# *Timor-Leste (Former Portuguese East Timor)*

## From Colonial Anthropology to an Anthropology of Colonialism

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The bond between colonialism and anthropology has always been controversial. To be generous, anthropology emerged as the child of the Enlightenment, but it is also true that the discipline served as the handmaiden of colonial expansion, domination, and disempowerment of subject peoples. Since Talal Asad's 1973 book, *Anthropology and the Colonial Encounter*, few would disagree that the anthropology of non-Western peoples is firmly embedded in European expansion. Even so, Asad argues, the role of anthropologists in maintaining structures of imperial domination were actually limited alongside the work of missionaries, merchants, and administrators, especially given the amount of trivial and esoteric knowledge they collected. That is not to deny that colonialism abetted the advance of anthropologists into the field and, in a more significant manner, Asad emphasizes, European power as discourse and practice "was always part of the reality anthropologists sought to understand" (1991: 315). Here Asad is observing that colonial anthropology as it developed was part and parcel of a grand project of transmutation in which old ways were replaced by new. As widely acknowledged in writings on colonial anthropology, we also should not ignore the contribution of amateurs to the production of knowledge, but our major point of reference is the colonial state.

If, by the latter half of the nineteenth century, European colonies in Africa and Asia were mainly seen as sources of revenue to develop the metropole, by the late 1870's onwards, the extraction of revenues was overshadowed by the need for metropolitan manufacturers to find outlets in the colonies. While metropolitan and foreign capital trickled into Portugal's wealthier colonies such as

São Tomé and southern Mozambique, the colonies were also placed in an extremely protectionist environment. Especially after the 1910 republican revolution in Portugal, the state intervened more strongly to develop plantation sectors based on migrant labor—coffee in Timor—while regulating the petty commodity production of peasant producers. But to achieve this goal, autonomous tributary peasant societies were necessarily brought with violence into exchange processes involving forced deliveries and taxation. In Portuguese Africa and Timor alike, the pacification project intensified. In Timor, peasant resistance to colonial corvées and taxation led to inter-generational rebellions, only crushed by colonial forces in 1911, although with a major recurrence in 1959 (Clarence-Smith, 1979: 12–20; Gunn, 1999: 191–92).

In his study of peasants and capitalism in southern Angola, British historian W. J. Clarence-Smith rejects the school of historiography which contends that Portuguese colonialism was not economically motivated and that palpable lack of economic returns proved a lack of economic motive (1979: 3–4). After all, colonies were seen by Europeans as long-term speculative investments. We do not intend to test this thesis against the experience of Timor, in any case economically marginal alongside the riches of southern Africa, but neither was Timor exempt from the ideological underpinnings of the colonial state such as came to be expressed in the long-lived Portuguese Estado Novo (1926–74). Elsewhere I have described this broader system of protective paternalism in Timor under the rubric of "culture, control, and dissuasion" (Gunn, 1999: 209–22), implying a concerted effort, on the part of the colonial state, not only to better understand local societies and tributary relations, but to appropriate such knowledge in the interest of administrative expediency. Colonial ethnography, such as it was, would also play a large part in socializing the colonial "other" to metropolitan audiences through such devices as museology, displays, and colonial exhibitions.

Situated at the eastern extremity of the sprawling Indonesian archipelago, first contacted by Portuguese mariners from the early sixteenth century, Timor island eventually came to the attention of Europe through the writings of such Victorian-era bio-determinists as Wallace, but would endure almost one hundred years isolation before its "opening up" to non-Portuguese investigators. By contrast, both mainland and island Southeast Asia became a fruitful

field of investigation, not only empirically but also in the generation of theory for theory's sake (King & Wilder, 2003). Besides British, French, and Dutch colonial experience in Southeast Asia, Japanese, Chinese, and other experiences are all well chronicled (Van Bremen & Shimizu, 1999). Surprisingly, Portuguese colonial ethnography and the case of Timor is generally absent from this list.

Even today, Portuguese colonial anthropology is less well known in the English-speaking world, and only with the collapse of the dictatorship in 1974 did Portuguese language studies openly engage the colonialism debate, just as Portuguese anthropology emerged in the post-1974 period as a largely reborn profession. The last two decades have seen an increasingly sophisticated literature emerge in the Portuguese language on the colonial anthropology debate (Pereira, 1986; Gallo, 1988; Leonard, 1997; Moutinho, 2000). It is also true, as Ricardo Roque (2001) has written, that the new autonomous Portuguese anthropology was eager to accuse earlier physical anthropologists of complicity with the imperial state. Even so, as discussed below, we can also observe the emergence in popular imagination, at least, of an "empire lost" theme, although this is hardly reflected in anthropological circles.

In the present era, postcolonial studies has opened up a rich new literature appraising the link between anthropology and colonialism across a number of colonialisms and disciplines (cf. Stocking, 1987; 1988), just as the epistemological shift opened up by postcolonial studies redirects attention to processes of transculturation, representations, and questions of cultural identity outside of traditional national, patriarchal, hierarchical, and hegemonic discourses.

Undoubtedly the African wars, the decolonization process, the end of the dictatorship, and the confused events of 1974–75 leading to a rebirth of democracy in Portugal, have been traumatic for colonized and colonizer, though to be sure the African revolutions and counter-revolutions and, in the case of East Timor, the 24-year Indonesian invasion and occupation and liberation struggle have all deeply etched the way in which the Lusophone community apprehend their past. Undoubtedly, as well, a postcolonial appreciation of that past has arrived in the Lusophone world, as matched by the production of new national histories and historiographies. Typically hybrid and *mestiço* cultures, the Lusophone world today actually celebrates its difference. Many of Portugal's former col-

onies are postconflict societies suggesting special needs and priorities also including nation building and the adoption of new symbols and markers of identity. Out of these special historical circumstances we can appreciate that postcolonial identity, in such states as Mozambique, Angola, Guinea-Bissau, São Tomé, and Timor-Leste, becomes not only an academic exercise but part of the current reclamation of history against all adversity. Undoubtedly today, such tropes as globalization as much as assimilation force our attention, but for the non-Portuguese-speaking world, the insights to be gained from new textual readings of colonial history and anthropology help to enrich the broader field of postcolonial studies at large.

Independent since May 2002 as the Democratic Republic of Timor-Leste, the small half-island Southeast Asian nation offers an example of the way in which colonial states sought to imaginatively incorporate and subordinate colonized peoples. In part because of its social structure at a meeting ground between different civilizations and language groups, as much as due to its delayed decolonization and closed access, the study of Portuguese colonial anthropology in East Timor also serves as a foil to other colonialisms and research sites such as associated with more familiar Anglophone debates on colonialism and anthropology.

As this article seeks to demonstrate, Portuguese anthropology as it applied to Timor and other sites within the Lusophone empire displayed an enduring concern for physical anthropology even when new ethical concerns relegated craniology and, later, blood typing to the margins. Although individual ethnographies would emerge alongside more ethical and compassionate studies, the Estado Novo in Portugal appeared to fear the political consequences of cross-cultural comparisons such as those entering Anglo-American anthropological circles, much less new paradigms emerging around cultural relativism, as potentially challenging to finely defined social hierarchies of empire. In a word, this article seeks to make a contribution to the debate on colonial anthropology by stepping out the major stages in the evolution of this discipline in one major European colonial center, namely Portugal, such as tested against the example of Portugal's Southeast Asian colony of Timor.

In a conclusion we also enter certain considerations as to how Portuguese ethnography confirmed or departed from contem-

poraneous trends in Anglophone and continental anthropology. Hopefully, as well, such an interrogation of schools and authors can also provide a platform or vantage point for a new generation of indigenous anthropologists from East Timor now entering the field (cf. Corte-Real, 1998; Soares, 2004).

## I. THE ROOTS OF ANTHROPOLOGICAL UNDERSTANDING IN THE PORTUGUESE WORLD

Leal (1999) argues that Portuguese anthropology emerged and developed from 1870 until 1960 as a "nation building" anthropology, not only favoring the study of local folk traditions but also as part of a search for Portuguese identity. With its roots in Max Muller's concerns for comparative mythology, by the turn of the nineteenth century evolutionism emerged as the major theoretical influence in a more plural field engaging traditional material culture, folk art, and the social and economic organization of traditional communities. Leal continues that, by the 1910's, the folklorist bias was strengthened with a focus on folk art.

But, as Portugal deepened its economic exploitation of the African colonies in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, the supply of labor in the mining and plantation sector demanded new forms of administrative and social control. By the time the Congresso Internacional de Antropologia e Arquelogia Pre-Historia was staged in Lisbon in 1880, it was clear that anthropology had its role cut out in the service of empire. With its focus upon physical anthropology, the new science would add validation to Portugal's colonial project. In 1885 the Ministry of Marine and Colonies issued a circular to colonial administrators to collect human heads with a view to their transfer to metropolitan Portugal for study and classification. As discussed below, between 1935 and 1955 dozens of "anthropological missions" were dispatched to Angola, Guinea-Bissau, and Timor. It was only in 1965 that a National Museum of Ethnology opened in Lisbon, marking a more modernizing trend.

It is important as well to position Portugal within both European and global space. Within Europe, Portugal was marginal economically, politically, and intellectually. The production of knowledge in the late nineteenth century filtered through northern European experience. Intellectually, it was France and Great

Britain which held spell over Portugal. For long decades as well, Portugal was under authoritarian rule with a high degree of intellectual closure and often rigid censorship. O. R. Thomaz (2003) has explained that Portugal was in fact a "deterritorialized" nation, a reference to the symbolic integration with the mother country of the Azores and Madeira, on the one hand, and the vast arc of African and Asian colonial possessions, with certain significant settler communities, on the other. Even so, as discussed below, not all peoples within this colonial ensemble were of equal status. In a following section we trace the European "discovery" of Timor and its broader ecological zone, especially to determine how such mental framings and apprehensions later fed into enduring scientific or even pseudo-scientific understandings of its peoples and cultures.

## II. DESCRIBING TIMOR

In the era of "first globalization" (Gunn, 2003), the first European visitors to the non-European world were also the first chroniclers. Although well-known to China since the Mongol-Yuan dynasty as a source of esteemed sandalwood, the first description of Timor entering print in Europe owed to Pigafetta, scribe aboard the Magellan circumnavigation which touched the island in 1522. Alongside the Philippines, Vietnam, and other zones, the first Dominican missionaries arriving in Timor in the seventeenth century bequeathed very little data on Timor, possibly as a matter of guarding commercial intelligence. Notoriously, very little has survived of the official record on Timor. Rare in this sense is the map of Timor (circa 1613) executed by Malacca-based Portuguese "cosmographer" Emanuel Eridia de Godinho, replete with toponyms and marked as a site of sandalwood, medicinal plants, and gold mines. Nevertheless, certain understandings of Timor filtered back to Europe with the advent of the great Napoleonic-era expeditions of Baudin (1803) and de Freycinet (1825), especially the sense derived mainly from official Dutch and Portuguese informants that the island was divided into dozens of small kingdoms, more numerous in the east under Portuguese control than in the west which came under Dutch authority, at least until 1949, when west (Dutch) Timor became an integral province of the Republic of Indonesia.

