MOUNTAINS AND BLACK RACES:

Anthropology’s Heterotopias in Colonial East Timor

Ricardo Roque

Institute of Social Sciences, University of Lisbon
Av. Prof. Aníbal Bettencourt, 9, 1600-189 Lisboa, Portugal
ricardo.roque@ics.ul.pt

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ABSTRACT

This article explores the pivotal status of mountain spaces in the 19th-century imaginary of wild peoples and black races in island Oceania. It adopts the notion of ‘heterotopia’ in order to examine how arrangements of human difference and spatial alterity were productively brought together in racial anthropology and in colonial praxis. Taking the example of the Portuguese former colony of East Timor, I argue that anthropological theories of ‘mountain negroes’, local categories of ‘mountain enemies’, and experiences of colonial hostility were mutually reinforcing.

This essay explores a central theme in the 19th-century science of race in Oceania: the western obsession with ‘black’, ‘dark-colored’ people, with their history, geographical distribution and classification. Blackness as a trope and black as a colour have long been associated with cultural otherness in Western conceptions, especially in the context of colonisation. From the 15th century, attitudes towards blacks in western Europe hardened in the context of overseas expansion and the developing African slave trade; from the end of the 18th century, the combination between the new human and natural sciences and a renewed phase of Western colonial expansion led to a growing racialisation of such attitudes.

In addressing this theme, I am interested in how the attachment to this specific idea of other human races was shaped in connection with specific ideas about, and actual encounters with, certain other physical spaces. Ethnology, like natural history, merged with geography in a common project of knowledge from the late 18th century. The physical affinities and historical relations between peoples throughout the globe and the influence that physical geography and climate were believed to have on the development of human types were a compelling object of study for those interested in discussing, on empirical grounds, the momentous issues of the origins and variety of Man. By the mid-19th century, inquiries into the variety of races and their distinct genesis had become inseparable from inquiries into the variety of spaces inhabited by
different populations. From the outset, for instance, human variety in the Pacific was cast in regional and geographical topographies. Thus it may be that, in the course of these inquiries, some real places acquired a special position in the overall project of racial classification, a singular capacity to mobilise anthropological imagination and research on certain ‘human races’ – savage, black, races, for example. I refer to a kind of site, at once imaginary and material, that had the distinctive property of being in relation to the whole remaining order of an ‘anthropological region’, in such a way that it could invent, neutralise, or subvert the orderings of human difference that it was meant to designate – the kind of special sites and places that, after Michel Foucault, I propose to describe as anthropological heterotopias.

I shall explore this hypothesis in relation to the heterotopias of a specific ‘ethnological region’: the ‘Malay’ or ‘Indian’ Archipelago, a regional category in the process of being distinguished in 19th-century European inquiries as a single, connected ethno-geographical whole. I will focus particularly on the second half of the 19th century, as this appears to have been an historical period when the idea of dark-coloured Oceanic races was at its height as the driving force of (physical) anthropological research on the Malay Archipelago. I will suggest that the central mountains of this island world have configured such a kind of special place. In being persistently conceived as the homeland of dark-coloured human beings, as the ultimate primordial sites of the most ancient inhabitants of the islands, the mountains came to constitute a powerful locale of human alterity in racial inquiries. The otherness of dark-coloured races and the otherness of mountain spaces were then to be constituted as mutually dependent.

By standing for the elected space of black races, and as such virtually compensating for the difficulties in isolating racial types, mountains became sites about which any sort of evidence or speculation seemed crucial in settling broader ethnological issues within the Archipelago, as sites capable of critically interfering with the entire ordering of races that they were called on to represent. Accordingly, mountains can be considered as heterotopias in the unique relation they maintained with the wider
spatial units and racial categories within which, at different scales, they were arranged – for instance, from one specific island (Timor, for example, as we shall see below) to the general ethno-geographical region under consideration, such as the ‘Malay Archipelago’. As heterotopias of human difference, however, mountains were not of interest exclusively to scientific anthropology. They were critical to political order. Mountains embodied the tensions in relationships between colonial collectives and Indigenous people, thus bearing a heterotopian potential to build up or undermine colonial expansionism and claims to power. This paper suggests that the driving force of mountains in 19th-century racial anthropology needs to be addressed in close articulation with experiences and imageries of rugged mountains as political ‘other spaces’. Perceived by colonial rulers as homeland to the most hostile, untamed, and savage peoples, mountain spaces in East Timor were also strategically chosen by Indigenous people as sites to escape, keep at bay, and oppose the webs of colonial violence and rule.5

Mountains were not the sole sites endowed with similar heterotopian forces in anthropological equations of primordial and wild peoples, races, or cultures. Wild jungles and densely forested interior areas were captured in the colonial imaginaries in a comparable manner.6 In island Southeast Asia and Oceania, mountains possibly shared their heterotopian qualities with other places also associated with perceived interiority, wilderness, and remoteness, in particular with ‘interior settings’ such as remote forests and jungles where ‘wild men’ (little people, ‘Pygmies’, for example) were also thought to be resident.7 Interior deserts, in other instances, played an analogous function in anthropologists’ imagination of ‘primitive cultures’.8 It is also the case that the special condition of mountains was not the preserve of island Oceania or even of non-European settings. At least until the end of the 18th century, the Scottish Highlands were regarded as a “‘wild, uncivilized land’” peopled by “‘barbarous hordes’”.9 Many mountain communities in Asia appeared in anthropological and colonial imagery in close relation to the tropes of primitivism, barbarity, or, especially in 19th-century contexts, colonial hostility and warfare.10 In this light, the analysis of
Mountains as anthropological heterotopias proposed in this essay holds wider comparative significance for studying the culture and politics of the spatialisation of human difference. Seeking inspiration in Foucault’s insights, I shall suggest that the heterotopian condition of mountain sites in Oceania – and maybe, then, of analogous other places – can be approached from three interconnected angles. I begin by exposing these analytical dimensions in an abstract manner but seek, in the course of the paper, to illuminate them empirically.

Mountains as heterotopias

A first dimension concerns the singular relationship that island mountain sites have established with anthropological conceptions of time. In effect, in ethnological discourse, mountains did not constitute just topographical entities; they were also, and importantly, chronological locations. A crucial trait of mountain spaces as homelands of savage races was their juxtaposition of distinct or contradictory times. Often articulated in evolutionary or civilising idioms, mountains overlapped contemporary experience with a mythical temporality. They were experienced as sites oriented towards a mythical, primeval, eternal, anthropological time because the dark-coloured people they were supposed to harbour were equally perceived as the most ancient aboriginal races, whose origins were immemorial. As such, the mountains epitomised in physical space anthropology’s ‘denial of coevalness’ to the Other, the ‘temporal discourse’ through which 19th-century anthropology then created, as Johannes Fabian observed, its own peculiar object of knowledge, ‘the savage, the primitive, the Other’. This temporal imagery pervaded many influential 19th-century conceptions.

