 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*, I (1899), 428.
  64. Mendes Correia, 'Timorenses de Okussi e Ambeno (Notas Antropológicas sobre Observações de Fonseca Cardoso),' *Anais Científicos 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', *TSPA*, 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', *TSPA*, 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 Morais, *Subsídios para a História de Timor* (Bastorá: A. F. de Morais, 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 Constâncio 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 Timorese (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'authenticité 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 *arraiais* 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, Fauterj, 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’. Dores, ‘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 stonewalls' 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 Câmara', *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 Lúvia 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 *arraiaís* 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. *Suangue*, a term peculiar to the Portuguese spoken in colonial Timor, may be taken as equivalent to the Tetum term *buan*. *Buan* or *suangue* 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 *suangue* 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. Dores, '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, *Macao 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 Shrunk 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. Brieuç 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](http://www.culture.gov.uk/reference_library) (updated February 2007), p. 147.

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