We observe that, commencing with the creation of a geographical society in Paris in 1821, all the major European capitals sought to rationalize the study of their colonial subjects. The Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa, launched in 1876 by Count São Janeiro, former governor of Goa, with a branch established in Brazil the same year was a relative latecomer to this enterprise. Perhaps not coincidently, the first "ethnographic" accounts of Timor also began to appear at this juncture. This was at the pen of Affonso de Castro, governor of what he described as Portugal's "oceanic" colony (1859-63). Writing in *Annaes do conselho ultramarino* (1863), later appearing in the French-language *Revue maritime et coloniale* (1872), the Governor explained the system of governance and what today would be called public administration and justice across the 47 *sucos*, or kingdoms, by *rei* (little kings) invested by the Portuguese with the title colonel, and by *dato* or hereditary leaders descendant from royal lineage. He also described marriage and divorce, along with a threefold class system of *dato* or *rei* (chiefs), ordinary people, and slaves, funerals, *tabedae* or dance, sorcery, agriculture (the potential for coffee), language (Tetum), and conflict. Especially, as the chiefs were obliged to visit Dili to pay homage to the Governor, Castro's understanding of Timor society was more than academic, it was crucial for survival. The Timorese penchant for collecting the heads of enemies in battle would be matched by an official Portuguese endeavor to collect these heads for scientific study. Castro even offers a description of a "*festa da cabeças*" (festival of heads), an official ceremony in which vanquished rebels swore their loyalty to the Portuguese crown, signaling the end of a war of pacification. But Castro's account also fitted the prevailing intellectual penchant in Portugal for "ethnographic" description prior to a new emerging scientific anthropological agenda in Europe with its emphasis upon race and origins.

Not only was Portuguese anthropology embedded in evolutionist paradigm but the Timor zone became a contested zone for Victorian-era anthropologists (e.g., Forbes, Wallace), just as evolutionism supported ideas of racial difference, hierarchy, and destiny when applied in colonial situations (cf. Stocking, 1987). Famed "biogeographer" Alfred Wallace (1823–1913), co-founder with Charles Darwin of the theory of natural selection, was also drawn into the discussion on race in Timor, in part as a general scientific discussion on the origins of the Polynesians, whether "Malay" or native Ameri-

can (1867; 1890). Darwin, in turn, was named as corresponding member of the Lisbon Geographical Society in September 1887. In a review article on French anthropologist-scientist and chair of the Museum of Natural History in Paris, Armand de Quatrefages de Bréau (1810–1892), Wallace asserted that, "the Timorese are not Malays at all: they belong to that curious race which has close affinities to the Papuan in all moral and physical characteristics except color, and their languages are much further removed from the Malay than even the Polynesian itself" (1867: 163).

The race question was revisited in French scientific circles by, respectively, Ernest Theodore Hamy of the French National Museum of Natural History (1875), and M. P. A. Lesson (1877), a shipboard surgeon-naturalist who wrote extensively on Polynesian migrations. Specifically, Hamy deduced the presence of Negritos on Timor from the examination of a single skull. Hernan F. C. ten Kate (1859–1931), who traveled through the archipelago at the command of the Royal Dutch Geographical Society, also entered these debates, publishing on Timor in *l'Anthropologie* in France in 1893, besides wide-ranging researches in South America. British naturalist Henry O. Forbes (1883) also drew attention to a red-haired race in Timor, true actually, although hardly a "race."

As a general statement, certain of the enduring understandings on Timor were established by the Victorians travelers and scientists during this period. First, that the prehistory of Timor was notable for its long period of isolation from Indianized cultural influence arriving from the west. Secondly, that biogeographically Timor belonged to a Wallacean zone between Australia and Southeast Asia. Thirdly, Timor was an integral part of Oceania, connecting the island with the Melanesian and even Pacific world.

While such empirical understandings of Timor by the Victorian-era evolutionary biologists fed back into academic discourse such as represented by geographical societies and learned journals of the time, it remains to establish how such understandings were received and acted upon in Portugal.

## III. THE PHYSIOGNOMY SCHOOL IN PORTUGAL

While the production of ethnographic and colonial knowledge would become institutionalized and scientized with the advent of the Republic in 1911, we should not ignore the lineages of institutionalized knowledge in Portugal, such as embodied by the Royal Academy of Sciences (later Academy of Sciences) founded in Coimbra in 1779, with research interests ranging from history to agriculture.

As an academic discipline, anthropology made a relatively late entry to Portugal, with a chair of anthropology established in the faculty of science at Porto University in 1911. To strike a contrast, the first chair in anthropology was established in the Netherlands at the University of Leiden in 1877. The august Sociedade Portuguesa de Antropologia e Etnologia was established in 1918 by the Porto group, including the seminal figure of the "Escola do Porto," Antonio Augusto Mendes Corrêa (1888–1960). While ethnology entered the curriculum at Porto University, it is clear that, uniquely in Europe, physical anthropology dominated at the expense of cultural and social anthropology until the middle of the twentieth century. Again the contrast with the Netherlands is appropriate. Though Dutch colonial anthropology had a regional orientation towards the "East Indies," including eastern Indonesia (Josselin de Jong, 1935; van Wouden, 1968; Schulte Nordholdt, 1971), interest in physical anthropology and prehistorical archeology remained underdeveloped alongside the study of ethnology (Vermeulen, 2005). Schouten (2001) has also drawn attention to the late-nineteenth-century origins and rise of the physiognomy-centered research on Timor.

The European predilection for craniology, or the study of skulls, inevitably led to the collection of native heads for examination. Both Wallace and Forbes displayed skulls collected in the Tanibar islands for scientific investigation as evidence of earlier stages of development (cf. Hoskins, 1996: 16). Portugal was no exception to this scientific trend, and the venerable University of Coimbra was one such laboratory. Founded in 1772, the natural history museum at Coimbra was further rationalized in 1885 and, by 1911–13, included an anthropology section. Schouten has also drawn attention to the relative ease with which the Portuguese in Timor were

able to collect heads, just as the colonial authorities did not disapprove of the above-mentioned "festival of heads" (2001: 159).

But while Wallace collected heads it is apposite to note that in his evolutionary classic *The Malay Archipelago* (1890), dedicated to Charles Darwin, he went out of his way to add an appendix explicitly acknowledging doubt as to the veracity of craniology such as expressed by Huxley, among other Victorian-era scientists. He wrote, "A few years ago it was thought that the study of Crania offered the only sure basis of a classification of man. Immense collections have been formed; they have been measured, described, and figured: and now the opinion is beginning to gain ground, that for this special purpose they are of very little value." While acknowledging that no theory of classification of mankind had been determined through the study of crania, Wallace nevertheless subjected his collected specimens of Malay, Papuan, Polynesian, and Australian skulls to the then standard tests of measurement. In so doing, he concluded that, "the Malay and Papuans are radically distinct races; and that the Polynesians are most nearly allied to the latter, although they probably have some admixture of Malayan or Mongolian blood" (Wallace, 1890: 461–62).

An early notice on the Coimbra head collection was Antonio Jose Gualberto Barros e Cunha, "Noticia sobre uma serie de cranios da ilha de Timor, existents no Museu da Universidade de Coimbra," (1893–94) continued in "A autenticidade dos cranios de Timor do Museu da Universidade de Coimbra, e o estado actual dos nossos conticimentos sobre o problema da composisão etnica da população de Timor" (1937). The 28 heads examined by Barros e Cunha were all found in a sacred tree (*ficus benjamina*), the fruits of war waged against a colonial army by the *reino* (little king) of Cova on Timor. As Barros e Cunha determined, the indiscriminate collection included heads of Europeans, Indians, and Africans as well as natives. In turn, as A. Pinto Corrêa commented on this sample (1935: 356), such a mixture obviously invalidated scientific conclusions.

## *Race and Tribe* (Raças e Tribos)

Portuguese interest in racial origins, we have seen, had broader European points of reference. A similar concern to identify or even reify tribes equally entered Portuguese colonial discourse. A

survey of colonial studies, especially on Angola, Mozambique, and Guinea Bissau reveals a range of studies within this paradigm that survived into the 1950's. One example was Luis Figuira's *Raça e Tribos de Angola* (1938). Another, as discussed below, was Mendes Corrêa's *Raças do Imperio* (1943).

The invention of tribes, however serviceable in Portuguese Africa, was not part of the colonial discourse on Portuguese Timor. We can only speculate, but undoubtedly this owed to the inability to come up with sufficient tribal markers in a society at the boundaries of the Malay and Melanesian world, compounded by the complexity of ethnolinguistic identification between Austronesian and Papuan languages. Where lowlander–uplander dualism became a standard French-British-American colonial understanding of their various colonial subjects in Southeast Asia, this distinction is largely absent in Portuguese and other writings on Timor. Neither did the romanticized "hill tribe" enter the vocabulary. Again we can only speculate, but it was also a fact of life that all Timorese—with the notable exception of two major communities on Atauro Island—were people of the mountains. Traditionally, Timorese did not take easily to the malarial humid lowlands, much less the sea. Even so, as discussed, Mendes Corrêa did find certain serological distinctions between uplanders and lowlanders in Oecusse-Ambeno enclave territory.

Race nevertheless was still a major concern, even if subordinated to scientific study under the rubric of physical anthropology. Even Chinese residents in Timor were not exempt from this kind of inquiry. Again it is hard to explain exactly why physical attributes should be of such concern in Timor, although undoubtedly this preoccupation was an import from Portuguese African anthropology. To reiterate, alongside the case of Portugal in Africa and Timor, we do not find such a focused concern with physical anthropology versus ethnography in the Dutch East Indies or, for that matter, in French Indochina. We acknowledge that in classical social anthropology, Malinowski, Boas, Radcliffe-Brown, Evans-Pritchard, and others, entered major concerns with studying "tribal societies." While "tribal" appears not to have entered Portuguese vocabulary in Timor, such was not the case with respect to anthropologies of Mozambique and Angola.