The extraordinary condition of mountain sites might be found across Western cultural traditions and myths that conceive of mountains as mythical or liminal locations between earth and heaven or as places of special contact with other, outer, heavenly, worlds or entities. ‘Discovered’ by science during the Enlightenment and the Romantic age, mountains were re-enchanted in scientific geographical explorations as privileged zones wherein bodily experiences of the sublime overlapped with revealing
visions of the complexities of the natural world. Anthropological considerations eventually preserved this aura by linking black races and mountain spaces with visions of human primordiality, primitivism, and savagery. Mountain inhabitants were regarded as the living record of mankind long past, as secluded humans immune to an important extent to major historical and geological turbulence. Thus the hilly areas offered researchers the opportunity to travel back to the origins of man and, by the same token, to the origin of many plant and animal species. ‘The various beings thus left stranded [on mountain-summits]’, Charles Darwin remarked in 1859 in *The Origin of Species*, ‘may be compared with savage races of man, driven up and surviving in the mountain-fastnesses of almost every land, which serve as a record, full of interest to us, of the former inhabitants of the surrounding lowlands.’

A second analytical aspect refers to the function of mountain sites in relation to the problems of anthropological classification and ethnological theory. My suggestion is that their function was to create, to paraphrase Foucault, ‘another space that is perfect’, an absolutely perfect anthropological place, a site where the idealised vision of a world ordered according to pure racial types and characters would appear in reality to the observer in all its crystalline purity. As definitional spaces of the savage and primitive Other, mountains thus seemed to compensate for the anthropologists’ difficulty in coming to terms with the ‘problem’ of racial ‘admixture’, the imbroglio of biological ‘hybridisms’ that seemed to pervade the Malay Archipelago. In effect, at the same time that mountains safeguarded the timeless primitive, they also supposedly contained human races virtually without mixture, the purest representatives. In addition, they offered a solution to the genealogical problem of racial theory, for these pure black mountaineers constituted a record of an original, autochthonous race. In the context of research on the Malay Archipelago, the idea that more ‘civilised’, mixed-race Malays dwelled principally in coastal zones and that the unexplored, mountainous interior of the islands sheltered contemporary survivors of the oldest aboriginals was undisputed in ethnological works since at least the mid-18th century. Such inland areas were seen as the final refuge of black autochthones.
expelled from coastal regions by more civilised, lighter-skinned ‘Malays’. This narrative held sway in pre-racial discourse long before the 19th century and continued across the discursive spectrum. Hence in 19th-century theories of race, whereas coastal areas came to represent spaces of puzzling, virtually unclassifiable, mixed-race populations, mountains came to stand for the physical sites of pure races, thereby embodying anthropology’s hope of achieving a taxonomy of human diversity according to idealised racial types.

Finally, an important dimension of mountain heterotopias during the period of Western colonial intrusion into Oceania lay in the fact that they were not solely concerned with scientific or racial constructs. They also materialised other spatialisations of alterity which held colonial and/or Indigenous significance. Mountains are to be seen as heterotopias of otherness in a wider sense, as distinct places on which multiple conceptions and experiences of human alterity – potentially combinable and mutually reinforcing but also potentially conflicting and contradictory – might critically juxtapose. This idea points to the significance of investigating how, in praxis and in discourse, distinct colonial, Indigenous, and scientific heterotopias interacted; how they were brought together; and how they might have converged or instead came to follow separate paths. In this regard, the constitution of mountains as other spaces and spaces of human otherness offers fertile ground for exploring the theme of dark-coloured races at the intersection of colonial events, Indigenous understandings, and anthropological sciences. The case of East Timor draws attention to the mutually reinforcing circulation between colonial experiences of Indigenous hostility and anthropological experiences of ‘black races’ in the mountains. The island’s inhabitants came to be simultaneously portrayed in Portuguese accounts as a kind of ‘Oceanic negroes’ and as a category of untamed rebels and savages that threatened the order and ambitions of colonial authority. As such, the hills and mountains did not just represent spaces where one could travel back to the origins of man; they also meant places where one was taken into worlds beyond the political reach of colonial states and empires.
The island of Timor – and the Portuguese colony of East Timor, in particular – is a rich site for exploring these issues. Throughout the 19th century and subsequently, Timor was a puzzling site for anthropologists. Its transitional geographical location and the apparently ‘mixed’ or ‘juxtaposed’ nature of its inhabitants seemed to make it virtually irreducible to existing categories, drastically materialising the ambivalences and tensions of the Archipelago’s racial topography. Yet, this was countered by a powerful and largely uncontroversial imagery. A striking feature of Timor’s environment (and of East Timor in particular) is the impressive rugged relief, represented by the contorted mass of mountains – ‘a confused mass of knife-edged, highly dissected ridges trending in various and craggy upland blocks [...] with elevations up to 3,000 metres’ – that cut from west to east through the centre of the whole island. It was in the isolation of these central mountainous lands that European ethnologists thought the purity of Timor’s most ancient, original black populations was preserved amongst living representatives of the wildest tribes. The search for aboriginal negroid tribes in the mountains of Timor, then, became the leitmotif of ethnological research grounded either on field observations or on the study of collections of human skulls.

I thus take Timor as a paradigmatic example of how the different themes of mountain heterotopias were played out in the science of race as well as in colonial praxis. The first section will consider how ‘black races’ and ‘mountain peoples’ became a privileged object of investigation in the context of European debates on the races of Timor and of the Malay Archipelago more generally. I shall trace here the commanding influence of mountain spaces as anthropological heterotopias in the two most important, yet conflicting, proposals to arrange the Timorese populations within ‘negro’ racial categories from the 1860s to the 1890s: the classification of the Timorese within the Papuan race by the English naturalist and fieldworker Alfred Russel Wallace; and the enquiries into the existence of Negritos in Timor by the armchair French anthropologists Armand de Quatrefages and Ernest-Théodore Hamy. The second section explores mountain heterotopias at the juncture of anthropological and colonial
constructs and, to a lesser extent, Indigenous perceptions in East Timor. By exploring materials from the Portuguese colonial archives, my purpose is to address how the heterotopias of mountain sites could simultaneously articulate anthropological ideas of primordial black races, colonial imageries of enmity and savagery, and Indigenous understandings of protection and alterity.