*Os Povo Portuguesa/Timorense*

Whereas the Victorians talked race, it is notable that, by the early twentieth century, individual Portuguese researchers began to use the terms inhabitants or population in a more neutral sense. In 1934, colonial official Julio Garcez de Lencastre authored a text titled "O povo timorenses; seua proveitamento na valorisão da colonia." Discussions on "Povo Portuguesa," however, also served to valorize the new understanding of nation and empire that came to be mainstreamed in Portuguese anthropological circles with the advent of the Salazarist state.

Portuguese anthropologist Rui M. Pereira has analyzed in great detail how the "obsessive dominance" of biological understanding, such as described by the Porto School, led to a crystallization of images of peoples in the colonies as races of difference or even of inferiority (2004–05: 230). Research concerns on the part of some, notably Corrêa, with miscegenation, in turn derived from certain Brazilian researchers, lent credence to Salazarian notions of "inferior races."

Only from the 1960's can we observe a semantic shift away from race to a concern with "ethnicity," a less Eurocentric term implying contact and interrelationship. Based upon a case study of official research conducted in Mozambique, Pereira describes this new understanding as tantamount to a "paradigm shift" in thinking (2004–05: 231–32), in part owing to new international influences reaching Portugal, the pressure of the United Nations over a timetable for decolonization, and the general discrediting of racial stereotyping that followed the Second World War. He also identifies "transitional" type ethnological research in Mozambique that pioneered the new approach.

This semantic shift was also reflected in anthropological discussion on Timor. The pre-war term "gentios" thus falls away in preference to "os povos actuais de Timor" [the real people of Timor]. It is also true that many former tribal societies, especially in Africa, had been disaggregated by broader social forces that involved dislocation, urbanization, and even entry into national liberation struggles; that was also true for East Timor. International trends and influences aside, it remains to be demonstrated how anthropology came to be institutionalized and valorized within official circles in Portugal. To this end, we turn to an examination of the

career of certain seminal establishment figures within the newly minted schools of anthropology and ethnology inside Portugal.

## IV. FONSECA CARDOSO: FORMATEUR FIGURE IN PORTUGUESE COLONIAL ANTHROPOLOGY

Given the preoccupation in Portugal with physiology, it is perhaps not entirely coincidental that Artur Augusto Fonseca Cardoso (1865–1912), a formateur, or founding figure in Portuguese colonial anthropology, was also a pioneer of physical anthropology in the enclave territories of Oecusse and Ambeno on Timor. Notably, Cardoso's field notes were examined by A. A. Mendes Corrêa, as taken up below, one of the most important figures in Portuguese anthropology in the first half of the twentieth century, and became the basis of his subsequent research. As a military captain, Cardoso had taken advantage of military campaigns in Portuguese India (Goa) to boost his collection of heads. More than that, he took advantage of his position to conduct a series of tests upon a group of Indian prisoners, data he would subsequently use to publish a single, if seminal article, namely, "O Indigena de Satary: Estudo anthropologico" (1887).

In a wide-ranging study of Cardoso and "The Origins of Portuguese Colonial Anthropology," Ricardo Roque has demonstrated that, through a complex process of "associations and disassociation," Cardoso's article became an "intellectual artifact" not only to validate Cardoso as the mythical father of Portuguese anthropology, but as a "theoretical tool" used by a rising school of colonial anthropology to authenticate a link between nation and empire (2001; 2003). As taken up below, Roque also posits a theory of "equivoques" played by individuals and institutions in the making of Portuguese colonial anthropology. His primary example, however, concerns the equivocal role played by Mendes Corrêa, especially in the way he reworked the raw data researched by Cardoso in Timor, not only to give new legitimacy to the physical anthropology approach but to appropriate the mantle of the formateur figure.

Upon his return to Portugal from Goa, Cardoso joined a pacification expedition in Angola in 1902 prior to heading up a military command in the African colony. He left Angola in 1906, returning to Portugal until posted to Timor in 1908. In Timor, he assumed

the important postings of military commander and governor's secretary. As captain of the Batu Gede fort on the border with Dutch Timor, he was also responsible for negotiations with the Dutch in June 1909 over border issues and, in October 1911, in a poorly documented campaign, led a force of Mozambicans and *moradores* (local soldiers) to wrest back control of territory and waverers to the Portuguese flag in actions which outraged both the Dutch and the locals. In March 1912, he also led a military expedition against the rebel forces of Atabae. Later in the year he succumbed to malaria and died in Timor (cf. Roque 2003: 104; Pélissier 1996: 238; 253; 273). In between official duties, Cardoso also spent time in the enclave territories of Oecusse-Ambeno collecting anthropomorphic data. As he did not publish his Timor research, we remain in the dark as to his methodology and sample. All we have to go by in this regard are the two articles published by Mendes Corrêa.

### *A. A. Mendes Corrêa and the Appropriation of Fonseca Cardoso*

It is undoubtedly rare in anthropological or academic circles that an unknown appropriates the field notes of a veteran and rises to the pinnacle of his profession. But that is precisely the career track of A. A. Mendes Corrêa (1888–1960). But, in so doing, it is also an oddity that Mendes Corrêa did not forget the memory of his mentor, but indeed actually celebrated his formateur role in colonial anthropology in an official setting.

At the time of Cardoso's death, according to Roque (2003: 105), Mendes Corrêa was an unknown figure with medical training just appointed assistant professor of anthropology at the Faculty of Sciences in Porto University. Mendes Corrêa had never personally met Cardoso but befriended his son and, with financial support from his university, purchased his ethnographic collections, anthropometrics instruments, books, manuscripts, and field notes. Mendes Corrêa swiftly put Cardoso's field notes on Angola and Timor to use, publishing his first article in 1913, namely "Anthropological Notes Based upon Observation by Fonseca Cardoso." Unlike Cardoso, he also began to gain international acclaim in the field. Notably, in 1916, the French scientific journal *Anthropologie* published an article by R. Verneau dedicated to Mendes Corrêa's "research" in Oecusse. As discussed below, Mendes Corrêa also began to enhance his professional reputation through investigations conducted by the

Instituto de Anthropologia of Porto University upon a group of visiting Timorese (Belunese) attending, respectively, the colonial exhibitions of 1934 (Porto) and Lisbon (1940), in addition to research based upon the Alvaro da Fontoura photograph collection.

Such a career track might not seem surprising, but one of the ironies of the colonial world was that Portugal under the Republic was not only an increasingly marginalized economy within Europe but, throughout the next half century, incongruously presided over the largest empire on the globe, resisting and delaying the decolonization timetable. In a following section we seek an understanding of how the dictatorship in Portugal actively harnessed anthropology to its colonial empire-building project.

## V. SALAZAR AND THE COLONIAL ORDER

Increasingly in the 1930's, power in Portugal was concentrated in the hands of António de Oliveira Salazar (1889–1979), just as the Estado Novo became institutionalized under a system of corporativist controls. In 1930 major determinations concerning the Portuguese nation were set out in the Ato Colonial (Colonial Act) and the Carta Organica (Organic Charter) do Imperio Português (1933). The Colonial Act, actually ushered in during the brief period when Salazar held the Ministry of Colonies, heralded a new era of centralized control over the colonies in line with the ideological assumptions of the Estado Novo.

Notably, each colony was issued with a separate charter. Under decree no. 12.4999-G, issued on 4 October 1926, the colony of Timor was described as "a territorial and administrative division of the Portuguese colonial empire." With the central role of the Ministry of Colonies set down, the delegated role of the Governor, the Governor's Council, the Tribunal, and military were established in some detail. Even so, across 44 pages the term "indigena" occurs but once under "general disposition" (article v), vaguely allowing that the civil, political, and criminal rights of the natives will answer to their special precepts flowing from their personal and collective duties. To strike a comparison, the organic charter for Portuguese Macau, similar in every respect to its Timor counterpart, simply ignores the people of Macau. In other words, the colonies and their inhabitants were viewed as organically linked

with the Portuguese nation, just as metropolitan institutions and legal systems applied in the colonies without demurral. This was not a concept of *terra nullus*, such as British colonialism imposed upon aboriginal Australia, but neither did it imagine the colonial "other" in terms other than as passive and obedient subjects. The subtleties of difference between the peoples of Timor and the majority Chinese of Macau would also be clarified, however, according to developing theories of race and acculturation.

As a legal-instructional charter, the Colonial Act also established the notion of differential levels of civilization. Notably, major distinctions were made between the indigenous populations of the continental African countries—and from 1946 São Tomé and Timor—and the metropolitan citizens of Cape Verde, Goa, and Macau. The concept of Portuguese nation was also imposed upon the colonies. Metropolitan institutions were extended to the colonies including the Salazarist secret police, just as the strict surveillance of colonial subjects for signs of disloyalty, rebellion, or nationalism was implemented. The Catholic Church was also compromised in its institutionalized role within the Estado Novo.

As part of the language of the Colonial Act, indigenous peoples could achieve *assimilado* status through a gradual process of acquiring Portuguese language facility, habits, and culture, thus entering the nation. In turn, an *assimilado* would be awarded an "*alvara da cidadania,*" or document of citizenship. The messianic promise of *assimilado* status would be held out for Timorese and Africans at a subsequent stage. Certain contradictions also surrounded the Colonial Act, namely the seemingly benign attachment to the protection of "*usos e costumes*" [practices and mores] (by the 1960's), and the requirements of the Codigo do Trabalhos dos Indigenas (the indigenous labor code), ostensibly protecting the indigenous peoples from forced labor but, at the same time, setting up parallel systems of corvée and labor controls.

The Estado Novo also advanced a new range of priorities, namely an ideological view of an idealized rural Portugal as reflected through its folk art. But in the early postwar period, Salazar became personally attached to the thesis elaborated by the Brazilian anthropologist Gilberto Freyre (1940) as to the non-racialist assumptions of Portuguese colonialism, even though the "Ausotropicalist" dream was fast unraveling in the throes of viciously-suppressed African colonial wars of independence. Famously, the dictatorship

found a detractor at the pen of the empire's best-known historian, Englishman Charles Boxer (cf. Cummins & de Sousa, 2001). As discussed below, the Salazarist state would actively endorse the extension of anthropological studies in the colonies to seek affirmation on broad questions of racial origins, hierarchy, colonial order, and assimilation to Portugal's *missão civilizadora*, or civilizing mission.

Even so, as an official publication on Timor declared in 1970, the "kaleidoscopic complex" of ethnic groups in Portuguese Timor "enriched" by Portuguese metropolitan, Angolan, Mozambican, and Chinese populations "eloquently affirmed" that Portugal was a "multiracial nation" (s.n., 1970: 36). Although not mentioned in this text, Dili in 1970 was also host to a profoundly creolized population born especially of Chinese-Timorese, African Timorese, and other mixtures making up a significant *mestiço* element.

As discussed in a following section, all the major European colonies sought to showcase their colonial possessions via extravagant displays which, through a postcolonial optic, we now see as significant, sometimes bizarre, forms of appropriation of the colonial "other." Portugal fell in line and Timor and its peoples were also brought into this metropolitan spectacle.

## VI. TIMOR IN THE 1934 COLONIAL EXPOSITION AT PORTO

As French social critic Sylviane Leprun analyzed in "*Le théatre des colonies*" (1986), the great European colonial expositions of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries actually theatricized the colonial "other," offering scenarios and discourses redolent of dominance. Colonial museums and geographical societies also set up alterities between metropolitan audiences and subject peoples. While recent scholarship has examined the landmark exposition of the Philippines hosted in Madrid in 1887 (Gomes, 2002) along with the Dutch East Indies from 1880-1931 (Bloembergen, 2006) and other "spectacles," Portuguese Timor was no exception, being represented in a number of European expositions through the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Notable was the "Exposição de Timor" hosted by the Geographical Society and the Museu Colonial in 1931, ostensibly to promote the economic potential of the little-known colony. Portugal was duly represented at the spectacular Exposition Coloniale

Internationale de Paris of May–November 1931 in the form of the Exposição Portuguesa em Paris. At this august event, 25 years-in-planning, the Salazarist Organic Charter of the Colony of Timor was presented in booklet form. Portugal also participated in Exposition Internationale des Arts et Techniques dans la Vie Moderne, held in Paris in 1937.

Coming three years after the landmark Paris Exposition, the "Exposição Colonial Portugal" held in the Palacio do Cristel in Porto arguably represented–along with its French counterpart–the cultural apogee of the colonial world. With France as a ready model, the exhibition in the newly dubbed Palacio das Colonias re-created the Portuguese empire in microcosm. But how did Timor fit into this spectacle of empire? Aside from exhibits of folklore, Timor also entered the conference agenda along with other colonies through a dedicated day (6 August 1934) of performances. The keynote speech on "Timor Day," titled "Timor: Padrão Imperio," was delivered by Julio Garcez de Lencastre, Governor of Luanda (Angola), recalling the history of Portuguese contact with the island as well as extolling the accomplishments of the Portuguese mission against all obstacles.

The Exposição also played host to the First Congress of Portuguese Colonial Anthropology, a series of conference sessions around the theme of colonial anthropology. These were organized by A. A. Mendes Corrêa under the auspices of the Sociedade Portuguese de Anthroplogia e Ethnologia. Among the published proceedings were such offerings on physical anthropology as J. A. Pires de Lima (colonial anthropology theory); Leopoldina Ferreira Paulo (physical, biological, ethnic, blood-types, *cruzamento* or cross-breeding); Jorge Alberto Martins d'Alte (physical, biological ethnic, blood-types, cross-breeding); and Luiz Chaves (folklore, psychology, religion).

At this congress, Fonseca Cardosa was anointed as the "Iniciador," or founding father of Portuguese anthropology. Not only was his portrait integrated into the ceremonial proceedings, but his 12-page 1887 article on the anthropometrics and racial types of the Satari of India was hailed as an iconic text. Cardosa's research on Oecusse and Ambeno was also represented. As Roque remarks (2003: 83), this 1930's narrative produced a genealogy and founding father that would connect physical anthropology, raciology, and the imperial project for the next fifty years.

As Roque continues (2003: 106–07), with their active participation in the Porto exposition, anthropologists had finally gained state legitimacy, while Mendes Corrêa and his colleagues at Porto had gained a private professional victory. More than that, Mendes Corrêa had adopted Cardosa as a "totemic" tool of social and professional power. Patriotic Portuguese, citizen of Porto, scientist, and close observer of colonial lore, Cardosa fitted the figure of formateur of Portuguese anthropology perfectly. Such a trope also fitted the anthropologists' search for status in the colonial field, alongside such professional rivals as the military, officials, missionaries, and businesspeople.

Notably, the Porto exposition was graced by the presence of fourteen Belunese Timorese (eight males and six females), along with D. Aleixo Corte Real, *regulo* (or chief) of Ainaro; and Carlos Ximines, chief of Berecoli (Baucau). They made up a total of around 300 indigenous peoples brought to Porto specifically for the exposition, coming from, besides Timor, Angola, Mozambique, São Tomé, Cape Verde, and Goa. Many of these colonial subjects, Timorese delegates included, were studied and measured in the anthropological laboratories of Porto University.

One subject who remains memorialized across time is "Maria Guilhermina," a Timorese lady gracefully attired in Malay-style *kebaya* and *sarong*, as portrayed in watercolor by celebrated Portuguese writer-artist-illustrator, Eduardo Malta (1900–1967), which was also placed in the *Album Comemorativo da Primeira Exposição Portuguesa* (s.n., 1934). But just as Malta recorded—and romanced through novels—colonial ethnography, he also—controversially—painted portraits of leading figures of the Salazar order, just as exhibitions of his collected works came under the official sponsorship of the dictatorship.

Portugal also participated in Exposition Internationale des Arts et Techniques dans la Vie Moderne held in Paris in 1937. Needless to say, Portugal's African and Asian colonies were also showcased. One relic of this event is the painting-postcard of a Timorese *métisse*, "Eugenia," in *Dessin de Eduardo Malta: Empire Portugais* (s.n., 1937), alongside a range of other colonial subjects. The Exposição do Mundo Português of 1940 also saw another gathering of colonial subjects, Timorese included. In fact, research conducted on Timorese at this exposition by Mendes Corrêa, as discussed, would become a primary element in his later published work on anthro-

pology in Timor. To be sure, as Andrew Apter has written in a survey article on "Africa, Empire and Anthropology," colonial-era expositions revealed the way that the politics of imperial culture were integral to the "construction of colonial overrule" (1999: 587).

Still, it remains to examine the ways that colonial knowledge was actually produced and mediated by the colonial state and its agents. As the following discussion seeks to develop, such was an active process, integral to Portuguese-style colonialism, in which individuals served as agents in a system offering little space for new ideas or innovations that were incubating in other colonialisms or metropolitan capitals.

## VII. THE PRODUCTION OF COLONIAL KNOWLEDGE

Thomaz (2003) has drawn attention to the key institutions in the production of colonial knowledge during the Estado Novo. We have mentioned the Geographical Society of Lisbon dating back to 1875. The advent of the Society also signaled Portugal's entry into the international colonial arena, just as the production of scientific studies on the colonies helped to validate Portugal's *gravitas*. Border demarcations and intra-colonial disputes also dogged Portugal in its African colonies, reaching a crisis point in Timor at the turn of the century with—as intimated—ongoing border delimitation negotiations alongside armed standoffs with the Dutch on the island. The Society also offered impetus for colonial exploration.

The Society was also behind the creation of the Escola Colonial, as well as its British and French colonial precedents. Founded in January 1906 and opened by King Carlos I, the Escola was formed to train a cadre of officials and colonial bureaucrats for the colonies. On the same day, an Escola Profisional was opened in Luanda. Reformed in 1918 and again in 1926, emerging as the Escola Superior Colonial, it became an internal institution of the Ministry of Colonies under the Salazar regime. Reorganized again in 1946, the Escola was later reconstituted as the Instituto Superior de Ciencias Sociais e Politica Ultramarina, today a major state-sponsored research establishment. Additionally, the Instituto de Medicina Tropical and its journals provided a forum for scholarly publication in its respective fields. French scholar Pélissier (1996) adds to this list a small museum of ethnology in Porto; the mu-

seum in Coimbra and its sections in Lisbon; the Missão Pesquisas Agronomas; and the Laboratorio Nacional de Engenaria Civil; the last two with the explicit goals of exploring resources in the African colonies. Such colonies as Angola, Goa, and Guinea-Bissau also hosted research institutions. From 1897, a museum was established in Angola and, in December 1906, a Museu Etnografico de Colonia was also inaugurated. The Centro de Estudos da Guine Portuguesa focused particularly on ethnological and anthropological studies, at least until overtaken by the wave of anti-colonial wars leading to independence.

Major impetus to the actual scientific study of Portugal's colonized peoples, however, can be traced to the order of the Minister of Colonies, Francisco Vieira Machado, brought down in 1936 with a view to dispatching missions to Guinea, Angola, São Tomé, Mozambique, and Timor to better understand ethnic groups and to map them. Accordingly, a Junta da Missões Geograficas e de Investigações Colonias was created on 16 October 1937 to coordinate this work. According to Pereira (2004–05: 212), the influence of the Porto School and the biological/physical anthropological concerns of Mendes Correa were dominant. The first mission in the field was the Missão Antropologica de Moçambique, though Timor was not far behind.

*Photographs:* Album Fontoura

During his term as governor on Timor (1936–40), Alvaro Eugenio das Neves Fontoura, subsequently a professor of the Escola Superior Colonial, ordered the systematic collection of photographs of Timorese from a wide cross-section of the half-island colony, numbering in all 552. Collected from 1936–40, the photos were classified under the following rubrics, "characteristic types according to indigenous language;" "armaments and arms;" "work;" "musical instruments;" "civilizing actions and colonization." The collection coincided with the installation in Timor of the Junta da Missões Geograficas e de Investigações Colonias, with the broad objective of surveying and mapping Timor. The mission was led by geographer Jorge Castilho. Three copies of the photos were made, one offered to the Agecia Geral das Colonias (used by Mendes Corrêa, as discussed below), a second to the family of Fontoura, and a third that entered the possession of the family of official

anthropologist António de Almeida, as discussed below. This third copy eventually made its way into the social-history archive of the Instituto de Ciencias Sociais of the University of Lisbon, becoming available on CD-ROM in 2002 and offered to the newly-created National Archives of independent Timor-Leste. As revealed, the now digitalized album actually takes the form of a photo album bearing the colonial logo on the cover.[1]

To be sure, photography and anthropology evolved together with the camera adding scientific veracity to the investigation. Photographs also added legitimacy to colonial anthropology. Although visual representation is part and parcel of fieldwork, such as with Malinowski's photography of the Trobiand islands in 1915, and also became a standard in French and Dutch ethnographical studies, including work by B. A. G. Vroklage (1952) on the Belu and Dawan of central west Timor conducted in 1936–38, the relationship between colonial anthropology and photography is more problematic (cf. Edwards, 1992). The *Album Fontoura* elides the question of politics and power. The National Geographic-style posed frontal of paired men and women raises questions of appropriation for whom. The native subjects in these images are both othered and objectified. As part of the family collections of their owners, they became trophies and in the hands of anthropologists, they became questionable science in the production of cultural stereotypes.