The mountain ‘negroes’ of Timor and the science of race

In his celebrated work *The Malay Archipelago* (1869), Wallace proposed an ‘ethnological line’ that divided the Malay Archipelago into two clear-cut racial types: ‘the Malays who inhabit almost exclusively the western half of the Archipelago and the Papuans whose head-quarters are New Guinea and some of the adjacent islands’.20 According to Wallace, the island of Timor was located on the western, Papuan, or Oceanic side of the ethnological divide. Because Timor was positioned so close to the Malay side of the divide, its inhabitants displayed a rather strong ‘mixture’ of characteristics of the two races. But Wallace never doubted his definitive conclusion that, with respect to both moral and physical characters, the Timorese were ‘much nearer to the true Papuan’.21 The contrast between coast and mountains was decisive to Wallace’s conclusion on Timor’s racial position. Indeed, mountains were the real sites from which Wallace collected the revealing field data that determined where on the map he would place Timor and the ethnological line.

This was not an unprecedented way of reasoning about the Papuan identity of Timor in Anglophone literature. In according special weight to mountain data on Papuans, Wallace was preceded, and probably influenced, by George Windsor Earl’s conclusions on the status of the mountain Papuans of Timor, expressed in *The Native Races of the Indian Archipelago* (1853).22 During the 1840s, Earl visited Dili, the seat of Portuguese rule, with a view to collecting evidence of the presence of Papuans in the island. In the event, he never travelled farther than the city limits and could find no evidence of ‘genuine Papuans’ in Dili. It was the driving force of mountain settings as heterotopias that led him to circumvent his virtually absent field evidence and identify
the Timorese as Papuans. Relying uniquely on the inspection of one Timorese slave in Singapore and on an anonymous Dutch document of 1837, Earl declared that the true Papuan race ‘still existed in a pure state’, though few in number, ‘on the mountain Allas, which rises near the south-east coast of Timor’. He maintained that they were doomed to extinction because of their value to the local slave-trade. Earl’s views on Timor’s mountain Papuans were expressed in a map depicting the ‘Seats of the Papuan Race in the Indian Archipelago’ in which a few faded black lines signal the presence of Papuans exactly where Earl assumed the mountains of southeast Timor to be.

The secluded mountains and the wild interior of East Timor were also recruited in support of Wallace’s classification of the Timorese. Wallace claimed to have reached his conclusions on the races of Timor from a set of field observations made during a stay of four months in Dili in 1861 as the guest of two British residents. It was in their company that Wallace actually undertook an ascent into the mountains behind Dili. He stayed for a week at ‘a village called Baliba, four miles off on the mountains, at an elevation of 2,000 feet’, doing some collecting. This brief experience alone would provide his first-hand evidence of what he took to be Timorese Papuans. Indeed, Wallace’s classification clearly did not derive from an appreciation of the population as a whole, let alone of its coastal inhabitants. It relied selectively upon his impression of the ‘mountaineers’ as dark-coloured savages, true Papuans – an impression he made stand for the racial character of all Timorese. In effect, his ‘Timorese Papuan race’ corresponds exclusively with what he noted from his encounter with the mountaineers, whose alleged primitivity, savagery, and dark skin he contrasted with the Malay and mixed coastal peoples. Thus in a passage drawing directly on his visit to the hills and Baliba, Wallace stated:

The mountaineers of Timor are a people of Papuan type, having rather slender forms, bushy frizzled hair, and the skin of a dusky-brown colour. They have the long nose, with overhanging apex, which is so characteristic of the Papuan, and so absolutely unknown among races of Malayan origin.
This specific description of the mountaineers was rephrased in the closing chapter of the book, in which Wallace made wide-ranging statements on the human races of the Archipelago. Adding to the Papuan moral and physical traits a Timorese inclination to tabooing, thievery, and inter-tribal feuding, Wallace then generalised virtually *ipsis verbis* his view on the mountaineers to the Timorese as a whole: ‘Far south of the Moluccas lies the island of Timor, inhabited by tribes much nearer to the true Papuan than those of the Moluccas. *The Timorese of the interior*, he concluded, ‘are dusky brown or blackish, with bushy frizzled hair, and the long Papuan nose’.”

Wallace’s ethnological line and his view of the Timorese as essentially Papuan became the primary point of reference for later anthropologists. Yet, from the outset, Wallace’s case for a dualistic Malay/Papuan divide was controversial. A binary racial division was considered simplistic and hurried and many savants called for finer categories and sub-divisions to account for the complexity of physical features amongst the Oceanic races. In this vein, Wallace’s work was criticised in France by Quatrefages, the eminent anthropologist of the Muséum d’Histoire naturelle in Paris. Aided by his junior colleague Hamy, Quatrefages claimed that another type of negroid race – the Negritos or Pygmies – should be considered alongside the Pauans in the racial order of the region. Wallace had accepted that Negritos and Pauans were utterly distinct with respect to racial characters but he also stated peremptorily that, beyond the Philippines and the Malay Peninsula, he possessed no evidence of their existence in other islands (‘I have never seen this people myself’). During the 1870s and 1880s, however, Quatrefages and Hamy took pains to demonstrate the opposite. Unlike Wallace, who fashioned himself as a field observer, the French scholars depended on collections of human skulls to provide their principal evidence for human racial difference. It was over the classification of skulls as either Papuan or Negrito that not only would the classification of Timor be disputed but the very ethno-geography of the Archipelago would be decided.
**Ethnic craniology and the ‘discovery’ of Negritos in Timor**

French interest in the races of Timor was part of an ambitious research program on the geographical distribution of the *races noires* or *races sauvages* of Melanesia and, above all, of the Negritos, the so-called small blacks of the islands whose definitional spatial location was, significantly, the mountains. In fact, *Negritos del Monte*, meaning little blacks of the mountain, had been the name originally given to such people by the Spanish colonisers in the Philippines from the 16th century. This meaning was appropriated and further explored by 19th-century French anthropologists. The need to differentiate the people they called ‘Oriental Negroes’ into two ‘principal divisions’ of racial taxonomy – stronger, larger, dolichocephalic (long-headed) Papuan skulls from smaller, brachycephalic (short-headed) Negrito skulls – was insisted upon by Quatrefages from his assumption of the Chair of Anthropology at the Paris Muséum in 1855. Quatrefages’s taxonomy, to which he remained faithful throughout his career, was accompanied by a theory on the origins and distribution of the Oceanic races that took ‘his’ Negrito race as assumed. He hypothesised that only Negritos could represent the truly aboriginal settlers of the islands. A familiar conjectural history of ancient migrations and conquests explained at once their elusive contemporary presence in the mountains as well as their (presumably) diffuse distribution. By means of ancient migrations from island to island, these small Negros had spread throughout the Archipelago. Later, waves of Malayan invaders of ‘superior’ race hunted them, reduced their numbers, and pushed them up to the wild highlands of the islands. Yet what ultimately supported the primacy of Negritos over other candidates to the position of ‘the most ancient population’ of the Archipelago was the ‘fact’ that the highlands were their present-day homeland. ‘In seeing these Negritos almost always confined to the mountains of the interior of islands of which other races occupy the plains and shores’, Quatrefages summed up in 1887, ‘it is difficult not to consider them as having been the first occupants’.