## *Armando Pinto Corrêa,* Gentio de Timor

Amateur anthropologists have a long tradition in colonial anthropology and Timor was no exception. One of the best in this regard was high flying military officer and colonial official Armando Pinto Corrêa, author of two important anthropologies of Timor, *Gentio de Timor* (1935) and the posthumously published *Timor de Lés e Lés* (1944), as well as a number of literary works. Born in Madeira (1897), Pinto Corrêa was educated in both Funchal and Coimbra, launching a literary career in journalism at an early age. He served with the Portuguese forces during the First World War, and later emerged as an aide to General Manuel Gomes da Costa, who successfully led the coup against the First Republic in May

[1] The *Album Fontoura* can be viewed at *http://www.ics.ul.pt/ahsocial/fontoura/album.*

1926. In 1928 Pinto Corrêa was posted to Timor as aide-de-camp of Governor Teofilio Duarte. In September he began six years service as administrator of Baucau, before being appointed to a senior administrative post in Dili. This was followed by even more senior postings in Angola and Mozambique.

Obviously it was the long posting in Baucau which afforded Pinto Corrêa the opportunity to observe and to document. The fruit of this labor is *Gentio de Timor*, an enormously detailed and now valued ethnography. While lacking the scientific presumption of the physiology school, Pinto Corrêa's attention to minutiae, approximating what American anthropologist Clifford Geertz would term "thick description," elevates this work above all previous studies of Portuguese Timor at that time. With textual interventions in Tetum and dialect, Pinto Corrêa brings rare participant observation authority to the subject. A first part is devoted to customs in Baucau, including the *rites de passages* of birth, marriage, and death, but with long asides on conflict, conflict mediation, animism, legends, games, *festas*, gendered activities, and colonial administrative structures. A second part extends the analysis to other regions of Timor. But as an amateur, Pinto Corrêa's work is sometimes too much a mosaic of details and interesting asides. There are no working premises and for want of anthropological training, there are no grand hypotheses or theoretical concerns. There is a sense in Pinto Corrêa that to know is to better administer so, as Asad noted, even the amateur anthropologist is not outside the discourse and practice of colonialism (1991: 315). With a preface by Governor Teofilio Duarte, *Timor de Lés a Lés* attempts an ethnography of the entire island. The method again is to pile on ethnographic detail on such topics as rituals and customs, such as those involving *barlaq* (marriage). Pinto Corrêa was not actually served well by his publishers. The cover image of *Gentio de Timor* is that of a native chief, or rather a grotesque parody of a figure that could be from Africa or the South Seas, or some such hybrid but which, with sales in mind, was undoubtedly Orientalized for home consumption.

While some scope existed for persistent amateurs and many Portuguese administers were long in the field—a luxury for the modern anthropologist—the colonial state in Timor did not play a passive role in either investigation or in the administration of subject peoples; rather, as discussed below, it actively entered the

research field with a view to mapping an entire culture, such as that was possible.

## VIII. THE LEGACY OF A. A. MENDES CORRÊA

Portuguese social scientist Ivo Carneiro de Sousa (2005) has drawn attention to the deliberate "invention of cultures" in Portuguese Timor, especially by the Porto school of anthropology, reaching back to the prewar period. The leading figure in this school was, as identified, A. A. Mendes Corrêa, although, as discussed below, the baton would be taken up by António de Almeida. Redolent with Eurocentric historicism, the Porto school actively created boundaries within the ethnolinguistic diversity of Timor. While exoticizing the indigenous people, the "colonial school" also set up dualities between Portugal's civilizing mission and native subjects. Othering and appropriation in colonial anthropology were not, of course, the exclusive domain of Portuguese colonizers, but echoed the experience of British, French, Belgian, and other European colonizers.

Mendes Corrêa's major opus, *Timor português: Contribucões para o seu estudo antropologico* (1944), sought to present a synthesis of knowledge of Timor with respect to physical anthropology while advancing certain propositions and offering wide-ranging reflections on origins and theories of migrations, with a special concern to situate Timor as an island between continents and between well-established cultural-physical divides, such as had been drawn to attention by Wallace and others.

With a detailed English summary for international consumption, Mendes Corrêa was undoubtedly writing to both inform and to please his patrons within the Ministry of Colonies. Overall this is an erudite work, combining scientific labor with literary skill, revealing a deep reading of the existing Portuguese and international literature, building upon his youthful study of Cardoso's documents and the data produced by an examination of Timorese visitors to Porto and Lisbon expositions, along with an imaginative examination of hundreds of black and white photographs of Timorese entered into the *Album Fontoura*. It is also a highly reflective work, and Mendes Corrêa is at pains to hedge particularly where the evidence is lacking or contradictory or even where he

feels that anthropology is an inexact science. Perhaps aware of the thinness of his data, he also invites further scientific research.

It is only in a few paragraphs that his biological evolutionary bias appears, lines that would not meet the criteria of detached cultural relativity such as entering American anthropology in the mid-twentieth century. Specifically, he points out certain bio-ethnical deficiencies in the colony: "lack of vigor, low female birthrate," "unlucky mutations" in the absence of "new and felicitous mutations," which gave hope that, in tandem with well-intentioned colonial endeavor, some improvement of the "better endowed" could progress. In summary the region he describes is a "primeval center of ethnical differentiation" in an evolutionary flux out of which a future new "biological equilibrium" could hopefully be achieved.

In a first chapter Mendes Corrêa summarizes the earliest description of the people of Timor from Pigafetta onwards. Here he makes a very pertinent statement: "The population of the island is not homogeneous, and therefore Timor is but a geographical description. There are on the island several races, numerous languages, many 'kingdoms,' factions, clans, varied cultures. Timor, in fact in the Malay-Indonesian language, only means a cardinal point—East" (1944: 37). Simply stated, it is this heterogeneity with which he wrestles.

A second chapter offers an historical sketch of the scientific investigations made on the anthropology of Timor, beginning with the works of Quatrefages and Hamy in *Crania Ethnologie*. He records that many authors had ascribed a special prevalence of the Negroid element (either Papuan or Melanesian) with the influence of Negritos only seldom accorded. Barros e Cunha was one who suggested a predominance of the Papuan element. But, the author, following Cardosa, takes the Indonesian type as predominant, especially in the mountains.

A third chapter analyzes the 107 observations made in Oecusse and Ambeno, in addition to observations of the 14 Belunese who visited Porto and Lisbon. Anthropometrical and descriptive observations were complemented by measurements of blood groups. He concludes of Oecusse and Ambeno that the population of the coastal zone is more mixed relative to the mountain population. Moreover, members of the Oecusse group differ somatologically from the Belunese and are closer to the Atoni of west Timor, which

he acknowledged as closer to the Indonesian type (with the exception of women who belonged to the Mongoloid branch).

He acknowledges various problems in using the photos, some more serviceable than others, but one has to acknowledge that perhaps never before, or indeed since, has so much derived knowledge on physical characteristics been read out of human images, a small masterpiece in forensic anthropology (if only the postures, attitudes, hairdressings, and body oils had not prevented them from being more serviceable to science). From a deep scrutiny of the photo sets, he sought to ascertain the prevalence among Timorese of the following four broad types (more or less derived from the broad scientific literature on what we today describe as Southeast Asia).

- Proto-Malay (or Indonesia)
- Deutero Malay (Malay proper or Mongoloid)
- Veddoid or Australoid
- Melanoid (including Papuan)

Mendes Corrêa concludes that, with the notable exception of females in the frontier zone dividing the island between Dutch- and Portuguese-administered Timor, the Proto-Malay element was dominant and in no way could it be held that the Melanoid element was predominant or even abundant in Timor with the exception of Oecusse and with the exception of the Atoni of west Timor.

On language, Mendes Corrêa summarizes that there is no agreement among observers as to language in Timor. Mendes Corrêa enters this field by venturing to establish correlations or absence of correlations between racial distributions of representatives of languages of the island. This is a highly complex exercise and even the author appears to be self-doubting as to where the discussion is headed. We could say that where Mendes Corrêa sees heterogeneity, mixtures, crossovers, anomalies, unsolved questions, gaps, those who followed in his path, namely as discussed below, the Missão Antropologico found very set patterns sufficient to establish maps of ethnolinguistic groups. In a telling passage on mixtures Mendes Corrêa writes:

> [R]acial heterogeneity that we observed may be associated with blood mixture between the conquerors and the conquered or between masters and slaves, with the exogamy

> of some tribes, with "rapes of Sabine," even between populations that keep themselves fiercely isolated from aliens (1944: 191–92).

## *Mendes Corrêa,* Raças do Imperio

Mendes Corrêa's *Raças do Imperio*, published in 1943, offers a synthesis of the racial composition and exotic customs of various metropolitan and colonial subject peoples of the Portuguese empire. Richly illustrated, it purported to organically display all the peoples of the empire. Twenty pages of this work were dedicated to Timor.

Thomaz (2003) summarizes that, in the production of knowledge through the 1930's and 1940's, Mendes Corrêa was entirely coherent with the principles of the Colonial Act and Portuguese colonial policies, notwithstanding the contradictory policies of "assimilation." First, *assimilados* represented a minuscule percentage of the African populations. Secondly, notwithstanding the cultural diversity of empire, state tutelage guaranteed the supremacy of Whites, alongside an ambiguous position for the *mestiços* (demographically insignificant in colonial societies). Thirdly, although the notion of "Christian humanism" traditionally accompanied the Lusotanian colonizers, the risk of moral degeneration in tropical climes was always apparent. In a word, *Raças de Imperio* sought to satisfy one of the major pretensions of the Estado Novo, an integrated and structured imperial hierarchy.

Although Mendes Corrêa appears to have visited Timor for only one month, the subject of an article "A Month in Timor" (1955), his research established certain enduring understandings about the human history of Timor, namely three great migratory movements: first, the arrival of Papuans around 200 BC, which introduced non-Austronesian languages; secondly, the arrival of invaders from the Sulawesi area about 1,000 years ago; and thirdly, the domination of arrivals from the Ambon region of the Maluku islands.

But where Mendes Corrêa produced synthetic texts based upon an encyclopedic reading of extant materials alongside a brief visit to the island, the entry into the field of a state-funded scientific expedition in the early postwar period, as discussed below, paved the way for a veritable "scientific" mapping of the Timorese to a degree never before attempted.

## IX. ANTÓNIO DE ALMEIDA: PHYSICAL ANTHROPOLOGY IN LATE COLONIAL TIMOR

Undoubtedly, António de Almeida (1900–1994) was a central figure in late colonial anthropology in East Timor, officially vested by the Salazar state to ethnographically describe the people of Portugal's overseas territory. Almeida had previously led five anthropological missions to Angola and held the position of assistant on the scientific mission to São Tomé (Seibert, 2007). Arriving in Timor for the first time in 1953, Almeida would head up the newly established Missão Antropologico de Timor (Neto & Marques, 2005). This was a commission bestowed by A. A. Mendes Corrêa, then President of the renamed Junta das Missãos Geograficas e de Investigações Colonias do Ultramar, a department of state. Not only was Almeida vested with authority to establish an investigative mission, but he held virtually official diplomatic status. Almeida also extended his research to include Chinese in Timor and Macau. From 1966 a Brigada de Estudos Antrobiologicos was also established in Macau.

Heading a team of seven researchers from the Anthropological Mission, whose activities continued over a decade, Almeida (1994) concentrated on "mapping" "the physical and physiological anthropology of 31 ethnolinguistic groups" making up the then population of some half million. In turn, the 31 ethnolinguistic groups were divided into six named language groups, Baikenu (Baiqueno), Bunag (Bunak), Fataluku, Makasai, Makua, and Tetum, with other dialects and subdialects. It is not clear how Almeida arrived at this enumeration, but what is clear is that he held firmly with this framing of East Timor culture until his last published articles on the question in 1977. In turn, the 31 "dialects" are both described and cartographically represented in the major work published by Maria Emilia de Castro e Almeida (1982).

Setting aside language loss over the years, modern linguistic research tends to be more agnostic as to fixed colonial taxonomies, just as the field is open to contestation and re-interpretation. We will not digress on the subject of linguistics, but modern research reveals sixteen indigenous vernaculars in East Timor (van Engelenhoven, 2006).

*Sero-Anthropology*

Amazingly, the branch of anthropology that came under a dark cloud of suspicion, owing to its association with eugenics, lingered on in Portuguese Timor. Sero-anthropology is that branch of science concerned with blood groups and race. It was inaugurated in 1919 when bacteriologists Ludvig and Hanna Hirzfeld claimed to have found a causal connection between blood groups and race. The law of blood group inheritance was "proven" in 1924 by Felix Bernstein. His findings were, in the words of two scholars, "both revolutionary and dangerous" (McCarthy & Okroi, 2004: 25). In 1928 the International European Congress of Anthropologists in Amsterdam established a new section for blood groups. In the late 1920's and 1930's German scientists began to misuse Bernstein's theories by mapping German and Austrian populations by blood type. Research into pure versus mixed blood was an undercurrent in this kind of research. In Nazi Germany this research was serviceable to the construction of pure types, as opposed to hybrids.

One of the primary uses of anthropometry or the measuring and mathematical depiction of bodies by anthropologists was the attempted differentiation between supposed differences in races of man and, stemming from this endeavor, to show ways in which some races were supposedly inferior to others. Consistent with his physiology approach, Almeida explained that each individual of his sample would be subject to 60 tests, digital prints, blood types, etc. Diet, customs, and linguistic information were also to be gathered. Importantly, the team included a cameraman and sound technician filming ethnography and folklore in color.

Almeida's (1994) research, published in a range of European scientific journals in Portuguese, French, and English languages, is impressive, just as he ranged over linguistics, ethnobotany, anthropology, and archeology, among other interdisciplinary themes. But certain themes dominated, namely mutilation, including dental mutilation and a fascination with blood typing that also included parallel studies on the Chinese in Timor and Macau. Notably, in *Contribuição para o estudo antropológico dos chineses de Macau residentes no Timor Português*, Almeida (and Maria) established the height and cephalic and nasal indices of fifty adult Macau Chinese residents of Portuguese Timor. Based on this statistical data as well as conclusions drawn from the ABC and Rh bloodgroups

and fingerprints, the writers reach the not surprising conclusion that "this group of Macau Chinese belong to the South Chinese" (1962: 300). Almeida also researched and published such cognate studies as *Contribuição para o estudo da antropologia serólogica dos nativos de Timor Portugulês, de Macau e de S. Tomé e Príncipe* (1955) and "O factor Rh na antropologia de Timor Português" (1959). It is not clear who the Timorese subjects were, whether civilians or prisoners, volunteers or conscripts, but the Chinese were identified as contract workers arriving from Macau. He also authored a sero-anthropological study of the Bosquimanos of Angola (1957). Methodologically, these studies sampled hundreds of individuals, deriving statistical samples, invariably with a view to confirming Bernstein's genetic hypothesis. The results also permitted Almeida to make scientific statements concerning the prevalence of blood groups according to race (White, Negro, Chinese, and/or Timorese).

*Maria Emilia de Castro e Almeida*

Almeida's research was also complemented by and advanced by his collaborator Maria Emilia de Castro e Almeida, as in her monograph titled *Estudo serologico dos grupos etnolinguisticos de Timor-Dili (sistema ABO)*, among other cognate studies conducted in Timor, Angola, and Guinea-Bissau, all in the disciplines of physical anthropology. As summarized in *Estudo serologico*, she offers data on 31 ethnolinguistic groups or a complete "mapa da raças" of Timor in miniature. In adopting the serological approach, she acknowledges that it was Hirzfeld who, in 1918, established that "the frequency of blood groups differed systemically and significantly between diverse populations" (1982: 21). She acknowledges having used blood samples collected by Almeida and collaborators within the Missão Antropologico from 1953 to 1968, as well as having adopted the ethnolinguistic map developed by the Mission.

While the school of physical anthropology generally went into decline in the 1940's, there are survivals. Vinay Kumar Srivastava (2000) explains that in India physical anthropology, with its concern with anthropometrics, dermatoglyphic, and serological studies dealing with ABO system, remained current until the late 1960's and early 1970's, gaining a new lease on life in the 1990's with the advent of sports science and its concerns for measurement. While anthropometry is today largely regarded as a pseudoscience, physi-

cal anthropology has survived as an academic discipline, usually under the rubric of biological anthropology, offering employment in forensic science and a range of medical sciences to which it has retreated.

As such António de Almeida was promotional, not only flagging his own research, but the official Portuguese mission he headed, along with the contributions of seniors, namely Mendes Corrêa and collaborators and, as discussed below, Ruy Cinatti. Obviously, with official imprimatur, Almeida sounded a message to the world: Portugal is not neglecting its colony, but is actively engaged in scientific research of the highest order. Taking Professor Ivo Caneiro de Sousa's thesis at face value, then, Almeida's most enduring—and most contested—contribution to the colonial creation of East Timorese culture is to pronounced ethnic labels.

One of the consequences of colonial rule was to impose labels upon indigenous peoples on the basis of some apparent shared cultural or physical trait. We could multiply examples from British Burma and Malaya, and French and Portuguese colonies generally. Researching in former French Laos, Michael Moerman (1965) first announced the difficulty of ethnic identification in his classic study of the Lue. Finally, Moerman determined that Lue-ness only made sense as an emic category of ascription (cf. Erikson, 1993). Following Soviet traditions, such socialist countries as China and Vietnam went further in elaborating fixed ethnolinguistic taxonomies.

As Schouten observes, in setting up carefully detailed taxonomies of ethnic groups and exercising a great concern for naming, Almeida neglected "frontiers" between diverse groups whose boundaries were not as fixed as he contended (2001: 164). Thus the observations of J. G. Barros e Cunha (1944) as to "the mixtures of races" were passed over. The only categories Almeida allowed were "others" or Luso-descendants. Nor did he consider a category to include Africanos, a reference to Mozambican and Angolan soldiers and their offspring. Chinese and Indonesian influences were also downplayed. Rather, physical and mental characteristics as group attributes were stressed, while Portugalization was seen as ever expanding, at least as part of a *missão civilizadora* (Schouten, 2001: 164).

Schouten also elaborates that Almeida seldom saw merit in protecting East Timorese culture, such as *ikat* (weaving), in the face of superior Western practice, as demonstrated by the postwar prac-

tice of discouraging the *lipo* (sarong) as male attire (2001: 166). The same bias applied to native superstition: if only Catholicism could take root, so much the better. Schouten's critique of Portuguese cultural imperialism also has to be offset by the thesis of colonial neglect. She also hints that, outside of military campaigns and some economic extraction, Portugal's writ ran lightly.

Even so, and setting aside the official character of Almeida's mission, his penchant for the esoteric and pseudoscientific (the study of blood types) hardly made the body of his work serviceable in any policy sense. Mostly, Almeida's research fitted Talal Asad's understanding that colonial anthropology was too esoteric to be taken very seriously. I have also explained that Portugal ran Timor more as protectorate than colony, not in administrative terms exactly, but in the distance they kept from many isolated communities (Gunn, 1999). Even so, Almeida's interest in ethnobotanical transfers from Brazil fits a contemporary interest and even fascination in the global diffusion of cultures.

## X. TOWARD AN ETHICAL ANTHROPOLOGY

Leal (1999) confirms that, in the 1950's and 1960's, an alternative view of ethnography began to emerge from under the shadows of the dictatorship at the hand of a number of left-wing intellectuals. In part, as explained below, Jorge Dias led the way in transcending the focus on nationalistic culture by shifting his emphasis to a non-Western culture, namely the Makonde of northern Mozambique. Even so, this endeavor was within colonial anthropology and Dias could be critiqued as perpetuating a mixture of raciology along with the folklorist thrust of Portuguese colonial anthropology.

### *Ruy Cinatti (1915–1986)*

One figure stands out in Portuguese ethnography for shifting his frame of reference to a more people-oriented approach. This was Ruy Cinatti (Vaz Monteiro Gomes) (1915–1986). Cinatti was also outstanding in documenting and presenting knowledge on East Timorese culture in the postwar period. Cinatti first arrived in the colony in July 1946, as secretary of Governor Oscar de Vasconcellos Ruas. In late 1947, relieved of his secretarial duties,

he conducted a geographical survey of the colony as part of his master's dissertation research. Back in Lisbon in 1948, his thesis was awarded with distinction. Returning to Timor, Cinatti was appointed head of agricultural services (1951–1955). As his biographer Stilwell notes, Cinatti's affection for the Timorese had grown and he became convinced that sustainable agriculture was only possible if carried out "in articulation with the local culture and with respect for the need to conserve the forests" (2001: 156).