The heterotopian conjunction of primordial time, secluded hills, savagery, and dark skin achieved definitional clarity in the French theorising of mountain Negritos as the
aboriginals of the Malay Archipelago. However, Quatrefages’ theory initially lacked empirical evidence. It especially lacked proof of these black mountaineers having been widely distributed throughout the hilly areas of the Oceanic islands – well beyond the already accepted location in the Philippines and the Andaman Islands. This giant task fell on the shoulders of Hamy who dutifully adopted Quatrefages’ theory and ultimately succeeded him in the chair of Anthropology at the Muséum in 1892. In the 1870s, based primarily on skull collections in Paris, Hamy published a number of studies offering evidence of Negritos in places as apparently unexpected as Japan, Formosa, Borneo, India, and also Timor. First published as a long article in 1874, Hamy’s case for Timor’s Negritos was given wider international diffusion through Quatrefages and Hamy’s acclaimed compilation of cranial data, *Crania ethnica* (1882), and was repeatedly mentioned thereafter in Quatrefages’ works as providing undisputed evidence for the distribution of ‘small blacks’ as far West as the island of Timor. Hamy’s approach combined the craniological analysis of museum specimens with the literary exegesis of travel accounts. With respect to the latter, he read and inventively interpreted a wide range of French, English, Dutch, and even Portuguese accounts, in order to make the claim that all field observers had recorded the presence of dark-coloured tribes there, a fact which ‘tended to prove’ that ‘some blacks belonging to the Negrito branch still exist’ in the mountains of Timor. As to the former, he resorted to the craniometry of two human skulls then held in the Paris Muséum. These, Hamy believed, provided decisive proof, on the one hand, of the island’s admixture of Malay and Papuan blood; and, on the other hand, of the existence ‘today’ in Timor of the race of Negritos.

This latter claim was based on a single Timorese skull which, according to Hamy, had been collected by the French naturalist François Péron, when visiting West Timor in the course of the expedition to the *terres australes* by Nicolas Baudin in 1800 to 1804. Conveniently, Hamy also credited the presumed collector, Péron, with the ‘discovery’ of the ‘élément nigritique’ in a ‘pure state in the mountain regions of the island’. Péron’s original account referred to a ‘ferocious’ and barbarous Timorese
race living ‘in the interior’, ‘seeking refuge in the hollows of rocks or in the deep forests’, and ‘combining all the characters of the black race properly so called’. Hamy creatively readjusted this passage in order to support the suggestion that Negritos were Péron’s ‘black race’ and that Péron’s reference to ‘the interior’ implicitly meant the mountains of the country. Péron’s being the collector, it followed that the skull in the possession of the Muséum must express the same racial and spatial attributes of that ‘black race’. Therefore, by sheer force of a single skull supposedly from a petit noir mountaineer, Hamy aimed at revising Wallace’s ethnological line on the basis of his reassessment of Timor’s ethnological position. Instead of just Papuans, the inhabitants of Timor should be reclassified as representatives of the two ‘races noires of Melanesia’: the Papuans and the Negritos, the petits noirs of Malaysia and Melanesia, the true and most ancient aboriginals. Although Wallace had correctly understood Timor as the ‘outermost limits’ of the ‘Papuan race’, he had nevertheless failed to discern in Timor the negroid ‘primitive inhabitant of Asia’. For Hamy, Timor’s two black races represented a double affiliation simultaneously to Melanesia (through the Papuans) and Asia (through the Negritos). Therefore, it was necessary to redraw the entire anthropological map of the Archipelago by placing Timor right on the ethnological line:

Mr R. Wallace’s ethnological line would therefore pass through the very island [Timor] that has been the object of our research, the population of which combines or juxtaposes so many interesting ethnic elements and which is at once the most southerly [island] inhabited by the Negritos and one of the most westerly where the Papuans have become established.

I have traced the significance of mountain sites in scientific theories of aboriginal races in Timor. I now turn to the question of mountains as a colonial heterotopia of difference in East Timor and analyse some instances of how mountain spaces were of paramount importance to articulations of racial otherness, savagery, and enmity in the context of colonial administration and especially warfare.
Colonial heterotopias of hostility: the Portuguese and the wild mountaineers

The racial topography of mountain negroes would haunt future anthropological and ethnological research on Timor, especially with regard to the Portuguese colony of East Timor. This centrality makes visible the potential for contact between scientific and colonial imageries entailed in the racial heterotopias of mountain spaces. In his celebrated work *A Naturalist’s Wanderings in the Eastern Archipelago* (1885), the British naturalist Henry O. Forbes lent some support to the Negrito hypothesis, while also acknowledging a Papuan element in Timor’s intricate race mixture. Invited to Dili as a personal guest of the Portuguese governor, Forbes benefited from the support and hospitality of the Portuguese authorities to conduct his naturalist studies in Dili and its surroundings in 1882. Back in England, he reported that Negritos very probably inhabited the remote hills opposite Dili. In truth, Forbes had not seen any real living examples of these people. But in East Timor he had heard accounts from reliable Portuguese colonial officers which led him to such a conclusion:

> Among the Fatumatubia Mountains—I have it on the, as I believe, excellent authority of one of the commandants of the district—lives a race of dwarfish people, speaking a ‘language’ of their own. Their dwarfishness consists not so much in the dimensions of the body, as in the shortness of the limbs which are thick and strong. *They live among the rocks, are great robbers and much detested*.... These people may possibly be Negritos.

Forbes, Negritos were very ‘possibly’ a reality in East Timor because some Portuguese authorities talked about the mountaineers not simply as a type of little people but also as a bunch of savages inhabiting ‘the rocks’ (‘great robbers’, ‘much detested’), who, from the colonial point of view, posed a threat to the politico-jural order.

In fact, the accounts collected by Forbes from Portuguese military commandants were eventually grounded on actual experiences of troubled colonial interactions with
the people of ‘Fatu-Mate-Bien’. In 1904, for instance, in a letter to Lisbon, the governor of Timor reported the troubles to colonial administration caused by the ‘natives from the mountains of Fatu-Mate-Bien’ on account of their raiding the villages nearby: ‘as numerous hordes of robbers they attacked several settlements of neighbouring peoples, burning them down, killing the inhabitants who in their escape could find no salvation, and robbing their cattle and other possessions.’ Therefore, in trusting as ethnological evidence the word of Portuguese officers, Forbes articulated two disparate topographies of difference and wilderness organised around the alterity of mountain sites. Physical attributes (blackness and small stature) united with colonial experiences of enmity and feelings of contempt as regards certain groups of mountaineers.

Thus ethnological visions of the black races of Oceania, on the one hand, and local and colonial constructs of otherness, on the other, appeared to come together on the rocky hills of East Timor. As heterotopias of human difference, the mountains were not the stuff of ethnological theory and racial classification alone. They were embedded in colonial praxis; they were the matter of colonial heterotopias. As such, ‘colonial’ and ‘scientific’ heterotopias were not independent from each other. Between them operated processes of circulation, juxtaposition, and interchange. In this vein, as just noted, Forbes deliberately implicated local colonial constructs of enmity in his hypothesising of Timorese Negritos, thus using colonial stories to engage with ethnological debates at home. An analogous process of circulation could occur, locally, in reverse direction. That is, in East Timor, colonial heterotopias of hostility could equally articulate scientific categorisations of savage dark-skinned races with reference to mountain spaces. My next section looks at an apposite colonial example of this articulation through the collection of human skulls.
Colonial wars, skulls, and mountain enemies

Under number 1 are thirty-five skulls. They are from adult persons of one and the other sex, who perished at the hands of the government auxiliary forces in the war of Laleia against the thug and rebel Manuel dos Remédios from 1878 to 1879.

...

These crania are from natives, who live, for the most part, in the mountains, where the purest race is found. In the lowlands, especially in hamlets located on the beach, there is no defined race; whereas in the rest of the island it is almost beyond doubt that the Australian [race] predominates.48

This is a description of an anthropological collection of human skulls obtained in East Timor by Portuguese Catholic missionaries in the late 1870s, and sent to museums in Portugal in 1881-82.49 The author (and one of the collectors), Father A. J. Medeiros, Superior of the Catholic Mission in Timor, originally presented this description in an official letter to the Portuguese governor of Timor, trusting that such information would add value to the scientific significance of the specimens. In drawing here on this short account, my intention is to expose its enactment of a nexus between colonial and racial mountain heterotopias, as embedded in local dynamics of hostility. In fact, this narrative of a collection of skulls from the mountains expressed the main tenets of European theories on the racial topography of the Archipelago: undefined and mixed races on the coast; and dark-coloured (by implication) races, purest and most ancient, in the highlands. In stating that ‘without doubt’ the ‘Australian race predominated’ in Timor, the colonial missionary perhaps let slip his limited acquaintance with the latest debates on racial nomenclature. In any case, in considering the skulls as representatives of a black racial type, the missionary’s classification of them was in harmony with that critical conjunction of dark skin colour, primitive time, racial purity, spatial seclusion, and savagery that characterised the mountain spaces as anthropological heterotopias of the Malay Archipelago at that particular historical moment. Moreover, in resonating thus with scientific theories of mountain-dwelling,
dark-coloured aboriginals, this short story further indicates that European anthropological theories circulated and were discussed amongst colonial officials in Dili, even if they only occasionally reached publication beyond the information networks of the colonial administration.

Within contemporary colonial circles, in fact, Medeiros was not alone in holding firmly to a view of the primordial races of Timor as some variety of ‘Oceanic Negroes’. A former governor of Portuguese Timor, Afonso de Castro, had stated in 1867 that the Timorese belonged to the Malayan race. In the wake of Castro, a number of colonial writers would continue to endorse this position well into the 20th century. But others disagreed. In 1901, Medeiros’ near contemporary, Colonel José Celestino da Silva (governor of Timor from 1894 to 1908) confessed in an official report to the Ministry in Lisbon his total disagreement with Castro’s viewpoint. Claiming anthropological authority on the basis of seven years of field experience in Timor, Silva declared that the Timorese were ‘Oceanic Negroes’ and should not at all be classed as Malays: ‘To state that the Timorese are, as a rule, degenerate representatives of the Malay race is an ethnogenic heresy’. Underlining the governor’s anthropological argument was the heterotopia of mountain spaces: ‘There is no doubt’, he remarked:

that along the north coast one can find representatives of the Malay race...; but if we travel into the interior further south we will find up to the central mountain range the predominance of the Oceanic-Negro type, aboriginal, and if we walk from Dili to the East we will see that almost all the inhabitants belong to the ‘Papuan’ type, with a greater disposition to receive the benefits of civilization.

The idea according to which the Timorese belonged essentially to dark-coloured races was eventually current (although certainly not consensual) in Portuguese colonial circles. Furthermore, the spatial alterity of mountain areas was implicated in this categorisation. Yet, this identification of mountain peoples with categories of ‘black races’ was embedded not only in the discursive webs of ethnological theory but also, importantly, in concrete events and relationships of hostility and warfare. The account
above of a collection of skulls offers a paradigmatic example. The definition of skulls as anthropological specimens was predicated on the colonial imagination of an enemy known through violent encounters. For, as its missionary author stated, these were at once skulls from racially pure highlanders and the remains of men and women who had been declared rebels and enemies of the colonial government, dying at the hands of Timorese irregulars in the course of the ‘Laleia war’.

From 1878 to 1881, the Laleia war opposed the forces of the Timorese king of Laleia, Manuel dos Remédios, to the Portuguese government, the Catholic Mission, and their Timorese allies. Early in the conflict, Remédios withdrew from the coastal areas of Laleia to the mountains of Tekinamata and Laclubar opposite Dili, where he established his headquarters and thereafter led his war against the Portuguese. He was accordingly demonised in colonial accounts, in conjunction with the space he chose to counter the government: ‘hidden among the rocks’, a Portuguese account stated, the rebel had ‘murdered and robbed the peoples like the most ferocious cannibal’. Thus, throughout the war years, ‘the enemy’ became synonymous in colonial discourse with the allegedly wild, barbarous inhabitants of these mountain regions. It is moreover significant that the severed heads which ended up assembled as a ‘scientific collection’ of anthropological specimens by the Reverend Medeiros resulted precisely from headhunting raids conducted by Portuguese forces on the mountain villages in 1879.