Back in Lisbon in 1956, he published a controversial manifesto "Em favor dos Timorenses" [In Favor of the Timorese]. Meantime, in October 1957 he gained permission to undertake studies leading to a doctorate at Oxford University in social and cultural anthropology. His chosen title was, "The Ecology, History and Material Culture of Portuguese Timor with Special Reference to the Habitat of the Indigenous Population." In December 1961, he returned to Timor to begin fieldwork. But he was also shocked at the way that the cultural heritage was being degraded (Stilwell, 2001: 156). We merely observe that the Oxford school of social anthropology, then associated with E. E. Evans-Pritchard, rejected the scientific assumptions of functionalism as represented by Radcliffe-Brown and argued that social anthropology belongs to the humanities. Arguably, Cinatti's later work took this turn, at least in the sense that he communicated his findings to a wider academic and even public community.

Back in the field in 1961–62, he engaged in intensive fieldwork, which importantly included filming. His 1962 film, *Timor*, produced by the Centro de Estudos de Antropologico Tropical, Junta da Investigações do Ultramar, offered a glimpse of Timor from 1957–60 on a wide range of themes, including folklore, flora, botanical topics, buffalo sacrifice, dances, and popular culture. Returning to Portugal, apparently disillusioned to witness the "third invasion" of Timor by a newly arriving cadre of Angola hands, it has been suggested that Cinatti's critical position versus the colonial administration may have led him to withdraw from the field (Oliveira, 2005).

In fact, Cinatti never completed his dissertation, although he published three scientific papers relevant to his research. An accomplished writer and poet, Cinatti (1974; 1987; 1996) nevertheless gained an enviable reputation as an expert on East Timor, winning admiration in Timor as well as in Europe, just as his copiously illus-

trated *Arquitectura Timorense* remains an iconic work. As explained in its introduction, this work shifts the attention to "habitat," its interpretation and classification, as "essential for the study of human geography" (1987: 7). He died in 1986, soon after presenting an exhibition on East Timor. The republication of certain of his works gained a further following in East Timor solidarity circles in the 1990's.

The Cinatti collection includes 3,900 photographs and 245 16mm color films (apparently 6,000 meters), later deposited in the National Museum of Ethnology, where he worked from 1975–85. Commencing in 1999, the Cinatti photograph collection was progressively digitalized and, following the difficult process of identification of the photos, was cataloged with a view to providing film copy to East Timor cultural institutions.

It is also true that the Missão Antropologico, led by Almeida (1976) and assisted by Cinatti, pioneered significant research on the history of human occupation on Timor through excavations at sites including Kere Kere, with its well-known rock paintings. Such research was advanced by the Australian researcher Glover (1972; 1977; 1986) who, using radiocarbon dating, determined that Austronesian speakers arriving on Timor between 4,000 and 3,500 years ago caused significant geomorphologic impacts through systematic fires. More recent investigations in the Tutuala caves have determined that human occupation on Timor reaches back 35,000 years (O'Connor, 2003).

### *Jorge Barros Duarte,* Timor: Ritos e Mitos Atauros

Portuguese ethnology, at least as conducted in Timor, only appears to have freed itself from the fetish for physiognomy and the hand of the state with the entry into the field of Jorge Barros Duarte circa 1955, leading to the publication of his magnus opus, *Timor: Ritos e Mitos Atauros* (1984). But Duarte was Portuguese and Timorese. Born in Timor, he was both a priest and a member of the colonial national assembly.

Although apparently self-taught, Duarte's approach is much closer to the North American-British deep fieldwork approach, with an emphasis upon religion and beliefs as revealed over a life-cycle. Steeped in Atauro language, Duarte collected tape recordings of Atauro songs and legends from 1959 until 1969 and can

also be credited with the compilation of an Atauro-Portuguese/Portuguese-Atauro dictionary. He specifically reveals a debt to the pioneering study on Atauro by Antonio Leite de Magalhaes (1918). Barros also adopts a rare approach in the history of Portuguese ethnography of allowing a certain cultural relativism, notably allowing the integrity of Atauro beliefs and totemism at a moment when missionary influence was extremely restricted. Duarte also acknowledges the writings of Luis Filipe Thomaz as well as the assistance of a range of Timorese informants, including the help of Timor-born maestro Simao Barreto in notating Atauro music, a rare work of ethnomusicology.

Time did not stand still even under the Salazar dictatorship, and we wonder as to the impacts of North American and British cultural anthropology within Portugal itself. Long the preserve of Portuguese nationals, as discussed below, Portuguese Timor also presented itself as a site of great fascination for late-arriving British-American and French anthropologists, when access was finally granted in the closing years of the colonial order.

*The Jorge Dias School and its Impacts*

With time, the Porto school of anthropology under Mendes Corrêa passed the baton to Porto-born Jorge Dias (1907–1973) and a rising generation of cultural anthropologists. Returning from doctoral studies in Germany in 1947, Dias became increasingly influential in the postwar period. From 1947, he led the Centro do Estudos de Etnografia Peninsula with a focus upon Portuguese society, such as with his study on "national character" (1953). In 1956 Dias was invited to Lisbon and charged with advancing ethnological studies in the colonies. In 1962 he headed the Center of Social and Cultural Anthropology for the study of non-European societies, and headed up the National Museum of Ethnology (1965). He also pioneered the teaching of ethnology and social and cultural anthropology at the universities of Coimbra and Lisbon. Although Dias and his wife Margot Dias focused upon Mozambique, certain of their students also entered the East Timor field of studies.

One such student of Dias in the 1964–65 period was Antonio Duarte de Almeida e Carmo, author of *O povo Mambai: contribuição para o estudo do povo do grupo linguístico Mambai-Timor* (1965). Duarte, in turn, served as secretary of Governor Filipe Barata, ar-

riving in East Timor in 1959 in the wake of the rebellion in distant Viqueque province and its bloody repression, an event which jolted the colonial administration (cf. Gunn, 1999). Duarte's research also fitted colonial priorities to better know the "*usos e costumes*" of the people of Timor. He also sought, apparently unsuccessfully, to construct an ethnographical museum in Timor under official auspices. Departing from Mendes Corrêa's synthetic approach, the focus of this study would be on one people, the Mambai of Ermera where, in a first phase, he conducted extensive fieldwork. During a second stage, back in Lisbon in 1964–65, he extended his reading and knowledge of the broader literature on Australia, Oceania, and the Malay world. He also lamented that the Biblioteca Municipal, destroyed during the Pacific War, had not been restored at the time of his fieldwork. The various chapters of this work divide into: geographical distribution and origins; individual life; family system; social life; economic life; art and literature; and beliefs. While a fine ethnography of one people in the Portuguese tradition established by Dias in Mozambique, there is no concluding statement or summary and no attempt to contribute to theory, as with the British school of functionalists. While accepting the fourfold categorization of human types as elaborated by Mendes Corrêa, along with Almeida's typing by group, Duarte's discussion does not offer a breakthrough on such questions as the connection between language and group and the overall question of origins, but does escape the trap of physical anthropology by a deeper exploration of family-kin networks, along with material and economic culture of the Mambai. Another who turned his posting in the remote eastern part of the island to advantage was soldier-conscript, Francisco de Azevedo Gomes, who collected data on one "ethnolinguistic group," leading to a dissertation, *Os Fataluku*, presented to Universidade Tecnica de Lisboa (1972). Gomes, who claims to have won good rapport with his Fataluku informants, adopts a three part schema: first, "spirit culture," including legends and myths, rituals and beliefs, customary law, and Portuguese cultural influence; second, "social structure;" and third, "material culture." As Gomes acknowledges, two influences on his work were Jorge Dias and Malinowski. It is evident that a self-consciousness as to method distinguishes this unpublished work, especially from Pinto Corrêa, although it also falls within the tradition of deep fieldwork and linguistic competence.

The last decade of colonial rule also coincided with the period when non-Portuguese anthropologists commenced to make their entry into the field. Among them was David Hicks (1971), student of E. E. Evans-Pritchard and Rodney Needham of Oxford University, who arrived in Timor in 1966 to commence fieldwork in Viqueque. The Portuguese colony also attracted attention from a number of European anthropologists, including Louis Berthe (1972), studying the Bunaq; Gerard Francillon (1967), studying the "southern Tetun"; Brigitte Clamagirand (1980), studying the Ema; and the geographer Joachim Metzner (1977), studying the eastern region; along with the Americans, Shephard Forman (1980) and Toby Lazarowitz (1980), studying the Makasai; and Elizabeth Traube (1986), the Mambai; all are invaluable monographs in a period preceding tumult and massive irreversible social change.

Compulsory military service also saw a number of Portuguese graduate students dispatched to late colonial Timor. Historian by training and posted to Timor in the early 1970's, Luis Filipe Thomaz researched and published several important papers on social and historical linguistics. Originally published in 1974 in the Portuguese journal *Portugaliaie Historica*, these papers were collected and published in a separate volume *Babel Loro sae: O Problema Linguistico de Timor-Leste* (2002), no doubt making a statement at a time when the status of the official language was hotly debated inside and outside of the new nation. Additionally, Thomaz wrote a number of important papers on material culture (fishing) and urbanism, among other themes.

As the author also observed first-hand in Portuguese East Timor in 1967 and 1968—as a student of Indonesian language and, in 1972, as interpreter for an oil company when dumped on a beach on the remote southern coast among a hunter-gatherer community—the neglected colonial backwater also offered up a human treasury or virtual laboratory of little cultures and proudly cherished traditions, not outside of colonial capitalist contact, but with great social ballast at the same time.

But during the long 24-year Indonesian military occupation of East Timor (1975–99), the half-island territory remained virtually closed to outsiders. As far as can be established, no substantive fieldwork was conducted during this period of traumatic change, which led to the deaths of between one-quarter and one-third of the population, just as survivors faced down forced relocation

alongside massive social and cultural change. Today, as briefly summarized below, Timor island and its myriad little cultures yield to new forms of investigation, whether as science or whether fitting the cultural studies perspective, just as the newly independent state of Timor-Leste seeks to re-invent itself.

## XI. THE HAPLOTYPE MAPPING OF EAST TIMOR

Science has moved on, just as a concern for bioethics has entered mainstream liberal discourse. Today cultural studies brings to the fore such concerns as identity, including ethnicity, and even shared memory. Rather than accepting taxonomic givens, such as attended the rise of evolutionary studies within and without the Marxist traditions, cultural studies in its postmodern form both explores and celebrates hybridity, exchange, and crossover. Whereas racial stereotyping long ago lost respectability, at least in liberal science, linguistic mapping has never lost its fascination and draws from several traditions and stimuli.

In the vast Asia-Pacific region, the Austronesian Dispersion Thesis, as propounded by such scholars as Bellwood (1991; 2004), has given great stimulus to researchers into archeology, physical anthropology, linguistics, and human genetics in the search for an Austronesian homeland, whether southern China-Taiwan or whether centered around eastern Indonesia (Rolett et al., 2002). Undoubtedly, as well, DNA testing and haplotype mapping of target populations also raises ethical questions, although science undoubtedly is the driver of such research.

Independent East Timor (Timor-Leste) has entered this field as a site known for the diversity of its languages. In fact, some 25% of the world's languages are found in the broad region stretching from Timor to the Solomon Islands. As Souto et al. (2006) underline, and as pioneering research on Timor island has demonstrated, the multiple East Timorese languages are usually assigned to an Austronesian or non-Austronesian (usually called Papuan) family. Following Bellwood (1991), they note that Papuan languages are considered a more archaic substrate, possibly relating to the independent development of agriculture in Papua New Guinea and subsequent expansion to Timor. By contrast, in the Austronesian Expansion Thesis, Austronesian sea-born expansion moved out of

southern China in one of the fastest and widest expansions of prehistoric times, out from Easter Island to Madagascar. Still, this is a thesis, as eastern Indonesia is also held to be a cradle of the Austronesian wave.

With its 15 or so surviving languages, East Timor re-emerges today as a laboratory in which to test genetic—or in scientific jargon, Y-STR haplotype diversity. Souto et al. (2006) sought to characterize the diversity within 12 different East Timor linguistic groups, namely Tetum, Kwaimina (Nauete), Galoli, Wetarese, Dawan, Mambai, Kemak, Tokodede, Bunak (Bunaq), Makasai, Makalero, and Fataluku. Following Hull (1998; 2004), they adopted a three-cluster linguistic division; two from the Timorese-Austronesian branch (Fabronic and Ramelaic) and a third including languages related to the trans-New Guinea (Papuan) phylum. They found that low non-significant distances were found between all population pairs inside the Austronesian-Ramaleic samples. Within the trans-New Guinean (Papuan) samples, no significant distances were found between Makasai, Makalero, and Fataluku. In other words, the genetic data supports the traditional Papuan versus Austronesian dichotomy and even the three-language combination tested. Even so (although not proven) linguistic difference does not necessarily mean cultural difference.

Bunak (geographically isolated in the center west) yielded highly significant differences with all samples, including those from other major language groups. It is not related to any other language; Bunak speakers are not understood by their Austronesian neighbors, and Bunak is quite differentiated from other Papuan-like languages. Wetarese (also spoken on Atauro) speakers were also found to be an outsider population. They display greater affinity toward the Papuan than the Austronesian-Fabronic. Souto et al. (2006) confirmed that the most homogeneous groups are those precisely following the three wide classification groups, i.e., Fabronic/Ramelaic/Papuan. Overall, though, the present East Timor ethnolinguistic groups are closer to Papuans than to Southeast Asians, even those classified as "Austronesians."

## XII. CONCLUSION

Our anthropology of colonialism in Portuguese (East) Timor reveals that, from the earliest times, systematic collection of ethnographic data, from skulls to photographs to colonial exhibits, obliquely served the colonial administration of the colony, at least in the sense of privileging certain civilizations and races over others, even if Timor was more a protectorate than a typical colonial labor reserve, as were Portugal's African colonies. From broader evolutionist concerns with race and biology, doggedly surviving into the 1960's, to the more ethical and empathetic investigations of the late colonial period, we have also viewed how Portuguese colonial anthropology proved resistant to many new emerging currents in British, continental, and North American anthropology.

Undeniably, from its origins in the late nineteenth–early twentieth centuries, the method of scientific investigation of colonial subjects such as adopted by Portuguese investigators in Timor, as with craniology and other physiological techniques, was derivative of British and continental schools and inspirations. But this is not surprising given modern Portugal's economic marginality alongside other European colonial powers and their respective research institutions and scholarly circles.

Alongside physiological studies, mostly conducted in museums and laboratories, academic-based ethnographical fieldwork had little place in metropolitan academic circles in Portugal, much less in the colonies until the postwar period. This is all the more surprising given the range of human societies and civilizations which these colonial possessions straddled from Africa to Asia. But the long decades of intellectual closure forced by the dictatorship would also have major impacts upon the way that colonial anthropology developed in Portugal.

During the interwar period, when ethnology/anthropology emerged in Europe/North America as an academic discipline, branching into the broad areas of social and cultural anthropology, Portugal lagged by decades in engaging such debates in an academic sense, with few practitioners and little output. The physiology school (the Porto School) with all its scientific presumptions doggedly survived in Portuguese ethnological circles until the early postwar period.

Although outside of the purview of this article, major research conducted by the Leiden School, such as that done by F. A. E. van Wouden (1968 [1935]) into segmentary societies of the eastern Indonesian archipelago at large, was not actively pursued by Portuguese researchers, though his method of "systematic examination of specific analysis to comparative assessment and from general principles to specific instances," as summarized by Australia-based anthropologist James Fox (1989: 429), undoubtedly offered lessons to researchers in the Timor area. In any case, van Wouden was only translated into English (by Rodney Needham) in 1968.

North American/European social and cultural anthropology, by contrast, had long moved away from the search for universal laws, such as those implied by the physiology school, in the direction of holistic understandings of traditional societies. British social anthropology, such as represented by Malinowski and Radcliffe-Brown, was further distinguished by its concerns for rigorous fieldwork and systemic cross-cultural comparison. Such currents, broadly structural-functionalist, found few emulators in Portugal in this age. With its concerns for culture, cross-cultural comparison, and, by the 1960's, quantitative cultural comparisons alongside "thick description," North American anthropology had also moved on significantly.

While France was long an intellectual pole of attraction for Portuguese intellectuals, it is not surprising that French Marxist-inspired anthropology of the 1960's and 1970's made no headway in Portugal under the tightly controlled Estado Novo. And although research in former French Africa by inter alia, Georges Balandier, Claude Meillassoux, and Samir Amin drew attention to precapitalist societies, primitive accumulation, unequal exchange, modes of production analysis, tributary systems, etc., no such research paradigm emerged from the Portuguese empire, Timor included.

Even critiques of the ahistorical British functionalist school, such as Edward Leach's research on Burma in the early postwar period, do not appear to have been echoed in Portuguese anthropological circles. Whereas, for example, Leach arrived at important findings on conflict and change within so-called traditional societies (cf. Gunn, 1999: 516–17), no such analogous understandings appeared in Portuguese ethnology of the early postwar period, at least not on Timor. Rather, we behold an idealized picture of a

largely static and changeless society cocooned from endogenous and even exogenous influences.

While in Portugal Jorge Dias was an important figure in introducing both social and cultural anthropology into the academic curriculum, at least by the mid-1960's, it would appear that—in the absence of a democratic culture at home—no such critical mass appeared to break the weight of establishment colonial ethnology, at least as applied in the colonies. But the period also coincided with Portugal's African wars amidst the rise of national liberation fronts and guerrilla wars, offering neither the luxury of fieldwork nor official endorsement. Simply, while the rest of Europe may have divested its empire in fits and starts, Portugal wrestled with questions of governance, cultural assimilation, and control.

In Timor, only a few stumbling, albeit talented amateurs had embraced the practice of long fieldwork and holistic analysis, more generally a standard of life-cycle observation pioneered by Malinowski, Raymond Firth, and others (Pinto, 1935; Duarte, 1984). We do not doubt the energy and scientific output of such official Portuguese scholars as António de Almeida—and the range of his studies across disciplines is impressive—but it is clear that official research had little time for the generation of theory for theory's sake.

Even the notion of anthropological mission such as adopted by the Estado Novo in Timor and Portugal's African colonies appeared to defy new academic trends in Portugal such as represented by the advent of the Dias school. Such missions, embedded in official space, state-funded, and vested with diplomatic status, rather blatantly served official purposes to the extent that lessons could be derived, as illustrated by the perpetuated focus upon racial mapping and sero-anthropology or blood-typing.

Oxford-trained Ruy Cinatti was singular in his ability to absorb and apply new trends in both social and cultural anthropology, including a concern for the humanities over the scientific presumptions of functionalism. Cinatti also appears to be singular in his understanding of change in Timorese society, whether environmental or otherwise, such as was published in his "Alguns aspectos de mundança social no Timor Português" (1974). But Cinatti was a maverick within the Portuguese establishment and was never able to bring his work in Timor to full fruition.

Surprisingly, out of this rich human treasury, no new research paradigms emerged and only in rare cases were the concepts of

British/North American social and cultural anthropologists even tested against local experiences (cf. Gomes, 1972).

Even when, in the early 1970's, the door was temporarily ajar in Timor, offering the first access to North American, British, and French fieldworkers, no apparent cross-fertilization of ideas or concepts or findings percolated through to Portugal and, seemingly, few lessons were read out of Portuguese ethnology by this select group of Anglophonic and continental researchers.

But to answer Talal Asad's objection as to the relative importance of colonial anthropology alongside other forces and actors, it is true that, in Timor, the focus on the esoteric (skulls) and bizarre (blood-types) may have clouded official Portuguese understandings of undercurrents of discontent, such as exploded in the face of the establishment in 1959 with the Viqueque rebellion of that year. Nevertheless, colonial anthropology became an important trope serving Portuguese colonial mythology, especially on the sensitive question of race relations, assimilation, and the status of mixed race populations, just as the empire came under critical challenge, not only by the forces of national liberation but by international critics, from liberals to the United Nations. Portuguese anthropology of course moved on after the 1974 revolution.

As Leal (1999) observes, a concern for historical anthropology or the study of particular anthropologists and genres—such as the present study—is also part of a reflexive trend, as is my concern with the connection between contemporary Portuguese and international anthropology.

While the notion of a "multiracial harmonious empire," such as given intellectual currency by the Brazilian sociologist Gilberto Freyre (1940) and actively endorsed by Salazar, was unmasked as both a Brazilian myth and a legitimizing ideology to delay decolonization, there is no question that the Lusotropical trope tapped into a deep vein of metropolitan colonial nostalgia. Such understandings, we have seen, also extended to late colonial Timor.

Taking Timor as the field of inquiry, this article has offered a discussion on Portuguese colonial discourse and practice as it evolved in the first half of the twentieth century through the life work of key anthropologists set against the institutions in which they worked with a view to answering larger questions on the nexus between colonialism and anthropology, as well as contributing

to the evolving discussion on East Timor identity, appropriation, and uses of historical discourse.

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