The skulls collected by the Portuguese, therefore, dramatically embodied a juxtaposition of two ways of spatialising otherness around mountain spaces: the anthropological classification of black races; and the colonial constitution of untamed enmity. In that it was articulated by the colonial agents, the ethnological topography of black races intersected with a peculiar spatial discourse of alterity entailed in opposition and hostility – the vision of the enemy, the rebel, the pagan, the Other, as mountaineer, clearly expressed in the story of the collection of skulls. This way of basing mountain heterotopias of human alterity upon colonial relations of opposition and hostility prevailed in colonial East Timor. Throughout the 19th century, the
Portuguese saw the central mountains as homeland to Timor’s unconquerable and rebellious tribes, a site from which local hordes of warriors fiercely opposed Portuguese dominance, fought successfully against colonial armed forces, and generally threatened colonial order. The recurrence of the wars that the Portuguese in Dili waged with the surrounding mountain communities and in the western districts of the country contributed crucially to this generalised view. Governor Afonso de Castro, who in the early 1860s had confronted fierce armed opposition from the ‘mountain natives’ opposite the coastal settlement of Dili, expressed this view clearly: ‘It is between these harsh suspended rocks,’ he wrote, referring to the rugged and rocky aspect of East Timor’s mountain geography, ‘that the natives elect to build their villages, and from such inaccessible fortresses they come down to make war, murder travellers, and rob their neighbours, and it is to these places that they retire when they are chased’. From the 1850s, warfare in the mountains was virtually an annual event for Timor’s Portuguese administrators. Indeed, most colonial wars in the second half of the century took place in mountainous areas. It was on the hills that the Timorese seemed to prefer to confront their adversaries and it was on top of the most inaccessible rocky summits of the central mountains – namely, on the many impressive high rock masses described as fatu or fatuk (rock) in Tetum – that the Timorese traditionally established their fortresses and defensive posts. This strategy posed enormous difficulty in the use of European troops and reinforced the customary Portuguese dependence on Timorese warriors, seen as naturally endowed with superior climbing skills. ‘Wars in this district are absolutely dissimilar from the wars in Africa’, a governor remarked in 1896, ‘the field is extraordinarily mountainous, the enemy occupies fortified positions on the mountain summits and it is necessary to overcome abrupt steep rises ...; in these wars our European soldiers, not used to walking up and down mountains, very quickly become exhausted’. Thus notwithstanding, or perhaps because of, their perceived alterity, even Timorese highlanders could become included in the colonial warfare apparatus. ‘Savage’ warriors and head-hunters from the uplands were occasionally called to play a
strategic part inside colonialism and its expansive efforts – including in wars waged against ‘enemy’ kingdoms of the hilly regions. By the same token, some Timorese mountain kingdoms or lineages could occasionally seek alliance with the Portuguese coastal government with a view to achieve their own socio-political goals. In 1864, for example, the governor of Timor, Afonso de Castro, whose writings also conveyed the Portuguese heterotopia of mountain peoples, referred to the valuable military contribution of a few parties of “mountaineers” who had decided to join the government side, during the war against the kingdoms of Lacló and Ulmera, in 1861.58

Colonial records allow only for a limited understanding of Indigenous categories. However, the reference in Portuguese accounts to a Timorese predilection for the highest, rocky mountain peaks as defensive sites and for mountains as shelters and refuges in situations of perceived threat suggests that, for Indigenous people too, the mountains were special other places – as militarily strategic as they were culturally significant. Certain mountain locations, such as many fatuk and the mountain of Matebian (‘the soul of the dead’ in Tetum), were viewed as potent sacred sites, mythical places where ancestral entities had first appeared on earth or continued to inhabit and through which communication with their powers could be maintained. Even coastal dwellers usually retreated to the mountains when the danger and horrors of war were imminent. In this light, it is significant that the Timorese attachment to mountain spaces came dramatically into play in situations of violence and hostility. This seems to have been the case during the Portuguese period in connection with colonial campaigns but it also occurred on later occasions of threat and invasion, such as during the Japanese invasion in 1942, the Indonesian occupation in 1975, or the post-referendum violence of the militias in 1999. On each of these occasions, many Timorese sought shelter and refuge in the mountains where they then organised their military resistance to the external invaders. Timorese experience has thus reserved a special position for mountains in the event of war and threat. They serve as protective spaces during moments of extraordinary danger and defensive places where the hostility of strangers could be most successfully, or even victoriously, confronted.
Portuguese accounts also suggest that Timorese conceptions of mountain spaces and mountain people could bear on categorisations of human alterity. Especially around Dili, where the Portuguese had firmly settled since 1769, the highlanders were looked upon by lowland coastal people as backward, mysterious, quiet, and ignorant folk, an imagery captured by the expression *kaladi*. The complex history and meaning of this category in the colonial period (namely as regards its classificatory opposite and complementary term, *firaku*, itself a category also expressing belonging to the highlands) requires further careful treatment, especially considering its political potential and contemporary resonances. However, it is worth noting that 19th-century Portuguese interpretations of the *kaladi* category were essentially concerned with reading in Indigenous usage a conjunction between savage races and spatial wilderness. The term *kaladi* circulated to the colonial imaginary and in this process it was probably adjusted so to accommodate the Europeans’ anthropological and political heterotopias associated with mountain spaces. The expression *kaladi*, Father Artur de Sá suggested in 1950, was ‘until not long ago ... the name of a region of dangerous rebels’. Governor Castro in 1867 had associated the term (which he glossed as *Calado*) to a type of ‘entirely savage languages’ spoken by the inhabitants around Dili. Different attempts to unravel the local meaning of the term appeared in coming colonial texts, in which emphasis continued to be put on the category’s association with both natural and human wilderness in mountain regions. In the 1900s, captain Dories and governor Celestino saw the ‘original’ Indigenous meaning of *kaladi* as designating a type of ‘wild plant’ as well as the wild Timorese highlanders themselves who traded these plants and other agricultural produce at the Dili weekly market. Implicit in these colonial readings seems to have been the attempt to ascertain whether the Indigenous term *kaladi* could or could not stand for an ethnic or racial category of scientific anthropological import – for a Negro racial type, for instance: ‘because in their mountains these plants exist in abundance’, governor Celestino remarked in 1901, ‘these [Oceanic] negroes are called “Callades”’. 
**Conclusion**

This essay has explored the 19th-century anthropological obsession with dark-coloured people in Oceania at the converging point of ‘race’ and ‘space’. The classification of dark-skinned savage races was congruent with specific spatialisations of human alterity in which mountain spaces played a pivotal role. Following Foucault’s insights, I have conceptualised the peculiar conjunction of mountains, black races, and savagery as a mode of heterotopia. I suggest that this notion enables us to understand the mutual dependence of processes of constitution of human difference with those of spatial alterity. As the imagined locales of wild, primordial, and hostile other black humans, mountains were pivotal places, in substance and allegorically, capable of generally articulating ethno-geographical orderings, with the potential both to realise and contest the very order that they were intended to express. As such, I have argued that mountains should be approached as heterotopias in three interconnected senses. As heterochronies, mountains juxtapose distinct times, mythic and contemporary, articulating anthropology’s Other in a temporal discourse. As idealised and essentialised spaces of racial purity and ultimate primordiality, mountains compensate functionally for the trouble posed to anthropological taxonomies by racial ‘hybridisms’ or even for the lack of real empirical enquiry. And finally, standing at the meeting point of varied imageries of alterity, mountain heterotopias potentially overlap distinct scientific, colonial, and Indigenous constructs, rearranging around one single place multiple ways of spatialising otherness and wilderness in theory and in practice.

East Timor has provided an exemplary instance of this argument. Scientific and colonial understandings of ‘black races’ were critically embedded there in images and sensuous experiences of mountain sites. The categories of savage peoples and black races simultaneously implied the differentiation of mountains as special places where such ultimate otherness resided. Whether Timorese were labelled Papuans or Negritos, their identification as black races was thought to provide the solution to the island’s racial puzzle. Mountains, interior lands, savage corners, remote hills, rocks were the timeless spaces of these original black races, the powerful locations capable
of re-arranging the taxonomy of human difference. Mountains were definitional zones of ethnological theories. In Wallace’s discourse, it was his field experience of the mountaineers as Papuans that determined the classification of all the Timorese within the ‘Papuan race’. By force of cranial evidence on (supposedly) other mountain people, the French anthropologist Hamy made a similar, yet contrasting, movement, reclassifying Timor’s black races as mountain Negritos and thereby redrawing Wallace’s ethnological map. For Wallace and Hamy, therefore, mountains were neither mere landscapes nor utopian sites in ethnological reasoning. Mediated either by the presence of human skulls or by the sensorial experience of travellers’ bodies, they were the very stuff of race classification. And by the 1870s, more than any other island space in the Malay Archipelago, mountains were the definitional matter of the ethnological line between Malays and Papuans.

I have further argued that the mobilising force of mountain sites in anthropological research should also be understood as the consequence of a powerful intersection with local and colonial imaginaries of political otherness. Mountains were also heterotopias of colonialism. In colonial history, mountains held a key position in ethnological considerations, as well as in situations in which matters of life or death and issues of power and authority were at stake in military confrontations. In East Timor, mountains were customary war zones and spaces of violence; they were border spaces of colonial authority. The Portuguese in Dili had been routinely engaged in armed conflicts in the highlands and against its inhabitants. As such, the mountains became crucial to Portuguese articulations of enmity and savagery as categories of colonial otherness. For the Timorese, who valued the rocky and rugged landscape as shelter and protection, taking strategic advantage of their physical geography in occasions of crisis, mountains also mattered greatly in organising relationships with those who counted as enemies. This being the case, anthropology’s obsessive search for ‘black races’ in other spaces – whether they were defined as mountains, forests, jungles, or another form of remote interior geography – must be approached in
relation to the experiences and images that arose from imagined and actual histories of violence and hostility.

Notes

1 An earlier version of this paper was presented at the international conference on ‘Race, Encounters, and the Constitution of Human Difference in Oceania’ held at The Australian National University in Canberra in January 2010. The essay is an output of the project ‘The Sciences of Anthropological Classification in “Portuguese Timor” (1894-1974)’ funded by the Foundation for Science and Technology, Portugal (HC/0089/2009). Thanks are also due to the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, Portugal, for a travel grant. Margrit Koettig, Chris Ballard, and Bronwen Douglas have offered me warm support and encouragement during the preparation of this paper in Australia. I am grateful to Bronwen Douglas and Chris Ballard for careful editorial revisions and insightful comments; and to Chris Shepherd, Frederico Delgado Rosa, and João Vasconcelos for reading drafts of the paper and offering generous comments and criticisms. I have translated into English all passages originally in French and Portuguese.


5 My point on colonial heterotopias thus adds productively to James Scott’s recent argument on the longstanding historical significance of hill spaces in mainland Southeast Asia as ‘nonstate spaces’, strategic sites of opposition and refuge from which peoples countered the ‘oppression of state-making projects in the valleys’, until the Second World War. See James C. Scott, The Art of Not Being Governed: an anarchist history of upland Southeast Asia (New Haven and London 2009).


13 Charles Darwin, *The Origin of Species by Means of Natural Selection: or, the preservation of favoured races in the struggle for life* (London 1859), 382.

14 Foucault, ‘Of other spaces’.

15 See Ballard, ‘“Oceanic Negroes”’, 180-S.

16 This coast/mountain opposition eventually integrated ethnic stereotypes that blurred early modern travel literature and Indigenous conceptions. Across island Southeast Asia, Indigenous categorisations of alterity usually distinguished civilised lowlanders (*hulu*) from savage highlanders (*hilir*). The dichotomy possibly entered early European ethnological reflections as an opposition between the lighter-coloured civilised ‘Beajous’ and the darker-skinned savage mountaineers, the ‘Alfouros’, whose original headquarters were supposedly the hills of New Guinea. A similar lowland/upland


18 On this theme see Ricardo Roque, Headhunting and Colonialism: anthropology and the circulation of human skulls in the Portuguese Empire, 1870-1930 (Basingstoke, Hants, UK, and New York 2010), ch. 6.

19 Joachim K. Metzner, Man and Environment in Eastern Timor: A Geoecological Analysis of the Baucau-Viqueque Area as a Possible Basis for Regional Planning (Canberra 1977), 22. Metzner’s seminal work further explores the specific “geo-ecological” aspects of this peculiar environment on settlement patterns and on economic uses of land in East Timor during the late Portuguese colonial period.


22 On the intellectual connections between Wallace and Earl, see Ballard, “Oceanic Negroes”, 172-6.

23 George W. Earl, The Native Races of the Indian Archipelago: Papuans (London 1853), 181-2, my emphasis. Earl was following the opinion of Dutch writers who considered this area to be the ‘hind part’ (achterwal) of Timor and a main source of supply for the Portuguese slave-trade via Macao in former times. Although this was possibly no longer the case by the 1850s, it is worth pointing out that throughout the 19th century the Portuguese maintained hostile relationships with the Timorese kingdoms of the Alas district and especially with the reputedly fierce Lamakitos mountainers, against whom several failed campaigns were waged until the Portuguese finally emerged victorious in the mid-1890s – a point that lends weight to my argument below on the connections between colonial hostility and anthropological heterotopias. Cf. Raphael das Dores, ‘Apontamentos para um Dicionario Chorographico de Timor’, Boletim da Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa, 7-12 (1903), 13, 39.

24 Earl, ‘Seats of the Papuan race in the Indian Archipelago’, in Native Races of the Indian Archipelago, pl. 7.

25 Wallace first spent a fortnight in Kupang in 1857-9 but this seems to have weighed less in his conclusions than his stay in Dili. Wallace, The Malay Archipelago, 144-5. See also Jane R. Camerini, ‘Wallace in the field’, Osiris, 11 (1996), 46-65.
26 Wallace, The Malay Archipelago, 146. Wallace’s description of his stay at Baliba, including his mockery of failed Portuguese attempts to discover a mythic ‘copper mountain’, appears on pp. 146-8.

27 Cf. Ibid., 146, 149-50, 451-2.

28 Ibid., 149, my emphasis.

29 Ibid., 451, my emphasis.

30 This was the case even in England. See for example, Joseph Barnard Davis, ‘A few notes upon the hair, and some other peculiarities of Oceanic races’, Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, 2 (1872), 95-104.

31 Quatrefages and Hamy also diverged from Wallace in their geographical demarcation of the Malay Archipelago. They followed French geographers and the navigator-naturalist Dumont d’Urville in preferring terms such as Malaysia, Melanesia, and Polynesia whereas the British tended to follow the Indo-Malayan and Austro-Malayan geographical terminology proposed by Earl and Wallace. For the French, the British demarcation was too imprecise and overarching and did not account effectively for regional ethnological differences. For Quatrefages’ extensive and detailed critique of Wallace, see Armand de Quatrefages, Hommes fossiles et hommes sauvages: études d’anthropologie (Paris 1884), 145-76.


33 See Armand de Quatrefages and Ernest-Théodore Hamy, Crania Ethnica, 2 vols (Paris 1882).


37 Idem, ‘Documents pour servir à l’anthropologie de l’île de Timor’, Nouvelles Archives du Muséum d’Histoire Naturelle de Paris, 10 (1874), 245-68. A shorter notice appeared in Idem, ‘Sur l’anthropologie de l’île de Timor’, BSAP, 10 (1875), 224-7. The point is rehearsed in Quatrefages and Hamy, Crania ethnica, 271-4, 193-4; see also Quatrefages, Hommes fossiles, 195, n. 2. But for an influential contemporary criticism of Quatrefages and Hamy’s arguments on the Negrito race (including
its presence in Timor) see A. B. Meyer, *The Distribution of Negritos in the Philippine Islands and Elsewhere* (Dresden 1899). Meyer strongly rejected Hamy’s hypothesis of Negritos in Timor because, he asserted, it was ‘quite impossible to draw conclusions’ on the basis of a single skull. Ibid., 35-8.

Hamy used an anonymous Portuguese dictionary and the work of Afonso de Castro. The actual contents of Hamy’s Portuguese sources, however, provided doubtful support for his claims. Castro, for instance, maintained that the Timorese belonged to the Malay race and he made no allusion whatsoever to the existence of a dark aboriginal race. Cf. Afonso de Castro, *As Possessões Portuguezas na Oceânia* (Lisbon 1867), 311, 327-8.

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40 Ibid., 263.

41 Ibid., 247-8.


44 Ibid., 265.


46 Ibíd., my emphasis.

47 Celestino da Silva to Overseas General Office, 14 Jan. 1904, Lisbon, Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino (hereafter AHU), Macao and Timor, ACL_SEMU_DGU_1 Reparticao_002_Cx 11, 1901-1904.

48 A.J. de Medeiros to Governor of Timor, [Feb.] 1881, cit. in Medeiros to Bishop of Macao, 3 June 1881, Lisbon, AHU, Macao and Timor, ACL_SEMU_DGU_1R_002_Cx 2, 1881.

49 As regards this collection, I am hereafter summarising historical materials examined at greater length and detail in Roque, *Headhunting and Colonialism*.


51 Ibid.

52 A. J. de Medeiros to Bishop of Macao, 20 July 1881, Lisbon, AHU, Macao and Timor, ACL_SEMU_DGU_1R_002_Cx 2, 1881.


54 Castro, *As Possessões*, 301.


56 Celestino da Silva to Minister of the Navy and Overseas Affairs, 7 March 1896, Lisbon, AHU, Macao and Timor, Repartição Militar, SR 003, Gerais, Box 163, 1895-1899. With
respect to this linkage between Indigenous warfare, Indigenous warrior skills and mountain geographies, there are parallels with other coeval situations of colonial fighting. Cf. for New Caledonia: Bronwen Douglas, *Across the Great Divide: journeys in history and anthropology* (Amsterdam 1998), chs. 3 & 5; for Goa: Ricardo Roque, *Antropologia e Império: Fonseca Cardoso e a expedição à Índia em 1895* (Lisbon 2001), ch. 2.

57 This suggests that the relations between highlanders and colonizers were not based upon oppression and resistance simply; they included occasional inclusion and collaboration. As in other historical instances, peoples perceived as other (mountaineers or other types of ‘wild people’) could also appear within the colonial state as spies, informants, or armed troops. Cf. C. A. Bayly, ‘Knowing the country: empire and information in India’, *Modern Asian Studies*, 27: 1 (1993), 7 and 20.


60 The alleged ethno-territorial significance of the category kaladi (associated with the Western highlands)– as opposed to the category firaku (associated with the Eastern highlands) – and its value as collective identity marker has recently resumed in Timor Leste during the conflicts of 2006, around the opposition Loromunu/Lorosa’e. It seems however that both connote a belonging to East Timor’s mountain spaces. For assessments of this debate compare Paulo Castro Seixas, ‘Firaku e Kaladi: etnicidades prevalecentes nas imaginações unitárias em Timor Leste’, *Trabalhos de Antropologia e Etnologia*, 45: 1-2 (2005), 149-188; Fiona Lindsay Crockford, ‘Contested Belonging: East Timorese Youth in Diaspora’, unpublished Ph.D. thesis, The Australian National University (Canberra 2007), 43-6.


63 Cf. Raphael das Dores, *Diccionário de Teto-Português* (Lisbon 1907), 135.

64 Celestino da Silva to Minister of Navy and Overseas Affairs, 25 Jan. 1901, Lisbon, AHU, Macao and Timor, ACL_SEMU_DGU_1ª Repartição, Box 11, 1901-1904. See also, for a later review of Portuguese understandings of *kaladi* which discusses its alleged significance for anthropological classification, Sá, ‘Caladis de Timor’, 35-45.